

ADAM AND EVE IN THE ARMENIAN TRADITION

FIFTH THROUGH SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

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Michael E. Stone

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta

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This work is dedicated to my teachers:

Frank Moore Cross Jr.

(13 July 1921–16 October 2012)

Avedis Krikor Sanjian

(24 February 1921–22 July 1995)

CONTENTS

List of Figures	ix
Preface and Acknowledgments	xi
Abbreviations	xiii
Alphabetical List of Authors Cited	xv
Introduction	xix
 PART I. THE ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS IN ARMENIAN	 1
Outline	3
1. Adam and Eve Traditions in Fifth-Century Armenian Literature	11
2. Adam and Eve Traditions in Sixth- to Eleventh-Century Armenian Literature	39
3. Adam and Eve Traditions in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Armenian Literature	83
4. Adam and Eve Traditions in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Armenian Literature	127
5. Adam and Eve Traditions in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Armenian Literature	155
Appendix: Satan and the Serpent	177
 PART II. TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS	 211
Fifth Century	213
Sixth Century	289
Seventh Century	297
Eighth Century	309
Ninth Century	343
Tenth Century	365

Eleventh Century 403

Twelfth Century 409

Thirteenth Century 455

Fourteenth Century 519

Fifteenth Century 605

Sixteenth Century 627

Seventeenth Century 647

Eighteenth Century 679

Alphabetical List of Authors Quoted 683

Bibliography 699

Index of Selected Subjects and Proper Names 723

Index of Ancient Sources 731

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Crowned Adam with Eve, Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate J1667 of the year 1529. Photo by M. Stone.	53
2. Four-footed satan or demon, Erevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, M2890 of the year 1719. Photo by G. Muradyan.	171
3. Serpentine Hell swallows the Wicked, Erevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, M5523 of the year 1414. Used by permission.	181
4. <i>Višap</i> dragon stone at Sardarabad, Armenia. Photo by H. Petrosyan.	189

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

At the basis of this book stands a corpus of all the published pre-eighteenth-century narrative texts in Armenian relating to Adam, Eve, and the Eden story. These texts were excerpted and translated as part of a project on “Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition,” funded by the Israel Research Foundation, grant no. 770/99.

The project and its progress will be described in the introduction below. Here I wish to acknowledge all those who contributed to it over the years, while stressing my own responsibility for the contents of this book. In the task of preparation of part 2 of this book, I was greatly assisted by Aram Topchyan and, later, by Gohar Muradyan. Without their help and expertise, I could not have finished this project. In making the initial probe of the fifth-century material, I had the assistance of Theo van Lint and the support of Fr. Mesrob Aramian, of the Ganjasar Theological Centre in Yerevan. Roberta Ervine suggested many felicitous translations. Bernard Outtier read the whole volume, and his great learning and acumen improved it at many points. To all these, I am most grateful.

At various stages of this work, which has been under way since the late 1990s, Narineh Yacoubian and Vered Hillel assisted in technical matters. The final editing of the manuscript of part 1 has benefitted from the careful attention of Yael Moise. My thanks are expressed to all three devoted helpers.

Rod Werline of SBLEJL and the publication experts of the Society of Biblical Literature have carried out their work expertly.

The poem by Kostandin Erznkac'i is reproduced by permission of Th. M. van Lint from his unpublished thesis of 1996, “Konstandin of Erznka: An Armenian Religious Poet of the XIIIth-XIVth Century” (Leiden University). He kindly revised it for this publication. The translation of the fifteenth-century amulet by Yoav Loeff from his master's thesis of 2002 (“Four Texts from the Oldest Known Armenian Amulet Scroll: Matenadaran 116 (1428)” [Hebrew University of Jerusalem]) is published by permission. The permission of the following publishers is acknowledged for excerpts reproduced here. Exact page spans are specified *in situ*. Peeters Publishers of Leuven, Belgium, granted permission for the excerpts from Robert W. Thomson 2005, *Hamam: Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* (Hebrew University Armenian Studies 5); and G. A. Egan 1968, *Saint Ephrem: An Exposition of the Gospel* (CSCO 291–92, *Scriptores Armeniaci* 5–6); Scholars Press of Atlanta, Georgia, for excerpts

from James R. Russell 1987, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 5); St. Nersess Seminary of New Rochelle, New York, for excerpts from Robert W. Thomson 2001, *Teaching of St. Gregory: Revised Edition* (Avant: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition 1);

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ANB</i>	Ačariyan, H. Հայոց Անձանունների Բառարան <i>Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names</i> . Beirut: Sevan Press, 1972.
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
dub.	of dubious authenticity or date
GT՝	Girk՝ T՛It՝oc՝
<i>L.A.E.</i>	<i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>
MES	MES in translations marks alternate translations proposed by the author.
<i>MH</i>	Մատենագիրք Հայոց <i>Ancient Armenian Literature</i> (Antelias, Lebanon: Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003–)
<i>NBHL</i>	G. Awetik՝ean, X. Siwrmēlean, and M. Awk՝erean Նոր բառգիրք հայկազեան լեզուի New Dictionary of the Armenian Language. 2 vols. Venice: St. Lazzaro, 1836–37.
<i>Pen. Adam</i>	<i>Penitence of Adam</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> [= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca</i>]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–86.
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> [= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina</i>]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. Paris, 1844–64.
s.v.	sub vocem
v.l., v.ll.	varia lectio, variae lectiones, i.e., variant readings

In footnotes, A.T. means Aram Topchyan. G.M. means Gohar Muradyan.

All ancient writings, including rabbinic texts, are abbreviated in accordance with the SBL Handbook of Style.

Armenian manuscripts are cited according to the system of the Association Internationale des Etudes Arméniennes, as published on their Web site: http://aiea.fltr.ucl.ac.be/AIEAeng/Tools_files/Sigles.pdf

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS CITED

Abusayid, C12
Agat'angelos C5
Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos C10
Anania Narekac'i C10
Anania Sanahnec'i C11
Anania Širakac'i C7
Anania *vardapet* C 5
Anonymous Author 8 C17
Anonymous Chronicler of Livorno C17
Anonymous of Sebastia C15
Arak'el Davirzec'i C17
Arak'el Siwnec'i C15
Artawazd Mazazuni C10
At'anas Taronac'i C6
Awetik' Mahtesi C16-17
Azaria Ĵulayec'i C16
Barsel Maškeronc'i C14
Dawit' Bališec'i C17
Dawit' Ganjakec'i C12
Dawit' Hark'ac'i C7
Dawit' Salajorec'i C17
Dawit' the Invincible C7
Elišē, C5
Ep'rem Ľap'anc'i C17
Ephrem, Exposition of the Gospel, C5
Esayi Nč'ec'i C14
Eznik, C5
Frik C13
Gēorg Lořec'i C11
Girk' T'ltoc', Letter attributed to Movsēs Xorenac'i, C6
Girk' Tlt'oc', C5
Grigor Aknerc'i C13
Grigor Daranalc'i C17
Grigor Magistros C10
Grigor Narekac'i C10

Grigor Pahlavuni C12
 Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14 (also titled Grigor, Pupil of Yōhannēs Orotneč'i C14)
 Grigor Tlay C12
 Grigor Vkasasēr C11-12
 Grigor Jerenc' C14
 Grigoris Alt'amarc'i C16
 Grigoris Aršaruni C7
 Hamam Arewelc'i C9
 Ignatius *vardapet* C12
 K'erovbē *vardapet* C 9
 Karapet Bališec'i C16
 Kirakos Erznnac'i C14
 Kirakos Ganjakec'i C13
 Komitas Kat'olikos C6
 Kostandin Erznnac'i C14
 Lazar P'arpec'i, C5
 Łazar Sebastac'i C16
 Lewond C8
 Liturgy
 Mambrē, C5
 Matt'ēos *vardapet* C15
 Minas T'oxat'ec'i C16
 Mkrtič' Našaš C15
 Movsēs K'ert'olāhayr C6
 Movsēs Kałankatuac'i C10
 Movsēs Xorenac'i C9¹
 Mxit'ar Anec'i C12
 Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14
 Mxit'ar Goš C 12
 Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i C16
 Nazaret' A C17
 Nersēs Anjnapatc'i A C17
 Nersēs Lambronac'i C12
 Nersēs Šnorhali C12
 P'awstos Buzand, C5
 Pawłos Taronac'i C12
 P'ilon Tirakac'i C7
 Pseudo-Basil C6
 Pseudo-Šapuh or The Anonymous Story-Teller C9
 Sahak Jorap'orec'i C7
 Sahak Mrut C9

1. See note in the fifth-century analysis on the dating of this author.

Samuēl Anec'i C12
 Samuēl Kamrājorec'i C 10
 Sargis Šnorhali C12
 Sarkawag Berdakac'i C16
 Simēon Aljnec'i C10
 Simēon Aparanc'i C16
 Simēon Kafac'i C17
 Step'anos Kelec'i C17
 Step'anos Ōrbelean C13
 Step'anos Siwnec'i C8
 Step'anos Tarōnec'i (Asolik), C10
 Tačat *vardapet*, C10
 T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16
 T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor C7
 T'ēop'ilos, C 9
 Timot'ēos *vardapet*, C10
 Tiranun *vardapet*, C10
 T'ovma Arcruni C9
 Uxtanēs C10
 Vahram Rabuni C13
 Vanakan *vardapet* C13
 Vardan Arawelc'i C13
 Vardan Aygekc'i C13
 Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł C7
 Xač'atur Jułayec'i C18
 Xač'atur Keč'ařec'i C14
 Xač'atur Xaspēk Kafac'i C17
 Xosrovik T'argmanič' C8
 Xosrow Anjewac'i C10
Yačaxapatum Čark' Dogmatic Homilies, C5
 Yakob Cpatec'i C10
 Yakob Kesarac'i C17
 Yakob Łrimec'i C15
 Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17
 Yohan K'ahana C13
 Yovasap' Erznkac'i C17
 Yovasap' Sebastac'i C16
 Yovhan Arčiřec'i C14
 Yovhan Mamikonean C7
 Yovhan Ōjnec'i C8
 Yovhan Orotnec'i C14
 Yovhanēs Gařnec'i C13
 Yovhannēs A C16

Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc‘i C10
Yovhannēs Erzncac‘i Corcorec‘i C14
Yovhannēs Erzncac‘i Pluz C13
Yovhannēs Gaṛnec‘i C13
Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12
Yovhannēs Jūlayec‘i C17
Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos C8
Yovhannēs Mandakuni, C5
Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14
Zak‘aria Kat‘olikos C9
Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16

INTRODUCTION

In 1992, at the invitation of Professor Marinus de Jonge, I lectured at the Milan meeting of the Society for New Testament Studies (SNTS) on the *status quaestionis* of the study of the literature of Adam and Eve. I had worked on aspects of the Adam material previously, including the discovery and publication of the Armenian primary Adam book, the *Penitence of Adam*.¹ Indeed, the first article I published after completing my doctoral thesis was on an Armenian Adam book, *Death of Adam*.² The survey required by the SNTS presentation led me systematically to study the Adam literature and, soon after, to write a book presenting the known works.³ Subsequently, I decided to work on Armenian Adam writings in a more systematic way, publishing a volume of texts, two volumes of concordances, and a number of articles.⁴ Several Armenian Adam texts that I have since discovered still remain unpublished, and one volume of the planned concordances lies half done in a drawer. I plan to publish these if possible.

The apocryphal literature attests to just one of the ways in which the Adam and Eve stories were rewritten within and influenced Armenian culture. To complete the picture, I decided not to look only at Adam apocrypha, of which there is an abundance in Armenian,⁵ but also at how the stories of Genesis 1–3 were reflected in Armenian literature. I was not interested in purely theological issues, nor in the simple use of such typology as the Old and New Adam in itself, although on occasion the typological passages bear narrative elements within them. This undertaking had two main goals. First, to see how the Armenians handled the biblical narrative and to try to isolate and specific retellings or interpretations that reflected particular theological or, indeed, historical circumstances. The other was to try to find out when the Armenian apocryphal Adam literature started to be reflected in dated authors and thus to get some idea of the dating of the Armenian Adam literature, which cannot have originated much before its attestation in the known authors. The present book is the outcome of this project.

1. Stone 1981a.

2. Stone 1973a.

3. This led to the publication, shortly thereafter, of Stone 1992.

4. These are all listed in the bibliography below.

5. Stone 1992; 1996a.

In further detail, we may say that the Adamic narrative was very influential because the stories of Adam and Eve played a constitutive and structural role in the Christian worldview. The economy of salvation—the *historia sacra*—commenced with Adam and Eve and concluded with the redemptive acts of Christ's life and death. Christ, the new Adam, undid and reversed the situation that the first Adam's actions had created. Adam and Eve's deeds were the first act of a cosmic drama with a happy ending.⁶ The protological events directly caused the dire situation of the world, but they were also pregnant with the promise of ultimate redemption.

The way the stories were told, therefore, often reflected the nature of the quandary in which the teller or the teller's generation perceived themselves to be living. The enrichment, nuancing, interpretation, and indeed the changing of the biblical story may teach us how its later narrators perceived the human condition. Naturally, not every expansion or change of the biblical narrative was a response to a specific aporia. A playful or inquisitive spirit could be responsible for one detail; a nontendentious embellishment of the stark biblical narrative could engender another. Nonetheless, the retelling of the story frequently reveals the narrator's and the intended reader's contexts and concerns.

At certain times, it seems, apocryphal elements flooded the Armenian Adam tradition. When did this happen? Into which genres of literature did such elements penetrate? Why? When traditions or features of Armenian texts parallel or are drawn from known patristic sources, we must assess the significance of such dependency.⁷ Whole patristic commentaries and homilies were translated into Armenian, such as works of Ephrem the Syrian, John Chrysostom, and Eusebius of Emesa. Others were excerpted in *catenae*.⁸ When a particular element occurs in such translated works, it cannot be assigned special significance. However, when such an element is taken up from a non-Armenian source and incorporated into a work composed in Armenian, its significance is enhanced. Such questions have guided us in the presentation of the evidence.

The book has two parts. Part 1 is composed of five chapters, divided chronologically. They cover the period from the inception of Armenian writing in the early fifth century to the end of the seventeenth century. Following a section of "General Considerations," the chapters deal with four main subjects: (1) The

6. This may be seen clearly, for example, in the work *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* published by Stone (1996, 8–79; 1999, 21–36). A variant on the drama of Satan's deceit of Adam is the form of the story of the contract between Adam and Satan traced out in Stone 2002; and *The Cheirograph of Adam*, in Stone 2000c, 149–66.

7. Instances of such dependency have been repeatedly highlighted by Robert W. Thomson, among others, in his comments on a large number of Armenian texts.

8. Bibliography of such translations may be found in Zarbhanalean (1889) and Thomson (1995) and Petrosyan and Ter Step'anyan (2002). Few collections of Armenian *catenae* have been published, but note, most recently, Vardan Aygekc'i 1988.

Creation of Human Beings; (2) The Garden of Eden; (3) Satan; and (4) Sin and Its Results. Each of these main subjects is divided into sections and subsections, and these are numbered and titled identically throughout the five chapters of the book. Because the sections and subsections are identical throughout, they represent a maximal range of material. A section or subsection is introduced when its subject is first encountered in the texts studied but subsequently is left without content if its subject does not occur in the centuries being discussed in a particular chapter. In these sections and subsections the views forwarded on the subject to which they are devoted are presented, analyzed, and discussed, based on the excerpts to be found in part 2. Generally, in part 1, when texts are quoted, the quotations are only of the English translation, unless the Armenian itself is germane to the point being made. I have also added some remarks on the exegesis lying behind the statements made and, in the first chapter, some comparative Greek and Syriac material. My primary purpose throughout is to present the Armenian tradition, elucidating those views of the narrative that lay behind subsequent Armenian interpretations—theological, exegetical, literary, and sometimes artistic.

Thus, the five chapters present a synchronic treatment of what Armenian literature says about the main subjects arising from the narrative in Genesis 1–3. At the end of part 1, in an appendix, a diachronic treatment of one single subject, Satan and the Serpent, is given. This is a probe, an example of the type of analysis possible when drawing on the synchronic presentation in the five chapters. In part 1, I indicate the cited authors' century by the notation C6, C7, C8, and so on, on the first occurrence of each name in a paragraph. The indexes and bibliography at the end of the book relate only to part 1.

Part 2 is a corpus of excerpts from all the literature in Armenian that has been published, apart from the books of the Apocrypha. The authors excerpted are arranged alphabetically within each century from the fifth to the seventeenth.⁹ Each work cited in this second part of the book is provided with a bibliography, both of the text used, such translations as exist, and other significant editions. A List of Authors Excerpted, arranged alphabetically indicating centuries, provides a key to part 2 of the present work. Most of the translations are original, but for certain works existing translations have been used. I have indicated when this is the case. The capitalization and punctuation of the Armenian texts follow the sources quoted.

All Armenian authors are cited by name and toponym or other title if appropriate. "C13," and the like, indicates the century of the author's floruit. A brief biographical note on each author is to be found at the end of the book. Further

9. One eighteenth-century author is added at the end, whose writings are very close to the preceding tradition.

bibliographical indications may readily be found in Thomson 1995 and, about later authors, in Bardakjian 2000. Much information is also given in Bogharian 1971.

Within the section devoted to an author, each separate excerpt is given a sequential number. This excerpt is then referred to as, for example, “Grigor Narekac‘i 1, and this practice is followed throughout the book.

PART I

THE ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS IN ARMENIAN

OUTLINE

1. ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS IN FIFTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN LITERATURE

0.0 General Considerations

1.0 The Creation

- 1.1 The Creation of Human Beings
 - 1.1.1 The Time of Creation
 - 1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created
 - 1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation
 - 1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation
 - 1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory
 - 1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality
 - 1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation
 - 1.1.8 Adam's Language
- 1.2 The Ranking of Creation
- 1.3 Humans and Angels
- 1.4 Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment
- 1.5 Angels Dwell in Light
- 1.6 Humankind in the Image

2.0 The Garden of Eden

- 2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden
- 2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees
- 2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?
- 2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden
- 2.5 The Creation of the Animals
- 2.6 Naming by Adam
- 2.7 The Type of Tree
- 2.8 Eve, Traditions about

3.0 Satan

- 3.1 Satan and the Serpent
- 3.2 The Fall of Satan
- 3.3 Satan's Envy
- 3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results

4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin

4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

4.2 The Results of Sin

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World

4.2.2. Death and Corruption

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan

4.2.6. Other Punishments

4.3 God, Footsteps of

4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements

4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion

4.6 Arajawor Fast

4.7 Cheiograph

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

2. ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS

IN SIXTH- TO ELEVENTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN LITERATURE

0.0 General Considerations

1.0 The Creation

1.1 The Creation of Human Beings

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

1.1.8 Adam's Language

1.2 The Ranking of Creation

1.3 Humans and Angels

1.4 Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment

1.5 Angels Dwell in Light

1.6 Humankind in the Image

2.0 The Garden of Eden

2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden

- 2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees
- 2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?
- 2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden
- 2.5 The Creation of the Animals
- 2.6 Naming by Adam
- 2.7 The Type of Tree
- 2.8 Eve, Traditions about

3.0 Satan

- 3.1 Satan and the Serpent
- 3.2 The Fall of Satan
- 3.3 Satan's Envy
- 3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results

- 4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin
 - 4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve
 - 4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner
- 4.2 The Results of Sin
 - 4.2.1 Change in the Nature of World
 - 4.2.2 Death and Corruption
 - 4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory
 - 4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments
 - 4.2.5. Under the Control of Satan
 - 4.2.6. Other Punishments
- 4.3 God, Footsteps of
- 4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements
- 4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion
- 4.6 Arajawor Fast
- 4.7 Cheirograph

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

3. ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS IN TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN LITERATURE

0.0 General Considerations

1.0 The Creation

- 1.1 The Creation of Human Beings
 - 1.1.1 The Time of Creation
 - 1.1.2 Material from Which Adam Was Created
 - 1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

- 1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation
- 1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory
- 1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality
- 1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation
- 1.1.8 Adam's Language

- 1.2 The Ranking of Creation
- 1.3 Humans and Angels
- 1.4 Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment
- 1.5 Angels Dwell in Light
- 1.6 Humankind in the Image

2.0 The Garden of Eden

- 2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden
- 2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees
- 2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?
- 2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden
- 2.5 The Creation of the Animals
- 2.6 Naming by Adam
- 2.7 The Type of Tree
- 2.8 Eve, Traditions about

3.0 Satan

- 3.1 Satan and the Serpent
- 3.2 The Fall of Satan
- 3.3 Satan's Envy
- 3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results

- 4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin
 - 4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve
 - 4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner
- 4.2 The Results of Sin
 - 4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World
 - 4.2.2 Death and Corruption
 - 4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory
 - 4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments
 - 4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan
 - 4.2.6 Other Punishments
- 4.3 God, Footsteps of
- 4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements
- 4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion
- 4.6 Araġawor Fast
- 4.7 Cheirograph

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

4. ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS IN FOURTEENTH- AND FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN LITERATURE

0.0 General Considerations

1.0 The Creation

- 1.1 The Creation of Human Beings
 - 1.1.1 The Time of Creation
 - 1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created
 - 1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation
 - 1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation
 - 1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory
 - 1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality
 - 1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation
 - 1.1.8 Adam's Language
- 1.2 The Ranking of Creation
- 1.3 Humans and Angels
- 1.4 Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment
- 1.5 Angels Dwell in Light
- 1.6 Humankind in the Image

2.0 The Garden of Eden

- 2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden
- 2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees
- 2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?
- 2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden
- 2.5 The Creation of the Animals
- 2.6 Naming by Adam
- 2.7 The Type of Tree
- 2.8 Eve, Traditions about

3.0 Satan

- 3.1 Satan and the Serpent
- 3.2 The Fall of Satan
- 3.3 Satan's Envy
- 3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results

- 4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin
 - 4.1.1. Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve
 - 4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

4.2 The Results of Sin

- 4.2.1 Change in Nature of World
- 4.2.2 Death and Corruption
- 4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory
- 4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments
- 4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan
- 4.2.6 Other Punishments

4.3 God, Footsteps of**4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements****4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion****4.6 Arajawor Fast****4.7 Cheirograph****5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions**

5. ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS

IN SIXTEENTH- TO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN LITERATURE

0.0 General Considerations**1.0 The Creation****1.1 The Creation of Human Beings**

- 1.1.1 The Time of Creation
- 1.1.2 Material from Which Adam Was Created
- 1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation
- 1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation
- 1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory
- 1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality
- 1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation
- 1.1.8 Adam's Language

1.2 The Ranking of Creation**1.3 Humans and Angels****1.4 Angels' function and Adam's Commandment****1.5 Angels Dwell in Light****1.6 Humankind in the Image****2.0 The Garden of Eden****2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden****2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees****2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?****2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden****2.5 The Creation of the Animals****2.6 Naming by Adam**

- 2.7 The Type of Tree
- 2.8 Eve, Traditions about

3.0 Satan

- 3.1 Satan and the Serpent
- 3.2 The Fall of Satan
- 3.3 Satan's Envy
- 3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results

- 4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin
 - 4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve
 - 4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner
- 4.2 Results of Sin
 - 4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World
 - 4.2.2 Death and Corruption
 - 4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory
 - 4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments
 - 4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan
 - 4.2.6 Other Punishments
- 4.3 God, Footsteps of
- 4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements
- 4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion
- 4.6 Aṛaḵawor Fast
- 4.7 Cheiograph

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

APPENDIX: SATAN AND THE SERPENT

1.0 Introductory Remarks

- 1.0.1 The Serpent
- 1.1 Satan and the Serpent
 - 1.1.1 Metaphors: Possession or Indwelling
 - 1.1.2 Metaphors: Instrument
 - 1.1.3 Metaphor: Sexual Overtones
- 1.2 Satan Deceives the Serpent
- 1.3 The *Višap* Dragon and Its Identification with Satan
- 1.4 Are Satan, Serpent, and Dragon Distinguished?
- 1.5 Psalm 73 and the Baptism
- 1.6 Language of Fighting

2.0 The Fall of Satan

- 2.1 The Fall of Satan: Background
- 2.2 The Fall of Satan: In Armenian Texts
- 2.3 Satan's Status before the Fall
- 2.4 Satan as Rebellious but Unspecified
- 2.5 The Fall of Satan: Primordial/Lucifer

3.0 Satan's Envy

- 3.1 Satan Is Envious of the Human State
- 3.2 Satan's Envy of Man's Paradisiacal and Future State
- 3.3 Satan, Deception by
- 3.4 Punishment and Curses of Satan

4.0 Curses of the Serpent

Concluding Remarks

1. ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS IN FIFTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN LITERATURE

0.0 GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

This first chapter is devoted to presenting references to the Adam and Eve stories in the writings of the first century of Armenian literacy.¹ For this purpose I examined works known to have been composed in Armenian in the fifth century.² The Armenian texts of all works were consulted together with such modern translations as exist.³

The dates of certain relevant works, notably the *History of the Armenians* by Movsēs Xorenac'i and *The History of Vardan and the Armenian War* by Elišē vardapet, are disputed. It seems to us that the arguments for a post-fifth-century dating of the current form of the work of Movsēs Xorenac'i have some plausibility,⁴ while those for Elišē's *History* less so. I have treated these authors accordingly. Agat'angelos, whose work includes the *Teaching of St. Gregory*, figures prominently in the following analysis and is by far the most systematic and extensive fifth-century source relating to Adam and Eve. Eznik, too, dealt with theological and polemical themes at some length.

1. The present chapter concentrates on literary texts because, for the fifth century, there are only literary sources. Later the Adam cycle comes to play a great role in Armenian art: see, e.g., T. F. Mathews 1982, but that would form another study. In this chapter, authors of the fifth century do not have "C5" following their names, but these century indicators are added to the names of later writers mentioned. An earlier form of this chapter was published in Stone 2006.

2. Eusebius of Emesa's *Commentary on Genesis* and some of his *Homilies* were also consulted, as well as the Armenian-language Genesis commentary attributed to Ephrem the Syrian. These works were early translated into Armenian and were influential. According to E. G. Mathews 1998, the commentary attributed to Ephrem is later, and I have used it with some circumspection in this chapter. These non-Armenian writings have been regarded as supporting, not primary, evidence.

3. For *The Teaching of St. Gregory*, I have used the revised translation of Thomson 2001. In part 2, the excerpts, I have suggested some alternative translations.

4. This is not to deny the antiquity of the sources and traditions contained in the work.

1.0 THE CREATION

1.1 THE CREATION OF HUMAN BEINGS

Agat'angelos calls humans "creations of your hands" and elsewhere, using similar language, he says, "having created man with his own hands."⁵ This particular formulation does not appear in the Bible, but it is inferred by contrasting Gen 2:7, "And the Lord God made man, dust from the earth," with the acts of creation that were mentioned in Genesis 1, which are all by speech or divine command. *4 Ezra* 3:5; 8:7, 44, etc., say that God created Adam with his hands, and in *4 Ezra* 3:5 we read ստեղծե՛ր անսալական ձեռոք քո զմարդն, "you created man with your incorruptible hands."⁶ This piece of ancient exegesis is embedded in Agat'angelos, and it occurs twice, indicating its firm place in his ideas. Points of contact between the Armenian version of *4 Ezra* and Agat'angelos have been observed in the past, and both texts are of the fifth century.⁷ The idea is older, of course.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

In Eusebius of Emesa's works we find the statement that Adam was created on the sixth day, which is not in the least surprising in light of Genesis 1.⁸ Eusebius's texts were translated into Armenian in the fifth century, but the idea finds no strong echo in Armenian sources in the fifth century. In texts discussed below, where the analogy between Adam's sin and expulsion and Christ's crucifixion is developed, Adam's creation is set on Friday, as is the sin.⁹ This and other chronological elements developed into a complex typology.¹⁰

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

Adam was called thus because he was created from clay: "And because of that he was named Adam, because he was made from clay."¹¹ This is based on Adam = Hebrew *'ādāmā* and is to be compared with *Onomastica Sacra* Ona 1.1 Ադամ. երկիր կոյս կամ երկիր մարմնացեալ (կամ յերկրէ կամ երկիր

5. Agat'angelos 2 and 17.

6. See Stone 1990a; compare also Stone 1990b, 6-7.

7. See Stone 1973a, 591-94; 1979, 35.

8. Eusebius of Emesa, *Commentary on Genesis* §17 (Petit et al. 2011, 55).

9. See, e.g., *Adam Story* 2 (Stone 1992, 109-13). Adam's death was often put on Friday, by both Armenian and non-Armenian sources, see *Cave of Treasures* (Bezold 1888, 1.9), *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (Malan 1882, 2:29), and *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §96. Of course, the crucifixion also took place on a Friday; see also §4.4 below.

10. See chapter 2 §4.4. See Mambrē 4. This comes up already in early Christian literature; see Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

11. Eznik 44 and 49; compare Agat'angelos 12.

կարմիր), “Adam, virgin earth or incarnated earth (or from earth or red earth).” Note that the onomastic text uses երկիր (“earth”) and not կալ (“clay”) (Eznik) for the material from which Adam was created, while the Bible uses հող (“dust”).¹²

Yačaxapatum Ćark’ 3 reads, “And, having made man from four materials, he breathed into him the spirit, living and immortal and intelligent and logical.” This statement endows the biblical text with two new patterns of meaning. “Dust from the earth” is taken as “four materials,” that is, the four elements, while the spirit here is interpreted as both vivifying and intelligent or rational.¹³ This exegesis of “dust from the ground” is not found anywhere else in the fifth-century Armenian sources I examined, though it occurs in earlier Greek and Syriac sources, cited in n. 13.¹⁴ In 2 *En.* 30:13 (probably first century C.E.) we read, “And I assigned to him [i.e., Adam] a name from the four components: from East (A); from West (D); from North (A); from south (M).” In his note on this passage, F. I. Andersen refers to the fact that the anagram is based on Greek.¹⁵ This, however, is not the same as the tradition in the *Yačaxapatum Ćark’*, which speaks of four elements, though it may be cognate with it.¹⁶

12. See on the use of կալ, chapter 2 §§1.1.2 and 3.2 and appendix §3.2. Dust is mentioned throughout the book (*passim*). “Red” comes from connecting Adam (Hebrew *’ādām*) with “red” (Hebrew *’ādōm*).

13. This question of the relationship between the “dust” and the four elements becomes a major topic in succeeding centuries; see chapter 2 §1.1.2 and subsequent discussions. According to 2 *En.* recension J, ch. 30, Adam was created from seven natural elements, each part of him from a different element: thus the flesh from the earth, etc. This text much resembles a later document known as *Adam octopartitus* according to which Adam was created of eight elements; see Stone 1992, 90, and further bibliography there. The չորից նիւթոց (“of four materials”) refers to the standard four elements, which idea had become commonplace: air, fire, earth, and water. This interpretation is found in *Cave of Treasures* (Bezold 1888, 2:6); *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers* 3:20; and Fiensy 1985, 7.34.6. The word “materials” often means “elements” in such contexts.

14. The same view is implied by the *Commentary on Joshua and Judges* attributed to Elišē 2, which speaks of the “fourfold materials” from which this world is made. It is found much more explicitly in later literature. Thus, for example, a poem by Xaç’atur Keč’arec’i C13 entitled “From Four Elements” deals with the creation of Adam. It commences, “From the four elements of the earth I created dust-made [literally, “dusty”] man”; see Xaç’atur Keč’arec’i 4. Intriguingly, the implicit and explicit contrasts inhering in the text of *Yačaxapatum Ćark’* are taken up by Xaç’atur, viz., “earth” — “four elements”, “earth” — “dust”, and “Adam” — “man”. There are traditions that the dust from which Adam was made was taken from the four corners of the earth. See the much later Greek text quoted by Megas 1928, 309. The universe is made of all four elements according to Philo, *De opificio mundi* 52.

15. Charlesworth 1983, 1:152. 2.

16. That passage in 2 *En.* 30:13 has an additional fourfold attribution to Adam.

In Elišē 8 we read:

The prophet said well that there are three worlds: the Creator, and worlds and man. God (corresponds to the) intelligible world; world (corresponds to the) sensible <world>; man (corresponds to the) sensible and intelligible world.

This passage once again reflects the same idea, that man is a combination of the earth and the spirit, here of the sensible and intelligible. This seems to have been the basic way the creation of humans related in Gen 2:7 was understood in fifth-century Armenian thought.¹⁷

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

The common view in the sources I examined was that humans were created for eternal life and immortality in a joyous state. This occurs in Agat'angelos, who expands it with the notion that God intended to transfer humans from an earthly to an angelic condition,¹⁸ and he cites Enoch as an example of the path they would have followed had they not sinned. In the Armenian tradition there are many later speculations about Enoch's role, and it is not always possible to discern how far these views are based on early sources. Agat'angelos's statement, however, that Enoch achieved an angelic and immortal state in the Garden shows that this early Armenian author was already familiar with developed traditions about Enoch.¹⁹

As noted in §1.6 below, in early Armenian thought wisdom was a dominant characteristic of the prelapsarian Adam. Agat'angelos repeatedly stresses that God made Adam wise.²⁰ Similarly *Yačaxapatum Čark'* says that Adam had wisdom and spiritual knowledge that derived from the breath or spirit that God breathed into him (Gen 2:7).²¹ Furthermore, Agat'angelos interprets Gen 1:26's statement that God created Adam in his image to imply that Adam has the wisdom²² to recognize God's grace, to know the creatures, and to name the beasts.²³ In more general terms, Adam is granted wisdom for reasons that are very clearly connected directly with the overall purpose of the creation of humankind.²⁴

17. We do not find this exegesis of Gen 2:7 in the Greek patristic sources that are cited by Harl (1986, 100–101) and Alexandre (1988, 241–44). See further discussion below in §1.6.

18. Agat'angelos 2 and 3.

19. *Jub.* 4:23 already expresses this view. VanderKam 1984 analyzes the ancient sources relating to Enoch, and Stone 2010, 517–30 presents Armenian sources on Enoch. In any case, the view Agat'angelos expresses here implies familiarity with apocryphal traditions about Enoch.

20. Agat'angelos 6, 25, and elsewhere.

21. *Yačaxapatum Čark'* 3.

22. This is already to be found in Clement of Alexandria; see Alexandre 1988, 184–85.

23. Observe that in Armenian Gen 3:1, the serpent is called իմաստասէր, literally, “wiser, more discerning,” reflecting the Hebrew *‘ārūm*, rendered often by English “subtle.”

24. That wisdom is related to the image or spirit of God with which Genesis 1–2 says that God endowed Adam.

The picture emerging so far is that God created Adam for eternal life and for eventual transfer to an angelic state. He granted him wisdom, either through the divine breath or as a result of his creation in the image, which are understood as alternative formulations of the same idea.²⁶ Wisdom or discernment enabled Adam to recognize the creatures and thus to name them, and also to recognize God's grace, which God shows above all by taking on a human image in the incarnation. So far Agat'angelos's teaching is clear, and the same is echoed also by the *Yaṣaxapatum Čark'*. The word ἡσυχία, which I have translated as "wisdom," often has a sense more like "discernment" or "perception." Perhaps this is the reason that Adam, despite being so discerning, acted so unwisely as to sin.²⁷ According to P'awstos Buzand, when Adam and Eve transgressed they "fell into death."²⁸

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

25. Agat'angelos 17.

27. One is tempted to contrast this with the Valentinian Gnostic notion that Sophia was the emanation of the Godhead that sinned by making a mistake. Equally, the statement above does not negate the strong contrast between the protoplasts' deliberate sin according to various interpretations of Genesis 2–3 and the error of judgment or the “innocent” mistake they made according to the Cheirograph legend. On this, see Stone 1997, 167–79 and 2002, 16–17, 115–16.

29. Elišē 4. This passage is discussed also in §1.6 below.

the image in which Adam was created is interpreted as being a likeness of God's glory.³⁰

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

1.1.8 Adam's Language

1.2 THE RANKING OF CREATION

The idea of the ranking of creatures is rather developed in Agat'angelos's writings. On the one hand, Adam is "a more humble companion to the angels," while on the other, compared with the other creatures, "God glorified man alone most magnificently."³¹ One result of this is that each creature has a duty of obedience relating to "each of the things ordered for it, according to the commandments for each of them." Agat'angelos goes on to say that "only the will of man has been left autonomous to do whatever he wills."³²

1.3 HUMANS AND ANGELS

Psalm 8:4–5 = Arm 8:5–6 reads: "Who is man that you remember him . . . ? 5 you made him a little lower than your angels; you crowned him with glory and honor." Compare also Heb 2:7 and 2:9, where this passage is cited and interpreted.³³ These verses were applied to Adam by Agat'angelos as a way of drawing a distinction between humans and angels.³⁴

Agat'angelos's *Teaching of St. Gregory* calls Adam, who was created in the image of God, "wondrous" and "angelic."³⁵ Agat'angelos said elsewhere, "But God honored mankind alone manifold and enriched them with a mind, and made (them)³⁶ partly spiritual, a more humble companion to the angels."³⁷ Adam and angels both have discernment and free will, but humans are lower in the ranking of creation, for "benevolent God has created everything, establishing the ranks

30. See §1.6 below, where the image and the term "stamped" are discussed.

31. Agat'angelos 14.

32. Agat'angelos 16.

33. The role played by this psalm in the development of early Adam traditions was explored by Anderson 2000.

34. Agat'angelos 14.

35. Agat'angelos 11. Observe that in the apocryphal Adam books Satan "took on the form of an angel" (*Pen. Adam* 44.17.1). In *Book of Adam* 17.1–2 Satan appears "in the form of an angel."

36. Literally: him.

37. Agat'angelos 14. Thomson translates differently and see Part 2, notes on this excerpt.

of created being.”³⁸ In fact, as Agat’angelos points out, both Adam and an angel chose to disobey God’s command. So both had free will and “wisdom.” The difference is that angels are completely spiritual and dwell in heaven, while humans are assigned to this earth.³⁹

1.4 ANGELS’ FUNCTION AND ADAM’S COMMANDMENT

In Agat’angelos, angels are called “glorifiers,” and he repeatedly asserts that the main function of the angels is praise.⁴⁰ Elsewhere we read “by his command is all arranged; his holy and heavenly Watchers stand in ceaseless praising.”⁴¹ Thus he says, “moreover, a command was laid upon the multitude of hosts of angels, to remain in their unceasing praising of the Creator, who had made them dwell in great honor and glory.” In this passage the command to glorify eternally and unceasingly that is laid upon the angels is contrasted with the minor command given to Adam not to eat of the tree. God gave and arranged the commands so that humans and angels would each be able to obey the divine command laid upon them.⁴²

Heightening the parallel between humans and angels, Agat’angelos relates Satan’s revolt.⁴³ Both humans and angels were given commands in accordance with their abilities and natures. They both have free will and can, therefore, disobey should they wish; and, indeed, both the protoplasts and Satan acted against divine commands.⁴⁴ Elsewhere their conduct is contrasted with that of other elements of nature, which are obedient to God, an idea comparable to *1 En.* 2–5.⁴⁵ This is expressed well by the following text: “See the sun and moon and stars! How much greater than man are they, and they are of his will, obligated by the requirement of the command.”⁴⁶

In fifth-century Armenian literature, these ideas are not limited to Agat’angelos. Eznik discusses free will. He stresses that the obedience of the powers and of natural forces results from their having no free will, while the whole point of human free will is to reward humans for their obedience to God’s

38. Agat’angelos 10.

39. Agat’angelos 10.

40. Agat’angelos 10.

41. Agat’angelos 15. Angelic praise is a common theme in both Jewish and Christian liturgical texts. See works such as *Testament of Adam*, *Ascension of Isaiah*, etc. It recurs in Armenian writings of all periods, as can be observed below.

42. Agat’angelos 23. Intriguingly, in a somewhat different context in Agat’angelos 9, humans are supposed to praise God, who gave them wisdom, and all creatures should praise God through humans. The idea of the praise of God by all the various creatures occurs in *Testament of Adam* and also the Hebrew *Pereq Širah*; see Stone 1982, 54–56.

43. See §3.2 for a detailed discussion of the fall of Satan.

44. Agat’angelos 23 and 24.

45. See also Stone 1987; and Hartman 1979.

46. Agat’angelos 15.

command.⁴⁷ These ideas cohere fully with Agat'angelos's views and will be further discussed in §1.6 below. *Yačaxapatum Čark'* also reflects the idea that both humans and angels have free will, and it relates this free will to the idea of the image.⁴⁸ God created humans with free will, so they might achieve reward and immortality for observing his commandments.⁴⁹ Eznik also asserts that Satan had free will, which follows from the above ideas about angelic obedience.⁵⁰ God commanded Adam not to eat of the tree, so that he could reward him. As Agat'angelos says, Adam was given a small command, a very limited commitment so "that thereby He might make him worthy to receive greater things." For this reason Adam was created with free will.⁵¹ Otherwise his obedience would not make him worthy of the ultimate reward, for human obedience was not built into the cosmic order as was the obedience of the luminaries.

Yovhannēs Mandakuni's writings exhibit the same view of Adam's commandment. Instead of the Armenian word for "commandment," which would reflect the biblical text, he uses the Armenian word for "fast" (յուհք). This word may indicate not just a full fast but abstinence from some specific food, and in Yovhannēs Mandakuni's context it functions as "commandment" does in other texts. Thus, he says that had Adam observed the fast, "he would have inherited life without blemish, and immortal and sinless, and in heaven, the heavenly goodness."⁵² In all these texts the idea is not that Adam would have remained in the paradisiacal state but that he would have achieved fulfillment as an immortal being in the heavens. He was already in paradise; the commandment is designed to enable him to supersede paradise and achieve heavenly perfection.

1.5 ANGELS DWELL IN LIGHT

The idea that the angels dwell in the heavenly light and that their main function is to praise God emerges clearly from the following passage of Agat'angelos: "But a command was laid upon the multitude of hosts of angels to remain in their unceasing praising of the Creator, who had placed them⁵³ in great honor and glory, in the invisible magnitude of the upper heavenly eternal light."⁵⁴

47. Eznik 3.

48. See §1.6 below.

49. *Yačaxapatum Čark'* 3, which is also discussed above.

50. Eznik 17–19.

51. Agat'angelos 16; see also 23.

52. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 1. The understanding of Adam's commandment as a fast developed extensively in later times; see chapter 2 §2.2, chapter 3 §§1.4, 4.6.

53. MES: made them dwell.

54. Agat'angelos 23.

1.6 HUMANKIND IN THE IMAGE

In §1.4 above, I touched on the idea that Adam's discernment and free will come from his creation in the image. In the present section, I shall explore these notions in greater detail. Agat'angelos relates the "spirit" of Gen 2:7 to the intellectual faculties when he says that the spirit is the "intelligence-bearing intellect" that was granted to man so that he might witness God's beneficent activity. Likewise he says, "you fashioned man (as) dust from the earth, and established the discerning one."⁵⁵ The first part of this quotation is drawn, more or less literally, from Gen 2:7a, while elsewhere the second part of that verse, which describes the inbreathing of the spirit, is paraphrased as his receiving "wise intelligence."⁵⁶ This accords with other passages in Agat'angelos, and, as Thomson remarks, the mind is "the faculty of rational thought and choice, rather than the faculty of intuitive reason."⁵⁷ A similar view and phraseology are found in P'awstos Buzand, who says that God is the one "who made man from the very dust and made this one rational, gifted with speech, wise (or: discerning) and endowed with free will." This seems to be another exegesis or paraphrase of Gen 2:7.⁵⁸ This passage of P'awstos Buzand is, according to Garsoïan, "consonant with the standard theological position of the early Armenian church as found in contemporary works."⁵⁹

Yačaxapatum Čark', in a passage discussed above, goes on to say that in humans the spiritual was mixed with the bodily so that they might demonstrate their faithfulness.⁶⁰ This idea is connected with the notion that man has free will, which is the meaning of "the image". The understanding of "spirit" as wisdom or mind leads to the idea that humans had free choice and could choose to be faithful or unfaithful. The "image" language is drawn from Gen 1:26–27 while the "spirit" language derives from Gen 2:7. Both passages describe the creation of Adam, and the fifth century Armenian authors interpret them both to mean that Adam was wise or intelligent, as a result of which he had free will.

The spirit or the image, then, is understood as wisdom or discernment, a quality humans must possess in order to have free will. The texts discussed here stem chiefly from our major source, the *Teaching of St. Gregory*, but the idea occurs in other fifth century authorities as well. Thus, according to P'awstos

55. Agat'angelos 6. Perhaps translate, "you established the wise one"; Thomson gives "and rendered him wise..

56. Agat'angelos 17.

57. Agat'angelos 12–14. See Thomson 2001, 67, discussing §265.

58. In P'awstos Buzand the verb is *unētef* ("to make, do"), while in Genesis and in Agat'angelos it is *unēḡuētef* ("to create"). Compare P'awstos Buzand I and Agat'angelos 6.

59. Garsoïan 1989, 274. She observed the parallels between this passage of P'awstos Buzand and the *Teaching of St. Gregory* of Agat'angelos, which I also highlighted above.

60. *Yačaxapatum Čark'* 3.

Buzand, creation in the image means that humans were endowed with free will,⁶¹ a virtually identical line of exegesis. Eznik states that God created humans with free will, which was inherited by their descendants.⁶² Eznik and Agat'angelos both expound the idea that the forces of nature, which are obedient to God, are not endowed with free will, which was a particular quality of humans and angels (see §1.4 above).

There are other views of the image of God. The more literal interpretation of the image is that the appearance of humans is related to the way in which God chose to appear.⁶³ In creating Adam from the dust of the earth and inbreathing the life-giving breath of wise intelligence through his mouth, God chose to appear in human form. Thus, Agat'angelos says, the creature, opening his eyes, might be able to see the Creator and become familiar with, aware of, and a witness to the benevolent, creative activity of God. The essential Deity is invisible but took shape for the sake of visible creatures, so "that they might be able to see Him, for this reason He took on a visible likeness and the power of expression."⁶⁴ As a result, Adam first named the Creator before he named the animals, because he saw the Creator before he saw the animals, and the animals were created in order to make the Creator known to Adam.⁶⁵ The naming of God is related to the idea of his being recognizable by humans, and the naming of God and of the animals is connected with Adam's God-given discernment. Agat'angelos continues to develop this idea and says that God appeared to subsequent generations using the same image as he had to Adam so that humans might recognize him as the God who appeared to their fathers.⁶⁶

The same view is to be found in Eznik, who says, "And when He wished to appear to His saints, He does not reveal himself in any other form, but only in the form of a human whom He made according to His own image."⁶⁷ So, this is another aspect of the image of God; he chose human form for Adam and his descendants and indeed, for himself incarnated in Christ. This latter point is taken up in *Yačaxapatum Čark'*, which says that "after his image" means "according to the appearance of the incarnate Christ."⁶⁸

A third line of thought connects the image with Adam's pristine glory, and Elišē writes that God's image was impressed on Adam who was "elevated . . .

61. See P'awstos 2 and Garsoñan 1989, 274.

62. Eznik 3.

63. See below in this section.

64. Agat'angelos 18 and 19. The problem that the image created for these thinkers is analogous to that aroused by the Bible's reference to the sound of God's footstep (Gen 3:8; see §4.3 below). In both cases, anthropomorphism created the difficulty. The image was a much more complex problem than the divine footfall, because of the incarnation.

65. Agat'angelos 19.

66. Agat'angelos 41 and 42. Compare in general terms Exod 6:3 on God's name.

67. Eznik 35.

68. *Yačaxapatum Čark'* 3.

to the likeness of his immortal image and incorruptible glory.⁶⁹ This glory was lost with sin (see §4.2.3 below). The impression (τύπος) is a standard terminology already in Philo, its source lying, of course, in Plato.⁷⁰ Satan, Eznik says, was envious of the image.⁷¹

2.0 THE GARDEN OF EDEN

The early Armenian texts do not put great stress on the details of the Garden of Eden. Thus Agat'angelos does not go any further than Gen 2:8.⁷² This contrasts strongly with the elaborate descriptions of the Garden in, say, Ephrem's *Hymns on Paradise*.⁷³ *Yačaxapatum Čark'* reflects discussion about the nature of paradise. The author is at pains to assert that, in addition to being noetic (իմաստ[ի]), it was visible (տեսանելի) to the first man, although it is presently hidden from us according to God's deep wisdom.⁷⁴ The theological or intellectual context of this assertion is not clear from the other fifth-century Armenian texts I have examined, but we may infer from the formulation in *Yačaxapatum Čark'* that such a context did exist.

2.1 ADAM PLACED IN THE GARDEN

2.2 GOD SHOWED ADAM TWO TREES

Agat'angelos says that God showed two trees to Adam. In fact, this statement is a departure from the biblical text.⁷⁵ Although Gen 2:9 speaks of the creation of two trees, the biblical text does not mention God's showing the two trees to Adam, while the prohibition of Gen 2:15–16 refers to only one tree, the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This is an instance of exegetical inference from the biblical text and is not particular tendentious.

2.3 INTERCOURSE IN THE GARDEN?

Before the Fall, while clothed in glory, and perhaps before they were placed in the Garden, Adam and Eve had intercourse. Agat'angelos seems to imply this when he says, "And after our reproducing and increasing, you commanded us to live

69. Elišē 4.

70. See Runia 1986, 164; and Tobin 1983, 58.

71. Eznik 5.

72. Agat'angelos 23.

73. See, e.g., Hymn 11. These poems are readily available in Brock 1990.

74. *Yačaxapatum Čark'* 9.

75. Agat'angelos 23.

bodily, being clothed in glory without shame as with a garment in your Garden where you had placed us.”⁷⁶

Gary A. Anderson discusses the question whether rabbinic and early Christian sources thought that Adam and Eve had intercourse in the Garden.⁷⁷ He shows that rabbinic texts often say that Adam and Eve had sexual relations in the Garden.⁷⁸ Indeed, he argues that the main rabbinic tradition regards Adam and Eve as having intercourse in the Garden, while a more ancient Jewish tradition, present in *Jubilees*, puts this event outside the Garden. Conversely, the dominant early Syriac tradition represented by Ephrem, puts Adam and Eve’s intercourse outside the Garden, but the *Cave of Treasures* might imply that it took place in the Garden.⁷⁹

At first, Agat’angelos’s view on this point seems slightly unclear, but careful reading of §§276–77 (excerpts 22–23) clearly reveals that he is referring to intercourse before entry into the Garden.⁸⁰ In §276, having discussed the creation of Eve, he cites Gen 2:24: “He leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife, and the two will become one flesh,” observing that “he knew the total orders of this world and all its fulfilment.” The word “orders” here, like “course of life” (the same Armenian word) in §76, implies something like “conditions, ordering,” and the text here clearly teaches that Adam and Eve consummated their union immediately.⁸¹ In §277, the next stage of the drama ensues, the creation of Eden and the placing of the protoplasts in it. The section §§276–77 (excerpts 22–23) clearly implies that sexual intercourse is part of the order of life of bodily beings. They were intended to transcend the bodily life, and indeed Enoch transcended it, “for, after the pleasures of paradise and after this earthly course (of life), you would have transferred us, like Enoch, to the ranks of the angels.”⁸² Adam’s disobedience, of course, foiled the divine plan.

2.4 THE STATE OF ADAM IN THE GARDEN

As stated in the previous section, Adam had untroubled repose and pleasure in the Garden.⁸³

76. Agat’angelos 3.

77. Anderson 1989; see also the observations by Brock 1990, 29–33.

78. Anderson 1989, 126–31. On the whole, the Christian negative view of intercourse was influenced by ascetic ideals.

79. *Ibid.*

80. Agat’angelos 22–23.

81. Agat’angelos 3; with use of “orders” in excerpt 3, compare excerpt 7.

82. Agat’angelos 3.

83. Agat’angelos 2.

2.5 THE CREATION OF THE ANIMALS

The Armenian authors lay much stress on the fact that the circumstances of creation were such that Adam recognized who the Creator was. Agat'angelos says that God created Adam with his own hands and granted him awareness, so that he might become a witness to God's benevolent creative activity.⁸⁴ Elišē makes the same point, *mutatis mutandis*, in his *Commentary on Genesis*: "God created beasts and birds in Adam's sight, so that he would believe that the other things too were created in the same way."⁸⁵ This is perhaps a reaction to a contrary view prevalent in some circles at the time and, of course, in the order of creation in Genesis 1.

2.6 NAMING BY ADAM

Fifth-century Armenian authors speculate on Adam's naming of the beasts. On the one hand, Elišē's *Commentary on Genesis* presents the idea that naming turns the nonexistent into the existent and is therefore part of the process of creation: "Because they were going to receive names, and those who are without names are reckoned with the uncreated, as though the created come from the uncreated through that [i.e., receiving names]."⁸⁶

With this we may contrast Ephrem's treatment of the naming in his *Commentary on Genesis* 2.10. The ability to name is a reflection of Adam's God-given authority, since "to allocate thousands of names all in a single short moment, and to avoid any duplication between the first ones and the last, this is something which surpasses human ability."⁸⁷ Nothing of this occurs in the early Armenian sources I examined.

In *Teaching of St. Gregory* §273 (excerpt 19), Agat'angelos makes a paradoxical claim, that Adam must have named the Creator before he named the animals. The ability to name, Agat'angelos claims there, derives from Adam's creation in the image, which imparts "wisdom, rationality and princely honour" to him. The naming of the Creator implies that Adam recognized him and that Adam's naming of the animals flows from that recognition.⁸⁸

2.7 THE TYPE OF TREE

Certain texts identify the tree from which Adam and Eve ate as the fig tree. This is facilitated by the proximity of the description of the tree (Gen 3:6) to the

84. Agat'angelos 17.

85. Elišē 10.

86. Elišē 11.

87. Brock 1990, 204.

88. See Agat'angelos 19. This is also discussed above in §1.6. See also Stone 2007.

mention of the fig leaves (Gen 3:7). This view is found in Elišē 1.⁸⁹ The same identification might be implied by Mambrē, “the influence of the mortal tree was prevented, the leaf of the fig-tree was rent,” but that is not quite certain.⁹⁰

A different view is found in Elišē, *Commentary on Genesis*, excerpt 12. There he says that Scripture is silent about the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This seems to contradict Elišē’s own statement in the *War* cited immediately above. However, here Elišē’s point is that Scripture does not explicitly describe the fruit, only the tree, and he is not concerned with identifying this fruit.

2.8 EVE, TRADITIONS ABOUT

3.0 SATAN

3.1 SATAN AND THE SERPENT

The relationship between Satan and the serpent is described in a number of ways. Agat’angelos says that the serpent was a pack animal or a vehicle on which Satan rode.⁹¹ Eznik, however, seems simply to equate them.⁹² This relationship is the subject of much discussion in subsequent centuries.⁹³

In a passage of Elišē’s *Commentary on Joshua and Judges* we have what is basically an allegorical interpretation of the Genesis story of the temptation.⁹⁴ The serpent becomes pregnant with the forms of evil (presumably due to its possession by Satan). This pregnant female serpent then becomes male and overcomes the female part (= Eve) and strips her senses naked, causing the negation of the intellect. The serpent uses the fruit as the means to achieve this. The language of “war” and “vanquishing” is often used of Satan’s attack on Eve. For example, in *Pen. Adam* 11:3 we read “that you fight against us unnecessarily” and in 37(10):3 Eve upbraids the beast/serpent/Satan “that you dared to fight with the image of God.”

89. Elišē 1 = Thomson 1982, 79; see Megas 1928, 309. The rabbinic views about the identification of the tree varied, but the fig is prominent among them, as well as the grape and other produce; see Ginzberg 1909, 5:67. *Gen. Rab.* 15:7, like *Pen. Adam* [44](20):4 and Greek *Apoc. Mos.* 20:5 infers that the tree was a fig from the fact that Adam and Eve made their loincloths from fig leaves.

90. Mambrē 2.

91. Agat’angelos 5. This matter is discussed in the excursus below.

92. Eznik 6 and 9. Alexandre 1988, 297 observes that Cyril of Alexandria says that Satan is transformed into the serpent and speaks as such (*C. Julianum* 3 [PG 76:632b–c]).

93. For a diachronic presentation of this subject, see appendix §1.1.1–1.1.3.

94. Elišē 3. See, in detail, appendix 1.1.1–1.1.3.

3.2 THE FALL OF SATAN

In a text enumerating single sins in the past that have had major consequences, Yovhannēs Mandakuni writes, “Adam went out of the Garden because of one sin; . . . the trembling of Cain was because of one murder; . . . the fall of Satan was because of pride.”⁹⁵ There is an early version of the story of the fall of Satan that is related to Satan’s rebellion against God. When Adam was created, God ordered all the angels to bow down to him. Satan refused and for this reason he was cast out of heaven. This version of Satan’s fall occurs in *Penitence of Adam* chs. 12–16 and parallels. Anderson has shown that it was known to St. Ephrem as well.⁹⁶ Although this version of Satan’s fall is not mentioned explicitly in the fifth-century Armenian sources being studied here, the formulation in Yovhannēs Mandakuni indicates that he knew it.⁹⁷ This is also true of statements by Agat’angelos that are discussed in §3.3 below.⁹⁸ On the basis of this material, we may confidently conclude that in fifth-century Armenian literature the story of Satan’s fall was current in a version in which it preceded the story of his deception of Adam. In this form of the story, the cause of Satan’s fall was most likely his refusal to bow down to Adam, as is related in *Penitence of Adam*.⁹⁹

Eznik also deals with this problem, but he is concerned more about the question whether Satan was created evil or good. He became evil, he says, because of his enmity toward Adam:

Yet because of the enmity he harboured toward man, he wilfully became “the Devil” (Rev 2:10; 19:2; and 20:2). Having abandoned submission to God, he began to disobey and to teach man to oppose God’s commands, and subsequently he became like a rebel, and he turned away from God.¹⁰⁰

This passage, despite the term “rebel” and the language relating to obedience, is still not explicit about the fall, and it should, cautiously, be taken simply to refer to how Satan became wicked.

95. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 10.

96. G. A. Anderson, “The Fall of Satan in the Thought of St. Ephrem,” published online at <http://syrocom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol3Nol/HV3N1Anderson.htm>.

97. It is possible that he knew the variant of this incident that attributed a primordial revolt to Satan, who wished to displace God from his throne even before the creation of the world. This seems to be implied by the formulation in the Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3 and is common in European vernacular literatures of the medieval period; see Stone 1992, 89, 120. A later variant of this formulation occurs in *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §§1–4.

98. See especially excerpt 26.

99. See Anderson 1997.

100. Eznik 16.

In contrast with these general statements, Agat'angelos states explicitly that Satan saw Adam carefully observing the commandment and was jealous of the good things he would receive; for that reason he plotted Adam's expulsion.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, according to Eznik, Satan was jealous of the abundance of good things granted to Adam, including the image.¹¹⁰ In Mambrē we read, "the Evil One was envious of the good of Adam and cast him down from the blessed life."¹¹¹ These three authors present the identical idea, that Satan envied Adam because of the good things that God had granted him.

An analogous view may be found in Agat'angelos, who says that Satan, jealous of the promise of potential immortality that Adam received, tried to enslave him and inherit his position; "he misled him away from the promises, that perchance he might be able to inherit his place."¹¹² This statement adds further specific features: first, that Satan envied Adam's potential immortality; and, second, that as a result of his envy, he wished to replace Adam. This implies that Satan is outside the heavenly sphere when he is attacked by envy. He can have reached this position only after his initial rebellion and fall. The story of Satan's fall in *Penitence of Adam* chs. 12–17, does not hint at such a statement. However, in the story of Satan's deceit of the serpent, much later on in the book, Satan says to it: "Come on, rise up, come to me and hear what I say to you. Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden."¹¹³ This speech is written from the perspective of the fallen Satan, just like Agat'angelos 26. Yovhannēs Mandakuni makes a more general statement about envy. He says that "envy and grudging are the beginning of sufferings for by that Satan fell from glory, by that Adam sinned and went out of the Garden, and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all the descendants of Adam." This statement also implies that Satan's fall preceded his deception of Adam.¹¹⁴

Thus, Satan's envy of God's beneficence to Adam, and particularly of Adam's potential immortality, is the dominant feature in the Armenian literature I have considered. This is effectively a reformulation of the apocryphal theme that Satan envied Adam's preeminence in creation in terms of the biblical story. It complements the stress that the Armenian sources lay upon God's ultimate purpose in creating Adam, which is to enable him to achieve immortality through observing the single commandment of abstinence from the fruit of the tree.

Some further statements about Satan's envy relate more to its results than its object. Thus, P'awstos Buzand says that Satan corrupts humanity by his envy,

109. Agat'angelos 24.

110. Eznik 5 and 9.

111. Mambrē 7.

112. Agat'angelos 26.

113. *Pen. Adam* [44](16):3.

114. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3: see also §3.2 above. Agat'angelos 4 implies that Satan's jealousy was responsible for the debauchery of the daughters of men described in Genesis 6.

leading to deceit and falsehood.¹¹⁵ As we will see, it is deceit that characterizes Satan's action toward humans, and it is also the heart of the biblical story.

3.4 THE SERPENT, CURSES OF

4.0 SIN AND ITS RESULTS

4.1 THE CHARACTER OF ADAM'S SIN

The fifth-century texts agree that Adam's sin was the transgression of God's single commandment, not to eat of the tree. Moreover, they frequently stress the limited and minor character of this commandment in order to highlight God's beneficent wish that Adam observe it so that he might become angelic and immortal. Adam's commandment, a one-time *uquhp* ("fast, abstinence"), is contrasted with the commandment given to the angels to praise God without pause.¹¹⁶ Yovhannēs Mandakuni, however, draws the opposite conclusion from the minor nature of the commandment. Remember, he says, because Adam was persuaded that God's commandment was minor, he went out of the Garden.¹¹⁷ In a somewhat less pointed way, on the next page he says that Adam went out of the Garden because of one sin. In an ecclesiastical canon, Yovhannēs Mandakuni highlights Adam's minor sin, that it was only a fruit he ate and not cheese.¹¹⁸ *Yačaxapatum Čark'* observes that Adam lacked *ծուժկալութիւն* ("patience, continence"), and curses and death resulted.¹¹⁹ Both of these texts formulate Adam's sin in the terminology of Armenian religious practice. Anderson pointed out the influence of monastic ideas on some interpretations of the Adam stories. In the present instance, perhaps, a relationship between the reinterpretation of the Adam stories and Armenian religious sensibilities is reflected. Similarly, attitudes to celibacy influenced views of the protoplasts' intercourse.¹²⁰

4.1.1. Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

115. P'awstos Buzand 2.

116. See §1.4 above.

117. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 9. In the *Ethics of the Fathers* Rabbi (i.e., Judah the Prince) observes appositely, as it were, to the present instance, "Be as heedful of a light precept as of a grave one for you know not the grant of reward for each" (2:1).

118. Presumably the reference is to not eating cheese during Lent, see Yovhannēs Mandakuni 11.

119. *Yačaxapatum Čark'* 9 and 11; compare Yovhannēs Mandakuni 1.

120. Since the general character of Armenian practice resembled other Christian practice these views in themselves are not distinctively Armenian.

4.2 THE RESULTS OF SIN

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World

Agat'angelos extends the idea that the earth was cursed because of Adam's sin¹²¹ beyond the "agricultural curses," that is, the sweat of the brow, and thorns and thistles of Gen 3:17–18. He describes the postlapsarian corruption of creation as follows:

For those who once were formed for the delight and glory of man became corrupted and dishonored on account of his anger. And the earth was cursed and made to produce thorns, flooded and consumed by fire, shaken to its foundations and disturbed; and the winds were corrupted according to the seasons, the luminaries were darkened and became signs of blood, and the heavens lost their color, ...¹²²

This passage draws together a number of biblical themes which all relate to the corruption and confusion of the natural order. Thomson points to its direct dependence on Gen 3:17–18, 2 Peter 3:6 (the fiery flood),¹²³ and Joel 2:31. The implication is clear; the natural order is disrupted by Adam's sin.

The apocalyptic signs that Agat'angelos enumerates belong to the convulsions of the earth that will presage redemption. Later Jewish and Christian sources borrowed such signs chiefly from biblical contexts of covenant curses or of God's warlike epiphany and applied them to the peaking of evil before redemption.¹²⁴ A similar understanding of these signs, together with a list of them, is to be observed in the Gospels, in Mark 13:14–24 and Matt 24:1–30,¹²⁵ and early Christian apocalyptic literature knows them well.¹²⁶ Agat'angelos views the disruption of the natural order, which peaks in these "messianic woes" as the direct result of Adam's sin. Thus the curse laid upon the earth due to Adam's sin receives a cosmic dimension.

In his *Commentary on Joshua and Judges*, Elishē says "and the fourfold materials of this world fell under corruption, due to the transgression of Adam

121. This idea is itself something of an exegetical crux. Why was the earth cursed if Adam sinned?

122. Agat'angelos 44.

123. Thomson is probably right about the source of the Armenian statement. The passage clearly points to the idea of two floods, one of water (Noah's) and one of fire (eschatological). On the latter, see Ginzberg 1960. Among the Jewish sources, Josephus already connected the two floods, compare *Ant.* 1.70–71. See also later Armenian sources such as *History of the Forefathers* 40–41 and *Abel and Other Pieces* 4.3–4 (Stone 1992, 199 and 151).

124. See Stone 1990, 107–14.

125. Similar events signal the cosmic moment of Jesus's death on the cross in Matt 27:45–54.

126. One later Armenian example among many, is *The Signs of the Judgement*, in Stone 1981. That text predicts floods of water and fire, earthquakes, and other signs that will presage the Day of Judgement. In more general terms, the reapplication of apocalyptic themes by the Armenians is worthy of serious investigation.

and he was returned to the nature of dust.”¹²⁷ Above I noted that *Yačaxapatum Čark’* says that Adam was created from the four elements, “from the four materials,” using terminology very similar to Elišē’s here.¹²⁸ But Elišē says that it is “this world,” not Adam, that is made of the four elements, although the influence of Adam’s curse is to be found in the last phrase of his statement.¹²⁹

4.2.2. Death and Corruption

The predominant outcome of Adam’s sin was that death itself resulted from sin. This is to be found, for example, in *Yačaxapatum Čark’*.¹³⁰ The idea derived from the biblical verse Gen 3:19. That verse, however, actually pronounces the curse of agricultural labor, and Adam is said to have to till the earth “for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return.” Yet the inference that death resulted from Adam’s transgression cannot be avoided,¹³¹ and the impact of Gen 3:19 was magnified when it was combined with the Pauline statement in Romans that the wages of sin is death. Pains and death result from Adam’s disobedience. Had there been no disobedience, Adam would still be alive.¹³²

Yovhannēs Mandakuni uses the ecclesiastical language I noted above when he says that the commandment given to Adam was a *uquhp* (“a fast”). Had Adam observed it, “he would have inherited life without blemish and immortal and sinless and in heaven, the heavenly goodness.”¹³³ This is a good summary of ideas relating to death and pain that result from Adam’s sin.

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

Another major outcome of Adam’s sin was the loss of glory. This idea is repeated often in the early Armenian sources and becomes a major theme throughout the centuries. Adam loses or is stripped naked of his glory. The word “glory,” however, is polyvalent. For Agat’angelos, the word clearly designates the protoplasts’ paradisiacal state: “Then the evil one in his jealousy, threw man from glory into death by deceit.”¹³⁴ Along the same lines, Yovhannēs Mandakuni

127. Elišē 2.

128. *Yačaxapatum Čark’* 3.

129. There is some apparent contradiction between the four elements, on the one hand, and Adam’s return to dust, on the other. A similar tension is to be found in the passage from *Yačaxapatum Čark’* 3, referred to above. See further discussion of this matter in chapter 2 §1.1.2.

130. *Yačaxapatum Čark’* 7. Of course, it can also be deduced from Rom 6:23: “For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord” and from many other sources, such as Wis 2:24 (see above §3.3).

131. See 4 Ezra 3:21, for example, and the comments in Stone 1990a, 64–65, where numerous sources are listed. In Christian works, of course, the Pauline statement (see the preceding note) played a considerable part and is itself an exegesis of Gen 3:19.

132. Eznik 25.

133. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 1. This statement is discussed further in §1.4 above.

134. Agat’angelos 24.

describes Adam's state before his fall as glory: "Then he received all suffering¹³⁵ and immediately he was cast outside, from his great and excellent glory."¹³⁶

In §4.2.1 above, I recorded the quotation from Agat'angelos in which he describes the postlapsarian corruption of creation.¹³⁷ There Agat'angelos does not use the term "glory" to refer to Adam's state in the Garden but relates it to the proper order of the world, speaking of "whatever was formed for the delight and glory of man." The notion that the world was created for the sake of humankind occurs widely in Jewish and Christian sources.¹³⁸

Some patristic writers maintained that Adam was innocently naked in the Garden before sinning.¹³⁹ The early Armenian sources, however, take Gen 3:10 to mean that in one way or another Adam became naked through sin. Thus, Agat'angelos says in a simile, "who have been stripped naked by sin like Adam." Clearly, then, before sinning Adam was not naked. Along the same lines, Agat'angelos says that "they [i.e., Adam and Eve] were stripped of the divinely formed¹⁴⁰ glory."¹⁴¹ I may put the point in another way: the Armenian sources took the verb in Gen 3:10 to mean not "I was naked" but "I became naked."¹⁴²

According to Agat'angelos, Adam and Eve were clothed in glory of which subsequently they were stripped.¹⁴³ This idea does not originate in Armenia, though it is extremely widespread there. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.23.5) speaks of Adam and Eve clothed in divine glory like "angels on the earth."¹⁴⁴ In Ephrem's *Hymns*

135. The word ւխոս frequently translates the Greek πάθος.

136. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3 (re: Satan) and 7. In the subsequent paragraphs, I shall discuss the relationship between Adam and Eve's glory and their nakedness.

137. Agat'angelos 44.

138. See Stone 1990a, 188–89 for the Jewish sources.

139. This idea is to be found in certain Greek patristic sources, such as those cited in Alexandre 1988, 290.

140. From the noun "form," not the verb. "Stripped" here and elsewhere renders the same verb, մերկանալ, that was translated "became naked" above. It is very frequent in the Armenian sources relating to Adam and Eve.

141. Agat'angelos 1, 4, and 26.

142. The Armenian biblical text does not have the verb մերկանալ ("to be, become naked") that Agat'angelos uses, but the expression մերկ էի ("I was naked"), employing the adjective մերկ, deriving from the same stem. Thus Agat'angelos reflects a way of reading of Genesis that goes beyond the literal meaning of its linguistic formulation. Ephrem (*Hymns on Paradise* 2:7) speaks of Adam as "him who was stripped naked" (Brock 1990, 87); cf. *Hymns on Paradise* 3:14, etc.

143. See n. 141 above.

144. See Alexandre 1988, 295. Her presentation of the patristic evidence, however, shows that this theme, which she attributes to Jewish texts (such as the *L.A.E.*) was far from dominant in the Greek tradition. Moreover, Irenaeus speaks of the analogous "garment of sanctity received from the Spirit" (*Haer.* 3 [PG 7:963]).

on *Paradise* 6:10 the garment of glory belongs to Adam and to the saints, but Adam lost it through the agency of the serpent.¹⁴⁵

The association of glory with Adam is older, of course, and is explicit already in Ben Sira 49:16: “Shem and Seth and Enosh were visited, but above every other living being was Adam’s glory.”¹⁴⁶ In *Pen. Adam* [44](20):1 we read explicitly: “At that hour I learned with my eyes that I had become naked of the glory which with I had been clothed.”¹⁴⁷

The Armenian tradition is dominated by Agat’angelos’s interpretation of Gen 3:10, which is found earlier in Ephrem and Eusebius of Emesa, among others. Adam and Eve were clothed in glory, and when they sinned they were stripped of this glory and became naked. I venture to add a further instance. Elsewhere Agat’angelos states that, in the Garden, Adam and Eve were “clothed in glory without shame as with a garment.”¹⁴⁸ This text seems to combine the interpretation found in some Greek Fathers that Adam and Eve were naked and without shame, to which I referred above, with the idea of their glorious garments.

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

In the texts I examined, remarkably little is made of the complex of curses pronounced in Gen 3:17–19. Yovhannēs Mandakuni does make a statement clearly reflecting the biblical curses when he says that Adam went out of the Garden through Satan’s envy and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all his descendants.¹⁴⁹ However, such general statements are infrequent.

L.A.E. adds at least two additional curses to those adumbrated in the Bible. One was inferred subtly from the biblical text, while the second may be newly created. The first new curse is that the beasts became disobedient, and the second, that humankind is afflicted by illness and pains. These ideas occur in the Armenian *Pen. Adam* 31(6):4–32(7) and 37(10). As for the disobedience of the animals, according to *Pen. Adam* 37(10):3, Eve reproaches the attacking wild beast, a form of the serpent and Satan, saying, “How did you not remember the obedience which you formerly displayed?” The beast responds, in the next verse,

145. See Brock 1990, 112; similarly *Hymns on Paradise* 7:5 refers to a “raiment of light” and 7:12 speaks of “glory.” These characteristics are attributed to the saints, but the implication is clear: the saints gained what Adam lost.

146. Here the LXX differs somewhat, reading: Σημ καὶ Σεθ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐδοξάσθησαν, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ζῶων ἐν τῇ κτίσει Ἀδάμ, “Shem and Seth were glorified among men; and more than all living creatures in creation, Adam.” In this text form as well, Adam’s glory is explicit.

147. See also *Pen. Adam* [4](23):2 and 3.

148. Agat’angelos 3.

149. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3.

“In truth, our insolence is because of you, for the example came from you.”¹⁵⁰ *Yačaxapatum Čark* clearly states the same idea that “while man was obedient to the laws of God, the beasts and poisonous creatures obeyed man.”¹⁵¹ This particular formulation of the idea seems to be an interpretation of God’s blessing of Adam in Gen 1:28: “and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.” In the Armenian Bible the last part of this verse varies and reads եւ ամենայն անասնոց եւ ամենայն երկրի եւ ամենայն սողնոց որ սողին ի վերայ երկրի, literally, “and over all the beasts and over all the earth and over all the creeping things which creep upon the earth.” The two groups of beings mentioned explicitly in the Armenian biblical text, the beasts and the crawling (thus the poisonous) creatures, occur also in *Yačaxapatum Čark*, which derives its statement from the biblical phrase.¹⁵²

Eznik extends the same principle to the demons, at least if we follow the translation of Blanchard and Young. Thus, Eznik says, որպէս հնազանդ էին առաջնոյ մարդոյն մինչ չեւ յանցուցեալ էր եւ ոչ մեղանշականք, “just as they were obedient to the first man before he had been caused to sin and were not subject to sin.”¹⁵³ Blanchard and Young provide “the demons” as the subject of the plural verb հնազանդ էին (“were obedient”), so giving “just as (the demons) were obedient.”¹⁵⁴ The context in the next sentence, which speaks of “Satan,” demands this interpretation, and I accept it, even though the word “demons” does not actually occur in Eznik’s text. Thus, the authority given to Adam in the blessing of Gen 1:28 was extended to the demons, and Adam’s sin brought about its abrogation.¹⁵⁵

The second additional curse, the attribution of illness and pains to Adam’s sin, certainly derives from the view that his sin brought about the sufferings attendant on death.

150. Anderson and Stone 1999, 42E–43E.

151. *Yačaxapatum Čark* 5. The implication is that when man disobeyed God, the animals disobeyed man.

152. In the Hebrew Bible we read וְכָל הַחַיָּה הָרֹמֶשֶׁת עַל הָאָרֶץ, “and over every beast that crawls on the earth”; the LXX translates this Hebrew as καὶ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ παντῶν τῶν ἔρπετων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, “and over all the beasts and over all the earth and over all the crawling things that crawl on the earth.” Intriguingly the Peshiṭta reads, “and over the animals and over all the beasts that crawl upon the earth.” This does not have the awkward phrase “and over all the earth” that occurs in the Greek text. *Yačaxapatum Čark* might have used a biblical text reflecting either the Greek or the Syriac Genesis. The Armenian biblical text, as edited by Zeyt’unyan 1985, reflects the Greek text.

153. Eznik 34.

154. Blanchard and Young 1998, 86.

155. Apparently this means that before Adam’s sin the demons did no harm.

4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan

4.2.6. Other Punishments

4.3 GOD, FOOTSTEPS OF

The statement that Adam and Eve heard “the sound of the Lord God walking” (Gen 3:8) exercised ancient Armenian readers of the Bible. The unabashedly anthropomorphic understanding of this statement was obviously to be discounted, so what could it have been that Adam and Eve heard? Eusebius of Emesa, in his *Commentary on Genesis*, which was early translated in Armenian, says that God made his footsteps audible so his coming was known in advance to Adam.¹⁵⁶ Agat’angelos and Eznik, develop this idea further: God made his footsteps audible, so the man might have an opportunity to repent.¹⁵⁷ Along the same lines, the Armenian *Commentary on Genesis* attributed to Ephrem reads, “Indeed that Beneficent One did not reveal Himself by any extraordinary means, lest [Adam and Eve] be terrified, nor did He flash like lightning, lest He alarm them, but He made a sound for His feet and sent it before Him,¹⁵⁸ so that He might teach repentance to the impenitent and obdurate heart.”¹⁵⁹ The same idea is found also in the Syriac *Commentary on Genesis* by Ephrem.¹⁶⁰

Armenian sources handle other comparable anthropomorphisms similarly. Thus, in a later document, we read, “God summoned [Cain] to penitence by asking, ‘Where, Cain, is your brother Abel?’”¹⁶¹ This dramatic presentation reflects an idea already found in Philo (*Questiones in Genesin* 1:68) and responds to the exegetical difficulty that God’s question created. The approach is the same as that reflected in the interpretation of the sound God created that was advanced by early Armenian texts.

4.4 ADAM, CHRONOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

The Bible does not record how long Adam and Eve were in the Garden. Later Armenian sources, like other Christian texts and some Jewish texts, elaborate on Adam and Eve’s Edenic timetable. Some chronological points are, nonethe-

156. Eusebius of Emesa, *Commentary on Genesis* 1.32 (Petit *et al.* 2011, 81).

157. Agat’angelos 28; Eznik 23.

158. Cf. Gen 3:8.

159. E. G. Mathews 1998, 29:14.

160. “[T]his sound of footsteps was made in order that your lips might make supplication” (2:25) (trans. Brock 1990, 216) and “for He caused His silent footsteps to make a noise so that, at the noise, they might prepare to make supplication before him who issued the sound” (Ephrem 2:24; Brock 1990, 215).

161. *History of the Forefathers* §17. See Stone 1992, 188–89.

less, to be found in the sources I examined. According to Elišē's *Commentary on Genesis* excerpt 13 here, we read:

Certain people, foreigners, ventured to say that man was in the Garden for a thousand years, bringing as witness David's saying "A thousand years in the Lord's eyes is as yesterday." But others, of our close associates, said (that it was) 40 days in accordance with the spiritual birth of the male.¹⁶²

Our curiosity is immediately piqued by the word *արտաքիս* ("foreigner"). This is glossed by *NBHL* as "foreigner" or "pagan, adherent of another religion." In the Armenian cultural context of the fifth century, one might be tempted to think of Zoroastrians, but both the content of the statement and the reference to the biblical verse make this unlikely. Perhaps some heterodox Christian group is intended.

In any case, the chronology remains obscure, and the uncommon period of one thousand years for Adam and Eve's sojourn in paradise does not help us identify it. This figure is most probably based on the interpretation of Ps 90:4 = Arm 89:4, "For a thousand years in your sight are like yesterday when it is past" (see above on Elišē's reference to David's saying), to mean that a single day of divine time was actually one thousand years long. This view was widespread and generated considerable chiliastic speculation in both Jewish and Armenian and other Christian circles. Thus, the statement that Adam and Eve were in the Garden for one thousand years is equivalent to the statement that they were there for one (divine or primordial human) day. The one day derives, in turn, from the exegesis of Gen 2:17, "on the day you eat from it."¹⁶³ Adam ate on the day on which he entered the Garden and was expelled on the same day.

Elišē's own view—or rather that of "our friends" as he put it—that Adam was in the Garden for a period of forty days, goes back to a different biblical basis. In an early form it occurs already in *Jub.* 3:9: "And after forty days were completed for Adam in the land where he was created, we brought him into the Garden of Eden so that he might work and guard it."¹⁶⁴ The purity laws in Leviticus establish a forty-day period of ritual uncleanness after the birth of

162. Elišē 13. This word *հոգեծնություն* is cited in *NBHL* only from this place. Roberta Irvine has pointed out to me that, according to Armenian teaching, a child of forty days is considered to be fully alive, and this may be called *հոգեծնություն* ("spiritual birth"). This is the point at which the spirit enters the child. In rabbinic thought, a child is considered fully alive after thirty days; see *t. Šabb.* 15(16): 7. There this issue is not related to the mother's impurity.

163. Alexandre (1988, 273–74) discusses the exegesis of Gen 2:17, "on the day you eat from it." She observes that this is taken to be one thousand years in Jewish sources. The Jews might be the "foreigners" referred to by Elišē, though this would be odd. Moreover, the world-week of six thousand years + the parousia is ample witness to the nature of Christian chiliastic speculations. See further Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming) on Gen 2:17.

164. O. S. Wintermute (trans.) in Charlesworth 1983–85, 1:59. See further *Jub.* 3:10–11.

a male child and eighty days in the case of a female child (Lev 12:2 and 12:5). *Jubilees* applied this rule to Adam and Eve's entry into the Garden, forty days after Adam's creation and eighty days after Eve's.¹⁶⁵ The same idea is found in the *Life of Adam* cited by George Syncellus, which work is probably to be related to the *Testament of the Protoplasts* mentioned by Anastasius Sinaïta.¹⁶⁶ Thus, the Garden is endowed with the sanctity of the temple.¹⁶⁷

The tradition that Elišē knows is perhaps a variant of this. At the base of his view may lie the idea that, since Adam was introduced into the Garden on the fortieth day and Eve on the eightieth day, they sinned and were expelled on the day Eve was introduced. In that case, Adam would have been in the Garden for forty days.¹⁶⁸ The idea is that Adam and Eve were in the Garden for forty days because this was the special period following their spiritual birth, that is, their insufflation. However, the assertion is odd. If the analogy were carried to its logical conclusion, the time in the Garden would parallel that of uncleanness before entering the temple. In fact, however, it was a time of purity before the sin. Thus, the parallel is only partially worked out.

The text, however, states clearly that they were both in the Garden for forty days, which is related to the period of uncleanness following the birth of a male child. Presumably, then, the Armenian text of Elišē preserves an inexact use of the tradition relating the regulations for post-parturition ritual uncleanness and the period of residence in the Garden. No other traces of this discussion were found in the fifth-century Armenian literature.

The timetable of Adam's sin and expulsion is set in parallel to that of Christ's passion and crucifixion, a parallel which is worked out over the centuries. Another aspect of that is Mambrē's statement that Adam went forth from the Garden in the tenth hour, the very hour of Christ's descent into the tomb. Again, Mambrē says that Adam sinned on the sixth day, Friday, and was then stripped of his glory.¹⁶⁹

The same tradition is to be found in the *Life of Adam* cited in George Syncellus 5 (Adler and Tuffin 2002, 7).

165. Without specifying the period, Luke 2:22 states, "When the time came for their purification according to the Law of Moses." In the *Infancy Gospel* it is specifically forty days. In the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* it is to be found in Tayec'i 1898, 54, 129.

166. See Stone 1992, 78, 87; see also James 1920, 5–6.

167. Anderson 1989, 129–31 has dealt with the issue of the Garden of Eden as a temple in *Jubilees*.

168. A variant of this tradition is known to manuscript P306 of *Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation* §20: see Stone 1996b, 41. See further discussion of this in §4.4 below.

169. Mambrē 4 and 11. In later centuries, this typology of the expulsion and the passion is further elaborated; see especially chapter 2 §4.4 and chapter 3 §4.4.

4.5 AFTER FALL AND EXPULSION

4.6 ARAJAWOR FAST

4.7 CHEIROGRAPH

5.0 THE BURIAL OF ADAM AND OTHER TRADITIONS

In the texts I have discussed, the view that Adam was buried at Golgotha does not occur. The idea that Adam descended into hell and was brought out by Christ does occur in Christian tradition from the second century on.¹⁷⁰ The commentary on the Lord's Prayer attributed to Elishē says, "On Sunday he [i.e., Christ] gathered the crushed bones of Adam." The origin of the "crushed bones" is unclear.

170. Kaestli 1993, 135–42.

2. ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS IN SIXTH- TO ELEVENTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN LITERATURE

0.0 GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter and those that follow it differ from the preceding one in character. In them, I focus more specifically on developments within the Armenian tradition itself. When I discussed the fifth-century texts, I deliberately sought not only to examine inner-Armenian developments but to set the ideas the texts expressed into the context of earlier and contemporary non-Armenian sources. The material in this and the following chapters is compared primarily with preceding Armenian authors, and notably with the fifth-century texts. I do not ignore non-Armenian material, particularly concerning innovation, but the prior Armenian tradition takes pride of place. I use the same subject divisions and subdivisions to arrange the material as throughout the book. When I actually analyzed the surviving texts, in some periods certain categories remained empty. In the present chapter, for example, I did not find material appropriate to sections 2.5 “The Creation of the Animals” or 2.6 “Naming by Adam.”

The incident of the creation of the animals and their naming by Adam plays little role in the authors considered here, occurring only in the tenth century and then not at length. Earlier, this incident was connected with the wisdom granted Adam in the course of his creation. In contrast, the cheirograph tradition as it derives from Col 2:14 and extensive consideration of Eve are newly to the fore in this period. In general, we may remark that the emphasis on Eve increases over the centuries, presumably related the growing role of the cult of the Virgin in Armenian Christianity.

When we characterize and analyze concepts that a text expresses, we must bear in mind that the specific contexts in which the ideas occur often determine individual formulations and stresses. Sometimes, too, exegetical criteria lead an author to prefer certain ideas. Such considerations may explain particularities; nonetheless, if an idea occurs in a text, it is reasonable to assume that it was acceptable to the author.

1.0 THE CREATION

1.1 THE CREATION OF HUMAN BEINGS

The idea that Adam was created by God's hand occurs in Agat'angelos C5, and its background in earlier sources was examined in the chapter 1 §1.1. It is derived exegetically from Gen 2:7 and serves to elevate Adam's status.¹ In the sixth–eleventh centuries it became a commonplace and it occurs in the *Calendar Fragment* attributed to Anania Širakac'i C7; in Yovhan Mamikonean C7, and similarly also in Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 and Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9.²

Man (Adam) is the peak of creation according to Grigoris Aršaruni C7.³ He was born from God without parents, a point made by Lewond C8 for expository purposes.⁴ This, of course, makes Adam analogous to, but not identical with, other figures that were born without a father, such as Christ and Melchizedek, or without a mother, such as Eve.⁵

Grigor Magistros C10 regards Adam's created state as particularly elevated, and so he says that Adam was created for կեանս անախտական անմահութեան անկարօսիւն, “unblemished immortal life without need.”⁶ Grigor Narekac'i C10 repeatedly asserts that God created Adam as part of the order of creation.⁷ This is, of course, banal.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

After the fifth century, the time of Adam's creation, like other aspects of the chronology of the primordial events, becomes a major topic of discussion. In general, the interest evinced in chronological and calendrical matters in this period is notable; see also §4.4. In the present section I will concentrate on the date of Adam's creation.⁸

Following the biblical text in Gen 1:26–31, authorities such as the mathematician and scholar Anania Širakac'i C7 and Grigoris Aršaruni C7 assign the

1. See Xosrow Anjewac'i 6, Grigor Narekac'i 27, Gëorg Lořec'i 2. Grigor Narekac'i 2 calls him “His own God-formed image.”

2. Anania Širakac'i 4; Yovhan Mamikonean 1; Step'anos Siwnec'i 7 and 8; and Zak'aria Kat'olikos 6.

3. Grigoris Aršaruni 2.

4. Lewond 3.

5. Compare 2 *En.* 71 and Heb 7:3. In another vein, certain Armenian texts refer to Eve being born of Adam without a mother; see Afak'el Siwnec'i 20.

6. Grigor Magistros 12.

7. Grigor Narekac'i 26 and 27. Compare also Samuël Kamrjajorec'i 1. The same point is made by Gëorg Lořec'i 2.

8. In the fifth-century translation of Eusebius of Emesa, the sixth day is nominated as the day of Adam's creation; see Petit et al. 2011, 54–55. That biblical view is found predominantly throughout the Armenian sources.

creation of Adam to the sixth day.⁹ Later authors, such as Samuēl Kamrjajorec'ī C10, Gēorg Lořec'ī C11, and Timot'ēos *vardapet* C10 echo this view.¹⁰ Furthermore, Samuēl Kamrjajorec'ī, in a balanced and contrastive way, sets Adam's creation on the sixth day and his destruction on the sixth day, Eve's deception on the sixth day and the Annunciation to the Virgin on the sixth day. Here the chronological structure of the protological events is actually based on that of the life and passion of Christ, while presenting itself as the pattern upon which the chronology of the passion was based. I discuss this development below in §4.4.¹¹

In a fragment printed on pp. 311–12 of Abrahamyan's edition of his works, Anania Širakac'ī C7 elaborates this idea, proposing that the “beginning of the creation of man was on Wednesday,”¹² that God the Father made it known to the Son and the Holy Spirit on Thursday saying “Let us make man,” and that the actual creation of man took place on Friday, the sixth day (Gen 1:26). The five days preceding the creation of man on Friday are the intercalated days of the Armenian calendar, while the sixth day, the Friday itself, is the Jewish New Year. This assertion about the intercalated days is based on the old Armenian calendar, which goes back to Hellenistic roots. It had twelve months of thirty days and a thirteenth, intercalated “month” of five days. Anania Širakac'ī considers that this was also the Jewish calendar. In a later Armenian text called *The Months of the Jews*, the same assertion is made.¹³ The traditional Jewish reckoning is that the New Year, the first day of the seventh lunar month, was the first day of creation.

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

In the fifth century there was a long discussion of the material from which Adam was created. Generally the sixth- to ninth-century sources follow the biblical text in saying he was made of dust. This question is not discussed in great detail in those tenth- to eleventh-century texts excerpted here, although in a couple of places Grigor Narekac'ī C10 repeats the biblical statement that Adam was created from the dust.

9. Anania Širakac'ī 2 and 4; Grigoris Aršaruni 7. Grigoris Aršaruni 8 adds there that Adam left the Garden on Friday and was saved through the cross on Friday in the six thousandth year.

10. Samuēl Kamrjajorec' 4, Gēorg Lořec'ī 2, Timot'ēos *vardapet* 2. So also Tiranun *vardapet* 1 and 2, 5.

11. In this passage Samuēl Kamrjajorec'ī develops the theme of the sixth day and the portentous events that took place on it: see Samuēl Kamrjajorec'ī 4 and 5. He attaches great significance to Friday and to the number 6. According to him, Eve was created on Wednesday and Adam was healed on the same day, see Samuēl Kamrjajorec'ī 6.

12. I.e., the intention to create man. On Eve's creation on Wednesday, see the preceding note.

13. On the Armenian calendar, see Stone 1988. There are further copies of *The Months of the Hebrews*, one of which is in Columbia University Armenian manuscript no. 5 and others in the old manuscript M2679 fols. 7–7v of the year 981 and the later M7020 of the year 1796. Other copies doubtless exist.

In contrast to this conventional view, however, Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9 says that Adam's nature is composed of the four elements,¹⁴ a notion found already in *Yačaxapatum Čark'* in the fifth century, and in even earlier Greek and Syriac sources.¹⁵ Zak'aria Kat'olikos harmonizes the difference between the two views by saying that Adam's nature was from the material dust and the material was made of the four elements.¹⁶ In *Girk' T'ltoc' The Book of Letters*, in a letter attributed to Movsēs K'ert'olahayr of the sixth century, Adam is said to be Լսւմ ("clay").¹⁷ This is the only text found in these four centuries that describes Adam as made of "clay." "Clay" is to be found, however, in a fifth-century source, Eznik.¹⁸ It probably emerges from the idea of molding, which, in turn, derived from the biblical text (Gen 2:7).

Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9 also describes Adam as created ի հողանիւք զանգուածոյս ("from this earthen mass"), which is in accordance with the biblical view. In Anania Širakac'i C7's "Calendar Fragment," Adam is said to be created from "dust"; similarly also Step'anos Siwnec'i and Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos, both writing in the eighth century.¹⁹

It is notable, then, that the nonbiblical idea that clay and dust are matter and thus composed of the four elements, which occurs rarely in the fifth century, is also seldom encountered in the sixth to eleventh centuries. This is so, despite the influence of Greek ideas on Armenia in the centuries immediately following the early-fifth-century invention of the alphabet.

Nonetheless, an interesting formulation by Gēorg Lořec'i C11 shows the tension between these two ideas. He says the following:

Now it is fitting for believers and true Christians not to create the body of Christ with their human mind, (declaring) that Adam was made of four (elements): one cannot clearly demonstrate each of them, for Moses only says that he took dust: "God took dust of the ground" (Gen 2:7), and he was silent about other (elements).

This statement, which makes three notable points, is unique among the texts I studied. First, in this polemical text, Gēorg denies the view that Adam was created from four elements, claiming that it lacks a biblical basis. Yet earlier authorities, such as Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9 and *Yačaxapatum Čark'* C5, explicitly say that Adam was created from the four elements, a combination of biblical and Greek

14. See Zak'aria Kat'olikos 9. See also K'erovbē *vardapet* 1.

15. See chapter 1 §1.1.2. Contrast the onomastic etymology of Adam as "earth," say, in Ona I iv.1, Ona IV.1, Ona V.27; see Stone 1981a.

16. Compare chapter 1 §1.1.2 above.

17. Movsēs K'ert'olahayr 1.

18. This etymology appears also in *History of the Forefathers* §32. See chapter 1 §1.1.2.

19. Anania Širakac'i 4; Step'anos Siwnec'i 13 and 16; and Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos 1.

ideas that I discussed above.²⁰ Second, it is not clear against whom precisely Gēorg Loṙec'i was polemicizing when he called for strict adherence to the biblical text. We can infer that his opponents are those who "create the body of Christ with their human mind," that is, who assert that the body was created of the four elements. Third, Gēorg says that this is against Scripture, which states that Adam was fashioned from dust but makes no mention of fire, air, and water.²¹ It should be noted, moreover, that though the idea of four elements occurs in earlier sources, it does not dominate in them.

Man was created from dust,²² and through the spirit that God breathed into him, he was rational and angelic.²³ Step'anos Siwnec'i C8, for example, says, "he was honored with rationality (i.e., wisdom)."²⁴ Moreover, in the same passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i also maintains that man lost these rational and intellectual qualities when he sinned: "he lost the higher, lordly wisdom" and "he forfeited the spiritual grace."²⁵ Grigor Magistros C10 says that man was composed of two opposed natures, one perceptive or intellectual and the other earthly, which correspond to his receiving the spirit from God but his creation from dust.²⁶ This view is standard; Adam was created rational and autonomous. It is to be found from the very beginning of Armenian literature and is a common explanation of what the divine inbreathing means (Gen 2:7).

The idea that man had a rational nature that is the outcome of the inbreathing (Gen 2:7) or, using another paradigm, follows from the "image" of God according to which he was created (Gen 1:26) recurs in Grigor Narekac'i C10, who says that the soul is the created image of God and the likeness of his form. Elsewhere, Grigor Narekac'i specifies that the nature of the rational man was created in the image of God and therefore had the Creator's grace.²⁷ Adam was created for "unblemished immortal life without need," Grigor Magistros C10 states.²⁸ Similarly Step'anos Tarōnec'i C10 says of Adam's sin that he "caused his sinless and uncondemnable body to fall to (the condition) of condemnation to the corruption of death."²⁹

20. See chapter 1 §1.1.2 and elsewhere.

21. Here he identifies "dust" with "earth," one of the four elements, while other authors I discussed have said that dust is itself composed of the four elements.

22. Grigor Narekac'i 8. Grigor Narekac'i 12 and 13 speak of humans created of "inferior substance."

23. Grigor Magistros 11; Xosrow Anjewac'i 6.

24. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

25. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

26. Grigor Magistros 11.

27. Grigor Narekac'i 11. Equally, in excerpt 18, that is, *Book of Lamentation* 46.3, he speaks of humans regaining the lost image through the inbreathing of baptism.

28. See n. 23 above.

29. Step'anos Tarōnec'i 2.

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

A number of purposes have been proposed for Adam's creation:

Praise. The second world, that of the luminaries and what is below them, was separated from the heavens (i.e., the first, intelligible world) for the sake of praise of the Creator, according to Grigoris Aršaruni C7.³⁰ In other words, the purpose of this-worldly creation is praise. This is the only statement on this point in the period under discussion. Nothing is said in these centuries about the immortality for which Adam was intended, and almost nothing about the purpose of the commandment given to him or about the nature of Adam's wisdom or discernment.³¹ These subjects, however, were prominent in the fifth century; see chapter 1 §1.1.3.

So that Adam might draw close to God. The trees of knowledge and life were glittering and splendid³² and were created as food for Adam. They were not forbidden because of God's envy, but only proscribed for a short time "so that he might eat at a proper time and, turning to the good direction, become close to God." Grigor Magistros C10,³³ who made this statement, implies that God created Adam so that, by consumption of the fruit at the proper time, he might become close to God.

God did not desire Adam's transgression. Another statement by Grigor Magistros C10 that bears indirectly on purposiveness in the creation of Adam occurs in an epistle directed to the Muslim Emir Ibrahim, that is, in the context of polemic: "... so you should know that God did not wish the transgression of Adam and was not unaware of his transgression. . . ."³⁴

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

When Adam was created, he was thirty years old, this being the most perfect age for a human being.³⁵ Analogously, Anania Širakac'i C7 adds that the moon was created fourteen days old, at the fullest point of its cycle, on the fourth day.³⁶

30. Grigoris Aršaruni 1.

31. Pseudo-Basil 1 reads, "For if the forefather had observed this commandment with discernment, he would not have been deprived of immortal life and stripped of immortality." This implies that part of the purpose of Adam's creation was that he might employ discernment.

32. Grigor Magistros 4 speaks once of "the tree of life and knowledge" that was honored in paradise, but elsewhere he clearly speaks of two trees.

33. Grigor Magistros 8. He repeats this idea in excerpt 12.

34. Grigor Magistros 9.

35. See Stone 1996a, 144 and note on *History of Adam and His Grandsons* 1 (*ibid.*, 92) on this number and its manifold occurrences. In the primordial time, the span between births was thirty years, as is discussed in Stone 1996, 92. This was also the age of Sedek in *The Tree of Sabek* §2 (Stone 2012). Its origin may be biblical. Joseph at thirty entered Pharaoh's service (Gen 41:46); David started to reign at thirty (2 Sam 5:4); and, in Numbers, the age span from thirty to fifty was the age for Levites to serve in the tabernacle (Num 4:3, 23, 30, etc.)

36. Which is, of course, the middle day of the week of creation.

He states that these views were held also by the learned among the Jews, and their view is reliable because they use the moon in their calendar.³⁷

Two comments may be made on these remarks. First, the number 30 appears repeatedly in various traditions about Adam and Eve, both in Armenian and in other languages. They have thirty pairs of twins, there are thirty years between the births of their children, they have their first children at the age of thirty, etc.³⁸ In some later traditions, Abel died at thirty, which must be related to the idea that thirty was the ideal age. Although most such traditions are to be found in later apocryphal books, in *Pen. Adam* 24:5, which has a good claim to antiquity in Armenian, Adam and Eve are said to have thirty pairs of twins. Thus, on this point, Anania Širakac'i C7 has recourse to a known tradition. Second, as to the supposed Jewish views about Adam's age when he was born and the state of the moon, it should be kept in mind that, in the case of the calendar, the actual knowledge of Jewish practice among the Armenians was limited. This did not inhibit the Armenians from assigning all sorts of views to the Jews that were founded in what seemed reasonable and not in actual knowledge of Jewish practice. This tendency is particularly noticeable in the material from Anania Širakac'i C7.

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

T'ovma Arcruni C9 repeats the ideas of Adam's lordship and royal glory, stating that Adam in the Garden was crowned with honor, glory, and princely splendor; see §1.6 below.³⁹ In the Garden, Adam had "splendor and plenitude, and painless and immortal life."⁴⁰ These sources may be complemented by those about the loss of glory discussed below in §4.2.3.

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

Adam's body was originally impassible and immortal, according to Xosrovik T'argmanič' C8, and it lost those qualities when he sinned.⁴¹ In any case, the idea that Adam was created for immortality and subsequently became mortal as a result of the sin and its consequent curses, is found throughout Armenian literature.⁴² It is, of course, based on the biblical text.⁴³ Xosrovik T'argmanič' also argues that if Christ had had the same body as Adam, he would not have suffered; but in fact he did suffer, so his body was not like Adam's creation body.⁴⁴ This

37. Anania Širakac'i 2.

38. See n. 35 above.

39. T'ovma Arcruni 2.

40. Grigor Narekec'i 6. Grigor Magistros 10 speaks of Adam's "untroubled life." See §2.4 below.

41. Xosrovik T'argmanič' 1.

42. See chapter 1 §4.2.2 for an early instance.

43. See §4.2.2 below.

44. Xosrovik T'argmanič' 2.

seemingly strange point has to do with the understanding of the image, which is discussed below in §1.6.

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

According to an interpretation of Gen 2:7 by Grigor Narekac'i C10, Adam was created with the prophetic spirit, and therefore he was not deceived by the serpent. But the woman, who, it is implied, lacked the prophetic spirit, was.⁴⁵ This is part of Grigor Narekac'i's view that Adam ate the fruit not because he was deceived by the serpent/Satan, but because of his love of Eve. In this way, Grigor Narekac'i strives to resolve the question of how Adam, created in the image of God and thus possessing discernment, could have eaten the fruit. The same issue concerns Tiranun *vardapet* C10 when he stresses that Adam did not sin but "humbled himself and shared it [i.e., the fruit] with Eve, so that Eve might live for the sake of Adam."⁴⁶ Anania Narekac'i C10 quotes 1 Tim 2:14 in an adapted form, as follows: "'Adam did not sin, but Eve [sinned],' consequently the mourning appearance befits her and not the man who did not sin."⁴⁷ This is a noteworthy innovation in the tenth-century authors.

In connection with the naming of Eve, Grigor Narekac'i remarks that Adam retained the prophetic spirit as long as he remained in the Garden.⁴⁸ See §2.6 below.

1.1.8 Adam's Language

1.2 THE RANKING OF CREATION

1.3 HUMANS AND ANGELS

The excerpts from the sixth to eleventh centuries say nothing at all about the relationship between humans and angels or about the purposes for which they were created. In the fifth-century sources, material on this topic was derived exegetically from Ps 8:4–5: "What are human beings that you are mindful of them, mortals that you care for them?⁴⁵ Yet you have made them a little lower than angels,⁴⁹ and crowned them with glory and honor" (NRSV). The only thing stated in our texts—and it is not related to Psalm 8—is Zak'aria Kat'olikos's C9

45. Grigor Narekac'i 5.

46. Tiranun *vardapet* 16.

47. On this citation, see §2.8 below.

48. Grigor Narekac'i 5.

49. The Hebrew word אֲלֹהִים, usually translated "God" sometimes is taken to mean "angels" and is so rendered here by the Septuagint and in the Armenian tradition. The NRSV has "God," but we have given "angels."

view that God created humans to fill the empty camp of the rebellious angels.⁵⁰ This is part of a fairly unusual passage by this ninth-century author, who proposes that the Garden of Eden was previously the camp of the rebel angels and that Satan was angered when the Garden of Eden was given to Adam and Eve. No parallels to this specific idea are known, though the idea of the organization of the angels on a military pattern is very old. Usual explanations of Satan's animus against humans differ.⁵¹

The rabbinic interpretation of these verses also understood them in a military way; see *Gen. Rab.* 74:17 and 75:10. Elsewhere in rabbinic literature these verses are quoted to prove that "camp" is a reference to angels, even without a specific designation. In *Exod. Rab.* 15:6 the camp of Israel in the desert is presented as the earthly equivalent of the heavenly camp of the angels. The divine designation "Lord of Hosts" refers to God as head of the heavenly armies of angels.⁵² The term "prince" (שר) used in Dan 10:13, 20, 21, etc. for angels is also a military term. Compare the description of the angelic host as an army in *1 En.* 1:4 and in many other places.

1.4 ANGELS' FUNCTION AND ADAM'S COMMANDMENT

The legend of the fallen angels occurs in various ancient sources,⁵³ and a number of elements that appear throughout the texts discussed here point to it. According to Lewond C8, the angels are commanded to adore Adam.⁵⁴ This single element is part of the tradition found in *L.A.E.* about Satan's rebellion. Satan rebels because he refuses to bow down to Adam; see *L.A.E.* 13–16.⁵⁵ Another element from this legend is the mention of the Garden of Eden as the rebellious angels' camp referred to above,⁵⁶ behind which lies speculation as to the original heavenly location of the fallen angels. Earlier on, Lewond C8 says that commandments are given in tandem to Adam and to the angels. Each could have disobeyed God; indeed, Satan, one of the angels, rebelled, while Adam and Eve also sinned. In both instances, the texts are concerned with the disobedience of the angels and of humans and its implications.⁵⁷

50. Zak'aria Kat'olikos 5.

51. See chapter 1 §3.3 and see also Gen 32:2–4 for the idea of a camp of angels.

52. In a very vivid description of the heavenly throne in *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer* ch. 4, the four archangels are said to each lead the "camps" on the different sides of the throne; see Friedlander 1981, 22.

53. In general on this topic, among others relating to angelic hosts, see Reed 2005.

54. Lewond 4.

55. Anderson and Stone 1999, 15–18. This story is missing from the Greek *L.A.E.* The omission is discussed in Stone 1993.

56. In the Latin version of *L.A.E.* 13:1 Satan says he was expelled from heaven.

57. Nothing else is found on this topic in other sources.

1.5 ANGELS DWELL IN LIGHT

The “intelligent (beings) dwelling in the intelligible light near unapproachable light” referred to by Grigoris Aršaruni C7 are clearly the angels.⁵⁸ Light as a characteristic both of the dwelling place of the angels and of the Godhead itself is found throughout the texts.

Nothing is said in the texts from the tenth–eleventh centuries about the purpose of the creation of angels, about their relationship to humans and its similarities and differences, or about their dwelling. In comparison with the fifth-century texts, this constitutes a rather striking change, yet already the sixth- to ninth-century texts said far less about angels than the fifth-century writings. The emphasis of the discussion has shifted.

1.6 HUMANKIND IN THE IMAGE

As was true already in earlier times, the idea of the creation of man in the image of God (Gen 1:26–27) raised difficulties in the minds of theologians and exegetes. Several approaches developed. One understanding of “in his image” (Gen 1:26) was that humans are “intellectual and rational” like angels, who are intelligent beings.⁵⁹ Their exclusively rational nature expresses an aspect of the angels that sets them above humans; so Grigoris Aršaruni C7.⁶⁰ In the same passage, Grigoris goes on to argue that, while the image is “intellectual and rational,” humans in their sexuality resemble the sensible beings. In Grigor Magistros’s C10 statement, quoted and discussed above (§1.1.2), the two elements of which man was created, dust and the spirit, were regarded as the origins of the affective and the intellectual. Grigor Magistros does not mention the term “image.”

Grigor Narekac’i C10 says that the soul is the created image of God, the likeness of his form, thus reflecting both phrases of Gen 1:27. Elsewhere, he specifies that the nature of the rational man was created in the image of God and therefore had the Creator’s grace.⁶¹ Bringing these two ideas together—that the spirit is related to the intellectual or perceptive, and that the rational is the image—the texts present a clear and distinctive view.⁶² These two patterns derive exegetically from Gen 1:26 and 2:7. Both function in the same way to explain the

58. Grigoris Aršaruni 4. Note that the “intelligible light (emanating) from the Father was announced to the Virgin on Wednesday” (*ibid.*, 116).

59. See also §§1.3 and 1.5 above, where this perception of the angels is mentioned.

60. Grigoris Aršaruni 4.

61. Grigor Narekac’i 18; and see 11.

62. Grigor Narekac’i 1 naturally asserts that man was created in the image; similarly in *Book of Lamentation* 46.3 (excerpt 18). A similar general statement is found in Gēorg Loret’i 2. None of these is significant for our discussion, since they do not go beyond the biblical text itself.

rational, intellectual aspect of humans, while attributing the physical to Adam's molding from the dust.

According to Step'anos Siwnec'i C8,⁶³ when man was created he had rationality, that is, knowledge of good and evil. He had free will⁶⁴ but was good. Moreover, man's free will was inherent in his being in the image, for God had free will: so states Komitas Kat'olikos C6 quoting Irenaeus.⁶⁵ In many texts, intelligence is related to free will: how else, they imply, could wisdom be shown forth but in the autonomous choice of free will?

A similar view is proposed by Lewond C8, who asks, "How might you think that God says this passive body is his image?" The divine image, then, is something other than this passive body. This statement seems to take a polemical stance against views like those of Agat'angelos C5 and of Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7, which I discuss immediately below. Lewond explains that it means that God put into man mind, spirit, and speech, in the likeness of himself, his Spirit, and his Word.⁶⁶ Lewond certainly stresses nonmaterial aspects of humans—spirit, mind, and speech that are allied with "rationality"; cf. Grigoris Aršaruni C7 (above in this section). He does not try to reconcile this exegesis with the incarnation of Christ.

A second understanding of the image is more literal. The Creator made man in his image. Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7, who makes this statement, does not discuss how this is compatible with the proper understanding of God, as Agat'angelos had done two centuries before.⁶⁷ However, a rather literal view seems to be implied by the continuation of his words that, in the end, God made himself into man's image. This refers, of course, to the incarnation of Christ (see Yovhan Ōjnec'i excerpt 1) and so the reversal of Gen 1:26 goes along with Christ as the New Adam reversing Adam's sin. Thus, Adam is in the image of God, and the incarnated Christ is in the image of Adam. Step'anos Siwnec'i C8's statement that Emanuel is in man's image implies the same.⁶⁸ Indeed, consideration of the incarnation of Christ seems to have reinforced this idea powerfully, if it was not its point of origin. This notion is also clearly present when Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9 states that Adam says, "my God and Creator, on account of me, wished to become like me."⁶⁹

A third line of exegesis sees the image expressed not in the form of humans but in their lordship, which derives from the blessing in Gen 1:28–30, espe-

63. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

64. T'ovma Arcruni 1.

65. Komitas Kat'olikos 4.

66. Lewond 4. Behind this statement lie trinitarian ideas.

67. Agat'angelos 18–19; see chapter 1 §1.6

68. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 1; Step'anos Siwnec'i 1.

69. Zak'aria Kat'olikos 4. In a literary play on this, in a dialogue between death and Lazarus's grave in T'ēop'ilos 3, the grave says that it took man who was in the image of God and made him in its (the grave's) image.

cially 1:28. Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 stresses this when he calls man "the kingly image, in the image of God's lordship," whom God honored by creating with his own hands.⁷⁰ Step'anos also describes this lordship as being connected with glory, presumably drawing on the idea of the glory that inheres in kings.⁷¹ In the next century, T'ovma Arcruni C9 repeats the ideas of Adam's lordship and royal glory, stating that Adam in the Garden was crowned with honor, glory, and princely splendor.⁷² T'ovma Arcruni combines this idea with that of the free will of humans and cites Ps 8:5–6 in this connection.⁷³ Step'anos Siwnec'i speaks of God's adorning man with light, with the divine glory.⁷⁴ Timot'ēos *vardapet* C10 also stresses Adam's creation with the characteristic of lordship or power.⁷⁵

Tiranun *vardapet* C10 has a disquisition on why God created Adam in the image. He suggests a number of reasons: that Adam was according to the image, for God would put on the image in the incarnation; that he was according to the image in being immortal; and in that he was "lord of all and autonomous (in will)." Taking up a theme mentioned in the fifth-century sources, Tiranun *vardapet* says that when Adam opened his eyes, he saw God, who had taken on a human appearance.⁷⁶ Thus, he combines several lines of exegesis of the image.

2.0 THE GARDEN OF EDEN

That God established Eden is asserted already in Gen 2:8, and see further Grigor Narekac'i C10.⁷⁷ This is the unanimous view expressed in the Armenian sources.

In the period under consideration, ideas start to develop about the geographical location of the Garden of Eden. T'ovma Arcruni C9 informs us that the Garden is in the very east (compare Gen 2:8), and nobody lives beyond it.⁷⁸ The eastern location is in itself not surprising, though the comment that nobody lived beyond it is new. Grigor Magistros C10 says that the Garden of Eden was to

70. Step'anos Siwnec'i 7.

71. See Step'anos Siwnec'i 7. "Glory" is Armenian *ḥuunp*. The particular association of glory with kings is an ancient theme, found already in Iranian sources. See Duchesne-Guillemin 1962, 215–16, 293, 300, etc.; James Russell 1987, 347, 520, etc. Adam's glory is mentioned in Ben Sira 49:16.

72. T'ovma Arcruni 2.

73. T'ovma Arcruni 1. Psalm 8:5–9 = Arm 8:6–10 reads: "Yet you have made them a little lower than God, and crowned them with glory and honor. You have given them dominion over the works of your hands; you have put all things under their feet, all sheep and oxen, and also the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the fish of the sea, whatever passes along the paths of the seas. O Lord, our Sovereign, how majestic is your name in all the earth!"

74. Step'anos Siwnec'i 20.

75. Timot'ēos *vardapet* 2.

76. Tiranun *vardapet* 15. See §2.6 below, where Adam's naming of the creatures is related to his creation in the image of God.

77. Grigor Narekac'i 26 and 27.

78. T'ovma Arcruni 2.

the east and was adorned with plants and trees heavy with fruit,⁷⁹ while Grigor Narekac'i C10 characterizes it as "a site of dwelling, a desirable place, | And a garden of life, flourishing with plants."⁸⁰ This is a rather literal understanding of the physical character of the Garden, which may be contrasted with the view in *Yačapatum Čark* C5 104, which stresses its noetic character.

T'ovma Arcruni C9 says that the stream that flows out of Eden (Gen 2:10), sinks below the earth and emerges in four parts.⁸¹ The actual way the stream came out of the Garden was the subject of some discussion. One of the options, already suggested by Ephrem Syrus, talks about the subterranean flowing of four streams, which resembles the idea known to T'ovma Arcruni here.⁸²

The Garden is luminous and does not require the light of the sun or moon. The luminosity of the paradisiacal realm is considerably emphasized in the later traditions embedded in apocryphal and other literature.⁸³ It is connected with very old ideas of the brightness of the creation light, called by the rabbis "the light of the seven days (i.e., the week of creation)."⁸⁴ It is clear, therefore, that in his description of the Garden of Eden, T'ovma Arcruni C9 utilizes a number of traditions that are not found in preceding Armenian authors. According to tenth-century sources, the Garden contained luminous glory⁸⁵ and delightful splendor.⁸⁶ Anania Sanahneč'i C11 speaks of its blossoming trees and verdant branches.⁸⁷ None of the animals, including the serpent, was admissible to the Garden.⁸⁸ According to Tiranun *vardapet* C10, "Adam, Eve, Paradise and fruit and animals and cattle are perfect."⁸⁹

The idea that the Garden of Eden was on a mountain was not explicitly

79. Grigor Magistros 8.

80. Grigor Narekac'i 29; cf. 14.

81. T'ovma Arcruni 2. On the stream that flows from Eden and its underground channels, see Nira Stone 2008. T'ovma Arcruni is one of the oldest Armenian witnesses to this idea.

82. An example occurs in the Syriac *Commentary on Genesis* (2.6.4.) by Ephrem Syrus (306–373 C.E.), who writes, "Because Paradise is on a great height, the rivers are swallowed up again and they go down to the sea as if through a tall water-duct and they pass through the land which is under the sea into this land" (E. G. Mathews and Amar 1994, 101). That paradise was on a mountain was a common theme, and Ephrem's description of the rivers is clearly the same concept as is later represented visually by Avramenc' in J285, and it can be documented elsewhere. Ephrem's works were widely known.

83. So T'ovma Arcruni 2. See, e.g., Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, 1.2.13–14 (Stone 2007a, 91–92, and index s.v. "light").

84. *Gen. Rab.* ch. 12; *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer* ch. 51.

85. See Grigor Narekac'i 5. Concerning the Edenic glory, see also the poem *On the Fall of Adam*, stanza 3 (Stone 1996a, 7; see also *ibid.*, 20, 112–13. These latter sources, however, are hard to date. Glory in the Garden is a much-hymned theme in later texts; see, e.g., Stone 2007a, index, s.v. "glory."

86. Yakob Cpatec'i 1.

87. Anania Sanahneč'i 1.

88. Yakob Cpatec'i 1.

89. Tiranun *vardapet* 1.

present in the fifth-century Armenian sources, though it was conceivably hinted at by P'awstos.⁹⁰ In the treatise *On the Explanation of Numbers*, Anania Širakac'i C7 states that "Adam, being chased outside by God, ran down from a height."⁹¹ This seems quite clearly to refer to Eden on a mountain; the idea is known already to Ephrem Syrus in Syriac, but in no earlier Armenian sources is it as explicit as here.

In an intriguing passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 speaks of Adam as being "cast down to earth from the seven included spiritual classes, separated by a very distant grade, he was deprived of glory."⁹² However, it seems unlikely that in this context "cast down to earth" implies a mountain. In fact, the mention of the seven spiritual classes seems to refer to a heavenly status and not the geography of paradise, for the text continues: "he was transformed from spirit into body, . . . he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of knowledge, of piety." This was falling down from seven qualities.

Adam was brought into paradise like a king into his court, according to Grigoris Aršaruni C7,⁹³ evoking a widespread image of Adam as king.⁹⁴ As for corruptibility in the Garden, corruption was present from creation on, since eating implies corruptibility (Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7).⁹⁵ Had God not considered the nutritional need to be primary, he would not have created the Garden with fruit-bearers, and he would not have commanded man to eat (Gen 2:16). This view, of course, raises problems about Adam's paradisiacal state.

2.1 ADAM PLACED IN THE GARDEN

A number of authorities say that God placed Adam in the Garden, which adds nothing to the biblical text.⁹⁶

90. See chapter 1 §1.1.3 (end).

91. Anania Širakac'i 1. For Eden on a height, compare Brock 1982, 11–37 especially p. 12; Henze 2001, 558–59 n. 20; Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis* 2.6.4 in Mathews and Amar 1994, 101 and note there; Ephrem, *Hymns on Paradise* 1.4–5 in Brock 1990, 51; and Murray 1975, 306–10.

92. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13. Note the expression "falling" or "cast down to earth," relating to fallen angels; see Step'anos Siwnec'i in §4.2 below; cf. also §3.2.

93. Grigoris Aršaruni 4.

94. See §1.6 above. Adam is sometimes painted in later sources with a crown, and sometimes Adam and Eve are represented with crowns. See the illumination of crowned Adam in J1667 of 1529; on a Kūtahya tile of ca. 1720 in St. Ejmiacin Chapel in the Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem, with a crowned Adam; Adam and Eve in the Paris Hymnal of 1591; and others. See fig. 1.

95. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 2. Compare the question of the three men (divine beings) eating as Abraham's guests; see Stone 2012, *Story of Father Abraham* 13–16, *Story of Father Abraham* A 25, etc. The theological issues raised there are not prefiqured here.

96. Grigor Narekac'i 1; Grigor Magistros 11; compare Gen 2:8.



Fig. 1. Crowned Adam with Eve, Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate J1667 of the year 1529. Photo by M. Stone.

2.2 GOD SHOWED ADAM TWO TREES

According to the *History* attributed to Anania Širakac'i C7, Adam received the commandment from God's mouth.⁹⁷ Initially, the commandment that God gave to Adam was to fast, so the command not to eat of the tree was taken as a sort of fasting. Adam fell, deceived by mortal fruit, and then he became an eater of grass, like the animals. As a result, the earth was cursed, and hard agricultural labor was instituted—"by the sweat of your brow you shall eat bread" (Gen 3:17–19), so Xosrovik T'argmanič' C8 states.⁹⁸ Note that Xosrovik shares this exegesis with the *L.A.E.*⁹⁹

One of the few passages in which the purpose of the divine commandment is discussed is by T'ovma Arcruni C9. He states that the commandment was given to help Adam reach greater goals.¹⁰⁰ Dawit' Hark'ac'i C7 wrote a long passage in which good and evil are likened to two trees. Underlying this passage is clearly a metaphor drawing on Genesis 1–3, and particularly on Gen 3:7.¹⁰¹

Grigor Magistros C10 describes the two trees in the Garden as "most incorruptible and luminous . . . superior and more significant."¹⁰² Both, he says, were forbidden. This statement, of course, combines with Gen 2:17, in which Adam is commanded not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and Gen 3:22, where God says, "See, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil; and now, he might reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever." Thus, there are two forbidden trees, the tree of knowledge (Gen 2:17) and the tree of life (Gen 3:22).¹⁰³ Further, Grigor Magistros says, "For the tree of life was the symbol of the altar and (the tree) of knowledge, of God's teaching and commandments,"¹⁰⁴ making the allegorical meaning of the trees explicit. God did not proscribe them initially because of envy, but forbade eating of them until the proper time. The prohibition was only for a short time, for both trees were destined as food for Adam.¹⁰⁵ In line with this exegesis, Grigor Magistros states elsewhere that Adam and Eve abstained only from the tree of knowledge of life—and that only temporarily—for by "eating of it at the proper time, they would become close to their God."¹⁰⁶ This should be taken as elliptical, for

97. Anania Širakac'i 5.

98. Xosrovik T'argmanič' 3.

99. *L.A.E.* 3:1 (Anderson and Stone 1999, 3) and *Pen. Adam* [44](16):2–3 (Anderson and Stone 1999, 65).

100. T'ovma Arcruni 2.

101. Dawit' Hark'ac'i 1.

102. Grigor Magistros 8.

103. Of course, scholars of the Hebrew Bible analyze these passages differently, but Grigor Magistros reads them as one seamless whole.

104. Grigor Magistros 10.

105. Grigor Magistros 8.

106. Grigor Magistros 12.

nowhere else is the tree called “of knowledge of life.” Similarly Tiranun *vardapet* C10 says that the tree was not in itself evil but received negative value due to the commandment.¹⁰⁷

2.3 INTERCOURSE IN THE GARDEN?

The idea that the protoplasts had sexual intercourse in the Garden is far from explicit in the thoughts of Grigoris Aršaruni C7, who, however, uses suggestive imagery to talk of Adam as a king placed in the Garden with Eve, his queen, “so that he could rejoice inside, like a bridegroom with his bride.”¹⁰⁸

Intercourse, Tiranun *vardapet* C10 implies, was connected with Adam and Eve’s recognition, after their sin, that they were naked. The recognition, he says, “was knowing their nakedness and the indecent manner of the coition of man and woman.”¹⁰⁹ This statement does not say explicitly that they had intercourse in the Garden, but that a consciousness of nakedness and the inception of intercourse followed on the eating of the fruit.

2.4 THE STATE OF ADAM IN THE GARDEN

Grigoris Aršaruni C7 asserts that it is clear that Adam must have eaten in the Garden and that God “fed the body with fruit without labor.”¹¹⁰

Moreover, Yovhan Ōjnec’i C8 says that the Genesis story teaches us about a number of aspects of human character. From the threat in Gen 2:17, we learn that a disposition to fear was inherent in humans; from “to till and to keep” (Gen 2:15), we learn of labor and care;¹¹¹ from “God caused a deep sleep to fall” (Gen 2:21), we learn of the action of sleep.¹¹² Similarly, Step’anos Siwnec’i C8 observed that in his nature Adam had fear (from Gen 2:17) and will (inferred from his disobedience).¹¹³ However, Yovhan Ōjnec’i observed, prescience is not inherent in human nature but is sometimes given as a gift.¹¹⁴

107. Tiranun *vardapet* 7.

108. Grigoris Aršaruni 4. Compare chapter 1 §2.3, where Agat’angelos’s text seems to imply that this was the case.

109. Tiranun *vardapet* 8.

110. Grigoris Aršaruni 17; see also §2.0 above. In chapter 1 §1.4 we observed that the Armenian word *quhḥp* (“fast”) may indicate a limited abstention, such as from the fruit, not necessarily complete abstention from food.

111. According to Grigor Narekac’i 1, God commanded Adam to work and keep the Garden, closely following Gen 2:15 Compare also Grigor Narekac’i 6.

112. Yohan Ōjnec’i 3.

113. Step’anos Siwnec’i 13.

114. Yovhan Ōjnec’i 3.

Yovhan Ȫjnec'i continues that, as long as Adam strove to keep the commandment, he was not subject to death and corruption, but when he sinned he fell under their yoke.¹¹⁵ Above in §2.0, I noted that Yovhan Ȫjnec'i regards corruptibility as a correlative of Adam's eating, though I observed that this is in tension with the idea that Adam was created immortal, for he ate before he sinned, by divine commandment. Adam was created truly very close to God.

Adam in the Garden had զլուսաւորութիւն եւ զանկարօս եւ զանցաւ եւ զանմահ կեանս, "splendour and plenitude, and painless and immortal life."¹¹⁶ In this statement we find a sort of summary of the main aspects of Adam's paradisiacal state. He wore a luminous garment; that is, he was surrounded by glory.¹¹⁷ Yakob Cpatec'i C10 says, "The beginning of life, which was given to the forefather, was crowned with peace, when the evil one was not yet opposed to the good, and he flourished through it with the delightful splendour of the Garden."¹¹⁸ Naturally, when we examine the things that Adam lost by sinning and the ramifications of the curses, we can learn what qualities he had before sinning.¹¹⁹ Such things were immortality, splendor, an untroubled life, sinlessness, and proximity to God.

A little different from these ideas, which are widespread, is Grigor Narekac'i C10's assertion that Adam in the Garden had the gifts of the spirit.¹²⁰ Moreover, he adds, after eating the fruit he did not totally lose them. He had the prophetic spirit while he was in the Garden, even after the sin. This is witnessed by the fact that even after eating the fruit, he still knew prophetically of salvation to come through the Virgin and for that reason called Eve "mother of all living" (Gen 3:20).

Uxtanēs C10 stresses Adam's royal function, denoting him "king," which was a result of the blessing in Gen 1:28. First, the kingdom was created, Uxtanēs says, and then the king entered.¹²¹ This royal language is used also by Grigor Magistros C10 in *To Manuč'ē*.¹²² The idea is highlighted by Timot'ēos *vardapet* C10, who says, "he made Adam, in the state¹²³ of power, since as the power of God is over all, likewise is Adam's lordship."¹²⁴

115. Yovhan Ȫjnec'i 4.

116. Grigor Narekac'i 6. Grigor Magistros 10 speaks of Adam's "untroubled life."

117. T'ēop'ilos 4; Anania Sanahnec'i 1; and compare Grigor Narekac'i 14 and 18; Xosrow Anjewac'i 3 uses the term պսոնաւլից ("full of glory, honor").

118. Yakob Cpatec'i 1.

119. See §4.2 below.

120. Grigor Narekac'i 5.

121. Uxtanēs 1.

122. Grigor Magistros 11. Compare also the language of kingship in §§1.6 and 2.0.

123. Or: form.

124. Timot'ēos *vardapet* 2.

2.5 THE CREATION OF THE ANIMALS

The creation of the animals is not discussed in the sixth- to ninth- and eleventh-century excerpts and is mentioned only once in a tenth-century text. “God made the creatures fully complete, perfect and not defective, so that afterwards in the course of time they might be perfect, as today the plants and animals. Behold Adam, Eve, Paradise and fruit and animals and cattle are perfect,” says Tiranun *vardapet* C10.¹²⁵ Not much more is said about the creation of fauna.

2.6 NAMING BY ADAM

Adam’s naming of the creatures was a major topic in the fifth century but disappears from the discussion in the sixth to ninth centuries. Grigor Magistros C10 takes it up again in *To Manuč’ē* and sees the naming as an outcome of Adam’s lordship over the earth.¹²⁶ Grigor Narekac’i C10 held the same view. Thus, Adam knew the names of the animals through the Holy Spirit.¹²⁷ Grigor Narekac’i also developed the idea that as long as Adam was in the Garden, that is, between the sin and his expulsion, he “did not totally lose the Spirit.” This “residual” Spirit is connected with the second naming of Eve in Gen 3:20, which took place shortly before the expulsion. Grigor Narekac’i C10 maintains that Adam did not, in fact, sin through pride, though he ate the fruit.¹²⁸ Thus, he maintained a modicum of the prophetic spirit. Adam’s second naming of his wife, Eve, which is related in Gen 3:20, was prophetic, for he was prophesying that through her life would come by means of the Virgin. It is beyond doubt that this prophetic act was performed not merely after eating the fruit but after the curses.¹²⁹

Timot’ēos *vardapet* C10 has a very similar view of naming. God gave Adam the names, and Adam gave them to the animals. Thus God honored him as a participant in creation.¹³⁰ Timot’ēos *vardapet* stresses naming as part of the process of creation, which is highlighted by his observation that names are necessary for life.¹³¹ Unlike Grigor Narekac’i, Timot’ēos has no problem with Adam sinning. Tiranun *vardapet* C10 also thinks that God, by permitting Adam to name the

125. Tiranun *vardapet* 1. Compare also excerpt 3.

126. Grigor Magistros 11.

127. Grigor Narekac’i 5. In spite of the apparent meaning of the sentence, it is clear from the continuation that Adam named the animals before he sinned, which is also the biblical order of events.

128. See chapter 3 §4.1.1.

129. On the naming, see Stone 2007b. The prophetic spirit is discussed in §2.4 above.

130. Timot’ēos *vardapet* 4.

131. By presenting Adam as a partner in creation, Timot’ēos *vardapet* makes his wish to become like God the more blameworthy; see Timot’ēos *vardapet* 4.

creatures, made him a participant in the act of creation, because Adam was created in the image.¹³²

2.7 THE TYPE OF TREE

In a hymn, Sahak Jorap'orec'i C7 says that the tree is mortal; that is, it causes death. Subsequently, this becomes a common designation for it: compare *Adam Fragment 1*: "If this mortal tree is so shining and bright . . ."¹³³ In none of the texts I excerpted from the sixth–eleventh centuries is the type of tree mentioned, such as a fig, a vine, or an apple, only that it was a fruit-bearing tree. It is usually described as being splendid, with sweet fruit.¹³⁴ The fig tree is mentioned in connection with the cursing of Adam by T'ēop'ilos *vardapet* C9, but is not related to the tree of knowledge.¹³⁵ This is, of course, based on an exegesis of Gen 3:6–8. In §2.2 above, I have discussed the description of the tree of knowledge in the Garden.

2.8 EVE, TRADITIONS ABOUT

As Adam became the inverse type of Christ, so Eve was the inverse type of the Virgin. She is set into a correlative relationship with the Virgin. A number of her characteristics are highlighted, and statements are made about her that are best understood in light of this developing typology. God called Eve life (Gen 3:20), for he knew that just as death is caused by a woman, so is life.¹³⁶ The statement, quoted in §2.6, that Eve was rightly called the mother of all living because she was the ancestor of the Virgin, makes this correlation more explicit. In the "Panegyric of the Holy Cross" attributed to Dawit' the Invincible C7, Eve is called "the virgin born of Adam,"¹³⁷ which seems to be a deliberate reversal of the idea of Christ born of the Virgin. A similar dynamic may be observed in Grigoris Aršaruni C7's statement that the birth of Christ took place on account of Eve.¹³⁸ This is, of course, literally so, according to the biblical account, but it is emphasized and creates a sort of chiasmic typology. From another perspective, the Virgin is said to annul Eve's դատապարտութիւն ("condemnation")

132. Tiranun *vardapet* 3.

133. Sahak Jorap'orec'i 2, and see further 3. See Stone 1982, 6–9.

134. In a poetic context, Grigor Narekac'i describes the fruit as "[t]he bitter fruit of this tree rooted in Hell," but "rooted in Hell" is surely metaphorical, speaking of the result of eating its fruit. See excerpt 20.

135. T'ēop'ilos *vardapet* 1. See also in T'ēop'ilos's list of things lost by Adam's sin (4).

136. Grigoris Aršaruni 5. In Genesis, it is Adam who calls her "life." Grigoris attributes this to God speaking through Adam in prophecy.

137. Dawit' the Invincible 1.

138. Grigoris Aršaruni 5.

eschatologically.¹³⁹ Another approach arises from Eve's culpability for the sin in the Garden. Thus, Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9 describes her as "lazy, naked, slow-minded . . . going around dancing in the Garden."¹⁴⁰

In §1.1.1 above, I discussed the views as to the day of the week on which Adam was created. There apparently existed a tradition that Eve was created on Wednesday and entered paradise on Friday. This, to some extent, resembles Adam. God thought of Adam on Wednesday but created him only on Friday. Grigoris Aršaruni quoted this tradition but doubted its reliability because it reflects ideas not in the biblical text.¹⁴¹ I cannot locate its origin more specifically. It seems rather likely that the development of ideas about Eve was connected with the growing role the Virgin came to play in Armenian devotion.

The traditions relating to Eve's creation are mentioned here only when they supplement or differ from the biblical account. Note that Tiranun *vardapet* C10 says that Adam recognized Eve in his sleep.¹⁴² He also says that Adam, Eve, paradise, and the fauna and flora were created perfect.¹⁴³ Eve spoke with the serpent outside the Garden, since the serpent could not enter it. This reflects the idea in *Pen. Adam* [44](17):1, which reads, "And the two of them [i.e., Satan and the serpent] came together and they allowed their heads to hang on the wall of the Garden"—that is, they were outside it. In *Pen. Adam* [44](18):6 the serpent says, "Come, open the gate for me and I will enter and I will give you of the fruit." So we learn that the serpent was locked outside. Certain pictures of the temptation show the serpent outside the wall of the Garden: for example, Matenadaran M4820 (fourteenth century), fol 4a.¹⁴⁴

Indeed, Grigor Narekac'i C10 particularly stresses Eve's culpability for the sin. Her motive for sin was the desire to become (a) god, while Adam's was his love of Eve. In other terms, Grigor Narekac'i sets primary culpability squarely on Eve's shoulders when he says that she was beguiled by the serpent but Adam was not, for he had the prophetic spirit.¹⁴⁵ In other passages Grigor Narekac'i repeats the idea that it was Eve who was culpable for sins.¹⁴⁶ The same point of view

139. Grigor Narekac'i 24 and 25; see also excerpt 2, though the statement is only implied there.

140. Zak'aria Kat'olikos 7.

141. Grigoris Aršaruni 8. Grigoris constructs the Wednesday pattern: because light was created on Wednesday, the annunciation of the perceptible light issuing from the Father was on Wednesday; as living creatures appeared on Wednesday, so the mother of living was created on Wednesday.

142. Tiranun *vardapet* 4.

143. Tiranun *vardapet* 1.

144. This is reproduced in Stone 2002, 83; the serpent outside the Garden is discussed on pp. 82–84.

145. See Grigor Narekac'i 5 and compare the discussion of his statement in §4.2.

146. Eve is culpable for sins (Grigor Narekac'i 5).

is forwarded by Tiranun *vardapet* C10¹⁴⁷ and also supported Anania Narekac'i C10, citing 1 Tim 2:14 as stating, "Adam did not sin, but Eve [sinned]." This is actually a variant on 1 Timothy's text, which reads, "Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived." The Armenian text of 1 Timothy reads "deceived" (պատառեցաւ) and Anania replaces this with "sinned" (մեղաւ),

Simēon Alj nec'i C10 says that Eve sinned with all five senses.¹⁴⁸ This is another instance of the introduction of a Greek category into biblical exegesis, like the turning of the dust from which Adam was created into the four elements. Grigor Magistros C10 exhibits a different attitude to Adam's sin, when he compares Eve's insinuation of pernicious words to the serpent's.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, her subordinate role is reflected in the curse "he shall rule over you" (Gen 3:16).¹⁵⁰

According to Simēon Alj nec'i C10, Eve is buried in a cave in Shechem, in the portion of Benjamin. This odd tradition, identifying Hebron and Shechem, also appears in later Armenian texts.¹⁵¹ Grigor Narekac'i says that Eve will flourish together with Adam in the Garden at the eschaton.¹⁵²

3.0 SATAN

Satan is "he who fought with the Forefather" according to Anania Širakac'i C7.¹⁵³ In chapter 1 §3.1 (end) I discussed how the language of war and fighting typified Satan's attack on Eve in apocryphal sources (including the Armenian *Pen. Adam* 11:2), but it was not found in the fifth-century Armenian authors examined. The terminology of Satan, serpent, and dragon (*višap*) becomes very much interwoven in the sources being discussed here.¹⁵⁴

147. Tiranun *vardapet* 16.

148. Simēon Alj nec'i 1; on four elements, see §1.1.2 above.

149. Grigor Magistros 2.

150. Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos 1; Tiranun *vardapet*, 14.

151. Simēon Alj nec'i 1. See the note on the text of this passage. In *Memorial of the Forefathers* 23 (Stone 2012, 69), we find a similar confusion: "And Abraham bought the cave in Hebron, which is Shechem, from the sons of Emovr." The passage actually refers to the Cave of Machpelah in Hebron (Gen 23:8–18; 49:3), and this passage's further confusion of Hebron and Shechem is notable. Shechem is not in the territory of Benjamin. The same confusion occurs in the Synaxarium text (§14) published in the same work, where it says that Abraham was buried with Sarah, "in Shechem, in the cave of Hebron." It is unclear how Shechem entered the burial tradition, but "Ephron" may have been confused with "Hebron." Some rabbinic traditions place Adam and Eve's burial in the Cave of Machpelah in Hebron: see *Pirqe R. El.* ch. 36; *b. Erub.* 5b and 3a; *b. Soṭah* 13a; *b. B. Bat.* 58a; and *Gen. Rab.* 58:8. On this motif, see also Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

152. Grigor Narekac'i 2.

153. զայն որմարտեաւն ընդ նախահորն: Anania Širakac'i in Abrahamyan 1944, 247. This passage is not given here among the excerpts from Širakac'i, since it is in a poor textual condition.

154. The different patterns of relationship between Satan and the serpent are discussed in the appendix, "Satan and the Serpent."

Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos C10 says that Satan was the cause of all evil and he deceived Eve.¹⁵⁵ Movsēs Kałankatuac'i C10 asserts that he caused Adam's expulsion from the Garden.¹⁵⁶

3.1 SATAN AND THE SERPENT

When we examine the actual relationship between Satan and the serpent, the only explicit statement is by T'ovma Arcruni C9, who says that Satan nested in the serpent.¹⁵⁷ Earlier Satan had been said to ride on the serpent, to enter into him, and the terms "instrument" or "lyre" denoted the serpent's role.¹⁵⁸ The language of the serpent as the instrument of Satan or the lyre upon which he played is not prominent in the sources discussed in the present chapter.¹⁵⁹

In more general terms, in the biblical epic poem *To Manuč'ē*, Grigor Magistros C10 says: "Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue | Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant."¹⁶⁰ Here the idea is that Satan deceived the serpent into conniving in his attack on Adam and Eve. That event is described clearly in the primary Adam books. There Satan plays on the serpent's pride, just as his own pride has motivated him to his hatred of Adam; see *Pen. Adam* 12.1–16.3. Tiranun vardapet C10 observes that Satan co-opted the willing serpent.¹⁶¹

In an eschatological prophecy in *Poem on the Lord Coming to Lazarus*, Grigor Narekac'i C10 speaks of the punishment of "the first [i.e., primordial] serpent" and his Deceiver, together with his servants, that is, the demons.¹⁶² Thus, he clearly knows the idea that Satan deceived the serpent. He distinguishes between Satan and the primordial serpent and associates the demons with Satan. In his *Commentary on Song of Songs*, he speaks of "the serpent's false promise, which was through Satan." Here, too, the distinction between the two villains is preserved, and Satan's use of the serpent as an instrument is described.¹⁶³

The dragon-serpent wished to become god of the material world, states Grigoris Aršaruni C7. This statement seems to imply that the dragon-serpent's ambition was limited to the material world.¹⁶⁴ Is this just a restatement of Lucifer's ambition to become God (Isa 14:13–14), which was very early interpreted of Satan? Or is

155. Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos 1. Observe that only Satan is mentioned in this context, without the serpent.

156. Movsēs Kałankatuac'i 1.

157. Stone 2008a, 146–47; the only other source we discovered with this "nesting" image is Grigoris Alt'amarac'i 2. See T'ovma Arcruni 4.

158. Stone 2008a, 141–86.

159. Stone 2008a, 148–49; 2009, 91. On the above images, see the appendix.

160. Grigor Magistros 12.

161. Tiranun vardapet 10.

162. Grigor Narekac'i 3.

163. Grigor Narekac'i 5.

164. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

it a deliberate modeling of the serpent-dragon in the material world after Satan-Lucifer? I doubt that such a distinction was maintained systematically. Moreover, in Gen 3:5, it is actually the serpent who speaks with Eve and offers her divinity, even though in later sources this was understood to be Satan's work. In the ninth century, T'ovma Arcruni states that Satan yearned for divine glory, a much more conventional formulation.¹⁶⁵ Yet it combines the Lucifer passage (Isa 14:13–14) with the implications of the serpent's address to Adam and Eve in Gen 3:5.

Grigor Narekac'i C10's phrase "the curse of the first one"¹⁶⁶ refers to Satan, yet there is no biblical curse of Satan, only of the serpent. Again this indicates that Satan and the serpent fell together in some Armenian sources. In contrast to it, Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos C10's statement that the serpent shall eat earth and that its head will be crushed conforms to the usual exegesis of the biblical curse.¹⁶⁷

The serpent's wiliness and deception, featured already in Gen 3:1, are highlighted by Grigor Magistros C10's reference to the serpent's pernicious words of deception¹⁶⁸ and Anania Sanahnec'i C11's statement that it insinuated itself into Garden.¹⁶⁹ Observe that apparently this contradicts the tradition mentioned in §2.8 above, that the serpent could not enter the Garden.¹⁷⁰ Grigor Narekac'i C10 mentions deception by Satan, when in fact in the biblical text the deception was by the serpent.¹⁷¹ Likewise, Grigor Magistros mentions Satan's words of insinuation, which must refer to the serpent's speech.¹⁷² Similarly, the two figures fall together in Xosrov Anjewac'i C10's statement that Satan raised hope in Eve that he was the maker of gods.¹⁷³

On other occasions, Grigor Narekac'i speaks only of deception by the serpent, as do Samuēl Kamrjajorec'i C10 and others.¹⁷⁴ Tiranun *vardapet* C10 discusses the serpent's power of speech and also infers from the curse in Gen 3:14, that he lost his feet.¹⁷⁵ This is a common exegetical strategy.

3.2 THE FALL OF SATAN

The Evil One, here called *višap* ("dragon-serpent"; see §3.1), fell from his luminous, splendid glory. At this point in the primordial history, man was left with

165. T'ovma Arcruni 3.

166. Grigor Narekac'i 24.

167. Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos 1.

168. Grigor Magistros 2.

169. Anania Sanahnec'i 1.

170. See §2.8 above. The dominant iconography of the temptation shows the serpent wrapped around the tree of knowledge.

171. Grigor Narekac'i 17. See the preceding paragraph.

172. Grigor Magistros 2.

173. Xosrov Anjewac'i 1.

174. See Grigor Narekac'i 7; Samuēl Kamrjajorec' 6; and cf. Simēon Aļjnc' 3.

175. Tiranun *vardapet* 9, 10, and 11.

his free will to decide whether to obey or disobey the divine commandment.¹⁷⁶ This was a test for humans, who failed it and fell into the region of the venomous serpent and inherited death. This formulation by Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos C8 combines a number of features.¹⁷⁷ Because Satan is referred to as *višap* "dragon, serpent" and falls from his glory,¹⁷⁸ he seems to be identified as the ruler of this world in which death prevails, the venomous serpent. In the texts discussed in this section, Satan's actual sin is not made explicit, though it is clear from Grigoris Aršaruni C7, quoted in the preceding section, that he aspired to God's throne. Moreover, according to Grigor Narekac'i C10, Satan was an angel who fell because of his exaltation and arrogance,¹⁷⁹ which is part of the same complex of ideas.¹⁸⁰ As already noted, this tradition resembles that found in *Pen. Adam* 12.1–17.3, though in that version the connection with Isa 14:12 is not made.

T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor C7 claims that Satan was fearless and that this weakness that led to his fall; humans should learn from this paradigm, he says.¹⁸¹ Grigoris Aršaruni C7 says that the King of glory with his hosts bound the brigand-serpent and condemned it to death.¹⁸² According to Grigoris Aršaruni's text, the sin of the brigand-serpent is the seduction of humans. At this point he seems to be talking about the serpent of the Garden, and he formulates its punishment analogously with that of the thief on the cross. Yet the running together of the serpent and Satan permeates this passage. Two sentences earlier, Grigoris has said, "So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon-serpent who wished to become god of the material world." Obviously, this is not the serpent's sin. The punishment, though conceived typologically with that of the crucified thief, is Satan's and not the serpent's, for the latter was roundly cursed in Gen 3:14–15 to much more mundane punishments than being bound and condemned to death. Being bound and condemned to death was the punishment of fallen angels from earliest times; see already *I En.* 10:4–7.

Hamam Arewelc'i C9 interprets the verse "Before its breaking, the heart of man is haughty; and before thought, it is destroyed" (Prov 18:12) to refer to Satan and says:

The heart of Satan was raised up prior to his fall, who in rebellion wished to be raised above his companions. For this reason he was debased to this great fall before the mighty God. And this happened prior to his expectation;¹⁸³ while he

176. See §1.6.

177. Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos 1.

178. Compare the statements in §2.4 above on Adam's prelapsarian glory. Note also the virtual equivalence of Satan and the dragon in Revelation 12.

179. Grigor Narekac'i 8.

180. Grigor Narekac'i 8.

181. T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor 3.

182. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

183. This word, which may mean "idea, opinion (as opposed to knowledge), fantasy," is not clear in the context of the passage and is surely derived from the wording of the verse.

was in the same desire he was brought down and debased before everyone. He who was the shining morning star,¹⁸⁴ was named darkness because of his pride, and became so.¹⁸⁵

In this passage nearly all the features of the myth of the fall of Satan are evident. His sin was overweening pride and excessive ambition; he fell down from heaven and lost his heavenly luminosity; he was made dark. The reference to the Lucifer passage in Isa 14:13–14 is explicit, and Hamam works out that passage in detail. Grigor Magistros C10 states that Satan was formerly Lucifer.¹⁸⁶ This again brings Isa 14:12 together with the fall of Satan. Elsewhere, it has been observed that this occurs at an early time explicitly only in the Latin version of the primary Adam book.¹⁸⁷ Later, it is a well-established theme. As already noted, this tradition resembles that found in the Armenian *Pen. Adam* 12.1–17.3, though in that version of *L.A.E.* the connection with Isa 14:12 is not made.

Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 says that when Satan, the Deceiver, and his followers fell, it amazed the heavenly host because they shared a mark of power being in the glory of the firmament.¹⁸⁸ This is the common view, that Satan was one of the highest angels before he fell. His fall, Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9 notes, left his heavenly camp empty.¹⁸⁹ Indeed, Zak'aria Kat'olikos expatiates on Satan and his role as an opposing power. God prevented Satan from (re)entering the Garden by means of the fire and the flaming sword. Observe that in the Bible the flaming sword is directed against Adam, not Satan (Gen 3:24).¹⁹⁰ Subsequently Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9 states that Satan drew humans into idolatry, spread death, created a kingdom in hell, and imprisoned spirits there so they could not escape and take wing to heaven.¹⁹¹ He blames Satan for the sin even more severely than he blames Adam and Eve.

3.3 SATAN'S ENVY

In the present section I turn our attention to the reasons for Satan's actions against Adam. The literature being considered refers to deceit as the tool Satan used, and

184. Or: a brilliant Lucifer.

185. Hamam Arewelc'i 3. Translation from Thomson 2005, 133.

186. Grigor Magistros 12.

187. See Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3. The verse is omitted by the Armenian and Georgian versions.

188. Step'anos Siwnec'i 2.

189. See §1.3, where I explore the military language used of the angels.

190. Above I discussed the idea that the serpent was not allowed to enter the Garden; see §2.8.

191. Zak'aria Kat'olikos 5. The idea that Satan prevents the souls from flying up to heaven is to be found in *Ques. Ezra* B 6, 12–13, an undated work. There, however, it states that Satan imprisons them in the atmosphere. In the present text by Zak'aria Kat'olikos, we find the old understanding that Satan built hell to imprison the souls. *Adam Story I* §14 narrates the same material, but its date is uncertain. "And Satan, having gone happily, built Hell, and all the souls of the progeny of Adam he put in there by means of his demons" (Stone 1996a, 106).

deceit and envy are typical attributes of Satan.¹⁹² In many sources, from Wis 2:24 on, Satan's envy is stressed,¹⁹³ though it is not always clear what the cause of his envy was. In my study of the fifth-century sources, I discovered a number of possibilities. These include his envy of Adam's priority in rank; of the good things Adam was destined to receive, including eternal life; and his envy of the benefits Adam had already received, including the image.¹⁹⁴

This is evident from a number of general statements. Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol C7 claims that "the first sin was born of falsehood,"¹⁹⁵ though envy was the cause and deceit the means. In this, Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol's stress is different from the dominant theme in the fifth-century writers—that, above all, envy was the motive. A similar, nonspecific statement is that of Grigoris Aršaruni C7, according to whom the serpent's deception caused unrighteousness.¹⁹⁶ In a hymn, Sahak Jorap'orec'i C7 refers in general terms to the deception by means of the tree and seduction by the serpent.¹⁹⁷ Somewhat more specific is T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor C7's statement in his "Elegy on the Cross" that envy is the cause.¹⁹⁸ He still does not specify of what the serpent is envious, a lack of specificity that we observed from Wis 2:24 on. Elsewhere, T'ēodoros says that the Enemy deceived Adam by means of the divine name. This probably means that Satan argued that the divine command was invalid, using God's name, "for God knows that on the day on which you eat of it, etc." (Gen 3:5).¹⁹⁹

Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9 asserts that Satan was envious of man, who inherited the Garden, which was the empty camp of the rebellious angels.²⁰⁰ On the whole, however, as can be seen from the story of his fall discussed in the preceding section, the texts are silent on this point. However, Satan's envy itself is a major theme: Վառեալ իւր նախանձու արուեստաւոր մեքենային, "Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue." Grigor Magistros C10 here also refers to envy and to flattery, which were Satan's tools.²⁰¹ He says, "By the envy of the Deceiver, the flattery of the dissembler," where the Deceiver is doubtless Satan, and the dissembler is probably the serpent.

Satan's aim was to prevent humans from returning to immortality.²⁰² The

192. See Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos 1; Samuēl Kamrājorec'i 3; Tiranun *vardapet* 12 ("deceitful enemy" where "enemy" is a fixed appellation of Satan; see §3.1); Yovhannēs Drasxanakerc'i 2.

193. See chapter 1 §3.3.

194. *Ibid.* These subjects are discussed in greater detail in the appendix §3.2–3.3.

195. Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol 1.

196. Grigoris Aršaruni 13.

197. Sahak Jorap'orec'i 1.

198. T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor 4.

199. T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor 1. Compare *ʾAbot R. Na. A*, 1 (Schechter 1967, 4). It seems unlikely that some theurgical use of the divine name is referred to here.

200. Zak'aria Kat'olikos 5; and see §3.2 above.

201. Grigor Magistros 12.

202. Xosrov Anjewac'i 1.

means by which he achieved this end was deceit. Thus, Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc‘i refers to the deceitful Devil,²⁰³ and this expression is complemented by the idea that the serpent deceived Eve and “raised hope for her that he himself was a maker of gods.”²⁰⁴ As observed in §3.1, the distinction between Satan and the serpent is not always sharp, and, in addition, biblical attributes of the serpent are transferred to Satan. Thus, Anania Sanahnec‘i C11 refers to the insidious treachery of the serpent,²⁰⁵ while the references cited in §3.1 broaden our understanding of the presentation of these two knaves.

3.4 THE SERPENT, CURSES OF

4.0 SIN AND ITS RESULTS

4.1 THE CHARACTER OF ADAM’S SIN

The fifth-century texts were unanimous in stating that Adam’s sin was to disobey one small, divine command.²⁰⁶ In the texts studied in the present chapter, we find a number of themes relating to Adam’s sin, but they do not take up the idea of disobedience to a small commandment. A number of authors connect Adam’s sin with *hybris*, like that of Satan. This is the view of Step‘anos Siwnec‘i C8, who imports Lucifer language into this context and says, “he wished to seize God’s unachievable heights . . . he made the destroyer (into) his god, and inherited outer darkness, and was captured by the destruction of death.” Zak‘aria Kat‘olikos C9 expresses a similar view.²⁰⁷

Step‘anos takes up a theme, also found in Lewond C8, that the Devil made humans his worshipers through idolatry.²⁰⁸ Above, I have pointed to the idea that Satan sought to make humans worship him, that he was a sort of anti-god.²⁰⁹ This notion is connected with an idea already found in the Hebrew Bible and other early sources, that idolatrous gods are really demons.²¹⁰

Other authors make various remarks on this subject. The dragon-serpent “bound Adam through his ignorance,” says Grigoris Aršaruni C7.²¹¹ Adam’s sin was the result of fearlessness according to T‘ēodoros K‘rt‘enawor C7. Moreover, T‘ēodoros K‘rt‘enawor said the same of Satan’s sin.²¹² Cheirograph ideas may lie

203. Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc‘i 2.

204. Xosrov Anjewac‘i 1.

205. Anania Sanahnec‘i 1.

206. Chapter 1 §4.1. That Adam disobeyed God’s commandment is mentioned, e.g., in Pseudo-Basil 1, but that it was “one small” commandment is not noted.

207. Step‘anos Siwnec‘i 7 and Zak‘aria Kat‘olikos 2.

208. Lewond 4.

209. This theme is very prominent in later texts, such as *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* §§32–33 (Stone 1996a, 50–51). There he is also accredited with his own good news, or gospel.

210. Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37; Bar 4:7; Rev 9:20; etc.

211. Grigoris Aršaruni 18. Or: “while he was ignorant.”

212. T‘ēodoros K‘rt‘enawor 3. See also §3.2 above.

behind Yovhan Mamikonean C7's unclear statement that sins are, and engender, a debt that needs to be paid.²¹³

T'ovma Arcruni C9 stresses Eve's deception and seduction. The process was fueled by her desire for too much glory, which highlights another dimension of the *hybris* theme.²¹⁴ The disobedience took place on Friday, according to Grigoris Aršaruni C8.²¹⁵ Above, I noted that some authors maintain that Adam was expelled from the Garden because of his love of Eve, not because of a desire to become God.²¹⁶ This implies a motivation different from Eve's, which was the desire to become God. In less specific terms Anania Narek'ac'i C10 says that he sinned because "he desired unachievable things."²¹⁷

A letter by Grigor Magistros C10 to Emir Ibrahim preserved in *Girk' T'ltoc'* discusses whether Adam ate the fruit totally against God's command or whether, in fact, God willed it. This may be an issue arising out of polemics.²¹⁸ Grigor Magistros C10 demonstrates his learning in the creation narratives of other peoples and asserts that only the oracles of Moses are to be believed.²¹⁹ For him, that clinches his argument.

In §1.1.7 the question is discussed of the relationship between Adam's discernment, resulting from the inbreathing of the Spirit, and his ability to sin.

4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

4.2 THE RESULTS OF SIN

In a very significant passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 describes Adam's situation after sinning:

... then, separated by being cast down to earth from the seven included spiritual classes, separated by a very distant grade, he was deprived of the glory; he was transformed from spirit into body, and suffered punishments equal in number to the sins; he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of discernment, of piety: becoming subject to the fear of the Other One; disobeying the Lord's commandment, he forfeited the spiritual grace, because he listened to the counsel of the woman; he lost the higher lordly wisdom, obeying his feet, owing to his stupid head, considering the mortal fruit as something more beautiful and delicious than God's commandments. He was

213. Yovhan Mamikonean 1. On the cheirograph ideas, see §4.7 below.

214. T'ovma Arcruni 3. See the discussion above.

215. Grigoris Aršaruni 8. On the eschatological Friday, they will observe the commandments; see also *ibid.* 11.

216. See §2.8 above; see Grigor Narek'ac'i 5, cf. 14; Anania Narek'ac'i 4.

217. Anania Narek'ac'i 3.

218. Grigor Magistros 5, 6, and 7.

219. Grigor Magistros 7.

exiled from immortal delight, having imprudently lost the resplendent shining ornaments.²²⁰

In this passage, Adam's fall is described. He was a spiritual being, or included in the seven spiritual classes,²²¹ and, as a result of his sin and fall, he was deprived of glory. T'ēop'ilos C9 lists seven gifts lost by Adam and seven punishments he received in their place.²²²

The Twelve Gifts Lost by Adam, an apocryphal text preserved in later manuscripts, develops this idea, listing the gifts lost and the corresponding sins, using a stereotypical number.²²³ Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 remarks that Adam lost seven blessings (another stereotypical number) because of his seven sins. Step'anos lists here the seven lost graces, viz., "he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of discernment, of piety." This list draws on ideas that were prominent in the fifth-century texts though discussed little in the immediately subsequent centuries. In particular, we may note the spirit, wisdom, and intellect, which the prior discussion of the divine image stressed greatly; see also above in this chapter §1.6. "Power" (զաւրութիւն) is related to the idea of Adam's lordship (§1.6 above). Again, it is Step'anos Siwnec'i and subsequently T'ovma Arcruni C9, who highlight this dimension of the results of sin. The same loss of spiritual and intellectual qualities,²²⁴ as well as of "resplendent shining ornaments," recurs elsewhere in Step'anos Siwnec'i's writings.

The final major element of Step'anos Siwnec'i C8's passage is death. This is, of course, the leading result of Adam's sin from the Bible on (Gen 3:19; Rom 5:14; cf. 4 Ezra 3:10; it is not fully explicit in Genesis). In the sixth century, Movsēs K'ert'olahayr talks of death stemming from Eve and of Eve's descendants spreading it over the universe.²²⁵ Similarly Pseudo-Basil C6 speaks of the loss of immortality and the Garden. He says:

For if the forefather had observed this commandment with discernment, he would not have been deprived of the immortal life and stripped of immortality. He was expelled and he was for one day in the Garden.

His use of the term զիտութեամբ ("with discernment") is of great interest, for not only does it occur in the fifth-century texts, but Step'anos Siwnec'i (above) says that it is one of the things Adam lost after sinning.

220. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

221. Apparently seven angelic groups or hosts. See §2.0 above, where I discuss this passage in detail.

222. T'ēop'ilos 4.

223. See Yacoubian 2003, 45–52. Other copies of this text exist: see also manuscript Matenadaran M5950, 67–68, and Anasyan 1959, col. 264, no. 4. Contrast the twelve eschatological gifts of the righteous in manuscript Matenadaran M6617 of the year 1618. The date of the composition is unknown.

224. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13 and T'ovma Arcruni 6.

225. Movsēs K'ert'olahayr 3, in a *Šarakan* (Hymn).

In the tenth century both Grigor Magistros and Grigor Narekac'i describe what happened to Adam as a result of his disobedience as a fall.²²⁶ With his fall, Satan captured Adam and his generations and took them into death and sins, says Xosrov Anjewac'i C10.²²⁷ Xosrow speaks further of "human souls . . . corrupted by the fault of sin" as an outcome of Adam's eating of the fruit.²²⁸ Indeed, being captured by hell is a chief outcome of Adam's sin, says Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos C10.²²⁹ The same view is held by Anania Narekac'i C10²³⁰ and is well expressed by Grigor Narekac'i:

(46.3–4) 3 Created image of God, entirely reproached, my captive soul,
And though you, found to be deprived of your former likeness,
Through transgression of the command in the Garden of life, . . .

So Adam's fall has implications for all humans.²³¹ God will undo this result of Adam's sin eschatologically, when hell is destroyed and its captives set free.²³² Equally, the curse on Eve brought about pains, which will be reversed by the Theotokos.²³³

The curses of Gen 3:14–19 are discussed in §4.2.1. The serpent is punished as part of the curses.²³⁴ In this context, Grigoris Aršaruni C7, in a passage I have already mentioned, relates to the serpent and its punishment in terms of the type of the thief on the cross and of the bronze serpent in the desert.²³⁵ T'ovma Arcruni C9 wonders why Satan is not cursed, but only Adam, Eve, and the serpent. His answer touches on the immortality of Satan: as an angel, though a fallen one, he cannot be killed.²³⁶

There remain a couple of statements distinct from the various understandings of the curses listed above. Sahak Jorap'orec'i C7 says that, when Adam disobeyed, "the metropolis Jerusalem became deserted."²³⁷ Since the Bible says that

226. Grigor Magistros 13 and Grigor Narekac'i 1. See chapter 1 §1.1.3 (end).

227. Xosrov Anjewac'i 2. The souls of the dead are said to be taken captive by Satan. See, e.g., *Ques. Ezra* A 7–10 and B 5–6. The complementary terminology of being set free is used of Christ's actions in the Harrowing of Hell and, in general, through his redemptive action. These terms are widespread.

228. Xosrov Anjewac'i 5.

229. Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos 1.

230. Anania Narekac'i 1.

231. Grigor Narekac'i 18. Compare Xosrow Anjewac'i 2 and 5.

232. Grigor Narekac'i 2.

233. Grigor Narekac'i 28.

234. T'ēdoros K'rt'enawor 4 talks about the cross as the instrument of the serpent's punishment.

235. The bronze serpent hung on a pole is compared to the brigand hung on his cross. See Grigoris Aršaruni 18 and compare T'ēdoros K'rt'enawor 4.

236. T'ovma Arcruni 4–5.

237. Sahak Jorap'orec'i 1.

Adam and Eve were expelled from paradise, not Jerusalem, as a result of their sin, Sahak's statement clearly reflects the typological identification of paradise and Jerusalem.

The immediate results of the sin are those explicit in the curses in Genesis and those that can be inferred through the exegesis of the biblical text. Adam will be forced to eat animal food and to wear perishable clothing. As to the food, the interpretation arises from the confrontation of Gen 1:29 with 3:17,²³⁸ while the clothing derives from Gen 3:7 and 3:21. The idea that Adam will be bitten by serpents is drawn from the curse in Gen 3:15.²³⁹

Adam, nonetheless, still retained some of the prophetic spirit after the Fall, shown by his naming of Eve (Gen 3:20), but not as much as before.²⁴⁰ Heaven was closed by Adam's action.²⁴¹

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of World

The curses of Gen 3:14–19 are a major biblical locus setting forth the results of Adam's sin. During the period under discussion, various authors evoke them, though none works them out in detail. Thus, Grigoris Aršaruni C7 refers to child-birth being painful because of Eve, and the fruit of earth being cursed because of Adam. He views the Annunciation, "he will bless the fruits of your womb" (Luke 1:43) as a reversal of these two curses.²⁴² T'ovma Arcruni C9 clearly has the curses in mind when he lists "sorrowful life along with death; and painful child-birth," dishonor, and physical labor as part of Adam's punishment.²⁴³ Movsēs Kałankatuac'i C10 says that because of Satan, Adam "inherited the thorny and thistle-bearing ground."²⁴⁴ The cosmic signs observed in chapter 1 §4.2.1 are not mentioned in the sixth- to eleventh-century texts.

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

The curses upon humanity include death, pasturing with animals (i.e., eating grass), loss of glory, and bringing forth children in pain, says Grigor Magistros C10 in *To Manuč'ē*.²⁴⁵ He summarizes the change in Adam's state in the following

238. See Anderson 1992; reprinted in Anderson, Stone, and Tromp 2000, 57–81. See also Stone 1981b, xiii–xiv.

239. Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos 1. This curse may ultimately also lie behind the confrontation of Seth, Eve, and the beast (serpent in Latin) in the primary Adam books, compare *Pen. Adam* 37(10):1–39(12):3; and Stone 2000a, 111–32.

240. See §2.6 above; Grigor Narekac'i 5.

241. Grigor Narekac'i 9.

242. Grigoris Aršaruni 11.

243. T'ovma Arcruni 6. On the role of honor or glory, see §1.6 above, where they are connected with Adam's creation in the image.

244. Movsēs Kałankatuac'i 1. Similarly says Step'anos Tarōnec'i 1, though he does not mention Satan explicitly.

245. Grigor Magistros 13.

passage: “He did not obey this and ate and lost his untroubled life and obtained death, having received punishment that brought forth pain and sorrow, corruption and death for us.”²⁴⁶

Yovhan Ȫjnec’i C7 expresses the same notion but stresses the idea of Adam’s autonomy and free will. Originally, he says, there was no death and no corruption. When Adam sinned, death was added to our nature, not by God but through Adam’s free will and the deception of the serpent.²⁴⁷ According to the formulation by Step’anos Siwnec’i C8, Adam inherited outer darkness and destruction of death captured him.²⁴⁸ This is one of the first places where the eschatological term “outer darkness” is introduced into the description of the results of Adam’s sin. In this passage, through the introduction of this eschatological terminology and of the “Lucifer” terminology, the sin and its results receive a metahistorical dimension.²⁴⁹ The pair of terms, darkness and death, also occurs in *Pen. Adam* [47](39):3, to which the reference here may well be related.

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

Glory is a prime quality of Adam,²⁵⁰ as well as of angels and of the divine, supernal world. It is related to Adam’s royal or lordly characteristics in the Garden.²⁵¹ In the preceding section, we saw that Eve sinned by aspiring to too much glory.²⁵² On the other hand, Satan had glory but lost it when he fell;²⁵³ he yearned for it.²⁵⁴ Thus, as noted in the study of the fifth century, the removal of glory was a major aspect of Adam’s loss in the Garden (see §4.2 there).²⁵⁵

In earlier texts a good deal was made of “were naked” of Gen 3:11 meaning “became naked, were stripped,” that is, of glory.²⁵⁶ This is also the view of T’ēop’ilos C9, who says, referring to changes engendered by Adam’s sin, “instead of wearing light, (he wore) shy nakedness.”²⁵⁷ Pseudo-Basil C6 talks of Adam and Eve being “stripped of immortality,” but at most this is an evocation of this exegesis of Gen 3:11.²⁵⁸ Grigoris Aršaruni C7 mentions in passing the idea

246. Grigor Magistros 8.

247. Yovhan Ȫjnec’i 4.

248. Step’anos Siwnec’i 7.

249. For the term “outer darkness,” see Matt 8:12; 22:13; and 25:30; see also *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 5:5, *Ques. Ezra* A 3.

250. Step’anos Siwnec’i 20 and 21: see §§1.4, 1.6, and 2.4.

251. See n. 71 above.

252. T’ovma Arcruni 3; and §2.8 above.

253. §3.2 above; and see Yovhannēs K’orepiskopos 1.

254. T’ovma Arcruni 3; see §3.1 above.

255. See also the last paragraph of this section.

256. See chapter 1 §4.2.3.

257. T’ēop’ilos 4.

258. Pseudo-Basil 1.

of the protoplasts' stripping,²⁵⁹ as well as Adam's leather clothes.²⁶⁰ Step'anos Siwnec'i C8, citing Yovhan Imastasēr (the philosopher, i.e., Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7), refers to Adam as "stripped of glory, covered with a leaf."²⁶¹ This idea is even more explicit than another reference in Step'anos Siwnec'i's work, where he says simply that Adam tried to cover his nakedness with a leaf.²⁶² As happens in other instances, the references in Step'anos's works are rather explicit, perhaps partly because his discussion is so extensive.

In *To Manuč'ē* 7–8, Grigor Magistros C10 says that after their eyes were opened, "they knew, they saw because of whom they fell" and as a result, they fled, hid, and covered themselves with leaves. Nakedness is not mentioned. In *To Manuč'ē* 8, Grigor Magistros clearly implies that they were clothed in glory before the curses.²⁶³

Likewise, the leather clothing, following on the loss of the garments of glory, is understood by Grigor Magistros as a curse, as I pointed out above in §4.2.²⁶⁴ Glory's loss is asserted without further specification by Grigor Narekac'i C10.²⁶⁵ In earlier texts, the loss of glory was connected with nakedness, the immediate result of eating the forbidden fruit, not with the curses. Anania Sanahnec'i C11's statement that the results of sin were death and loss of the garment of glory serves to summarize many of these ideas.²⁶⁶ On another level of discourse, Grigor Narekac'i C10 asserts that the soul's loss of celestial glory through sin is like Adam's loss of earthly paradise.²⁶⁷ The soul, the created image of God, is the likeness of God's form. This likeness was lost through sin and is regained through baptism.²⁶⁸ Adam's body, however, which was sinless and uncondemnable, fell to being condemned and mortally corrupt. This is the view of Step'anos Tarōnec'i C10.²⁶⁹

Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9 talks of Adam's punishment as if it were that of the fallen angel, Satan: he was expelled from the glory of the supernal hosts. In general, as we have seen, Zak'aria Kat'olikos is much concerned with Satan's anti-kingdom and highlights those ideas.²⁷⁰

259. Grigoris Aršaruni 16. A further reference, even more glancing, is in *ibid.* 18.

260. Grigoris Aršaruni 19.

261. Step'anos Siwnec'i 12.

262. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

263. Grigor Magistros 12–13.

264. Grigor Magistros 13.

265. Grigor Narekac'i 6 and 29.

266. Anania Sanahnec'i 1.

267. Grigor Narekac'i 18.

268. Grigor Narekac'i 18.

269. Step'anos Tarōnec'i 2; and see §3.2 above.

270. Zak'aria Kat'olikos 2. Above I noted other examples of Zak'aria Kat'olikos's "anti-kingdom" concerns; see §3.2 and cf. §4.1.

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

See §4.2.2.

4.2.5. Under the Control of Satan

4.2.6. Other Punishments

In a deliberately obscure passage, Grigor Magistros C10 describes Adam's state after the Fall, which is inherited by old men.²⁷¹ The postlapsarian state includes the loss of glory and also baldness. Adam lost his hair, which was a previous garment, wore leaves, and hid. Of course, ageing is one of the signs of the mortal state that Adam inherited after the Fall. The idea of the hair as the prelapsarian garment, however, is striking. It is oddly similar to a Greek folktale of the early twentieth century, recorded by George Megas. It says that Adam was covered with hair, which he shucked off after the sin.²⁷²

In another passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 says that Adam was deprived of truth²⁷³ and of the gifts of heaven and received seventy-seven-fold sorrows and multiple pains.²⁷⁴ Seventy strokes, blows, or afflictions of the body come upon Adam as a punishment according to *Pen. Adam* 34.8.2 and Latin *L.A.E.* 34.²⁷⁵ T'ēodoros K'īt'enawor C7 uses the term "blows" for Adam's punishments, which also likely comes from the same context in *L.A.E.*, where the Greek reads *πληγάς*.²⁷⁶ He says that Adam's "sweat-bearing" curse was composed of five blows (corresponding to the five senses) and came about through Satan.²⁷⁷

4.3 GOD, FOOTSTEPS OF

The meaning of the footsteps is discussed in chapter 1 §4.3. The incident is mentioned by a number of authors from varying points of view. First, from an eschatological perspective, the footsteps are connected with the Harrowing of Hell. When he was in hell, Adam heard the divine footsteps, recognizing them from

271. Grigor Magistros 3.

272. Stone 2002, 98–102, 136–38.

273. Since sin is related to knowledge.

274. Step'anos Siwnec'i 3.

275. The number is seventy-two in the Greek *Apoc. Moses* 8.2 and the parallel Slavonic text. The typological numbers 70/72 alternate in many contexts, such as the number of the translators of the LXX, the number of Christ's disciples, and the number of apocryphal books (4 Ezra 14), and examples could be multiplied.

276. His Armenian text has *uḥun*, while Exod 11:1; 12:13; 33:5; etc. translate *հարուած*. This might imply that the tradition depends on a source other than *Penitence of Adam*. However, the parallel with *L.A.E.* is clear enough.

277. T'ēodoros K'īt'enawor 4. Here he combines biblical concepts with Greek ideas, in this instance, the five senses. This resembles, of course, the way that the biblical "material" or "dust" is understood to be made of the four elements; see §1.1.2 above. On the five senses, compare §2.8 above.

the Garden. In Christ's approach to hell, Adam perceives redemption from the punishment that followed on the footsteps he had heard in the Garden. Similarly, in T'ēop'ilos C9's "On the Passion and the Crucifixion," Adam recognizes Christ's footsteps as he descends to hell, which resemble those he heard in the Garden at the ninth hour.²⁷⁸ These will signal the return of Adam's glory and Christ's destruction of the cheirograph, in other words, redemption. The same parallel is drawn by Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9.²⁷⁹

Anania Širakac'i C7 stressed neither the footfalls nor the divine summons, but instead the fact that God himself sought Adam, thus highlighting Adam's special status.²⁸⁰ In an epistle preserved in *Girk' T't'oc' The Book of Letters*, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 says that Adam rejected God's call for repentance. Although he does not mention the footfalls explicitly, the footsteps incident is the one in which Armenian exegetes saw God calling Adam to repentance.²⁸¹ T'ovma Arcruni C9 formulates the incident of the footsteps in the following fashion. God descended according to his usual custom and he called Adam in order to advert him to his arrival and summon him—in vain it eventuated—to repentance.²⁸² God's summons and Adam's lack of response are regarded as a turning point, as the loss of the Edenic state, to be recovered only at the time of the baptism of Christ.

Komitas says: when the Father said to Adam: "Where are you?"²⁸³ he spoke no more with creatures until the Son was baptized in the Jordan. Then he called all the creatures saying: "This is my Son, the Beloved, listen to him."²⁸⁴

Grigor Magistros C10, in *To Manuč'ē*, says, "Fearing of His footfalls: 'Where art thou, Adam', they [i.e., the footfalls] said. 'It happened because of us,' they said, thus taunting."²⁸⁵

In earlier centuries, the very idea of the sound of God's footfalls had posed difficulties to exegetes, and they interpreted them as a warning and call to Adam and Eve. The call was repeated in God's question "Where are you?" which was often interpreted as a call to repentance. We should understand these lines of Grigor Magistros C10's poem in light of the traditional explanation, that Adam and Eve's response to the footfalls' call to repentance was to reject it, for which reason they were cursed. This theme, prominent earlier on, appears only here

278. T'ēop'ilos 5. On the typological timetable, see §4.4.

279. Zak'aria Kat'olikos 1; note that this is strikingly similar to T'ēop'ilos 2, his "Elegy on the Resurrection of Christ": "And now, I have heard his footfall, not in the Garden but in hell, for he comes not because of the sentence of death but because of the freedom of life."

280. Anania Širakac'i contrasts God's calling Adam with Enosh's calling upon God (Gen 4:26). In general on Enosh, see Fraade 1984.

281. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

282. I.e., T'ovma Arcruni 3.

283. Gen 3:9.

284. Mark 9:7.

285. Grigor Magistros 13.

in Magistros's biblical epic, which related the events sequentially; it came up in none of the homiletic, hymnic, or other compositions examined.

4.4 ADAM, CHRONOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

One of the most striking innovations in the sources of the sixth–ninth centuries is an intense interest in primordial chronology and timetable. I noted an incipient interest in this subject in the fifth century,²⁸⁶ but it is in no way comparable to what happened in the following centuries. This growth of interest is connected with the development of the Old Adam/New Adam typology, which is a driving theme of the material I will discuss.²⁸⁷ It seems likely that the fairly explicit chronology of Christ's passion presented in the Gospels has affected the chronology of events of Adam's creation and sin, which are conformed to this pattern. The chronological concerns that are very prominent in the sixth- to ninth-century texts are less so in the tenth and eleventh centuries.²⁸⁸

Adam was one day in the Garden before he was expelled, according to Pseudo-Basil C6 and Yovhan Ȫjnec'i C7.²⁸⁹ In the discussion of the fifth century, I pointed out that the view that Adam was in the Garden for one thousand years, attributed by Elišē C5 to "foreigners," is the same as saying he was in the Garden for one (divine or primordial) day, a view undergirded by the exegesis of Ps 90:4.²⁹⁰ The same idea of the divine day lies behind T'ovma Arcruni C9's statement that in the Garden Adam was given a span of many years as one day.²⁹¹

Quite different from the view that Adam was in the Garden for one day is Grigoris Aršaruni C7's view that man was created on the sixth day,²⁹² entered the Garden on the fortieth day, and left the Garden after forty days.²⁹³ This is the same view implied by Elišē, who also set Eve's introduction into the Garden on the eightieth day, and Adam and Eve's sin and expulsion on the same day.²⁹⁴ It is quite possible that Grigoris Aršaruni C7 is directly dependent on Elišē in this matter. In excerpt 14, Grigoris Aršaruni C7 works out this thought even further, with Adam's punishment continued until the sixth millennium, which was the

286. See chapter 1 §§1.1.1 and 4.4.

287. For a further development of it, see Yovhan Ȫjnec'i 11. This passage contains nothing relating to Genesis 1–3 beyond those elements found in the Bible.

288. Samuēl Kamrājorec' C10 8 also says that Adam transgressed in the ninth hour, corresponding to Jesus's death.

289. Pseudo-Basil 1 and Yovhan Ȫjnec'i 8. Below I discuss the similarities between the chronologies of Pseudo-Basil and Yovhan Ȫjnec'i.

290. See chapter 1 §4.4.

291. T'ovma Arcruni 2. Compare the rabbinic midrash that Adam was destined for a life of one thousand years, but he yielded seventy years to David; see *Num. Rab.* 14:12; Ginzberg 1909–38, 5:82 n. 28.

292. See further in this section, where Adam's creation on the sixth day is discussed.

293. Grigoris Aršaruni 7.

294. See chapter 1 §4.4, for the traditions behind this view.

sum of twelve “hours” of five hundred years and therefore, a “great day.” This is all an exegesis of “on the day that you eat of the tree, you shall die” (Gen 2:17).

Elsewhere, however, Grigoris Aršaruni C7 implies that Adam’s time in the Garden was short: “you that lived but few days in the Garden.”²⁹⁵ He states that “he was created on the sixth day and on the same day came out.”²⁹⁶ However, Samuēl Kamrjajorec’i C10 says that Adam was created on the sixth day and “on the same sixth (day) he was destroyed.”²⁹⁷ This implies that he was expelled on the very day on which he was created, which was Friday.²⁹⁸ While Samuēl Kamrjajorec’i C10 stresses that this was on the same Friday, Tiranun *vardapet* C10 has a different opinion and argues that Adam was created on the first Friday but expelled only on the second Friday.²⁹⁹

A second series of texts does not deal with how long Adam was in the Garden but, instead, with the creation on and the division of the sixth day of creation. In the fifth century, Mambrē says that Adam went forth from the Garden in the tenth hour, the very hour of Christ’s descent into the tomb.³⁰⁰ He sinned, Mambrē C5 says, on the sixth day, that is, on Friday, and was then stripped of his glory.³⁰¹ Patristic and the later Armenian sources make much of the creation of Adam on the sixth day, Friday. Adam sinned on Friday, the day on which he was created and on which Christ died on the cross.³⁰² I have already noted that this was the view of Pseudo-Basil C6.³⁰³ Zak’aria Kat’olikos C9 states that God descended toward evening on Friday to walk with his footfall audible in the Garden. Zak’aria Kat’olikos utilizes language drawn from Armenian Genesis.³⁰⁴ These authors do imply, however, that the creation and expulsion of Adam took place on the same day. Thus, in a fashion much more complex than Mambrē’s, Pseudo-Basil C6 has the following scheme:³⁰⁵

295. Grigoris Aršaruni 14.

296. Grigoris Aršaruni 8. In excerpt 14, Grigoris Aršaruni says, “Be immortal for many days, you that lived but few days in the Garden of Eden.” Doubtless, forty days are “but few days” in contrast to immortality’s many days.

297. Samuēl Kamrjajorec’i 4.

298. In a second passage, excerpt 5, Samuēl Kamrjajorec’i states the same, using different language.

299. Tiranun *vardapet* 5.

300. Mambrē 4.

301. Mambrē 11.

302. Alexandre 1988, 273–74, citing Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.23.2. The same views and chronology are taken up in *Adam Story* 2 and are discussed in the introduction to the edition of that text; see Stone 1992, 109–13. See above in chapter 1 §4.4. Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming) discuss the calculation of the hours in a broader context in early Christian literature. Among others, they quote a passage from Cosmas Indicopleustes 2.153, which is a detailing of hours rather like that of Pseudo-Basil.

303. Pseudo-Basil 1.

304. Zaka’aria Kat’olikos 1 and 10.

305. Pseudo-Basil 3 here says that Adam was created in the first hour of the night (paral-

Dawn	Adam was created	corresponds to Christ's bonds on Friday
Third hour	Eve was deceived by the serpent;	
Sixth hour	Eve ate the fruit	corresponds to Christ's crucifixion
	destruction of souls	corresponds to darkening of luminaries and consumption of gall
Ninth hour	Adam was expelled	corresponds to Christ's giving up his soul; destruction of hell, freeing of souls; destruction of the Deceiver and raising up of all to heaven
Tenth hour	Adam and Eve stood outside the Garden	

This text exhibits both an interest in chronological precision and a concern to link the detailed Edenic timetable to the events of Christ's passion. Mark 15:25 relates that Christ was set on the cross in the third hour and, according to Matt 27:45–50; Mark 15:33–38; and Luke 23:44–46, he died in the ninth hour. Samuēl Kamrjajorec'i C10 also says that Adam transgressed in the ninth hour, corresponding to Jesus's death.³⁰⁶

A similar chronology is to be found in *Adam Story 2* where the following scheme occurs:

First Friday morning	Creation of Adam
First Friday, third hour	Creation of Eve
Forty days later	Adam was put into the Garden
Following Friday, third hour	Eve ate the fruit
Same Friday	Adam ate the fruit
Same Friday, ninth hour	God came to the Garden and cursed them.

Here we observe a combination of the idea that Adam was put into the Garden on the fortieth day with a detailed analysis of his actions, hour by hour.³⁰⁷

lel to Christ's bonds on Friday), yet this must mean, apparently, the first hour after the night. Excerpt 2 has an unusual expression of the time of the creation of man, *ի զիշերէ առաւաւտ*. This van Esbroeck (1987) translates "la nuit, à l'aube," which must be the sense of the passage, as is clear from the next sentence. However, these passages remain obscure.

306. Samuēl Kamrjajorec'i 8.

307. There are further apocryphal texts with such chronologies, but we do not give them here in detail because they are all much later than Anania Širakac'i. See further Stone 1996a, 109–10.

Moreover, this text assigns both Eve’s creation and her eating the fruit to the third hour, that in which Christ was crucified.

There are few references to the hours of the night. Particularly notable is that in the first watch of the night, Adam’s longing began and he sought the place of the Garden.³⁰⁸

Referring to the liturgy of Holy Week, Yovhan Ȫjnec’i C7 discusses correspondences between the hours of the various ordained services, Adam’s actions in the Garden, and the events of Christ’s passion. I have tabulated these below.³⁰⁹

first hour	Adam’s creation		Excerpt 7
sixth hour	Adam’s sin	Crucifixion	Excerpts 6, 8
ninth hour	Adam’s expulsion	Death	Excerpts 9

These times agree basically with the chronology of Pseudo-Basil C6 and not with that of Anania Širakac’i C7 (see below). The view of Step’anos Siwnec’i C8 that Adam was created at dawn, that is, in the first hour³¹⁰ also agrees with Pseudo-Basil and Yovhan Ȫjnec’i. Moreover, in the third hour, Step’anos says, Adam was captured by the Deceiver and Christ went forth onto the cross.³¹¹

This same pattern of the third, sixth, and ninth hours is to be found in the seventh-century author Anania Širakac’i with a difference. His chronology is less detailed and attributes different actions to the various hours.

- Third hour — The Creator took dust into his hand.
- Sixth hour — Man was created and animated.
- Ninth hour — Man sinned and left the Garden.

Anania Širakac’i also elaborates the typological correspondence with Christ differently. Christ was incarnated on the Friday, that is, the sixth millennium; he remained unrevealed in the world for thirty years, just as Adam was born at the age of thirty.³¹²

308. Pseudo-Basil 3.
309. We have extrapolated slightly here. Yovhan Ȫjnec’i 8 actually says: “For at the same hour when the first (man) Adam transgressed and after the transgression stayed in the Garden of Eden, for the same (amount of) time Christ stayed on the cross to heal his (i.e., Adam’s) wounds.” We learn from above that Adam sinned and Christ mounted the cross in the sixth hour: so also Pseudo-Basil C6 3. Mark 15:25 refers to Christ mounting the cross in the nine o’clock hour. Matt 25:45, however, refers to darkness covering the whole earth at noon (i.e., at the sixth hour), and Luke 23:44 refers to darkness from noon until three in the afternoon. This fits well with Yovhan Ȫjnec’i’s chronology of the passion.
310. Step’anos Siwnec’i 8.
311. Step’anos Siwnec’i 1, 5, and 9
312. Anania Širakac’i 4.

4.5 AFTER THE FALL AND EXPULSION

Little is said about Adam and Eve's actions after the Fall and expulsion. We can infer from the statements of Pseudo-Basil C6 that Adam and Eve started to yearn for the Garden and to bewail their lot, a view also found in the primary Adam books.³¹³ Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 states that after the Fall, Adam set his hope upon the sun; then the sun set and horror filled him. When dawn ensued, he praised God and thus he got the habit of praising the Creator at dawn.³¹⁴ Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 interestingly stresses the issue of light, which became the basis of the chiograph legend, but he goes no further than to stress it.³¹⁵

Grigor Narekac'i C10 says in his poem "On the Lord Coming to Lazarus":³¹⁶

The vow that the Lord made to you, when he drove (you) out of Paradise:
He has come to renew your earthy nature;
He wishes to destroy hell, to set free the captives;
He takes His own God-formed image to the garden of Eden.

It is clear from the first line that God made a promise of redemption at the time of the expulsion from the Garden, an idea already known in the primary Adam books (see, e.g., *Pen. Adam* chs. 42–43).

The idea that Christ reverses the curses at the end permeates the whole corpus we are considering. Likewise, the timetable of Christ's suffering on the cross corresponds to the timetable of Adam's creation, sin, and expulsion; Adam's sin brought captivity in hell, and Christ's redemption will bring about freedom and reversal of hell. And one could trace out this pattern further.³¹⁷ It follows, therefore, that the protological and the eschatological events are mirror-images of each other. Equally, but less elaborately, an analogous pattern was worked out with Eve and the Virgin.

I should perhaps remark that the development of the tradition happened in two different directions. In the correlative patterning of the *πρώτα* and the *ἔσχατα*, on the one hand, the story of Christ and especially of the passion has informed the Adam stories. Yet, on the other, the Adamic material, preceding the Christian material in its biblical and postbiblical Jewish forms, has also informed the telling of parts of the Christ story.

313. Pseudo-Basil 3.

314. Step'anos Siwnec'i 4.

315. See Stone 2002

316. Grigor Narekac'i 2.

317. The theme runs through the texts. Observe the particularly pregnant passages in Grigor Narekac'i 2 and 10; Grigor Narekac'i uses this language to describe his own "paradisical" inner state in 16 and 28. Note also Tačat *vardapet* 3.

4.6 ARAĬAWOR FAST

4.7 CHEIROGRAPH

The cheirograph legend greatly develops one dimension of Adam's postexpulsion state, when it talks of God giving Adam a contract promising eschatological redemption. An alternative tradition refers to the letter written by God and transmitted eventually by the Magi.³¹⁸ The *sacra historia*, therefore, permeates the whole tradition from creation to Christ.

Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 is interested in the idea of the bill of indebtedness, the statement of sins that Adam had accumulated. This idea is based on Col 2:14. Christ, Step'anos Siwnec'i asserts, abolished "the hand-written testament of sins."³¹⁹ This idea is widespread in early Christian sources as far back as Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 120–ca. 203). Colossians is interpreted thus after the acceptance of the idea of Christ's Harrowing of Hell. As a result, Step'anos said that Christ "tore the cheirograph of his transgression."³²⁰ The verb պատառեաց ("tore") clearly betrays the influence of the cheirograph legend, of which it is a typical term.³²¹ A century earlier Yovhan Mamikonean C7 drew on the conceptual realm of the cheirograph when he implies that sins are or engender a debt that needs to be paid, even though he does not use the term "cheirograph."³²²

In the writings of Artawazd Mazazuni C10 we have a fully developed form of the cheirograph material.

And Adam transgressed [i.e., made] the cheirograph of transgression by eating the fruit, and the Lord "erased the cheirograph"³²³ on the cross, for He killed death with His death and erased the cheirograph of transgression.³²⁴

In this passage Artawazd Mazazuni applies the words of Col 2:14 to Adam. Moreover, he clearly implies that the bill of indebtedness is held by death (or Satan). Artawazd's comment in a second writing that Christ "will liberate this human race from the curse and will crush the head of the lurking serpent" draws on the same realm of ideas.³²⁵ In using this expression he shows that he

318. Stone 2002, 20–24.

319. See Step'anos Siwnec'i 1: "handwritten," that is, Armenian ձեռագիր, which also means "cheirograph" and refers to Col 2:14.

320. զձեռագիր յանգանաց նորա պատառեաց. Step'anos Siwnec'i 9.

321. On this complex, see Stone 2002, 103–11; see also Best 1956.

322. Yovhan Mamikonean 1. On the technical uses of this term, see Beatriz Monc6 in Stone 2002, 142–46.

323. Col 2:14. Greek χειρόγραφον, which the NRSV translates "record."

324. Artawazd Mazazuni 1.

325. Artawazd Mazazuni 2.

is also aware of the tradition that Christ crushed the dragon-Satan at the time of his baptism. This idea is based, in turn, on an exegesis of Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14.³²⁶

The same exegesis is to be found in ancient patristic sources, from as early as Ephrem Syrus (fourth century).³²⁷ The oldest Greek source is Pseudo-Macarius of Egypt (380–390),³²⁸ it occurs also in Augustine (354–430),³²⁹ Narsai³³⁰ (fifth century); Romanus Melodus (ca. 540).³³¹

The idea of sins as a reckoning is to be found in Grigor Narekac'i C10: "for one who does not ascribe to himself the error of Adam | And does not reckon the sins of all as his own. . . ."³³² This idea is, of course, inherent in the cheirograph language. The same terminology is much more explicit in Grigor Narekac'i 28, where he speaks of զիւր դատապարտութեան յանցանացն, "the document of condemnation for the transgression."³³³ This is an unambiguous reference to Col 2:14, for he says that it "having been erased, was torn," combining both of the verbs found in sources relating to the cheirograph.³³⁴

It remains a mystery why this material, and particularly its connection with Adam, which was widespread in Christian sources from the fourth century at least, first appears in Armenian only in Step'anos Siwnec'i in the eighth century and is first fully expressed only in the tenth century by Artawazd Mazazuni. Earlier, the idea, which appeared rarely, was translated by դատակնիք in the

326. See Stone 2002, 22–24. Grigor Narekac'i 24 and 25 speak of annulling Eve's "seal of condemnation." This too may belong to the same context and language associated with the cheirograph tradition. Compare, more explicitly, excerpt 28, which speaks of զիւր դատապարտութեան, "document of condemnation." In both cases, Grigor Narekac'i transfers the cheirograph language to Eve in contrasting her with the Virgin.

327. Early patristic sources containing this exegesis include Ephrem Syrus (Beck 1959) 48.9; 36.17; and concerning Eve, see Ephrem Syrus (Beck 1959) 1.24.

328. Pseudo-Macarius of Egypt, *Homily* 11.10 (Dörries, Klostermann and Kroeger 1964), PG 34.552b–c; *Homily* 53 (Berthold 1973, 145–47).

329. Augustine, *Against Julian* 1.6.26 (PL 44:658).

330. Narsai, *Homily II Epiphany* (McLeod 1979, 248–57); *Homily IV Resurrection* 41–55 (fifth century).

331. The texts and translations cited are drawn from Narsai, *Homily II Epiphany* (McLeod 1979, 248–57); *Homily IV Resurrection* 41–55 (fifth century). The texts and translations of Romanus Melodus cited are drawn from Grosdidier de Matons 1967, 4:43.

332. See Grigor Narekac'i 19.

333. The term դատապարտութիւն ("condemnation") also occurs in Step'anos Tarōnec'i 2.

334. Stone 2002, 163 n. 33 The verb "erased" is drawn from Col 2:14, while the verb "torn" appears somewhat later and seems to be related to the idea that Satan holds the cheirograph and that Christ descends into Hades after his crucifixion and destroys, "tears, rends" it. Above I mentioned Grigor Narekac'i C10's application of this language to Eve.

Armenian version of Chrysostom, though the Greek lying behind it is clearly *χειρόγραφον*.³³⁵

5.0 THE BURIAL OF ADAM AND OTHER TRADITIONS

Adam was buried on Golgotha, and Golgotha is the place of the tree of life. This statement in the *Panegyric of the Holy Cross* C7 seems to be the first place in our excerpts where we find the literary formulation of the iconography of the cross standing on Adam's skull.³³⁶

Grigor Narekac'i C10 implies that Adam is buried on the Mount of Olives, where Melchizedek was anointed, and his grave dressed Jesus with power.³³⁷ In a metaphorical mode, relating to the baptism, Artawazd Mazazuni C10 speaks of Christ's overcoming Satan in his baptism as the crushing of the head of the serpent and of the burial of the old Adam in the water.³³⁸

335. Stone 2002, 105. In Step'anos Siwnec'i 1 we find *ձեռագիր*, dependent on Colossians: similarly, *ibid.*, 9.

336. Dawit' the Invincible 1. See Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming) {19–21} on this theme in early Christian literature, from Origen on. They discuss various aspects of the understanding of Golgotha.

337. Grigor Narekac'i 23.

338. Artawazd Mazazuni 1.

3. ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS IN TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN LITERATURE

0.0 GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the flourishing of Armenian literature of the High Middle Ages, with many authors writing in the Armenian Cilician kingdom. The Pahlavouni poet and Catholicos, Nersēs Šnorhali C12, was a dominant figure, as was Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12, Archbishop of Tarsus. At this time, typological exegeses, predominantly of Adam and Christ, are worked out and presented in further detail, but no special or new ideas about Adam result from this: a developed example is to be seen in Vahram Rabuni C13, and the same tendency may be observed in the writings of Nersēs Šnorhali and Nersēs Lambronac‘i.¹

Probably the second most prominent such pattern has already been observed in chapter 2 §2.8 and in §2.8 in the present chapter. It is that of Eve and the Virgin, which was already coming to the fore in the tenth–eleventh centuries. In a third instance, the imagery of Christ as the Garden, the tree of life, is constructed on the same basic Adam/Christ typology. It is found already in Grigor Narekac‘i C10 *Book of Lamentation* 80.1, and, in the twelfth century, Nersēs Šnorhali also uses it but applies it to the Virgin.² Step‘anos Ōrbelean C13 uses the pattern of Eden for ecclesiastical and theological purposes.³ The typological approach exemplified by Nersēs Šnorhali’s and Nersēs Lambronac‘i’s work does not add much information to the basic goal of this book, which is to discover how the Genesis stories were told or retold, conserved or modified in medieval Armenian literature.

Vahram Rabuni C13, whose treatment of Adam/Christ has already been noted, addresses the issue of the consanguinity of Adam and Eve and of their children, implying the question of whom Cain and Abel married. Eve and Abel, he says, both derived from Adam, but they are not brother and sister. They are,

1. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 6–7 and 9; compare Nersēs Šnorhali 17, 19, 34, etc.; Vahram Rabuni 3–6 and elsewhere.

2. Nersēs Šnorhali 1, 2, and 3.

3. See excerpts 3 and 4.

instead, one in nature, like the Persons of the Trinity, who are also not brothers.⁴ Here, he resolves the question by an analogy, not by typology in the strict sense.

It should be noted that, although the creation of angels is mentioned, they are absent from the discussion of sin, obedience, and free will. Humans are said to be intermediate between angels and animals. Equally, the naming of the animals, which had been a prominent topic in earlier centuries, is barely mentioned. It is noteworthy, too, that concern with aligning the detailed timetable of Adam and Eve's sin, curses, and expulsion with the events of the passion is not prominent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though in earlier times it too was a major topic. The chronology of the primordial events continued to interest scholars in the twelfth century, but in the thirteenth century this interest receded. The chei-graph legend is mentioned, though not at length.

A further innovation in this data is striking. For the first time, in the thirteenth century we can identify clear references to apocryphal Adam traditions and to the Aṛajawor fast that is connected with them; see §4.6 below. The Aṛajawor fast is a five-day fast unique to the Armenian Church, observed three weeks before Lent and concluding on a Friday. Today, it is connected, *inter alia*, with the five days of creation preceding Adam's eating the fruit.⁵ In the thirteenth century, however, Vanakan *vardapet* says, "The first fast is the following. When⁶ Adam came out of Paradise, they say that, expecting death, Adam did not wish to eat anything. And after five days, God had pity and ordered his angel to console him and to promise him the sending of the Only-Begotten and the incarnation of the Word of God for the sake of his salvation. And he ordered him to eat of the fruit of the earth."⁷

I shall discuss the development in the thirteenth century of the idea of Adam's weeping and imploring outside the Garden after his expulsion.⁸ Adam's fast and penitential prayer are connected with the Aṛajawor fast. Elsewhere, a different idea occurs, that the commandment not to eat the fruit was analogous to the Christian fasts as an exercise in ascetic self-control that Adam failed.⁹

An example of Adam's plaint before the closed gate of paradise is the following lines composed by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13:

I implore you, seraphim,
I have a complaint, hear me out.
When you enter the Garden of Eden,
70 Take a branch of the immortal fruit,

4. Vahram Rabuni 2.

5. See Petrosyan 2002, 75.

6. Literally: "and when."

7. See Vanakan *vardapet* 2.

8. See §4.6.

9. That idea is present in Vardan Aygekc'i's statement that the first type of fast is for Christ's sake, since God commanded Adam not to eat . . . (excerpt 9).

Bring it and place it over my eyes,
And cure my darkened eyes.

When you enter the Garden,
Do not close the Garden's gate,
Set me before it,
Let me look a moment, turn me away.¹⁰

This connects with the Armenian apocryphal Adam books, in particular with the *Repentance of Adam and Eve*. There Adam and Eve's suffering is described in §§6–10 and a long lament presented in §§11–24.¹¹ Finally, Vahram Rabuni C13 remarks that Adam was an individual from whom came his own species and genus.¹²

1.0 THE CREATION

Samuēl Anec'i C12 quotes two opinions about the number of creations. Some say, he notes, that there were twenty-two main creations according to the number of letters of the Hebrew alphabet; others say that there were twenty-four creations according to the number of hours of the day.¹³ The same discussion is repeated in the fourteenth century by Grigor Tat'ewac'i in his encyclopaedic *Book of Questions*.¹⁴ The number of twenty-two creations is very old, already occurring in the second-century B.C.E. *Book of Jubilees* 2:16. Although *Jubilees* is not extant in Armenian, a number of traditions from *Jubilees* do appear in Armenian literature, perhaps transmitted through Syriac and Greek reuses of *Jubilees* material. This enumeration occurs also in the *Palaea* 3.12–13¹⁵ and Joseph Paramelle recognized the same in the margins of Greek manuscript Vatoped. 659 fol. 58 and wrote a detailed discussion of how this ancient Jewish tradition reached Byzantine Greek sources.¹⁶ The *Palaea*, like *Jubilees*, does not occur in Armenian but shares many traditions with Armenian texts.¹⁷

10. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 70 and 71.

11. We have consulted the edition and translation by Lipscomb 1990. His texts are fuller than those of Yovsēp'ianc' 1896 at several points. S. Peter Cowe 1992, in his review of Lipscomb, observes (without reference) that Aṛajawor is already connected with Adam by Pawlos Tarōnac'i in the twelfth century.

12. Vahram Rabuni 1.

13. Samuēl Anec'i 2.

14. Grigor Tat'ewac'i, *Book of Questions*, 226–27. Without further investigation, however, it is impossible to know whether Grigor drew this view from Samuēl Anec'i.

15. This is Adler's numbering, equivalent to 189 in Vassiliev 1893.

16. Paramelle 1984, 36–38.

17. Much further research is required into Armenian knowledge of *Palaea* tradition.

1.1 THE CREATION OF HUMAN BEINGS

The texts I examined state clearly that Adam was created by God. This is the view of the thirteenth-century writers Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz, Frik, and Grigor Aknerc‘i.¹⁸ In addition, Frik and Vardan Arewelc‘i, as well as Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz, say that he was created by God’s hands.¹⁹ This doubtless derives from the idea of modeling Adam, which is implied already in Gen 2:7. Frik also says that Adam was created by a decision of the Trinity, as does Vardan Arewelc‘i C13. This is an inference from the plural in Gen 1:26, “Let us make man,”²⁰ The spirit that God breathed into him, Frik says, was a seal that brought him to life.²¹

Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 states the same in somewhat different terms when he says that Adam was created from matter and the spirit was breathed into him by God.²² In connection with creation in the image, Vardan Arewelc‘i C13 says that Adam and Eve were created rational and perceptive.²³

Eve was made from Adam’s side, declares Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13,²⁴ and her creation is also described by Frik C13 in terms resembling those in the Bible.²⁵ “And as the first woman was taken from the rib of the first man, likewise the church started from the ribs of the second Adam,” proclaims Step‘anos Ōrbelean C13, in a typological mode.²⁶ Frik, however, says that Adam wanted and needed a companion so he would not think himself to be self-created.²⁷

Frik also claims that the birds were made from the waters.²⁸ This is a quite common view and is based on a reading of Gen 1:20–21. It occurs repeatedly in the work of Frik, but not in our excerpts from other authors, an imbalance probably due to the relatively numerous excerpts drawn from Frik.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

Mxit‘ar Anec‘i C12 presents the overall chronology of Adam’s life after his expulsion from the Garden and up to his death at the age of 930.²⁹ Frik C13 says

18. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 42; Frik 52; and Grigor Aknerc‘i 1.

19. Frik 52, 63; Vardan Arewelc‘i 4; and Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 42. The idea is old; see chapter 1 §1.1; chapter 2 §1.1.

20. Frik 49; Vardan Arewelc‘i 4; see chapter 2 §1.1.1 and chapters 4–5 §1.1.

21. Frik 52. Sealing is discussed above, also in connection with this passage from Frik. Donabédian 1981, 135 discusses one of many representations of the inbreathing. Presumably Adam’s creation by God is implied also by Frik’s statement “I know that you were not a son of sin” (excerpt 5).

22. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 37.

23. Vardan Arewelc‘i 36. On the image, see §1.6 below.

24. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 12.

25. Frik 54.

26. Step‘anos Ōrbelean 3.

27. Frik 53–54.

28. Frik 11. See also Anderson, Stone, and Tromp 2000, 180.

29. Mxit‘ar Anec‘i 1.

that Adam was created last, after everything else: this is also the biblical view.³⁰ Indeed, many authors set the creation of Adam on the sixth day, which follows the biblical text in Gen 1:24–2:1. For example, in accordance with the Bible, Samuēl Anec'i C12 said that on the sixth day both animals and Adam and Eve were created.³¹ The Syrian scholar Abusayid C12 gave further details. He had calendrical and astronomical interests and observed that it was spring when God created Adam; it was equinox, and the sun was in the first degree of Aries. That is to say, Adam was created at the beginning of the year.³² We can observe the same concern for the relationship of astronomy, calendar, and the sequence of events in chapter 2 §1.1.1.

Five days passed between the creation of the angels on first day and of Adam on the sixth, Vardan Arewelc'i C13 maintains. This difference either was due to Adam's need for food or was so that he might receive a place under the heavens.³³ The connection of the creation of the creatures five days before Adam and the five-day Aṛajawor fast is made by Vanakan *vardapet* C13; it is discussed above in §0.0 and below in §4.6. This emphasis is strikingly new in the thirteenth century. Other aspects of Adam's beginnings are highlighted below.

The events are often viewed typologically, as I have noted above (§0.0). Adam's creation on the sixth day is often paralleled with the passion of Christ, who was crucified on a Friday, the sixth day. Grigor Tlay C12 states that God created Adam on Friday, as does Samuēl Anec'i C13.³⁴ Vanakan *vardapet* C13 has recourse to onomastic etymologies and speaks of "the month Nisan, which is translated 'formation,' for He formed Adam of dust."³⁵ The day manifests the same, for it is called 'urbat' (Friday), that is 'formation.' It is called also 'bawt' 'sorrowful news,' which means grief and sorrow, due to (his) being expelled from paradise and hearing, 'dust you were, and unto dust shall you return'; that is, Adam was created on Friday and expelled on Friday.³⁶

Pawłos Tarōnac'i C12, who had considerable calendrical interests (related, presumably to his interest in liturgy) specifies further that God created Adam on the sixth day, a Friday, which was 1 Nisan, and that the creation took place at the sixth hour. Nisan is first month of the Hebrews.³⁷ In the Synoptics' passion nar-

30. Frik 14.

31. Samuēl Anec'i 2.

32. Abusayid 2. The first point of the constellation of Aries was the vernal equinox and was considered the beginning of the astronomical year. The point has, in fact, moved into Pisces over the centuries.

33. Vardan Arewelc'i 9.

34. Grigor Tlay 7; Samuēl Anec'i 2. This is, of course, from the Bible.

35. I.e., in the first month. See the note on the excerpt both in connection with the calendar reckoning and with the etymologies.

36. Vanakan *vardapet* 1. These etymologies are obscure.

37. Pawłos Tarōnac'i 2. Jewish belief is that the world was created on 1 Tishrei. This is not explicit in pentateuchal legislation, but two significant events are noted in the postexilic period to have taken place in the seventh month; see 1 Esd 5:53 and 9:10. In Neh 9:1–3 the date

rative, the sixth hour (noon) is the hour of Jesus's death. Vardan Arewelc'i C13 writes that Adam was expelled in the evening just as Christ died in the evening (cf. Mark 15:41); Adam was created in morning and ate the fruit at the sixth hour.³⁸ This typological chronology of Vardan Arewelc'i resembles those found in earlier centuries.

Samuēl Anec'i C13 says that in the beginning there were no names of months, and from Adam up to Moses all the peoples regarded the beginning of spring as the beginning of the year.³⁹ One wonders whether this caused certain texts to mention 1 Nisan as the time of creation. Of course, when combined with the other "beginning" features, to think of the world created in the spring, on a new moon and when the Aries is in the first degree, and so on, is to accumulate items that mark a "beginning."

There are some other miscellaneous chronological traditions. Adam was put in the Garden forty days after his creation. This is the reading of the emended text of Vardan Aygekc'i.⁴⁰ This number was rather old and well established also in the Byzantine tradition.⁴¹ According to Vardan Arewelc'i C13, it is not known how long Adam and Eve were in the Garden. In the Garden they were not subject to years and, directly upon their sin, they left the Garden. Chronological reckoning starts only from the expulsion; this is the view of Yohan K'ahana C13.⁴²

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

By the period being considered in this chapter, the discussion we observed in chapter 2 §1.1.2, whether Adam was created from dust or from the four elements, has been resolved. The idea of Adam's creation from the four elements is firmly established. Adam, Frik C13 says, was created by God's hand from four elements, and his creation was followed by the breathing in of the spirit (so the

is different. In the Mishnah, which is later, we read, in *m. Roš Haš.* 1:1: "There are four New Years: On the first of Nisan, the new year for the kings and for the festivals. On the first of Elul, the new year for the tithing of animals; Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Shimon say, on the first of Tishrei. On the first of Tishrei, the new year for years, for the Sabbatical years and for the Jubilee years and for the planting and for the vegetables. On the first of Shevat, the new year for the trees, these are the words of the House of Shammai; the House of Hillel says, on the fifteenth thereof."

38. Vardan Arewelc'i 18.

39. Samuēl Anec'i 1.

40. Vardan Aygekc'i 13.

41. See Adler and Tuffin 2002, 6 n. 4, where they give relevant sources. This is also considered by Adler 1989, 85. See also *Adam Story* 2, §3, and the discussion in Stone 1996a, 111, with references to other sources, of which the oldest is *Jub.* 3:9. In the manuscript published there, *Adam Story* 2 is followed by *Question*, which is likely dependent on Vanakan *vardapet*; see Ervine 2000.

42. Yohan K'ahana 1.

biblical text, Gen 2:7) and sealing, which vivified him.⁴³ In another formulation, Frik says that God correctly made everything from the elements, and then man.⁴⁴

Frik C13 mentions the four elements frequently. God himself created them—so the land is upon the water as the dwelling of reptiles, and so forth.⁴⁵ In Frik's creation narrative he says that the four elements "act correctly by your word."⁴⁶ Elsewhere he states that God created the four elements and substances by singular weight.⁴⁷

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

The idea that the world was created to be of service and enjoyment for humans is present already in the Second Temple period.⁴⁸ Frik C13 entertains the same concept.⁴⁹ Similar is Yovhannēs Gaṛnec'i's C13 statement that "you warned him to observe the commandment and enjoy the goods you had given him gratuitously and without compensation." The goodness of creation, Yovhannēs Gaṛnec'i says, was given freely to Adam.⁵⁰ Frik stated that the sun and moon are servants of humans, and the world was created for enjoyment by day.⁵¹

Grigor Tlay C12 speaks of the counsel taken by the Son with the Father and the Spirit, which is an interpretation of Gen 1:26: "Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness." The use of the plurals "us" and "our" underpin this idea.⁵² Mxit'ar Goš says that God did not envy Adam, despite Satan's saying "become gods," which one might have thought was God's motive for banning the tree.⁵³

In this section, I examine the idea that Adam was created immortal and the commandment was given so that his obedience would confirm his immortality and raise him to a heavenly level. This view is well expressed by Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz C13, "If you will keep my commandment that you received from me, | I will transfer you to heaven from paradise, into the luminous ranks."⁵⁴ Sim-

43. Frik 51–52. The exact meaning of "sealing" here is not explicit, but it has to do with the inbreathing of the divine spirit, by which man was vivified. See also the same in Frik 52 and 30.

44. I.e., from the elements, too. Frik 13–14. See below, §1.2.

45. Frik 13.

46. Frik 39. There is a clear view here of the role of divine speech in the acts of creation. Frik's creation narrative occurs in excerpts 21–28.

47. Frik 45; cf. 39. Each substance has its particular and different weight.

48. Stone 1990a, 188–89.

49. Frik 15.

50. Yovhannēs Gaṛnec'i 3.

51. Frik 34. This must be compared with Agat'angelos 9.

52. Grigor Tlay 17. In excerpt 20 he says that the purpose of the creation of man was, "To keep the law of the commandment, | And to inherit the desirable thing."

53. Mxit'ar Goš 1.

54. Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz 23.

ilarly, Yovhannēs Gaṛnec’i C13 says that the purpose of commandments is “to conduct by them the steps of my feet, on the straight way to the celestial abode.”⁵⁵

In earlier centuries, the same basic view of Adam’s commandment was formulated as a type of test, as a last stage before his achieving his spiritual potential, immortality, glory, and heavenly status.⁵⁶ A similar idea is expressed in Yovhannēs Imastasēr’s C12 observation that, in fact, God’s purpose in giving the commandment was the pledge of future prizes after Adam demonstrated his virtue.⁵⁷ Of course, as is true of many statements relating to trials and testing and consequently to free will and human choice, the inherent conflict with divine omniscience is ignored.

Analogous to the formulation quoted above is the notion that the purpose of creation is to give Adam and Eve fruit at a fitting time and make them divine; see Vardan Arewelc’i C13.⁵⁸ Frik C13 says that the immortality of paradise and all its good things are for Adam.⁵⁹ Similar is Vardan Arewelc’i’s idea that “(God) did not wish to enjoy his abundant goodness alone, but moved by love of his good will, he also brought into being the intelligible and sensible creatures.”⁶⁰ This evokes the view that creation was for the benefit of humans.

Similarly, Grigor Tlay C12 says that Adam was placed in the Garden to keep the commandment and inherit the desirable things.⁶¹ God intended Adam to become a “cultivated plant,” but Adam frustrated this intention by his disobedience, as Sargis Šnorhali puts it.⁶² Abusayid says that God laid upon Adam the commandments to love God and to observe his commandments.⁶³ This formulation draws, of course, on a biblical cliché and is of no great significance.

On the subject of the creation of Eve, Frik C13 says that God “created women for fertility, | Made them the cause of the prosperity of the world. | 35 He adorned her with colored clothes, | He fed her with various fruit.”⁶⁴ He also says that Eve was created because Adam deemed himself self-created.⁶⁵

1.1.4 Adam’s Age at Creation

Adam was created as a man thirty years of age.⁶⁶ The scientist Anania Širakac’i C7 spoke of the age of thirty as the most perfect age for a human

55. Yovhannēs Gaṛnec’i 3. Adam was given one commandment says Frik 1 and 50.

56. See chapter 1 §1.4.

57. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

58. Vardan Arewelc’i 27.

59. Frik 57; see also §1.1.7 (“Gifts”), for the idea that creation is for the sake of human beings.

60. Vardan Arewelc’i 1.

61. Grigor Tlay 20.

62. Sargis Šnorhali 3. The idea of Adam as a plant is drawn from Jas 1:12.

63. Abusayid 1.

64. Frik 32–33.

65. Frik 53–54 and §1.1 above.

66. On the time of Adam’s creation, see §1.1.1.

being.⁶⁷ Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12 says that they mourned (i.e., Abel) for thirty days corresponding to Adam’s age of thirty at his creation. Then, he adds in an unclear passage, “after which he perished to death, went down to hell (Hades).”⁶⁸ As is noted in chapter 2 §1.1.4, many events in the lives of Adam and Eve are separated by periods of thirty years.

1.1.5 Adam’s/Eve’s State at Creation: Glory

The description of Adam’s state when he was created poses a challenge. Since the Bible says nothing about it, it has to be inferred from the curses. Each curse can be taken to reverse the situation that obtained before the Fall. Many of the statements about prelapsarian Adam reflect this dynamic.

Nearly all the sources speak of the glory of the protoplasts, or their luminosity. Adam was created in glory says Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12;⁶⁹ Eve was created luminous according to Grigor Tlay C12;⁷⁰ humans had divine glory and splendor in paradise (Ignatius *vardapet* C12),⁷¹ were created as shining and wondrous (Nersēs Šnorhali C12),⁷² enjoyed immortal life and the splendor of paradise (Nersēs Šnorhali),⁷³ were created with supreme glory and highest bliss (Sargis Šnorhali C12),⁷⁴ and further synonyms can be found. Glory is, of course, a royal attribute going back to Iranian roots as well as biblical, and heavenly or pre-creation light was typical of the state of creation in many sources.⁷⁵

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 speaks of Adam, whom the very kind Creator created in the beginning—splendid and incorruptible, silvery and honored, proportioned in accordance with the image and in the likeness.⁷⁶ Adam was given honor by God, says Sargis Šnorhali C12.⁷⁷ Frik C13, too, declares that Adam possessed various kinds of glory and that he was honored.⁷⁸ Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 refers to Eve’s glory.⁷⁹ This consistent presentation of Adamic glory indicates, by

67. See chapter 2 §1.1.4. The issue of Adam’s age at creation is discussed in a footnote there. In 4 Ezra 10:44, an angel reveals a vision’s interpretation to Ezra: a woman had been barren for thirty years, which are the three thousand years between creation and the inception of sacrifices in Jerusalem. In a quite different context in *The Tree of Sabek* §2 (Stone 2012, 97) Sedek is noted as being thirty years old.

68. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 2. See further *Abel and Cain* §§52–59 (Lipscomb 1990, 169–71) and compare *L.A.E.* [48](40):2–5. In §4.2.3 the loss of glory is discussed.

69. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 3.

70. Grigor Tlay 11.

71. Ignatius *vardapet* 2.

72. Nersēs Šnorhali 34.

73. Nersēs Šnorhali 43.

74. Sargis Šnorhali 15; and see also excerpt 1.

75. See also Orlov 2007, 273–80.

76. Ignatius *vardapet* 4.

77. Sargis Šnorhali 9.

78. Frik 53 and 63.

79. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 77; cf. §1.6.

introducing the idea of the image, that this glory and splendor are of the divine realm.

God honored His image with luminous glory. The twinning of glory and light is found in many sources. For example, Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 speaks of Adam as honored with luminous glory and connects this with Adam’s creation in the image of God. This was Adam’s state, he says, in the Garden.⁸⁰ Indeed, the theme of glory is particularly prominent in Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz’s writings.⁸¹

1.1.6 Adam’s State at Creation: Immortality

I remarked above that the curses reversed blessings. Thus, from the curse of death we learn that before the Fall Adam was undying.

Grigor Tlay C12 speaks of Adam whom God created as “intermediary . . . Mortal (and) immortal, | Both incorporeal and corporeal.”⁸² His formulation implies that Adam had both of these potentialities, but his sinful action, as the stanza concludes, led to his loss of immortality and incorporeality. Elsewhere Grigor Tlay says that Adam was “created immortal.”⁸³ Nersēs Šnorhali C12 speaks of Adam’s immortal life and paradisiacal splendor.⁸⁴

Immortality and the good things of paradise were Adam’s portion, and he was a glorious prophet, close to the supernal hosts, says Friq C13.⁸⁵ Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 asserts that there was no illness and there were no sins until Adam disobeyed.⁸⁶

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

Not only was the world created for human use, but God bestowed many gifts on humans at creation. These gifts were freely given through God’s generosity, according to Yovhannēs Gañec‘i C13.⁸⁷

Friq C13 says that God filled man with the seven lights of grace and gave him a spirit, understanding, and mind. Moreover, man possessed various kinds of glory (see §1.1.5 above).⁸⁸ A twelfth-century statement enumerates God’s gifts to Adam. God created man and gave him manifold and wonderful honors: (a) image, (b) lordship, (c) the delights of salvation, (d) beauty of the Garden, and (e)

80. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 7, 12, 14, 22, 32, 37, et al.

81. Below I discuss the ideas of “master” (§1.1.7), of “image” (§1.6), and of luminosity (§2.4).

82. Grigor Tlay 17.

83. Grigor Tlay 8.

84. Nersēs Šnorhali 43; see §1.1.5 above.

85. Friq 53 (“glory”), 57 (“immortality”), 59 (“prophet”).

86. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 8.

87. Yovhannēs Gañec‘i 3.

88. Friq 15–16, 30, and 42.

the commandment.⁸⁹ These raise a number of points. First, as we will see below, the ideas of the image and lordship are closely connected.⁹⁰ Second, the Garden was described in hyperbolic terms in many texts, splendor being a frequent characteristic. Third, the commandment was seen as a gift to Adam, a demonstration of the gift of autonomous will. As Yovhannēs Imastasēr put it, it was “a pledge of future prizes.”⁹¹

God honored Adam in creation, making him king and master (Gen 1:28, 30). This is the view of Sargis Šnorhali C12, who takes up the old theme of Adam as the lord, king, or master of all creation. He cites Jas 3:7 in this connection: “Every kind of beasts, and of birds, and of reptiles, and of things in the sea, are subject and are obedient to human nature,” and he follows that with an extensive discussion of the same topic in a commentary on Gen 1:28.⁹² The same view is espoused by Grigor Tlay C12, who speaks of Adam as master and lord of this transient world.⁹³

On the one hand, mind is foremost among the qualities of man as the image of God.⁹⁴ On the other, wisdom is prominent among the gifts given to Adam, and it is often connected with autonomy⁹⁵ or free will. Nersēs Lambronac’i C12 regards the human search for wisdom and prudence to be a divine gift to Adam. In the course of the same passage, Nersēs Lambronac’i formulates this idea somewhat differently, saying that God taught man to seek wisdom.⁹⁶ The theme of Adam’s wisdom recurs in other ways. For example, the medical work of Abusayid C12 says that God gave the Adam wisdom and discernment to invent the art of medical science.⁹⁷ Step’anos Ōrbelean C13 says that God put three things into him, by which he could resemble God completely: creativity, love, and wisdom, which is reason.⁹⁸

Several texts make it clear that, when Adam sinned, he lost this God-given wisdom. Sargis Šnorhali C12 states that he lost both wisdom and lordly honor.⁹⁹ Nonetheless, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 says that God gave a lesser wisdom to the prophets.¹⁰⁰ When he transgressed, Adam also lost the vivifying breath that was

89. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

90. See §1.6.

91. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

92. Sargis Šnorhali 4–5. Note mention of “master and king” in that context.

93. Grigor Tlay 7. This subject is discussed in chapter 2 §1.6.

94. This is discussed in §1.6.

95. This term was very widespread in use in the fifth century and remained in circulation for a long time.

96. Nersēs Lambronac’i 11 and 12. According to Vardan Aygekc’i C13, God created Satan and Adam and showed them good and evil, which is also a sort of knowledge; see Vardan Aygekc’i 1.

97. Abusayid 1.

98. Step’anos Ōrbelean 1.

99. Sargis Šnorhali 20.

100. Nersēs Šnorhali 33.

the inbreathed spirit. This is the view of Nersēs Lambronac'i C12.¹⁰¹ It is a rather literal inference from Gen 2:7.

1.1.8 Adam's Language

The issue of the primordial holy language is a complex one, and Syriac Christians often claimed it was Syriac, which idea was taken over into Christian Armenian texts.¹⁰² The question is expressed by Friik C13, who says that there was one Adam, one Eve, and one Hebrew language and it is wondrous that so many nations were born of him.¹⁰³

1.2 THE RANKING OF CREATION

Note that the ranking of creation, while quite a prominent topic in the twelfth century, is not much discussed in the thirteenth.

Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 speaks of the order of creation: angels, creatures, and then Adam, their master. Man is master of the perceptible beings.¹⁰⁴ This is the order of creation according to the biblical narrative, except for the angels, who are not mentioned there. Ignatius *vardapet* C12 speaks of the nine ranks of angels, drawing on an old tradition, associated with but not originating in Pseudo-Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchy*. Moreover, Ignatius includes humans in this series as a tenth rank of celestial being.¹⁰⁵ Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 describes the proper state of things: angels in heaven, Adam in the Garden, and the beasts on earth.¹⁰⁶

Ranking is engendered by the idea of the image of God, which is taken up by Sargis Šnorhali C12.¹⁰⁷ Speaking of Adam's sin and punishment, he mentions the destruction of God's image, that is, Adam, who had been created for the glory of God. Corruption affected not only Adam but in turn other creatures, which were created for the glory of man. Man, then, was created in the image for God's glory; the animals were created for man's glory. Thus, a clear hierarchical order exists among created beings. Sargis Šnorhali C12 in very significant passage says that all creatures were created by word (see Ps 33:6 = Arm 32:6) and Adam by God's hand (Gen 2:7 is presumably the biblical basis

101. Nersēs Lambronac'i 16.

102. See the reference to Syriac as the primordial writing in Stone 1996a, 152. Adam is the inventor of Hebrew script and vocalization; see Fabricius 1713, 1–2. See also *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Hebrew Language, Origin," for similar views. The history of this idea is complex and would require a separate study.

103. Friik 66.

104. Nersēs Lambronac'i 12. See also §1.1.7 for Adam as "lord, master."

105. Ignatius *vardapet* 4. See Dionysius Areopagiticus 1970, 104.

106. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 9. He repeats the same order in 51.

107. Sargis Šnorhali 19 and 20.

of this).¹⁰⁸ Likewise, elsewhere he refers to “the creation of his hands, Adam.”¹⁰⁹ Important concepts lurk here.

As for creation by the word, it is a widely found concept, already, for example, in Ps 33:9= Arm 32:9.¹¹⁰ This idea is probably partly behind the number 22 for created things, which is the number of letters in the alphabet (see §1.0 above).¹¹¹

Sargis Šnorhali C12, whom I cited above, has another formulation, which adds certain features to the views cited just above. Creatures, he says, are in the image of man, man is in the image of God. Equally, creatures are bound to act by their nature, while humans have autonomy (անձնիշխանութիւն), that is, free will; creatures are without reason or wisdom, while God adorned humans with wisdom.¹¹² This is a remarkable extension of the hierarchy he outlined above, taking the contrast of animals and humans into the realms of free will and wisdom. The contrast between humans and angels is not developed in these texts, though earlier in the Armenian tradition, notably in the fifth century, it is prominent.

Finally, in the biblical narrative, God created Adam before Eve and this order of creation is repeated in the twelfth-century sources.¹¹³ The second should be obedient to the first, so woman should be obedient to man.¹¹⁴

1.3 HUMANS AND ANGELS

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 conceives of Adam, a being endowed with the spirit, as counted in the *celestial hierarchy*, following the nine classes of angels.¹¹⁵ Adam forms a tenth class, “for we have learned thus, that the ranks of the angels are nine: and the tenth is our nature, missing from that number.”¹¹⁶ Moreover, he

108. Sargis Šnorhali 20 and see §1.1 above. See Stone 1990a, index, s.v. “God, hands of, creation of mankind by.”

109. Sargis Šnorhali 18.

110. See Stone 1990, index, s.v. “Creation, by speech.”

111. Perhaps this connection explains the difference between twenty-two books of the Hebrew Bible in Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.8 and some patristic canon lists, on the one hand, and rabbinic sources, which have twenty-four books, on the other. Perhaps the letters of the alphabet were understood as constitutive of language, through which the world was created and Scripture written, while twenty-four derives from a different tradition, perhaps numerological.

112. Sargis Šnorhali 20.

113. See Nersēs Šnorhali 41; Sargis Šnorhali 16.

114. Satan adduces exactly this argument to explain his rebellion in *Pen. Adam* 14:3 and parallels: “I shall not bow [down] to him who is posterior to me, for I am former. Why is it proper [for me] to bow down to him?”

115. Ignatius *vardapet* 4; see n. 105 above.

116. Ignatius *vardapet* 4.

calls the angels “sons of light.”¹¹⁷ Nersēs Lambronac’i C12 contrasts angels with “perceptible beings.”¹¹⁸

Psalm 104:4 = Arm 103:4 was regularly read to mean that God made the angels of fire and spirit, an interpretation repeated frequently by the poet Frik in the thirteenth century.¹¹⁹ He also says that they were made of light or fire and spirit or immortal spirit.¹²⁰ It is interesting to observe the interchange of light and fire. Frik even has a third variant on this theme, that while the angels were composed of fire and light, the mountains were made of fire and water.¹²¹ Here his focus on fire or light and spirit is combined with his interest in the four elements noted above in §1.1.2. He also says that the angels surround God’s throne, while Adam is said to be close to the supernal hosts.¹²² Among the twelfth- and thirteenth-century excerpts, these points are found almost solely in Frik.

1.4 ANGELS’ FUNCTION AND ADAM’S COMMANDMENT

The texts from the twelfth and thirteenth century do not speak at all about angels’ obedience or disobedience, a subject quite prominent earlier in chapter 1 §1.4. This is, perhaps, connected with the lesser role played by angels in the form of the creation narrative current at that time.¹²³

The commandment given to Adam was viewed as fast by Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz C13.¹²⁴ Above, again in §0.0, we saw the prominence of the theme of fasting, particularly of the Ařajawor fast, which, according to Basil cited by Vanakan *vardapet* C13, was first ordained in the Garden.¹²⁵ This was the prohibition of the fruit, prescribed for Adam in the Garden. The command not to eat from the tree was equivalent to fasting, and this is connected with Ařajawor, according to Vanakan *vardapet* C13.¹²⁶ When Adam and Eve observed their fast, they did their task well, and God and the angels took care of them.¹²⁷

117. Ignatius *vardapet* 7; see Luke 16:8. It is difficult to see a connection between the famous “Sons of Light” in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ignatius *vardapet*.

118. Nersēs Lambronac’i 12.

119. See Frik 38.

120. Frik 38 and 44.

121. Frik 23 and 38.

122. Frik 22 and 59.

123. The limited concern with angels is discussed in §0.0.

124. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 3.

125. Vanakan *vardapet* 2.

126. Vanakan *vardapet* 2.

127. Vardan Aygekc’i 10. See further §4.5 below.

1.5 ANGELS DWELL IN LIGHT

1.6 HUMANKIND IN THE IMAGE

Genesis 1:26 says, “Then God said, “Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness.” This crucial verse has generated mountains of commentary and interpretation. It is reflected without elaboration in various sources, such as Sargis Šnorhali C12. Ignatius *vardapet* C12 also refers to man as the image of God, with no further specification.¹²⁸ Yovhannēs Erzncac’i Pluz C13 and Yovhannēs Gaṛnec’i C13 reflect the language of the verse.¹²⁹ Elsewhere, Sargis Šnorhali C12 characterizes man as God’s image.¹³⁰

The scientific writer Abusayid C12 interprets the image in a physical way, saying that God made Adam’s body according to his image.¹³¹ In a somewhat less down-to-earth interpretation, Grigor Tlay C12 says, “He creates Adam like (hufuū) himself.”¹³² Other formulations of the idea are to be found in Yovhannēs Erzncac’i Pluz C13, who speaks of “material man in his (God’s) form.”¹³³ Elsewhere he speaks of Adam as a luminous image of divinity.¹³⁴ Adam is God’s copy and likeness and a precious image, according to Friq C13.¹³⁵

As a result of his creation in the image of God, prelapsarian Adam takes on a number of striking attributes. One understanding, shared by Ignatius *vardapet* C12 and Nersēs Šnorhali C12, stresses glory and splendor, which are discussed above in §1.1.5. Man is in the image, shining and wondrous.¹³⁶ As noted above, Nersēs Lambronac’i C12 connects the image and likeness with the words, “you . . . adorned him with all your gifts (grace) and taught him to seek wisdom and prudence.”¹³⁷ The image for him is reason. According to Nersēs Šnorhali C12, Adam, because he is in God’s image, receives mercy from the incarnated God who is in his image:

He who descended from heaven reached Adam
Had mercy on him as his image and likeness.¹³⁸

128. Sargis Šnorhali 7; Ignatius *vardapet* 4.

129. Yovhannēs Erzncac’i Pluz 6, 12, and 22; Yovhannēs Gaṛnec’i 3.

130. Sargis Šnorhali 7.

131. Abusayid 1.

132. Grigor Tlay 7; see also the recurrence of the term, in hufuūhufuū in Grigor Tlay 17. Compare the word hufuūhufuū (“likeness”) in Gen 1:26.

133. Yovhannēs Erzncac’i Pluz 12.

134. Yovhannēs Erzncac’i Pluz 22.

135. Friq 14, 29, and 49.

136. Nersēs Šnorhali 34.

137. Nersēs Lambronac’i 11; see §1.1.7 above.

138. Nersēs Šnorhali 30.

The connection of the image with dominion, kingship, and power derives from Gen 1:26–28. It is discussed in section §1.1.7, and here I add some further observations. Vahram Rabuni C13 says, “In the beginning of mankind, this honour was granted, that God made the man in his image, ‘According to the image of God He made him. . . . And He blessed them, and said: Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl, and over the animals, all that is upon the earth.’”¹³⁹ And thus he made him king over visible creatures, being obedient by his kingship.”¹⁴⁰ Here the connection of image with the rule, promised in Gen 1:27–28, is clear. The same idea is reflected when Frik C13 says that the creatures are obedient to man,¹⁴¹ and according to Yovhannēs Gaṛnec’i C13, Adam was “master and sovereign over all your creatures.”¹⁴²

The term king is prominent here in the thirteenth century. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz C13 states that Adam was king in paradise and God bestowed a royal crown on him.¹⁴³ Frik C13 has several statements in this sense: Adam was king of all; he was master and teacher of creatures; he was ruler of beings; he bound (լաւարէլ, a term for controlling) animals, beasts and demons.¹⁴⁴

Adam was created like God in all ways, especially in three things: creativity, love, and wisdom, that is, reason.¹⁴⁵

As to creative power, by which he is the collaborator of the Creator in creation; as to love, by which he always longs for the desirable and continually strives to achieve and to enjoy it; as to wisdom, by which he is distinguished from irrational (animals) and is able to think and to distinguish the useful and useless, the harmful and profitable and to reach perfect stature by learning and striving.¹⁴⁶

In earlier chapters we saw the connection drawn between the image and the mind; see above here §1.1.7; chapter 1 §1.6; and chapter 2 §1.6. This is not a dominant interpretation of the image in the texts we are now discussing, but it does occur. “God made man spirit and body, and adorned him in the likeness of His own image. And He made the mind the eyes of the soul, and the eyes a candle (lamp) of the body,” says Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz C13.¹⁴⁷ In the passage “He filled the man with the seven lights of grace, | He gave him as spirit, both understanding and mind,” Frik C13 connects the inbreathing of the spirit (Genesis 2’s

139. Gen 1:26–29.

140. Vahram Rabuni 9.

141. Frik 15.

142. Yovhannēs Gaṛnec’i 3.

143. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 26, 55, and 77. Compare chapter 2 §1.6.

144. Frik 15 and 42.

145. See §1.1.7.

146. Step’anos Ōrbelean 1.

147. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 6.

equivalent of the creation in the image in Genesis 1) with mind.¹⁴⁸ This is in turn related to the gift of wisdom given to Adam, discussed above in §1.1.7.

In chapter 1 §1.6, I have dealt with the double use of image. Adam is in the image of God, and, when God is incarnated, he takes on the image of Adam, that is, he looks human. Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 says that Christ is in the image of Adam,¹⁴⁹ and Sargis Šnorhali C12 adds to this that Christ takes on "the corruptible image of Adam."¹⁵⁰ Adam was created in the image to expiate his sin, that is, through Christ (Friik C13).¹⁵¹ Here the typology of Old Adam/New Adam is in play, implying salvation through Christ from Adam's sin.

2.0 THE GARDEN OF EDEN

The Garden is to the east, as follows from Gen 2:8.¹⁵² This view is held by Vardan Arewelc'i C13¹⁵³ and Friik C13.¹⁵⁴ It is in Eden, according to Nersēs Šnorhali 35.¹⁵⁵ A text relating to Edessa states that the rivers of Mesopotamia are two of those coming out of paradise, and Eden is situated between them.¹⁵⁶

The Garden of Eden is often described in the highest terms. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 calls it "a [building] made by God, made without hands, and celestial" and Garden of "the light of delight," and says that it is the place of immortality.¹⁵⁷ Friik C13 calls the Garden "eternal and inconceivable" and "good."¹⁵⁸ Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 says, "He set him in the Garden, gloriously planted by the Existent."¹⁵⁹ Friik also uses other superlative expressions such as "immortal land."¹⁶⁰ It is designated in an analogous way by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, who calls it, "immortal place" and "Garden of immortal glory"; and God, who planted the Garden, is "the Immortal."¹⁶¹

Describing the Garden in more detail, Vardan Aygekc'i C13 says that the leaves of the Garden's trees were brighter than the sun, while Friik C13 waxes eloquent about the beauty of its fruit trees and how they ornamented the Garden. This, of course, is connected with the description of the forbidden tree, which

148. Friik 29–30.

149. Nersēs Lambronac'i 8.

150. Sargis Šnorhali 12; compare 13.

151. Friik 50.

152. This is one interpretation of Hebrew מקדֹם, while the LXX has κατὰ ἀνατολάς, the reading followed by Arm Gen 2:8.

153. Vardan Arewelc'i 5.

154. Friik 31.

155. Nersēs Šnorhali 35.

156. Nersēs Šnorhali 37.

157. Nersēs Šnorhali 38.

158. Friik 1, 15, and 41.

159. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 13.

160. Friik 1; see extract 57.

161. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 14, 29, and 22, respectively.

Gen 3:6 says is “good for food, and . . . a delight to the eyes.” So Frikk calls the tree “captivating.”¹⁶²

The location of paradise on a mountain is an idea that is found in numerous sources, within and outside of the Armenian tradition.¹⁶³ Among the twelfth-century excerpts, Ignatius *vardapet*’s phrase “having come down from the height to a depth” seems to imply this. Ignatius also says that paradise is called heaven because of its location, apparently on a high place, and it is (the place of) immortal and incorruptible life.¹⁶⁴ Vardan Arewelc’i C13 also holds this view and adds other geographical details.¹⁶⁵ Nersēs Lambronac’i C12 speaks of “towns of Paradise,” following the phrase “upper Jerusalem.”¹⁶⁶ In his historical book, he says clearly that paradise is in the east, on a high mountain, equal with the sphere of the moon.¹⁶⁷

The Garden is regarded as a symbol of wisdom by Nersēs Šnorhali C12 and Nersēs Lambronac’i C12.¹⁶⁸ Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12 says that some say there was no day and night in paradise, but in fact there was.¹⁶⁹ Vardan Arewelc’i C13 states that the light of paradise does not flow from the sun but shines from the ether or from God’s glory. This apparently implies some sort of extraterrestrial status for paradise.¹⁷⁰

“And the fourth canon-table represents Paradise, for it stands through four pillars, being an allegory of the perceptible elements, which is mixed of four (i.e., elements),” states Nersēs Šnorhali C12 in his *Commentary on the Canon Tables*.¹⁷¹ From this we may learn that paradise was made of the four elements.

A final aspect of paradise, about which we have a number of statements, derives from Gen 2:24, “and at the east of the garden of Eden He placed the cherubim, and a sword flaming and turning to guard the way to the tree of life.” This was combined with the idea that the Garden was walled about, which is also represented in texts and iconography from early times. Thus, *Pen. Adam* [44] (17):1 describes the serpent and Satan hanging over the wall of the Garden, and Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz C13 says that the serpent broke the wall of paradise. Taking up this idea and combining it with Gen 2:24, Frikk C13 says that “the walls

162. Vardan Aygekc’i 12 and Frikk 47.

163. See chapter 2 §2.0.

164. Ignatius *vardapet* 2 and 6.

165. Vardan Arewelc’i 5.

166. Nersēs Lambronac’i 2.

167. Vardan Arewelc’i 5.

168. Nersēs Šnorhali 25; Nersēs Lambronac’i 12.

169. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 1. The idea of the light in Eden is also quite important for the cheirograph legend, which is based on Adam and Eve not having understood what night is. Is Yovhannēs Imastasēr opposing this idea?

170. Vardan Arewelc’i 5.

171. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.

of Paradise were made of seraphim.”¹⁷² This is similar to Vardan Arewelc‘i’s C13 idea when he says, “Now by means of seraphim, God surrounded Paradise with fire,” to keep the unworthy out.¹⁷³

2.1 ADAM PLACED IN THE GARDEN

In the preceding section, I observed that the Garden is considered the place of immortality. This idea is echoed by both Grigor Tlay C12 and Nersēs Šnorhali C12. Adam is set in this place of immortality.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, at the eschaton, Adam will be placed in the Garden for a second time and adorned with glory, says Nersēs Šnorhali C12.¹⁷⁵

Frik C13 declares that Adam was the richest man when he had the Garden alone, without the commandment.¹⁷⁶ God put Adam in paradise and set it in the east for man.¹⁷⁷ Further similar statements about the divine creation of the Garden and its location in the east are noted in §2.0 above.

2.2 GOD SHOWED ADAM TWO TREES

The commandment given related to two trees, says Grigor Tlay C12. God made a law and gave Adam an order not to eat from the tree in the midst of the Garden and from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Here Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12 speaks as if there were two commandments about two trees or, at least, one commandment about two trees.¹⁷⁸

2.3 INTERCOURSE IN THE GARDEN?

Our texts do not discuss whether Adam and Eve had intercourse in the Garden; their intercourse is mentioned only after they left the Garden, which apparently implies no intercourse in Eden. Indeed, a very negative view of sexual intercourse emerges from the texts. Adam (after the Fall) fornicated impiously, says

172. Frik 1. The instrumental case implies that the seraphim themselves constituted the walls. Perhaps an ablative would have been expected.

173. Vardan Arewelc‘i 5.

174. Grigor Tlay 8; Nersēs Šnorhali 34. Grigor Tlay’s language is somewhat ambiguous and could designate either Adam or the Garden as immortal.

175. Nersēs Šnorhali 10 and 13.

176. Frik 10.

177. Frik 15–16, 31, and 53.

178. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 4. Contrast Gen 2:17 (“tree of knowledge”) and Gen 3:3 (you shall not eat “of the tree which is in the midst of the Garden”). Nersēs’ formulation reflects, in all likelihood, the unclarity that is also to be sensed in the biblical text. It does not seem to us to be an ontological statement.

Frik C13.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, Eve is said to have conceived after the sin, implying that she also had intercourse then.¹⁸⁰ Vardan Arewelc'i C13 says that Adam lamented in virginity with Eve for thirty years after the Fall, and then they had impious intercourse, like animals.¹⁸¹

2.4 THE STATE OF ADAM IN THE GARDEN

Adam and Eve were alone in Eden, and God always rejoiced at the sight of them, as Frik C13 puts it. In another phrase, he says that there was one Adam, one Eve, and one Hebrew language in paradise until they ate the fruit.¹⁸² According to Vardan Aygekc'i C13, Adam was luminous in the Garden, but he lost his luminosity on account of Satan's deceit.¹⁸³ Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz C13 says that he was covered with godly light.¹⁸⁴ The texts discussed in this chapter do not expatiate at length on Adam's paradisiacal state, which is an interesting insight into their priorities.

2.5 THE CREATION OF THE ANIMALS

The creation of the animals is mentioned above in §1.2, but nothing is said about their creation beyond mentioning it, in accordance with the biblical text.

2.6 NAMING BY ADAM

Adam's naming of the animals was taken as a sign of his wisdom, or of divine grace.¹⁸⁵ Although the theme of Adam's wisdom occurred in the preceding period, it is not found in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries in connection with naming. Indeed, only Dawit' Ganjakec'i C12 mentions the naming, and he says that those names were found to be their unchangeable names.¹⁸⁶

Concerning the name of God, Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 says that Adam found his name "of his glory and action," that is, the name Աստուած *Astuac*, of which the popular etymology is "he who brings here" or "into being."¹⁸⁷

179. Frik 20.

180. Vardan Arewelc'i 17.

181. Vardan Arewelc'i 6.

182. Frik 66; see also §1.1.8 above.

183. Vardan Aygekc'i 11.

184. Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz 55.

185. See Stone 2007a; chapter 1 §2.6.

186. Dawit' Ganjakec'i 1.

187. Nersēs Lambronac'i 18. See the discussion of the name in Stone 2006b, 1:177.

2.7 THE TYPE OF TREE

In his *Elegy on the Fall of Edessa*, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 refers to Alexandria, saying, “The reasonable (բանալի) tree of divine Paradise is planted in you.” In this poem, he mentions a number of cities, Rome, Alexandria, Edessa, and so on, and has an Edenic connection for each. These were great Christian centers and presumably are being spoken of in parabolic terms. For Alexandria, it is the tree.¹⁸⁸ Oddly, the type of tree that was the tree of knowledge, a subject of interest in previous centuries (especially the fifth century), is not discussed in the sources being considered.

2.8 EVE, TRADITIONS ABOUT

In §0.0 above, I wrote about the parallels that were drawn between Eve and the Virgin. Eve was generally understood to have been created from Adam’s rib, as in the Bible. In a broader perspective, Friik C13 says that God created women for fertility and for the prosperity of the world.¹⁸⁹

In a narrative poem, Grigor Tlay C12 tells the standard story of the deception of Eve, more or less as it is found in the Primary Adam Books (see, e.g., *Pen. Adam* [44](17):1–[44](19):3). He wrote, “Satan enters the serpent, | Teaches it to speak with Eve, | It finds Eve alone, | Away from Adam, and deceives (her).”¹⁹⁰ Elsewhere he observes that Satan deceived Eve by the promise of becoming god.¹⁹¹ Nersēs Šnorhali C12 states that Eve obeyed the serpent and, by stretching out her hands (i.e., to take the fruit), drove Adam out of ineffable glory.¹⁹² This tradition entertains no doubts about Eve’s culpability for the sin. According to Grigor Tlay, Eve was deceived, but Adam ate the fruit and sinned, not because he was himself deceived but because of his love for Eve and his pity on her.¹⁹³ Grigor Pahlavuni C12 says that Eve was deprived of life as a result of her sin, which statement is a commonplace.¹⁹⁴

Eve’s sin serves hortatory purposes in Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz C13’s writings. “Let not evil counsel enter your ear: Eve did and was deceived”; similarly, he warns of dangers threatening through seeing, feeling, eating, and speech.

188. Nersēs Šnorhali 36.

189. Friik 32. On Eve’s creation from Adam’s rib, see Friik 54.

190. Grigor Tlay 9. These traditions are discussed in §3.1; and see appendix §1.1.1–1.1.3.

191. Grigor Tlay 10.

192. Nersēs Šnorhali 29.

193. Grigor Tlay 12. See below §4.1.1; and see chapter 2 §4.1, where Grigor Narekac’i advances this idea.

194. Grigor Pahlavuni 1.

The five senses admit sin, and Satan, who is the serpent, deceived Eve through them.¹⁹⁵

The figure of the Virgin Mary, who was regarded as Eve's counterpart, as Christ was Adam's, greatly influenced the presentation of Eve. This typological pattern occurs in Nersēs Šnorhali C12, and Step'anos Ōrbelean C13 says that, as we inherited death and captivity through Eve, now we have received immortality and liberty and the life of the Garden through her daughter.¹⁹⁶ Of course, the reference is to the Virgin as the mother of Christ and the redemptive activity is Christ's, but the author has chosen to present all this under a typology of Eve and the Virgin.

Eve was the first virgin, according to Nersēs Šnorhali C12.¹⁹⁷ She was created second and is subordinate to the man, and the man was created with supreme glory and highest bliss says Sargis Šnorhali.¹⁹⁸ Grigor Vkasasēr C11–C12 repeats a fairly widespread tradition according to which Eve was buried in the grotto in Bethlehem in which Christ was born.¹⁹⁹

The interplay between the Virgin Mary and Eve finds its eschatological expression in the ideas of Nersēs Šnorhali C12, who speaks of the Virgin giving paradise to Eve once more. He says that the race of women, condemned by Eve's action, was released by Mary, and he contrasts this with the relationship between Adam, men, and Christ.²⁰⁰ The Virgin, as a new Eve, is well epitomized in the following quotation from Step'anos Ōrbelean C13: "And we celebrate the feast of the Mother of God, for as we inherited death and captivity through Eve, now through her daughter we have received immortality and liberty and the life of the Garden."²⁰¹ Eve's redemption is spoken of as being stripped of the Adamic coat of skin, in other words, returning to the state of creation.²⁰² The stripping and dressing of the protoplasts is discussed in §4.2.3.

3.0 SATAN

Satan is called Belial in many sources,²⁰³ and in §4.7 I note also on the odd name Bazu. Vardan Arewelc'i C13 calls Satan a hunter who set a net for Adam. The net was the idea of becoming God.²⁰⁴ Vardan Aygekc'i C13 speaks of Satan as

195. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7.

196. Step'anos Ōrbelean 7.

197. Nersēs Šnorhali 5.

198. Sargis Šnorhali 15 (glory) and 16 (subordination of Eve).

199. Grigor Vkasasēr 1. See §5.0 below; and also Stone 2000b.

200. Nersēs Šnorhali 2 and 4.

201. Step'anos Ōrbelean 7.

202. Vardan Arewelc'i 12.

203. E.g., Friks 19.

204. Vardan Arewelc'i 23; see §3.3 below.

full of darkness, heir of fire, the outer darkness, and so on.²⁰⁵ Aygekc'i also says that the darkness created on the fourth day (as a correlative of the creation of the luminaries) came forth from a serpent's mouth, and the connection of the serpent and Satan is clear. This is not just the Edenic serpent but a cosmic serpent, which is identified as Hades. However, the precise connection between these various serpentine beings, dragons, and *višaps* is unclear. Among Aygekc'i's very distinctive ideas about the Fall and darkness is that he says that after the expulsion this darkness spread through the Garden to the ends of the universe.²⁰⁶

The texts from the twelfth century deal with Satan predominantly in the context of the temptation of Adam and Eve. Satan's own fall is present in the thirteenth-century excerpts, but it is mentioned only glancingly in one twelfth-century source (Ignatius *vardapet*; see below). So, the focus has shifted from the events preceding creation (see §3.2 below), to the temptation, fall, and redemption. It is dominated by the typology of "old Adam" and "new Adam," as I noted above, §0.0.

3.1 SATAN AND THE SERPENT

The relationship between Satan and the serpent is discussed in detail diachronically in the appendix. It is mentioned in certain twelfth-century texts and, to a lesser extent, in some from the thirteenth century, and I discuss those passages here.

One option is that the serpent is identical with Satan. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 simply uses the term "Devil" for "serpent"; on another occasion, talking about the Devil, he says, "the serpent is defeated."²⁰⁷ In the same vein, Sargis Šnorhali, using terminology appropriate to Satan, says, "the incorporeal serpent deceived" and "[t]he incorporeal serpent slandered God and deceived the first man by its tricks, and (then) the same slander, by way of recompense, was tied to the man's tongue."²⁰⁸ Yovhannēs Erzenkac'i Pluz C13 says that it was Satan who "deceived Eve through the five "gates," that is, the five senses, when Eve was actually deceived by the serpent."²⁰⁹ Vardan Aygekc'i C13 says that we were expelled from immortal paradise and fell into this world, where the viper and snake are, which is the Devil. This again implies the identification of the serpent and Satan.²¹⁰

A second formulation of the relationship between the serpent and Satan is that Satan took the serpent as his associate. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13

205. Vardan Aygekc'i 3.

206. Vardan Aygekc'i 12. Note below, on the loss of light, §4.2.3.

207. Nersēs Šnorhali 14.

208. Sargis Šnorhali 6.

209. Yovhannēs Erzenkac'i Pluz 7.

210. Vardan Aygekc'i 8.

expressed this view,²¹¹ and Vardan Arewelc'i C13's statement that "(God) cursed Satan through the serpent" implies a similar relationship.²¹²

In the passage from Grigor Tlay C12 quoted in §2.8, we read that Satan goes into the serpent. As noted in the appendix, §1.1.1, it is difficult to tell whether this expression implies possession, analogous to demonic possession, or some other mode in which Satan controlled the serpent. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 is no more explicit when he says that the serpent is an instrument²¹³ of lawlessness and evil for Satan, who is also called a "procurer."²¹⁴ Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, excerpt 2, says that swearing is when "people, being deceived and accustomed, give their tongue and mouth to Satan, as an instrument of enmity." This is very like what the serpent did, and Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz employs language like that which Nersēs Šnorhali uses of Satan.²¹⁵

The serpent is called "wicked dragon (*višap*)" by Grigor Vkayasēr C11–C12.²¹⁶ This is connected with the quite extensive material about the dragon in Revelation and with the exegesis of Ps 74:13 = Arm 73:13. It is discussed above in chapter 2 §4.7.

3.2 THE FALL OF SATAN

The only twelfth-century author excerpted who mentions Satan's fall is Ignatius *vardapet*, who says that Satan rose up against the Creator, fell from honor, and, by deceit, persuaded humans to fall with him, giving him mastery over them. Elsewhere Ignatius states that Satan mindlessly rebelled and left the ranks of angels.²¹⁷ This thin evidence contrasts with the major role played by this incident in the earlier texts considered in chapter 2 §3.2. It had started to recede already in the tenth–eleventh centuries.

In the thirteenth century, however, we find more use of the myth. In a poem, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 describes Sadayēl's (Satan's) fall. He turned his face aside, deviated from the way of the heavenly hosts.²¹⁸

211. Yovhannēs Erzenkac'i Pluz 24.

212. Vardan Arewelc'i 31.

213. See Stone 2008a, 148 and nn. 52 and 53.

214. Nersēs Šnorhali 42. "Instrument" is զործի, perhaps reflecting the Greek term ὄργανον. Compare Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

215. Moreover, the imagery of serpent influenced the references to Eve's tempting words as poison, as in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 30. Compare Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos 1, Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3, and Nersēs Šnorhali, Յիսուս Որդի *Son Jesus*, Book 1 uses the expression թոյնք վիշապի (poison of the dragon), referring to the Edenic serpent.

216. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

217. Ignatius *vardapet* 5 and 7.

218. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 10.

From the heavenly ranks Sadayēl turned his face,
 From the heaven to the deeps he fell,
 and from light, remained in darkness.

Why Satan rebelled is not made explicit here, only his separation from the heavenly hosts. According to Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz, Satan, who had fallen from glory, envied Adam.²¹⁹ The same motive is found, of course, in *Pen. Adam* 12:1–17:3; and see §3.3.

In a couple of places, in similes, Satan’s motive or facets of his conduct are described in slightly more detail. Speaking of a human rebel, Step’anos Ōrbelean C13 says that he reached too zealously for perfect glory, rebelled like the Deceiver, grew arrogant, and fell. Here the theme of *hybris* that so often accompanies Satan’s fall is clear. It ultimately derived, we may suppose, from the “Lucifer” passage in Isa 14:12–13.

Vardan Aygekc’i C13 makes a general indictment of Satan when he says that he did deeds of darkness; he has gone forth to outer darkness; he has not prepared for a wedding; and he has gone forth from the goodly host.²²⁰ Moreover, he says that Satan fell from glory.²²¹ When he fell, Satan threw away the keys of the kingdom and took the keys of hell.²²² Vardan Arewelc’i C13 says that, through his fall, Satan tortured creatures, and after his descent to earth he is dead forever, because of his remoteness from God.²²³ All of these statements speak of Satan’s change of state from a heavenly to a fallen being, and when a motive is implied, it is his rebellion against God, his overweening pride.

3.3 SATAN’S ENVY

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 is quite emphatic that Satan, having fallen, wished to harm God, in revenge for his fall. He was unable to harm God as he wished, and so he harmed the image of God, humans. On the same page he says that Satan “wished, by disgracing man, to dishonor the Creator, who had made him [i.e., Adam] his image and likeness.”²²⁴ Succinctly, Grigor Tlay C12 says that Adam sinned as a result of envy, that is, Satan’s envy.²²⁵ Above, in §§3.2 and 3.3, I mentioned Satan’s jealousy of the protoplasts, which is an old theme, being explicit already in Wis 2:24, in *Pen. Adam* 12:1–17:3, and elsewhere.

219. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 24.

220. Vardan Aygekc’i 3.

221. Vardan Aygekc’i 6; see further Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 24.

222. Vardan Aygekc’i 1.

223. Vardan Arewelc’i 33–34.

224. Ignatius *vardapet* 5.

225. Grigor Tlay 20.

Satan's envy is mentioned by Grigor Aknere'i C13,²²⁶ and Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 states that Satan's envy was of Adam. It is unclear in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz's formulation whether Satan's envy of Adam refers to a primordial revolt against Adam's very creation, or a postlapsarian jealousy of Adam, who retained the heavenly glory that Satan had lost.²²⁷ Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz says that he was jealous of Adam and opposed to the Lord of the worlds.²²⁸

The theme of envy and jealousy is found with figures other than Satan. The serpent lied that he was envious of Adam and Eve becoming gods, according to Vardan Arewelc'i C13.²²⁹ The demons were jealous as well, according to Vardan Arewelc'i, but he does not mention the specific cause of the demons' jealousy.²³⁰ His statement that "irrational indignation was the cause of Satan, of Saul, and of the Jews, and of the heretics, just like that of the first serpent that was angry about Eve's glory" is equally inexplicit.²³¹ It is not a reference to Satan's rebellion against bowing down to Adam, as is found in the story of his fall but speaks of the serpent's jealousy of Eve's glory.

Satan is frequently characterized as a deceiver who defrauded creatures.²³² Vardan Arewelc'i C13 speaks of him as "the hunter, who set becoming god as a net for Adam and confused him with words."²³³ Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 states that Satan deceived man, caused him to worship idols, and separated him from God.²³⁴ According to Frik C13, Adam was deceived by a traitor, so he calls Satan a traitor. Satan lied, says Vardan Arewelc'i C13, and the serpent envied Adam and Eve becoming gods and lied.

Thus, Satan was not the only deceiver. The serpent, Satan's associate, deceived Eve, breaching the fence of the orchard of life,²³⁵ and, in the words of Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13, it deceitfully overcame Adam or Adam and Eve.²³⁶ Frik C13 says that the woman's treachery and the serpent's words deceived Adam.²³⁷

Satan is called evil; he tortured higher creatures with sorrow by his fall; he fraudulently deceived natures (people), and had Adam expelled.²³⁸

226. Grigor Aknere'i 1.

227. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24.

228. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24.

229. Vardan Arewelc'i 32.

230. Vardan Arewelc'i 25.

231. Vardan Arewelc'i 19.

232. Vardan Arewelc'i 33. See also §4.1.2.

233. Vardan Arewelc'i 23.

234. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 17.

235. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24, 68, and 74. See §2.0 above, on the walled Garden.

236. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 56.

237. . Frik 59.

238. Vardan Arewelc'i 33. "Natures" often means "humans"; see n. 346 below.

3.4 THE SERPENT, CURSES OF

4.0 SIN AND ITS RESULTS

4.1 THE CHARACTER OF ADAM'S SIN

One view of the purpose of the prohibition against eating of the tree is that God tested Adam's autonomous will²³⁹ with the fruit. Using different wording, Yovhannēs Garneč'i C13 has Adam say, "[You] exalted me to the likeness of your divinity with autonomous will." Adam, in this view, failed the trial God set for him.²⁴⁰

Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12 says that God bestowed on Adam manifold and wonderful honors: (a) the image; (b) rule over creatures; (c) the tending of the Garden; (d) the commandment as pledge of future prizes (see §1.1.7 above). Instead of prizing these, (a) he disobeyed, (b) he did not confess his sin (the reference is to the incident of God's footfalls; see §4.3 below), and (c) he accused God of being the cause of his actions (Gen 3:12, "the woman whom you gave . . ."), thus leading to curses on him and on created things.²⁴¹ Sargis Šnorhali C12 also says that Adam blamed God for his transgression.²⁴² This is a presentation of the gravity of Adam's sin; it does not address the reason or motive lying behind it. Similar to Yovhannēs Imastasēr's point (c) is Sargis Šnorhali's statement that Adam slandered God by saying, "The woman whom you created . . ."²⁴³ Note that this passage relates not to Eve's culpability but to Adam's.

As I have observed above, Adam's sin involved *hybris*: created from dust, he wanted to be God.²⁴⁴ In the words of Step'anos Ōrbelean C13, God took care lest Adam, reaching too zealously for perfect glory, rebel like Satan.²⁴⁵ *Hybris* was also Satan's sin, as noted above in §3.2.

In a homily, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 expounds a list of Eve's sins.²⁴⁶ In a typological description of Adam's sin, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 writes, "For that old Adam was wounded by a tree, | Having fallen, He [i.e., Christ] was put on the cowardly lance."²⁴⁷ One point of interest to us is Nersēs Šnorhali's use "old" to describe Adam. This does not happen only in this passage but fairly often in

239. Already in the fifth century, "autonomous will" is used as a term for free will or freedom of choice; see chapter 1 §1.2.

240. Yovhannēs Garneč'i 3.

241. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

242. Sargis Šnorhali 2.

243. Sargis Šnorhali 2.

244. Frik 60.

245. Step'anos Ōrbelean 5.

246. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7.

247. Nersēs Šnorhali 33.

his writings and in other places as well.²⁴⁸ One interpretation attributes the use of “old” to the typology of Adam/Christ, which I discussed above in §§0.0 and 1.6. Adam is the “old Adam” and Christ, the “new Adam.”²⁴⁹ However, Adam is sometimes said to have grown old as a result of his sin. Thus, for example, Sargis Šnorhali C12 says that Adam, because of his sin, lost lordly honor (փառք) and wisdom, grew old, aged, and died.²⁵⁰

Note that Dawitʿ Ganjakecʿi C12 says that aging came about because of sin, so one of the points of his discussion is “the aged image, and the destroyed imprint, and its restoration to its former glory, in which He created it.”²⁵¹ While restoration of image to glory is a common idea, this is not previously linked to aging. Aging and youth are important in earlier sources. In *Jub.* 23:8–17 and, as part of the eschatological woes, *Jub.* 23:25 says that “children’s heads will turn white with grey hair. A child who is three weeks of age will look old like one whose years are 100.”²⁵² Premature aging occurs elsewhere, such as in the *Gr. Apoc. Ezra* 4:33.²⁵³

This idea first occurs in our excerpts in a rather obscure passage by Grigor Magistros, discussed in chapter 2 §4.2.6. Suddenly, in the twelfth century there is not just an explosion of the “old Adam”/“new Adam” typology, which is rather ancient in origin, but aging as a result of Adam’s sin also becomes increasingly prominent.

In a remarkable passage, Pawłos Tarōnacʿi C12 works out the Adam/Christ typology in considerable detail.²⁵⁴ I present his analysis in the following table.

First tree, cause of disobedience → death and corruption	Cross, cause of obedience → immortality and incorruption
Adam ate sweet fruit wanting to become God → expulsion	Christ drank gall as compensation for Adam → removed bitterness
Adam looked up and saw the tree, which was forbidden	Christ lowered his head and gave his human soul to his Father
Adam stretched out his hands to take fruit	Christ had his hands nailed to the cross instead of Adam

248. Thus, see also Nersēs Šnorhali 23, 28, 34, and 40.

249. Note that the baptized Christ is called the new Adam in *Pen. Adam* 42(13):3c.

250. Sargis Šnorhali 20.

251. Dawitʿ Ganjakecʿi 3.

252. VanderKam 1989, 148. The idea of the aging of the earth at the end of days is well known.

253. See note *ad loc.* in Stone 1983, 1:561–79 especially 575.

254. Pawłos Tarōnacʿi 1.

Adam was stripped of glory because of sin	Christ was stripped of his garment
On Friday Adam drank gall on the cross	
On Friday Adam was driven out	On Friday Christ was taken down from the cross

The strange statement that the forefather drank gall on the cross must be somehow confused, for clearly Christ is intended.

The typology of “old/new Adam” also lies behind the following passage from Nersēs Šnorhali C12: “The old Adam according to his autonomous will lost his former honor, but the things that were going to happen were evident to God’s knowledge.”²⁵⁵ In the material considered in the present chapter, sin as a result of Adam’s decision is less stressed, and the idea of sin as a result of Satanic deception, or of Adam’s love of Eve, becomes more prominent.

4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve

According to some texts, but far from all, Adam ate the fruit not because he rebelled against God but because he loved or pitied Eve. Vardan Aygekc’i C13 says in general terms that Adam willingly entered hell and became pitiable.²⁵⁶ Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz C13, like Grigor Tlay C12, is more explicit when he states that Adam took pity on Eve or was compassionate toward her, and for that reason he ate the fruit.²⁵⁷ Grigor Tlay puts it as follows:

Adam seeing, has compassion
On the naked woman and pities her,
Having taken the fruit he eats (it),
He learns his own nakedness.²⁵⁸

A similar view is espoused by Grigor Narekac’i C10, that is, that Adam ate the fruit out of his love for Eve, and not from sinful intent.²⁵⁹ Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12 evinces a different attitude, opining that Adam preferred the

255. Nersēs Šnorhali 40. The latter part of this remark relates, of course, to the tension between free will (autonomous will) and divine prescience. Furthermore, the term անձնիշխան (“autonomous”), which was common in the fifth century, subsequently became much less so.

256. Vardan Aygekc’i 1.

257. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 26, 30, and 60. See §2.8 above.

258. Grigor Tlay 12.

259. See chapter 2 §2.8.

woman's will, which she shared with the persuasive serpent, to observing the commandment.²⁶⁰

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

There are a number of statements that imply that Eve caused Adam to sin by deceiving him or enticing him to eat the fruit: Adam accused Eve,²⁶¹ Eve was the cause of Adam's exile;²⁶² Eve persuaded Adam, and Adam ate and was deceived;²⁶³ Adam was deceived by the woman's treachery.²⁶⁴

In §4.1.1, I discussed a different view of Adam's eating of the fruit. According to Grigor Tlay C12 and Grigor Narekac'i C10, as cited in that section, Adam was moved to eat the fruit not by sin but by his love and compassion for Eve. Grigor Tlay, who espoused this view, also says that Adam obeyed the Evil One and was deceived. This is either an inconsistency, perhaps reinforced by poetic license, or two views from different perspectives. Close up, Adam's motive was not sinful, but, viewed from afar in the larger picture, he did obey Satan's deceitful words. In any case, Grigor Tlay does not consistently pronounce Adam's exculpation.²⁶⁵

In addition to Grigor Tlay C12, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says that Satan persuaded Adam to join him in "lawlessness" (compare also §3.1 above) and deceitfully taught him to rebel. Sargis Šnorhali C12 states that through a trick of the Devil the fruit delighted Adam and, presumably, tempted him to sin. As I noted above (§3.3), Adam was deceived and expelled through the serpent's words.²⁶⁶ Friks C13 repeats this when he says, "He came on this day, he was persuaded, | He was mocked by the Devil."²⁶⁷ Grigor Aknerc'i C13 states that Adam was deceived by a woman and betrayed by the abominable serpent; similarly Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13.²⁶⁸ Grigor Tlay claims that Satan deceived Eve by the promise that she would become god.²⁶⁹ Without saying exactly how Satan deceived Eve, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 says that he fed Eve mortal fruit through deception.²⁷⁰

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 also formulates the sin in terms of light and darkness. This is a development of the language of pristine glory and luminosity, lost when Adam sinned. He says, "Having abandoned the command of light due to the

260. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

261. Friks 5.

262. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 29.

263. Friks 18.

264. Friks 59.

265. Grigor Tlay 20.

266. Friks 16 and 59.

267. Friks 18.

268. See Grigor Aknerc'i 1 and Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 40. In most general terms, Sargis Šnorhali 1 states that Satan causes sin by tricks and deceits of the mind, which is, of course, a well-known theme.

269. Grigor Tlay 10.

270. Nersēs Šnorhali 42.

deception of darkness, | He was stripped of the light of shadowless glory.”²⁷¹ Above I discussed Adam’s Edenic light (§1.1.5), and the relation between Satan’s deception and darkness is clear.²⁷²

Frik C13 remarks that Adam did not consider paradise when he ate the fruit. As he puts it:

You became opposed to good,
You are wounded by your rib,
You are deceived by the traitor,
You are deprived of eternal light.

This passage also seems to incorporate some idea of exculpation, with blame laid on Eve and Satan. Nonetheless, he says that Adam became “opposed to the good.”²⁷³

4.2 THE RESULTS OF SIN

The results of Adam and Eve’s sin were crucial for humankind. In the most general terms, Adam and Eve lost their paradisiacal state; they became mortal; they came to suffer the human lot of labor and childbirth; they inherited the curses of Gen 3:14–19. Another statement is that when Adam sinned, sin entered into his soul, expulsion from paradise ensued, and then illness and death.²⁷⁴ Frik C13 says that the crucifixion came about because of Adam’s sin.²⁷⁵

A broad statement of the results of sin is that “[t]hey became low for they were deprived of all the fruit [i.e., of the Garden]; they were in pain, they became sick, weak, and mortal, and there was none to lead them (back) to the place whence they went forth.”²⁷⁶ Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz C13 says similarly that “when he left God’s commandments, then sins found a place in his soul. And when he came forth from the Garden, illness found a place in his body, and then death.”²⁷⁷

The first result is that they were expelled from paradise, naked and ashamed.²⁷⁸ They went forth because of one piece of fruit, and were expelled from the glory of the Garden.²⁷⁹ Since they were dead as a result of sin, they were

271. Nersēs Šnorhali 16.

272. See §§3.0 and 3.2 above and n. 391 below.

273. Frik 6 and 56.

274. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 8.

275. Frik 8; cf. 9.

276. Vardan Arewelc’i 28. Paradise was considered to be on an elevated place; see §2.0 above.

277. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 8.

278. Frik 16 and 43; Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 27.

279. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 5.

expelled, says Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz.²⁸⁰ And, he adds, the sin resulted in pains and death for Eve.²⁸¹

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World

Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12 says that, as a result of the protoplasts’ sin, the distinction between good and bad creations entered the world; originally everything had been good.²⁸² This statement highlights the changes in the natural order that resulted from sin. These are reflected also in the changes in human beings that I discussed in §4.2. Below, I will consider further specific aspects of the results of the transgression. Vardan Aygekc‘i says that after Adam’s expulsion, darkness spread through the Garden and the whole world.²⁸³

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

Because the protoplasts ate of the tree and desired to become God, death started to rule (Sargis Šnorhali C12).²⁸⁴ The same idea is forwarded in more general terms by Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C13, who says that Adam chose the mortal, death-dealing fruit and was cursed,²⁸⁵ while Vardan Arewelc‘i C13 says, “You turned your face from Adam and then he died.”²⁸⁶ Previously Adam and Eve had been immortal, and death was a correlative of their loss of their heavenly state.²⁸⁷ It was, then, a punishment for their sin.²⁸⁸ This idea occurs frequently. All are condemned to death through Adam’s sin, says Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12, and Adam and Eve were condemned to death for forgetting the commandment, according to Nersēs Šnorhali C12.²⁸⁹

After the sin came condemnation (դատապարտութիւն) and death and destruction and hell, by which mourning and sadness were mixed with our nature. This statement by Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12 complements his view that death and corruption, by which our body is aged, entered the world because of Adam’s sin. The image was destroyed.²⁹⁰

A number of sources follow the biblical text’s view that on the very day on which Adam transgressed the command, he became mortal by nature and, they add, died. Ignatius *vardapet* C12 reconciles the fact that Adam is cursed to die,

280. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 28.

281. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 16; compare §68, which speaks of Eve and the serpent being cursed; see further on Eve, §4.2.2 below.

282. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 1.

283. Vardan Aygekc‘i 12.

284. Sargis Šnorhali 12 and compare 13.

285. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

286. Vardan Arewelc‘i 26; compare Friik 17 and see note 321.

287. Friik 17; Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 14–15; for Eve *ibid* 16.

288. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 14 and 32–33.

289. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 20 and Nersēs Šnorhali 21.

290. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 3.

yet lives on till the age of 930, by saying that those (days) that he remained alive were regarded as spent in mortality.²⁹¹ With his transgression and curses, Adam lost the spirit that was vivifying and became slave of mortal sins (Grigor Tlay C12).²⁹²

Armenian exegetes move freely, as I have observed, between the language of the inbreathing of the spirit (Gen 2:7) and that of the creation in the image (Gen 1:26–27). Thus, Grigor Tlay C12's loss of the vivifying spirit is equivalent to Dawit' Ganjakec'i C13's loss of the image. Sargis Šnorhali C12 adds that, when man became corruptible, creatures became corruptible with him.²⁹³

After the transgression, not only was death instituted, but also various consequences followed. Thus, Vardan Aygekc'i says that Adam cast his body into culpability and corruption.²⁹⁴ He adds that when Adam and Eve broke the fast, that is, ate in disobedience to the commandment, they killed their children.²⁹⁵ However, Vardan Arewelc'i C13 maintains, God, being compassionate, did not make death complete but left the spirit alive.

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

In addition to losing their immortality, the protoplasts lost the ambit of glory or splendor that surrounded them. When they ate the fruit, they realized that they were stripped naked. In this statement Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 does not say what they were stripped of.²⁹⁶ Elsewhere, he and Frik C13 say that Adam and Eve were stripped of eternal light, and they use a variety of other attributes for the light or glory.²⁹⁷ Their recognition of their nakedness, an exegesis of Gen 3:7, is given a double interpretation by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, who says that Eve ate and was stripped naked, and Adam was stripped of light. Elsewhere he says that Adam was stripped of light, or of ornaments, synonyms for the same heav-

291. Ignatius *vardapet* 8. The biblical texts are Gen 2:17, "for in the day that you eat of it you shall die," and the curses in Gen 3:19, "until you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return." This curse does not accord with the sanction that Gen 2:17 says was destined for Adam and Eve. That was the exegetical problem with which Ignatius is wrestling.

292. Grigor Tlay 17. "Mortal" in "mortal sins" means "bringing death." So this statement says that, as a result of his transgression, Adam became mortal, or died.

293. Sargis Šnorhali 14. Eve was deprived of life as a result of sin: Grigor Pahlavuni 1. Grigor's focus on Eve is explained by the context, which is a poem, "On the Birth of the Holy Mother of God."

294. Vardan Aygekc'i 2.

295. Vardan Aygekc'i 10.

296. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 25 and so also 75. In §1.1.5 Adam and Eve's glory on their creation is discussed.

297. Frik 6, 17, 60, and 68; Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7, 14, 26, 29, 37, 40, and 47. Elsewhere various authors speak just of their loss of glory; see Vanakan *vardapet* 2; Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 59.

only luminous state.²⁹⁸ A general statement by Ignatius *vardapet* C12 speaks of humans, “having slithered forth from the divine glory of splendour which we had in Paradise . . . ,” where the verb “slithered” is suggestive of a serpent.²⁹⁹

This glory is sometimes said to be their clothing from the time before they sinned. Thus, Grigor Tlay C12 says that Eve believed the serpent, ate, was stripped of light, and learned evil and good. The word մերկեցաւ (“was stripped, made naked”) is derived from the same root that is used in Gen 3:7 (մերկ էին, “they were/became naked”).³⁰⁰ Thus, there is a clear connection between the loss of glory and the nakedness following on the sin, which is inferred from Gen 3:7. He understood that verse to mean, “they realised that they had been stripped naked.” In the same passage of Grigor Tlay, Adam learns of his own nakedness. They were stripped of divine grace, which means at least the same thing as the loss of glory.³⁰¹ To this idea, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 adds one element, that, despite the loss of glory, “nevertheless the seed of incorruptibility remained.”

Sargis Šnorhali C12 says that Adam lost the Lord’s glory and was condemned,³⁰² and, in other formulations, that he lost “lordly honor and supreme wisdom” and “supreme glory and highest bliss.”³⁰³ When God’s image, which had been created for the glory of God, perished, then the other creatures, which had been created for humans, became corruptible.³⁰⁴ This implies that death was imposed on all living creatures as an outcome of Adam’s sin, and not just on humans. Nersēs Šnorhali C12, in excerpt 43, specifies that “Adam, through enjoyment of the sweet fruit, lost the divine glory and the immortal life and the splendour of Paradise.” He also says that Adam lost honor (պատիւ).³⁰⁵ In short, then, Nersēs Šnorhali maintains that through his sin Adam destroyed the God-given grace.³⁰⁶

Speaking of Adam’s loss of the inbreathed sprit, Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz says that Adam was shamed and stripped of the breath or spirit, or of glory. Frik C13 formulates this idea by saying that Adam became nonrational. Taking up an older theme, Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz says that Adam turned black-faced.³⁰⁷

The connection between punishment and deep darkness is explicit in Frik C13, when he says that humans lived for six eons in deep darkness. In Job 19:8–9

298. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 57. On the paradisiacal glory, see further §§1.1.5 and 4.1.2. The term “glory” occurs widely, but these are the chief discussions.

299. Ignatius *vardapet* 2.

300. Grigor Tlay 11; cf. Nersēs Šnorhali 34.

301. Ignatius *vardapet* 2.

302. Sargis Šnorhali 1.

303. Sargis Šnorhali 20 and 15, respectively.

304. Sargis Šnorhali 14.

305. Nersēs Šnorhali 40.

306. Nersēs Šnorhali 33; see also §4.2.2. On this hierarchy, see §1.2 above.

307. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 41; see 4 Ezra 7:97, 125; 10:25; see Stone 1990a, 259. The theme of demonic ravens is to be found in many places, and the blackening of faces occurs also in Job 19:8.

we read, not in the context of Adam, “8 He has walled up my way so that I cannot pass, and he has set darkness upon my paths. 9 He has stripped my glory from me, and taken the crown from my head.” This language plays the same chords as the language about Adam’s loss of glory.

Eve’s body was stripped of glory, and both Eve and Satan are said to have suffered this fate.³⁰⁸

Above I have dealt with the protoplasts’ loss of glory or light. Because glory is taken by many texts as the protoplasts’ clothing before the Fall, these two categories, nakedness and the loss of glory, become confused. Grigor Vkasas̄er C11–12 says that, just as Adam became naked of glory, Christ was naked on the cross.³⁰⁹ Here the Adam/Christ typology is in play once more. In a passage that relates the whole story in brief compass, with no divergence from the standard exegesis, Sargis Šnorhali C12 says that Adam was stripped of glory (մերկացեալ ի փառացն).³¹⁰ Pawłos Tarōnac’i C12 simply says that Adam was stripped of his glory because of the sin.³¹¹

The leather garments that God made for them (Gen 3:21) also attracted the exegetes’ attention. After Adam’s sin, he wore coats of skin, rather than the divine glory he had worn in paradise.³¹² Sargis Šnorhali C12, generally a partisan of straightforward and traditional exegesis, says that God made leather garments to cover their nakedness instead of the torn leaf (i.e., of the fig tree).³¹³ The poet Nersēs Šnorhali C12, who liked allegory, says that the coats of skin are also an allegory of the loss of brightness of paradise.³¹⁴ In one text, Yovhannēs Erzenkac’i Pluz C12 instead of saying “naked” says “stripped of light,” thus implying the exegesis that Adam’s garment was of light.³¹⁵ A final formulation of Adam’s loss is that in paradise he was a king “[c]overed with godly light” but now they expelled him and “stripped him mercilessly.”³¹⁶

Grigor Vkasas̄er C11–C12 says that Adam’s postlapsarian garments were rent by Christ.³¹⁷ I note that Adam responded to God’s question, according to Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz, by citing his nakedness (§4.3). This is based on Gen

308. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 25, 59, and 60; compare also God’s address to Eve later in the same poem, in excerpt 67.

309. Grigor Vkasas̄er 1.

310. Sargis Šnorhali 9. In excerpt 1, Sargis Šnorhali says that Adam lost his glory and fell.

311. Pawłos Tarōnac’i 1.

312. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.

313. Sargis Šnorhali 11.

314. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.

315. Yovhannēs Erzenkac’i Pluz 26; compare excerpts 57 and 58 for more general formulations.

316. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 55 and 57; see also §1.6.

317. Grigor Vkasas̄er 1.

3:12, and both Frikk C13 and Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz say that he fled in shame at the sound of God’s footfall and covered himself with a fig leaf.³¹⁸

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

The working out of the curses and Adam’s deprivation of the benefits of his prelapsarian state are expressed in various ways, some of which I discussed above, such as the loss of glory, or of immortality, and so forth. In addition, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 speaks of the inception of death and loss of the Garden, and of the thorns and thistles that the earth sprouted.³¹⁹ Adam lost immortal life, and the splendor of paradise was hidden from him and his children, says Nersēs Šnorhali.³²⁰ Pawłos Tarōnac’i C12 simply says that Adam was deprived of paradise for eating the fruit and aspiring to be God.³²¹

According to the text of Gen 3:13–19, God cursed Adam, Eve, and the serpent (understood by some postbiblical exegesis as Satan). Grigor Tlay C12 and Nersēs Lambronac’i C12 speak of the curses in general terms and do not go beyond the biblical text in content.³²² Grigor Tlay says that Adam blamed Eve and Satan.³²³ In fact, in Genesis, Adam blamed Eve (3:12), and Eve in turn blamed the serpent (3:13). Note that Grigor Tlay simplified the biblical text and in addition, speaks of Satan, not the serpent. Nersēs Lambronac’i says that Satan spread sin and the curse on Adam.³²⁴

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 claims that the results of their eating the fruit were that, instead of paradise, the earth brought forth thorns; that humans had a sorrowful, suffering, and distressing life; and that death was instituted.³²⁵ A prominent element in the cursing of Adam is that he is to labor, sweating,³²⁶ and that his labor will produce only thorns and thistles.³²⁷ To this, Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz C13 adds that he will return to dust. Elsewhere, the same poet lists death, thorns, pains, toil, and death, as well as darkness instead of the luminous Garden.³²⁸ Vardan Arewelc’i C13 says that they were deprived of the fruit, sick, weak, and mortal, and that they were without guidance outside the Garden.³²⁹

Other remarks may be made. Taking up the theme of darkness with which I dealt toward the end of the last section, Yovhannēs Gaṛnec’i C13 has Adam say,

318. Frikk 3; cf. 16; Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 62 and 76.

319. Nersēs Šnorhali 25 and 43.

320. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.

321. Pawłos Tarōnac’i 1.

322. Grigor Tlay 15; Nersēs Lambronac’i 4.

323. Grigor Tlay 14.

324. Nersēs Lambronac’i 6.

325. Nersēs Šnorhali 25.

326. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 1, 15, and 32.

327. Frikk 7.

328. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 32–33.

329. Such passages add very little to the biblical text, except that “the serpent” is often referred to as “Satan,” which shows the loss of the distinction between them.

“I went toward darkness and fell into the inextricable abyss of perdition.”³³⁰ The Lord cursed the serpent and Eve (Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz).³³¹ The serpent was cursed to move on its stomach says Vardan Aygekc’i C13. He cites a phrase of unknown provenance, “head brought low to the feet” as referring to Adam and the serpent.

Frik C13 declares that Adam fell into a bottomless pit of boiling pitch, which was hell.³³² Vardan Arewelc’i C13, using a striking image, says that Adam became the first poor man, being deprived both of God and of the Garden.³³³ He expresses the same idea in more usual language when he says, “As Adam, he became similar to the beasts that eat grass, instead of the fruit of the Garden; moreover, instead of immortality, they are recompensed with illness and death.”³³⁴ Adam was punished justly, yet God graciously gave him the opportunity to beget Seth as a consolation. This unusual idea is put forward by Grigor Tlay C12.³³⁵

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 is one of the few authors excerpted for this chapter who shows interest in the fiery seraph that guarded the tree of life (Gen 3:24).³³⁶ In another text of his, it is a cherub, as in the Bible. The reason Nersēs Šnorhali offers for the blocked way and the angelic guard is so that the deceived Adam would not eat and permanently stay in unalterable death. The twist he has given here to the biblical verse is noteworthy, reading Gen 3:22 as, “he might reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever. Yet Nersēs Šnorhali says that this is lest he eat and not live for ever but remain dead. Perhaps he wished to reserve the privilege of granting eternal life to redemption through Christ.

4.2.5. Under the Control of Satan

As a result of their sin, Adam and Eve fell under Satan’s control. Their children served demons. Satan built hell and imprisoned souls there, until Christ freed them through his descent into limbo. Adam’s loss through transgression is well summarized by Ignatius *vardapet* C12. He says that, as a result of eating the fruit, Adam lost glory and splendor³³⁷ and deified the demons, putting himself under Satan’s control. Through Adam’s sin, Satan became worshiped, says

330. After Adam’s expulsion, darkness spread through the Garden and the whole world (Vardan Aygekc’i 12).

331. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 68.

332. Frik 19.

333. Vardan Arewelc’i 10.

334. Vardan Arewelc’i 16.

335. In excerpt 16, Grigor Tlay says, “God is kind and beneficent, | For he does not neglect Adam, | But with care he nurtures him, | Favours him with bearing children”; cf. excerpts 20–21. For Seth as son of consolation, see Mxit’ar Ayrivanec’i 1860, 25; Armenian Adam apocrypha, such as *Death of Adam* 7, *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* 4; and see Stone 1996a, 44.

336. Nersēs Šnorhali 22.

337. See Ignatius *vardapet* 5 and §4.2.3 above.

Frik C13.³³⁸ He captured Adam, who caused his offspring to serve demons.³³⁹ Of course, regarding pagan gods as demons is an old theme, present in the Bible and in the intertestamental literature. Sacrifice to demons is found in Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37 = Arm 105:37; Bar 4:7; *1 En.* 19:1; 99:7; 4QpsDan^a ar (4Q243 frg. 13 = 4Q244 frg. 12). See particularly 1 Cor 10:20.³⁴⁰

As for Satan as ruler of humans, that too is an old theme. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 talks of the race of men bound by Adam and released by Christ.³⁴¹ Moreover, the captivity lasted six thousand years, clearly indicating that its end would come through Christ.³⁴² Hell was the prison of Adam and his grandchildren for a long time.³⁴³ In one of Vardan Aykgec'i C13's fables, the arrogant prince is Satan, who fell from glory. He deceived Adam and drove him out. He and his host built hell, and demons held humans captive.³⁴⁴ Frik C13 repeats this theme often. Thus he writes:

The Devil had made hell,
He had gathered many spirits in it.
The Saviour came on account of Adam,
And freed (him) through His blood.³⁴⁵

Vardan Arewelc'i C13 states that the demons increased Adam's suffering and injured natures.³⁴⁶ Moreover, the same pattern as Adam's sin and Christ's redemption is repeated with women, "The race of women condemned by Eve | Was freed from the transgression by Mary," writes Nersēs Šnorhali C12.³⁴⁷

4.3 GOD, FOOTSTEPS OF

The traditional Armenian interpretation of Gen 3:8, "They heard the sound of the Lord God walking in the garden," involves two points: both that God called Adam and that Adam heard God approaching. These two points are taken up

338. Frik 18.

339. Frik 18; see also Frik 10, cf. 9.

340. This subject is extensive, and all we can give here are indications.

341. Nersēs Šnorhali 4.

342. Frik 43. This conclusion follows from the chiliastic chronology that reckons the parousia to come after six days of the world week. See discussion in Stone 1982, 82–83.

343. Frik 20. The souls of the protoplasts were in hell; see Vardan Arewelc'i 35.

344. Vardan Aykgec'i 6.

345. Frik 9.

346. Vardan Arewelc'i 21, 25. Note use of natures to mean humans or bodies in Vardan Arewelc'i 33 and there are other such occurrences from Eznik in the fifth century and thenceforth.

347. Nersēs Šnorhali 4. Vardan Aykgec'i C13 wrote an exegetical riddle in which the head and the feet were Adam and the serpent; see excerpt 5. This riddle is based on the quotation "The head is brought low to the feet," the origin of which is unknown.

by the Armenian tradition. Why should Adam hear God's footsteps? This question is answered by saying that God deliberately made the sound of his coming audible. How could God ask, "Where are you?" Did he not know? This question is actually God's call to Adam to repent: where are you morally? It was taken as a summons to repentance.

Frik C13 has a simple enumeration of three features: God came to paradise, he sought and called Adam, and he does not mention the footsteps.³⁴⁸ Similarly, in one text, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C12 simply says that God came and asked, "Where are you?" equally without mention of the footsteps. Elsewhere, however, this author says that Adam was astounded at hearing God's footfalls and hid.³⁴⁹ In the typological mode, Grigor Vkasasēr C11–C12 says that Adam (in hell), recognized Christ's footsteps when he came, and Adam informed the denizens of hell. He was apparently familiar with the divine footsteps from the Garden.³⁵⁰

Grigor Tlay C12 says that God's sound became loud, as he sought for Adam. "Where are you?" he asked and he (Adam) said, "I have sinned."³⁵¹ In contrast, Adam did not confess when God asked him without rancor, says Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag).³⁵² Frik C13 takes God's call not as a summons to repentance but as a reproach to Adam, who, according to an understanding of Gen 3:12, was reproaching God. "How did you make God the cause?" Frik C13 asks.³⁵³ Frik's text specifies further (1) the footsteps, (2) that Adam hid, and (3) that Adam accused God.

One reason that God called Adam was to summon him to repent. Frik C13 says that because he did not repent, he lost his honor (i.e., the paradisiacal glory) and became like the animals.³⁵⁴ Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 puts it thus, "45 Why did I not fall at his feet | Crying, saying 'Lord, I have sinned,' | Rather than accuse Eve? | It is I who have fallen from eternal good."³⁵⁵ Another view, espoused by Vardan Arewelc'i C13, is that God's benevolence brought him to visit the condemned.³⁵⁶

When God came to paradise and called, "Adam, where are you?" the trees worshiped God and gave extra fruit.³⁵⁷ Such legendary elements are found already in *Pen. Adam* [44](22):3. With a similar statement, that when God called, "Where

348. Frik 61.

349. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 61 and 76. In excerpt 27 he is astounded at God's voice.

350. Grigor Vkasasēr 1.

351. Grigor Tlay 13.

352. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

353. Frik 4.

354. Frik 64. Elsewhere Frik simply states that Adam did not repent: excerpt 62.

355. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 64.

356. Vardan Arewelc'i 4.

357. Vardan Aygekc'i 12.

are you?" Adam responded, "I am naked," Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz C13 took up another feature of Gen 3:10.³⁵⁸

A further element in the story, based on Gen 3:12, was that Adam's response was to blame Eve, or Eve and the serpent (see §4.2.4 above). This is sometimes directly stated and sometimes implied.³⁵⁹ Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz C13 not only says that Adam blamed, but he seems also to imply that Adam was not sinful until he blamed Eve.³⁶⁰ Vardan Arewelc'i C13 makes the same point when he says that "Adam was estranged from his salvation more because of the sinful words, for he said, 'the woman whom you gave to me,' rather than for eating the fruit."³⁶¹

4.4 ADAM, CHRONOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

Adam sinned at midday; in the third hour, the serpent deceived Eve's mind; in the sixth hour, Adam fell.³⁶² In the same hour, Christ (was) on the cross.³⁶³ Adam was expelled at the sixth hour, just as Christ ascended the cross in the sixth hour. This is the opinion of Grigor Vkasasēr C11–12, and it exhibits the same sort of typological inference as was pointed out earlier (§§0.0, 1.1.1).³⁶⁴

Grigor Vkasasēr C12 continued the detailed typological presentation, not necessarily chronological, the first part of which I presented above:³⁶⁵

Adam	Christ
At the hour of Adam's persuasion	Christ was sentenced
Adam was stripped of the glory	our Lord was naked on the cross
At the sixth hour Adam ate the fruit	and Christ ascended the cross
In evening Adam heard footsteps	Christ trampled gates of hell

In addition to these general correlations, Grigor also presents a number of typological parallels. Adam, he says, was driven out on that Friday; on this Friday Christ taken down from the cross. Adam was driven out in the sixth hour, and Christ ascended the cross in the sixth hour.³⁶⁶

358. Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz 38 and 62.

359. Adam blamed Eve directly (Frik 5 and 64); Adam blamed Eve and the serpent (Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz 40); Adam blamed Eve indirectly (Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz 7). The last passage might refer also to Adam's eating the fruit.

360. Compare also Grigor Tlay 14.

361. Vardan Arewelc'i 11; see also on Adam's motivation §4.1.1.

362. Nersēs Šnorhali 27. Adam sinned at the sixth hour, that is, midday, but the process of sinning started at the third hour.

363. Nersēs Šnorhali 28.

364. Grigor Vkasasēr 1.

365. Grigor Vkasasēr 1; see Pawłos Tarōnac'i 1 and §4.1.

366. Pawłos Tarōnac'i 1.

Some other chronological traditions occur. Pawłos Tarōnac'i C12 says that God created Adam on the sixth day, 1 Nisan, at the sixth hour of day.³⁶⁷

There is little interest in the amount of time the protoplasts spent in the Garden, a subject of interest in earlier centuries; see chapter 2 §4.4. Indeed, the only statement found is that the time is unknown because (1) there was no sun in Garden; and (2) Adam was not subject to years; see Vardan Arewelc'i C13.³⁶⁸

4.5 AFTER THE FALL AND EXPULSION

Adam's response to his expulsion was to weep outside the gates of the Garden and to pray. One very full statement on the subject is made by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 in the poem cited in §0.0.³⁶⁹ In general, Adam wept at the Garden of Eden.³⁷⁰ Frik C13 says that Adam wept a river of blood, which may include a reference to the crucifixion.³⁷¹ Elsewhere he says that Adam wept all day before the Garden, which weeping is connected to the Aṛajawor fast.³⁷²

Vardan Aygekc'i C13 says that we were expelled from immortal paradise and fell into this world, where there are the viper and snake, which is the Devil.³⁷³

4.6 AṚAJAWOR FAST

The issue of fasting, and specifically of the Aṛajawor fast, is discussed above in §§0.0 and 1.4. It is connected to the Adam stories in two ways. First, the commandment to refrain from the fruit of the tree is taken as a fast, and, second, Adam and Eve's five days' weeping and penitence after their expulsion is also regarded as a fast. These two themes are expressed in the five-day Aṛajawor fast of the Armenian Church.

Adam's fast is for Christ's sake, according to Vardan Aygekc'i C13, who interprets the commandment not to eat of the tree as a commandment to fast. Vanakan *vardapet* C13 connects this interpretation with Aṛajawor. He cites "Basil" on this and says that this was the fast imposed on Adam in the Garden. It lasts five days, he says, because we sinned with five senses.³⁷⁴

In Vanakan *vardapet* C13's writing on this topic we observe for the first time references to apocryphal Adam traditions, and to the Aṛajawor fast connected

367. Pawłos Tarōnac'i 2. See also §1.1.1 above.

368. Vardan Arewelc'i 7: see also §1.1.1.

369. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 69–73. A version of his plaint is found in *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §§11–24.

370. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 69–73: see also 53.

371. Frik 68.

372. Frik 10; and above §0.0. For another aspect of this idea, that God still nurtures Adam, see Grigor Tlay 16 and *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §27.

373. Vardan Aygekc'i 8.

374. Vanakan *vardapet* 2. See §2.8 above, on Eve's sinning with five senses.

with those traditions. The creation of the creatures five days before Adam is thus also related to the five days of the Aṛajawor fast, though the exact relation is not made explicit.³⁷⁵

4.7 CHEIROGRAPH

Colossians 2:13–14 reads: “13 And when you were dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made you alive together with him, when he forgave us all our trespasses, 14 erasing the record that stood against us³⁷⁶ with its legal demands. He set this aside, nailing it to the cross.” The legend of Adam’s cheirograph, which is related to these verses, first occurs in our excerpts during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and may be observed in a number of texts relating both to Adam’s sin and to Christ’s death.³⁷⁷ For instance, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says, “Now the document of Adam’s debts, by which the entrance door of paradise was closed, having been torn on the cross . . .”³⁷⁸ and Nersēs Lambronac’i C12 speaks of the Father, “having undone the seal of the forefather Adam’s condemnation.”³⁷⁹ Quoting the supposed words of Christ while dying, he writes, “And now I compensate for Adam’s debt.”³⁸⁰ From a different perspective Yovhannēs Erzncac’i Pluz C13 says,

Your father Adam sinned and left his debts to you.
The one who sinned [i.e., Adam] condemned you,
And with that one, death imprisoned you in turn.³⁸¹

With immaculate hands on the cross, the same author says, he [i.e., Christ] erased the writing.

The same cheirograph tradition, developed in connection with Col 2:14, is presented in a distinctive form by Vardan Aygekc’i C13:

Belial is a rabid dog, and he guards (keeps) his treasury, as he kept Adam’s sins, which, as they say, Adam put into the cheirograph of Satan. And when God the

375. See Vanakan *vardapet* 2, cited in §0.0 above. Compare with the *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §§1–10, 26 for the narrative elements. In *Cain and Abel* §1 we read, “Now after Satan’s deception, when Adam had fasted for 5 days, which we call Aradjavor . . .” In *Transgression* §§46–47 it is six days. All these texts are cited from the edition and translation by Lipscomb 1990.

376. ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ’ ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον.

377. For a general presentation, see Stone 2002.

378. Col 2:14. The citation is from Ignatius *vardapet* 8.

379. Nersēs Lambronac’i 3; also excerpt 20.

380. Nersēs Lambronac’i 5.

381. Yovhannēs Erzncac’i Pluz 34.

Word erased the cheirograph on the cross with his dishonour³⁸² and blood³⁸³ and washed away Adam's sin, that rabid (one) who is Bazu, called the evil prince and the ugly demon and said: "Come and weep and lament upon me, for I had the sign of great love and unanimity from Adam against God, and he kept³⁸⁴ it upon my heart like a gold-lettered epistle. And now suddenly the sign and agreement of love is lost, and I do not know where I have put it. For the angels and the prophets tried to take it from us and could not take it from my hands. And the wonder is that I cannot remember even the shape and image of the sign that Adam gave me, and I cannot imagine how (it happened)."³⁸⁵

This text combines the understanding of "cheirograph" as in Col 2:14 and the cheirograph as the contract that Satan tricked Adam into signing.³⁸⁶ The name Bazu (𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩) for Belial-Satan is quite extraordinary; cf. §3.0 above and appendix §1.0.

Men cannot not erase the book of sins of soul and body, "nor return to dust those fallen captive to death," says Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz C13.³⁸⁷ The implication of this is that only Christ can erase the book of sins and free the dead from captivity in hell. Again, the cheirograph idea lies in the background of this statement.³⁸⁸

In addition to the crucifixion, the other main context in which the idea of the cheirograph occurs is that of Christ's baptism. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 connects the two ideas saying that the very baptism washes away "the promissory note of the old Adam."³⁸⁹

5.0 THE BURIAL OF ADAM AND OTHER TRADITIONS

"And in the cave, where the tomb of the foremother was, where Abraham and his relatives were buried: there the king of the immortal willingly sits in the manger, in order to call back to heaven the people who through their sins became like animals," states Grigor Vkasasēr C11–C12.³⁹⁰ Note (1) that the cave is identified with Machpelah, in Hebron; and (2) that at the same time the cave is identified

382. I.e., his crucifixion.

383. Cf. Col 2:14.

384. Perhaps emend to: I kept.

385. Vardan Aygekc'i 7.

386. See Stone 2002.

387. Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz 35.

388. Perhaps the spread of darkness, discussed in §3.2, is also connected with the legend of Satan's second deception of Adam and Eve over the matter of the darkness. See Stone 2002, 12–17.

389. Nersēs Šnorhali 8.

390. Grigor Vkasasēr 1.

with the grotto near Bethlehem.³⁹¹ There is a well-known tendency to confuse sacred places with one another.³⁹² Adam was buried at Golgotha according to Nersēs Šnorhali C12.³⁹³

Adam and Eve wept over the dead for thirty days, either over Abel or loss of the Garden.³⁹⁴

391. See Stone 2000b, 241–45.

392. Compare the discussion in chapter 2 §2.8 on Hebron—Shechem. Another, later example is the confounding of Jerusalem, Golgotha, and the Mount of Olives in *Story of the Tree of Sabek* (Stone 2012, 100).

393. Nersēs Šnorhali 30.

394. Dawit' Ganjakec'i 2.

4. ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS IN FOURTEENTH- AND FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN LITERATURE

0.0 GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Most of fourteenth-century excerpts are drawn from the works of Grigor Tat'ewac'i (1344–1409). He was a great systematizer with an organized and encyclopedic approach. He wished to create, in his *Book of Questions*, a work that would systematically set forth the Armenian Church's view on all main questions of religion. Therefore, he raised a number of issues about the protoplasts that no previous author had raised, and he attempted to respond exhaustively to each of them. As a result, he often adduced or invented answers found nowhere else. His method was to pose a question and to write a response to the question, frequently providing a conspectus of all conceivable answers to any question he raised. Some of these answers are drawn from tradition, while others are the fruit of his own acumen. Naturally, the former ones are of particular interest to us. His published homilies exhibit the same method. Sometimes in his writing one can discern the influence, direct or indirect, of the Dominican missionaries who were in Armenia, in and shortly before his lifetime. (His name occurs so often in this chapter that I omitted the notation "C14" following it.)

He generally gives exegetical or logically derived responses, but sometimes he has recourse to allegorical interpretation. Thus, for example, we read, "Now they are four, namely, Satan, the serpent, Eve and Adam. Likewise for us: Adam is mind (reason), Eve is the senses, the serpent is desire, Satan is the very instigator of desire; and then we sin. . . . Besides, the instigation of our natural desire is the instigation of the serpent, and the lasciviousness of the lower part of the rational, which is mixed with the senses and is lascivious like Eve, and the consent of the upper part, like Adam; and then the sin is committed in these four grades."¹ However, the allegorical method is not as prominent in his writings as in those of the other contemporary authors.

The relative absence of typology or allegory from the fourteenth-century excerpts is, consequently, to some extent an optical illusion, because these methods were little used by one dominant author, Grigor Tat'ewac'i. Typology may be observed in Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14, who says that Adam was in paradise just

1. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 51.

as long as Christ was in the world.² Indeed, Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i notes that that interpretation is drawn from Eusebius. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14 makes the grape of the redeeming wine of communion equivalent to the fruit of the tree in the Garden, which was a grape, which made Adam mortal.³ Thus, the grape lost the Garden for humankind, and the grape opened the Garden to the redeemed.

A hint at the Gospels is built into a hexaëmeron, where, on sixth day, Adam was created and then the animals were created before his eyes.⁴ The animals are specified as the eagle, the lion, and the ox, which, together with the man, constitute the symbols of the four evangelists.⁵ Thus, in the writings of Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14, the events of creation are taken as paradigmatic.

All the published fifteenth-century works discussed here except *Adamgirk'*, the Adam epic written by Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, are excerpted part 2 of this book. In the present chapter, I have included instances where *Adamgirk'* either supports or contradicts a distinct and individual tradition found in another work excerpted. I have also given references to its extended treatments of one or another specific theme. Since the *Adamgirk'* is a very long text, taking detailed account of its every detail would expand our presentation here beyond all proportion. Therefore, the reader should depend for details on the "Select Subject Index" in the Oxford translation. All references to *Adamgirk'* given below are to recension, chapter, and stanza according to that translation.⁶

In general, *Adamgirk'* presents a standard but embroidered form of the stories of Adam and Eve in line with Genesis 1–3. The treatment of various subjects in *Adamgirk'* exhibits a strong typological strain, and events of Adam's life are often correlated with Christ's. Thus, for example, *Adamgirk'* 1.24 is a very extensive recap of the passion narrative permeated with typological parallels, chiefly to the Adam and Eve stories. From the perspective of the present undertaking, it adds nothing new to the narrative elements about Adam and Eve. Such typological exegeses are not documented in detail here, and I direct the reader to Aṙak'el's own statement about them in the introduction to *Adamgirk'* 1.⁷

Particularly unusual are long disquisitions at the end of *Adamgirk'* Recension 1, including the extensive discussion of Eve in the section called "The Mysteries of the Rib" (*Adamgirk'* 1.16–22). Though this is of considerable interest in its own right, it adds little to the narrative material that we seek. Typological

2. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 3.

3. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 5 and 6.

4. Compare with the texts on creation in Adam's sight in earlier centuries, such as chapter 1 §2.5.

5. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 2.

6. See Stone 2007a.

7. *Ibid.*, 85.

chronology of the passion has already been observed in a number of texts, but it is not frequent in *Adamgirk*.⁸

1.0 THE CREATION

Grigor Tat'ewac'i asks how many chief creations there were, and, among other answers, he says twenty-two, according to the number of Hebrew letters. He lists them but remarks that these were the chief creations but that there were also others.⁹ Grigor Tat'ewac'i, enumerating the days of Holy Week, says: "Now the eve of the Day of Palms, which was Sunday, symbolises the first day of the creation, which was Sunday. And God said, 'Let there be light.'¹⁰ When He made both the fiery heaven and its inhabitants, the fiery ranks and the four elements came into existence on that day."¹¹ This text continues with a sort of hexaëmeron. In connection with Monday, Grigor Tat'ewac'i also mentions that creation was by God the Word. This is the usual view (see below), but the consultation between the Persons of the Trinity, which other writers infer from Gen 1:16, is scarcely mentioned in any fourteenth-century excerpt. Grigor Tat'ewac'i mentions the creation of "birds from the waters," on Thursday, also a widespread interpretation.¹²

Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 says that God created four elements, and the earlier polemic between dust and four elements is not mentioned.¹³ Likewise, in *Adamgirk* 1.19 Aṛak'el Siwnec'i discusses at length dust as the material from which Adam was created and also says that his body was created of four materials, that is, four elements.¹⁴

Grigor Tat'ewac'i quotes Grigor Narekac'i C10, who says that, when in the beginning God wanted to create the creations, God the Word appeared incarnated and was creating in his incarnated appearance, as during Adam's creation, just as the Illuminator says.¹⁵ All the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's form and worshiped and blessed.¹⁶

8. Another similar passage is *Adamgirk* 1.22.25–27, 31–32, part of long typological development, with use of stereotypical numbers.

9. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 16. The alternation of twenty-two and twenty-four is dealt with in chapter 3 §1.0.

10. Gen 1:3.

11. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 56.

12. The passage discussed is Grigor Tat'ewac'i 62.

13. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 1; see above, chapter 2 §1.1.2 and here §1.1.2.

14. Aṛak'el Siwnec'i, *Adamgirk* 3.3.23; 1.10.2, 7. See §1.2 below.

15. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83. See Agat'angelos 12 and 18. "The Illuminator" is St. Gregory the Illuminator.

16. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83. See §3.2. His adducing of earlier authorities is typical, and it is also found less extensively in other fourteenth-century sources.

1.1 THE CREATION OF HUMAN BEINGS

Adam was created by God's hand: this idea is widespread and early. It may be found in Grigor Tat'ewac'i and Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14.¹⁷ In further detail, Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that Adam was created by God's hand and speech,¹⁸ and in a third text he says that Adam was created by God's hand and insufflated.¹⁹ Adam was created by God's hands, declares Aṙak'el Siwnec'i C15.²⁰ Interpreting Gen 1:26, Aṙak'el Siwnec'i makes another point. He says of Adam's creation: "it says, 'Let us make man according to our image,' that is, it says 'man' to be one, but 'let us make' and 'in our' show three persons." This is the usual trinitarian interpretation of that plural.²¹ Adam had a tripartite soul,²² and this is correlated with the Trinity in Aṙak'el Siwnec'i's *Adamgirk'* 3.3.23. Elsewhere in *Adamgirk'* Adam is said to be tripartite, composed of spirit, mind, and body.²³

Adam's breath is creative, an idea probably connected with the insufflation: thus Aṙak'el Siwnec'i.²⁴ In another passage, Aṙak'el Siwnec'i says that "[the man] was created sinless and incorruptible and with unstained soul, and with immaculate body, and the image of God, and prudent and brave and judicious and (with) liberty and magnanimity . . ."²⁵ Moreover, *Adamgirk'* describes the act of creation when it says that God made dust into rational man in his image, which means that he had autonomous will.²⁶ The relation between the image and free will, a major topic in the fifth century, appearing occasionally later, is not particularly stressed in the fifteenth.

Adam was viewed as God's child and was nourished by his hand says Matt'ēos *vardapet* C15.²⁷ This is related to the question of whether Adam and Eve can be considered children, and that question is, in turn, connected to Christ's virgin birth. Thus, Aṙak'el Siwnec'i C15 says about the creation of Eve: "ninth . . . because there a woman was born without a mother, from a father, and here a man was born without a father, from a mother. Tenth, because there woman was born from a man without intercourse, and here a man (was born) from a woman without intercourse."²⁸ Eve was born as a virgin says Kirakos Erznkac'i C14.²⁹

17. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 7, 28 and Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 10.

18. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 32.

19. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 81; see the discussion in §1.0.

20. Aṙak'el Siwnec'i 11 and *Adamgirk'* 1.1.9.

21. Aṙak'el Siwnec'i 9; see above, chapter 3 §1.1.

22. Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, *Adamgirk'* 3.3.23; 1.1.8; 1.10.2, 7.

23. *Adamgirk'* 2.1.1.

24. Aṙak'el Siwnec'i 11.

25. Aṙak'el Siwnec'i 16. Note the "Stoic" virtues in this list.

26. Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, *Adamgirk'* 2.1 and 3.1.

27. Matt'ēos *vardapet* 3.

28. Aṙak'el Siwnec'i 20.

29. Kirakos Erznkac'i 1.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

Yakob Ērimec'ī C15 was interested in the calendar and astronomy. He notes that Adam was created two days after the equinox, that is, on the sixth day, for the equinox was fixed on the fourth day of creation, when the luminaries came into being.³⁰ He says elsewhere that on the sixth day of creation, man was created, the sun entered Aries, the year commenced, and it was 1 Nisan.³¹

a. Adam is older than Eve: This view recurs in several authors such as Esayi Nč'ec'ī C14.³² Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'ī C14 says that, with his hands, God created Adam thirty years old and Eve three hours later, sixty-five days old.³³

b. Typology: Above I remarked on the typological relationship between Adam's transgression and Christ's passion.³⁴ This continues in the fourteenth century. Typology is infrequent in the writings of Grigor Tat'ewac'ī, as discussed above.³⁵ Barseł Maškeronc'ī, also in the fourteenth century, asks:

Why was our Lord crucified on Friday? Because Adam was created on it, he transgressed the command on it, he received the condemnation on it, he went out of the Garden on it, and on it the Cherub received the command to guard the Garden with the fiery, turning sword. For this reason, on this same [day] Christ received the wound of the lance in his side, and broke the sword of the Cherub, and introduced the soul of the robber into the Garden, and shared with him his ineffable glory, as he had promised him that, "Today you shall be with me in the Garden."³⁶

Compare also Barseł's statement: ". . . And he . . . at that hour [evening] temporarily closed the door of the Garden," and Christ died at the same hour.³⁷

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

Grigor Tat'ewac'ī raises the question of why Adam was created from dust. To this, he gives an elaborate answer, of which some interesting points are (a) that dust includes the other three elements;³⁸ (b) that dust symbolizes humility and so offsets the pride Adam may have taken in being created in the image, an idea that accords with another in the same passage, "We say that man is the image of God from the side of the soul, while He created the body from dust and mixed (it) with

30. Yakob Ērimec'ī 1. Abusayid C12 said that Adam was created on the equinox. See further on these issues chapter 3 §1.1.1.

31. Yakob Ērimec'ī 5.

32. Esayi Nč'ec'ī 2.

33. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'ī 2. On the age of thirty years, see above, chapter 2 §1.1.4.

34. See chapter 3 §1.1.1.

35. See §0.0 above.

36. Barseł Maškeronc'ī 4; and see chapter 1 §1.1.1.

37. Barseł Maškeronc'ī 3.

38. See §1.0 above.

it”; and (c) that he was created from dust to shame Satan, for he, an earth-made being, entered the glory from which Satan had fallen.³⁹

Two of these features come together in lines of Xaç’atur Keč’ařec’i C14, who says:

From four elements of earth,
I established earthen man.⁴⁰

In earlier centuries, a polemic existed between the idea of creation from the four elements and that of creation from dust. There is no hint of this in the fourteenth century, however, and Grigor Tat’ewac’i, who is cited above saying that Adam was created from dust, also states that, when the Bible says dust, the dust had the other three elements mixed with it.⁴¹ Elsewhere he states that earth is our mother, the other three elements are our relatives, and man was created from dust.⁴²

Kostandin Erznkac’i C14 says that Adam was made of divine breath and dust.⁴³ This statement reflects the creation story in Genesis in general. Other sources repeat its content and, eventually, relate it to the idea of the four elements. Grigor Tat’ewac’i also says that man’s soul is in the image of God, while the body is created from dust and mixed with it.⁴⁴ Again, he says, “Second, [we are] of one material cause, namely, of dust and of Adam. Third, having come into being of the same image, that is, of the image of God. . . .”⁴⁵

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam’s Creation

In earlier centuries the purpose of the man’s creation is discussed.⁴⁶ The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century excerpts, however, do not say much about God’s purpose in creation. Indeed, *Adamgirk’* 3.3.5. 2.4.9 states, as is also said in earlier centuries, that the original intent at Adam’s creation was for him to gain “great glory.” This would have happened had he not sinned. This notion is developed in a unique way when *Adamgirk’* 2.4.21–22 says that the temptation by the serpent was a test. The purpose of Adam’s creation, and particularly of his punishment, was that Adam should seek to return to glory, says Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Corcorec’i C14.⁴⁷ Afak’el Siwnec’i C15 interprets Gen 1:27 to refer

39. See Grigor Tat’ewac’i 17 and 63.

40. Xaç’atur Keč’ařec’i 4.

41. Grigor Tat’ewac’i 17.

42. Grigor Tat’ewac’i 64.

43. Kostandin Erznkac’i 2.

44. Grigor Tat’ewac’i 63; see also §1.1.

45. Grigor Tat’ewac’i 84.

46. See chapter 1 §1.1.3, chapter 2 §1.1.3, and chapter 3 §§1.1.3 and 1.1.6.

47. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Corcorec’i 1.

to the three Persons of the Trinity, as discussed above in §1.1.⁴⁸ This makes the creation of man a proclamation of the Trinity.

The general direction of the discussion, however, accords with Grigor Tat'ewac'i's view that, had Adam observed the commandment, he would have arrived at perfect immortality.⁴⁹ Thus, he says:

[I]f they had eaten of the fruit of life in due time, they would have become perfectly immortal and would have passed to the kingdom. And such was their life, intermediate, as it is said, between death and immortality. For Adam had received the beginning and the seed of immortality and incorruptibility, and he had the blessedness and misery set before him, which are immortality and death. For, by observing the command, he would arrive at perfect immortality in heaven, but by transgressing, he was removed to death and fell onto the earth."⁵⁰

The prohibition of the fruit of the tree, Grigor Tat'ewac'i says, was for forty days duration. For after "forty days he would eat of the tree of knowledge and would beget children in purity, and then he would eat of the tree of life and be transformed. . . ."⁵¹

Grigor Tat'ewac'i speaks of fruit as the cause of evil or, alternatively, of untimely eating as the cause of evil.⁵² He mentions a theme that was prominent earlier, viz., that the command was about fasting.⁵³

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

Several fourteenth-century authorities say that Adam was created at thirty years old, which is a widespread view.⁵⁴ According to Grigor Tat'ewac'i, he was unaging and completely joyous and he lived between life and death.⁵⁵ Esayi Nč'ec'i says that he was older than Eve at creation and Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i, despite not addressing precisely this point, says that Eve was created three hours after Adam.⁵⁶

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

Adam and Eve were frequently given the attributes of glory and a luminous presence and were said to have flowered with light.⁵⁷ Arak'el Siwnec'i C15

48. Arak'el Siwnec'i 1.

49. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 26.

50. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 26.

51. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 28.

52. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 9, quoting Gregory of Nyssa.

53. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 45; see chapter 3 §§0.0 and 1.4.

54. See chapter 2 §1.1.4; see here Grigor Tat'ewac'i 35 and 43; and Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 2.

55. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 32.

56. Esayi Nč'ec'i 2; Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 2; see further discussion in §1.1.1 above.

57. He was luminous: *Adamgirk'* 2.1.5 and note.

returns repeatedly to this theme. God honored Adam with glory, which is a clear sign of the heavenly state according to Kostandin Erznkac'i C14,⁵⁸ while Grigor Tat'ewac'i speaks of his sinlessness and glory.⁵⁹ According to *Adamgirk'*, Adam was scintillating and resembled the sun on creation.⁶⁰ Matt'ēos *vardapet* says that Adam and Eve were put in ineffable glory and glorified with honor.⁶¹

In another variant of this idea, Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that the protoplast was dressed not in handmade clothes but in the light of grace.⁶² Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 writes of Adam, "Rejoicing anew, adorned with beauty, dressed in light, | Brilliantly embellished like angels."⁶³ Again the same poet says,

You filled (him) with increate light,
bread from the seven lights.
You anointed (him) as king, lord of the universe,
made him participant of divine life.⁶⁴

Yakob Lrimec'i speaks of Adam's glory, saying that the body is clothing laced with gold, a luminous garment.⁶⁵ Finally, as we shall see in detail below, according to *Adamgirk'* 3.5.2, the protoplasts were created with shining faces.

This glory and light are an outcome, *Adamgirk'* 3.1.6 says, of Adam's being a copy of God. The same idea is expressed by Mkrtič' Nalaš C15, who writes that "the forefather Adam, who in the Garden of Eden, | Was shining with the divine image, like the sun."⁶⁶

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

Grigor Tat'ewac'i implies that Adam was created immortal.⁶⁷ Similarly, Aṙak'el Siwnec'i C15 remarks, "And this is immediate perfection, for as long as he immediately observed the commandment, he was alive and adorned with glory, and when he transgressed, he was immediately punished and was stripped⁶⁸ and fell from Paradise and became mortal by nature."⁶⁹ The excerpts say nothing else significant on this subject, except for the implication of immortality carried by all the statements that after Adam sinned, death visited him.

58. Kostandin Erznkac'i 3.

59. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 19.

60. *Adamgirk'* 2.1.1; 2.3.7–18, 49–51.

61. Matt'ēos *vardapet* 3.

62. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 19.

63. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2.

64. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2.

65. Yakob Lrimec'i 1.

66. Mkrtič' Nalaš 2.

67. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 30.

68. I.e., of glory.

69. Aṙak'el Siwnec'i 15.

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

One traditional list is of twelve gifts that Adam had in the Garden and lost when he sinned; see §4.2.4. A similar list is found in Grigor Tat'ewac'i, *Book of Questions*; and see Matenadaran MS no. M5950 67-68.⁷⁰ A second list is of seven gifts, quoted by Grigor Tat'ewac'i in a different context. He says that the doctors say the following: first, that God created [him]; second, the soul; third, reason; fourth, [free] will; fifth, knowledge; sixth, rationality; seventh, activity.⁷¹ Elsewhere, Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that Adam had two gifts—autonomous authority and sinlessness.⁷² From another perspective, a number of authors declare that God gave Adam the three qualities of priesthood, royalty, and prophecy.⁷³

Priesthood is replaced by reason in the three qualities as enumerated by Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14.⁷⁴ Adam's deep sleep is prophetic rapture, not human slumber. Having awakened, he pronounced prophecy, that is, Gen 2:23.⁷⁵ This is a new idea proposed by Grigor Tat'ewac'i that does not occur in earlier centuries. According to various fourteenth-century authors, Adam was promised a supernal kingdom;⁷⁶ he had honor and the Garden before his fall,⁷⁷ and gifts, abundance, and rule.⁷⁸

"In the beginning of the creation of man, God put all the causes of good things in man, so that the good things should not enter us from outside," states Barsel Maškeronc'i C14.⁷⁹

1.1.8 Adam's Language

The question of the Adamic language has been of long-standing interest. Grigor Tat'ewac'i expresses this in the following statement: "And which is Adam's language? We say, the Chaldean, that is, the Arabic, for [he] remained in Eber and was not mixed."⁸⁰ Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 holds the same view.⁸¹ He also says that Adam was created rational and also with the quality of speech; when he fell he lost this gift.⁸² It seems, however, that what he lost was primordial speech and not reason or the power of ordinary speech.

70. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 20; possibly the list found in MS M5950 derived from Grigor Tat'ewac'i's list. On gifts, see chapter 3 n. 223.

71. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 21.

72. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 30.

73. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 46; Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 4–6; and Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 4. These qualities are a standard trope in the Bible and are, of course, all applied to Jesus.

74. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 10.

75. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 73 and 74.

76. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 32.

77. Kostandin Erznkac'i 3.

78. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 10.

79. Barsel Maškeronc'i 5.

80. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 27. He regards "Arabic" as meaning "Eberic."

81. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 7.

82. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 6.

1.2 THE RANKING OF CREATION

The ranking of creatures, with man in the dominant position, is largely based on Gen 1:27.⁸³ According to the formulation in *Adamgirk'* 1.1.11, man was higher than the angels and the animals, and *Adamgirk'* expresses the same idea elsewhere when it says that angels and animals wondered at Adam.⁸⁴ As Mkrtič' Nalaš puts it, "Who have created various created things, | East, North, South, West, | Man is king over (all) and incomparable."⁸⁵ Kostandin Erzncac'i C14 says that Adam was more sublime than the angels because he was created in the image of God.⁸⁶ Grigor Tat'ewac'i wrote the following disquisition on Adam's role. Man is declared king and ruler of animals;⁸⁷ he is in the image of God; he stands upright, indicating and symbolizing his lordly role; and he is autonomous, that is, he has free will to subdue the animal parts of his soul. Consequently, when Adam became disobedient, the animals became disobedient; when his [animal] passions rebelled, the created animals rebelled.

In *Adamgirk'* 1.1.17, Aṛak'el Siwnec'i overcomes the apparent contradiction of Adam being created last but being preeminent by saying that Adam was created last so that the world would be ready for him. Grigor Tat'ewac'i was also concerned about Adam's preeminent position despite his creation as the last of all visible creations.⁸⁸ Moreover, he asks, why did not God create Eve of the dust like Adam? He replies, so that they would not be equal in honor, in age, and in time, but the man is more honorable and the first one, and the woman the second and younger.⁸⁹

Grigor Tat'ewac'i transfers his concern for ranking to the material world.⁹⁰ The world, he declares, is formed of an upper, intelligible dwelling and a lower, sensible dwelling. After the intelligible creation, God made the highest sensible creation, Eden in the east, from four elements. Grigor Tat'ewac'i also declares, "so that with his [Adam's] body, he might find delight among the sensible creatures, and with his soul he would be wise among the ranks of the intelligible guards in the Garden."⁹¹

However, ranking is not only among humans and animals, but also in angelic classes. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14 says that angels were made according to rank

83. See also §1.4.

84. Aṛak'el Siwnec'i, *Adamgirk'* 2.1.22–23.

85. Mkrtič' Nalaš 3.

86. Kostandin Erzncac'i 2.

87. Compare also Grigor Tat'ewac'i 64 and Kostandin Erzncac'i 2. Similarly Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 10.

88. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 64. Also Yovhan Orotneac'i C14 1 mentions Adam's being the last of created beings.

89. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 75–76.

90. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 81.

91. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 81.

and class.⁹² Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 speaks of ten ranks of angels that increased to myriads in number.⁹³ This is an unusual view, for nine, deriving ultimately from Pseudo-Dionysius (*Celestial Hierarchy* vi, 2) is the more usual number.⁹⁴ Thus, Grigor Tat'ewac'i speaks of nine ranks of angels, glorifiers of God and see §1.3, where I quote a passage setting out the ranks and classes of angels.⁹⁵

1.3 HUMANS AND ANGELS

The relationship between humans and angels is often discussed citing Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6: Grigor Tat'ewac'i lists the points of comparison. Man is less than the angels in six things: (a) he is body and not bodiless; (b) he is dust and not luminous; (c) he was created on Friday and not on the first day with the light; (d) he was put in the Garden and not in heaven; (e) he needed food and delight and the angels did not; (f) he existed between life and death, while the angels were immortal by nature.

Man has more honor than the angels in six things: (a) he is honored in body, soul, and mind; (b) he is adorned with three graces of three personages—royalty, priesthood, and prophecy; (c) Scripture says that he was created in the image and does not say this of angels; (d) one man was father of all humans as the Father is beginning of all, but the angels were created from nothing; (e) angels are servants and ministers of man, so they remained in the same rank after the transgression; (f) “the Man became the lord and god of the angels and was seated on the right hand of God, and they worshipped him when the Word became man.”⁹⁶

In two poetic passages we read about Adam and angels. Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 compares Adam's Edenic glory to that of angels:

Rejoicing anew, adorned with beauty, dressed in light,
Brilliantly embellished like angels.⁹⁷

The classes of angels are enumerated by Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 in the following passage:

You have created servants for yourself:
the six-winged seraphim.
The nine ranks of angels,
That glorify you without pause.

92. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 10.

93. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 1: ten ranks, made of nine angelic and one human, are referred to by Ignatius *vardapet* 4.

94. PG 3:200D.

95. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 67.

96. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 31.

97. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2; see §1.1.5 above.

The four-faced cherubim
and the many-eyed angels.
The four-faced beasts
that are the thrones of the Godhead.⁹⁸

In another passage, Kostandin Erznkac'i asserts that man is more sublime than angels, sharing the Creator's image.⁹⁹

The image of the ranked heavenly hierarchy captured the imagination, and Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14 speaks, as I noted above, of God making angels according to rank and class.¹⁰⁰ This is evident also in a striking passage in Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i's C14 writings, when he says,

In the beginning God created the fiery heavens and miraculously made in it the angels in ten ranks, and differing in honour, and increasing to numberless myriad; they being non-burning fire and transparent light and air without movement, the name of whose essence and number of quantity and glory of nature and measures of wisdom remain incomprehensible for us.¹⁰¹

Angels are made of special fire, light, and air, which idea is derived from Ps 104:4 = Arm 103:4. However, man could not increase sinlessly like the angels, and therefore God created Eve, says Grigor Tat'ewac'i.¹⁰²

1.4 ANGELS' FUNCTION AND ADAM'S COMMANDMENT

The nine ranks of angels are glorifiers of God in heaven.¹⁰³ Nothing is said, however, about Adam's commandment in this connection.

1.5 ANGELS DWELL IN LIGHT

1.6 HUMANKIND IN THE IMAGE

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 asserts that God created man in the image so he would search for his prototype and return to glory.¹⁰⁴

Man is made "in his [God's] image, as the lord and ruler over all the sensible creatures," just as God is lord of the intelligible heavenly powers and all beings. This is the view of Grigor Tat'ewac'i, who relates the image to man's role as ruler

98. Kostandin Erznkac'i 1; see §1.1.5 above. This material is ultimately dependent on Ezekiel 1.

99. Kostandin Erznkac'i 2.

100. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 10.

101. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 10.

102. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 15.

103. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 67.

104. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 1; and see §1.1.3 above.

of all beings, a role derived from Gen 1:26.¹⁰⁵ The same idea is expressed by Kostandin Erznkac'i C14, who says,

God said, "Let us make man,
in our image after our likeness.
That he have dominion over the creatures,
be ruler over all.
More sublime than angels,
sharing the Creator's image."¹⁰⁶

Genesis 1:26, says that man was created in the image, and in Gen 2:7 God is said to breathe the spirit of life into Adam. These two events are equated in the Armenian sources, as may be seen in the writing of Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14.¹⁰⁷ Grigor Tat'ewac'i particularly connects the breathing in of the spirit with immortal life and the image with power, reason, or glory.¹⁰⁸ Thus, Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 calls man "the image of your great glory."¹⁰⁹ Man, being in the image, had a noble origin, states Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14¹¹⁰ and Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that man, as the image, had grace and was taught to seek wisdom.¹¹¹

Grigor Tat'ewac'i further discusses the idea of image. He is concerned about how God can be said to have an image, and so he writes, "Topic: For it [Scripture] does not mean [that] God made the man in his image, but according to [his] image. Comment: The first one is as it were nominative, and the latter is in an oblique case, which regards the man as of the same image as the Son and not as the Father."¹¹² By stressing "according to," he seeks to modulate the idea that God has an image.

2.0 THE GARDEN OF EDEN

Grigor Tat'ewac'i is much preoccupied with the Garden and discusses its nature and that of its fruit in great detail. The Garden of Eden is illuminated, he says, and does not draw its light from the sun: its air is luminous, its flora are luminous.¹¹³ Grigor likewise rejects the view that day and night existed in the Garden, and he maintained that the Garden had no seasons and no winds, snow, or rain,

105. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82.

106. Kostandin Erznkac'i 1.

107. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 10. See chapter 1 §1.6 and chapter 3 §1.6, for the earlier history of this equivalence.

108. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 81.

109. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2.

110. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 1.

111. Yovhannēs Arčīšec'i 1; see also chapter 3 §1.6.

112. Grigor, pupil of Yōhannēs Orotneac'i, i.e., Tat'ewac'i 1.

113. Striking descriptions of the luminosity of the Garden are to be found in the fif-

since it is close to the most vivifying, upper part of atmosphere, while meteorological phenomena are in the middle air.¹¹⁴

The Garden is incorruptible, as is evident from the order of things; the fruit does not putrefy nor the leaves drop. Nonetheless, the Garden's fruit is edible, just as the fruit of life is edible, and Adam was expelled after eating fruit because he became corruptible.¹¹⁵ In a further discussion of the same issue, he says that Adam could eat "the fruit of the Garden because it was tangible and edible, was picked and chewed and converted according to casual¹¹⁶ qualities, but remained incorruptible by nature and by (its) influence on the eater."¹¹⁷ Elsewhere, he discusses how the Garden, trees, and fruit are incorruptible, even though they are eaten, are watered, and so forth, and he gives examples of special things made of the four elements but incorruptible.¹¹⁸ He discusses how the Garden will be affected by the eschatological conflagration, and he says, "Now, in its material part it is cleared by the last fire in which the heavens and the earth burn, but in its incorruptibility it remains unchanged: also according to its density." He presents a series of comparisons that, on the one hand, highlight its special character and, on the other, make it secondary to supernal Jerusalem.¹¹⁹

In their *Commentaries on the Canon Tables*, both Grigor Jerenc' C14 and Grigor Tat'ewac'i associate the fourth canon table with Adam's Garden, standing on four columns that represent four elements.¹²⁰ According to Grigor Jerenc', the canon table is blue and black in color, which shows that the Garden was concealed from Adam and his sons while they were alive, that is, after the expulsion.¹²¹ For Grigor Jerenc', blue or blue and black signify, though he does not explain it very clearly, the persistence of the divine signs during Adam's life. The connection of the four columns with the four elements used in creation is fixed and may be observed also in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14.¹²²

God planted the Garden, which was miraculous and immortal, and he adorned it with beautiful and tasty trees.¹²³ Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 says that the Garden was a divine creation, planted in Adam's honor,¹²⁴ and

teenth-century poet Aṙak'el Siwnec'i's long composition on Eden called Դրախտագիրք *Book of Paradise*.

114. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 5; cf. 4 Ezra 7:39–42, on removal of day and night and seasons in the eschaton.

115. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 5–6.

116. Or: accidental.

117. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 8.

118. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 12–13.

119. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 42. The Garden was luminous, incorruptible, and a middle region: Grigor Tat'ewac'i 81.

120. Grigor Jerenc' 1; Grigor Tat'ewac'i 85.

121. Grigor Jerenc' 1.

122. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 2.

123. Kostandin Erznkac'i 3. Similar is Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 4.

124. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 1.

Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 declares that God planted it for Adam's enjoyment.¹²⁵ Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 mentions the shining fruit of paradise.¹²⁶

Finally, Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 continues the discussion of the Garden's special nature by saying that it was not under the sun, by which time is apprehended.¹²⁷ This view recurs in the discussion of Adam's time in the Garden; see §4.4 below.

2.1 ADAM PLACED IN THE GARDEN

Following Genesis, Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 says that God put Adam in the place of delight, in ineffable paradise.¹²⁸ Adam was placed in Garden after forty-two days according to Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i.¹²⁹

Grigor Tat'ewac'i asks, "Why did God put Adam in the Garden and command him not to eat?" He answers that God created him autonomous so that he might choose voluntarily; he crowned him not just with mercy but also with justice.¹³⁰ These ideas are summarized by Kirakos Erznkac'i C14, who wrote, "Your Word ordered Adam to work and to keep, | You put a command, an object of free will, | You put him in the place of delight, in ineffable Paradise."¹³¹

Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 says that God placed Adam in the Garden to have royal dominion over the animals, which idea is based, of course, on Gen 1:28.¹³² It also occurred in earlier centuries.

2.2 GOD SHOWED ADAM TWO TREES

2.3 INTERCOURSE IN THE GARDEN?

The question of whether Adam and Eve had intercourse in the Garden is discussed from early times.¹³³ It was still the subject of controversy in the fourteenth century. Grigor Tat'ewac'i anathematizes the view that there were intercourse, desire, and begetting in the Garden. He denies this for a range of reasons, includ-

125. Kostandin Erznkac'i 3.

126. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2.

127. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 3.

128. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2.

129. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 2. There is an argument made by earlier authorities that Adam was put into the Garden forty days after his creation (chapter 1 §4.4), because of the commandment in chapter 4 §2.1 above. The figure here of forty-two days is not found in other sources. Its significance is not completely clear, and it is discussed below in §4.1.

130. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 40. The pair mercy and justice is fixed; it plays a prominent role in rabbinic thought.

131. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2.

132. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 1. See chapter 2 §1.6 and chapter 3 §1.6.

133. See Anderson 1989.

ing impurity caused by the emission of semen. However, he asserts that marriage took place in the Garden as in a church, but conception does not take place in the church nor did it take place in the Garden. Answering an implied objection, he asserts that Adam and Eve were created with sexual organs because of God's prescience. "But let us respect with silence that about which the Holy Scriptures keep silent," he concludes.¹³⁴

Continuing his polemic, he says, "And if one says that, if Adam and Eve remained sinless, how could the human race increase? We say that some [people] say the Garden is corruptible and [there is] copulation of male and female, and moreover—desire and birth of children. And they compose many fabulous things, which is (are) contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the orthodox Fathers." The divine command is to be fruitful on earth and not in the Garden. In the Garden, humans increased like the angels in heaven.¹³⁵ The Fall means the inception of parturition and that they did not increase like angels.

2.4 THE STATE OF ADAM IN THE GARDEN

2.5 THE CREATION OF THE ANIMALS

2.6 NAMING BY ADAM

Adam named the animals because he has natural wisdom. This was done to show his autonomy; he was their lord, and therefore he controls their names. He had the grace of priesthood, because a priest gives a name after birth.¹³⁶ This incident shows that Adam is autonomous, since he could give whatever names he wished. He had the ability to name the animals, since the Spirit had been breathed into him, producing his natural wisdom.¹³⁷

Adam was placed in Garden to name animals and to have dominion royally. Here, again, Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 connects the naming with dominion.¹³⁸ Above, in §1.6, I noted that Adam had royal dominion because he was created in the image. This, in turn, is connected with the breathing in of the Spirit, which gave him the ability to name animals.

In general, Esayi Nč'ec'i C14 stresses the uniqueness of names when he says that "each single name (is) that which is not divided into any other(s) that are separated from it or born; all these are indeed stated. And these are they: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah . . ."¹³⁹ He stresses the distinctiveness of each name.

134. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 15. For a striking similarity to this idea in nineteenth-century Europe, see Gould 1985. On the last point, see also Grigor Tat'ewac'i 69.

135. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 24. See chapter 3 §2.3 on attitudes to sexual intercourse.

136. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 3.

137. See chapter 1 §2.6 and elsewhere.

138. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 2.

139. Esayi Nč'ec'i 1.

2.7 THE TYPE OF TREE

Some authorities say that the tree was a fig, which is related to the garment that they sewed coverings of fig leaves, according to Gen 3:7. Others say that the fruit was grapes (so also Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 5) or wheat (perhaps, I might add, thus relating to the bread and wine of the Eucharist), yet others say it was an apple (Song 2:3 and 8:5). After reporting these views, Grigor Tat'ewac'i adds, "And how can man speak of that which Holy Scripture has not revealed?"¹⁴⁰

2.8 EVE, TRADITIONS ABOUT

The assumption of all our texts is that Eve's creation happened much as related in Gen 2:21–23. Grigor Tat'ewac'i is concerned whether Eve and Abel were brother and sister, since both were Adam's offspring. Eve was born, he says, of Adam's rib and Abel of Adam's womb and therefore, they are not brother and sister.¹⁴¹ The same issue recurs elsewhere in his discussion of the reasons for Eve's creation from the rib, left being viewed as the sinister side.¹⁴² Note that he highlights the woman's deceitful character, which is reinforced by the idea that she was taken from Adam's left rib. He "proves" that Eve is not Adam's daughter, for her creation did not fulfill the criteria for birth.

In another passage of his we find an extensive discussion of Eve. This includes the following ideas: (a) Eve's being subordinate to Adam, which is tied to her creation from Adam's rib; (b) the question of why she called woman, to which he answered that she was taken from man (see Gen 2:23) and because of a number of inferiorities;¹⁴³ (c) her weakness; (d) why she was called "life."¹⁴⁴ In another passage he maintains that Eve was named "life" because she is the mother of all living,¹⁴⁵ since her descendant is the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus, giver of life to all living.¹⁴⁶

In a particular development related to veneration of the Virgin, Grigor Tat'ewac'i maintains the following: "Likewise the foremother Eve, although she transgressed, subsequently repented, and many children were to be born of her.

140. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 10. In the preceding paragraph he gives possible answers to the question of the relationship between the two trees and about how the tree, created by God, became evil. Above we noted Grigor Tat'ewac'i's discussion of whether the fruit was both edible and incorruptible; see §2.0. The Edenic trees, he says, drink water in the same way as fire drinks oil, thus emphasizing their incorruptible nature.

141. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 36.

142. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 76–77.

143. These are mainly based on wordplays, including one showing her duplicitous character.

144. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 18.

145. Gen 3:20.

146. I remarked earlier in chapter 3 §2.8 on the typological parallelism between Eve and the Virgin.

On account of that, God forgave (her). Again, the most important (thing): if the woman had not transgressed, God the Word would not have become man.”¹⁴⁷ He then argues that she did not sin so that goodness would ensue, but that goodness was God’s work through Christ.

Grigor Tat’ewac’i discusses the helpmeet at length and then Eve’s culpability, arguing that it was foreknown by God.¹⁴⁸ Above, I noted the view that Adam’s sleep was rapture of a mind risen to God.¹⁴⁹

Woman is called God’s construction, and she is man’s house, according to Grigor Tat’ewac’i.¹⁵⁰ She was created after Adam and not of dust, in order to establish Adam’s superiority. She was created three hours after Adam and was sixty-five days old according to Mxit’ar Ayrivanec’i C14.¹⁵¹ No explanation of the sixty-five days suggests itself.

There are further negative statements about Eve. Xaç’atur Keč’ařec’i C14 says that she brought Adam out of glory.¹⁵² She was Satan’s companion, says Yovhannēs T’lkuranc’i C14, and was his weapon according to Xaç’atur Keč’ařec’i.¹⁵³ As Yovhannēs T’lkuranc’i put it elsewhere:

The woman is more sweet-speaking than others,
She alienates Adam quickly from the Garden.
The woman is Satan’s companion,
God saves from woman’s tumult.¹⁵⁴

3.0 SATAN

3.1 SATAN AND THE SERPENT

The serpent was the beginning of man’s death. And since its discourse was of two kinds, namely, false and true, its tongue was forked.¹⁵⁵ The serpent symbolizes deceptive, lascivious desire.¹⁵⁶

In the appendix, I have discussed the relationship between Satan and the serpent. Here I add a certain number of specific points made in the fourteenth-century writers. First, Grigor Tat’ewac’i says that God did not leave Satan

147. Grigor Tat’ewac’i 69.

148. Grigor Tat’ewac’i 67–71.

149. Grigor Tat’ewac’i 73; and compare §1.1.7.

150. Grigor Tat’ewac’i 78.

151. Mxit’ar Ayrivanec’i 1; see also §1.1.4.

152. Xaç’atur Keč’ařec’i 2–3.

153. Yovhannēs T’lkuranc’i 9; Xaç’atur Keč’ařec’i 3.

154. Yovhannēs T’lkuranc’i 9.

155. Grigor Tat’ewac’i 2.

156. Grigor Tat’ewac’i 80; and see §0.0.

unpunished but punished him through the serpent, and Satan is the primordial, intelligent serpent.¹⁵⁷ The serpent was the recipient and instrument of the Evil One, implying both the possession of the serpent by Satan and the serpent's function as an instrument of Satan's will. The serpent makes five circular movements that symbolize the five senses,¹⁵⁸ and, generally, sin is associated with the senses.¹⁵⁹ Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 describes him as a partner to Satan's plan.¹⁶⁰ Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 may also imply the connection of the two when he calls Satan an adder.¹⁶¹

3.2 THE FALL OF SATAN

The doctors say that Satan was a celestial angel and became proud and opposed God: so claims Grigor Tat'ewac'i.¹⁶² Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 also describes Satan in the following terms:

He who fell like a lightning bolt from the celestial hosts,
With the crafty army of darkness-loving demons,
Truly the father of sin and inventor of evil,
Head of the ranks of groups of black hosts.¹⁶³

The same point is made by Grigor Tat'ewac'i, who says, "But one of the fallen from the celestial ranks, envying the very honourable glory of the first man, deceived him by the flaw of pride, due to which he himself had fallen from glory, 'If you eat of the fruit, you shall become as gods'¹⁶⁴ with immortal life and lofty glory."¹⁶⁵ The rebellion, according to the same author, was that before creation Satan did not worship the Word in Adam's form, considering (him) mere body and man. This is fairly obviously an adaptation of *Pen. Adam* 12:1–17:3, which relates that Satan's rebellion is his refusal to bow down to Adam.

The implication of that which follows is similar and concerns Satan refusing to honor man and envying the privileges that man had, a theme taken up in the next section. "Second, he created man of the dust to dishonour Satan, so that he would be ashamed, when this weak and clayey one entered the glory from which

157. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 51.

158. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 53.

159. See above, chapter 3 §3.1.

160. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2.

161. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 3.

162. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82.

163. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2. Black was the color associated with Satan and demons.

164. Gen 3:5.

165. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82.

he, who was glorious, had fallen.”¹⁶⁶ Here Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i seems to put Satan’s fall before Adam’s creation.

In a different mode, Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14 says that Satan was the first murderer.¹⁶⁷

In summary, as Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14 puts it, Satan is a rational being who had turned away from glory and fallen, and he showed Adam the ways of destruction and was the adversary of primordial good.¹⁶⁸

3.3 SATAN’S ENVY

There are, in the broad view, two alternative chronological contexts given for Satan’s rebellion, either before creation, when he envied God and fell, or after the creation of man, when he envied man. Thus, in the preceding section, I quoted Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i’s statement about the origin of Satan’s envy, and it seems to imply that Satan had fallen before Adam was created.¹⁶⁹ Most of the Armenian texts can be interpreted to forward that view, but a measure of unclarity remains.

The evil enemy, Satan, stole the man’s honor, according to Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i.¹⁷⁰ Note that in the preceding text, Adam had honor that Satan had lost. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i also refers to certain people who say that Satan envied man’s honor.¹⁷¹ Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14 refers to the tempter’s envy, which led to the serpent deceiving “them”; he is not more explicit.¹⁷²

3.4 THE SERPENT, CURSES OF

In his typical style, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i enumerates the curses laid upon the serpent. I give his enumeration here, drawn from *The Book of Questions*, and annotate his list from other sources.¹⁷³

- a. Since it was the arms and legs of the Evil One,¹⁷⁴ its arms and legs were cut off. Grigor does not talk of wings here, though they appear in contemporary miniatures. The reasoning is that the curse of Gen 3:14, “upon your belly you shall go,” implies that before the curse he had limbs. This view is also current in rabbinic and other ancient sources. Grigor returns to it,¹⁷⁵ and it is found in

166. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 63.

167. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 3.

168. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 1.

169. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 17; see also chapter 2 §3.2.

170. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 44.

171. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 83.

172. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 4–5.

173. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, *Book of Questions* 1993, 1:218–19 = excerpt 2.

174. Satan rode on or entered the serpent; see Stone 2008a.

175. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 47–55 and elsewhere.

Kostandin Erzñkac'i.¹⁷⁶ Kostandin also has the curse implied by the next phrase of Genesis, "and dust you shall eat," which Tat'ewac'i has elsewhere, when he explains that the serpent is cursed to eat dust because it turned man back into dust (see Gen 3:19, where the word is the same).¹⁷⁷

- b. Since it tries to kill the living being, every living being kills him. This is perhaps a reference to the enmity of Gen 3:15.
- c. Since it changed the blessing into curse, it was cursed and deprived of the blessing given to all animals. In Genesis it was cursed among all animals (3:14).
- d. Since it put enmity between the man and God, [God] put enmity between the man and the serpent. Compare again Gen 3:15, and this phrase is close to that.
- e. As it fought against the head, that is, Adam, [its] head was killed. And since it made the man fall from heaven to the earth, it falls under the heel of his feet. Genesis 3:15b reads, "it will strike your head, and you will strike his heel."
- f. Since it came with friendship and turned to enmity, it turns back when biting. This is apparently a reference to snakes rearing up and drawing back their heads when striking.
- g. Since it envied man, it creeps upon [its] breast and belly; see §3.3 above. This connection cannot be inferred directly from the biblical text.
- h. Since it is a deceiver, it goes crookedly. And since it deceived the five senses of the man, it receives five circular motions while going. This idea is present also elsewhere.¹⁷⁸
- i. Since it stripped the first-created of glory, its skin is stripped. This is a reference from natural history, to snakes shedding their skins.

4.0 SIN AND ITS RESULTS

4.1 THE CHARACTER OF ADAM'S SIN

Grigor Tat'ewac'i enumerates seven transgressions of Adam: "First, that he wished to become God; second, that he believed the serpent; third, that he obeyed the woman rather than God; fourth, that he ate of the fruit; fifth, that he hid (see §4.3); sixth, that he did not repent saying, "I have sinned"; seventh, that he accused God (saying), "this woman whom you gave, she gave me to eat" (Gen 3:12).¹⁷⁹

Adam's character was sinful, says Barseł Maškeronc'i C14. He desired to equal God (Gen 3:15) but could not obey even one command.¹⁸⁰ He adds that Adam displeased God on account of speech and food. Through food, which he

176. Konstantin Erzñkac'i 7.

177. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 52.

178. See Grigor Tat'ewac'i 2 and elsewhere; and §3.1 and note here.

179. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 22.

180. Barseł Maškeronc'i 1.

ate of the tree, and through speech, with which he answered God, putting the blame on the woman.¹⁸¹

Adam's sin is that he lost righteousness and begat his son in sin and desire. And that is called original sin, and it will not be forgiven unless he is baptized in the death of Christ. So says Grigor Tat'ewac'i.¹⁸² Note that this is the first time that the term original sin appears in the texts we are discussing. However, in Grigor Tat'ewac'i we read: "Again we say that God is good by nature and generous and beneficent; the sin of one man cannot obstruct and hold back the whole goodness of God, but only the sinner himself is deprived of God's goodness." Despite Adam and Eve's sin, "many excellent and righteous men were born of her."¹⁸³

In the same realm of discourse is the following. When reproached with sin, Adam blamed someone else. God came on foot to ask him, "Where are you"? Adam did not confess but answered impudently. Eve, moreover, did not answer honestly and did not reveal her motivation. God did not ask the serpent, for it is not fitting to pose such a question to the serpent.¹⁸⁴ Rather different are two other statements. First, Adam was impelled by three sins: pride [to bear a son like god], gluttony [desire for the tree], and avarice [for knowledge of good and evil].¹⁸⁵ Second, Adam and Eve accused each other and were not justified.¹⁸⁶

Finally, harking back to material discussed in §3.2, Satan's deception of Adam through the flaw of pride is discussed by Grigor Tat'ewac'i.¹⁸⁷ It is noteworthy that all the statements relating to this matter are found in Grigor Tat'ewac'i. They may have been created by his urge to systematize.

4.1.1. Adam Sinned because of His Love of Eve

In Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14 we find the idea, noted in chapter 2, §4.1 and elsewhere, that Adam sinned not from disobedience of God so much as from his love of Eve.¹⁸⁸ The idea that he sinned because of compassion for Eve does not occur in the excerpts being considered here.

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

Adam was deceived and died as a result of his sin, says Grigor Tat'ewac'i.¹⁸⁹

181. Barsēl Maškeronc'i 2. See the list of sins quoted at the beginning of this section.

182. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 29.

183. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 68.

184. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 51. On God's footsteps and questioning, see §4.3 below.

185. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 46.

186. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 52.

187. Gen 3:5. See Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82.

188. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 2 and 3.

189. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82–83.

4.2 THE RESULTS OF SIN

As a result of his sin, Grigor Tat'ewac'i explains, Adam received seven punishments: (a) he became naked and fell to the rank of animals; (b) he was deprived of the tree of life and expelled;¹⁹⁰ (c) he was settled opposite the Garden and suffered perpetual envy; (d) he was required to toil; (e) he suffered grief and laments; (f) he died after his wife and son; (g) he decomposed and returned to earth.¹⁹¹

In another passage, Grigor Tat'ewac'i lays out the ten degrees of Adam's fall in detail. Of interest to us are his desire to become God; his shame; his response to the divine footsteps with fear; his being given a garment of skin instead of his prior garment of light; and the agricultural curse of thorns and thistles and labor.¹⁹² Moreover, this human nature (i.e., being),¹⁹³ misled by serpent's deceit, fell into the place of sojourning and afterwards repented—thus says Grigor Tat'ewac'i.¹⁹⁴

4.2.1 Change in Nature of World

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

The basic punishment was death. Thus, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 speaks of the loss of immortality, and Konstantin Erznkac'i C14, evoking the biblical expression, says that they will return to the dust from which they were born.¹⁹⁵ Grigor Tat'ewac'i goes further. Interpreting the expression "you shall surely die," which in the Armenian Bible is literally, "by death you shall die,"¹⁹⁶ he talks not of a simple death but of a double one, that is, to die in the body and to be punished in the soul.¹⁹⁷

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

Adam and Eve had garments of light. This view of Grigor Tat'ewac'i was discussed above, §1.1.5.¹⁹⁸ In another formulation, he says that they "[f]ell out of the grace and were stripped of the light, they came out of the Garden and were captured beneath curse and death."¹⁹⁹ They were stripped of immortal light,

190. Because of eating Adam went forth, according to Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 5.

191. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 23.

192. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 24.

193. See above, chapter 3 §§3.3 and 4.2, and notes on "nature" signifying "human being."

194. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 41.

195. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 6 and Kostandin Erznkac'i 6.

196. See the discussion of this grammatical construction in Stone 2008b.

197. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 30 and 83.

198. Grigor Tat'ewac' 20. It occurs also in earlier centuries.

199. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 45.

according to Kostandin Erznkac'i C14.²⁰⁰ Of Satan, Grigor Tat'ewac'i says, "And since he stripped the first-created of glory, his skin is stripped" (cf. §3.4).²⁰¹ Adam and Eve were deprived of glory justly, he says.²⁰² Thus, garments of light, light, and glory signify the same thing, the paradisiacal effulgence that they lost after the sin.

The garment God made for them was of animal skin, but it is unknown from which animal. Moreover, the change from the garments of light to those of skin indicated a change of body from its original, impassible, quick, and luminous state.²⁰³ The same idea is expressed when Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 maintains that their skin coat symbolized their loss of glory and of the brightness of the Garden.²⁰⁴

So Adam was clothed with glory, which he lost when he disobeyed the commandment. At this point, the phrase "and they knew that they were naked" (Gen 3:7) is understood, as it is in earlier centuries, to mean, "and they realized that they had become naked," or "stripped of their glory."²⁰⁵ Before the leather garments, they girded themselves in fig leaves (Kostandin Erznkac'i C14; cf. Gen 3:7) and after their expulsion, God made them a leather dalmatic, according to Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14.²⁰⁶

As for Eve, the same is true, and Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 says, "And she took off the garment, lost the Paradise of delight. Naked and leathery instead of light, she put on this body of sorrow."²⁰⁷ The garment of light or glory is implied also by a series of statements about its loss by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14, and also by Grigor Tat'ewac'i and Xaç'atur Keč'ařec'i C14.²⁰⁸

Before they sinned, Adam and Eve were not ashamed. This had not greatly concerned earlier exegetes, but Grigor Tat'ewac'i mentioned it and asked why they were not ashamed. He gives a series of answers. They were innocent like children; their sinlessness meant that they had no sense of shame; they were amazed at the Garden; their thoughts had soared to divine contemplation; and they were clothed in light.²⁰⁹

He formulates it in another way elsewhere: when they were living in the Garden they had incorruptible bodies and luminous glory, so they did not see each

200. Kostandin Erznkac'i 5.

201. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 2.

202. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83.

203. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 24.

204. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 1 and 6.

205. Ařak'el Siwnec'i 15.

206. Kostandin Erznkac'i C14, Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 3.

207. Kirakos Erznkac'i 1.

208. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 6, Grigor Tat'ewac'i 44, and Xaç'atur Keč'ařec'i 2.

209. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 19. On the preceding page, more closely tied to the biblical verse, he says that they were naked of handmade clothes but adorned with the light of grace. See above; and also chapter 3 §§4.2 and 4.2.3.

other's nakedness.²¹⁰ Or again, nakedness is being deprived of God's grace.²¹¹ In short, as Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 put it, they were stripped of light, girded with fig leaves, fled, and hid from shame.²¹²

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

Grigor Tat'ewac'i's statements about the curses resemble his pronouncements above in §§3.4 and 4.1. In the text discussed in §4.2, he enumerates seven punishments emanating from the curses. He also enumerates the curses pronounced on the serpent and on Eve. The latter are basically biblical and include an increase of pain because of ageing, the distresses of pregnancy and childbirth, and subservience to her husband.²¹³ Similar, but less detailed, are the curses of Adam and Eve and of the serpent (see §3.4) listed by Kostandin Erznkac'i C14.²¹⁴ Since the serpent turned blessing into curse, he was cursed and deprived of blessing, and Grigor Tat'ewac'i gives a list of curses brought upon the serpent.²¹⁵

Twelve gifts were lost by Adam: (a) the sight of God, (b) conversation with God, (c) immortality, (d) the luminous garment, (e) life without blemish, (f) non-ageing, (g) laborless delight of the Garden, (h) the service of God, (i) God's love and mercy, (j) his reign over creatures, (k) priesthood—he did not have authority to offer sacrifice in his life; and (l) prophecy. The last three are the fixed graces of kingship, priesthood, and prophecy.²¹⁶ In accordance with this, Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 mentions Adam in the lists of priests, prophets, and kings, ancestors of Christ.²¹⁷ The loss of these three graces is mentioned also by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14.²¹⁸

4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan

Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14 says that Adam lived six thousand years in Satan's hand.²¹⁹

4.3 GOD, FOOTSTEPS OF

As in previous centuries, God's footfall is given a considerable role, as is Adam's response to it. God's call to Adam was interpreted as a call to repentance, and Adam's response was taken as an impudent rejection of the call to repentance

210. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 79.

211. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 48.

212. Kostandin Erznkac'i 5.

213. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 54.

214. Kostandin Erznkac'i 8.

215. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 2. This is discussed in full in §3.4.

216. See Grigor Tat'ewac'i 20.

217. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 4–7.

218. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 4.

219. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 3: compare chapter 2 §4.4.

and a casting of blame on Eve. These themes come up in different ways in the various texts.

Adam heard the sound, the footsteps of God approaching, according to Kostandin Erznkac'i C14.²²⁰ In greater detail, Barseł Maškeronc'i C14 states that "when the light of belief had become low in him²²¹ and the fervour of the love of God had cooled, he heard the walking of our Lord, who had separated from the sinful man the order of justice and moreover, the order of God's mercy."²²²

God called them and questioned them in the Garden (Kostandin Erznkac'i C14),²²³ and Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that God's question means, "in which situation are you?"²²⁴ God asked the question because he wanted Adam to confess.²²⁵

In response to God's question, "Adam accused the woman, and the woman (accused) the serpent."²²⁶ Or again, Grigor says that Adam responds boldly—he blamed God and the woman.²²⁷ Here, indeed, his analysis is more specific for, as far as Eve is concerned, he says that Eve admits half the sin (hearkening to the serpent) and hides half (the desire to become God).

4.4 ADAM, CHRONOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

The first man perhaps did not remain even one whole day in the Garden, according to Barseł Maškeronc'i C14.²²⁸ Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that Adam had to observe the commandment for only forty days in order to be rewarded, to beget children in purity, and then eat of the tree of life and be transformed.²²⁹

Adam was placed in the Garden after forty-two days, according to Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14.²³⁰ In §1.1.1 I observed that, according to Grigor Tat'ewac'i and earlier sources, Adam's sojourn in Eden was forty days. One wonders whether forty-two, which equals 7×6 , is connected with the chiliastic view that the world-week is $6 \times 1,000$ years and that the parousia will be in the seventh day of the world-week.²³¹ So, Adam's time in the Garden is related to the length of the world's time.

Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i's C14 view is that Adam's time of being in paradise

220. Kostandin Erznkac'i 5

221. Literally: from him, through him.

222. Barseł Maškeronc'i 3. See §2.1 and n. 130 above on justice and mercy.

223. Kostandin Erznkac'i 6.

224. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 47–48.

225. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 48.

226. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 47.

227. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 49.

228. Barseł Maškeronc'i 1.

229. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 28; cf. §1.1.3 above.

230. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 2.

231. Chiliastic ideas inform the statement that Satan tormented Adam for six thousand years (Yovhannēs T'ulkuranc'i 3). On chiliastic ideas, see chapter 1 §4.4 and chapter 4 §4.4.

is unknown because, first, he was appointed to be with immortal ones, and, second, paradise is not under the sun, by which time is apprehended.²³² Barseł Maškeronc'i C14 says that Adam did not remain even one whole day in the Garden restfully.²³³ Elsewhere Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i expressed the view that Adam sinned on the second Friday.²³⁴ According to Eusebius ch. 4, he adds, Adam was in paradise as long as Christ was in world.²³⁵ Adam remained there after the sin as long as Christ hung on cross; at the hour of Lord's descent into the grave, Adam was expelled. This stands in apparent tension with the previously cited statement, but in no passage does Mxit'ar state exactly how long Adam was in the Garden.

4.5 AFTER THE FALL AND EXPULSION

He took them out of the Garden
 and commanded them to remain opposite,
 And placed seraphim
 and cherubim around it as watchers,
 55 That they should not come and eat
 the fruit of immortal life,
 But that man be returned to dust on the earth
 whence he was taken for birth.
 Adam the father was driven out
 and stood outside at the edge of the Garden;
 The first sons of Adam
 were begotten and born.

Thus Kostandin Erznkac'i describes the expulsion.²³⁶ Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 states that, after the sin, God lodged Adam opposite paradise, just as sinners are taken out of the church during the liturgy, so that they might bemoan their sins.²³⁷

Grigor Tat'ewac'i did not consider the chronological question discussed in the preceding section. Concerning the expulsion, however, he says that when the protoplasts were created Eve was on Adam's right side; when they went out of the Garden she was on his left.²³⁸

Adam was in paradise for seven days and then came forth to the Island of

232. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 3.

233. Barseł Maškeronc'i 1.

234. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 3.

235. This reference is unclear.

236. Kostandin Erznkac'i 9–10.

237. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 3.

238. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 79. Here the positive and negative valuations of right and left are evident.

Selan (Ceylon).²³⁹ Note Mxit'ar's scientific interests, reflected in this passage in terms of healing plants, warm springs, and, earlier on, in terms of alchemy.

4.6 ARAĬAWOR FAST

4.7 CHEIROGRAPH

An apparent reference to Col 2:14, a crucial verse in the development of the cheirograph legend, occurs in Yovhan Arčišec'i C15. "And at the end of these days [He] annihilated the condemnation for all our debts . . . Because the Father wished to tear all the records of our debts."²⁴⁰ This, however, does not seem to reflect the developed cheirograph legend. No connection of the cheirograph with baptism is to be observed in the fourteenth-century texts.

5.0 THE BURIAL OF ADAM AND OTHER TRADITIONS

239. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 3. On the connection of Ceylon with Adam, see also Fabricius 1713, 30–31.

240. Yovhan Arčišec'i 2.

5. ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS IN SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN LITERATURE

0.0 GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The body of relevant published texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is limited, and consequently this chapter does not deal with quite a number of the topics discussed in earlier chapters. Such omissions do not necessarily correspond to any particular trends in Armenian religious thought but may simply reflect the state of publication of the textual sources, for quite a large number of compositions remain unpublished.

However, some subjects are omitted that seem to reflect trends in religious thinking. Thus, some chronological subjects are not discussed in this and in the previous chapter. Though not all such matters are omitted, interest in chronology seems to be on the wane. In addition, the naming of the beasts by Adam does not appear in this period, so this particular proof of Adam's special dominion and wisdom is lacking. There also seems to be a lack of interest in the purpose of creation.

Of the authors of the eighteenth century, I have chosen to excerpt only Xaç'atur Jułayec'i C17, the character of whose work seems to be close to the material dealt with in the seventeenth century. I do not claim to make a presentation of eighteenth century Armenian thought on the subject of Adam and Eve.

1.0 THE CREATION

1.1 THE CREATION OF HUMAN BEINGS

Adam was created by God's hands, as Awetik' Mahtesi C16–17¹ and Karapet Bałiřec'i C16 say.² More specifically, man was created by God's right hand, according to Łazar Sebastac'i C16.³ Adam was made of mud, which is itself usually said to be made of the four elements.⁴

1. Awetik' Mahtesi 2.

2. Karapet Bałiřec'i 1.

3. Łazar Sebastac'i 1.

4. For detailed discussion, see §1.1.2 below.

A second issue that sometimes arises is, by which Person of the Trinity was Adam made? When specified, this is clearly the Son or the Word.⁵ However, Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 interprets the plural, "Let us make man," of Gen 1:26 to mean that the three Persons of the Trinity created Adam,⁶ and he is far from the first to do so.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

Yovasap' Sebastac'i C16 says that March 22 was an equinox, and the sun entered Aries. It was 1 Nisan, the day of Adam's creation.⁷ Without mentioning the date in March, Yakob Lrimec'i C15 has the same.⁸ The Anonymous Chronicler of Livorno says that the world was created in March, on Sunday. The first age is 2,242 years long, from Adam's creation until the Flood. This date is typical of the period.⁹

Adam was born as a thirty-year-old man; see below §1.1.4 and further references there for the view that thirty was the optimal age for a man.¹⁰ Chronological matters are of little interest, however, in these later texts.

1.1.2 Material from Which Adam Was Created

God combined the four elements into one and made man from it. This view, which was not new, is mentioned by Simēon Aparanc'i C16. The same author adds that the angels were created from light, and man was created from the four elements and insufflated by "the grace of His own breath . . . | Taking the substance from garbage,¹¹ | Forming a vessel for the immaterial treasure."¹² We read in Ep'rem Łap'anc'i C17, "And the four elements he made. | And he created the human race from dust," and Dawit' Salajorec'i says,

On Friday you created Adam,
You made him of mud of four substances.
You commanded, he became healthy,
He opened his eyes, became perfect.¹³

The basic idea that Adam was made from dust is thus reformulated by Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 to say that he was made from mud that was itself made up of four

5. This is witnessed by Karapet Bałiřec'i 2 and Simēon Aparanc'i 1.

6. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 3. See already Agat'angelos 7–8 on the Trinity and creation and 21 in relation to Adam. See also Anania řirakac'i 4.

7. Yovasap' Sebastac'i 2.

8. Yakob Lrimec'i 5. See chapter 3 §1.1.4.

9. Anonymous of Livorno 1.

10. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 8.

11. Or: filth.

12. Simēon Aparanc'i 1–2.

13. Dawit' Salajorec'i 11 and Ep'rem Łap'anc'i 1.

substances, that is, the four elements.¹⁴ This is not quite explicit when Ep'rem Łap'anc'i C17 asserts that when God the Word made four elements, he created human race from dust.¹⁵ The idea that the dust of which God created Adam was made up of the four elements is found in preceding centuries and was, on occasion, a subject of polemic. On the other hand, the biblical formulation that Adam was created from the dust of the earth was still current; so Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 states.¹⁶ In fact, there is nothing new in this period relating to either the dust or the four elements, except perhaps the calling of the dust "mud," which seems a natural enough shift, considering the demands of modeling (Gen 2:7). Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 adds that God breathed breath into him (see Gen 2:7), granted him a rational soul, and filled him with the graces of seven heavens.¹⁷

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

Adam was intended to remain immortal according to Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16.¹⁸

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

Adam was thirty years old when he was created according to Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17.¹⁹ Above, I discussed thirty as the ideal age.²⁰

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

Adam was adorned with glory, according to Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16, and T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16 calls it "sevenfold glory."²¹ The same is implied by Azaria Țulayec'i C16, who pictures Adam, expelled, standing at the gate of paradise saying, "Yesterday I was in the Garden, covered with light."²²

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

Simēon Aparanc'i C16 says that he was adorned with the crown of immortality.²³ He adds:

When he smelled the immortality,
He became drunk and unaware.

14. Dawit' Salajorec'i 11; Simēon Aparanc'i 1. For the discussion of the dust and the four elements, see chapter 2 §1.1.2 and chapter 3 §1.1.2.

15. Ep'rem Łap'anc'i 1. The relationship of the dust and the four elements is not made explicit here.

16. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 4 and 7.

17. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 4. The seven graces are discussed below in §1.1.7.

18. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.

19. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 8. See §1.1.1 above.

20. See chapter 2 §1.1.4; and also chapter 3 §1.1.4.

21. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 1; T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 1.

22. Azaria Țulayec'i 2. Similar are statements that he was stripped of or lost glory upon sinning; see §4.2.3.

23. Simēon Aparanc'i 2.

The deep sleep fell upon him,
He became weak, unconscious.

This passage is very interesting. It shows that Adam approached immortality in the Garden. The sleep is, in the first place, the slumber during which God took his rib and fashioned it into Eve. Yet the idea of a sort of drunkenness stemming from the experience of immortality may be hinting at an ecstatic state, for which both sleep and drunkenness are common metaphors.²⁴ That death was the punishment implies that before it was imposed, before the sin, Adam was immortal.

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

God adorned Adam with the graces of the seven heavens, says Grigoris Alt'amarci C16.²⁵ In a similar vein, Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 says that God created Adam from dust: God breathed breath into him, granted him a rational soul, and filled him with the graces of seven heavens.²⁶ The idea of seven graces with which Adam was endowed recurs in Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i C17's writing. He compares Adam to the Spirit. He says that Adam did not have the perfect person of the Spirit but did have all the Spirit's gifts—the seven spheres of seven lights and the twelve (i.e., constellations), which he lost through eating the fruit.²⁷ Less specifically, Ep'rem Ĵap'anc'i C17 speaks of Adam having various graces, and Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i C17 refers to "various graces of the spirit."²⁸ Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 says that man lost seven blessings; Frik C13 says that man was filled with seven lights of grace; and Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14 lists seven gifts to man. The idea of seven gifts, therefore, is of long standing.²⁹ This formulation originates from the astrological theory that the soul gains a characteristic from each of the seven heavenly spheres in the course of descent into the body. However, earlier this sort of astrological notion was not connected with the seven gifts. Observe that Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 says that Adam was filled with "bread from the seven lights."³⁰ The idea that, at his creation, Adam was endowed with great wisdom or other gifts was often connected with the inbreathing of the Spirit.

Adam was a king at creation, certain sixteenth-century authorities say.³¹ Simēon Aparanc'i C16 says that he was created immortal, enthroned as lord and

24. Dawit' Salajorec'i 14–15. See also chapter 4 §1.1.7. This was common from antiquity; see Lewy 1929. Note, for example, Philo's understanding of Hannah's prayer, *Ebr.* 145–48.

25. Grigoris Alt'amarci i 2.

26. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 4; see §1.1.2 above. On these gifts, see chapter 3 §1.1.7.

27. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 18.

28. Ep'rem Ĵap'anc'i 1; Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 14.

29. Step'anos Siwnec'i in chapter 2 §4.2; Frik C13 in chapter 3 §1.1.7, Grigor Tat'ewac'i in chapter 4 §1.1.7.

30. Kirakos Erznkac'i's saying is quoted in chapter 4 §1.1.5.

31. Azaria Ĵulayec'i 3; Karapet Bališec'i 1.

king.³² As in earlier times, Yovhannēs A C16 associates this with creation in the image.³³ Nersēs Anjnapatc‘i A C17 speaks simply about his great wisdom.³⁴

A general statement is that God blessed him to multiply, to do good, and to remain just (Nersēs Anjanapatc‘i C17).³⁵ Of course, most of these blessings are derived from Gen 1:28, but the moral quality of Adam’s action is not hinted at there.

1.1.8 Adam’s Language

Summary of part of a tale: Then the king ordered to put newborn children of different nationalities in an empty house, only letting their mothers feed them in silence, and whatever language they speak, it will be regarded as the first language given by God to Adam. When the time arrived, they spoke a barbaric language (խեցբեկազոյն եւ կորճաբար զբարբառ խժական), and no one spoke his native language, and nobody could understand them . . . finally they were given to their mothers and learned their languages. Then the text continues . . .

They asked each other which language was the first language and speech that was given by God to Adam. Concerning which some said that the language of the Hebrews was the first, some—(the language of) the Chaldeans, and others named the language of this or that people, and no one of them could evidently do away with the doubts.³⁶

In this passage, Xač‘atur Ĵulayec‘i C17 talks of the question of the Adamic language that had been discussed also in previous centuries. The claims both of Syriac and of Hebrew were well known.

1.2 THE RANKING OF CREATION

The animals are subject to Adam, says T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16, and this is implied by statements examined below, which speak of Adam’s kingship or dominant position.³⁷ He was the summit of creation, according to Nersēs Anjanapatc‘i C17.³⁸ On the other hand, after Adam’s sin, Yovhannēs Ĵulayec‘i C17 declares, humans all inherited his embitterment.³⁹ Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 says that Adam is to rule everything.⁴⁰

32. Simēon Aparanc‘i 2–3.

33. Yovhannēs A 1.

34. Nersēs Anjnapatc‘i 1.

35. Nersēs Anjanapatc‘i 1.

36. Xač‘atur Ĵulayec‘i 2.

37. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 1; compare Simēon Aparanc‘i 2–3.

38. Nersēs Anjanapatc‘i 1.

39. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec‘i 23.

40. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 3.

1.3 HUMANS AND ANGELS

The subject of humans and angels, their similarities and differences, withdrew into the background in this period. The following statement stresses the role of God as creator of angels, but the relationship or contrast of angels with humans is not explicit. Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 says:

Nine classes dance around,
 Nine-fold adornment and ornament.
 You created the four-formed ones,
 You are craftsman, chief and lord.⁴¹

The nine classes are discussed above in chapter 4 §1.3. The four-formed ones are the cherubs with four faces, as described in Ezekiel 1.

Grigoris Alt'amarc'i C16 mentions that a long-haired seraph is the guardian of the Garden.⁴² The significance of the attribute "long-haired" is not clear to us and the statement is isolated. Genesis 3:24 speaks of "cherubim" and not "seraphim" in this context; and see chapter 4 §4.5. These angelic classes are confused in the texts, the ancient distinction of cherubim and seraphim having been lost. Simëon Aparanc'i C16 says that the angels were created of light from light.⁴³

1.4 ANGELS' FUNCTION AND ADAM'S COMMANDMENT

Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 talks about angels, and the only function he attributes to them is that they praise God continually.⁴⁴ He does not put this into a relationship with Adam's commandment, as was done in earlier centuries.

1.5 ANGELS DWELL IN LIGHT

Grigoris Alt'amarc'i describes the angelic host in military terms, which image was also current in previous centuries: "He created by the Word the immortal armies, | The troops of the angels in the fiery heaven."⁴⁵

1.6 HUMANKIND IN THE IMAGE

There are different views about the meaning of creation in the image and the effect of inbreathing of the Spirit of God. Adam was created in the image of the

41. Dawit' Salajorec'i 2.

42. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i 6.

43. Simëon Aparanc'i 1; see chapter 3 §1.3.

44. Dawit' Salajorec'i 4.

45. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i 2; see chapter 3 §1.3.

Son,⁴⁶ or in the lordly image of God (Yovhannēs A C16).⁴⁷ He was adorned with the grace of God's own breath, according to Simēon Aparanc'i C16.⁴⁸ Both of these different ways of describing the vivification of humans are found in the work of Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17, but he adds no further details.⁴⁹ He also says that in Christ the image will be renewed and more resplendent.⁵⁰

In other authors, another interpretation, going back to Gen 1:28, relates the image to dominion or kingship. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 says that Adam's Garden is like a king's throne and that the Garden needed a king and ruler. Moreover, he says that Adam is to rule over the living beasts and the universe.⁵¹

2.0 THE GARDEN OF EDEN

In general terms, Karapet Bališec'i C16 says that God planted the Garden.⁵² God's uncreated hand planted the Garden of Eden, says Grigoris Alt'amarc'i C16.⁵³ Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 says that God planted the Garden in the east, like a king's throne, embellished with glory.⁵⁴

There are various descriptions of the Garden of Eden. One of the most lyrical is Dawit' Salajorec'i C17's, who talks of four luminous rivers, of fragrances, of sand made of amber, and of the fragrance of immortality. He also refers to luminous flowers. Indeed, luminosity is a prominent characteristic of the Edenic and heavenly realities, and I have already discussed the "fragrance of immortality."⁵⁵ The Garden itself is described as luminous,⁵⁶ and Grigoris Alt'amarc'i C16 lays special emphasis on its lush and beautiful vegetation.⁵⁷ Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16 calls it a "high Garden."⁵⁸

In the sixteenth century, Eden serves Grigoris Alt'amarc'i C16 in poetry to praise a beloved. It also functions as a metaphor or other poetic image, for example, in Lazar Sebastac'i C16's writings.⁵⁹

46. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i 1–2.

47. Yovhannēs A 1; see §1.6.

48. Simēon Aparanc'i 1.

49. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 4.

50. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 9. In addition, Yakob T'oxat'ec'i gives one of the interpretations of the image that is found earlier, "let us make rational man in our image according to our likeness" (Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 3).

51. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 2–3

52. Karapet Bališec'i 4.

53. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i 6.

54. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 2.

55. Dawit' Salajorec'i 12–14. See §1.1.6 above and §2.4 below.

56. It is also so characterized by T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 1.

57. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i 7, 8.

58. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 2. Does this refer to the idea of Paradise on a height? See above, chapter 2 §2.0.

59. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i 6–7; Lazar Sebastac'i 1.

2.1 ADAM PLACED IN THE GARDEN

God placed Adam in the Garden, which was given him as a possession. Here again it is Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 who is our main source.⁶⁰ The incident is described by Grigoris Alt'amarc'i C16, who says that Adam was moved to the Garden, enthroned like a king, and placed in glory.⁶¹ Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 says that Adam was set in Garden and talks of his glorious role there.⁶²

2.2 GOD SHOWED ADAM TWO TREES

2.3 INTERCOURSE IN THE GARDEN?

According to our sources, Adam and Eve did not have intercourse in the Garden. However, subsequent intercourse is not condemned as reprehensible, as happens in earlier centuries; see particularly chapter 3 §2.3. Instead, Adam and Eve sustained marriage in an ascetic way, having intercourse once every thirty years, and twins were born of these unions, one with cries and the other concealed or hidden, according to Dawit' Salajorec'i C17.⁶³

2.4 THE STATE OF ADAM IN THE GARDEN

We do not have a sustained description of Adam's state in the Garden, but some features are mentioned. Adam declared, "I was king in the Garden."⁶⁴ He had luminous clothing⁶⁵ and the fragrance of immortality, which made Adam drunk so Eve could be made from his rib (see §2.0 above).⁶⁶

2.5 THE CREATION OF THE ANIMALS

The animals are subject to Adam, says T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16.⁶⁷

2.6 NAMING BY ADAM

2.7 THE TYPE OF TREE

No source speaks about the type of tree that was the tree of knowledge. The grapevine comes from the Garden, Sarkawag Berdakac'i C16 declares in a poem

60. Dawit' Salajorec'i 12.

61. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i 2.

62. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 4.

63. Dawit' Salajorec'i 36–38. Dawit' refers to the birth of twin sisters, who are not mentioned in the biblical narrative.

64. Azaria Jułayec'i 3.

65. Yovhannēs Jułayec'i 6.

66. Dawit' Salajorec'i 14.

67. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 1. See §1.6 on Adam's role.

about wine, but he does not connect it to the tree of knowledge.⁶⁸ Another poetic text says that wine is a gift from the Garden and that it causes good feelings, and Adam's sin may be related to them. Thus, Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i C17 says, "For all these (feelings) captured the human nature due to Adam's eating of the fruit of Eden. . . ."⁶⁹ Even here, it is not quite said that the vine was the tree of Eden. In certain other sources, the tree of knowledge is said to be a vine; see above, chapter 4 §2.7.

2.8 EVE, TRADITIONS ABOUT

According to Azaria Ĵulayec'i C16, Eve deceived Adam; she wept and did not repent.⁷⁰

Adam called Eve "life" because he foresaw the birth of the Virgin from her (Gen 3:20).⁷¹ Indeed, a typology developed that viewed Eve as corresponding to the Virgin, and she was contrasted with her. Sometimes, the Virgin is referred to as a sort of Second Eve, and Eve is even spoken of metaphorically when the reference is actually to the Virgin. Thus, Simēon Kafac'i C17 talks about the Virgin in terms of Eve—the Virgin, like Eve, has reason to be called "life"—and he actually refers to the Virgin as "marvellous Eve."⁷² In the same laudatory vein, Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 writes of Eve, as a beautiful angel,

She had put on muslin and purple,
All shining, (having) a gold-woven belt,
She was beaming in the light,
Very beautiful, fresh, excellent.⁷³

In a different perspective, Nazaret' A C17 regards Eve as a cause of evil. She was created from Adam's rib and was his evil enemy.⁷⁴ "When you see a woman variously adorned beautifully, | Consider that she is the serpent, brother, who deceived Eve and Adam." The same idea echoes in the words of Step'anos Kelec'i C17.⁷⁵ Another source repeats the old idea that Eve wished to eat the fruit first, so she could become God and rule over her husband.⁷⁶ So there are two approaches to Eve, one condemning her and women in general, and the other praising her as a prefiguration of the Virgin.

68. Sarkawag Berdakac'i 1.

69. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 7.

70. Azaria Ĵulayec'i 3–4.

71. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 1.

72. Simēon Kafac'i 1–3.

73. Dawit' Salajorec'i 17.

74. Nazaret' A 1.

75. Step'anos Kelec'i 1.

76. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 11.

3.0 SATAN

Yovhannēs ǰulayec‘i C17 called Satan Beelzebub for the first time. Satan became luminous, thanks to Adam, when he defeated him.⁷⁷ He always and eternally rebels against peace, as he rebelled against Adam in the Garden.⁷⁸ He captures souls (Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16),⁷⁹ and, indeed, earlier he is said to capture souls and imprison them in hell, to await their release by Christ.

Satan is likened to a crow, “For it is characteristic of the crow; it wants animals to be suffocated, so that it may make food for itself; (a crow) tries to tear out the eyes and blind them, and then to cast them down a cliff and eat (them). Satan, too, acted in this way; he blinded Adam’s nature and made it food for himself.”⁸⁰ Yovhannēs ǰulayec‘i C17 probably drew this description from a bestiary, but it is not in the published text of the *Physiologus*. Moreover, in Armenian Adam apocrypha, crows are seen as demonic and symbolize or are embodiments of demons, so saying that Satan is a crow is not surprising.⁸¹

3.1 SATAN AND THE SERPENT

Various locutions serve to describe the relationship between Satan and the serpent.⁸² According to Grigoris Alt‘amarc‘i C16, Satan nests in the serpent and speaks with Adam.⁸³ Satan made the serpent a means, says T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16, thus also avoiding specificity, while Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16 says: “But envy, the author of evil, | Made the serpent its dwelling.” Using this notion, Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 accounts both for the connection of Satan and the serpent, and also for why the serpent itself was willing to host Satan, when he says, “Because the serpent is vengeful . . . that cursed impure Satan, went, entered the serpent’s mouth.”⁸⁴

Some authors say that Eve was deceived by the serpent (Azaria ǰulayec‘i C16),⁸⁵ just as in the biblical story, and by Satan, who promised her royal divinity

77. Yovhannēs ǰulayec‘i 9. This is an unusual reversal of Satan’s loss of heavenly characteristics when he fell.

78. Yovhannēs ǰulayec‘i 10.

79. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4.

80. Yovhannēs ǰulayec‘i 4. On demonic or Satanic crows and ravens, see Lipscomb 1990, 164; and compare the ravens or crows in the Abraham stories (Stone 2012, index, s.v. “Ravens”).

81. Stone 1996a, 148, 193. Compare Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i’s reference to “the black Satan” in extract 23. See appendix, §1.1.1–1.1.3.

82. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 3. In the appendix, I discuss the different metaphors used to describe the relationship between Satan and the serpent, such as possession, the serpent as an instrument or tool, Satan “nesting” in the serpent, and so on.

83. Grigoris Alt‘amarc‘i 2.

84. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 20–21. The matter is discussed above in chapter 3 §3.1 and in the appendix §1.1.1.

85. Azaria ǰulayec‘i 3.

(Grigoris Alt'amarci C16).⁸⁶ In a more specific passage, T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16 says that Satan deceived Adam and the serpent spoke with Eve, giving a division of labor between the two evil figures.⁸⁷ The identification of Satan with the serpent lies behind Karapet Bališec'i's C16 saying, "The Slanderer (Deceiver) was the reason for death."⁸⁸ Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i, also of the sixteenth century, refers to those who deceived Eve in the plural, again implying that Satan was somehow combined with the serpent.⁸⁹ The same writer says that the inhabitants of the Garden were deceived by the serpent, while, according to Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16, Eve was overcome by a serpent; and he says nothing about Adam.⁹⁰ Similarly, Zak'aria attributes perdition to the serpent alone in the phrases: "The serpent was the cause of perdition, | That brought Adam out of the Garden."⁹¹

Other statements relate to either Satan or the serpent as the deceiver of Adam, or of Eve and Adam. That the evil Deceiver, apparently meaning Satan, was the cause of the Fall is one formulation.⁹² The serpent deceived Eve and Adam, says Ep'rem Ľap'anc'i C17.⁹³ A beautiful woman is the serpent who deceived Adam and Eve, according to Step'anos Kelec'i C17.⁹⁴ Additional statements declare that the serpent inflicted a viper's sting, and refer to the "black Satan," perhaps an idea related to the equation of Satan with crows (see the preceding section).⁹⁵

Rather different is Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16's explanatory poetic comment (*kafa*) on the *History of Alexander*. He presents a sort of history of the serpent, when he says the following, which may have some connection with the bestiary tradition, though it does not appear in the *Physiologus*:

The serpent is the descendant of the dragon (*višap*),
Solomon wrote about it wisely;
When the serpent comes out of the egg,
It treads on the ground equally (with man).
But envy, the author of evil,
Made the serpent its dwelling."⁹⁶

3.2 THE FALL OF SATAN

The ideas about the fall of Satan from angelic rank are not exceptional, nor are they very prominent in this period. Pride cast the angels from the height, and they

86. Grigoris Alt'amarci 2.

87. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 3.

88. Karapet Bališec'i 1.

89. Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i 1.

90. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 2.

91. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 3.

92. Anonymous Author 8 1; Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i 1.

93. Ep'rem Ľap'anc'i 2.

94. Step'anos Kelec'i 1.

95. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 17; Dawit' Salajorec'i 23.

96. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.

defrauded Adam (Yovhannēs Ĵulayec‘i C17).⁹⁷ The same author says that God cast all down, from cherub to man.⁹⁸ Satan fell from his dwelling but did not desist from evil actions, which implies that they had been the cause of his fall. After his fall, he did not cease sowing evil. In the Garden he sowed the seeds of the disease of his pride in Adam and Eve.⁹⁹ This implies that his sin was *hybris*, that he wanted to become God, and Satan infected the protoplasts with the same sin.

The myth of the fall of Satan is recounted in the following way by Xaç‘atur Ĵulayec‘i C17. He connects it not only with the Lucifer passage in Isaiah but also with Rev 12:4 and 12:9.

There was trouble in heaven, when Satan fought against God, when he said: Let me ascend and put my throne in the clouds and be like the Most High.¹⁰⁰ Then the Lord thundered with terrible sound from heaven, increased his lightning and disturbed them, and shot his arrows and scattered them. Then they fell from the high heaven into the depth of the abyss, and while falling he stretched his tail and dragged the third part of the stars, that is the angels who fell with him from the high heaven; such a trouble happened in heaven.¹⁰¹

3.3 SATAN’S ENVY

The fall of Satan is barely mentioned in these sources and, consequently, Satan’s envy scarcely figures. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 speaks of the tricky deceit of the Deceiver, without mention of envy.¹⁰² Similar statements, that Satan, or the serpent, deceived Adam and Eve, are to be found in Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i C17 and Yovhannēs Ĵulayec‘i C17.¹⁰³ In addition, in the writings of Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16, we do find an unadorned statement that, Satan, possessed by envy, deceived Eve, and Eve deceived Adam.¹⁰⁴

4.0 SIN AND ITS RESULTS

4.1 THE CHARACTER OF ADAM’S SIN

Adam and Eve’s sin was *hybris*, that is, overweening pride, consisting of not taking their created nature into consideration and wishing to become gods. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec‘i C17 repeats this elsewhere, saying that they were defeated

97. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec‘i 11.

98. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec‘i 11. “Cherub” apparently refers to Satan.

99. Grigor Daranalc‘i 2; compare the similar statement in Yovhannēs Ĵulayec‘i 11 and 13.

100. Isa 14:13–14.

101. See Xaç‘atur Ĵulayec‘i 3.

102. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 5.

103. Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i 2 and Yovhannēs Ĵulayec‘i 12.

104. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4. See §4.1.2 on Satan’s deceit of Adam and Eve.

because of the arrogance of aspiring to divinity.¹⁰⁵ He also declares that pride cast the angels from the height and defrauded Adam.¹⁰⁶ They sinned through arrogance and pride.¹⁰⁷ Oddly enough, of the authors excerpted, only Yovhannēs Ĵūlayec’i C17 refers to this subject.

4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love of Eve

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

Typical of Satan and sometimes typical of the serpent, is the quality of deception, and Zak’aria Gnuneac’ C16’s statement that Satan deceived Eve by envy, and then Eve deceived Adam accords with the biblical story.¹⁰⁸ The very words of deception are transmitted by Dawit’ Salajorec’i C17, who writes, “Get up, stand, eat of that fruit, | Which is delicious like sugar.”¹⁰⁹ He does not mention becoming God, though Step’anos Kelec’i C17 and Grigor Daranalc’i C17 do so.¹¹⁰

4.2 THE RESULTS OF SIN

Basically we may say that the chief results of sin were expulsion from the Garden, mortality, and the curses, and this has the Bible’s support. The change in Adam and Eve’s state was specified in the curses and in the list of gifts or graces that they lost, which I will discuss below. By the Fall, Simēon Aparanc’i C16 says, Adam and Eve became equal to dumb animals.¹¹¹ This idea is expressed also in *Penitence of Adam* ch. 4. Grigoris Alt’amarc’i C16 says that they were expelled, as does Xač’atur Ĵūlayec’i C17.¹¹² According to T’adēos T’oxat’ec’i C16, God became angry and took back gifts he had given to Adam.¹¹³ Yovhannēs Ĵūlayec’i C17 speaks of the punishment of death and that Adam and Eve were expelled and fell into Satan’s hand in hell, they and their generations (see also §3.0).¹¹⁴ Dawit’ Salajorec’i C17 simply says that they fell into hell.¹¹⁵ Specific aspects of the punishments are discussed in the subsequent sections.

Other statements are that Adam was embittered on account of eating the fruit and that the whole human race was embittered in the same way.¹¹⁶ They

105. Yovhannēs Ĵūlayec’i 12 and 15.

106. Yovhannēs Ĵūlayec’i 16; cf. 11.

107. Yovhannēs Ĵūlayec’i 14.

108. Zak’aria Gnuneac’ 4.

109. Dawit’ Salajorec’i 21.

110. Step’anos Kelec’i 1; Grigor Daranalc’i 2.

111. Simēon Aparanc’i 3.

112. Grigoris Alt’amarc’i 2; Xač’atur Ĵūlayec’i 3.

113. T’adēos T’oxat’ec’i 4.

114. Yovhannēs Ĵūlayec’i 5, 17, 20, 22, and 24.

115. Dawit’ Salajorec’i 33.

116. Yovhannēs Ĵūlayec’i 23; Xač’atur Ĵūlayec’i 4; see §1.2 above.

became disobedient,¹¹⁷ were overthrown by God, and were blinded.¹¹⁸ When Adam abandoned God's command, observed the command of God's enemy, and ate the fruit, he caused enmity and trouble on the earth.¹¹⁹

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

Of course, the loss of immortality is a chief result of their sin. In a simple statement, Minas T'oxat'ec'i C16 says that they died and returned to dust.¹²⁰ A further development of these ideas is that Satan made hell and captured the protoplasts after death, holding them there until Christ descended, on Easter Saturday, to free them. This is implied by some statements; see also §3.0. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i C16¹²¹ and Karapet Bališec'i C16¹²² both say that they were "captured" by death, implying this idea. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16 says that man was captive in Satan's hands.¹²³ They descended to hell where "[t]hey were imprisoned for six thousand years."¹²⁴ Adam caused death and fell beneath death's yoke;¹²⁵ Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 specified that the body will lie in the grave and the soul be in hell.¹²⁶ As Scripture says in the curses, Adam died; he was dust and returned to dust.¹²⁷

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

The loss of the light or glory that had covered the protoplasts in the Garden is a common theme, and it is said that Adam and Eve were stripped of their garment of light, their paradisiacal luminosity.¹²⁸ Adam, lamenting at the gate of the Garden after the expulsion, says, "Yesterday I was in the Garden covered with divine light." Indeed, this idea permeates the whole of his lament. In addition, Azaria Ĵulayec'i C16 often uses the term "adornment" to signify light.¹²⁹ Thus, the same poem continues to say that Adam's adornments are taken away and he is stripped of them.

This theme is combined with the one discussed in the previous section,

117. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 24.

118. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 12.

119. Xač'atur Ĵulayec'i 3.

120. Minas T'oxat'ec'i 1.

121. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i 1.

122. Karapet Bališec'i 1.

123. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 4.

124. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4. On the six thousand years, see §4.4 below.

125. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 8; Minas T'oxat'ec'i 1.

126. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 5.

127. Minas T'oxat'ec'i 1.

128. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 19. Above, in chapter 4 §4.2.3, the linking of this theme with the biblical text is noted. The same idea is found in Karapet Bališec'i 2–3.

129. Azaria Ĵulayec'i 2–3.

where Grigoris Alt'amarc'i C16 says that he was stripped of incorruptible light and captured by death, presumably synonymous terms.¹³⁰

While they were eating the fruit they were stripped of ineffable light, says Anonymous Author 8 C17. They saw that they were stripped and put on fig leaves.¹³¹ Adam remained stripped of light, and thus he realized that he had been deceived.¹³² They were expelled from glory, says Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i C17.¹³³ The loss of ineffable light, or being stripped of primordial glory, is also mentioned.¹³⁴ The protoplasts' nakedness is mentioned explicitly several times, but it and their consequent sense of shame do not play a major role in our texts.¹³⁵

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

The curses are not specified except for what I dub the "agricultural curse" (Gen 3:17–19), which is mentioned in general terms by two sixteenth-century authors, Grigoris Alt'amarc'i and Yovasap' Sebastac'i.¹³⁶ Oddly enough, the seventeenth-century authors excerpted do not made much of the "agricultural" curse.

T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16 says that God cursed Adam and expelled him.¹³⁷ Speaking in general terms, Azaria Ĵulayec'i C16 says that God cursed Eve and the serpent and Adam.¹³⁸ God cursed Satan, who is not cursed in the Bible, and he is simultaneously partly identified with the serpent, who is cursed in the Bible. Thus, Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 announces that Satan was stripped; he was a four-footed bird and flew like a demon. "His wings and feet fell away, | He fell down and crept his face down."¹³⁹ Intriguing is that Satan is represented as a four-footed bird in a marginal illustration of the *Physiologus*, reflecting exactly the same conception as here.¹⁴⁰ The second part of this quotation appears to refer to the accursed transformation of the serpent, and the same curse, so frequently found as to be a commonplace, is mentioned also by Ep'rem Lap'anc'i C17.¹⁴¹

In an unusual tirade against tobacco by Anonymous Author 8 C17, he describes the cursing of the serpent and the fate of its wings in connection with tobacco leaves. He says:

130. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i 1.

131. Anonymous Author 8 1–3.

132. Dawit' Salajorec'i 25.

133. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 6.

134. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4 and Karapet Baḥšec'i 2.

135. Anonymous Author 8 2–3; Step'anos Kelec'i 1. The relevant passages contain no narrative elements.

136. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i 1 and Yovasap' Sebastac'i 1, who also mentions death.

137. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 4.

138. Azaria Ĵulayec'i 6–9.

139. Dawit' Salajorec'i 31–32.

140. Matenadaran 2890 of the year 1719. In amulets, four-footed demons or satans are often represented. See fig. 2.

141. Ep'rem Lap'anc'i 2.

Our Lord cursed that serpent,
 The wings fell, he became a reptile.
 The demons collected the wings,
 Took them to the abyss, to the Devil.
 They said: "We have found the drug of perdition,
 Corrupter of the human soul."
 In (J)annes and (J)ambres they say¹⁴² there is a Garden,
 They planted it there, it became tobacco. . . .¹⁴³

Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 mentions curses that are unique. One is that Adam becomes a wanderer. This may come from the idea of Adam's expulsion, but that might be combined with the curse of Cain in Gen 4:12. Eve is told that her son will be cursed and will become a fratricide. Other curses are clearly derived from Genesis, the "agricultural" curse and that Adam will suffer pain. Thus Dawit' attributes to Adam both his own and Eve's curse and adds a new curse to Eve's lot. Cain, too, will be cursed.¹⁴⁴

Through eating the fruit, Adam lost various graces of the Spirit. He was not the same as the Spirit, but he was imbued with the Spirit, with all the Spirit's gifts, the seven spheres of seven lights and the twelve.¹⁴⁵ And he lost them through eating the fruit.¹⁴⁶

The question of Adam and Eve's food after the expulsion exercised *Penitence of Adam* chs. 2–4. The food gained by Adam after the Garden was first "the food of animals" (*Pen. Adam* ch. 4), and Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i C17 refers to it saying, "this [the Eucharist] is not the kind of food that they ate in the desert through Moses and died, or by means of Adam and Eve and they died."¹⁴⁷ In other words, both the manna and the protoplasts' food outside Eden did not guarantee immortality.

4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan

Adam is under the control of Satan. First, after death souls will be in Satan's hell (see §§4.2 and 4.2.2 above). Second, Adam gave his will to Satan; so says Dawit' Salajorec'i C17.¹⁴⁸

142. Or: Jannes and Jambres say. This is a reference to the fragmentarily preserved *Book of Jannes and Jambres*, which was published from a recently identified papyrus by Pietersma 1994. On Jannes and Jambres's garden, see his index, s.v. Their role in the Armenian tradition has never been studied.

143. Anonymous Author 8 5–6.

144. Dawit' Salajorec'i 29–30.

145. I.e., constellations. See discussion of this subject in §1.1.7 above.

146. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 14 and 18; see §1.1.7 above.

147. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 5.

148. Dawit' Salajorec'i 25.



Fig. 2. Four-footed satan or demon, Erevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, M2890 of the year 1719. Photo by G. Muradyan.

4.3 GOD, FOOTSTEPS OF

In connection with God's footsteps, two subjects are usually considered. First, Adam's response to God's footsteps, with sometimes a discussion of how or why God's footsteps were audible; second, the call "Where are you?" and its meaning; third, Adam's inadequate response.

"When I heard the Lord's footsteps | Coming to the Garden, I was astonished," writes Azaria Եղայեց'ի C16, and Adam bemoans that he did not repent when the footsteps came.¹⁴⁹ Azaria Եղայեց'ի also remarks in the same passage that

149. Azaria Եղայեց'ի 6–9.

Adam asks why Eve does not repent.¹⁵⁰ Adam excuses himself and blames God, who created the rib—that is, Eve—who erred through the serpent's deceit.¹⁵¹

Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 says, uniquely, that God came once a day to check up on Adam. He continues,

(God) said: "Do they shout, 'I have sinned?'
They are miserable, I should not hurt them."
They were bound and did not say, "I have sinned,"
They mounted Satan's horse.¹⁵²

Anonymous Author 8 (§3 line 55) says, "The Lord called, 'Adam, where are you?'"¹⁵³ Nearly all the sixteenth-century discussion of this theme is in Azaria Ĵulayec'i C16's works. According to him, God summoned Adam, using terms very like those in the Bible.¹⁵⁴ God called and Adam responded, "I am naked," relates Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16.¹⁵⁵

In response to God's call, Adam climbed the fig tree, an idea that is unique to Dawit' Salajorec'i C17, for he usually is said to hide in the tree, as in the Bible (Gen 3:8). In the same passage, Dawit' Salajorec'i continues saying that the Lord called Adam, Adam blamed Eve, and they did not repent.¹⁵⁶ His image "they mounted Satan's horse" is unique.¹⁵⁷ Anonymous Author 8 states that, after sinning, Adam fled and hid from shame. The expulsion ensued and Adam blamed the serpent.¹⁵⁸

4.4 ADAM, CHRONOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

In the matter of Adam's time in the Garden and, particularly, the timetable of sin and expulsion, typological exegesis from the passion narrative plays a considerable role, as I have repeatedly observed in previous chapters. Adam went forth at same hour as that in which he sinned, and they ate the fruit on Friday at six o'clock. Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16 also says that they were expelled when he answered, "I am naked."¹⁵⁹ Adam was in the Garden not more than one thousand years.¹⁶⁰ This is based, of course, on the chiliastic understanding of day.

150. Azaria Ĵulayec'i 4.

151. Thus Azaria Ĵulayec'i 3 and other similar passages.

152. Dawit' Salajorec'i 28.

153. Compare Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 62.

154. Azaria Ĵulayec'i 7.

155. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.

156. Dawit' Salajorec'i 26–28.

157. Dawit' Salajorec'i 28.

158. Anonymous Author 8 3–4.

159. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.

160. Xač'atur Ĵulayec'i 1.

4.5 AFTER THE FALL AND EXPULSION

As I observed above, many texts say that, after the expulsion, Adam and Eve descended to hell and “[t]hey were imprisoned for six thousand years.” This is the view of Zak’aria Gnuneac’ C16.¹⁶¹ Of course, he writes this from a broad perspective, and the same idea recurs when Grigoris Alt’amarci C16 says that they ate fruit on Friday at six o’clock, remained in the sinful state for six hours, and then suffered during six thousand years.¹⁶² A reference to six thousand years is made by T’adēos T’oxat’eci C16, while Zak’aria Gnuneac’ C16 states that they were imprisoned for six thousand years.¹⁶³ The Divinity is said to have made an agreement for six thousand years, because he was moved by pity for Adam: T’adēos T’oxat’eci C16.¹⁶⁴ The chiliastic implications of this figure are discussed above, in chapter 4 §4.4.

In the shorter term, Adam and Eve sat by the gate of paradise weeping and lamenting their lost gifts. A text of this lament, which describes the lost joys of the Garden, is given by Azaria Ĵulayeci C16.¹⁶⁵ Notably, T’adēos T’oxat’eci C16 mentions five days’ weeping, which are attested in various sources, but he does not explicitly connect them with the Aṛajawor fast, of which they are an aetiology (see above, chapter 3 §4.6).¹⁶⁶

In general terms, the this-worldly state that Adam inherited was regarded as unhappy: “Living a lamentable life, | very miserable on the earth, | Until his soul descended to hell, | and his body was put in the grave,” says Yakob T’oxat’eci C17.¹⁶⁷ They were punished with troubles states Grigoris Alt’amarci C16, and Karapet Bališeci C16 declares, “They came out of Paradise, he and his wife, | And mourned tilling the ground.”¹⁶⁸ Adam saw that this world was ruined. He was afflicted and frightened by demons, but consoled by two angels.¹⁶⁹

Dawit’ Salajoreci C17 discusses the story of the bringing of a branch from Eden after nine hundred years.¹⁷⁰ This story is to be found in *Pen. Adam* 40(13)–44(14). It is repeated in other Adam apocrypha,¹⁷¹ but it occurs only here in the Adam excerpts. There is no doubt, of course, that the Armenian Adam apocry-

161. Zak’aria Gnuneac’ 4.

162. Grigoris Alt’amarci 2.

163. T’adēos T’oxat’eci 5 and Zak’aria Gnuneac’ 4.

164. T’adēos T’oxat’eci 5.

165. Azaria Ĵulayeci 1–10.

166. T’adēos T’oxat’eci 5.

167. Yakob T’oxat’eci 5.

168. Grigoris Alt’amarci 2; Karapet Bališeci 4.

169. Dawit’ Salajoreci 34–35. Perhaps the remark that Saul symbolized the first Adam and David the second Adam (Yovhannēs Ĵulayeci 6) hints at the demonic affliction of Adam.

170. Dawit’ Salajoreci 40–42.

171. For three versions, see Stone 1982, 6–12. In general, see Quinn 1962; and also Stone 2000a.

pha were in circulation well before Dawit' Salajorec'i C17's time, and it is striking that in the period under discussion, he alone introduces this theme

The demons and angels come to take the souls after death, arguing over them, and the cheirograph is brought, which is the register of the evil deeds. See §4.7.¹⁷²

170 Then the soul came out of the body.
Creatures came; demons came,
They argued with the angels:
"Where do you take our servant?"
They brought forward the cheirograph,
Inscription, decision, register.¹⁷³

Finally, the door of Eden was closed by seraphim according to Simēon Kafac'i C17 following Gen 3:24, which refers to a cherub.¹⁷⁴

4.6 ARAJAWOR FAST

4.7 CHEIROGRAPH

Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 refers to the cheirograph as a list of sins.¹⁷⁵ The erasure of sins, and so impliedly of the cheirograph, is to be found in Yakob Kesarac'i C17's statement, "When the Lord ascended the cross at Golgotha, | 35 The sin of Adam and Eve was forgiven . . ."¹⁷⁶ It is not clear that cheirograph ideas are in mind in Grigor Daranalc'i C17's statement that Christ liberated humanity from the curse of Adam and the curse of Moses.¹⁷⁷

Contrast the idea of Adam's contract with Satan with the view, forwarded by T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16, that God pitied Adam and made an agreement with him for a period of six thousand years.¹⁷⁸ This period is implied also in the statement that Adam was imprisoned for six thousand years and tortured until the incarnation. Christ, in a complementary way, bound Satan by the cross, which implies both Adam's liberation and Satan's punishment.¹⁷⁹

172. Compare Jude 9, but there Michael and the devil contend over Moses' body. The two angels after death are found (but as options and without contention) in *Questions of Ezra*.

173. Dawit' Salajorec'i 42–43; see Stone 2002, 103–11.

174. Simēon Kafac'i 3.

175. Dawit' Salajorec'i 43.

176. Yakob Kesarac'i 1.

177. Grigor Daranalc'i 1.

178. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 5.

179. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.

5.0 THE BURIAL OF ADAM AND OTHER TRADITIONS

God took away the dead corpse from his house, from immortality, to be buried in the ground whence it was taken.¹⁸⁰ Shem at the age of one hundred begat Arpachshad, who inherited the bones of the forefather Adam and of Eve: he put Adam's bones on Golgotha and Eve's in Bethlehem.¹⁸¹ This tradition is widely known and is referred to above in chapter 2 §5.0 and chapter 3 §§2.9 and 5.0.

Elsewhere, Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i C17 says, "This sun, which was Beelzebub, fought against Adam with its heat and dried him up and made him arid and cast him into inextinguishable fire." If one were to impose a system on him, then it would be likely that here the fate of Adam's soul is discussed.¹⁸²

180. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 17. Narratives of the burial of Adam are known from old sources, already in *Pen. Adam* [47](37):1 – [47](38):3, though there it is a matter of a heavenly burial. Here we have simply an elaboration of Gen 3:19.

181. Dawit' Batišec'i 1–2; compare Stone 2000a.

182. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 9.

APPENDIX: SATAN AND THE SERPENT

1.0 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This appendix deals with one subject, the relationship between Satan and the serpent, in a synthetic and diachronic way. Section 3.1 of each chapter of the book preceding deals with Satan and the serpent. Those sections give much of the information I present here. However, because the chapters are divided temporally, the overall aspects this theme and its diachronic development do not emerge clearly.¹

The reader may justly remark that each of the topical chapter sections throughout this book could be treated in the same diachronic way. I have chosen just one theme as a probe, to indicate how future research might develop, based on such corpora of texts as that presented here, and on a preceding synchronic analysis, which itself indicates connections between the development of specific directions of thought in the discrete segments of time.

I have published preliminary forms of this material before.² In the present appendix, in fact, I will give less detail than in those previous publications, for the detailed analysis is given in the synchronic chapters of the present book. I will strive, however, to treat the central issues clearly in the context of all the Adam and Eve narrative excerpts.

The biblical story does not say that Satan was the agent of the Fall, but only the serpent. In their oldest texts, however, the Armenians took Satan's role in the Fall for granted. From this assumption, exegetical and conceptual questions followed about the relationship between Satan and the serpent, about Satan's own fall, and about Satan's and the serpent's motivation for deceiving Adam and Eve.

General descriptions of Satan occur in many Armenian sources,³ and it is beyond the limits of this appendix to present even an overview of them. Since I am dealing with identification, however, it is appropriate to start with the name. First, it seems to be significant that the particular names Beliar, Beelzebub, and Sadayēl are not used in Armenian nonbiblical sources until quite late. Frik C13 in

1. I have embedded many cross-references to the text and notes of those chapters, to avoid unnecessary repetition, on the one hand, and to highlight relationship between varying exegetical and conceptual approaches, on the other.

2. Stone 2008a; 2009.

3. Stone 2002, 17–21. On Satan's appearance, see J. B. Russell 1977; 1981; and 1984, as well as Forsyth 1987.

his “Words of Praise to God,” uses the name “Beliar.”⁴ It is already to be found, of course, in 2 Cor 6:15 but is not frequent in the Armenian sources until the Middle Ages. Thus, after citing 2 Corinthians, *NBHL* refers to Grigor Narekac‘i C10’s *Book of Lamentation* 4.2 line 35 and 64.4 line 3.⁵ To these I readily add a number of further references, such as *ibid.* 21.2, line 2 and 28.8 line 17, *et al.*⁶ The name “Bēelzebul” occurs in Yovhannēs Ĵulayec‘i C 17.⁷ Like Beliar, it is found in the Bible (Matt 10:25; 12:24, 27) and is also cited from Grigor Narekac‘i, e.g., 51.4 line 5;⁸ and Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12.⁹

The name Sadayēl occurs in the apocryphal Armenian Adam books, connected with the myth of the primordial revolt against God. There, manuscript Y of *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §2 reads, “Now the wicked Sadael and Beliar were heads of the divisions of Satan.”¹⁰ This version combines two devilish names, while manuscript D’s text of the same verse mentions Beliar alone. In both manuscripts, from §3 on, only the name of Satan is found. In Yovhannēs Erznac‘i Pluz C13’s poem “Our Lord Came to the Garden,” we find the simple equation of the two.

From the heavenly orders,
Sadaēl had turned his face;
From Heaven, he descended into the abyss,
And from light, he lived in darkness.¹¹

The name Բազու (“Bazu”) is applied to Beliar-Satan by Vardan Aygekc‘i C13.¹² Its origin is unknown.

In a powerful poem by the same author included in *The Root of Faith* we read:

You are adorned with sin,
and full of deeds of darkness.
You are created as an heir of fire,
and have gone forth to the outer darkness.
For you are not prepared for a wedding,
made stinking with a tunic.
Bound with iron chains,

4. Frik 18 et al. Beliar is a variant of Belial.

5. Grigor Narekac‘i, *Book of Lamentation* 64.4 line 3= 64.3 line 24. See *NBHL* 479a.

6. A search of medieval Armenian literature subsequent to Grigor Narekac‘i would doubtless turn up many further examples. This name is not particularly rare.

7. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec‘i 9.

8. Grigor Narekac‘i, 51.4 line 5= 51.4 line 38.

9. In *NBHL* 1:487a.

10. Lipscomb 1990, 118. Sadayēl and Sadael are variant spellings; see n. 127 below.

11. Yovhannēs Erznac‘i Pluz 10.

12. Vardan Aygekc‘i 7.

separated by a fiery sword in between,
Gone forth from the goodly host,
ranked in the lot of the unbelievers.¹³

Vardan Aygekc'i here gives a vivid description of the fall of Satan (unnamed in his text).

This fall is intimately related to the name Sadayēl in an Armenian amulet scroll, Matenadaran 116, dated 1428. There Sat/dayēl is described as commander of the fallen angels and builder of hell. This, of course, is Satan's role in most texts. Interestingly, in this document the demons speak of themselves as angels who fell due to unwillingness to give glory to God, and who were responsible for Adam's expulsion. These are all actions usually attributed to Satan or Sadayēl, and their transfer to the demons in general is probably due to the magical context and purpose of this document. However, the amulet text knows the chief elements of the story: the prideful rebellion before creation and the fall of Satan; the honor given to Adam; the building of hell;¹⁴ the deception and expulsion of Adam; and the imprisonment of his soul and those of all the saints up to John the Baptist. This story is complete and coherent, in small compass, in Amulet 116:

And we envied his honour, and we gave (him) to eat of the fruit /55/ which He ordered him not to eat, and we brought him out of Paradise, and we deceived all his descendants to idol worship, to various sorts of sins. Our commander, Satayēl, built / 60 / a palace and named it "Hell."¹⁵

According to Hamam Arewelc'i C9, Satan was called darkness because of his pride.¹⁶ Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 describes Satan as black.¹⁷ Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i (C 17) further develops the idea, saying that as Beelzebub defeated Adam he became luminous, but as Christ defeated Beelzebub, the latter became dark.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that, from very early times, evil or wickedness is marked by the absence of light, by darkness, or blackness.¹⁹ For example, Satan is said to be "the black one" in *Barn.* 4:10 and is described as an Ethiopian in apocryphal acts.²⁰

13. Vardan Aygekc'i 3.

14. On Satan's kingdom in hell, see Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9 5. Vardan Aygekc'i 1 says that Satan "threw away the key of the kingdom where he was and voluntarily took the keys of hell." The idea of the keys most likely derives from Rev 9:1 and 20:1.

15. Matenadaran Amulet 116 1; see Loeff 2002. I quote his translation, with permission.

16. Hamam Arewelc'i 3.

17. Dawit' Salajorec'i 23. On the connection of blackness, demons, and crows or ravens, see chapter 3 §4.2.3.

18. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 9.

19. See Stone 1990a, 359, on the faces of the righteous and the wicked. The theme of darkness and blackness is widespread.

20. On Satan as the "black one," see Gaster 1962, 227–28.

Thus, though the idea of Satan as black is not attested in our Adam texts until rather late, it is old in Christian (and Jewish) tradition. The legend that Cain learned how to kill Abel from two demons in the form of crows or ravens is associated with it.²¹ Demons and crows or ravens are black, and this is how demons are represented in manuscript paintings and amulets. Kirakos Erznkac'i C13 called demons Satan's "darkness-loving demons" and "black hosts."²² Thus, it is quite natural when, in the seventeenth century, Dawit' Salajorec'i says that Satan is black and Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i C17 compares Satan's technique in deceiving Adam to the fashion in which crows hunt their prey.²³ Vardan Aygekc'i C13 says that on the fourth day of creation, night's darkness came forth from the serpent's mouth.²⁴ The association of darkness with Satan, then, is profoundly rooted.

Satan is also associated with death. Thus, Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14 says "there is a personified death which is Satan; through it [or: him] you shall die,"²⁵ while in the same century Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i says that Satan was the first murderer,²⁶ an "honor" usually reserved for Cain.²⁷

To summarize: (1) The idea of Satan appears from the inception of Armenian literature, and in the medieval period his names varied. "Beliar" was quite widespread; "Sadayēl" is later and exists predominantly in a specific mythological connection; and other names are found as well. (2) From Hamam Arewelc'i C9 on, the ancient characteristics of darkness and blackness appear as Satanic qualities. (3) In still later texts the connection between crows and demons is to be found. (4) Finally, Satan is closely connected with death and built hell to imprison the souls of the dead.

1.0.1 The Serpent

The serpent is characterized in various ways. The typical ones are cited here. First, Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14 says that the serpent was the beginning of man's death. And since its discourse was of two kinds, namely, false and true,

21. *Abel and Other Pieces* §3.4; *History of the Forefathers* §25 (Stone 1992, 148, 193); cf. *Abel and Cain*, Second Recension, §27. On the demonic aspect of the crow, see, e.g., the exegesis of Noah's raven in Mandaean texts cited by Lupieri 2002, 201–2 (*Right Ginza* 18).

22. *Acts of Thomas* (James 1924, 394) mentions demons in the form of black men.

23. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 4; and see the discussion of this description in chapter 5 §3.0. An intriguing statement is that of Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 9 quoted above, that Beelzebub became luminous thanks to his defeat of Adam, which implies that he was dark previously.

24. Vardan Aygekc'i 12. In medieval Armenian paintings, hell is presented as a serpent swallowing the wicked. Thus, for example, in Matenadaran M5523, fol 7v of the year 1414a serpentine hell swallows the wicked and holds them in darkness. See fig. 3.

25. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 55.

26. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 3.

27. See 1 John 3:12: "We must not be like Cain who was from the evil one and murdered his brother." The "evil one" is Satan, and this reflects the tradition of Cain's satanic origin.



Fig. 3. Serpentine Hell swallows the Wicked, Erevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, M5523 of the year 1414. Used by permission.

its tongue was forked.²⁸ Next, following an ancient typology, he says that the serpent symbolizes deceptive, lascivious desire.²⁹ Such overall condemnations of the serpent are quite frequent. Further references to the serpent may be found below.

1.1 SATAN AND THE SERPENT

In the earliest Armenian literature, Satan's relationship with the serpent is described in remarkably differing ways. In the fifth century, Agat'angelos says that the serpent was a vehicle or pack animal upon which Satan rode,³⁰ while in the fourteenth century Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that the serpent was Satan's arms and legs (թէլ էւ նոյթ).³¹ Eznik C5 seems simply to equate them.³² This latter view continues, and, for example, in thirteenth century Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz asserts that the serpent is Satan and he deceived Eve.³³ A century earlier, Sargis Šnorhali had simply assumed that Adam was deceived by Satan or the Devil, implying an identification of the serpent and Satan.³⁴ This relationship is the subject of intermittent discussion in subsequent centuries, which I shall describe starting with the metaphors used for it. Often it seems that the choice of the term "Satan" or "serpent" is determined by the literary context rather than by deliberate theological or exegetical motivation.

Another identification was discerned in Ps 91:13 = Arm 90:13, in terminology analogous to the language of Genesis. The verse reads, suggestively from the perspective of Genesis, "You will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot." Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 in his *Commentary on Matthew* says, "And besides, it calls Satan 'adder,' according to David, 'You shall tread upon the . . . adder.'" ³⁵ It is intriguing to see this verse from a well-known apotropaic Psalm exegetically related to the trampling of Satan. Surely intertextual are Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14, which speak of God trampling the head of the *višap* dragon-snake ("13 You divided the

28. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 2.

29. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 80.

30. Agat'angelos 5. In *Pirqe R. El.* 13 we read, "[i]ts appearance was something like that of the camel, and he [i.e., Sammael = Satan] mounted and rode upon it" (trans. Friedlander 1981, 92). This issue of the terminology of Satan's relation to the serpent as it occurs in early Christian literature is discussed by Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

31. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 2. Թէլ could also be translated "wings." In excerpt 52, Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that the serpent is the feet of the Enemy.

32. Eznik 20, 21, and 24. Actions that the Bible attributes to the serpent are simply said to be done by Satan. Alexandre (1988, 297), observes that Cyril of Alexandria says that Satan is transformed into the serpent and speaks as such (*C. Julianum* 3 [PG 76:632b–c]). Compare *Pirqe R. El.* 13, on which see Stone 2009.

33. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7.

34. Sargis Šnorhali 9.

35. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 3.

sea by your might; you broke the heads of the dragons [վհշապաց] in the waters. 14 You crushed the heads of Leviathan [վհշապհն];³⁶ and perhaps Gen 3:14–15 which speaks of the crushing (laying in wait for) the head of the “serpent” (օձ). Thus, the exegesis of Ps 91:13 = Arm 90:13 introduces the term “adder” into the arsenal of Satan’s identifications. The background of the biblical material, especially of Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14 lies in old, pre-Israelite mythological themes. To them, the Armenian biblical translation added a pre-Christian Armenian mythical association with the water snake-dragon known as a *višap*, which joins this procession of satanic reptiles.

1.1.1 Metaphors: Possession or Indwelling

Grigor Tlay C12 says simply that “Satan enters into the serpent,”³⁷ speaking as if Satan possessed the serpent. Satan’s possession of the serpent is even more explicitly stated in the undated apocryphal work called *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation*. It is certainly later than Grigor Tlay’s time but nonetheless is of considerable interest here. It says that Satan entered the belly of the serpent (մտեալ յորովայնի օձին) and spoke from the serpent’s belly “with a human voice” (§2).³⁸ This evokes descriptions of ventriloquism, which is frequently an aspect of demonic possession.³⁹ Elišē’s earlier sexual imagery in his *Commentary on Joshua* is discussed below; see appendix §1.1.3. Such sexual imagery was abandoned for that of demonic possession, which is implied by Grigor Tlay. By his time, possession was the way in which Satan was related to the serpent. The serpent was the recipient and instrument of the Evil One (see §1.1.2 below); so says Grigor Tat’ewac’i, and by the term “recipient” he may be referring once more to possession.⁴⁰

In the verses of Dawit’ Salajorec’i C17 we read:

Because the serpent is vengeful;
That cursed impure Satan,
He went, entered the serpent’s mouth . . .⁴¹

This reflects the same understanding of Satan’s relationship to the serpent as that in *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation*: because of Satan’s possession, the serpent could talk. In a society in which demonic possession is a known phenomenon and in which Satan was prince of demons, possession is an obvious way of describing this relationship.

36. On these verses, see Stone 2002, 22–24 and 57; and fig. 2.

37. Grigor Tlay 9.

38. Stone 1996a, 22–23.

39. Eshel 1999, 136–44 describes instances of demonic possession; cf. Riley 1995, 453.

40. Grigor Tat’ewac’i 52.

41. Dawit’ Salajorec’i 20.

In the ninth century, T'ovma Arcruni says that Satan “nested” (բունեալ) in the serpent.⁴² This introduces another image to describe their relationship, but it was not very productive or widespread, though it too implies indwelling or possession. In the texts I have assembled, “nesting” occurs only in the writings of Grigoris Alt'amarc'i C16,⁴³ and he could have picked it up from T'ovma Arcruni.

Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz C13 says simply that Satan took the serpent as his associate.⁴⁴ This statement should probably be related to Satan's deceit or incitement of the serpent, which are discussed below in §1.3.⁴⁵

1.1.2 Metaphors: Instrument

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 calls the serpent an instrument of lawlessness for Satan.⁴⁶ This is the first time that the term “instrument” or “tool” occurs in our texts. Again, Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14 says that the serpent was the recipient and instrument of the Evil One.⁴⁷ This relationship, the serpent as Satan's instrument, is not explored much further. It is old, however, and has forerunners in ancient patristic sources.⁴⁸ Moreover, the word “instrument” also has a musical aspect. According to the Armenian Adam books, Satan plays on the serpent like on a lyre, a musical instrument.⁴⁹ This metaphor, of course, implies the same sort of absolute dominance by Satan as does possession. In no context where Satan and the serpent are held apart to any extent is initiative attributed to the serpent. Satan is always dominant.

42. T'ovma Arcruni 4.

43. Grigoris Alt'amarc'i 2. This language may derive from the idea of a serpent's nest.

44. Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz 24.

45. Zak'aria Gnuneac' says with no further details that envy made the serpent his dwelling; see his *kafa* on the *History of Alexander*, excerpt 4. In the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries *kafas*, moralizing poetic comments on the *History of Alexander* were rather popular; see Bardakjian 2000, 32–33. See further §1.4 below. Publication of *kafas* may be found in Simonyan 1975. Even less defined is the statement in T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 3 that Satan made the serpent his means.

46. զործի անօրէնութեան լինելով սատանայի, Nersēs Šnorhali 42.

47. Grigor Tat'ewac'i does not make explicit the metaphor that stands behind “recipient”; see excerpt 52.

48. According to some of the Greek and Latin fathers, the serpent was the instrument (ἔργαλον) of the enemy of truth (Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Genesin* [PG 80:129] c. 3, q. [32]; Theophilus, *Ad Auctolycum* 2.28; Irenaeus, *Dem.* 16 et al., cited by Alexandre 1988, 297). It seems likely that a comparative study of Satan's relationship to the serpent and the soul's relationship to the body and the metaphors used to describe the two relationships would yield important insights into ancient anthropology. See also Stone 2009 and the next note.

49. The language used in the *Penitence of Adam* is that the serpent is a lyre upon which Satan plays: “[b]e you, in your form, a lyre for me and I will pronounce speech through your mouth” [44](16):4b. Ephrem Syrus, *Hymns on Paradise* 8:2 talks of the soul without the body as being “without its mate, the body, its instrument and lyre” (Brock 1990, 132). Ephrem's poem is reminiscent of the story of the blind man and the lame man, attributed to Pseudo-Ezekiel: this story and its rabbinic parallels are discussed in Satran, Stone, and Wright 2000, 9–19.

1.1.3 Metaphor: Sexual Overtones

In a passage of Elišē's *Commentary on Joshua* and Judg 3:10, we have what is basically an allegorical interpretation of the Genesis story:

The serpent became pregnant with the forms of the invisible evil and he became the male nature through the mediation of the fruit of the tree. He seduced and stripped naked the five senses of the female part. He instructed the woman's mind in stupidity and caused (her) forgetfulness of the commandments of God. Before she entered the war, she was vanquished by the looking, of which you must be wary.⁵⁰

Sexual imagery permeates the passage. The serpent conceives or becomes pregnant with the forms of evil (presumably due to its possession by Satan), and in this aspect the serpent is female. This pregnant female serpent then becomes male and overcomes the female part (= Eve) and strips her senses naked (again evoking a sexual association) causing the abeyance of the intellect (therefore, "stupidity"). The serpent is said to use the fruit as its instrument for Eve's transformation. Once the serpent overcomes the woman Eve by using the fruit as a tool, it becomes male. This implies the superiority of the male, and the serpent plays the male role in contrast to Eve.⁵¹ The role of the five senses, through which Satan deceived Eve, comes to the fore in the thirteenth century, in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz,⁵² and is further stressed a century later by Grigor Tat'ewac'i.⁵³ Eve is particularly susceptible through her five senses. This reflects distinct attitudes to men and women.

It remains an open question whether behind this formulation lay the myth according to which Satan had intercourse with Eve and begat Cain. It is possible

50. Elišē 3. The language of fighting referred to in this sentence is discussed below in §1.6.

51. Such ideas of change of gender and of status are encountered not infrequently. Thus, for example, Philo (*Fug.* §51) shows a similar valuation of male and female:

He called Bethuel Rebecca's father. How, pray, can Wisdom, the daughter of God, be rightly spoken of as father? Is it because, while Wisdom's name is feminine, her nature is manly? As indeed all of the virtues have women's titles, but are powers and activities of consummate men. For that which comes after God, even though it were chiefest of all other things, occupies a second place, and therefore was termed feminine to express its contrast with the Maker of the Universe, who is masculine, and its affinity to everything else. For preeminence always pertains to the masculine, and the feminine always comes short of and is lesser than it. (Philo 1935, 5:37).

Such evaluations, and to some extent similar exegetical strategies, underlie the passage we are discussing. The language of fighting is discussed in §1.6 below.

52. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7.

53. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 53 says that the serpent makes five circular movements symbolizing the five senses.

that the passage of Elišē is a reflection of some such myth, though it is rare in the Armenian literature I have examined.⁵⁴

In the following tables I set forth the main metaphors that have served to describe the relationship of Satan and the serpent in Armenian Adam texts, and also their chronological ranges.

RELATIONSHIP OF SATAN AND THE SERPENT BY METAPHORS

Image	Author	Century
Pack animal / vehicle	Agat'angelos	C 05
Sexual	Elišē	C 05
Identification	Eznik	C 05
	Sargis Šnorhali	C 12
	Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz	C 13
	Vardan Arewelc'i	C 13
Nesting	T'ovma Arcruni	C 09
	Grigoris Alt'amarac'i	C 16
Possession	Grigor Tlay	C 12
	Grigor Tat'ewac'i	C 14
	Dawit' Salajorec'i	C 17
Instrument	Nersēs Šnorhali	C 12
	Grigor Tat'ewac'i	C 14
Associate	Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz	C 13
Dwelling	Zak'aria Gnuneac'	C 16

When we examine these tables, we are struck by the variety of language and metaphor used to describe the relationship between Satan and the serpent. Beyond simple identification, seven different types of language describe this relationship. Even more surprising is the temporal distribution. The relationship between Satan and the serpent, except for one instance, is not mentioned from the sixth to the eleventh century.⁵⁵

54. See n. 27 above, for another possible case. This myth is fairly widespread in both Jewish and other sources in the first millennium. See, e.g., *Hypostasis of the Archons* 34.21 in Layton 1987, 71; *Saltair na Rann* in Seymour 1922, 129; see lines 1957–58 in Greene and Kelly 1976, 91, and Murdoch 1973, 133; Schwartz 2004, 447–48; Epiphanius 40.5.3 in Layton 1987, 197. A discussion of the relations of Eve with the serpent may be found in Minoff 2010.

55. My evidence is partial, for I only collected published statements directly relating to

RELATIONSHIP OF SATAN AND THE SERPENT BY CENTURIES

Century	Image	Author
C 05	Identification	Eznik
C 05	Pack animal	Agat'angelos
C 05	Sexual	Elišē
C 09	Nesting	T'ovma Arcruni
C 12	Identification	Sargis Šnorhali
C 12	Instrument	Nersēs Šnorhali
C 12	Possession	Grigor Tlay
C 13	Associate	Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz
C 13	Identification	Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz
C 13	Identification	Vardan Arewelc'i
C 14	Instrument	Grigor Tat'ewac'i
C 14	Possession	Grigor Tat'ewac'i
C 16	Dwelling	Zak'aria Gnuneac'
C 16	Nesting	Grigoris Alt'amarac'i
C 17	Possession	Dawit' Salajorec'i

1.2 SATAN DECEIVES THE SERPENT

In his biblical epic poem *To Manuč'ē*, Grigor Magistros (C 10) says of Satan: "Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue, | Having deceived the serpent's ear, his destructive assistant's."⁵⁶ So Satan deceived the serpent into conniving in his attack on Adam and Eve. This event is described clearly in the primary Adam books, where Satan plays on the serpent's pride to gain his cooperation, just as his own pride motivated him to hate Adam. Thus *Pen. Adam* 44.16.3 reads: "Why do you worship (Adam) or (why) are you fed by Adam and are not fed by the fruit of the Garden? . . . Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden."⁵⁷

Satan's common cause with and persuasion of the serpent is featured in Kirakos Erznkac'i C13's saying, "Having taken of the animals the serpent as partner in his plans."⁵⁸ In the next century, the same sort of relationship is implied by

Genesis 1–3. Probably an even greater number of metaphors was used. Moreover, numerous instances might occur in contexts other than the Genesis stories.

56. Grigor Magistros 12.

57. Anderson and Stone 1999, 50–50E.

58. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2.

Kostandin Erznkac'i when he says that because of the envy of the evil tempter, they were deceived by serpent.⁵⁹ Satan envied, but it was the serpent that acted on his behalf.⁶⁰

1.3 THE *VIŠAP* DRAGON AND ITS IDENTIFICATION WITH SATAN

The word վիշապ (*višap*) “dragon,” which is already used in the Bible of primordial serpents and is prominent in Revelation 12, also comes to the fore connected with Satan and the serpent. The *višap* dragon was an Armenian, pre-Christian water monster,⁶¹ and its name is included in the biblical translation at a number of points. Thus, for example, Aaron's and the magicians' serpents in Exod 7:9, 10, and 12 (יִרְנָן — δράκων) are rendered as *višap*. Moreover, it is the term for the dragon in Rev 12:4, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, etc. In Job 26:13(12) it translates Greek τὸ κῆτος and Hebrew Rahab, one of the names of the primordial sea dragon of pre-Israelite mythology. Such uses as these, combined with those in Revelation 12, led to its identification with the Genesis serpent and with Satan. In Rev 12:9 we read: “The great dragon was thrown down, the ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world” (Եւ անկաւ վիշապն մեծ, օձն առաջին, որ անուանեալ կոչի բէկեղերուղ եւ Սատանայ որ մոլորեցոյց զամենայն տիեզերս երկրի:). Greek reads διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανάς and Arm 2 has Բէկեղերուղ եւ Սատանայ (“Bēlzebul and Satan”). In Armenian 1 of Revelation, however, we read մատնիչ եւ Բէկեղերուղ (“betrayer and Bēlzebul”). Observe that մատնիչ (“betrayer”) is the typical Arm 1 translation of διάβολος. What is important here is that Bēlzebul occurs in Arm 1 for ὁ Σατανάς and in Arm 2 for διάβολος. This shows how deeply this designation is embedded into Armenian usage.

Satan is called “rebel dragon” based on Revelation 12.⁶² Grigoris Aršaruni C7 speaks of the “dragon-serpent” (վիշապ օձ) that wished to become “god of the material world.”⁶³ This role, “god of the material world,” is Satan's.⁶⁴ Is this just a restatement of Lucifer's ambition to become God (Isa 14:13–14) or is the serpent-dragon in the material world deliberately modeled after Satan-Lucifer, whose aspiration was to make himself “like the Most High” (Isa 14:14)? I doubt that a distinction between the serpent-dragon and Satan-Lucifer was maintained. This also seems implied by the understanding of Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos C8

59. Kostandin Erznkac'i 4.

60. This idea may be present in T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16's statement (3), “Satan . . . made the serpent a means.”

61. On the Armenian pagan usage, see Ališan 1910, 163–65; J. R. Russell 1987, 205–11. Many stone statues of *višaps* survive; see fig. 4.

62. Eznik C5 excerpt 16; compare Rev 12:7–9; Isa 27:1.

63. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

64. See John 14:30; 16:11; and 2 Cor 4:4.



Fig. 4. *Višap* dragon stone at Sardarabad, Armenia. Photo by H. Petrosyan.

discussed in the next paragraph.⁶⁵ Grigor V kayasēr C11–12 calls the serpent a “wicked dragon.”⁶⁶

In Yovhannēs K’orepiskopos C8’s *Concerning the Cross that was seen at Varag* we read: “Then having left for man in his will,⁶⁷ for the sake of testing, the fallen and rebellious⁶⁸ dragon, which fell from the splendid glory, through which man, having fallen into the region of the bitter-spirited venom of the serpent, inherited death.”⁶⁹

Here the dragon is clearly Satan and is called fallen. As in the case of Grigoris Aršaruni C8, the identification is complete. It seems that Yovhannēs K’orepiskopos is talking of different regions: the region of splendid glory *from which* the dragon fell and the region of the venomous serpent *into which* the dragon fell. What is clear is that the fall from glory, here predicated of the dragon,

65. Moreover, in Gen 3:5, it is actually the serpent who speaks with Eve and offers her divinity, even though in later sources this was understood to be Satan’s work. This is also discussed in §3.3 below.

66. Grigor V kayasēr 1.

67. I.e., his free will or autonomy.

68. The term “rebellious” is not found in the relevant verses of Revelation 12. This term is most likely drawn from the story of the fall of Satan.

69. Yovhannēs K’orepiskopos 1.

is the fall of Satan. The identification of the two now seems complete. Similarly, in the ninth century, T'ovma Arcruni calls the serpent that pours bitter advice into Eve's ear "dragon."⁷⁰

1.4 ARE SATAN, SERPENT, AND DRAGON DISTINGUISHED?

He [i.e., Christ] chains the first dragon, delivers him over into the fire of Gehenna;
And his [i.e., Adam's] Deceiver, along with his [i.e. Satan's] servants.⁷¹

At first reading, this couplet by Grigor Narekac'i C10 in his *Poem on the Lord Coming to Lazarus* seems to distinguish between the "first serpent (or: dragon, i.e., վիշապ)" and Adam's Deceiver who is the serpent identified as Satan.⁷² This latter identification appears to be certain, since the Deceiver has "his (own) servants," presumably the Satanic host of demons. Grigor Narekac'i seems to distinguish between Satan and the primordial serpent.⁷³ Vardan Arewelc'i C13, however, implies an identification of Satan and the serpent,⁷⁴ and so does Karapet Bališec'i C16, who says, in parallel lines: "The serpent was the cause of perdition, | The Devil was the reason for death."⁷⁵

In his *Sermon Preached on the Occasion of the Nativity and Baptism*, Grigor Narekac'i says, "Liberating the first Adam from the curse of the first one."⁷⁶ The phrase "the curse of the first one" refers to Satan, yet there is no biblical curse of Satan, only of the serpent. This indicates that these two figures fell together in the Armenian sources or else an apocryphal tradition added a curse of Satan to the curses of the serpent, Eve, and Adam (Gen 3:14–19). Such a tradition with a fourfold curse is found in Greek folktales, but is unknown so far in Armenian.⁷⁷

Thus, Satan is equivalent to the serpent in many texts; see §1.1 and the table above. Elsewhere, diverse metaphors are used that describe Satan as dominating and manipulating the serpent (§§1.1.1; 1.1.2; 1.1.3). All these relationships, except for identity, imply that there are two entities involved, Satan and the serpent. The same emerged in §1.2 above, where Satan's deception of the serpent is documented.

70. T'ovma Arcruni 3.

71. Grigor Narekac'i 3.

72. Interestingly, Rev 12:9 reads *օձն առաջին* ("first serpent [*ōj*]") and not *վիշապն առաջին* ("first dragon" [*višap*]) as does Narekac'i. Yet Narekac'i's source must be Rev 12:9. This verse is also discussed above in §1.3.

73. However, this poem is characterized by the use of parallel phrases, and so the distinction may well be only apparent. Compare the magical narrative discussed in §1.0.

74. Vardan Arewelc'i 32; see §§1.1.1–1.1.3.

75. Karapet Bališec'i 1.

76. J. B. Russell 1981, 132.

77. Stone 2002, 101–2. Alternatively, the curse might be figurative language for death or sinfulness, which the serpent introduced into Eden.

In §1.3 we saw that the *višap* dragon is sometimes identified with the serpent, and they are both on occasion spoken of as Satan. In the eighth century, Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos distinguishes Satan-dragon from the serpent, while T'ovma Arcruni C9 supports the dragon-serpent identification. From all this information, we learn that these three figures—the dragon, Satan, and the serpent—are sometimes identified and sometimes treated as separate beings. Often this is not an ontological assertion so much as a parenetic or exegetical strategy.

Part of a *kafa*⁷⁸ on the *History of Alexander the Great* by Zak'aria Gnuneac' (C 16) is devoted to serpents. He notes that the serpent (օձ — *ōj*) is the cause of Adam's perdition. After some more general remarks about the serpent, he continues:

The serpent is the descendant of the dragon (վիշապ),
Solomon wrote about it wisely;
When the serpent comes out of the egg,
It treads the ground equally (with man).
But envy, the author of evil,
Made the serpent its dwelling;

Here the relationship with the *višap* dragon is incidental to the text and the dragon plays no role. But the dragon and the serpent belong to the same species, and the serpent is the dragon's descendant. "Envy" here is probably a synonym for Satan.

1.5 PSALM 73 AND THE BAPTISM

A homily on the Baptism uncertainly attributed to Elišē, highlights the parallel between Adam, whom the serpent (*ōj*) deceived, and Christ, who smashes the head of the *višap* dragon in the Jordan River in his baptism. There, Ps 73:13–14 and particularly the phrase "thou didst break the heads of the dragons in the waters" is applied to Christ's baptism. This theme is old in Eastern Christian usage, though not as early as the homily's attribution to Elišē of the fifth century would imply.⁷⁹ Still, if not in the fifth century, then sometime later, the serpent was identified with the dragon because of the relationship between Adam's sin and Christ's baptism.⁸⁰

78. On *kafas*, see n. 45.

79. See Stone 2002, 22–24.

80. It is unclear whether Gen 3:15 played any role in this exegesis. The difficult Hebrew is translated in the Greek Bible as *τηρέω* ("watch, observe closely") and faithfully reflected in Armenian *սպասել* ("watch out for, await"). This passage did not receive the detailed attention of either Chrysostom or (pseudo-)Ephrem in their works on Genesis surviving in Armenian. However, even when the verb is taken as in the Greek, a clear relationship exists between Eve's offspring and the crushing of the serpent's head, and that may be interpreted as Christ crushing the serpent in the baptism. This is discussed further in chapter 2 §4.7.

In our corpus, the connection between Psalm 73 and the baptism first occurs in a dated text in Artawazd Mazazuni C10:⁸¹ “Jesus is baptised in the Jordan and makes it incorruptible, for He will liberate this human race from the curse and will crush the head of the lurking serpent.”⁸² The latter is said to (be able to) take the Jordan in his eye socket.⁸³ Matt’ēos *vardapet* C15 states that Christ will trample the dragon’s poison. This clearly combines the dragons of Psalm 74 = Arm 73 with the Genesis serpent, whose deception is regularly called “poison.”⁸⁴

One might, therefore, after consulting the comparative Greek and Armenian evidence, regard the use of Psalm 74 = Arm 73 in (pseudo)-Elišē’s *Homily on the Baptism* as later than the fifth century. However, the exegetical connection might have been made earlier than the seventh- to eighth-century date that the comparative evidence suggests.⁸⁵ The tradition recurs in (unfortunately) undated apocryphal texts. In *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* §49 (P 306) we read: “and the dragon-serpent (*ōj višapn*) appeared. And our Lord Christ, with his foot having trampled the dragon.”⁸⁶

1.6 LANGUAGE OF FIGHTING

Elišē’s *Commentary on Joshua* and Judges excerpt 3, cited fully in §1.1.3 says: “Before she entered the war, she was vanquished by the looking.” The “looking” of course refers to Gen 3:6 and often serves to identify Eve with sense perception (see §1.1.3 above). Language of “war” and “vanquishing” is often used of Satan’s attack on Eve. For example, in *Pen. Adam* 11:4 we read: “that you [i.e., Satan] fight against us unnecessarily”; in 37(10):3 Eve upbraids the beast/serpent/Satan “that you dared to fight with this image of God” (cf. *4 Ezra* 7:92, 127).⁸⁷ The language of fighting also occurs in Eznik 30 and Agat’angelos 5.⁸⁸

The terminology of fighting recurs in the seventh century when Anania Širakac’i refers to Satan as “he who fought with the forefather.”⁸⁹ T’ēodoros K’rt’enawor uses this type of language of Christ’s conflict with Satan, set into

81. Artawazd Mazazuni 2.

82. Psalm 74:13–14 = Arm 73:11–12. Cosmas of Maiuma of the eighth century uses similar language: see Stone 2002, 22.

83. Cf. Job 40:23–24.

84. Matt’ēos *vardapet* 3.

85. Consequently, the *Homily on the Baptism* must be dated on the basis of other considerations.

86. Stone 1996a, 66–67.

87. The language of war and vanquishing is old, appearing already in the non-Armenian versions of *4 Ezra* in this context. The Armenian version, which is from the fifth century, uses the term աշխատեմ (“to labor”) instead. Thus, in 7:92 and 7:127 աշխատեմ corresponds to the language of fighting in other versions.

88. It is possible that the war idiom was attractive because the monastic life itself was conceived of as one long battle against Satan and his demons.

89. Anania Širakac’i in Abrahamyan 1944, 247.

an Adamic context.⁹⁰ The metaphor then disappears from our sources until the twelfth century, when Ignatius *vardapet* uses it of Satan's fight against Adam.⁹¹ It is found nowhere else in the sources I have collected, down to the end of the seventeenth century.

2.0 THE FALL OF SATAN

2.1 THE FALL OF SATAN: BACKGROUND

The fall of Satan is an idea that is present already in the New Testament.⁹² Moreover, it is the commonest understanding of Isa 14:12–14, which speaks of the fall of the “Day Star,” a figure that aspired to set his throne above the stars of heaven.⁹³ This was interpreted as Satan's primordial *hybris*.

2.2 THE FALL OF SATAN: IN ARMENIAN TEXTS

How could Satan's pride have caused his fall? An early version of the story of the fall of Satan, found in *Pen. Adam*, chs. 12–16 and parallels, relates Satan's fall to his rebellion against God. Gary Anderson has shown that it was known to Ephrem Syrus as well.⁹⁴ At God's behest, Michael commands the angels to bow down to Adam because he was created in God's image. Satan refuses on the explicit grounds that he is older, created before Adam (14:3–15:1). As the older, he will not bow down to the younger, and this makes him a rebel against God. Blind Jacob, blessing Joseph's sons, gives the prior place to the younger Ephraim. When Joseph remonstrates with him, he responds, “his younger brother shall be greater than he.” This is a repeated theme in the pentateuchal narrative and scholars have teased out its implications.⁹⁵ In the Adam story, the younger Adam is to be greater than the older Satan. Yet, despite intriguing pentateuchal parallels, in the apocryphal Adam narrative, Satan's recalcitrance is based only on pride and

90. ի գործ պատերազմի կոչէր: T'ēodoros K'it'enawor 1.

91. մարտուցեալ: Ignatius *vardapet* 7.

92. Luke 10:18: “I watched Satan fall from heaven like a flash of lightning,” is clearest, but in that text the occasion for the fall is eschatological, not protological. The pericope is well analyzed by Garrett (1989, 46–60 and especially 50–55). Agat'angelos 26 cites 3 *Corinthians*, which was canonical in the Armenian tradition and which says, Իսկ որ անօրէն իշխանն էր իբրեւ աստուածանալ կամեցաւ, ձեռն արկանէր ի նոսա եւ զամենայն մարդիկ մեղօք կապէր: “He who was the lawless prince, when he wished to become God, seized and bound all mankind by sin” (3 *Cor.* 2:16–17). The word “prince” (իշխան) evokes Ps 82:7 = Arm 81:7, on which see below. Satan's capturing or seizing humankind is discussed in n. 196 below.

93. Translated “Lucifer” in the King James Version, as in the Vulgate; see below.

94. See Anderson 1997.

95. Anderson 2001, 21–34. See also Greenspahn 1994. Some further dimensions of Adam's divine image are investigated in Orlov 2007, 239–68.

envy.⁹⁶ Thus, we can delineate the metamorphosis of a pagan god, challenger of the chief deity, into a rebellious angel who, before creation, wished to displace God.

Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14 expressed the view that Satan refused to bow down to Adam because of his lesser status: "And all the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's form and worshipped and blessed. And Satan did not worship, considering (him) mere body and all man."⁹⁷

The idea that Satan was a rebellious angel had deep, ancient roots.⁹⁸ Alongside this and, indeed, much more common, the view arose from the exegesis of Genesis that connected Satan's rebellion with Adam.⁹⁹ Satan's identification with the serpent and the serpent's enmity toward Adam were the key, constituting a further "demythologization" of the ancient pattern. Typologically, the myth of a primordial attack on God's throne became the story of the angels' fall at Satan's instigation. It is not yet clear how much of the narrative of the Satanic fall was known in fifth-century Armenia, and in which of its various configurations.¹⁰⁰

2.3 SATAN'S STATUS BEFORE THE FALL

According to Step'anos Siwnec'i C8, the fall of Satan, the Deceiver, amazed the heavenly host because he had the mark of power.¹⁰¹ Satan was one of the highest angels, and his fall, Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9 notes, left his heavenly camp empty. Indeed, Zak'aria Kat'olikos speaks about Satan's role as an opposing power.

And the Rebel, having seen the good things set apart by the Benefactor for man, having become envious, deceitfully separated (him) from eternal longings, from diverse trees, wishing to take possession for himself of the splendid, desirable Garden. By command of the Creator, the Garden of Eden was encircled with a flaming sword guarding in every way. But the lawless prince, doing his utmost to invent evil, besieged men with sins, taught them to be distant from the Creator and drew everyone into impious idolatry, spreading death upon human

96. Satan is jealous of Adam's great glory despite his origin in dust, according to *Cave of Treasures*; see Bezold 1888, 3–4.

97. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83. Compare chap. 5 n. 105 above.

98. See Stone 2002, 18–20; Gaylord 1982, 303–9; Orlov 2007, 289–93; and others.

99. See, in general, Anderson 1997. On pp. 84–85 n. 5 he dismissed the "Lucifer" material used in the Latin *L.A.E.* and Eve saying, "This citation is absent from the Armenian and Georgian and cannot be part of the primitive version of the tale." To nuance his statement somewhat, we should note that the Lucifer material is secondary in the Latin *L.A.E.*, but might well be older even than the well-attested rebellion caused by Satan's envy of Adam. Non liquet.

100. For other patterns of rebellion, see Anderson 1997.

101. Step'anos Siwnec'i 2.

beings. He created a kingdom in hell, having taken possession of the spirits in it; he remained there, so that not one could escape and take wing to heaven.¹⁰²

The language of imprisoning and freeing is widely used of Satan's rule over humans and is very typical.¹⁰³ The context in Zak'aria Kat'olikos's text implies that, by means of the fiery sword, God prevented Satan from (re)entering the Garden, while Gen 3:24 implies that the sword guards against Adam, not Satan. Similarly, Zak'aria Kat'olikos states that Satan imprisoned spirits in hell, so they could not escape and take wing to heaven.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, Zak'aria blames Satan for the sin more than he does Adam and Eve.

2.4 SATAN AS REBELLIOUS BUT UNSPECIFIED

Satan's fall is mentioned before the twelfth century, but the texts from the twelfth–fourteenth centuries and a small group of texts from the seventeenth century frequently mention his fall but say nothing explicit about his rebellion, neither that he was Lucifer, nor that he refused to bow down to God or to God's image.

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 states that Satan mindlessly rebelled and left the ranks of angels.¹⁰⁵ In another passage, Ignatius says that Satan established himself in enmity against God, rose up against the Creator, fell from high honor, and by deceit persuaded men to fall with him, thus becoming master of our nature.¹⁰⁶

Satan was a rational being who had fallen. He showed Adam ways of destruction and was the adversary of primordial good; so says Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Corcorec'i C14.¹⁰⁷ The categories of this statement are somewhat different from Ignatius *vardapet*'s, and the idea that Satan was rational derives from the idea that the angels are rational, which is present in Armenian religious thought from the fifth century on.¹⁰⁸ Vardan Arewelc'i C13 makes some general statements: Satan descended to the earth and is dead forever because of his remoteness from God,¹⁰⁹ and he tortured creatures through his fall.¹¹⁰ Similarly Vardan Aygekc'i

102. Zak'aria Kat'olikos 5.

103. See Stone 2002, 69, 72, 80, 87, 90, 168 n. 24, for further references. The same term (uquunh) is used by Grigor Tat'ewac'i in excerpt 58 and elsewhere. See n. 196 below.

104. The idea that Satan prevents the souls from flying up to heaven occurs in a number of sources: note *Ques. Ezra* B 6 (Stone 1995, 307). See also *Apoc. Ab.* 31:3, though in a different context. On Satan's kingdom in hell and imprisonment, see the amulet scroll cited in §1.0 above.

105. Ignatius *vardapet* 7.

106. Ignatius *vardapet* 5.

107. Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Corcorec'i 1.

108. See Stone 2006a, 90–92; and chapter 1 §1.3, above.

109. Vardan Arewelc'i 34.

110. Vardan Arewelc'i 33.

says that he fell from glory¹¹¹ and threw away the keys of the kingdom and took the keys of hell.¹¹²

A powerful poetic description of Satan's fall is to be found in Kirakos Erznkac'i (C 13):

He who fell like a lightning from the celestial hosts,¹¹³
 With the crafty army of darkness-loving demons.
 Truly the father of sin and inventor of evil,
 Head of the ranks of groups of black hosts.¹¹⁴

Because of the systematic nature of his writing, Grigor Tat'ewac'i presents more details. Satan, he says, was a celestial angel and became proud and opposed God.¹¹⁵ "But one of the fallen from the celestial ranks, envying the very honourable glory of the first man, deceived him by the flaw of pride, due to which he himself had fallen from glory, 'If you eat of the fruit, you shall become as gods'¹¹⁶ with immortal life and lofty glory." So, Satan's actions against humans were motivated by envy.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, when Grigor Tatewac'i considers why God created humans from dust, he concludes that he so did to shame Satan, "when this weak and clayey one entered the glory from which he, who was glorious, had fallen."¹¹⁸

In the seventeenth century, such references resurface, but their content is traditional. Satan is repeatedly characterized as rebellious and wicked. He always and eternally rebels against peace, as against Adam in the Garden.¹¹⁹ He was an angel, a cherub, and man's fall paralleled his.¹²⁰ Satan fell from his dwelling but did not desist from evil, according to Grigor Daranalc'i C17.¹²¹ Both authors also take up the point made by Grigor Tat'ewac'i three hundred years earlier, that Satan deceives Adam by playing on his pride. He planted in him the desire to become a god.¹²²

Although the story of Satan's fall is not expounded in the fifth-century Armenian sources studied here, Yovhannēs Mandakuni's reference to Satan's

111. Vardan Aygekc'i 6.

112. Vardan Aygekc'i 1; on Satan's kingdom, see §2.3 (end).

113. See Luke 10:18.

114. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2. On demonic blackness, see chapter 3 §4.2.3 and §1.0 in this chapter.

115. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83.

116. Gen 3:5.

117. His instrument was pride, by which he himself had fallen.

118. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 63.

119. Yovhannēs Jułayec'i 10.

120. Yovhannēs Jułayec'i 11.

121. Grigor Daranalc'i 2.

122. Grigor Daranalc'i 2; Yovhannēs Jułayec'i 11.

pride indicates that he knew it.¹²³ This is true also of Agat'angelos, particularly excerpt 26 (§280): Satan, Agat'angelos says, tried to cause Adam to err, "so that he might be able to inherit his place."¹²⁴ It is not clearly stated what "Adam's place" was, but this statement is an explicit reference to the exaltation of Adam. Moreover, it resonates strikingly with the early text, *Pen. Adam* [44](16):3, where Satan says to the serpent, "Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden." Consequently, the "place," that is, the Garden of Eden, had particular significance.¹²⁵ On the basis of the material analyzed in the present paragraph and in §3.0 below, we may confidently conclude that the story of Satan's fall was current in fifth-century Armenian literature. It circulated in a version in which Satan's fall preceded his deception of Adam. In this version, the cause of Satan's fall was most likely his prideful refusal to bow down to Adam, as is related in *Penitence of Adam*.¹²⁶ His refusal was motivated by his envy of Adam's creation in God's image and of Adam's premier position among the created beings.

Eznik C5, however, who also deals with this problem, mentions enmity as the cause of Satan's becoming "the slanderer," that is, the Devil. He discusses this in connection with the question of whether Satan is created evil or good. He started good and became evil, Eznik says, because of his enmity toward Adam:

Yet because of the enmity he harboured toward man, he wilfully became

123. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3. It is unclear whether he knows the variant of the fall story that attributed a primordial revolt to Satan before the creation of the world. This primordial revolt seems to be implied by the formulation in the Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3 and is common in European vernacular literatures of the medieval period; see Stone 1992, 89, 120. This version of the fall of Satan first appears in our excerpts in the writings of Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13. A later form of this version occurs in the Armenian apocryphal text *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §§1–4: "1. When the Lord God created the heavens and the earth, he first made the hosts of angels for the service of his divinity. 2. Now the wicked Sadayēl and Beliar were the heads of the divisions of Satan; they were adorned gloriously, and were higher than all the angels and all the divisions of the angels. 3. But the detestable Satan did not want to bless God and was arrogant in his head, and he wanted to raise up his own throne equal to God's throne. 4. And the Lord God commanded the hammer-man of the seraphim, the great Gabriel, and the terrible Michael, and the nine divisions of angels, and they fell upon Sadayēl and all his attendants, smote him, and cast them down like hail from a cloud" (ms Y; trans. Lipscomb 1990, 118).

124. Excerpt 26. This text is analyzed further below.

125. Below, we will discuss the fact that at this point in the *Penitence of Adam*, Satan appears to be deceiving the serpent and lying to it, since no tradition is known according to which the serpent was expelled from the Garden. Indeed, there is a major chronological problem in the narrative line, for at the point at which Satan is seducing the serpent, Eve has not sinned and the curses have not been pronounced. The implication of the passage is that, prior to this point in time, the serpent had been deprived of its paradisiacal food and had been expelled from the Garden.

126. See Anderson 1997, 105–34 = Anderson, Stone, and Tromp 2000, 83–110.

“the slanderer.”¹²⁷ Having abandoned submission to God, he began to disobey and to teach man to oppose God’s commands, and subsequently he became like a rebel, and he turned away from God.¹²⁸

This text, despite its employment of the term “rebel” and of language relating to obedience, is still not explicit about the circumstances of Satan’s fall. The cautious conclusion is that it should be taken simply to refer to how Satan became wicked, without making any details of his fall explicit.

In Eznik C5 we find another reference to Adam’s fall. God says to Adam, “I did not want death in your place, nor did I want you to fall in place of the prince,¹²⁹ the wicked counsellor.”¹³⁰ Satan called “prince” is surely a reference to Ps 82:7 = Arm 81:7: “I say, ‘You are gods, children of the Most High, all of you; nevertheless, you shall die like mortals, and fall like one of the princes.’” The exegesis of Ezekiel 28, especially v. 2, which is directed to the prince of Tyre, is also often used in this context. The appellation “wicked counsellor” obviously applies to Satan-serpent who deceived Eve by wicked counsel. This passage then refers to the fall of Satan and, together with the texts cited from Yovhannēs Mandakuni and Agat’angelos, shows that this fall story was known in fifth-century Armenia.

Satan was fearless, and this was the weakness that led to his fall; humans should learn from this example (T’ēodoros K’rt’enawor C7).¹³¹ In the same century, Grigoris Aršaruni writes in his *Commentary on the Lectionary*:

In the same way here¹³²—even more supremely than all (other fast-) days, we begin by seizing the very same, originally evil serpent of the Garden, as ugly and horrible-looking as the thief,¹³³ and having beaten him, bind (him) in indissoluble bonds. . . . Setting the thieving serpent¹³⁴ in juxtaposition with the thieving man, he releases the latter from blasphemy and leads (him) to the confession of His kingdom; He dissolves the curse and takes him with himself

127. The title բանասրկու (“slanderer, deceiver”) is very old in its application to Satan, and we usually translate it “Devil.” It occurs in Rev 2:10; 12:12 translating διάβολος. In Rev 20:2, we read διάβολος καὶ Σατανάς, which is translated բանասրկուն եւ սատանայ. In the ancient version of Revelation (Arm 1) published by Frederik Murad (1905–11), Rev 2:10 has բանասրկուն, while 12:12 has մատնիչն, and 20:2 has մատնիչ եւ սատանայ. Intriguingly, in Jude 9, where the Greek has διάβολος, the Armenian has բանասրկուն սատանայի, adding “Satan.” The same two words are used in Arm 2 of Rev 20:2. Thus, at the beginning of Armenian Bible translation the stereotypical translation διάβολος = բանասրկուն did not dominate, but by the time of the Arm 2 revision, it did. See also §1.3 above.

128. Eznik 16.

129. Or, less probably from a grammatical viewpoint, “with.”

130. Eznik 27. On this theme, see Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming), (17).

131. T’ēodoros K’rt’enawor 3. He is actually refocusing, likely for parenetic purposes, the idea of the Rebel.

132. I.e., on Good Friday.

133. Or: chief thief.

134. Personified by the unrepentant thief.

to Paradise instead of Adam.¹³⁵ And the unrepentant serpent¹³⁶ is hung on the wood,¹³⁷ naked and defamed, as he was in the desert,¹³⁸ without a cover for the shame of his ignominy,¹³⁹ without a fig leaf and even without vitality. So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon-serpent who wished to become the god of the material world, which God created by his wonderful wisdom, and established the man in his image to reign over it, and made him the second after Himself; and (the serpent) secretly rushed upon him with brigand-like deceit, as in the night, bound him while he was ignorant and capturing him, shook from its foundation this royal residence—the world—with corruption. Because of that, the king of glory, moving from the paternal, glorious throne, together with the heavenly hosts, and pursuing the thief, cut his sinews, seizing and binding him sentenced (him) to death. . . .¹⁴⁰

In Grigoris Aršaruni's text the serpent's sin is to seduce humans. So at this point he is clearly speaking about the serpent of the Garden, and its punishment is formulated analogously with that of the thief on the cross. Yet the running together of the serpent and Satan permeates this passage. Two sentences earlier, Grigoris had said, "So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon-serpent who wished to become god of the material world" (*ibid.*).¹⁴¹ This is not the serpent's sin, and the punishment, though conceived typologically with that of the crucified thief, is Satan's and not the serpent's, for the latter was roundly cursed in Gen 3:14–15 to much more mundane punishments than being bound and condemned to death. That was the punishment of fallen angels from earliest times; see already *I En.* 10:11–14; 14:5; and 21:10.

The Evil One, called dragon (*višap*), fell from his luminous, splendid glory. At this point in the primordial history, man was left with his free will¹⁴² to decide whether to obey or disobey the divine commandment. This was a test for humans, who failed it and fell into the region of the venomous serpent and inherited death. This formulation by Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos C8 combines a number of features. Because Satan is referred to as *višap* dragon, and falls from his glory,¹⁴³

135. This point is based on Luke 23:43. Why the thief is said to be "instead of Adam" remains unclear. Does it imply that the thief was immediately introduced into paradise, while Adam had to wait until Christ released him?

136. Symbolized by the unrepentant thief.

137. I.e., crucified.

138. This may be a reference to Christ's temptation. Moreover, it is suggestive of the bronze serpent in Num 21:7–8.

139. R. R. Ervine made some helpful suggestions in the translation of the preceding passage.

140. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

141. This is discussed in §1.3 above.

142. See Stone 2006a, 87, 90–91.

143. Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos 1; see also chapter 2 §3.2. Satan's glory is not mentioned either in Luke 10:18 or in Rev 12:9. The idea could, however, have developed from Isa 14:11–17 and Ezek 28:12–15, though the actual word "glory" is not mentioned there. Armenian *Pen*.

he seems to be identified as the ruler of this world in which death prevails, the venomous serpent. In most of the texts discussed, dating from the sixth to ninth centuries, Satan's actual sin is not made explicit. In one instance it is clear, in Grigoris Aršaruni's statement discussed directly above, that he aspired to God's throne, the rarer form of the narrative of Satan's fall.

2.5 THE FALL OF SATAN: PRIMORDIAL/LUCIFER

Hamam Arewelc'i C9 interprets the verse "Before its breaking, the heart of man is haughty; and before thought, it is destroyed" (Prov 18:12) to refer to Satan, who by rebelling, wanted to become more elevated than his fellows. Because of this, he was cast down before everyone. He had been a brilliant Lucifer (morning star),¹⁴⁴ was named, and became darkness because of his pride. He defeated man who was abased with him.¹⁴⁵

In this passage nearly all the features of the myth of the fall of Satan may be observed. His sin was overweening pride and excessive ambition; he fell, was abased, and was made dark, lost his heavenly luminosity.¹⁴⁶ Hamam works out the reference to Isaiah's Lucifer passage in detail.

In his biblical epic *To Manuč'ē*, Grigor Magistros C10 has the following lines: "The Evil One thought, he who was formerly Lucifer / . . . / Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant."¹⁴⁷ This statement combines the idea of Lucifer derived from Isa 14:12 with that of Satan.¹⁴⁸ Satan was formerly Lucifer, and one of the early explicit occurrences of this well-established theme is the Latin version of the primary Adam book.¹⁴⁹ The idea that Satan was an angel who fell because of his "exaltation and arrogance" belongs to the same complex of ideas. This is the formulation of Grigor Narekac'i C10, so clearly the idea was well known by his time.¹⁵⁰

In the thirteenth century, Step'anos Ōrbelean says, "The Creator took care of his image, so that it would not, reaching perfect glory too zealously, rebel like the Deceiver, grow arrogant and fall."¹⁵¹ So God cared for humans so that they should not suffer from Lucifer's *hybris*. As a result of this, they might rebel and fall like "the Deceiver," a name that stresses Satan's Adamic connection. Eznik C5 says that Satan became a rebel because he disobeyed God's commandments, and he

Adam 12:1 has, "I was alienated from the throne of cherubim," while the Latin *L.A.E.* in the same place has, "I was expelled and alienated from my glory"; cf. Ben Sira 49:16 MS B.

144. See the discussion of this term in §2.1 above.

145. Hamam Arewelc'i 3.

146. See Isa 14:13–14 and §1.0 above.

147. Grigor Magistros 12.

148. On Satan as Lucifer, see §2.1.

149. Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3 (Anderson and Stone 1999, 17–17E).

150. Grigor Narekac'i 8.

151. Step'anos Ōrbelean 5.

calls Satan “rebel dragon” (compare Revelation 12).¹⁵² The same appellation is found in the writings of Yovhannēs K’orepiskopos C8, and Zak’aria Kat’olikos C9 calls Satan “rebel,” but in the context of his envy of Adam.¹⁵³ The connection of “rebel” with the primordial fall is clear, however, when Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says that first Satan established himself against God in enmity and rose up against the Creator and, having fallen from honor, by deceit persuaded humans to fall with him as well.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the term “rebel” is found throughout the literature and is connected mainly, but not exclusively, with the primordial fall story.

In the thirteenth century, Yovhanēs Erznkac’i Pluz wrote the following quatrain:

Sadayēl turned his face from the heavenly ranks,
He fell from the heaven to the deeps, and from light, remained in darkness.
He brought Adam forth from the Garden and cast him to the earth of the animals.
And we sons of Adam all inhabit a strange place.¹⁵⁵

Here the poet clearly refers to the myth of the fall of Satan, but he calls Satan “Sadayēl.” This particular form of the story with the name Sadayēl, is rather uncommon, but it does occur in the apocryphal Armenian Adam books, also connected with the myth of the primordial revolt against God,¹⁵⁶ notably in the *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §2.¹⁵⁷ The title occurs a second time in Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz’s poetry.¹⁵⁸ In the fifteenth-century amulet quoted in §1.0 above, the guardian of the souls in hell is also called Sat/dayēl.

Although infrequent in Armenian, this name belongs to a type known from non-Armenian apocryphal literature. In these texts, the angel who rebelled is called Satanel or Satanil while in heaven; in Armenian, Satan in Hades is given only this name in Amulet 116. The element “el” is theophoric, of course, and common in angelic names such as Rapha-el, Gabri-el, etc. in Jewish and Chris-

152. Eznik 16.

153. Yovhannēs K’orepiskopos 1; Zak’aria Kat’olikos 5.

154. Ignatius *vardapet* 5 and 7.

155. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 10.

156. On this, see §1.0 above, especially at n. 110.

157. Lipscomb 1990, 118. In many manuscripts of the Cycle of Four Works there exist as yet unpublished homiletic passages in which Sadayēl also appears. So in manuscript M6430 we read: Թողափեաց երկնից զղասս հրեշտակացն Սադայելի զի մեծ հրեշտակ էր քան զամենայն, “He scattered from the heavens the ranks of Sadayēl’s angels, for he was the greatest angel of all.” This text is undated. Kazazian and Stone published one such passage in 2004, 46–51.

158. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Pluz 10 and 48. In *NBHL*, the lemma “Sadayēl” occurs, with one reference to the eleventh-century authority Anania Sanahneac’i. Because *NBHL* provides no details, the exact reference remains unknown.

tian literature. According to the Satanel tradition, when he rebelled against God and was expelled from heaven, he lost the theophoric “el” and became just Satan. The Armenian form Sadayēl surely derives from the Satanel legend, though in the Armenian sources I examined the connection of this name with “Satan” is not mentioned explicitly. The name is known to us within a limited geographic and chronographic range, from the eleventh–fifteenth centuries, and to date only from these three sources, though further occurrences may well exist.¹⁵⁹

In the eighteenth century *History of Persia* by Xaç’atur Ĵulayec’i¹⁶⁰ we find the story of Satan’s fight against God, when he said: “Let me ascend and put my throne in the clouds and be like the Most High.”¹⁶¹ God responded and scattered him and his host, and they fell into the depth of the abyss. While falling, Satan stretched out his tail and dragged the third part of the stars down with him from the high heaven.¹⁶² On earth, Adam’s eating of the fruit caused enmity and trouble, when Adam abandoned God’s command and observed and accepted that of God’s enemy, until he was expelled from the glorious, living Garden.

159. See the Slavonic version of 3 Bar. 4:7–15 (trans. Gaylord, in Charlesworth 1983–85, 1:666). In the apocryphal Slavonic texts, the name Sataniel is connected with the story of bowing down to Adam. For example, in Slavonic manuscripts of 3 Baruch (Gaylord 1982, 307), following 4:17 we read:

And he said to Michael, “Sound the trumpet for the angels to assemble and bow down to the work of my hands which I made. And the angel Michael sounded the trumpet, and all the angels assembled, and all bowed down to Adam order by order. But Sataniel did not bow down and said, “To mud and dirt I will never bow down.” And he said, “I will establish my throne above the clouds and I will be like the highest.” Because of that, God cast him and his angels from his face just as the prophet said. These withdrew from his face, all who hate God and the glory of God.

...Then having gone, Satanael found the serpent and he made himself into a worm. And he said to the serpent, “Open (your mouth), consume me into your belly.” And he went through the fence into Paradise, wanting to deceive Eve. “But because of that one I was cast out from the glory of God.”

And the serpent ate him and went into Paradise and found Eve and said. “What did God command you to eat from the food of Paradise?” And Eve said, “From every tree of Paradise we eat; from this tree God commanded us not to eat.” And having heard Satanael said to her, “God begrudged the way you live lest you be immortal; take and eat and you will see and give it to Adam.” And both ate and the eyes of both were opened and they saw that they were naked . . .

Compare further Stichel 1989, 116–28; Orlov 2007, 175–95, 289–308. See, of course, Gaylord 1982. See further the recent discussion in Kulik 2010, 209–11.

160. See Bardakjian 2000, 89–90 on this work. See Xaç’atur Ĵulayec’i 3.

161. Isa 14:13–14.

162. Rev 9:4: “His tail swept down a third of the stars of heaven and threw them to the earth.” This verse was not cited in other texts discussed.

3.0 SATAN'S ENVY.

Above, I considered the reasons usually adduced for Satan's primordial revolt, above all pride, *hybris*, the desire to be God or be higher than God. Now I turn to the reasons for Satan's actions against Adam. In Armenian literature two main motives are mentioned: envy and deceit. Yet this statement needs further refining: envy or similar feelings seem to be the motive and deceit the means. Sometimes our sources speak of deceit as a motive and, indeed, it is possible that a wicked delight in deceit for its own sake was considered a motive. Yet most texts talking of deceit as if it were a motive are actually referring to it as the tool Satan used.

Many sources, from Wis 2:24 on, stress Satan's envy. It is not always clear of what he was envious, and a number of possibilities emerge from the Armenian sources. One was Satan's envy of Adam's priority in rank; another was his envy of the good things Adam was destined to receive, including eternal life, and Satan's consequent wish to replace him; a third, his envy of the benefits Adam had already received, including the image of God; and finally, his envy of Adam's paradisiacal delights, compared with his own fallen state.

Eznik C5 refers simply to Satan's "enmity" (թշնամութիւն) toward Adam.¹⁶³ In *Pen. Adam* 12:1 Satan says to Adam, "All my arrogance and sorrow came to pass because of you" and then relates the story of the Fall. Eznik is definitely of the fifth century, and it is likely that *Penitence of Adam* is also early. Indeed, the idea that the Devil's envy was the cause of Satan's fall and of Adam's, is found in the first work of Armenian literature, the translation of the Bible. In Wis 2:24 we read: "Through the envy of the tempter (the Devil) death entered the world."¹⁶⁴ Since the Bible, including Wisdom of Solomon, does not tell us the reason for Satan's envy, the question may justly be posed to later texts, Of what was Satan envious? The rebellion tradition mentioned above provides one motivation for Satan's envy: he was envious of Adam's priority in rank, despite his own priority of birth,¹⁶⁵ and so refused to obey God's command to do obeisance to Adam.¹⁶⁶ It is also possible that Satan is jealous of the image of God in Adam, though in that context *Penitence of Adam* does not state so.

Eznik states that Satan is inflamed specifically by jealousy, and similarly Łazar P'arbec'i says that the first-created one was subdued by the Devil's envy.¹⁶⁷

163. Eznik 7.

164. In *A Letter sent from the city of Amit* attributed to Łazar P'arpec'i 1, Wisdom of Solomon's statement is attributed erroneously to "the Catholic Epistles." David Winston (1979, 121–22) discusses this passage at length, highlighting instances of envy in primordial history.

165. Anderson 2001, 25–29.

166. Some later sources are quoted in Stone 1992, 22–23; *Transgression of Adam and Eve*, 10–12. Compare the somewhat different view in Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 3 (Stone 2005, 65).

167. Eznik 30 and Łazar P'arpec'i 1.

Neither prominent fifth-century author details either the cause of the envy or its results. Like them, T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor C7 says, no more specifically, that envy was the cause.¹⁶⁸ Elsewhere, he says that the Enemy deceived Adam by means of the divine name,¹⁶⁹ probably meaning that Satan argued about the divine command, using God's name, "for God knows that on the day on which you eat of it, etc." (Gen. 3:5). In any case, the statement relates to the technique Satan used to deceive Adam and not to the envy that motivated him. Again, nothing is said about its cause.

In the biblical epic poem *To Manuč'ē* by Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni C10, envy is a major theme:

Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue,
Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant.
By the envy of the Devil (Deceiver), the flattery of the dissembler,
They agreed to eat what they were commanded not to eat.¹⁷⁰

As I have already noted, some texts, like Grigor Magistros here, do not keep the motive and the means of the deceit distinct. The motive is envy; of what, he does not say. The means that he used is deceit.

In his *Elegy on Jerusalem*, Grigor Tlay C12 states that Adam sinned as a result of envy, that is, Satan's envy. "And if he transgressed in accordance with envy, | He was punished justly."¹⁷¹ Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 has a similar view, though he also introduces the serpent into the picture. As in other sources, the Devil's envy is set beside the actual deception carried out by the serpent.

Because of the envy of the evil Devil,
so that they were deceived by the serpent.¹⁷²

3.1 SATAN IS ENVIOUS OF THE HUMAN STATE

The idea that Satan is envious of Adam's rank occurs in a variety of early sources, such as 2 *En.* 31:3–6; Latin *L.A.E.* 12:1; Armenian *Book of Adam* 15:1 (զնախանձ, "envy," not in the Greek text, is added); 3 *Bar.* 4:8; and others.¹⁷³

168. T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor 4.

169. T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor 1.

170. Grigor Magistros 12.

171. Grigor Tlay 20. On this work, see van Lint 2002.

172. Kostandin Erznkac'i 4.

173. Winston (1979, 121) cites abundant rabbinic parallels. In *Death of Adam* §1 a different word, փախանք, also meaning "envy," designates the deception and fall. That work is probably translated from Greek. Winston points to the theme of envy also in Gnostic sources. In one manuscript of *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* (Stone 1992, 22), Satan is said to envy Adam and Eve's state in the Garden. Of course, in numerous other sources the idea of envy is connected with Cain, whose name is understood to derive from the Hebrew root *qan*, mean-

Satan envied man who inherited the Garden, which was perhaps identical to the empty camp of the rebellious angels, as asserted by Zak'aria Kat'olikos C9.¹⁷⁴ This would be unusual, setting Satan's prelapsarian abode in the Garden of Eden when usually it is in the highest heavens.¹⁷⁵ Satan's envy was unable to harm God as he wished, and so, instead, he harmed the image of God. Thus, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says succinctly, "[he] wished, through enmity towards man, to dishonour the Creator, who had made him his image and likeness."¹⁷⁶

In §2.2 above I related the story drawn from the *Penitence of Adam* about Satan's refusal to bow down to Adam, God's image, at Michael's behest. It seems that Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14 knew this story and adapted it theologically. He says, God the Word, incarnated, created Adam: when the angels saw God in Adam's image they worshiped him. Satan, considering him mere body and man did not worship him.¹⁷⁷

3.2 SATAN'S ENVY OF MAN'S PARADISIACAL AND FUTURE STATE

In contrast to these general statements, Agat'angelos C5 states explicitly that Satan saw Adam carefully observing the commandment and envied the good things he would receive; for that reason he plotted Adam's expulsion.¹⁷⁸ Thus, he makes the cause of the envy evident. Similarly, according to Eznik C5, Satan was jealous of the abundance of good things granted to Adam, including the image.¹⁷⁹ In Mambrē we read "the Evil One was envious of the good of Adam and cast

ing "envy"; cf. *T. Benj.* 7:5; and see the many parallels in Hollander and de Jonge 1985, 433; *History of the Forefathers* §§4–5. Cain was jealous over his sister whom Abel married; see *Testament of Adam* frg. 2.3 (Kmosko 1907, 1344) and other sources.

174. Zak'aria Kat'olikos 5.

175. The sources I examined do not attempt to systematize all these ideas, which do not always cohere.

176. Ignatius *vardapet* 5. Note the term *թշնամանութիւն* ("enmity"), used above of Satan's envy (§3.0, quoting Eznik 7). This is connected with the designation of Satan as "the Enemy" (ὁ ἐχθρός) in early sources. See *NBHL* 816, col. a, for an uncommon use of *թշնամի* with the same meaning.

177. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83. In this passage, Grigor Tat'ewac'i, after his fashion, introduces a number of explanations of Satan's envy. Certain of these have been discussed above, but we give the whole passage here: "Whence was Satan that deceived the man? The doctors say that Satan was one of the ranks of the celestial angels, and that he became proud and opposed God. . . . And certain people say that he envied the man's honour and was thinking, what is the holy perfection, and could not comprehend. . . . While Grigor Narekac'i says that when, in the beginning, God wanted to create the creations, God the Word appeared and was creating in incarnated appearance, like during Adam's creation, as our Grigor the Illuminator says. And all the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's image and worshipped and blessed him. And Satan did not worship, considering (him) mere body and man."

178. Agat'angelos 24.

179. Eznik 5, 7, and 9.

him down from the blessed life.”¹⁸⁰ These three fifth-century authors present the identical idea, that Satan envied Adam because of the good things that God had granted him, which for Eznik included the image of God in which Adam was created. Later, Kirakos Erznkac’i C14 stated that Satan “heard the man’s command of life (and) envied.”¹⁸¹

An analogous view may be found in Agat’angelos C5 26.¹⁸² However, in this section, Agat’angelos is more specific about the good things of which Satan was jealous. Beyond all, he was envious of the promise of potential immortality that Adam received. He sought to enslave him and inherit his position “having made him err, (and so) having brought him out of the promises, perchance he might be able to inherit his place.” Satan’s desire to enslave humans is supported by a quotation from 3 *Cor.* 11, which says that Satan “seized and bound all mankind.” This statement uses the significant language of slavery and freedom associated with Satan,¹⁸³ and it adds further specific features to our discussion of jealousy: first that Satan envied Adam’s potential immortality and, second, that as a result of his envy, he wished to replace Adam. The same idea occurs, as I have already noted, in Kirakos Erznkac’i C14.¹⁸⁴ Vardan Arewelc’i C13 says in different words that the serpent was envious of Adam and Eve becoming gods,¹⁸⁵ thus also identifying Satan and the serpent.

The statements just discussed imply that Satan had already lost his heavenly place and his glory when envy beset him, which happened after his rebellion and fall. Here Satan’s fall is connected with Adam’s creation. In the *Penitence of Adam* chs. 12–17, the story of Satan’s fall, no hint of a statement like Agat’angelos’s occurs, that is, that Satan wished to replace Adam.¹⁸⁶ Later in *Penitence of Adam*, in the story of Satan’s deceit of the serpent, he says, “Come on, rise up, come to me and hear what I say to you. Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden” [44](16):1–4.¹⁸⁷ This statement is written from the perspective of fallen Satan, just like excerpt 26 of Agat’angelos. Xosrow Anjewac’i C10 states that Satan’s aim is to prevent humans from returning to immortality which was their original state.¹⁸⁸

180. Mambrē 7.

181. Kirakos Erznkac’i 2. The phrase means, “heard the command which would give eternal life to Adam.”

182. Agat’angelos 26.

183. See Stone 2002, 168 and index s.vv. “enslavement,” and “freeing,” for further discussion of this idea. The language is old and widespread. See also Grigor Tat’ewac’i 31, 58, and Zak’aria Kat’olikos 2 and Grigor Narekac’i 2.

184. In his poem on St. George, Kirakos Erznkac’i 2.

185. Vardan Arewelc’i 32.

186. Somewhat similar language might be observed in the Latin *L.A.E.*, but that is different from the Armenian-Georgian text.

187. This is odd because “so that we may re-enter the Garden” implies that the serpent also had fallen or been expelled from the Garden.

188. Xosrow Anjewac’i 1.

The notion of Satan's anger toward God is a variation of the idea of Satan's envy of the human condition. More generally, Yovhannēs Mandakuni C5 says about envy that "envy and grudging are the beginning of sufferings, for by that Satan fell from glory, by that Adam went out of the Garden, and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all the descendants of Adam."¹⁸⁹ The order of events in this statement also implies that Satan's fall preceded his deception of Adam (see also §2.2 above). The thirteenth-century poet, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, taking up the same theme, says that Satan fallen from glory envied Adam (who, presumably, still had it).¹⁹⁰

Grigor Tat'ewac'i gives a rather different twist to the theme of envy when he says, discussing the reason for the creation of man from dust, that "he created (the man) of the dust (earth) to the shame of Satan, so that he might be ashamed when this weak and clay-made (man) entered the glory, from which he who was glorious had fallen."¹⁹¹ In the fifth-century literature, Satan's envy of God's beneficence to Adam, particularly of Adam's potential immortality, dominates. This is a reformulation in the terms of the biblical story of the apocryphal theme that Satan envied Adam's preeminence in creation. It complements the emphasis that the Armenian sources place on God's ultimate purpose in creating Adam, which was to enable him to achieve immortality through observing the single commandment and abstaining from the fruit of the tree. P'awstos Buzand makes a further statement about Satan's envy when he says that Satan corrupts man by his envy, leading to deceit and falsehood.¹⁹² As we will see, it is deceit that characterizes Satan's action toward humans, and it is also the heart of the biblical story.

Much later, in the thirteenth century, Vardan Arewelc'i speaks of the demons' jealousy, which is surely a variation on the theme of Satan's envy.¹⁹³ Above (§1.0) I noted that in the fifteenth-century amulet scroll, the same shift from Satan to the demons was made. Vardan Arewelc'i also clearly thinks that the "first serpent" envied Eve's glory.¹⁹⁴ This he infers, because the serpent deceived Eve. His text seems to imply a differentiation between the ancient serpent and Satan, but that is probably due to the differing biblical contexts from which the terms were drawn.¹⁹⁵

189. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3.

190. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82 says that Satan envied Adam's glory; others say that he envied man's honor (excerpt 83). See above on the idea of Adam's glory or luminous garment.

191. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 17.

192. P'awstos Buzand 2 = Garsoïan 1989, 130.

193. Vardan Arewelc'i 25.

194. According to Grigor Tat'ewac'i 44, the evil Enemy, Satan, stole the man's honor. Here again the issue is glory or honor, but deception is not mentioned explicitly.

195. This matter is discussed above in §§1.3 and 1.4.

Irrational anger was the cause of Satan, of Saul, and of the Jews, and of the heretics, just like that of the first serpent that was angry about Eve's glory.¹⁹⁶

All of this, although presenting a range of views, does not seem to show a great deal of conceptual development. The patterns already recognizable in the fifth century continue, though sometimes they are embroidered by the import of new legendary material or changed by new and different emphases deriving from the context in which the patterns are used.

3.3 SATAN, DECEPTION BY

A general statement is found that Satan deceived man, caused him to worship idols, and thus separated him from God; so Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz C14.¹⁹⁷ This statement does not necessarily refer to the Edenic events, though the biblical narrative describes the serpent deceiving Eve and causing her to eat the fruit (Gen 3:1–6). Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol in the seventh century states that “the first sin was born of falsehood as in the days of Adam,”¹⁹⁸ though actually envy was the cause and deceit the means. Indeed, envy is the dominant theme in the fifth-century writers.

Grigoris Aršaruni C7 makes a similarly nonspecific statement that unrighteousness is caused by deception of the serpent.¹⁹⁹ In a hymn (*šarakan*), Sahak Jorap'orec'i in the same century refers to the deception of the tree and seduction of the serpent in a general way.²⁰⁰ The thirteenth-century poet Frik says that Adam was deceived by a traitor, so it emerges that Satan is called “traitor.”²⁰¹ Sargis Šnorhali C12 simply assumes that Satan deceived Adam.²⁰² Vardan Arewelc'i asserts in even less-specific terms that Satan fraudulently deceived humans,²⁰³ again substantially identifying Satan and the serpent.

All these statements and some others are based on the commonplace that Satan deceived Adam. Xosrow Anjewac'i C10 says that the serpent deceived Eve and “raised hope for her that he himself was maker of gods.”²⁰⁴ In the seventeenth century, Anonymous Author 8 reads, “The serpent deceived Eve, Adam,” introducing Eve's name.²⁰⁵ Eve also features in a passage from Vardan Arewelc'i

196. Vardan Arewelc'i 19. “First serpent” comes from Rev 12:9 where Arm has *oā uauazhū* (*ōj arājin*), where the English translation is “ancient serpent”.

197. Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz 17.

198. Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol 1.

199. Grigoris Aršaruni 13.

200. Sahak Jorap'orec'i 1.

201. Frik 6. This is the word *uauazhū* and not the term *uauunhū* mentioned as Arm 1 biblical translation of *διαβολος*; see §1.3 above.

202. Sargis Šnorhali 9.

203. Vardan Arewelc'i 33.

204. Xosrow Anjewac'i 1.

205. Anonymous Author 8 1. Similar is Ep'rem Łap'anc'i 2.

C13.²⁰⁶ A *kafa* on the *Alexander Romance* by Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16 highlights the relationship between the serpent and Eve,²⁰⁷ while Aṛak'el Davrižec'i C17 speaks of "Eve's serpent."²⁰⁸ The same idea is to be found in Azaria Ĵulayec'i C16.²⁰⁹ In that century Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i mentions those (plural) who deceived Eve, most likely Satan and the serpent.²¹⁰

Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz C13 repeatedly speaks of the serpent, Satan's associate, who seduced Eve.²¹¹ The serpent "ruptured the boundary of the orchard of life," and deceived Eve.²¹² The serpent's wiliness and deception, already featured in Gen 3:1, are highlighted by Grigor Magistros's C10 reference to its pernicious words of deception²¹³ and Anania Sanahnec'i's C11 statement that it insinuated itself into the Garden.²¹⁴ Grigor Narekac'i C10 mentions the deception by Satan, rather than the serpent,²¹⁵ and Vardan Arewelc'i C13's similar statement was referred to above. A similar falling together of Satan and the serpent, is to be observed when Xosrow Anjewac'i C10 states that Satan raised hope in Eve that he was a maker of gods.²¹⁶ See §1.4.

In his *Commentary on Psalms*, Vardan Arewelc'i C13 calls Satan a hunter, who set becoming god as a net for Adam.²¹⁷ The imagery of Satan as hunter and his deception as a net is determined by the verse being commented on, that is, Ps 91:3 = Arm 90:3. It occurs nowhere else in the texts discussed here. The same idea, that Satan deceived the protoplasts through the desire to become God, is to be found in Grigor Daranalc'i C17²¹⁸ and his contemporary Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i, when they say that Satan sowed pride in Adam and Eve, by which he wanted to become god.²¹⁹

"Because of the envy of the evil Devil, so that they were deceived by serpent," states Kostandin Erzncac'i C14.²²⁰ In this line, he makes the causal relationship between Satan's envy and the serpent's deception quite clear. The means by which Satan achieves this aim are made explicit in many sources. Thus, Kira-kos Erzncac'i C14 in his *Poem on St. George* differentiates the roles of Satan and

206. Vardan Arewelc'i 19.

207. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4; cf. 2.

208. Aṛak'el Davrižec'i 1.

209. Azaria Ĵulayec'i 3.

210. Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i 1.

211. Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz 14, 24. In excerpts 7 and 51, the serpent is said to be Satan. Again, the unclear relationship of the two figures is evident.

212. Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz 74.

213. Grigor Magistros 2.

214. Anania Sanahnec'i 1.

215. Grigor Narekac'i 17.

216. Xosrow Anjewac'i 1.

217. Vardan Arewelc'i 23.

218. Grigor Daranalc'i 2.

219. Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i 11.

220. Kostandin Erzncac'i 4.

the serpent, and says that Satan took the serpent as a partner.²²¹ This differentiation, discussed above in §1.3, may well be dominant when Satan's primordial rebellion, the Lucifer myth, is invoked. However, when the stress is on the deception in the Garden, and particularly on the Edenic deception as the prototype of Satan's continued deceit of human beings, the roles of Satan and the serpent tend to fall together. In the passage of Kirakos quoted here, the focus is on the expulsion of Adam rather than on the deception of Eve.²²²

3.4 PUNISHMENT AND CURSES OF SATAN

Grigor Tat'ewac'i states that God did not leave Satan unpunished, but punished him through the serpent, which is intelligent. There were four players in the Eden incident: Adam (reason), Eve (the senses), the serpent (desire), and Satan (the instigator of desire).²²³ "The incorporeal serpent slandered God and deceived the first man by his tricks, and (then) the same slander, by way of recompense, was tied to the man's tongue." These are the words of Sargis Šnorhali C12.²²⁴ Why he should call the serpent "incorporeal" is unclear to me, nor is any detail given of Satan's punishment. This latter is generally reserved for the eschatological age, and frequently related to the harrowing of hell.

4.0 CURSES OF THE SERPENT

The great systematic thinker of the high Middle Ages Grigor Tat'ewac'i enumerates the curses of that came upon the serpent, as I set forth in chapter 4 §3.4.²²⁵

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is intriguing that over more than a thousand years of literature, relatively little change took place in the understanding of Satan and the serpent. The High Middle Ages saw a certain elaboration of narrative incidents and the significance of the story's elements. Yet, in fact, there are no radical transformations of this fundamental story. It would be interesting to see how other biblically derived traditions, Jewish and Christian, treat the same features over a millennium. The richness of the Armenian narrative tradition would be enhanced here were it to be combined with their artistic tradition. That, however, would be another trail to follow, and this one has been long enough.

221. Kirakos Erznkac'i 1.

222. Another functional differentiation is present when T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16 states that Satan deceived Adam but the serpent spoke with Eve; see excerpt 3.

223. Grigor Tat'ewaci 51.

224. Sargis Šnorhali 6.

225. Grigor Tat'ewaci 2.

PART II

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

FIFTH CENTURY

AGAT'ANGELOS C5

Text: Agathangelos, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of the Armenians: A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1909 Tiflis Edition with an Introduction by Robert W. Thomson* (Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1980).

Translation: Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians*, English translation by Robert W. Thomson (Albany: SUNY Press, 1976).

See also: Robert W. Thomson, *The Lives of Saint Gregory: The Armenian, Greek, Arabic, and Syriac Versions of the History, Attributed to Agathangelos* (Ann Arbor: Caravan Books, 2010). Thomson's translation has been changed somewhat in sections 1, 2, 3 as noted.

Յառաջաբան Ագաթանգեղեայ պատմութեան Prologue to the *History* of Agat'angelos

- 1 §9 Նոքա կեանք եւ փրկութիւն այնոցիկ որ մեղօքն են աղքատացեալ. նոքա են մեծութեան գանձ ծածկեալ յերկրի երկնաւոր Արքային. նոքա հաւատովք իւրեանց խնդացուցանեն եւ ուրախ առնեն զայնոսիկ, որք յԱստուծոյ մեծացեալ գանձնեն. նոքա զմերկս զզեցուցանեն, եւ զայնոսիկ, որք մեղօքն են մերկացեալ ըստ նմանութեանն Ադամայ լուսաւոր պատմուճանօք զզեցուցանեն. նոքա եւ զքաղցեալս յազեցուցանեն, որք անգիտութեան մեղօքն իցեն սովեալք. նոքա եւ զծարալիս արբուցանեն առաքինութեան բաժակաւն. նոքա եւ զգանձն երկնաւոր յաւելուն տան այնոցիկ որ առաւելագոյն ունիցին:

They are life and salvation for those who have become impoverished by sin, they are a great treasure¹ of the heavenly king hidden in the earth.² They rejoice and make happy by their faith those who, enriched by God, lay them up.³ They clothe the naked and those who have been stripped naked by sin like Adam, they dress in luminous garments. They satisfy the hungry, who

1. Literally: a treasure of greatness.

2. Matt 13:44.

3. This evokes Matt 6:20.

are starved by their ignorant sins. They give drink to the thirsty from⁴ the cup of virtue. They increase heavenly treasure for those who have more.⁵

Վարք եւ պատմութիւն սրբոյն Գրիգորի *Life and History of Saint Gregory*

- 2 §75 Արդ եւ մինչդեռ կայր նա կախեալ՝ սկսաւ խօսել ի կախադանի այսպէս. «Գոհանամ զքէն, Տէր, որ արժանի արարեր զանարժանութիւնս իմ քոյոյ պարգեւիդ. զի ի սկզբանէ իսկ սիրեցեր զստեղծուածս ձեռաց քոց, եւ ետուր զփափկութիւն անաշխատ հանգստեան դրախտին վայելչութեան. անմահս, անցաւս, անանց կենաց վիճակացն ուրախութեան պատրաստեցեր եթէ կացեալ էաք ի պատուիրանին, զոր եղեր ի ծառոյն չճաշակելոյ. զի ասացեր, թէ «Մի ուտիցէք յայդմ ծառոյ, զոր պատուիրեցի չուտել ի դմանէ». իբրեւ ոչ թէ ծառն անուանեալ կենաց կարէր տալ կենդանութիւն առանց քոյոյ բանիդ հրամանի կամացդ բարերարութեան, որ է կամք քո եւ բանդ եւ բարերարութիւնդ միածին Որդիդ, ծնունդ աստուածութեան քո. եւ Հոգիդ սուրբ, որ ի քէն բղիւն լնու զամենայն տիեզերս, որ է ընդ քեզ եւ ընդ միածնիդ յերթեանդ քում:

While⁶ he was hanging he began to speak on the gibbet as follows: “I praise you, Lord, who made my unworthiness⁷ worthy of your gift. For from the beginning, indeed, you have loved the creations of your hands, and you gave (us) the delight of untroubled repose in the garden of delight. You indeed prepared us immortal and free of pain, and pleasure of enjoyment of Paradise’s labor-less rest for the joyful portion of life that passes not away. Had we remained steadfast in the commandment which you gave not to eat from the tree, for you said: ‘Do not eat of that tree from which I have commanded you not to eat.’”⁸ Not that the tree, called (the tree) of life, could give life without the command of your benevolent will’s Word, who is your Will and your Word, and your benevolence and your Only-begotten son, the offspring of your Godhead, and your holy Spirit who proceeds⁹ from you (and) fills all the universe, who is with you and with your Only-begotten in your being.

- 3 §76 «Զի եթէ կացեալ էաք ի պատուիրանիդ քում, Տէր, եւ պահեալ եր զպատուիրանս, զոր եղեր վասն լաւութեան հանդիսի փորձութեան մերոյ՝ շնորհեալ լինէր քո մեզ զկեանս անցաւս, անաշխատս,

4. Or: with.

5. Cf. Matt 25:29.

6. Or: now also while.

7. Or: unworthy me.

8. Gen 2:17; 3:11.

9. Or: springs.

անբիծս, անհոգս, անտրտումս, առանց ծերանալոյ: Եւ յետ սերելոյն եւ բազմանալոյն, որ պատուիրեցեր կեալ մարմնաւորապէս, անամօթ փառօքն զգեցեալ իբրեւ հանդերձիւ ի դրախտին քում, յոր եղեր զմեզ, եւ յետ այնորիկ, որպէս յետ սրբութեան ամուսնութեան եւ որդի ծնանելոյ Ենովքայ, վերացուցեր զնա ի կարգս հրեշտակաց յուրախութեան վիճակն անմահութեան. արդ եթէ կացեալ էաք ի պատուիրանիդ ի քում հրամանի՝ ցուցեր դու մեզ օրինակ զԵնովք, զի եւ զմեզ յետ ի դրախտին վայելից եւ յետ երկրաւոր կարգացս յանմահութիւն փոխեալ լինէր քո զմեզ իբրեւ զԵնովք ի կարգս հրեշտակաց. եւ միահաղոյն ածեալ լինէր զարքայութիւն քո, զոր պատրաստեցեր կանխաւ ի փառս մեր՝ մինչ չեւ էր աշխարհ. զի «Զոր ակն ոչ ետես եւ ունկն ոչ լուաւ եւ ի սիրտ մարդոյ ոչ անկաւ պատրաստեցեր դու սիրելեաց քոց» յառաջագոյն, զոր տացես, դու Տէր, այնոցիկ որ սիրեցին զօր երեւելոյ գալստեան Միածնիդ քո:

“For if we had remained steadfast in your commandment, Lord, and we¹⁰ had kept this command which you imposed for the sake of testing us to exhibit goodness, you would have granted us life without pain, without labor, without blemish, without care, without sadness, without ageing. And after reproducing and multiplying, you commanded us to live bodily,¹¹ being clothed in glory without shame as with a garment in your Garden where you had placed us. Thereafter, as after the sacrament of marriage and Enoch’s begetting a son, you raised him to the ranks of the angels, to the lot of immortal joy.¹² Now, if we had observed the injunction of your commandment, you would have shown us forth like Enoch. For after the pleasures of Paradise and after this earthly course (of life)¹³ you would have transferred us like Enoch to the ranks of the angels and your kingdom would have been brought in all at once, which you prepared aforetime for our glory before the world existed. For “that which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has fallen into the heart of man, you have prepared for those who loved you”¹⁴ previously, which you will give, Lord, to those who have loved the day of the appearance of the coming for¹⁵ your Only-begotten.

- 4 §77 «Իսկ արդ՝ իբրեւ ետես թշնամին զմեզ պատուեալս ի մարդասիրութենէ կամարար կամաց քոց նախանձեալ ընդ պատիւ թագի պարծանաց մերոց, պատուին քո որ տուաւ ի քէն, զի ասացեր, եթէ «Ի նմանութիւն պատկերի կերպարանաց իմոց արարի ես զմարդն, եւ կացուցի զնա Տէր ամենայնի»։ որ առ նախանձ

10. Or: this commandment had been observed.

11. Cf. Gen 1:28.

12. Cf. Gen 5:22, 24.

13. Or: “these earthly ranks (կարգ),” the same word as in “ranks of the angels.”

14. 1 Cor 2:9.

15. Or: of.

թշնամուն քանսարկուի՝ հրապոյրք ցոփացուցիչք մտին յաշխարհ, եւ արկին զմարդիկ ի կենաց եւ ի հանգստեանց, զոր դու առ քում բարերարութեանդ շնորհեցեր մարդկան, որ կորուսին զայն:

“But now when the enemy saw us being honored by the benevolence of your will,¹⁶ he was jealous of the honor of the crown of our boasting,¹⁷ of the honor given by you in that you said ‘I have made man in the likeness of the image of our¹⁸ form and I have set him up as lord of all’.¹⁹ At the jealousy of the slandering²⁰ enemy the charms of debauchery²¹ entered the world and cast men from life and repose,²² which you in your mercy²³ had granted mankind who lost them.

- 5 §141 Իսկ իբրեւ տեսին առաքինիքն զգաղտաձիգ նետս թշնամուն, որ ի ծածուկն սովոր էր ձգել ի սուրբսն քրիստոսասէրսն, աման չարի գտեալ զթագաւորն. որպէս ի դրախտի անդ զօձն անդրովար արարեալ. առ ի պատուիրանն մոռանալոյ, մտեալ յանգգամ յունկն կնոջն առաջնոյ. սոյնպէս եւ աստ զթագաւորն անարեւն իբրեւ զվահանակ երեսաց գտեալ նովաւ մարտուցեալ ընդ աստուածաշէն եկեղեցիս:

“But when the pious women saw the hidden arrows of the enemy,²⁴ who is accustomed to shoot secretly at the saints who love Christ, they found the emperor (had become) a vessel of evil,²⁵ and that just as in the Garden he had used the snake as a vehicle for causing the²⁶ forgetting of the commandment, entering²⁷ into the ear of the first woman,²⁸ so here too he had used the lawless emperor as a mask, through which he could fight with the church built by God.

- 6 §144 «Տէր տերանց, Աստուած աստուծոց, Աստուած յաիտենական, Աստուած երկնից, Աստուած անձառ լուսոյ, որ հաստատեցեր զամենայն բանիւ քով. որ արարեր զերկինս եւ զերկիր եւ զամենայն

16. Literally: will-doing (i.e., complaisant) will.

17. 1 Thess 2:19.

18. Literally: my.

19. Gen 1:27; Ps 8:6 = Arm 8:7.

20. Or: Deceiver, Slanderer = διάβολος, Devil. The word is translated “Devil” in our own translations, throughout.

21. Cf. 2 Macc 6:21.

22. Cf. Wis 2:24.

23. Or: beneficence.

24. Eph 6:6.

25. Cf. Jer 51:34.

26. Alternatively: used the snake a yoked pair (i.e., with himself).

27. Or: entering unfelt.

28. Cf. Gen 3.

զարդ նոցա. որ ստեղծեր զմարդն հող յերկրէ եւ զիմաստուն կացուցեր եւ բազմացուցեր զնա ի վերայ երկրի, եւ օգնական եղեր նոցա ի դարս իւրաքանչիւր որ յուսացան ի քեզ:

“Lord of lords, God of gods, God eternal, God of heaven, God of ineffable light, who established everything by your word, who made heaven and earth and all their order,²⁹ who fashioned man (as) dust from the earth³⁰ and rendered him wise³¹ and made him increase upon the earth³² and were helpful to those who³³ hoped in you³⁴ in each one’s age.”

AGAT‘ANGELOS, ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ ԵՒ ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏՈՒԹԻՒՆ Ս.
ԳՐԻԳՈՐԻ HISTORY AND TEACHING OF ST. GREGORY

Text: Agathangelos, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of the Armenians: A facsimile reproduction of the 1909 Tiflis Edition with an Introduction by Robert W. Thomson* (Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1980).

Translation: *The Teaching of Saint Gregory: Revised Edition, Translation, commentary, and introduction* by Robert W. Thomson (Avant: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition 1; New Rochelle, N.Y.: St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2001).³⁵

- 7 §259 Տէր Աստուած, որ նա միայն ինքնութեամբ, եւ ոչ որ յառաջ քան զնա. չիք որ այլ Արարիչ ամենայնի որ երեւի եւ որ ոչն երեւի. բայց Որդին միածին որ ի Հօրէ ծնեալ, եւ Հոգի նորուն որ ի նորին յերթնէ. որով եղև աշխարհս ի սկզբանց անդ, արարեալ միասնական Երրորդութեանն միով զօրութեամբ կամացն ամենագօրաց, միախորի, միակամ, միաբուն ինքնութեամբ, եւ ամենայն ի նմանէ եղեալ, երկինք եւ երկիր: Արարեալ զերկինս խորանարդ հաստայարկ, եւ զերկիր թանձրահատակ աղիւսեալ սեղմեալ. եւ զերկինս կախեալ զոչնչէ, եւ զերկիրս ի վերայ ոչնչի կացուցեալ, եւ ի նմին զանդունդս

29. See Arm Gen 2:1, following the Greek translation.

30. Cf. Gen 2:1, 7.

31. Alternatively: established the discerning one.

32. Cf. Gen 1.28.

33. Alternatively: in each age who.

34. Cf. Exod 15:2.

35. We give Thomson’s translation exactly, except for relegating biblical references to the footnotes. Readings marked “MES” are my suggested alternative translations. Only when I definitely prefer my own formulation for a substantial sequence of text do I replace Professor Thomson’s. These instances are marked by putting my translation into italics. Nearly all these differences are questions of degrees of literalness.

համատարածս խաւարագգածս աներեւոյթս անկազմս անարարս եւ անյարդարս, անպատրաստս ստուերամածս:

The Lord God is unique in essence, and there is no one before Him. There is no other creator of all that is visible and invisible, except the only-begotten Son who is born from the Father, and the Spirit of the same who is from the being of the same; by whom was made this world in the beginning,³⁶ created by the single power of almighty will, one essence of united thought, will, and nature of the consubstantial Trinity; and everything was made by Him, heaven and earth. He made the heaven domed and solidly vaulted, and the earth firm, enclosed and compact; and heaven He suspended in the void, and the earth He set above the void, and in the void the vast abyss, dark, invisible, unordered, formless and shapeless, diffuse and shadowy.³⁷

- 8 §260 Եւ անդէն իսկ ընդ ասելն Հօրն արարչութեան ցարաջակից Որդին եւ ցհամագործ Հոգին որ ի վերայ ջուրցն շրջէր, անդ ի ներքոյ / ջուրցն հրամայեաց լինել կազմածոյն յօրինուածոց արարածոց: Ասացեալ ի Հօրէ առ խորհրդակալսն խորհրդակատարսն համագործսն լինել լոյս, եւ անդէն եղեալ լոյսն համասփիւռ խաւարակուլ օրաբեր: Եւ յետ այսորիկ հաստատութիւն ջրամած սառնեղէն ծովահերձ ջրաբաժին: Եւ յետ այսորիկ ասացեալ միասնական Երրորդութեանն զօրութեան լինել լուսաւորացդ առ ի ջրեղէն խորանանման հաստատութեան երկնին ճառագայթածիգգ, աշխարհագունդք, նշանացոյցք, ժամանակաչափք. եւ ապա զազգն շնչակեաց թռչնոց եւ զեռնոց եւ ջրածին կայտառաց:

And then with his creative word to the co-creator Son and co-worker Spirit,³⁸ who moved over the waters,³⁹ the Father⁴⁰ commanded to come into being below the waters the orderly ranks of creatures. The Father said to his co-workers, who share and carry out his counsel, that there should be light;⁴¹ and then was created the light, ubiquitous, darkness-swallowing, day-bringing.⁴² And after this [was created] the firmament,⁴³ covered with water, icy, dividing the seas, separating the waters, from which appeared the dry land, mother of all, fertile in flowers and plants. After this the power of the consubstantial Trinity said that there should be luminaries in the watery, domed

36. Gen 1:1.

37. Gen 1:2.

38. MES: indeed, at the speech of the creative Father to the co-creative Son and to the co-worker Spirit.

39. Gen 1:2.

40. MES: then he.

41. Gen 1:3.

42. MES: sharers of his counsel and its execution, for light to come into being, and immediately the diffused light came into being, darkness-devouring, and day-bearing.

43. Gen 1:7.

firmament of heaven, as lamps, globes, markers, time-measurers.⁴⁴ Then [He created] the race of breathing birds and reptiles and lively fish.⁴⁵

- 9 §261 Յետոյ բոխեալ եռացեալ յերկրէ ամենայն չորքոտանեաց ազգ, իւրաքանչիւր ըստ իւրում կարգի, վայելելիս հաստատեալ յառաջակամ պատրաստութեամբ կամացն աստուածութեան առ ի պատիւ մարդոյն: Որ զվայելչականն հանդերձեալ առնել Արարչին, որ կամարար կամացն առեալ անդէն զբարերարութիւն իւր ցուցանել, առնել զբանաւոր զիմաստուն զխօսուն արարածն, ի մէջ անխօս անբան անիմաստ արարածոցն: Զի իմաստունն զիտասցէ զպատիւ Արարչին. իմացեալ զԱրարչին սքանչելութեան շնորհս փառաւորութեան զիտասցէ դարձուցանել ի նմանէ զփառաւորութիւն փոխարէն. եւ ընդ նմին եւ ի ձեռն նորին ամենայն արարածք երեւեալ զործքն մատուցեն զփառաւորութիւն:

Afterwards sprang up⁴⁶ from the earth all the four-footed kind, each in its own order,⁴⁷ wonderfully established as enjoyments by the spontaneous readiness of the will of the Godhead for the honour of man, who was destined to perform what was enjoyable (fitting) for the Creator. Whose willing will, having desired to show His beneficence all at once, made the rational, discerning, speaking creature among the dumb, irrational, undiscerning creatures. So that the discerning one might come to know the honour of the Creator, apprehending the wondrous grace of the Creator's glorification, he might learn thereby to give back in return glorification and with him and through him, all visible created works might offer glorification.

- 10 §262 Իսկ ի մէջ աներեւութիցն արարեալ աներեւոյթ փառաւորիչս - զօրս հրեշտակաց հոգեղէնս, հրեղէնս, բազմութիւնք զուարթոնց: Սոքա յօդս վերինս բնակեալ են, ի վերայ հաստատութեան ջրայարկի. իսկ մարդկանս ի ներքոյ, ի հողեղէն բնակութեան երկրիս, տուան վիճակք: Զի Աստուծոյ բարերարի զամենայն արարեալ, կարգս լինելութեան հաստատեալ. իսկ չարն յանձնիշխան կամաց մտեալ կործանէ զիւրաքանչիւր ոք առանձինն. այլ յԱրարչէն բարի եղեալ ամենայնն խաստատեցաւ:

In the midst of the invisible creatures, He created the invisible glorifiers—the hosts of angels, spiritual and fiery; multitudes of watchers. These dwell

44. Gen 1:4.

45. Gen 1:20–21. MES: for there to come into being on the watery, tent-like (Ps 104:2 = Arm 103:2) firmament of the heaven, radiant ones, orbs, showers of signs and measurers of time; and then the genus of air-breathing birds, crawling creatures and water-born living beings.

46. MES: sprang up and bubbled up.

47. MES: rank; see Gen 1:24.

in the upper air⁴⁸ above the water-covered firmament. But to us men has been given a place⁴⁹ below, in the terrestrial dwelling place of this earth. For benevolent God has created everything, establishing the ranks of created being. But the Evil One entering by means of autonomous will, destroys each individual separately, but everything was established by the Creator, having come into being as good.

- 11 §263 Որ յառնելն զմարդն՝ սքանչելագոյն կարգաւ զիշխանն ի մէջ անցուցեալ, եւ անդ է տեսանել սքանչելիս եւ զարմանալիս եւ անհասական հրեշտակակերպս: «Արասցուք, ասէ, մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան»: Իսկ արդ ըստ որում պատկերի արդեօք ասիցէ, եւ կամ ըստ որում նմանութեան զմարդն առնել. քանզի անեղծական, անստեղծական, անտարրական, իսկական աստուածութիւնն ճանաչի: Որպէս լինելոցն արդեօք էականին հանգոյն առնոյր լինել, կամ հողն սակաւիկ ինքնաբուն զօրութեանն Աստուծոյ. որ եւ անտեղեօք եւ անչափակալ վայրօքն, անսկզբնական լիութիւնն անմատոյց յումեքէ ունի մշտնջենաւոր նոյն պարզական եւ անշարժական միապէս:

He who, in the making of man, presented him in a most wonderful rank as the ruler, and there one can see wonders and marvels, and incomprehensible angelic forms. "Let us make," He said, "man according to our image and likeness." According to whose image then, does He mean, or according to whose likeness,⁵⁰ that He would make man? For the essential Deity is known to be incorruptible, uncreated, and immaterial. How could what was to be created take on similarity to the truly existent; or the dust, in some little respect, (be like) to the real hypostasis of God? God is neither limited by space nor finite in extent but has fullness without beginning and is inaccessible to anyone, eternally the same, simple and unmoving without distinction.

- 12 §264 Իսկ արդ՝ որպէս ստեղծականին զինքն օրինակ դնիցէ, եւ կամ զկանն դրօշեալ Աստուծոյ պատկերան ձեւիցէ. զոր եւ ասէն իսկ, թէ «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա»: Նախ ասաց բանս յառաջասաց պատմութեան հանդերձելոցն, ապա անցյառաջակայսն, եւ ի լինելոցսն նշմարեցուցանէ: Եւ են որ անդէն իսկ մօտալուտ առաջոյ ի նոյն ի նմին ժամանակի դէմ յանդիման ցուցանէ. զի տէր ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա: Մի վասն իմաստութեան, բանաւորութեան, իսկամտութեան, կենդանութեան, հոգեւոր շնչոյն, զոր շնորհնեաց առաւելութիւն՝ զիտել ճանաչել իմանալ եւ ի միտ առնուլ զամենայն շնորհաց զաստուածակիր զաստուածատուր

48. MES: atmosphere.

49. MES: were given allotments.

50. Gen 1:26.

իմաստութիւնն եւ զբանաւորութիւնն, զաստուածածանօթութիւնն եւ զպետութիւնն, եւ իշխել ի վերայ ամենայն երկրաբուղիս երկրածին ստեղծուածոցն, եւ զգիտութիւն յառաջգիտութեանն, եւ կացոյց զնա տէր ամենայնի: Եւ ասաց Աստուած, թէ «Ամենայն քաղցրաբուղիս սերմանիք երկրի՝ ձեզ լիցի ի կերակուր»: Եւ ապա զամենայն զազանս եւ զանասունս եւ զթռչունս ածեալ առաջի մարդոյն հնազանդէր: Իսկ ապա աստուածակիր իմաստութեամբն խելամտեալ՝ ճանաչել ըստ իւրաքանչիւր ըստ առանձնային կերպարանաց զանունն նշմարեցուցանել. զի զգիտութիւն Տեառն ի մէջ անցուցեալ, նորա գիտութեամբ զնորա արարածս ճանաչել՝ նորա նման անուանեցաւ:

So how could He set himself as a model for the created, or sculpt and form clay in the image of God, according to the saying: “In the image of God He created him”⁵¹ He spoke in advance words of the predicted history of the future events, then He turned to the present things and he indicates what is going to happen. And by indicating present things, He thereby shows the future. And there are those things which at once, indeed, imminently present, in that self-same time he demonstrates openly, for the Lord made him according to the image of God. First, because of discernment, rationality, intelligence, vitality, spiritual breath, which He bestowed as an advantage, to know, realise, discern, and consider all the God-bearing, God-given wisdom of grace and rationality, recognition of God and leadership, and his ruling over all things sprouting from the earth and born of the earth, and knowledge of prescience. And He established him as lord of all; and God said: “All the sweet seeds of the earth will be food for you.”⁵² And then, all the wild beasts and animals and birds He led before the man⁵³ and subjected them (to him). Then, gaining understanding by means of his God-bearing discernment, he recognised each one according to its individual form and indicated its name. So, bringing forward knowledge of the Lord and by means of this knowledge recognising His creatures, he was called “like” Him.

- 13 §265. Եւ մի՛ վասն այսորիկ ասէ նման, վասն անձնիշխանական կամացն իշխանութեան: Զի յԱստուծոյ յամենագործութեանն եւ ամենարարութեանն երկու արարածք պատուականք եւ արգոյք եղեալք ի բարերարէն հաստատեցան, մարդիկ եւ հրեշտակք: Արդ զմարդիկ թողեալ ի կամս անձնիշխան կամաց, վասն զի իւրովք կամօք անձնիշխանութեանն գիտացել ընդ բարեացն գործոց շնորհս գտանել ի բարերար Տեառնէն եւ յԱրարչէն. եւ եղեալ առաջի նորա զգիտութիւն պատուիրանաց հաճոյիցն Աստուծոյ, զի գիտացել խոյս տալ ի չարէն, եւ զբարին ընտրել իւրոց կամացն լաւութեամբ,

51. Gen 1:27.

52. Gen 1:29.

53. Gen 2:19.

իրբէլ յինքեան քաջութենէ, իւրով անձնիշխան կամօք՝ յԱրարչէ անտի զիւրոց վաստակոց առեալ զփոխարէնս պատուեցէ:

And for another thing, He says “like” because of his authority of independent⁵⁴ will. For in the omnipotence and all-creativeness of God two honourable and precious creatures came into being and were established by the benevolent one—humans and angels. Now, He left man to the willing of his autonomous will, so that by the autonomy of his own will he might learn to find grace from the beneficent Lord and Creator in return for his good deeds. And He placed before him the knowledge of the commandments pleasing to God, that he might know to take flight from evil and to choose the good by the probity of his will, as by his own virtue, through his independent will; and that receiving from the Creator the reward for his labours, he might honour Him.

- 14 §266 Իսկ վասն նմանութեանն իմանալի է այսպէս. զի ամենայն արարածք ընդ հնազանդութեամբ ծառայութեան են հարկեալք. զի մի այլ աւելիս ինչ իշխեսցեն գործել քան զայն, որչափ ինչ նոցայն հրամայեցաւ. հարկք եղան ի վերայ իւրաքանչիւր կատարել զհրամանս: Բայց Աստուած զմարդն միայն բազմապատիկ փառաւորեաց եւ մտօք մեծացոյց, հոգեխառն հրեշտակակիցս խոնարհագոյնս արար:

But, concerning “likeness” it is to be understood thus, that all creatures are obligated under the obedience of servitude, so that they are not⁵⁵ able to effect anything more than as much as has been commanded them, each being placed in the necessity⁵⁶ to fulfil the commands. But God honoured mankind alone manyfold, and enriched them with a mind, and made him,⁵⁷ a more humble companion to the angels.⁵⁸

- 15 §267 Տես զարեգակն եւ զլուսին եւ զաստեղս՝ մեծամեծս որչափ քան զմարդն իցեն, եւ նորա կամացն կան, հարկեալք ընդ հրամանաւ պատուոյնս ազգրին: Ոչ արեգակն յընթացից դադարէ, եւ ոչ լուսին կասէ ի մաշէլ եւ լնուլ, ոչ աստեղք զկարգօք իւրեանց անցանեն, եւ ոչ լերինք տեղափոխ լինին. ոչ օդք ի շնջելոյ դադարեն, եւ ոչ ծով ի սահմանս ծփանաց անդնդային մոլեգին ալեացն խռովելոց յուզելոցն սաստկութեամբ անդադար կուտակելոցն՝ զեղեալ սահմանն ոչ կարացեալ անցանել եւ ապականել զերկիր. եւ ոչ երկիր բառնալ կրել դանդաղի զամենայն: Որոյ հրամանաւ յօրինեալ է ամենայն, որոյ

54. MES: autonomous.

55. MES: might not be.

56. MES: obligation was placed upon each one.

57. MES: him a partly spiritual, i.e., հոգեխառն in Armenian, “with spirit mixed in.”

Compare the language of the Psalm

58. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6 cited in Heb 2:7.

սուրբ եւ երկնաւոր զուարթունքն կան յանդադար փառաբանութեան: Որ արար զբարձրութիւն երկնից եւ զթիւս աստեղաց, զջուրս ծովու եւ զաւազ երկրի, զկշիռս լեռանց: Որ հանէ զամպս եւ արգելու զհողմս, եւ դարձուցանէ զերեկ, եւ դալարեցուցանէ զչոր զօսացեալս, եւ ժողովէ զանձրեաշիթս: Վասն որոյ մարգարէութեան հոգին պատմէ, թէ «Ո՛ր չափեաց ափով իւրով զջուրս ամենայն, եւ թզաւ զերկինս, եւ զերկիր ամենայն քլաւ իւրով. ո՛վ եղ զլերինս ի կշիռս, եւ զդաշտս կշռորդօք եբարձ:» Որ իցէ տեղին, որ գնա բարձեալ ունիցի, որոյ բանիւ արարածք ամենայն կախեալ կան: Որ գիտէ զանցս զնացից երկնաւոր գնտոցն, որ ի վերայ օդոց շրջին, եւ ոչ թիւրին. տարածին, եւ ոչ ըստ արտուղի անկանին. ելանեն եւ մնան վարձկանք պարտաւորք տարւոյ. կասեն արժարծին ի տունջենէ ի գիշեր եւ ի գիշերոյ ի տիւ. փոխարէնս արկեալ միմեանց յիսարիսին աննախանձ տան, անարգել դարձուցանեն ի չափ ժամանակաց, ի չորս որոշմունս փոփոխել տարւոյն, որպէս եւ Աստուած կարգեաց:

See the sun and moon and stars! So much greater than man are they, yet they stand under His will, constrained by the requirement of the command.⁵⁹ The sun does not linger on⁶⁰ its course, nor does the moon cease to wane and wax; the stars do not overstep their courses, nor do the mountains change their place. The winds do not cease to blow, nor is the sea, in its confines of deep and furious swells, in its violence of raging and turbulent waves continually amassed, able to pass its allotted boundary and destroy the earth, nor does the earth cease to support and carry all. By his command is all arranged,⁶¹ his holy and heavenly Watchers stand in ceaseless praising. He made the height of the heavens and the number of the stars, the waters of the sea and the sand of the earth, the balance of the mountains. He draws along⁶² the clouds and restrains the winds, and brings back the evening, and makes green the dried-up grass, and gathers the raindrops.⁶³ Concerning Him the spirit of prophecy relates: "Who measured with his palm all the waters, and with his span the heavens, and all the earth with his fingers? Who placed the hills in a scale and weighed the plains with measures?"⁶⁴ Which is the place that holds up Him⁶⁵ by whose word all creatures are suspended? He knows the paths of the courses of the heavenly spheres, which circle above the air and are not deflected, which spread out and do not go astray. They come and

59. MES: command of the instruction.

60. MES: cease from.

61. MES: fashioned. On such lists see Stone 1976. The sources are complex, but, inter alia, 4 Ezra is quoted here. See Stone 1979, verse 5:36D.

62. MES: who brings forth.

63. 4 Ezra 5:36

64. Isa 40:12.

65. MES: contains Him.

stay as labourers hired for a year, they cease⁶⁶ and are relit from day to evening and from evening to day, giving reward, they recompense one another, they give ungrudgingly, freely returning to the measure of their times, to change at the four seasons of the year, just as God arranged.

- 16 §270 Երկինք եւ երկիր, արեգակն եւ լուսին եւ բազմութիւնք աստեղաց, եւ ծովք, գետք, գազան եւ անասուն, սողուն եւ թռչուն, ձկունք լուղականք, լեալք, լինելոցք՝ զիրաքանչիւր կարգեալսն ըստ իւրաքանչիւր հրամանացն մատուցանեն: Բայց միայն մարդոյն անձնիշխան թողան կամքն՝ զինչ եւ կամեսցի. եւ այլ աւելի ինչ ոչ բռնադատեցաւ քան զայն որ ազդեալ ասացաւ - չճաշակել նմա ի ծառոյ անտի. զի այնու արժանի արասցէ զնա փոխանակ ընդ փոքուն մեծամեծս ընդունել. վասն իւր շնորհ ունելոյն վաստակոց լիցի առնուլ նմա յԱրարչէն զփոքունց փոխարէն զմեծամեծ շնորհսն: Վասն այնորիկ եւ զանձնիշխան կամաց նմա հրամայեաց կամակար իշխանութիւն:

Heaven and earth, sun and moon and multitudes of stars, seas and rivers, beasts and animals, reptiles and birds, swimming fishes, created things and things to be created, each offer (to God) the things ordered for it according to the commandments for each of them. Only the will of man has been left autonomous to do whatever he wills. And he has been constrained in nothing more than what was warned: not to eat of the tree,⁶⁷ that thereby He might make him worthy to receive greater things in return for lesser, and that by virtue of his having grace for his task, he might receive from the Creator, as recompense for lesser grace, greater grace. For this reason He commanded him to have the obedient power of autonomous will for him.

- 17 11 §271 Կամ որպէս մարդ հողաբեր՝ օրինակաւ Արարչին յաշխարհ գայցէ, առժամագիւտ մատուցականն անմատոյց էականին նմանութեամբ առնուցու լինել զլինելն: Քանզի անսահմանական եւ անվայրափակ եւ առանձնական զօրութեամբ, աստուածական անուամբն միայն արդեօք մեծարեաց ըստ պատկերին ասելով. այն չէ ինչ ի դէպ: Քանզի ասէ Գիրն, թէ «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա». եւ այլուր ասէ, եթէ «Աստուած հաստատեաց զմարդն յանեղծութիւն, եւ ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ բարերարութեանն արար զնա». եւ միւս եւս աստուածածանօթ իմաստութիւնն ասաց, թէ «Մարդ պատկեր Աստուծոյ է»: Այլ անդէն ի սկզբանն կարգեաց Աստուած մարդոյն մերձաւոր եւ ծանօթ կերպարանաց Աստուծոյ լինել, քանզի ոչ ի հաստատելն միայն, այլ առաւել ի ծանօթն առնել փութայ: Քանզի նմանութեամբ մարդոյ երեւեալ Աստուծոյ ի ստեղծանել զմարդն հող յերկրէ, եւ փչեաց յերեսս նորա շունչ կենդանի, եւ եղել

66. MES: stop shining.

67. Gen 2:17.

մարդն յոգի կենդանի: Ստեղծեալ գմարդն ձեռօք իւրովք՝ եւ արկ ի նա զկենդանութիւն ի փչել բերանոյ իւրոյ զկենդանական շունչն իմաստակիր մտաւորութեան բանաւորութեան ազդեցութեան. զի անդէն զաչս բացեալ արարածոյն՝ զԱրարիչն ծանիցէ, եւ անդէն Աստուծոյ բարերարութեան արարչութեանն ընտանի ի մերձաւոր, գիտակ եւ պատմիչ լինիցի:

But how could man, sprung from the earth, come into the world in the image⁶⁸ of the Creator and, but recently found and accessible, receive his being through likeness to the inaccessible, essential⁶⁹ one? For in his unbounded, uncircumscribed, individual power, did He honour him alone with the divine name, by saying: “in the image”? That is not at all by accident, for the Scripture says: “In the image of God He created him”⁷⁰ and elsewhere says: “God established man in incorruptibility, and in His own image of benevolence He created him.”⁷¹ And another divinely acquainted wisdom said: “Man is the image of God.”⁷² In the very beginning God ordained that man should be close to God and aware of His form, for He was anxious not only to establish him, but even more to make him acquainted with Him. For God appeared in the likeness of a man in creating man as dust from the earth,⁷³ and He blew into his face living breath, and the man became as⁷⁴ a living spirit. He created man with his own hands and put in him life, by blowing with his mouth the life-giving breath of wise intelligence, rationality, and perception, that the creature, opening his eyes, might⁷⁵ recognise the Creator and thus become familiar with, and close to, and aware of, and a narrator of, the benevolent creative activity of God.

- 18 §272 Եւ թէ զհարդ ամենայն արարածոց առեալ հրաման լինել յանկիւրոյ, ի չքաւոր յանկերպարան նուրոյ, որպէս ընդելական կերպարանացն եւ ձայնի հրամանացն առանցյապաղանաց ամենայն արարածքսպասաւորականք զհրամանսն կատարիցեն: Իսկ իսկական աստուածութիւնն ի ծածկութեանն ի վերոյ քան զտարրական նմանութիւնս եւ զձայնել զազդեցութիւնս, յիւրում յառանձնական յերութեանն զիւրն ունի: Այլ վասն երեւելի արարածոցս առեալ նմանութիւն, վասն ժուժկալութեան արարածոցս խոնարհեսցի: Զի թէ ոչ այնպէս էր, ոչ որ էր որ տեսլեանն բնութեան կամ ինքեան ձայնին

68. MES: through a copy.

69. MES: increate.

70. Gen 1:27.

71. Wis 2:23.

72. 1 Cor 11:7.

73. Gen 2:7.

74. MES: omit “as.”

75. MES add: all at once.

բարբառոյ ժուծալ կարէր. այլ որպէս զի կարասցեն զնա տեսանել՝ վասն այսորիկ առեալ նմանութիւն երեւելի, բարբառոյ ազդեցութիւն:

And how could all created things receive a command to come in to being from immaterial, undifferentiated, formless matter; and as if familiar with the form and the sound of the commands, without delay all ministering creatures fulfil the commands? The essential Deity in secret, superior to material likenesses or to voicing aloud his warnings, in his own individual being has his own [existence].⁷⁶ But he took on a likeness for the sake of these visible creatures, to humble Himself for the strengthening of the creatures. If He had not done so, there would have been no-one who could endure the vision of his nature or the sound of his voice. But that they might be able to see Him, for this reason He took on a visible likeness and [gave] warning with a voice.⁷⁷

- 19 §273 Արդ՝ եղեալ մարդն ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ, հանդերձ ազատութեամբ, իմաստութեամբ, բանաւորութեամբ եւ իշխանական պատուով ըստ ազդեցութեան արաչութեանն, ոչ եթէ ըստ աստուածաբուն զօրութեանն, զոր միայն Միածինն ունի զնկարագիր էութեանն Հօր: Ապա ածեալ Աստուծոյ զամենայն արարածս արարչութեան իւրոյ առ Ադամ, տեսանել զինչ կոչեցէ անուանս նոցա: Որով յայտ իսկ է, թէ զԱրարիչն անուն յառաջ քան զայն ծանուցեալ Ադամայ. զի նախ այն էր կարեւորագոյն: Քանզի եւ միածին որդին Աստուծոյ զայս ասէր առ Հայր, թէ «Այս են կամք իմ, զի ծանիցեն զքեզ միայն ճշմարիտդ Աստուած»: Նա եւ ի հարկէ իսկ նախ զԱրարիչն անուանէր Ադամ, զի յորոյ երեսաց զկենդանութիւնն ընկալեալ էր նախ քան զամենայն զնա ետես. քանզի եւ արարածք իսկ առ ի ծանօթ առնելոյ նմա զԱրարիչն հաստեցան:

Thus man was created in⁷⁸ the image of God, with freedom, wisdom, rationality, and independent⁷⁹ honour in accordance with the effect of creation, not according to the hypostasis⁸⁰ of the nature of God, which only the Only-begotten possesses as the express image of the being of the Father.⁸¹ Then God led all creatures of his creation to Adam to see what he would call their names,⁸² whereby it is clear that Adam knew the name of the Creator. For first this was necessary, because the only begotten Son of God said to the Father: “This is my will, that they should know you only to be the true

76. MES: holds that which is his.

77. MES: the power of expression.

78. MES: according to.

79. MES: princely.

80. MES: power.

81. Heb 1:3.

82. Gen 2:19.

God.”⁸³ Likewise by necessity Adam first named the Creator, because from whose face he received life, Him he saw before all others; for the creatures were established to make known to him the Creator.

- 20 §274 Արդ՝ անուանէ զառաջի ածեալսն յանդիման Արարչին. եւ զկնի եկեալն յառաջագունիցն ծանօթական լինի, որոց ոչ միայն անուանելովն, այլ եւ իմաստութեամբ եւ իշխանութեամբ առ հասարակ տիրէ: Ապա մինչդեռ միայն սկիզբն եւ կատար է ինքն միանգամայն, յամենայն արարածս ինքն ինքեան. միայն էր, եւ ոչ ոք զօրավիքն, եւ ոչ ընկեր ոք, եւ ոչ նման նմա:

So he gave names to the [animals] led up before him in the presence of the Creator and the one that came after was familiar from the preceding ones over which he had general dominion, not only by naming them, but also by wisdom⁸⁴ and power. While he was still alone he was at once first and last.⁸⁵ Amongst all creatures he was alone by himself, and there was no-one as his auxiliary, and no companion and no one similar to him.

- 21 §275 Արդ՝ Հօր արարչի խորհուրդ ի մէջ եղեալ ընդ արարչակից Ռդույ եւ ընդ արարչակից Հոգւոյ, իբրեւ զխորհուրդն զառաջին նախաստեղծ մարդոյն. զի որպէս անդն ասաց, թէ «Եկայք արասցուք մարդ ի նմանութիւն պատկերի կերպարանաց մերոց», եւ անդէն ստեղծեալ Ադամ ի կենդանութիւն ի չգոյէն հաստատեցաւ՝ նոյն օրինակ եւ աստ ասացեալ Հօր առ Ռդին եւ առ Հոգին, ասէ. «Եկայք արասցուք Ադամայ օգնական նման նմա, ըստ նմանութեան պատկերի իւրոյ եւ ըստ նմանութեան կերպարանաց իւրոց»: Եւ անդէն արկեալ նմա քուն զարմանալի, եւ հանեալ ոսկր ի կողից նորա՝ եւ շինեաց զայն ի պատկեր կնոջ եւ կացոյց առաջի նորա: Եւ անդէն ծանուցեալ Ադամայ աստուածազգեաց իմաստութեամբ, թէ «Այս այժմ ոսկր յոսկերաց իմոց եւ մարմին ի մարմնոյ իմմէ. սա կոչեսցի կին, զի յառնէ իւրմէ առաւ». «Վասն այսորիկ թողցէ այր զհայր իւր եւ զմայր իւր, եւ յարեսցի ի կին իւր, եւ եղիցին երկոքին ի մարմին մի»:

Then the Father creator took counsel with the Son fellow-creator and Spirit fellow-creator, like the previous counsel at the original creation of man,⁸⁶ as He then said: “Come, let us make man in⁸⁷ the likeness of the image of our form,”⁸⁸ and then Adam was created and established in life from non-existence. In the same fashion here also the Father said to the Son and to the Spirit: “Come, let us make for Adam a helpmate similar to him in the

83. John 6:40; 17:3.

84. MES: through discernment.

85. MES: both the beginning and the culmination (of creation).

86. MES: counsel concerning the protoplast.

87. MES: according to.

88. Gen 1:26.

likeness of his image and in the likeness of his form.”⁸⁹ And then He put a marvellous sleep upon him, and taking a bone from his flank, fashioned it in the image of a woman and set her before him.⁹⁰ Then Adam knew⁹¹ with his divinely endowed wisdom that: “This bone now is from my bone, and this flesh from my flesh; she will be called woman, because she was taken from her husband. For this reason a man will leave his father and his mother and will cleave to his wife, and they two will become one flesh.”⁹²

- 22 §276 Ո՛հ ապաքէն յանդիման Աստուծոյ ասիցէ զայս, անդ՝ ուր ամենայն զօրք հոգեդինացն զփառս Տեառն բարձրացուցանէին, եւ մարդն ի հանդիսի անցեալ: Եւ զոր ասէն՝ ամենահաս գիտութեամբ մարգարէանայ, եւ քնով գործեալն զարթնականին ի մէջ բերէ զգործն. զի որ յառնէն առեալ գիտաց՝ նա եւ զայր յերկրէ գիտէ, եւ զերկիր յոչնչէ, եւ զԱստուած՝ էական: Եւ ասելովն, եթէ «թողեալ զհայր եւ զմայր եւ յարել ի կին իւր, եւ եղիցին երկոքեան ի մարմին մի» զբոլորովին կարգս աշխարհիս եւ զկատարած զամենայն գիտաց:

Would he not then say this in the presence of God, where all the spiritual hosts were raising the praises of the Lord, and the man was being displayed?⁹³ The saying prophesies with all-understanding knowledge, making explicit the deed performed by the ever-wakeful one while [Adam] slept. For she who was taken from the man knew, and he also knew, that the man is from the earth, and the earth from nothing, and that God alone is really existent.⁹⁴ And by saying: “He leaves his father and mother and cleaves to his wife, and the two will become one flesh,” he knew all the orders of this world and all its fulfilment.

- 23 §277 (ԻԵ) Յետ այսորիկ առեալ Աստուծոյ՝ յԱդին դրախտին փափկութեան դնէր զմարդն. որում յայտ արարեալ ծառս երկուս, զմինն կենաց եւ զմինն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. որում եղեալ պատուիրան չճաշակել նմա ի ծառոյ անտի՝ մահու սպառնալեօք. զի Աստուծոյ պատուիրանապահութեամբն՝ զնախանձելի զաստուածատուր իմաստութիւն պահեալ, զաստուածական իշխանութիւնն պահպանութեամբ պատուիրանին յանտուջական փառս էականին ինքնակալ եղեալ վայելիցէ: Եւ որպէս վերագոյնն ասացաք, եթէ զիրեշտակս եւ զմարդիկ յանձնիշխանութեան թողեալ, եւ զիւրաքանչիւր պատուէրս եղեալ ի վերայ, զի իւրաքանչիւր, յօժարութեամբ կամացն լիցին Արարչին հրամանացն հնազանդեալ,

89. Gen 2:18.

90. Gen 2:21–22.

91. MES: realized.

92. Gen 2:23–24, Matt 19:5–6, and Mark 10:7–8.

93. MES: also passed muster.

94. MES: increate.

վասն որոյ եւ առաւել փառաց արժանի լիցին հասանել: Արդ՝ մարդոյն եղաւ փոքր պատուէր - ի ծառոյն չճաշակել. զի այնու ի մեծ պատիւ ձգեալ հասցէ, որպէս վերագոյնն ասացաք: Իսկ զօրացն բազմութեան հրեշտակաց եղաւ պատուէր՝ կալ յանդադար փառաւորութեան իւրեանց Արարչին, ի մեծ պատիւ փառաց գնոսա բնակեցուցեալ, յաներևոյթ մեծութեանն վերին երկնաւոր մշտնջենաւոր լուսոյն:

After this God took the man and set him in the delightful Garden of Eden;⁹⁵ to him He revealed two trees, one of life and the other of the knowledge of good and evil; He commanded him that he should not taste of the tree under threat of death.⁹⁶ For by keeping the command of God, preserving the enviable God-given wisdom, through the observance of the command, he would acquire and enjoy the divine power in⁹⁷ the inalienable glory of the existent one.⁹⁸ And as we said above, He left the angels and men with independence⁹⁹ and imposed commands on each, that they with ready will might become obedient to the commands of the Creator and thereby become worthy of attaining greater glory. Then a small command was placed on man—not to taste of the tree, that by this he might attain greater honour, as we said above. But a command was laid upon the multitude of hosts of angels to remain in their unceasing praising of the Creator, who had placed them¹⁰⁰ in great honor and glory, in the invisible magnitude of the upper heavenly eternal light.

- 24 §278 Արդ՝ ոմն ի վերին զօրացն իշխանութեանցն հրեշտակաց իբրեւ տեսանէր զխոստումն բարեացն բարերարութեան Արարչին որ առ մարդն, եւ մարդոյն կալ ի բանի Արարչին իւրոյ, եւ զգուշացեալ պահել զպատուիրանն իւրովք կամօք չարացեալ չարն չար անուանեցաւ. ուստի եւ զյետս երթալոյ զհակառակասէրն զսատանայ անուն ժառանգեաց: Արդ՝ նախանձեալ չարին՝ արկանէ զմարդն ի մահ պատրանօք ի փառաց անտի. քանզի եւ ասէ իսկ իմաստունն, թէ «Նախանձու բանսարկուին եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ», խաբէութեամբն ապականեալ:

However, one from the celestial hosts of powers of angels, when he saw the promise of good things made by the benevolence of the Creator to man, and that man was standing in¹⁰¹ the word of his Creator, and that he was carefully keeping the commandment, by his own will the evil one worked evil, and was named evil; whence he inherited the name of Follower behind, Adver-

95. MES: delight; Gen 2:15.

96. Gen 2:17.

97. MES: having gained.

98. MES: increate One.

99. MES: autonomy.

100. MES: made them dwell.

101. I.e., observing.

sary, Satan.¹⁰² Then the evil one in his jealousy threw¹⁰³ man from glory into death by deceit. For the sage says: “By jealousy of the devil death came into the world,”¹⁰⁴ bringing corruption by deceit.

- 25 §279 Արդ՝ եկեալ մատուցանէ զխաբէութիւն պատրանաց մարդոյն թշնամին: Եւ արդ՝ դու տես զոր ասէն. «Ընդէր, ասէ, պատուիրեաց ձեզ Աստուած չճաշակել ի ծառոյն». որով յայտ իսկ է, թէ ունէր ազատութիւն Ադամ եւ անձնիշխան կամս եւ իմաստութիւն յԱստուծոյ. զիտելով զԱստուած՝ պատուիրանադիր եւ զԱդամ՝ պատուիրեալ թերեւս յառաջ իսկ սա քան զպատուիրանն նենգութեամբ էր երեւեալ, եւ ամենագիտին չէր ի ծածուկ, քանզի քննիչ է սրտի եւ երիկամանց:

Then the enemy of man having come, introduced deceit of trickery; and you see what he (Scripture) says: “Why, says he, did God command you not to taste of the tree?”¹⁰⁵ Whereby it is clear that Adam had freedom and autonomous will and discernment from God, by knowing that God was the command-giver and Adam the commanded. Perhaps indeed this was revealed [to him] by treachery before the command [was given], yet it was not hidden from the Knower of all, for He is the searcher of hearts and reins.¹⁰⁶

- 26 §280 Եւ արդ՝ դու տես զինչ ասէր. «Թէ ճաշակիցէք՝ ասէ, աստուածք լինիք»: Զպատճառսն եղ ի նոսա, եւ ի ներքոյ յինքն յիշխանութիւնն կորզել ջանայր. զի գնա վրիպեցուցեալ հանեալ ի խոստմանցն՝ թերեւս հնար լիցի նմա գնորա տեղին ժառանգել: Որպէս եւ առաքեալն Աստուծոյ, որ հմուտ եւ տեղեակն էր աստուածաբեր խորհրդոյն, քանզի եւ ասէ իսկ, թէ «Անօրէն իշխանն իբրեւ աստուածանալն կամեցա՝ ձեռն արկանէր եւ զամենայն մարդիկ մեղօք կապէր». զի իբրեւ գնոսա հանեալ յայնմ բարեաց՝ ապա նմա հնար լիցի զխոստացեալսն ըմբռնել: Իսկ նոքա վասն նորին պատճառանաց խաբեալք՝ ճաշակեցին, եւ անցեալ զպատուիրանան՝ յաստուածակերպ փառացն մերկացան»:

And thus you see what he said: “If you will taste, he says, you will become gods.”¹⁰⁷ He gave them the excuse and underneath tried to snatch them into his own power; for he misled him away from the promises,¹⁰⁸ that perchance he might be able to inherit his place.¹⁰⁹ Just as the Apostle of God, who was wise and versed in the divine mystery, also says: “The lawless prince, as he

102. Satan's names are discussed in the appendix §1.3.

103. MES: by trickery cast.

104. Wis 2:24.

105. Gen 3:1. Satan is discussed in detail in the appendix.

106. Ps 7:9 = Arm 7:10, Jer 20:12.

107. Gen 3:5.

108. MES: having made him err, having brought him out of the promises.

109. Anderson and Stone 1999, 50–50E, verse [44](16):3.

wished to become God, seized and bound all mankind by sin,¹¹⁰ that when he had removed them from these blessings, then he might be able to seize what had been promised. But they, deceived because of his sophistry, tasted, and transgressing the commandment, were stripped of divinely-formed glory.

- 27 §281 Սակայն եւ անդ իբրեւ ի վերայ որդւոց հատուցելոց հայրաբար գթացեալ բարեգործէ. գոր եւ ասէ իսկ Գիրն, թէ «Լուան զձայն Տեառն Աստուծոյ, զի իջեալ զգնայր ի դրախտին ընդ երեկս աւուրն»: Եւ նոցա փախուցեալ թաքուցեալ ծառախիթ տերեւապատ լինէին. գորոյ անցանէլ զամենագէտն երեսօք անհնար է. վասն որոյ եւ ասէ իսկ, թէ «Տէր Աստուած մերձաւոր եմ ես, ասէ Տէր, եւ ոչ Աստուած հեռաւոր. միթէ մարթ ինչ իցէ մարդոյ փախչել թաքչել յինէն ի ծածկոյթ իւր՝ զի ես ոչ տեսից զնա. ոչ ինէւ լի են երկինք եւ երկիր»: Եւ միւս ոմն հմուտ մեծութեան նորա ի մարգարէիցն սրբոց ասէ, թէ «Յո՛ւ երթայց ես յոգւոյ քումմէ, կամ յերեսաց քոց ես յո՛ւ փախեայց. թէ ելաննէլ յերկինս՝ դու անդ ես. թէ իջաննէլ ի դժոխս՝ եւ անդր մօտ ես», նայեցեալ զնոքօք, թէպէտ եւ թաքչել կարծեցին:

However, there too, as with sons who need punishing, having fatherly mercy, He acted benevolently, as the¹¹¹ Scripture says: “They heard the voice of the Lord God descending and walking in the garden in the evening of the day.”¹¹² And they fled and hid and covered themselves¹¹³ with leaves from the trees—but it was impossible to escape the notice of the All-knowing by a deception. For which reason [scripture] says: “As Lord God I am near, says the Lord, and not a distant God. Is it possible for man to flee and hide from me in his covering, that I may not see him? Are not the heavens and earth filled by me?”¹¹⁴ And another of the holy prophets, knowing His immensity says: “Where shall I go from your spirit, or where shall I flee from your face? If I rise to the heavens you are there; if I descend to hell, there also you are near”;¹¹⁵ God took care of them, although they intended to hide.

- 28 §282 Սակայն բարերարին ձայն արկեալ, թէ «Ո՛ւր ես, Ադամ». եւ նա ասէ. «Լուայ զձայն քո եւ երկեայ, զի զնայիր ի դրախտի աստ. քանզի մերկ էի եւ թաքեայ»: Տեսանէս որչափ մերձաւոր եւ ծանօթ էին Աստուծոյ, միչէւ ոտնաձայնին անգամ չլինել անտեղեակ: Քանզի բարերարն յանգէտս պատճառեալ՝ նախ ոտնաձայն առնէ. զի

110. 3 Cor. 11.

111. MES: which indeed.

112. Gen 3:8.

113. MES: were wrapped around the middle.

114. Jer 23:23–24.

115. Ps 137:7–8 = Arm 138:7–8.

յոտսն քաութիւնաբերս հասեալ մարդոյն, ինքնապատում լինելով
զյանցանացն փրկութիւն գտանիցէ:

But the Benevolent raised his voice: “Where are you Adam?” And he said: “I heard your voice,¹¹⁶ and I was afraid as you were walking in the garden, because I was naked, and I hid.”¹¹⁷ Do you see how familiar and acquainted with God they were, even to being not unaware of the sound of his footsteps? Because the Benevolent gave an occasion [for repentance] to the ignorant, first making a sound with his feet, so that the man approaching the propiti-
tious¹¹⁸ feet, by being himself narrator of his faults, might find salvation.

- 29 §283 Իսկ իբրեւ այն չլինէր՝ սակայն չկամի ամբաստան լինել եւ
ահագինս ի դիմի հարկանել, այլ հաշտականան զիջանէ, թէ «Ո՞
ւսաց ցբեզ թէ մերկ ես դու». քանզի կամի իմն ներելով այսրէն յինքն
արկանել, զի քաղցրութիւնն Աստուծոյ զնոսա յապաշխարութիւն
ածիցէ: Իսկ իբրեւ այսու եւս ոչ զգաստացան, այլ զմիմեամբք
պատճառեալ թշուառացան՝ ապա զդատաւորութիւնն ի մէջ
անցուցեալ՝ վճիռ հատանէր, զոր հատուցեալ եւ ի հող դառնայցեն,
զի Աստուծոյ դատաստանն ճշմարիտ է ի վերայ այնոցիկ որ զչարս
գործիցեն:

But that did not occur; yet He was unwilling to be the accuser or to attack him frightfully, so He was merciful and condescending¹¹⁹ and said: “Who said to you that you are naked?”¹²⁰ For He wished by being somewhat indulgent excusing (him) somewhat to bring him back to Himself, that the gentleness of God might lead them to penitence. But since thereby they did not come to their senses but behaved wretchedly, giving excuses for each other, then He made judgment and passed sentence, which they paid and returned to dust;¹²¹ for the judgment of God is true over those who work evil.

- 30 §284 Յետ այսորիկ ապա զապստամբութիւնն ի մէջ բերեալ ասելովն,
թէ «Ահա Ադամ եղեւ իբրեւ զմի ի մէնջ ճանաչել զբարի եւ զչար.
հանցուք առ ի ծառոյն կենաց, զի մի կերեալ կեցցէ յաւիտեան»: Բայց
«իբրեւ զմի ի մէնջ» ոչ եթէ Աստուած եղեալ քանզի չէ էականն
լինելով, այլ զկարծեալն լինելոյ ասէ. զոր օրինակ սուտ աստուածք
կարծեալք ի մարդկանէ որ գործեցան առանմտութեան յիմարութեան
եւ պղծութեան մարդկան. որպէս եւ առ ձեզդ իսկ տեսանէի
զքարապաշտ զփայտապաշտ մոլորութիւնսդ, որ առ տգիտութեան
ի ձէնջ նկարեցան. որ ոչ լսեն եւ ոչ խօսին, ոչ իմանան եւ ոչ շարժին,

116. Or: sound.

117. Gen 3:9–10.

118. MES: expiation-bearing.

119. MES: propitiating.

120. Gen 3:11.

121. Gen 3:19.

եւ ոչ գոյ շունչ ի բերանս նոցա. եւ թողեալ ձեր զԱստուած կենդանի, զԱրարիչն երկնի եւ երկրի անշունչ անմոռնչ քարանց պաշտօն մատուցանէիք, որ ոչ ինչ իսկ են:

After this He mentioned the revolt, saying: “Behold, Adam became as one of us, to know good and evil. Let us remove him from the tree of life, lest by eating he live for ever.”¹²² But “as one of us” is not that he became God, for he is not the really existent,¹²³ but it means supposed existence.¹²⁴ Just as false gods are supposed¹²⁵ by men, which were fashioned in the irrationality, foolishness, and foulness of mankind, so I saw among you your errors of worshipping stones and wood,¹²⁶ which were represented¹²⁷ by you in ignorance, which neither hear nor speak, neither understand nor move, and there is no breath in their mouths.¹²⁸ You left the living God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and offered worship to breathless, voiceless stones,¹²⁹ which are nothing.

- 31 §285 Վասն որոյ եւ աստուածատես սրբոց մարգարէիցն հոգացեալ, իբրեւ իմաստուն բժշկաց, գղեղ դարմանոյն ըստ ցաւոց հիւանդին պատրաստել, բառնալ ջնջել զգայթակողութիւնն, ի միջոյ ի բաց կորուսանել: Որպէս եւ մի ոմն ի նոցանէ աստուածային Հոգւոյն զօրութեամբ լցեալ գոչեաց ասելով, թէ «Աստուածք, որ զերկինս եւ զերկիր ոչ արարին կորիցեն յերկրէ ի ներքոյ երկնից. այլ Տէր որ արար զերկիր զօրութեամբ իւրով, եւ ձգեաց զերկինս սքանչելի խորհրդով իւրով, եւ պատրաստեաց գոհեգերս ամենայն իմաստութեամբ իւրով, եւ որոտայ ձայնիւ, եւ լնու ջուրք բազմութեամբ զերկինս, եւ հանէ զամպս ի ծագաց յերկրէ, եւ զփայլատակունս իւր յանձրէս արար, եւ հանէ զհողմս ի շտեմարանաց իւրոց»:

For which reason the God-seeing, holy prophets took care, like wise doctors, to prepare the medicine of cure for the pain of the ill one, to remove and extirpate the scandal and destroy it completely. As one of them, filled with the power of the divine Spirit, cried out, saying: “The gods who did not create the heavens and earth will vanish from the earth under heaven. But the Lord made the earth by his own power and extended the heavens by his own marvellous counsel, and prepared the universe by¹³⁰ all his own wisdom; and He thunders with his voice, and fills the heavens with a multitude of waters,

122. Gen 3:22.

123. MES: the Increate is not subject to coming into being.

124. I.e., increate.

125. I.e., to be divine.

126. Deut 28:64; 29:17; Wis 14:21; Jer 3:9; and Ezek 20:32.

127. MES: fashioned.

128. Ps 115:5–7 = Arm 113:13–15.

129. 1 Cor 12:2.

130. MES: whole universe by his.

and gathers the clouds from the ends of the earth, and made his lightning in the rain, and draws the winds from their storehouses.¹³¹

- 32 §286 Յիմարեցաւ ամենայն մարդ ի գիտութենէ՝ ի վերայ անձանց թշուառութիւն յարուցանել անդէն անձանց անձամբք իւրեանց ամօթալից առնեն զերեսս իւրեանց, եւ մեծի բարկութեանն Աստուծոյ պատրաստեն զանձինս. այլ այժմիկ կացցէ այս՝ յանդիմանել զմոլորութիւն ձեր, զի ի կարգի իւրում պատշաճէ: Բայց այժմ որ ի կարգին սկիզբն արարաք պատմել ձեզ ըստ իւրաքանչիւր կարգի զայն պատմեսցուք:

All men turned to foolishness from knowledge to bring misery upon themselves. Then by themselves they make their faces shameful¹³² and prepare themselves for the great anger of God. But now let this suffice to reprimand your error, for it fits suitably in its place. And now that which we have begun to relate to you in order, we shall expound each according to its order.

- 33 27 §287 Հանեալ այնուհետեւ զմարդն ի փափկական դրախտէ անտի հանգստեան արտաքոյ դրախտին բնակեցուցանէր, եւ փակեալ նմա զճանապարհ ծառոյն կենաց, զի մի ալկանատես անգամ լիցի վայելչութեան դրախտին: Անդ եւ երկիր անիծեալ, փուշ եւ տատասկ եւ հաց ցաւաց, եւ Ադամայ մահկանացուի մահ. եւ այս՝ մարդասիրութեան նշանակ է. որպէս եւ ասէն իսկ ի բերանոյ մարգարէին Աստուած, թէ «Խրատեսցէ զքեզ ապստամբութիւն քո, եւ չարիքն քո կշտամբեսցեն զքեզ. ապա գիտասցես դու, թէ չար եւ դառն եղեւ քեզ թողուլն զիս, ասէ տէր Աստուած քո»: Եւ միւս ոմն ասէ յԱստուծոյ, թէ «Յորժամ դարձցիս եւ հեծեծեսցես՝ յայնժամ կեցցես եւ գիտասցես թէ ուր իցես»: Քանզի յորժամ դառն ճաշակացն եւ կասկածանաց մահուն պաշարեալ իցէ, անսթափ ի մտացն ուշի յիշեսցէ զյիշատակս ծառոյն կենաց, եւ հեծեծելով խնդրեսցէ զմուտս դրախտին վայելչութեան. զի եւ յանդիման դրախտին բնակեցուցանելն ասացելոցս վկայէ:

Then ejecting man from the delightful garden of repose, He settled him outside the garden and closed for him the road to the tree of life,¹³³ that he might not see again the delightfulness of the garden. Then were cursed the earth and thorns and thistles and the bread of pain and the death of mortal Adam.¹³⁴ Yet this is a sign of benevolence, as God says by the mouth of the prophet: “Your rebellion will correct you, and your wickedness will reproach you. Then you will know that it is evil and bitter for you to abandon me, says the Lord your

131. Jer 10:11–13.

132. Ps 83:16 = Arm 82:17.

133. Gen 3:23–24.

134. Gen 3:17–19.

God.”¹³⁵ And another says for God: “When you return and lament, then you will live and know where you are.”¹³⁶ For when he is in the midst of the bitter taste and uncertainty of death, he will gradually recall in his mind the memory of the tree of life, and with groaning he will seek the approach to the garden of delight. His being settled opposite the garden bears witness to these sayings.

- 34 §288 (ԻԶ) Իսկ բարերարն ոչ միայն ի դրախտին, այլ եւ արտաքոյ նորին չիեռանայր ի նոցանէ, յորժամ յանդիման դրախտին բնակեցուցանէր: Եւ վասն իւրոյ բարերարութեանն հրամայեաց սերել յերկիր. ուր եւ անդէն հրամանաւ ակնարկելոյ Արարչին ծնունդ արձակեալ յերկիր՝ սկսան բազմանալ ընդ ասելն. «Աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք, եւ լցէք գերկիր»:

Now the benevolent one, not only in the garden but also outside of it, did not distance Himself from them when He settled them opposite the garden. And because of his benevolence He ordered them to propagate on earth, where¹³⁷ by the command of the attentive Creator they brought forth on earth and began to increase according to the saying: “Grow and multiply, and fill the earth.”¹³⁸

- 35 §289 Որդւոցն Ադամայ անդրանկանն Կահել անուն ճանաչէր, եւ միսումն Հաբել որք անդէն զիմաստութիւն տուողին ի մէջ անցուցեալ, նորին իմաստութեամբ գնոյն Արարիչ ճանաչել:

Արդ, առեալ Կահելի երեց որդւոյն ընծայս նուիրաց յարմտեաց, որոյ կապեալ ցորենոյ՝ պատարագս նմա մատուցանէր: Իսկ ընդ այն հայեցեալ Հաբելի ի հօտիցն գառանցն ընծայեալ պտուղ ի խաշանցն մատուցանէր: Իսկ Աստուած իւրով մարդասիրութեամբն խոնարհեալ ընծայս որդւոցն Ադամայ՝ մերձաւոր ճանաչէր: Քանզի եւ անդէն իսկ ընտրութիւն առնէ. զոմն ի միամտութեան գտեալ ընդունի զպատարագն. իսկ զոմն ընդ եղբօրն յերկմտութեան գտեալ անդրէն դատապարտեալ դարձուցանէ վասն երկմտութեան. իսկ նա անդէն վասն որոյ մահ խորհեալ՝ սպան զեղբայրն. եւ անդէն նզովեալ երկիր վասն նորա, եւ նա ինքն անիծաւ զաւակաւն հանդերձ:

Of the sons of Adam the elder was called Cain¹³⁹ and the other Abel.¹⁴⁰ They then indicated the wisdom of the giver, through his wisdom they recognised the same to be Creator. Cain, the elder son, took his offering of¹⁴¹ roots, binding a sheaf of wheat, and offered it as sacrifice to Him. When Abel saw this,

135. Jer 2:19.

136. Isa 30:15.

137. MES: adds all at once.

138. Gen 1:28.

139. MES, literally: Kahel. The name is most unusual.

140. Gen 4:1–12.

141. MES: from the.

he gave offspring from the lambs of his flocks and offered from his sheep. And God in his kindness condescended to the gifts of the sons of Adam and was recognised as being near. For then¹⁴² He makes a choice: finding the one to be sincere He accepts his sacrifice; finding the other to be malicious towards his brother He condemns and rejects him because of his malice. So for this reason the latter plotted death and killed his brother. Then the earth was cursed on his account, and he himself cursed with his seed.

- 36 §290 Արդ, Ադամայ այլ որդի ստացեալ յԱստուծոյ փոխանակ սպանելոյ Հաբելի, որոյ անուն Սէթ ճանաչէր: Իսկ այն սպանեալն, վասն արդարութեան իւրոյ, կենդանի է առ Աստուած. զի որ յոչնչէն արար՝ նոյն է կենդանացուցանէ զնա յորժամ է կամի, զոր յոյժ պատմել դիւրին է ձեզ. յորժամ զձեզ ջերմեռանդն ի հաւատսն տեսանիցենք՝ ասացուք զայն, որոյ արդարութիւնն կայ պահի յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից: Արդ, Կահել նենգաւոր մարդասպանն նգովեալ անիծաւ. վասն այսորիկ որոշեցաւ հրամանաւ Աստուծոյ. զի օրինեաց Աստուած զՍէթ, էւ ետ նմա պատուէր, զի մի զաւակն օրինեալ խառնեցի յանիծեալ զաւակն մարդասպանին Կահելի: Արդ, բազմացան մարդիկն առ հասարակ ի վերայ երկրի կողմանց ցեղիցն երկոցուցն:

Then Adam acquired another son from God instead of the murdered Abel, who was named Seth.¹⁴³ But the murdered one, because of his righteousness, is living in the presence of God. For He who created him from nothing, the same gives him life whenever He wills—as is very easy to relate to you. When we see you fervent in the faith, we mention him whose righteousness is preserved for ever and ever. So the treacherous murderer Cain¹⁴⁴ was cursed. Therefore he was cut off by the command of God; for God blessed Seth and gave him a command, that his blessed seed should not mingle with the cursed seed of the murderer Cain. Then mankind increased generally over both families' regions of the earth.¹⁴⁵

- 37 §291 Արդ, սեթեան ցեղին կացին նահապետք արք արդարք մինչեւ ի դարն ութերորդ, առ որս բարերարութիւնն Աստուծոյ մերձաւոր եղեալ միանգամայն իսկ առ ամենեքումքք մերձաւորութեամբն յաճախեալ, զի մի մոռացօնք ընտանութեանն լինիցին: Վասն որոյ էւ երկայնակեաց իսկ արարեալ զհարսն, էւ յերկարակեաց ծնունդ շնորհեաց. զի զոնեայ վասն ցանկութեան որդւոց ելանիցեն ի խնդիր Աստուծոյ. մանաւանդ զի կարելորագոյն իսկ է զիւս ծննդոց ի կեանս երկրածնաց:

142. MES: all at once. This variant translation of *անդրէն* is not always noted.

143. Gen 4:25.

144. Literally: Gahel; see also below.

145. Gen 6:1.

The patriarchs of the tribe of Seth were righteous men until the eighth generation; the benevolence of God was near them, and also continuously close to all men, lest there should be forgetfulness of his familiarity. So He made the fathers long-lived and granted them long-lived children, that at least on account of their desire for sons they might seek God, especially because the gaining of offspring is most important in the life of earthly creatures.

- 38 §292 Արդ, նահապետքն կարգեալք, Ադամն առաջին աստուածաստեղծ, այսինքն Ադամ. եւ Մէթ, եւ ի նմանէ Ենովս, եւ ի նմանէ Կայնան, եւ ի նմանէ Մադադիէլ, եւ ի նմանէ Յարէդ, եւ ի նմանէ Ենովք: Եւ եկաց Ենովք ամս հարիւր վաթսուն եւ հինգ, եւ ծնաւ զՄաթուսադայ. եւ հաճոյ եղեւ Ենովք Աստուծոյ:

The patriarchs¹⁴⁶ in order are: the first Adam created by God, that is Adam; and Seth, and from him Enos, and from him Cainan, and from him Malaliel, and from him Yared, and from him Enoch; and Enoch lived a hundred and sixty-five years and begat Mathousala, and Enoch was pleasing to the Lord.

- 39 §293 Նա եւ ամենայն նահապետացն շատակեաց եղեալ, իբրեւ ի բարերարէ անտի Աստուծոյ սերեալք բազմացան. նոյնպէս եւ յետ ծննդոցն յերկարակեացս արարեալ, զի որք Աստուծովն ստացան՝ պատմեցեն հարք որդւոց. զի իբրեւ պատուիրանք զգուշացուցիչք լինիցին, առ ի ծանօթս առնելոյ զնոսա Աստուծոյ. որպէս եւ ասացաւ իսկ, թէ «Հարցցիր դու ցհարս քո, եւ պատմեցեն քեզ, եւ ցծերս քո, եւ ասացեն քեզ». որով յայտ իսկ է, թէ վասն այսորիկ երկայնակեացք, եւ ոչ վասն բազմութեան ծննդոց:

He was the longest-lived of all the patriarchs. As they were begotten and increased by benevolent God, so also after their births they were made for long life, in order that those who were created by God might relate as fathers to their sons, that they might be warning commands to make them aware of God. As indeed also it was said: "Ask your fathers, and they will relate to you; and your old men, and they will tell you".¹⁴⁷ Whereby it is clear that for this reason they were long-lived and not for the sake of a multitude of offspring.

- 40 §294 Զի թեպէտ եւ ասաց Աստուած ցԱդամ, թէ «Աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք գերկիր»՝ որպէս յառաջագէտ ըստ մարմնական բարուցն զլինելոցն ասաց. իսկ Աստուած ոչ ի բազմացուցանելն միայն, այլ անդէն եւ անդ կամէր. զի ի մշտնջենակեաց անմահութիւնն փոխեցին: Որպէս եւ զԵնովք տեսանեմք յետ վարուց երկրակեաց կենացն, յետ ամուսնանալոյ եւ որդիս ծնանելոյ ուղղութեանն վարուք, վերացուցեալ զնա կենդանւոյն իսկ յանմահութեան վիճակն:

146. Gen 5:1–24.

147. Deut 32:7.

Որ ոչ վասն առնն միայնոյ, այլ զի ելք նորա՝ այլոց ճանապարհ գործեսցեն. եւ ոչ բռնազբօսութեամբ առեալ ի կեանսն, այլ զպարտ հաճոյական վարուցն հատուցեալ: Սոյն օրինակ կամեցեալ Աստուծոյ զամենեսեան յանմահութիւն փոխել, յետ աստ վայելելոյ ամենեցուն:

Although God said to Adam, “Increase and multiply and fill the earth,”¹⁴⁸ as He said in his knowledge of the future concerning the carnal behaviour to be,¹⁴⁹ God wished not only for the increase, but also for this, that they would pass into eternal immortality. Thus we see Enoch after a long life, after marrying and begetting sons in a life of rectitude, raised up while still alive¹⁵⁰ to a destiny of immortality.¹⁵¹ Which was not for that man only, but that his path might make a road for others; and he was not taken forcibly into life, but he paid¹⁵² the debt of a pleasing life. In the same way God wished to change all to immortality, after all had been pleasing here.¹⁵³

- 41 §328 ԼԲ. Եւ արդ, յայտնի է այսուհետեւ ասացելովքս, թէ եւ նախաստեղծ մարդոյն զնոյն նմանութիւն երեւեալ ի սկզբանն. որպէս եւ առ յապայ ամենայն աստուածատես կատարելոցն զնոյն պահեալ, զի մի օտարագոյն ինչ եւ անծանօթ կերպարանօք զտեսողսն հարթուցանիցէ: Մանաւանդ թէ առաւել լաւագոյն իսկ, զի յաստուածատես հօրէն որդւոյն տեղեկացեալ դիւրագոյն պատրաստիցի իբրեւ ընդելականի եւ զլուեալն ունկանն եւ ակամբ եւս նկատել: Որպէս եւ երանելին Յովք, սիրելին Աստուծոյ, արդարն, ասէր ցԱստուած, թէ «Ի լուր ականջաց լսէի զքէն յառաջագոյն, բայց արդ եւ ական իմ ետես զքեզ». ցոր եւ ասէր իսկ Աստուած. «Պնդեա իբրեւ այր զմէջ քո, եւ մի համարիր այլազգ ինչ երեւեալ քեզ»:

It is consequently clear by these sayings that He revealed the same likeness to the first-created man in the beginning; just as afterwards for all the perfect who see God He kept the same, lest He might terrify the seers with very strange and unknown forms. Especially as it is better that the son, informed by his father who saw God, be more easily prepared as for something familiar and observe what he had heard with his ear also with his eye. Just as the blessed Job, beloved of God, the just, said to God: “With the hearing of my ears I heard you formerly, but now my eye also has seen you”.¹⁵⁴ To whom

148. Gen 1:28.

149. MES: he spoke as a foreknower of what was going to happen according to bodily benefits.

150. MES: the Living One raised him up.

151. Gen 5:24.

152. MES: was recompensed for.

153. I.e., in this world.

154. Job 42:5.

also God said: “Strengthen like a man your loins and do not consider that something strange has been revealed to you”.¹⁵⁵

- 42 §329 Քանզի եւ ի սկզբանն ըստ ազդեցութեանն երեւեալ Աստուած, զոր եւ ասէն, եթէ «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զմարդն»: Եւ ամենայն յաւիտեանցն ըստ նմին նմանութեան Աստուած փառաց երեւեալ. զոր եւ ասէր իսկ վկայն Ստեփաննոս, թէ «Աստուած փառաց երեւեցաւ իմ քնքով Աբրահամու», եւ ամենեքեան իսկ Տէր Սաբաւովթ, եւ Աստուած ամենակալ կոչեն:

Because in the beginning God appeared according to the declaration, as [the Scripture] says: “According to the image of God He created man,”¹⁵⁶ so for all eternity in the same likeness the God of glory appears; as the martyr Stephen said: “The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham.”¹⁵⁷ And they all called Him Lord Sabaoth and God omnipotent.

- 43 §347 Քանզի իբրեւ ետես Աստուած զհամաշխարհագործ զմեղսն տարածեալ, եւ որով մահն թագաւորեալ՝ առ հասարակ կլանէր յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի Մովսէս, եւ ի մոռացոնս դարձուցեալ զկենսաբեր աւետիսն յառաջագիրս, որպէս հուր ինչ մոլեկան հրդեհի՝ որ ապականիցէ զլեռինս եւ զդաշտս, արձակեալ այնուհետեւ ի ներքս զօրէնսն իբրեւ զհեղեղատ սաստիկ՝ շիջուցանել զայն համատարած: Վասն որոյ եւ ասէն իսկ, թէ «Ամենայն որ արասցէ զայս՝ կեցցէ ի սոսին». զի որպէս Ադամայ, թէ ճաշակեցէ ի ծառոյն՝ մահ սպառնացաւ, ուստի եւ թագաւորեաց իսկ մահ նոյնպէս եւ զօրինացն ասաց, թէ «Որ արասցէ զայս՝ կեցցէ ի սոսին». որով եւ շիջաւ իսկ մահ:

When¹⁵⁸ God saw that sin was universal throughout the world, and that by it death was reigning and had swallowed up everything from Adam to Moses¹⁵⁹ and had turned to oblivion the life-giving promise previously written, like a raging fire which will destroy the hills¹⁶⁰ and the plains, then He introduced the law as a fierce torrent to extinguish that universal [sin]. Therefore He¹⁶¹ says: “Whoever will do this will live in the same.”¹⁶² For just as death was threatened to Adam if he should taste of the tree—whence death began to

155. Job 40:2–3.

156. Gen 1:27.

157. Acts 7:2.

158. MES: For when.

159. Rom 5:14.

160. MES: mountains.

161. MES: it (Scripture).

162. Lev 18:5; Rom 10:5; Gal 3:12.

reign¹⁶³—so also He said concerning the law: “Who will do this will live in the same,” whereby death was extinguished.¹⁶⁴

- 44 §350 Քանզի յորժամ Ադամ, որ ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արարաւ, եւ ամենայն զաւակ նորա, որ աստուածորդիքն կոչեցան, կամօք իւրեանց զապականութիւն ժառանգեցին՝ ընդ նոսին եւ ամենայն արարածք հնազանդեալ ապականեցան. ոչ իւրեանց կամաւ, այլ վասն առաջնորդութեան կամացն Աստուծոյ առ ի Քրիստոս ազատելոյ: Քանզի եւ որ միանգամ ի վայելչութիւն եւ ի փառս մարդոյն հաստեցան՝ ապականեալք եւ անարգեալք վասն նորին բարկութեան: Եւ երկիր անիծեալ եւ փշաբեր, հեղեղատեալ եւ հրայրեաց, շարժահիմն յողողողեալ, եւ օդք ապականեալք ընդ ժամանակս ժամանակս. եւ լուսաւորք խաւարամածք եւ արիւնանշանք, եւ երկինք այլազունեալք. որպէս ի գրոց մարգարեականաց զանցելոցն է նշանակեալ. զոր եւ նոյն իսկ մարգարէքն յազգականացն կրէին յանձինս իւրեանց: Զի թէպէտ եւ յԱստուծոյ պատուեալք առաքելին, սակայն եւ չընդունելեացն թշնամանեալք եւ քարկոծեալք. որպէս եւ ասէ իսկ ամենատէրն, թէ «Վասն ձեր կոտորեցի զմարգարէսն բանիւ բերանոյ իմոյ»:

When Adam, who was created according to the image of God, and all his seed, who were called the “sons of God,”¹⁶⁵ by their own will inherited corruption, with them all creatures also became subject and were corrupted, not by their own will, but on account of the foreordained will of God to set them free in Christ.¹⁶⁶ For those who once were formed for the delight and glory of man became corrupted and dishonoured on account of his anger. And the earth was cursed and made to produce thorns,¹⁶⁷ flooded and consumed by fire,¹⁶⁸ shaken to its foundations and disturbed; and the winds were corrupted according to the seasons, the luminaries were darkened and became signs of blood,¹⁶⁹ and the heavens lost their colour,¹⁷⁰ just as is indicated concerning what was to come to pass by the prophetic writings. The same the prophets endured from their fellow countrymen. Although the honoured ones were sent by God, honoured by God they were sent, yet they were hated¹⁷¹ and stoned¹⁷² by those who would not receive them; just as the Lord

163. 1 Cor 15:21.

164. 1 Cor 15:54.

165. Gen 6:2.

166. Rom 6:18, 22.

167. Gen 3:17–18.

168. 2 Pet 3:6.

169. Joel 2:31.

170. MES: were different colored.

171. 2 Chr 36:16.

172. Heb 11:36.

of all says: “On your account I have destroyed the prophets by the word of my mouth.”¹⁷³

ANANIA *VARDAPET* C5

Anania *vardapet*, Ի խորհուրդ կատարմանն առաքելոյն Պետրոսի “On the Mystery of the Decease of Apostle Peter,” ed. Yakob K’eosēyan. *MH*, vol. 1, 5th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003). 1145–51.

- 1 1148 (54) Եւ արդ. պարտ էր նմին Ձայնի, յորմէ պակեաւ Ադամ, ձայնել զկնի փախուցելոյն եւ դարձուցանել առ Ինքն, եւ նմին Բանին (corrig. Բանի), որ դատապարտեաց զԱդամ ի մահ, նոյն խոստանալ նմա զկեանս: (55) Քանզի այլ ումեք չէր հնար հաւատալ Ադամայ վերստին ընդունել զկեանս, թէպէտ եւ ի բազմաց լուաւ աւետարանութիւն բարեաց ի մարգարէիցն, մինչեւ եկն նոյն Ձայնն եւ Բանն Աստուծոյ, եւ նոյն դարձեալ Ձայնին դարձոյց եւ Բանին խոստացաւ նմա անմահական կեանս: (56) Եւ արդ. տես զձեւ խաչին ընդդէմ արեւմտից տարածեալ զբազուկս, զի մարդոյն արտաքսելն (corrig. արտաքսեալ) յԱդին դրախտէն եւ, տարամերժեալ ի կենաց փայտէն, դիմեաց յարեւմուտս, տարադէմ հալածեալ առ նսեմային խաւարն, թիկունս տուեալ արեւելեան լուսոյն են (corrig. եւ) կենաց դրախտին:

Now the same Voice by which Adam was frightened had to sound behind him who fled and turn him to Him, and the same Word which sentenced Adam to death, likewise had to promise him life (55) For no one else was able to believe that Adam again received life, although the good tidings were heard from many good prophets, until the same Voice and the Word of God came, and with the same Voice and Word He promised the immortal life to him (56) And now, see the form of the Cross spreading its arms opposite the west, for the man being expelled from the Garden of Eden and deprived from the tree of life, went towards the west, driven to the gloomy darkness, turning his back on the eastern light and the Garden of life.

ELIŠE C5

Text: Elišē, Սրբոյ Հորն մերոյ Եղիշէի Վարդապետի Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings of Our Holy Father Elišē vardapet* (Venice: S. Lazaro, 1859).

173. Hos 6:5.

Էլիֆ, Վասն Վարդանայ եւ հայոց պատերազմին *On Vardan and the Armenian War*, ed. E. Tēr-Minasean (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1957).

Translation: *Elishē, History of Vardan and the Armenian War, Introduction, translation, and commentary* by Robert W. Thomson (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 5; Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1982). The translation here is my own.

The History of Vardan and the Armenian War¹⁷⁴

- 1 25–26 վասն թզոյ միոյ ուտելոյ ի ծառոյն՝ Աստուած զմահ արար եւ զմարդն էարկ ընդ այնու պատուհասիւ.

On account of the eating of a single fig¹⁷⁵ from the tree God made death, and cast man under that punishment.¹⁷⁶

2. Further works attributed to Elišē cited from the Venice edition of 1859 (see above).

4. Մեկնութիւն Յեսուայ եւ Դատաւորաց Commentary on Joshua and Judges

- 2 173 Վասն Ռեքեբայ երիքովացւոյ, որ հաւատով ապրեցաւ ի սրոյն Յեսուայ: Concerning Rahab of Jericho, who by faith was delivered from Joshua's sword.

Մասն է աղ հողոյ միանգամայն եւ ջուր մածեալ. ուր ջուր է, անդ եւ օդ խառնի. ունի աղն բնութեամբ եւ զիրոյ ջերմութիւն. եւ չորեքեան նիւթք աշխարհիս ի յանցանացն Ադամայ անկաւ ընդ ապականութեամբ եւ դարձաւ ի հողոյ բնութիւն:

Salt is part of the soil and is at the same time viscous water.¹⁷⁷ Where water is, there also air is mixed in. By its nature, the salt also has the warmth of fire.¹⁷⁸ And the fourfold materials of this world fell under corruption, due to the transgression of Adam and he was returned to the nature of dust.

- 3 176 Յադագս զաբառնացւոցն խաբելոյն զՅեսու եւ ապրելոյ ի սրոյ նորա Concerning the Gibeonites' Deceit of Joshua and Their Deliverance from His Sword.

174. See also Thomson 1982, 79.

175. This is the first identification of the fruit as a fig in Armenian literature.

176. Cf. Thomson 1982, 79.

177. Cf. Agat'angelos §260, where firmament is called ջրամած covered with water.

178. Here the four elements are evoked, apparently for the first time in the texts we are studying.

... Յղացաւ օձն զկերպարանս աներեւոյթ չարութեանն եւ եղև արու բնութիւն միջնորդութեամբ պտղոյ ծառոյն. պատրեաց եւ մերկեցոյց զհինգ զգայութիւնս իգական մասինն. յապուշ կրթեաց զմիտք կնոջն եւ մոռացումն արար զպատուիրանսն Աստուծոյ. մինչ չեւ մտեալ ի պատերազմն՝ պարտեցաւ ի հայելոյն, յորմէ դու պարտիս զգուշանալ:

... The serpent became pregnant with the forms of the invisible evil and he became the male nature through the mediation of the fruit of the tree. He seduced and stripped naked the five senses of the female part. He instructed the woman's mind in stupidity and caused (her) forgetfulness of the commandments of God. Before she entered the war, she was vanquished by the looking, of which you must be wary.

Առ Սամփսոն On Sampson

- 4 195–96 Այսպէս զանազանի խորհուրդ եօթնագիսակ հերացն Սամփսոնի ի խորհուրդ Ադամայ. զի ստեղծ Տէր Աստուած զմարդն հող յերկրէ եւ զկենդանական շունչն եղ ի նմա եւ այնպէս արար Աստուած զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր. գոյարարողական զօրութեամբն տպաւորեալ վերածեաց ի նմանութիւն պատկերի անմահական եւ անապական իւրոյ փառացն: Իսկ ի ձեռն ուխտազանց յանցաւորութեանն վայրաճեցաւ տարամերժեալ ի մակադրեալ յաստուածակերպ փառացն որ ի նմա: Եւ ահա գոյր ի ծնունդս Ադամայ հնացուցիչ նոյն զօրութիւնն մահու եւ ապականութեան. նա եւ գոյր ի դարս դարս նշան յաւերժական փառաց նորա, անմահականն յաւերժական կեանս նախահօրն. նոյնպէս ընդ անմահիւ անապականն ի փոխումն Ենովքայ եւ ի վերացումն Եղիայի. իսկ լուսազգեստութիւն ի լուսաւորութիւն երեսաց փառացն Մովսէսի, եւ զօրութիւն անձին նորա՝ յեօթնագիսակ ի հերս գլխոյն Սամփսոնի: Իսկ յամենայնէդ նուաղիլ սոցա յետ մահուն, տարամերժեալ նորա յետ յանցանացն նշանակէ:

Thus the mystery of Sampson's seven-stranded hair is different from Adam's mystery. For the Lord God created man, dust from the earth, and he put the vivifying spirit in him, and in that way God made man in his image. Having stamped him by means of (his) creative power, he elevated him to the likeness of his immortal image and incorruptible¹⁷⁹ glory. But, through the covenant-breaking transgression, he was brought low, being cast out from

179. There was a sign.

the divinely formed glory which was set upon him. And, behold, there was in the generations of Adam the same wasting power of death and corruption. Likewise, there was during the ages a sign of His eternal glory, the immortal, eternal life of the forefather. In the same way, together with the immortal, the incorruptible, in the transfer of Enoch and in the elevation of Elijah. As for being closed in radiance, a sign of (this) is the radiance of the glorious face of Moses; and (a sign of) the power of his self (is) in the seven-stranded hair of Samson's head. And his being rejected after transgression, signifies their (i.e., Adam and Eve's) being diminished from all of their qualities after death.

- 5 Նա եւ այլ տեսութիւն: Քանզի զօրութիւնն Աստուծոյ, որպէս ասէ զիր, ի տկարութեան առաւել կատարի, որպէս յոլով ունի օրինակ. զի Ադամ՝ որ ի պատկեր եւ ի նմանութիւն Աստուծոյ արարաւ, ի հոգոյ ստեղծաւ. եւ Նոյ լաստափայտիւն ապրեցաւ հանդերձ ամենայն կենդանեօք, եւ սերմն աշխարհի պահեցաւ:

Moreover another sight: because the power of God, as Scripture says, is more effected in powerlessness, which has many examples. For Adam, who was made in the image and likeness of God, was created from dust. And Noah was saved by a boat, with all living things¹⁸⁰ and the seed of the world was saved.

5. Յաղօթսն որ ասէ Հայր մեր որ յերկինս On the Prayer, "Our Father who art in Heaven"

- 6 204 . . . Յուրբաթու խաչեցաւ ի փշրումն մահու. ի միաշաբաթոջ զփշրեալ ոսկերսն Ադամայ ժողովեաց եւ յարեաց յանմահութիւնն, եւ երեւեցոյց բազմաց ճշմարտութեամբ եւ ոչ առ աչօք. մի օր հացացաւ ի վերնատանն, եւ հանապազ հացանայ յեկեղեցիս ի վերայ սուրբ սեղանոյն. նախ ինքն յինքենէ ճաշակեաց, եւ ապա զմեզ զամենեսեան ճաշակիցս արար նմին չարչարանաց:

. . . He was crucified on Friday, to the pulverization of death. On Sunday he gathered the pulverized bones of Adam and raised (him) up to immortality. And he showed himself to many in truth and not in fancy. One day he became bread in the upper room and continually he becomes bread in the church upon the holy altar. First, He himself ate of Himself, and then he made all of us fellow-diners of the same sufferings.

180. Or: animals.

6. Ի մկրտութիւնն Քրիստոսի¹⁸¹

On the Baptism of Christ

- 7 207 . . . Եւ քանզի երից տասանց գործէ զմարդն կատարեալ, ըստ այսմ ստեղծագործեալ եւ առաջինն Ադամ, խաբեալ յօձէն արտաքոյ լինի փափկութեանն դրախտին. ըստ այնմ կատարելութեան տնօրինեալ երկրորդ Ադամն ջախէ զգլուխ վիշապին ի Յորդանանու հոսանսն:

. . . And because he makes the perfect man of three tenths,¹⁸² according to that he also created the first Adam. Having been deceived by the serpent, he was expelled from the Garden of delight. According to that perfection, the second Adam, being incarnated, smashed the head of the dragon in the streams of the Jordan.¹⁸³

7. Մեկնութիւն Արարածոց

Commentary on Genesis

Text: Levon Xač'ik'yan published fragments of a *Commentary on Genesis* attributed to Elišē extracted from medieval collected commentaries. He argues forcefully that this work was written by the same Elišē who wrote the *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*. See Levon Xač'ik'yan, *The Commentary on Genesis by Elišē*, ed. Levon Ter-Petrosian (Erevan: Zvartnots Press, 1992) (in Armenian). His conclusions about authorship are summarized on pp. 112–113. Almost none of these fragments is completely relevant to our study, but the following should be noted.

Translation: Levon Khachikyan and Michael Papazian, Եղիշէ. Մեկնութիւն Արարածոց *Commentary on Genesis* (Erevan: Magharat Publishing House, 2004).

- 8 240, section 11 Բարութք ասաց մարգարէն երեք աշխարհք գոլ՝ աշխարհարարն եւ աշխարհ եւ մարդ. Աստուած իմանալի աշխարհ, աշխարհ՝ զգալի, մարդ զգալի եւ իմանալի աշխարհ. Եւ չէ անպատեհ Աստուծոյ ի համար անկանել իւրոցն գործոց, զի կտակ եթէ ձեռն եւ պատկեր թագաւորի ոչ կնքէ զնա չէ հաստատուն, վասն որոյ եւ այժմ արարիչն կնքէ զաշխարհ՝ հանգչելովն յերթերորդում աւուր:

The prophet said well that there are three worlds: the Creator world, and world and man. God—intelligible world; world—sensible; man—sensible

181. In a note on p. 206, the editor expresses doubts as to the authenticity of the attribution of the following homily to Elišē.

182. Perhaps emend “tens” to “parts.”

183. Stone 2002, 22–23.

and intelligible world. And it is not unbecoming for God to be counted with his works, for a covenant is not established if the hand and image of the king do not seal it, for which reason now the Creator seals the world by resting on the seventh day.

- 9 8.241 Բարի է բնութեամբ Աստուած եւ նախագէտ. շարժեցաւ Բարին առնել զԱդամ եւ զԵւայ: Նախագիտութիւնն որ ի նմա, գիտաց զոր ինչ լինելոց էր, եւ ոչ կարաց նախագիտութիւնն Աստուծոյ արգելով զբարի շարժումն Աստուծոյ յառնելոյ զմարդն եւ զաւգնականն իւր, զի անկեալ ի հրեշտակական անախտ աճմանէն աւգնեսցէ կինն առնն անասնապէս աճմանն եւ բազմանալոյ, ըստ արհնութեանն որ ասաց՝ Աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք գերկիւր, եւ ոչ զդրախտն անմեղապէս եւ հրեշտակավայելոյ:

God is good by nature and prescient. The Good was moved to make Adam and Eve. The prescience which (was) in Him knew what was going to happen, and the prescience of God was unable to prevent the good movement of God from making man and his helpmate, so that having fallen from the impassible angelic increase (i.e., procreation), the woman might help man's increase and multiplication in the fashion of the beasts, according to the blessing which said, "Increase and multiply and fill the earth,"¹⁸⁴ and not the Garden in a sinless and angelic fashion.

- 10 «Եւ ստեղծ եւս տէր Աստուած զամենայն զազանս եւ զամենայն սողունս»: "And the Lord God created moreover all the beasts and all the crawling things".¹⁸⁵

Ըստ վերագոյն ասիցն վասն ծառոց ասի. եւ այս զազան եւ թռչուն ստեղծանել Աստուծոյ ի տեսիլ Ադամայ, հաւատալ թէ եւ այլքն նոյնպէս ստեղծան: Բայց եւ զամենայն զազանս եւ զամենայն թռչունս ասելովն զառաջինն ստուգէ, եւ հաւաստէ զստեղծուածս, զանասունս ընդ զազանացն եւ ընդ թռչնոցն ծածկապէս յիշելով:

According to that said above about the trees, this too is pronounced, that God created beasts and birds in Adam's sight, so that he would believe that the other things too were created in the same way. But by speaking about all the beasts and all the birds¹⁸⁶ it specifies the former and it manifests the created things by recalling the dumb animals implicitly with the beasts and the birds.

- 11 Եւ զեւսն զի՞ յաւել քանզի անուանս հանդերձեալ էին առնուլ, եւ որպէս թէ այնու յեութիւն զալ ի չեութենէ, որք առանց անուան ընդ ոչէսն ունին զհաշիւն:

184. Gen 1:28.

185. Gen 2:19.

186. Gen 1:30.

And why did he add the additional ones? Because they were going to receive names and those who are without names are reckoned with the uncreated, as though the created come from the uncreated through that (i.e., receiving names).¹⁸⁷

- 12 «Եւ ած գնոսա առ Ադամ տեսանել զինչ կոչեսցէ եւ ամենայն շնչոյ կենդանոյ զինչ եւ անուանեաց Ադամ՝ այն անուն է նորա»:

“And he brought them to Adam to see what he would call them, and whatever Adam named every living thing, that was its name.”¹⁸⁸

- 13 243 . . . Համարձակեցան ոմանք, յարտաքնոցն, ասել լինել մարդոյն ի դրախտն զհազար ամ, վկայ ածելով զասելն Դաւթի Հազար ամ յաչս Տեառն, որպէս օր երեկի: Իսկ այլք, յնտանեաց՝ Խ օր ասացին, ըստ հոգեծնութեանն արուի: Իսկ մեք ընդդէմ ոչ կարեմք ասել ինչ եւ ոչ զմերն հաստատել, քանզի է ինչ գոր յայտնեաց Աստուած մարգարէին, եւ է ինչ գոր ծածկեաց, որպէս զերկնիցն զարարն եւեթ ասաց եւ զերբ լռեաց. նոյնպէս եւ վասն ծառոյն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի ասաց եւ վասն պտղոյն լռեաց: Զի թեպէտ են արմատք մահաբերք, այլ ոքին ոչ կարեն կենաց պատճառ լինել, զի երկու բնութիւն ի մի ծառ ոչ կարէ գոլ, այլ բանն է աստուածային սաստկութեան եւ քաղցրութեան, ծառն միջնորդ ընդ մարդ եւ ընդ Աստուած:

. . . Certain people, foreigners, ventured to say that man was in the Garden for a thousand years, bringing as witness David's saying, “A thousand years in the Lord's eyes is as yesterday.”¹⁸⁹ But others, of our close associates, said (that it was) 40 days in accordance with the spiritual birth¹⁹⁰ of the male. But we cannot say anything against this nor (can we) fix our own opinion, because there is that which God revealed to the prophet and there is that which he concealed. Such as that he only spoke of the making of the heavens and was silent about when. Similarly also he spoke about the tree of knowledge of good and evil and was silent about the fruit. For whereas they are mortal roots, the same cannot be the cause of life, for it is impossible that there be two natures in one tree, but the verse is about divine severity and sweetness; the tree, an intermediary between man and God.

187. Stone 2007a, 69–80.

188. Gen 2:19.

189. Ps 90:4 = Arm 89:4.

190. This word is cited in *NBHL* only from this place. It presumably refers to the purity law about the birth of males and females that is cited in other sources about the birth of Adam. See Lev 12:4–5 and part 1, chapter 1, §4.4. See also Stone 1992.

EPHREM, EXPOSITION OF THE GOSPEL C5

Saint Ephrem, An Exposition of the Gospel, ed. George A. Egan (2 vols.; CSCO 291–92, *Scriptores Armeniaci* 5–6; Louvain: Peeters, 1968). The text is drawn from the first volume, pp. 29–44; the translation from second volume, pp. 26–40.

- 1 40 Նա եւ յոյժ իսկ եցոյց մեզ Աստուած զերկայնամտութիւն եւ զբարկութիւն իւր ի թիւն տասներորդ. զի մինչ ի տասն ազգ ներեաց Աստուած երկայնամտութեամբ իւրով վասն առաջին անօրէութիւն մարդկան, եւ ապա ած ի վերայ նոցա զջուրսն հեղեղին. եւ ապա եցոյց¹⁹¹ զՆոյ միայն զի արդար էր: (էջ 29)

Moreover, God abundantly showed to us his patience and indignation in the tenth number; for to the tenth generation God forgave through his patience the first iniquity of man, and then he brought the flood upon them and then he saved only Noah, for he was just.

- 2 57 Եւ քանզի գիտէր զնեւգութիւն սրտին Կայէնի բարձրեալն, ոչ ընկալաւ զպատարագս նորա: Սոյնպէս եւ Քրիստոս եղեւ հովիւ քահանայ եւ վիրաւոր, իբրեւ մատոյց Աստուծոյ պատարագ.

And because the Most High knew the deception in¹⁹² the heart of Cain, he did not receive his sacrifice. In a like manner also Christ became a shepherd, a priest and was wounded, because he offered a sacrifice to God.

- 3 57 p. 42 Հաբէլ եղեւ հովիւ, քահանայ եւ վիրաւոր, եւ առ նա յանդրանկաց խաշանց իւրոց, եւ մատոյց պատարագ Աստուծոյ.

Abel became a shepherd, a priest¹⁹³ and was wounded; and he took of his first-born sheep, and he offered a sacrifice to God.

- 4 57 Եւ զոր օրինակ ոչ ընկալաւ Աստուած զպատարագսն Կայէնի՝ զի բաժանեալ էին / p. 43 / միտք նորա, եւ ձեռք նորա պղծեալ էին արեամբ զի լի էր նա բարկութեամբ սպանանել զեղբայրն իւր, եւ պատարագ սպանելոյն արժանի եղեւ, սոյնպէս եւ Աստուած ընդունի զպատարագս մեր, զի երթամք մեք զկնի հովուի քահանայի եւ սպանելոյ.

And as God did not receive the sacrifices of Cain because he doubted, and his hands were stained with blood because he was (so) full of anger he killed his brother and the killed sacrifice¹⁹⁴ became acceptable, in like manner also

191. Other mss: ապրեցոյց.

192. Literally: risen up in.

193. Observe the idea of the antediluvian priesthood.

194. Literally: sacrifice of the killed one.

God receives our sacrifices, because we follow the shepherd, the priest and the one who was killed.

- 5 58 p. 43 . . . զի նոքա իսկ են պատարագք, որպէս զի ոչ եղեն ընդունելի պատարագք Կայենի: Եւ մեր ոյք երթամք զկնի Քրիստոսի, որ նմանեալ է Հաբէլի արդարութեամբ եւ քահանայութեամբ եւ մահուամբ իւրով, ընկալեալ լիցին պատարագք մեր ի վերայ սեղանոյ.

. . . because they are in fact sacrifices as Cain's sacrifices which were not acceptable. And we follow Christ, who is likened to Abel in his righteousness and priesthood and death, our sacrifices shall be accepted on the altar;

- 6 58 Եւ տես, զի նմանեցաւ Հաբէլ հովուին՝ արդարութեանն Քրիստոսի եւ քահանայութեանն եւ մահուն իւրոյ: (Էջ 44)

And see that Abel was likened to the shepherd, to the righteousness of Christ and to his priesthood and death.

- 7 45 Ասէ Եսայի մարգարէ, եթէ տունկ կենաց մարդք հաւատացեալք են. եւ իբրեւ ունայնացեալք լինէին ի գործոց անտի կենաց, լինին նոքա այնուհետեւ այգի աւերեալ. ասէ. «Այգի տնկեցի ի տեղի սիրելի ի տեղի պարարտութեան. ցանկով փակեցի, եւ ամրութեամբ պարսպեցի. նոր տունկ տնկեցի, մաքրեցի, կտուեցի, կակղեցի, ձողաբարձ զարդարեցի, աշտարակ կանկնեցի, գուբ հնձան շինեցի. կացի մնացի եթէ եկեսցէ բերիցէ ինձ խաղող, եկն եբեր փուշ եւ տատասկ: Արդ, արք Յուդայ եւ բնակիչք Երուսաղէմի, դատ արարեք ընդ իս եւ ընդ այգի իմ.»

Isaiah the prophet says that men who have believed are plants of life, and when they had become void of the works of life, thenceforth they become a desolate vineyard, he says, "I planted a vineyard in a beloved place, in a place of fatness. I closed it with a lock, and walled it strongly. I planted new plants, I cleaned, I pruned, I cultivated, I adorned (it) with arbors; I built a tower, I made a wine-press vat; I expected that it would bring forth grapes for me, (and) it brought forth thorns and thistles. Now, men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem, do justice between me and my vineyard."¹⁹⁵

- 8 49 . . . եւ մաքրեն բառնան ի մէնջ զամենայն գործս չարութեան իբրեւ զփուշ եւ տատասկ՝ զոր քաղէ հանէ / p. 36 / մշակ յայգոյ,

. . . and clean and take away from us all works of evil, as thorns and thistles which the labourer gathers and takes away from the vineyard.¹⁹⁶

195. Compare Isa 5:1–3.

196. Paraphrase of Isa 5:1–4.

EZNIK C5

Text: Eznik Kolbac'i, Եղծ աղանդոց *Refutation of the Sects* (Loukasean Library 14; Tiflis: N. Ałanean Press, 1914). The page numbers below are of this edition.

Translation: Monica J. Blanchard and Robin Darling Young, *A Treatise on God Written in Armenian by Eznik of Kolb (floruit c.430–c.450): An English Translation, with Introduction and Notes* (Eastern Christian Texts in Translation 2; Leuven: Peeters, 1998). The translation here is my own.

- 1 6–7 Որ ոչ այնու միայն զարմանալի է, զի աճն ի չգոյէ ի գոյ զչգոյսն եւ եցոյց յոչընչէ ինչ զչէսն, այլ զի եւ անարատ եւ անխախտս պահէ զլեալսն, որոց եւ յառաջնումն իսկ աննախանձ ետ զկենդանութիւնն առ ի յայտնելոյ զիւրոյ զբարերարութեանն հանդէս:

He who is wonderful not only by that alone, that he brought those things that did not exist from non-existence into existence and that he shows forth those things that are not, from non-being into being, but also because he keeps those things that came about both immaculate and incorruptible (firm), to which ungrudgingly he gave vitality at the beginning, in order to make evident a demonstration of his own beneficence.

- 2 25–26 Ապա ուրեմն էր երբէք, զի բնաւ չէր ամենեւին ինչ արարիչ բովանդակ, մինչ չեւ Աստուծոյ զմարդն արարեալ էր, ուստի չարիքն լինին: Քանզի մասանց չարեաց գտանի մարդն արարիչ, անտի յայտ է, թէ եւ բովանդակ իսկ չարեացն արարիչ Աստուած է, զոր ամենեւին մի երբէք լիցի ասել, թէ Աստուած չարեաց պատճառ իցէ, այլ այն, որ իւրով կամօք զգործ չարեացն գործիցէ. եւ յումմէ չարն գործի, յիրաւի նմին անուն չարութեան դնի, որպէս եւ յառաջագոյն իսկ ասացար:

Then there was a time, that there was not any creator at all, before God had made man, from whom evil comes into existence. For man is found to be creator of evil parts. From that it is evident that God is the creator of all evil, which let it never be said that God would be a cause of evils, but that, that by His will the deed of evil might be done.¹⁹⁷ And to the one by whom evil is done, the name of evil is rightly ascribed, as we said formerly.

- 3 28–30 Իսկ մարդիկ, ասեն, յանձա՞նց ինչ ունիցին զայնպիսի շարժմունս, թէ յԱստուծոյ լեալ իցեն, կամ թէ այլ ոք իցէ, որ զայն ի մարդիկ արկանիցէ:

(43) ՅԱստուծոյ մարդկան այսպիսի ինչ լինել չթուի պատշաճ ասել, այլ ունել անձնիշխանութիւն եւ ազատութիւն առաջնոյ մարդոյն

197. Literally: he might do.

եղելոյ յԱստուծոյ, եւ ի նմանէն զնոյն իւրոց պայազատացն ժառանգել: Եւ արդ, առեալ զանձնիշխանութիւնն՝ ում կամի ծառայանայ, որ մեծ շնորհն պարգեւեալ է նմա յԱստուծոյ, քանզի այն ամենայն ի հարկէ ծառայէ աստուածական հրամանին. եթէ զերկնից ասիցես, կայ հաստատեալ եւ ոչ շարժի ի սահմանելոյ նմա տեղւոյն, եւ եթէ զարեգականէ կամիցիս ասել, սակայն եւ նա կատարէ զգատուցեալ նմա զշարժմունն եւ չիշխէ խուսափել ընթացիցն, այլ ի հարկէ ծառայէ տէրունական հրամանին: Նոյնպէս եւ զերկիր սեղմացեալ տեսանեմք եւ բարձեալ բերէ զհրաման հրամանատուին. եւ զայլսն ամենայն համակերտս ծառայացեալս հրամանաց Արարչին եւ չիշխեն այլ ինչ, քան զայն, յոր կարգեցանն, գործել, վասն որոյ գովեմք զնոսա յաղագս զսահմանս հրամանացն պահելոյ:

Բայց մարդոյ առեալ զանձնիշխանութիւն՝ ում կամի ծառայանայ՝ ո՛չ ի հարկէ բնութեան բռնադատեալ, ոչ ի զօրութենէն, որ նմա վասն լաւութեանց շնորհեցաւ կասեալ, այլ ի հնազանդութենէ միայն շահի օգուտն եւ յանհնազանդութենէ՝ զվնաս: Եւ զայն ոչ եթէ առ եղեռանէ ինչ լեալ ասեմք մարդոյն, այլ վասն լաւութեանց: Զի եթէ իբրեւ զմի ինչ յալոցն բնութեանց լեալ էր, զոր ի հարկէն ծառայէն Աստուծոյ, ապա եւ վարձս ընդ կամակորութեանն առնլոյ չէր արժանի, այլ իբրեւ գործի մի էր Արարչին, զոր թեպէտ ի չար վարէր եւ թեպէտ ի բարի, ոչ պարսաւանք ինչ էին նմա եւ ոչ գովութիւնք, այլ պատճառ այն էր, որ զնա այնպէս վարէր, նաեւ ոչ զլաւ ինչ գիտէր այնուհետեւ մարդն, քանզի չէր հմուտ այլ իմիք, բայց այնմ եւեթ, յոր պատշաճեալն էր: Այլ Աստուած այնպէս զմարդն պատուել կամեցաւ, զի առ լաւութեանցն խելամուտ լինելոյ զանձնիշխանութիւնն պարգեւեաց նմա, որով կարող իցէ առնել զինչ եւ կամեսցի եւ զանձնիշխանութիւնն նորա ի լաւն խրատէ դարձուցանել:

“But,” they say, “how do men have such movements in themselves? Have they¹⁹⁸ come into being through God or is there some other who casts them into men?”

It does not seem fitting to say that such a thing happened to men through God, but that the first man created by God had autonomy and freedom, and from him the same was inherited by his descendants. And now, having received autonomy, he upon whom great grace has been bestowed by God, serves whom he wishes, since all the rest (i.e., of creation) necessarily serves the divine command. If you would speak of the heavens, they remain fixed and do not move from the place determined for them; and if you should wish to speak of the sun, moreover, it too carries out the movement set apart for it and it has no power to escape from its orbit, but it necessarily serves the Lord's command. Similarly we also see the earth, having become dense and

198. I.e., the movements.

lifted up, bears the command of Him who commands. And all other similar things serve the commands of the Creator, and they are unable to do anything other than that, to do that for which they were ordered, on account of which we praise them for observing the limits of the commands.

But man, having received autonomy, serves whom he wishes, not necessarily forced by nature, nor ceasing by the power which was bestowed upon him for the sake of the good things, but through obedience alone he gains the beneficial and through disobedience, hurt. And we do not say that man came into being for some evil, but for the sake of good things. For, if he had come into being like any of the other natures, which serve God by necessity,¹⁹⁹ then he would not be worthy of receiving recompense for perversity, but he would be like a tool of the Creator which He was using for evil or for good; he would have neither blame nor praise, but rather the cause would be him who used him thus. Also, because of this man would not discern any good thing, because he was not skilled at anything else but only that for which he was fitted. But God wished to honor man in this fashion, that he bestowed upon him autonomy for being skillful at good things, by which he would be able to do whatever he wished, and He instructed him to turn his autonomy to the good.

- 4 31 Եւ արդ, զիարդ երեւէր ընտրութիւն գործոցն, եթէ ոչ ունէր մարդն իշխանութիւն երկոցունց եւ անսալոյն, եւ չանսալոյն: Եւ արդ, յայտ է, թէ անձնիշխան եղեւ մարդն առնել զբարի եւ ժուել ի չար, իբր ոչ եթէ չար ինչ առաջի կայր, յոր ժտիցի, այլ այն եւեթ առաջի կայր կամ անսալ Աստուծոյ, կամ չանսալ, եւ գնոյն եւեթ պատճառ չարին իմանալ: Քանզի լեալ մարդն առաջին՝ առնոյր պատուէր յԱստուծոյ եւ չինազանդեալ աստուածական հրամանին մտաբերէր ի չարիս, եւ անտի լինէր սկիզբն չարեաց:

And now, why did the choice of actions show forth, if man did not have authority²⁰⁰ over both, both obedience and disobedience?

And now, it is evident that man was autonomous to do good and to venture evil. Not that some evil thing existed before, which he might venture; but only that existed before—either to obey God or not to—and only this can be considered the cause of evil. Because man, having come into being first, received a commandment from God and, having disobeyed the divine commandment, contemplated evil; and from that, the beginning of evil came about.

- 5 32–33 Արդ, անասատութիւնն եւեթ, որ արտաքոյ Աստուծոյ կամացն գործիցի, պատճառ չարեաց իմանալի է. եւ նմին զայլ ոք վարդապետ

199. I.e., not by free will.

200. Or: autonomy.

ծածուկ հաշուել դրդիչ եւ ոչ բռնադատիչ, որ զմարդն ի լաւութեանցն մերկանալ կամեցաւ: Ապա եթէ զպատճառն եւս կամիցին խնդրել, զնախանձն, որ առ մարդն եղել, իմասցին զպատճառն: Եւ եթէ զնախանձունն եւս ճշդիւ քննիցեն, թէ ուստի եղել, ասասցուք, եթէ յառաւելութենէ զմարդն պատուելոյ, քանզի միայն մարդ ըստ պատկերի եւ ըստ նմանութեան Աստուծոյ եղել:

Իսկ եթէ այնու զԱստուած պատճառ չարեաց կամիցին ասել, անկանին յիմաստնարար խորհրդոյ: Եթէ զնորա ինչ հանեալ էր, եւ մարդոյն շնորհեալ, թերեւս յիրաւի պատճառ չարեաց կարծեր տուիչն, ապա եթէ զնա նոյնպէս որպէս եղեն պահեաց եւ զմարդն այսպէս կամեցաւ առնել, պատճառ չարեաց նախանձորդն է: Քանզի ոչ եթէ յորժամ իցեն ուրուք երկու ծառայք, եւ զմինն ի ծառայութեան ունիցի եւ զմիւսն յորդեցիրս գրիցէ, եւ միոյն յարուցեալ ի վերայ՝ զմիւսն սպանանիցէ, միթէ պատճառ չարեաց զտէրն պարտ իցէ իմանալ, որ ոչ եհան ինչ ի ծառայէն եւ շնորհեաց միւսոյն:

Now, only disobedience that is done beyond the will of God is to be understood as the cause of evil, and to reckon some other, hidden teacher has been an instigator but not a compeller for this, who wished to strip man of the good things.²⁰¹ Then, if they wish further to seek a cause, let them understand the cause to be the envy, which came into being against man.

And if they would enquire more precisely concerning the envy, whence it came into being, we shall say that it is from the abundance of man's being honored, because man alone came into being according to the image and according to the likeness of God.

Then, if by this they wish to say that God is the cause of evil, they lay down the instructive opinion. If He had removed something of his (i.e. Satan's) and bestowed it upon man, perhaps he would think correctly that the Giver is the cause of evils. But if He preserved him (i.e., Satan) just as he came into being and wished to make man thus,²⁰² the envious one is the cause of evil. Because, is it not the case that if someone has two slaves and holds one in servitude and adopts the other as a son, and the one having risen up kills the other, must one understand the master as the cause of evils, who took nothing from the (one) slave and bestowed it (not) upon the other?

- 6 33 ԺԲ Արդ եւ զայն եւս հարցանեն, եթէ չար ինչ չկայր առաջի, ուստի՞ օձն, զոր սատանայ կոչէք, իմացաւ զհանգամանս չարին:

Now, in addition they ask that, "If something evil did not exist before, whence did the serpent, whom you call Satan, discern the nature of evil?"

201. I.e., the Edenic privileges.

202. I.e., in the way he did.

- 7 Ասեմք, եթէ սատանայ չար գստունգանէլն մարդոյն Աստուծոյ իմացաւ, վասն որոյ զմարդն յայն յօժարեցոյց: Որպէս յորժամ իցէ որ ուրուք թշնամի եւ թագուցեալ գթշնամութիւնն՝ գաղտ կամիցի վնասել եւ չգիտիցէ զհանգամանս վնասակարութեանն եւ շուրջ եկեալ յածիցի հնարս խնդրել, ապա գտեալ ժամանակ, յորժամ որ ի բժշկաց թշնամոյն նորա պատուէր տայցէ յայս ինչ չիպել եւ յայս նիշ կերակրոց չճաշակել, որով առողջութեանն կարիցէ հասանել, եւ նորա լուեալ վաղվադակի ի կեդիս բարեկամութեան կեդաւորեալ գրծիշկն պարսաւիցէ եւ զօգտակարսն նմա վնասակարս թելադրեալ կարծեցուցանիցէ եւ հակառակ պատուէրս հրամանաց բժշկին տայցէ եւ այնու առնիցէ նմա վնաս, որ ոչ եթէ յառաջագոյն գիտէր զհանգամանս վնասակարութեանն, այլ ի պատուիրելոյ բժշկին / ք. 34 / գտեալ հնարս՝ եղև վնասակար: Նոյնպէս կարծի եւ զսատանայէ. նախանձէլն նմա ընդ նախաստեղծ մարդոյն եւ չգիտել զհանգամանս վնասակարութեանն, քանզի ոչ եթէ չար ինչ առաջի կայր, ուստի զհանգամանսն մարթ էր առնուլ, ուսեալ Մաստուծոյ պատուիրանէն, որ մարդոյն տուաւ արգելուլ զնա ի ճաշակելոյ ի տնկոյ իմեքէ ի մահաբերէ զայն առաջադրեաց մարդոյն, որ ոչ եթէ անպիտան ինչ ի կերակուրս մարդոյ էր եւ ոչ բնութեամբ տունկն մահաբեր: Եւ վասն այնորիկ ինչ արգելաւ մարդն ի ճաշակելոյ ի նմանէ, այլ անսաստութիւնն եղև պատճառ մահուան մարդոյն, իբրեւ յանցաւորի, որ անցանիցէ զիրամանաւ հրամանատուի, որ նմա կարգեալ իցէ:

We say that Satan discerned that for man to disobey God was evil; on account of which he induced man to that. Just as when someone is a person's enemy and having hid the enmity, wishes to harm (him) secretly and does not know the manner (nature) of harming, having come around²⁰³ he walks about to seek for the means. Then, having found a time when one of his enemy's physicians might instruct him not to draw near to this thing and not to eat of this sort of food; by this he might attain health. And he, having heard, at once after having dissembled false friendship, found fault with the doctor, (and) causes him to think that that which has been supposed to be helpful to him is harmful and he might give instructions contrary to the doctor's order. And by that he does harm to him, not that he formerly knew the manner of harmfulness, but having found a means in the doctor's instruction, it became harmful. Likewise it is opined concerning Satan, that he envied the first-created man and did not know the manner (nature) of harming (him). For it is not that some evil thing was previously, whence he could take this manner (nature). He learned from God's commandment, which He gave²⁰⁴ to man to prevent him from eating from some mortal plant; he proposed to the man that it is not that the plant was useless as food for man, and not that

203. Cf. 1 Pet 5:8.

204. Or: was given.

it was by nature mortal. And for that reason why was man forbidden to eat of it? But disobedience was the cause of death for man, as a transgressor who transgressed the commandment of the one who commands, which is set forth for him.

- 8 34 Արդ, ժտեցոյց թշնամին՝ զմարդն՝ անցանել զհրամանան Աստուծոյ, որպէս զի ոչ եթէ ստուգեալ գիտէր, եթէ այնու նմա վնաս ինչ գործել կարիցէ, այլ կարծեօք ի թեթեւս մատուցեալ, եթէ լիցի եւ թէ չլինիցի. եւ յետոյ յԱստուծոյ պատուհասէն, որ առ մարդն եղև վասն պատուիրանագանցութեանն, իմացաւ, եթէ պատուիրանք նորա մահ գործեցին: Եւ յիրաւի պատժեցան եւ նա, եւ մարդն, զոր յօժարեցոյց յանսաստութիւնն ճաշակել ի փայտէն, որ ոչ բնութեամբ մահաբեր էր, այլ յԱստուծոյ սպառնալեացն եղև այնպիսի իրաց պատճառ:

Now, the Enemy emboldened man to transgress God's order, not that he knew exactly that through this he could do him some harm but by conjecturing that if he approached quickly it would either happen or not. And afterwards, from God's punishment, which came upon man because of transgression of commandment, he discerned that His commandments dealt death. And justly both he and the man were punished. He induced him to disobedience, to eat from the tree that was not mortal by nature, but, through God's threats became the cause of such things.

- 9 35 Եւ որպէս բժշկի ոչ կարենք մեղադիր լինել վասն յառաջագոյնն գգուշացուցանելոյ, որով օրինակաւ կարիցէ մարդն առողջանալ, եւ նորա, թողեալ զպատուէրս բժշկին, անսայցէ թշնամոյն, որ զվնասակար խրատսն տայցէ նմա, որով ոչ զպատճառս վնասուն ի բժշկէն, որ յառաջագոյնն գուշակեաց նմա, իմանալի է, այլ ի թշնամոյն, որ ի պատուիրանէ բժշկին նմա զվնասն հնարեցաւ, նոյնպէս եւ զսատանայէ ասենք լեալ թշնամի մարդկան, որ չեւ եւս գիտէր զհանգամանս չարեաց, այլ ի պատուիրանէն Աստուծոյ ուսեալ՝ կամեցաւ վնասել մարդոյն, որպէս զի եթէ առանց Աստուծոյ կամաց ի ծառոյն ուտիցէ, առնուցու պատիժ զմահ: Քանզի եթէ յառաջագոյն չէր գուշակեալ Աստուծոյ մարդոյն չուտել ի կերակրոյ ծառոյն, եւ նորա յանգէտս կերեալ, չլինէր նմա պատիժ մահ, կամ որպէս թէ առ ի չգիտանս եկեր կամ թէ առ չժուժկալելոյ ի կերակրոյ ծառոյն, չէր ինչ պատժի պարտական: Քանզի եւ մանուկ կաթնակեր, որ յայլ ինչ կերակուր մտաբերիցէ, ոչ պատժելի է, այլ արգահատելի, որպէս թէ առ ի չգոյէ կաթին յայն յօժարեաց: Նաեւ օձն, որ է սատանայ, յիրաւի պատժեցաւ վասն ընդ անագորոյն թշնամութեան ընդ մարդոյն ունելոյ:

Եւ արդ, սկիզբն չարեաց զնախանձն ասենք, եւ զնախանձն՝ յառաւել զմարդն պատուելոյ, եւ զչարիսն յանհնազանդութենէն: Զի Աստուած այնպէս առաւել զմարդն պատուեաց, եւ նորա անսաստեալ զընկեց

զպատուիրանն: Ուստի զամենայն ինչ, որ լինի չար, ոչ բնութեամբ, չար գիտեմք, այլ զի առանց կամացն Աստուծոյ գործին իրք ինչ լինին չար.

And just as we cannot blame a doctor for giving caution in advance how a man could be healed, if he, abandoning the doctor's command, obeyed his enemy who gave him harmful counsel. By this it is to be discerned that the causes of damage do not stem from the doctor, who cautioned him in advance, but from his enemy, who by the doctor's command contrived harm to him. Likewise we say of Satan, that he became enemy of man before he knew the means (nature) of evil, but he learned it from God's commandment and then wished to harm man, so that if he ate from the tree without (against) God's wish, he would receive death as a punishment. For if God had not warned man in advance not to eat of the food of the tree, and he had eaten in ignorance, he would not have received the punishment of death, or if he had eaten in ignorance or if he were unable to restrain himself from the food of the tree, he would not be liable for punishment. Because also a suckling infant, who tries out some other nourishment, is not to be punished but to be comforted, as if in the absence of milk he desired that.²⁰⁵ The serpent also, who is Satan, was justly punished because he had cruel enmity against man.

And now we say that the beginning of evil is envy, and that envy (is) from the abundant honoring of man²⁰⁶ and evil from disobedience. For God thus abundantly honored man and he, having disobeyed, cast off the commandment. From this, (we infer) that everything which becomes evil is not evil by nature, but that because things are done without God's will they become evil.

- 10 36 Նա եւ ընդ լինելն իսկ սատանայի յԱստուծոյ գիտաց, եթէ անսաստել ումեք Աստուծոյ չար է եւ ոչ բարի, քանզի ոչ եթէ անմիտ ինչ որ եղև նա յԱստուծոյ, եթէ չգիտէր, եթէ որ ինչ ըստ Աստուծոյ կամացն լինի, բարի է, եւ որ ինչ արտաքոյ քան զնորա կամսն, այն չար է: Եւ վասն այնորիկ յիրաւի տանջէ զնա Աստուած, զի գիտէ նա զբարին եւ ոչ առնէ եւ հմուտ է չարին եւ ոչ խորշի:

Then, too, when Satan came into being through God, he knew that if someone disobeys God it is evil and not good. Because he did not come into being through God as somebody somewhat mindless that he did not know that whatever is according to God's will is good, and whatever is beyond His will, that is bad. And for this reason justly God punishes him, because he knows the good and does not do it and is expert in evil and does not shun it.

- 11 36 Եւ ոչ չար եւ չարչարիչ հաստատեաց զնա Աստուած եւ ոչ փորձիչ,

205. Cf. 1 Cor 3:2–3.

206. Cf. Wis 2:24.

Եթէ նովաւ փորձեալ՝ զարդարս գտեսցէ: Եւ ոչ ինքն յանձնէ չար գտեալ եւ ոչ անարար եւ հակառակ Աստուծոյ, այլ մտաւոր եղեալ յԱստուծոյ եւ հմուտ գիտութեան, թէ չար է հակառակ կալ Աստուծոյ հրամանին, եւ յայն, զոր գիտէրն, թէ չար է, յանդգնեցաւ: Չանսաստութենէն ասեմք. եւ անսաստութիւնն ոչ եթէ անձնաւոր ինչ յառաջագիւտ եհաս ի գիտութիւնն սատանայի, այլ իբրեւ զմի ինչ եղեալ ի դիպաց կամեցելոյն:

And God did not make him evil, nor a tormentor, nor a tempter, that, by whom having tempted the righteous, he might purify them. And he himself was not found evil through himself; and not uncreated and an adversary to God, but having come into being through God, intelligent and expert in the knowledge that it is evil to oppose God's commands, and he presumed to do that which he knew to be evil. We speak concerning disobedience; and disobedience is not an animate thing, previously existent, that came to Satan's knowledge, but like a thing that came into being fortuitously through the one who wished.

- 12 36–37 Նա եւ զմարդոյ յիրաւի ասեմք կրել պատուհաս ընդ որոց գործիցէ եւ քանզի կամաւ երթայ յուսումն այնպիսի իրաց, յորոց յորժամ եւ կամիցի եւ մեկնել կարող է, քանզի եւ կամելոյն, եւ չկամելոյն ունի իշխանութիւն, զորոյ զհետ երթայ եւ կարելն զոր ինչ կամիցի առնել:

And behold, as for man, we say that he rightly suffers punishment for the things that he did and because voluntarily he goes to the study of such things, he could be separate from these if²⁰⁷ he wished, because he has the power both of willing and of not willing, following which there comes the ability to do whatever he wills.

- 13 37 ԺԳ Որովհետեւ, ասեն, չարեաց արարիչ զԱստուած չկամիք ասել, այլ ի մարդկանէ եղեալ թելադրութեամբ սատանայի ի հնազանդելոցն նորա եւ ի խաբեցելոց: Եւ յիրաւի կրեն պատիժս, զի կարէին հատանել եւ ընկենուլ ի բաց զչարիսն եւ ոչ կամեցան: Եւ արդ, վասն նորին իսկ սատանայի հարցցուք այնպիսի արդեօք արար զնա Աստուած, եթէ ինքնին այնպիսի չէր եւ յօժարեաց ի չարաբարել:

“Because,” they say “you do not wish to say that God is the maker of evil, but that it came into being through man at Satan's instigation, through those who were going to obey him and (to be) deceived (i.e., by him). And rightly do they suffer punishments, for they could have cut off and cast out evil, and they did not wish (to do so).” And now let us ask, concerning that very same Satan, “Did God create him thus or was he not in himself thus and (subsequently) became disposed to do evil?”

207. Or: when.

- 14 37 Եթէ այնպիսի արարեալ էր գնա Աստուծոյ, պատիժս ի նմանէ չէր պարտ պահանջել, զի պահեաց զպայման բնութեանն՝ յոր արարն գնա Աստուած. եւ որ որ ոչ կամօք ինչ գործէ, ընդ այնր պատիժ չպարտի կրել, բայց որ կամօք կարող է գործել եւ գործ ինչ յոռութեան գործիցէ, յիրաւի պատժի, զի ոչ եկաց յայնմ՝ գոր Աստուածն կամի: Ապա եթէ Աստուծոյ բարւոք եղել եւ անձամբ յանձնէ դարձոյց զկամսն ի չար՝ հեռացուցեալ զինքն ի լաւէն, յիրաւի պահանջի ընդ որոց յանդնեցան՝ պատիժս:

If God had made him thus, it would not be necessary to require punishment of him, because he preserved the condition of his nature in which God made him. And he who does not do something by will, need not suffer punishment for it. But he who can act by will and commits some degenerate act, is justly punished, because he did not remain (firmly) in that which God wills. But, if he came into being from God as good, and if by and through himself he has twisted his will to evil, having distanced himself from the good, he is justly punished rightly in consequence for the deeds he dared to do.

- 15 37–38 Զի գատանայ մէք ոչ յԱստուծոյ սատանայ եղեալ գիտեմք, այլ գատան անուն վասն խոտորելոյն էառ իւր անուն: Քանզի սատանայ յերբայեցւոց եւ յասորոց լեզուէ խոտորեալ թարգմանի:

But as for Satan, we know that Satan was not created by God. But he received the name “Satan” because of his going astray,²⁰⁸ because “Satan” is translated from the Hebrew and Syriac languages as “misled.”²⁰⁹

- 16 38 այլ զօրութիւն իմն զգայուն լաւութեանց հաստատեցաւ յԱստուծոյ, եւ ի թշնամութենէ ընդ մարդոյն ունելոյ՝ իւրն կամօք եղել բանսարկու: Թողեալ զԱստուծոյ հպատակութիւն՝ սկսաւ անսաստել, ի հակառակ կալ Աստուծոյ հրամանացն ուսուցանել մարդկան եւ իբրեւ զապստամբ յետս կացեալ թիւրեցաւ յԱստուծոյ: Եւ վկայէ բանիս աստուածական բարբառն, որ ապստամբ վիշապն կոչէ գնա՝ եթէ հրամանաւ սպան զապստամբ վիշապն: Եւ արդարեւ իսկ բանն Աստուած սպան գատանայ, այնու զի կոխելոյն գնա ետ իշխանութիւն:

Արդ ապստամբ կոչէ գնա զիր. եթէ նոյնպիսի՝ որպէս եղեն յԱստուծոյ՝ կացեալ էր, ապա ոչ ապստամբ կոչէր գնա. զի որ ապստամբի որ, թողու զիւր պայմանն՝ որով ոչ անարար իսկ ցուցանի: Զի եթէ անարար էր, ապա ոչ յիւրմէն բնութենէն փոխէր. քանզի չմարթի բնութեան իմիք՝ առանց կամաց մերթ բարի լինել, մերթ չար:

But he was established by God as a power sensitive to good, yet because

208. Or: “leading astray” and “misleading.”

209. Or: having gone astray.

of the enmity he entertained toward man, by his own will he became “the Devil.”²¹⁰ Having abandoned submission to God, he started to disobey, to teach men to oppose God’s commands, and like a rebel, abandoning God, he turned away from (him). And the divine Scripture²¹¹ attests to this term, calling him “rebel dragon”²¹² that by a command he killed the rebel dragon. And indeed God the Word killed Satan, by that He granted authority to trample him.

Now Scripture calls him “rebel.” If he had remained of the same sort as he was created by God, then it would not have called him “rebel.” Because whoever rebels leaves his (i.e., his original) state, by which he is shown not to be uncreated. For if he were uncreated, then he would not change from his nature, because it is impossible for any (given) nature, without will, to be sometimes good and sometimes evil.

- 17 38–39 (ԺԴ) Իսկ արդ եթէ ոչ էր անարար, ասէն, ըստ ձեզ սատանայ, եւ ոչ այնպիսի եղեալ յԱստուծոյ, եւ անձամբ զանձն դարձոյց ի լաւէ անտի ի յոռին, որ է ի հնազանդութենէ յանհնազանդութիւն, արդ զայն ասացէք. զիտէր Աստուած՝ եթէ այնպէս լինելոց էր, եթէ չգիտէր. թէ գիտէր եւ արար, ինքն է պատճառ նորա ի լաւութեացն դառնալոյ. ապա եթէ ոչ գիտէր, զիարդ առնէր զայն, զոր ոչն գիտէր թէ որպիսի ինչ ոք լինելոց իցէ:

Now then, if, according to you, they say that Satan was not uncreated, and was not created thus by God, and by himself turned himself from the good to the wicked, which is from obedience to disobedience, now you say, “Did God know that he would become such, or did He not know? If He knew and made (him), He himself is the cause of his (the Devil’s) turning away from goodness; but, if he did not know, why did He make that one whom he did not know what sort of thing he would become?”

- 18 39 Անգիտութիւն կարծել զԱստուծոյ՝ անհնարին յիմարութիւն է. քանզի միայն ինքն կանխագէտ է հանդերձելոց: Այլ քանզի բարերար էութիւն է Աստուած, ոչ կամեցաւ զազնուականութիւնն իւր ծածկել.

To think of ignorance with respect to God is impossible foolishness, because

210. Rev 2:10; 19:12; and 20:2. This is the usual translation of *διάβολος*, which we render as “Devil.”

211. Or, literally: word.

212. Cf. Rev 12:7–9; the word “rebel” may be an exegesis of the Syriac *hrmn*’ corresponding to *חרם* in *חרם* in Isa 27:1, but this is far from certain. In any case, the usual translation of Revelation into Armenian was done in the High Middle Ages and so proves nothing about the origin of this phrase. In the old translation, published by Murad (1905–11), the word “rebel” does not occur either.

He alone knows the future things in advance. But because God is a beneficent being, He did not wish to conceal His generosity.

- 19 39 վասն որոյ յառաջագոյն գիտէր զսատանայէ՝ եթէ թիւրեւոյց է, եւ զմարդիկ յանցուցանելոց՝ առ ի չունկնդիր լինելոյ հրամանաց նորա, որով միանգամայն վասն անձնիշխանութեան մարդոյն երեւելոյ արար զնա Աստուած. զի առաւելութիւն բարերարութեան նորա յայտնի լիցի մարդկան, վասն թողութեան տալոյ մարդկան յառաջագոյն գործելոցն մեղաց: Զի յորժամ զսատանայ ամբարշտացեալ տեսանիցեն եւ չբարձեալ ի միջոյ, եւ վասն իւրեանց մեղացն իմանայցեն՝ թէ գոյ հնար թողութեան ապաշխարութեամբ. զի Աստուծոյ բարերարութիւնն ցուցանիցի, եւ մարդիկ զշնորհն նորա գիտասցեն. զի եթէ այն այնպէս չէր լեալ, եւ ոչ բարերարութեանն նորա որ խելամուտ լինէր:

Because of this, He knew in advance that Satan would turn astray and cause humans to transgress, so that they became disobedient to His commands. By this at the same time (i.e., as man) God created him (the Devil) so as to make human autonomy evident, so that the abundance of His beneficence might be known to humans, on account of forgiving humans for the sins committed previously. Because when they would see Satan who had been impious but was not destroyed, they also would be pardoned for their sins, (and see) that forgiveness is possible through repentance, in order that God's beneficence might be exhibited and humans might discern His grace. For if that had not happened thus,²¹³ no one would be informed of His beneficence.

- 20 39 Նա բնաւ իսկ, ասեն, յետ թիւրեւոյն սատանայի եւ խաբելոյ զմարդն՝ ընդէր իսկ ոչ եբարձ ի միջոյ, զի մի զբազումս սպանանիցէ:

“Entirely so,” they say, “After Satan turned astray and deceived man, why then was he not destroyed, so that he might not kill many?”

- 21 39–40 Ոչ եթէ չէր կարող Աստուած բառնալ զսատանայ ի միջոյ, քանզի չիք ամենեւին տկարութիւն զԱստուծով. այլ զի չէր ինչ մեծ գործ Աստուծոյ զսատանայ ինքնին անձամբ սպանանել, եւ զարարած մի զիւր փոքր յոչինչ դարձուցանել, զի մի կարծիցի՝ թէ վասն չժուժալոյ չարութանն նորա սպան զնա:

Երկրորդ անգամ՝ զի անծանօթ եւս լինէր առ յապայ մարդկան Աստուծոյ բարերարութիւնն, թէ յառաջագոյն սպանանէր զսատանայ. զի ոչ որ ունէր նշանակ ինչ յայտնի բարերար կոչելոյ զԱստուած: Այլ թերեւս եւ կարծիք ինչ ի մէջ մտանէին թէ հաւասար ինչ որ էր նա Աստուծոյ, եւ աճապարեաց ի միջոյ եբարձ.

վասն որոյ պահեաց զնա, եւ ոչ կորոյս ի միջոյ, զի մարդիկ յորժամ

213. Literally: in that way.

լաութեանցն հմուտ լինիցին, յաղթեցն նմա՝ փոխանակ այնոցիկ՝ որք յառաջնումն յաղթեցան ի նմանէ:

It is not that God was unable to destroy Satan, because there is not any inability at all with respect to God, but that it would not have been a great work for God Himself to kill Satan by himself—to return his one little creature to nothingness (but he did not do this) so that it should not be thought that He killed him because he was unable to put up with his wickedness.

Second, God's beneficence would still not have been known to humans in the future, if He had killed Satan earlier on, because no one would have had any clear sign for calling God beneficent. Moreover, perhaps thoughts would have arisen²¹⁴ that he was someone equal to God, and that anticipating, He destroyed him.

On account of this, He preserved him, and did not destroy him, so that humans when they became adept at goodness, might overcome him, in place of those who previously were overcome by him.

- 22 50–51 Այլ մեք զցաւոց եւ զմահուան բազում ինչ պատճառս ունիմք ճշմարիտ բանիւ ի մեջ բերել:

Նախ այն իսկ՝ զի յորժամ մարդն զԱստուծոյ պատուիրանսն անց, ապա եղև ընդ ցաւովք եւ ընդ մահուամբ. քանզի ցկինն ասաց թէ. ցաւովք եւ տրտմութեամբ որդիս ծնջիր. եւ ցայրն թէ. Աշխատութեամբ եւ քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո, մինչև լիցի քեզ դարձ անդրէն յերկիր ուստի առար, զի հող էիր, եւ ի հող դարձջիր: Որով յայտ է, զի թէպէտ եւ բնութիւն մարդոյ քանզի մարմնապատ է՝ ընդ ցաւովք եւ ընդ մահուամբ կարծէր, այլ թէ կացեալ էր ի պատուիրանին պահէր զնա կենդանարարն կենդանի, որ յոչընչէն կարող եղև զշունչ մարդոյն առնել, եւ պահէ միշտ կենդանի եւ անմահ, նոյն եւ զմարմինն զոր յերկրէ ստեղծ՝ կարող էր պահել կենդանի:

But, with a true word, we have many reasons to urge for afflictions and death.

First, indeed, that one, that when man transgressed God's commandment, then he came under pains and under death. Because He said to the woman, "In pain and sorrow you shall give birth to children (or: sons),"²¹⁵ and to the man, "With labor and the sweat of your brow you shall eat your bread, until there takes place for you a return again to the earth from which you were taken. For you were dust, and to dust you shall return."²¹⁶ Through this it is clear that because man's nature is corporeal, he considered it subject to pain

214. Literally: entered inside.

215. Gen 3:16.

216. Gen 3:19.

and death; but if he had stood firm in the commandment, the Life-Giver would have kept him alive—He who was able to create the spirit²¹⁷ of man from nothing, and keeps it alive always and immortal, that same One was able to keep the body alive, which He created from the earth.

- 23 52 Զի ներող եւ արգահատող է արարիչն, այն ամենեցուն իսկ յայտնի է, եւ առաւել յայնմանէ, զի յետ յանցանելոյ մարդոյն իջեալ անմարմինն իբր զմարմնաւոր որ ոտնաձայն առնէր ի դրախտին. եւ մեղմով եւ աղերսալից բարբառով ասէր ցյանցուցեալն Ուր ես, Ադամ, զի մի տագնապեցուցեալ չտացէ ուշաբերել նմա ապաշխարութեան. եւ զի չենք ի գղջումն յանցուցեալն, յիրաւի կրեաց պատիժ գմահ:

It is well known to all that the Creator is merciful and compassionate.²¹⁸ And more than that, because after man's transgression, the Incorporeal One descended, like a bodily being he made the sound of a footstep in the Garden and with gentle and supplicating speech said to the transgressor: "Where are you Adam?"²¹⁹ Lest, not having constrained him, he would cause him not to recall repentance. And because the transgressor did not reach repentance, he justly suffered death as a punishment.

- 24 52 Դարձեալ եւ այլազգ եւս, զի իւրոյ արարչին յառաջագոյն պատուիրեալ էր նմա թէ յորում աւուր ուտես ի պտղոյ ծառոյն, ի նմին աւուր մեռանիս. եւ թշնամին յետոյ եկեալ ասէր՝ ոչ մեռանիս, այլ իբրեւ զաստուածս լինիս: Եւ արդ, ոյր բանից պարտ էր հաստատուն լինել, այնր՝ որ յառաջագոյն զգուշացոյց, եւ կամէր ընկնողութեամբ պատուիրանին գնոսա անմահ պահել, եթէ միւսոյն՝ որ պատրանօք ջանայր գնա մահկանացու առնել:

Again, yet a different (i.e., consideration): because his Creator had commanded him earlier, "On the day that you eat from the fruit of the tree, on that same day you will die."²²⁰ And afterwards the Enemy came and said, "You will not die, but you will become like gods."²²¹ And now, to whose words should he have been constant? To him who had warned (him) in advance and wished to keep him immortal through obedience to the commandment, or to the other one, who strove to make him mortal through deceptions?

- 25 52–53 Եւ եթէ չէր Արարչին յետ յանցանելոյ զպատուիրանաւն զմարդն մահկանացու արարեալ, հանապազ մարդն սատանայի հաւատայր, եւ ոչ Աստուծոյ. զի սա ասաց՝ եթէ ուտես ի պտղոյն, մեռանիս. եւ նա ասէր՝ թէ ուտես, չմեռանիս, այլ իբրեւ զաստուածս լինիս: Արդ,

217. Or: breath.

218. Neh 9:17.

219. Cf. Gen 3:8–9.

220. Gen 2:17.

221. Gen 3:4–5.

եղ մահ ի վերայ բնութեանս մարդկան արարիչ բնութեանն. զի իւր բանն հաստատեցի, եւ չար խրատատուն պարտաւորեալ գտանիցի: զի թեպէտ առ ժամանակ մի վասն այսց երկուց պատճառանաց ընդ մահուամբ անկանիցի, այլ ըստ իւրում կարողութեան յարուցել միւս անգամ, եւ յանսպառ յաւիտեանս կենդանի եւ անմահ պահեցել: Եւ որ զիրեշտակս եւ զհոգիս մարդկան յոչնչէ արարեալ՝ կենդանիս եւ անմահս պահել, նոյն եւ զմարմինս կարող էր կենդանի պահել՝ թէ չէր առաջնոյ մարդոյն զԱստուծոյ հրամանն զընկեցեալ:

And if the Creator had not made man mortal after transgressing the commandment, man would always have believed in Satan and not God, because this one said, "If you eat of the fruit you will die,"²²² and that one (i.e., Satan) said, "If you eat you will not die, but you will become like gods."²²³ Now the Creator of that nature imposed death upon this human nature in order that His own word might be established and the evil counsellor be found guilty. For, although for a time for these two reasons he might fall under death, yet, He would raise him up a second time in accordance with His own ability, and would keep him alive and undying for an infinite eternity. And, he who created the angels and souls (spirits) of humans from nothing and keeps (them) alive and undying, that same One also was able to keep the bodies alive, had not God's order been cast down by the first man.

- 26 53 (ԺԹ) Այլ զի Աստուած մահուան չէ պատճառ, վկայեցել ամենարուեստ իմաստունն, որ ասէ՝ եթէ Աստուած զմահ ոչ արար, եւ ոչ խնդայ ընդ կորուստ մարդկան. այլ հաստատեաց Աստուած զմարդն յանեղծութիւն պատկերի իւրոյ մշտնջենաւորութեանն, եւ նախանձու բանսարկութիւն եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ:

But that God is not the cause of death the most wise Sage will testify who says, "God did not make death, nor did he rejoice at the destruction of humans."²²⁴ Rather, "God established man for incorruptibility of the eternity of His own image. And through the envy of the Devil death entered the world."²²⁵

- 27 53–54 Եւ դարձեալ ինքն իսկ ասէ. եւ ասացի՝ թէ աստուածք իցէք, եւ որդիք Բարձրելոյ ամենեքին: Այս ինքն՝ եթէ եւ զձեզ անմահս արարի, եթէ կացեալ էիք յիմում հրամանին, բայց որովհետեւ ոչ կացէք յիմում պատուիրանին, դուք իբրեւ զմարդիկ մեռանիք, իբրեւ զմի յիշխանաց անկանիք. եւ ոչ ընդ ձեր մահ կամէի, եւ ոչ ընդ իշխանին վատ խրատութիւն անկանել:

222. Gen 2:17.

223. Gen 3:4–5.

224. Cf. Wis 1:13.

225. Cf. Wis 2:23–24.

And again He himself indeed says, “I said, ‘You are gods and sons of the Most High, all of you.’”²²⁶ That is to say, “I created you immortal if you had observed my command; but because you did not hold fast to my commandment, you die like men, like one of the princes you fall.”²²⁷ I did not want death in place of you, nor did I want you to fall in place of the prince, the wicked counsellor.”

- 28 54 Այլ բնաւ իսկ, ասեն, ընդէ՞ր եմոյծ գնոսա ի կոիւս ընդ միմեանս:

They say a quite different thing, “Why did He lead them into quarrels with one another?”

- 29 54 Այսու զանձնիշխանութիւնն սատանայի եւ զմարդոյն կամին խափանել զի Աստուած՝ որ աննախանձն արար գնոսա անձնիշխանս, ոչ կամեր թէ որպէս զանասունս ի հարկէ վարիցին, եւ ապա անձնիշխանութիւնն այնուհետեւ չլինէր անձնիշխանութիւն:

By this they wish to impede the autonomy of Satan and of man. Because God, who without envy made them autonomous, did not want them to have to conduct themselves like dumb beasts,²²⁸ and then consequently the autonomy would not be autonomy.

- 30 54 Բայց Աստուած թէպէտ եւ ունէր իշխանութիւն զիրոյ արարածոյն զհանդէսն տեսանել, այլ ոչ ինքն դրդեաց գնոսա անկանել ընդ միմեանս: Իբրեւ ետես զսատանայ նախանձու բորբոքեալ, թոյլ ետ անձնիշխանին ընդ անձնիշխանին ոգորել քանզի գիտէր՝ եթէ ոչ ինչ տկարագոյն է սորա անձնիշխանութիւնս քան գնորայն. եւ ոչ նա կանխագէտ, եւ ոչ սա կանխագէտ. եւ ոչ նա բռնաւոր, եւ սա տկար ոք: Եւ զի չէր բռնաւոր ոք, յայնմանէ յայտ է՝ զի ցկինն պատրանօք մատուցեալ հարցանէր,²²⁹ ոչ բռնութեամբ զարհուրեցուցանէր: Եւ զի չէր կանխագէտ, ասէ, զի՞նչ է այդ՝ զոր ասաց Աստուած, զի ի նմանէն ուսցի զհանգամանս:

But God, even if He has authority to see the practice of His creation, nevertheless He Himself does not move them to fall upon one other. When He saw Satan inflamed by jealousy, He allowed the autonomous to fight with the autonomous because He knew that the autonomy of the one was in no way weaker than that of the other; nor was the one prescient and the other not prescient; and that the one was violent (powerful) and the other someone weak. And it is evident that no one was violent from that, that having approached the woman by guile, he posed a question and did not terrify by violence. And

226. Cf. Ps 82:7 = Arm 81:6; John 10:34.

227. Ps 82:7 = Arm 81:6; cf. Luke 10:18.

228. Or: irrational creatures.

229. So the edition, perhaps emend to հարցանէրն.

because he was not prescient he said, “What is this that God said?”²³⁰ so that he might learn situation from her.

- 31 56 (Բ) Արդ որովհետեւ վասն մահու եւ ցաւոց ի վերայ մարդոյն դնելոյ ցուցալաստուածատուր գրոց՝ թէ վասն անցանելոյ զպատուիրանաւն Աստուծոյ մտին յաշխարհ, ասասցուք եւ զայլ եւս զպատճառն՝ վասն որոյ տարածամ մահիք լինին:

Now, because it was set forth in the God-given Scriptures concerning the imposition of death and pains upon man, that they entered into the world on account of the transgression of God's commandment, let us also state the further causes on account of which untimely deaths come about.

- 32 56 Բագում անգամ թերեւս չարիք ինչ մեծամեծք առաջի մարդոյն կայցեն, կամ նեղութիւնք՝ որոց ոչ կարէ ժուծալ, կամ փորձութիւնք՝ որոց ոչ լիցի բաւական տանել, Աստուած կանխագէտ եւ մարդասէր գթացեալ յիւր արարածն՝ տարածամ մահուամբ զերծուցանէ զմարդն յայնպիսի չարեացն. ըստ այնմ զոր գիրն ասէ, թէ յառաջ քան զչարն ժողովեցի արդարն:

Դարձեալ եւ այլազգ եւս. առնին մահիք տարածամք, զի յամենայն տիս եւ ի բոլոր ժամանակս պատրաստական մարդոյն գտեալ՝ չզեղծիցի յաստուածպաշտութենէ:

Many times also certain very great evils stand before man, either afflictions which he is unable to withstand or trials which he is inadequate to endure. God, prescient and lover of humans, pitying on His creature, liberates man from such evils by an untimely death, according to that which Scripture says, “The righteous one will be gathered up before the evil one.”²³¹

Again and in yet another way, untimely deaths are made so that people, having been found ready (for it) at every age and at all times, will not be removed from piety.

- 33 56--57 Բայց թէպէտ եւ յանիծից մտին ցաւք յաշխարհ, սակայն են եւ այլ ինչ պատճառք: Երբեմն վասն մեղաց, ըստ այնմ՝ զոր ցանդամալոյծն ասաց Տէր, թէ, ողջացար այսուհետեւ մի՛ մեղանչէր:²³² Եւ հայեցեալ ընդ հաւատս մատուցանելեացն, ասէ ցմիւս անդամալոյծն՝ թէ. թողեալ լիցին քեզ մեղք քո, զի յայտ արասցէ, թէ են ինչ ցաւք որ վասն մեղաց լինին, եւ են ինչ ցաւք, որ ոչ վասն մեղաց. ...

But although pains entered the world by a curse, nonetheless there are also certain other causes. Sometimes because of sins, according to that which the

230. Gen 3:1.

231. I.e., Before he does evil; cf. Isa 57:1-3.

232. This is a prohibition, and the ending -եր would be expected.

Lord said to the paralytic, “Be healed! Henceforth do not sin.”²³³ And having regarded the faith of those who drew near, he said to the other paralytic, “Your sins shall be forgiven you,”²³⁴ so that he might make clear that there are some pains that occur because of sins, and some other pains that (are) not because of sins. ...

- 34 63 Որպէս առաջնոյ մարդոյն՝ մինչ չէլ յանցուցեալ էր՝ հնազանդ էին, եւ ոչ մեղանչականք. եւ որպէս առ առաքելովքն վատթարեալ էր սատանայ, մինչեւ կախարդացն յաիէ նշանացն՝ զոր առնէին բերել զգիրս կախարդանացն զծանրագինս՝ եւ այրել առաջի առաքելոցն:

Just as (the demons) were obedient to the first man before he had been caused to sin, and were not sinful; and just as in the time of the Apostles Satan was so weakened that through fear of the signs that they were accomplishing, the magicians brought the precious books of magic and burnt (them) before the Apostles²³⁵ ...

- 35 66 Եւ յորժամ երեւել սրբոց իւրոց կամէր, ոչ այլով իւիք կերպարանօք՝ այլ միայն մարդոյ կերպարանօք, զոր ըստ իւրում պատկերին արար, յայտնէր. եւ այն ոչ վայրապար ինչ լինէր, այլ զի զառաւել սէրն իւր զոր ընդ մարդկան ունէր՝ ցուցանիցէ. եւ դարձեալ զի յառաջագոյն կրթեսցէ զմարդիկ ածել ի գիտութիւն. զի յորժամ զորդին իւր իբրեւ զմարդ յաշխարհ առաքեսցէ, մի օտարոտի ինչ զիրսն համարեսցին. մանաւանդ զի գիտիցեն՝ թէ ինքն իսկ այն կերպարանօք յայտնէր: Որպէս իջեալ ի դրախտն առ Ադամ՝ ոտնաձայն իբրեւ զմարդ առնէր: ...

And when He wished to appear to His saints, He does not reveal himself in any other form, but only in the form of a human whom He made according to His own image. And that was not an inconsequential thing, but rather so that He might show His exceeding love, which He has for humans. And again, so that He might educate humans beforehand to bring (them) to knowledge, so that when He would send His Son to the world as a man, they would not reckon the matter at all strange; particularly so that they might know that He revealed Himself in that form.

Just as, when He descended into the Garden to Adam, He made a footfall like a man²³⁶ ...

- 36 104 (ԺԲ) Իսկ այլք այլազգ կարծեցին զսատանայէ, թէ Աստուած իսկ զնա չար արար:

233. John 5:14.

234. Matt 9:2.

235. Cf. Acts 19:19.

236. Cf. Gen 3:8–10.

Then, others think differently about Satan: that God indeed created him evil.

- 37 106 (ԺԳ) Հրամանաւ, ասէն, մեռանիցին մարդիկ, թէ առանց հրամանաց:

“Is it by decree,” they say, “that humans die, or without decree?”

- 38 106 Նախ պարտիմք գիտել՝ թէ զի՞նչ հրամանք իցեն, եւ ուստի՞ բան հրամանացն ընդ աշխարհ տարածեալ իցէ:

First of all we must discern which commands there are, or whence the matter of decrees spread through the world.

- 39 107 Հրաման կապեալ վասն մահուան՝ յաստուածատուր գիրս ոչ ուրեք գտանեմք. քանզի Տէրն մահու եւ կենաց՝ եւ կարճել իշխէ զհրամանն իւր, եւ երկայնել: Որպէս առ ջրհեղեղան ասէ. եղիցին աւուրք կենաց մարդկանս այսորիկ հարիւր եւ քսան ամ. եւ վասն բազմութեան անօրէնութեանն պակասեցոյց ի նոցանէ զքսանն: Եւ որպէս առ Ադամամքն ասէ. յաւուր յորում ուտես ի պտղոյ ծառոյն, ի նմին մեռանիս. եւ առ իւրում բարերարութեանն, եւ վասն որդեծնութեան եւ մարդկան յաշխարհի սիրելոյ. ներեաց նմա ինն հարիւր եւ երեսուն ամ, զի մի՞ գեղեցիկ ստեղծուածն իւր համօրէն ջնջեսցի:

Nowhere in the God-given Scriptures do we find a binding decree about death, because the Lord of death and life has power both to shorten His decree and to extend it.²³⁷

Just as in the time of the flood it says: “The days of this human’s life will be one hundred and twenty years.”²³⁸ And because of the multitude of lawlessness he deducted the twenty (years) from them.

And just as in the time of the Adamites,²³⁹ it says: “On the day on which you will eat from the fruit of the tree, on that same you die.”²⁴⁰ And in His beneficence and for the sake of the procreation and the love of mankind in the world, He also allowed man (i.e., Adam) nine hundred and thirty years²⁴¹ so that His beautiful creation not be wiped out completely.

- 40 109 Արդ՝ նախ զայն ասասցեն. ո՞ր էհան զայնպիսի երկրական անուանս՝ զգիշակեր եւ զխոտակերս յերկինս, զի պատճառք ծննդեան մարդկան լինիցին. զի որ որ ուրուք պատճառ ծննդեան կարիցէ լինել, նա ի վեր քան զնա՝ որոյ պատճառն է՝ պարտի լինել իմաստութեամբ:

237. I.e., there is no binding statement in the Bible about the length of life, but that is at God’s discretion.

238. Cf. Gen 6:3, quoted not quite precisely to make his point.

239. Probably emend to Ադամամքն.

240. Gen 2:17.

241. I.e., for procreating in the world; cf. Gen 5:5.

Արդ, հասարակաց մտօք հայեցեալ, տեսցուք ո՞ր ի վեր իցէ, մարդն՝ որ անասնոյն տիրէ, թէ անասունն որ մարդոյն ի հարկի կայ. եւ ոչ միայն ի հարկի կայ, այլ եւ կերակուր նորա է: Եւ զազանացն զկէսսն փախստականս եղեալս տեսանեմք, եւ զկէսսն յանտառախիտ մայրիս ամրացեալս յորժամ զբարբառ միայն մարդոյն լսիցեն: Քանզի զահ եւ զերկիւղ մարդոյն՝ արկեալ է արարչին ի վերայ զազանացն եւ սողնոցն եւ անասնոցն եւ թռչնոց, վասն առաւել զնա պատուելոյն. զորոյ եւ զարարածն նորանշան իմն ընծայեցուցանէ, թէ ստեղծ որպէս ձեռօք, եւ փչեաց շունչ կենդանի որպէս թէ բերանով. եւ այնու, զի առաւել պատուական ցուցանիցէ զնա, յայտ առնէ:

Now, first, they will say that: “Who brought forth such terrestrial names, both carnivores and herbivores in the skies, so that they might become the causes of human births?”²⁴² Because whoever can become the cause of someone’s birth must be, through discernment, superior to him of whom he is the cause. Now, regarding (this) with common sense, let us see who is superior, the man who rules over the beast, or the beast that is subject to man, and it is not only subject but also is his food. And we see that parts of the wild animals have become fugitives and parts fortify themselves within the dense forest when they merely hear human speech, because the Creator cast the fear and dread of humans upon the wild animals and reptiles and the beasts and birds so as to honor him more. He presents to him the creation as something newly evident that He created as if with His (own) hands; and He breathed in living breath as if by (His) mouth, and by that he makes known, that he may show him to be more honorable.

- 41 114 Կամեր՝ թէ չէր յանցուցեալ Ադամայ. եւ քանզի կանխաւ գիտէր զյանցանէն, յառաջագոյն պատուիրեաց նմա՝ չուտել ի պտղոյ ծառոյն. եւ զի ոչ անսաց հրամանին, յիրաւի պատժեցաւ:

He wished that Adam had not transgressed. And because He knew the transgression in advance, He commanded him in advance not to eat of the fruit of the tree. And because he did not obey the order, he was punished justly.

- 42 130 Այլ թէ այնպէս իցէ, յորժամ զԱդամայ ասէ՝ թէ եղ զնա ի դրախտին փափկութեան, բեւեռեալ համարեսցին, եւ մի գնայուն: Իսկ եթէ զԱդամայ շրջէն եղ կոչեն աստուածատուր զիրք, յայտ է՝ թէ եւ զլուսաւորացն զգնացս՝ եղ անուանեն զիրք:

But, if it were thus, when concerning Adam it says: “He put him in the Garden of delight,”²⁴³ do they reckon him to have been nailed down and not walking?

242. Reference is made to astrological ideas of the association of the constellations with human birth.

243. Gen 2:15.

Indeed, if the God-given Scriptures call Adam's walking around "He put," it is evident that the Scriptures also name this movement of the luminaries "He put."

- 43 162–63 Նա եւ զմարդն, զոր ժառանգ ամենայնի կամեցաւ առնել, ոչ նախ քան զժառանգութիւնն արար. այլ նախ զերկինս եւ զերկիր, զջուրս եւ զհուր եւ զօդ եւ զբոյսս եւ զտունկս, զգազանս եւ զանասունս եւ զթռչունս: Նախ զտունն, եւ ապա զտնակալն. նախ զստացուածն, եւ ապա զստացողն. նախ զծառայսն, եւ ապա զտէրն. զի մի, յորժամ յետոյ լինիցին՝ որոց իշխանն եղեւ, կարծիս վնասու առնուցու՝ թէ իւր արարածք իցեն: Այլ յորժամ նախ զնոսա արարեալս տեսանիցէ, ծանուցեալ առնուցու ի միտ՝ թէ է իմն զօրութիւն, որ արար եւ ետ զնոսա ընդ ձեռամբ նորա. եւ զպատիւ փառաւորութեանն մի անձին առնել խորհիցէ, այլ իւրում տիրարարին որ ձրի նմա զայն շնորհեաց:

Behold also man, whom He wished to make heir of all things, He did not create before (his) inheritance—but first heaven and earth, water and fire and air, and sprouts and plants, wild and domestic animals and birds. First the house, then the householder; first the possessions and then the possessor; first the servants and then the master; lest if those came into being afterwards, whose ruler he became, he receive the harmful idea that they were his own creations. But when he would see them created first, recognizing this, he would consider that there is some power, which made (them) and put them into his control, and would not think to make the honor of that glorification his own, but rather (i.e., give it) to him who made him master, who freely granted that to him.

- 44 169–70 Եւ տեսեալ օրիանացն Աստուծոյ՝ թէ գեղեցիկ է աշխարհս, խորհեցաւ առնել ի սմա մարդ: Եւ իջեալ առ հիւղն յերկիր, ասէ. տուր ինձ ի կաւոյդ քումմէ, եւ յինէն տամ ոգի, եւ արասցուք մարդ ըստ նմանութեան մերում: Տուեալ նմա հիւղեայն յերկրէ իւրմէ, ստեղծ զնա եւ փչեաց ի նա ոգի, եւ եղեւ Ադամ ի շունչ կենդանի. եւ վասն այնորիկ անուանեցաւ՝ Ադամ, զի ի կաւոյն արարաւ:

And the God of the Law having seen that this world was beautiful, thought to make man in it. And having descended to matter, to earth, he said, "Give some of your clay, and I will give spirit from myself, and let us create man according to our likeness."²⁴⁴ Matter, having given him of its earth, he created him (man) and he blew spirit into him, and Adam became a living breath. And because of that he was named Adam, because he was made from clay.²⁴⁵

- 45 170 Եւ ստեղծեալ զնա եւ զամուսինն նորա, եւ եղեալ ի դրախտին՝

244. Gen 1:26 and Gen 2:7; Gen 5:1.

245. Cf. Gen 2:7.

որպէս եւ օրէնքն ասէն, գային հանապազ պատուիրէին նմա, եւ ուրախ լինէին ի նման իբրեւ յորդոջ հասարակաց:

And having created him and his spouse, and having placed (them) in the Garden, just as the Law says, they would come constantly and command him, and they rejoiced in him as in a mutual son.

- 46 170 Եւ տեսեալ, ասէ, Աստուծոյն օրինաց որ տէրն էր աշխարհի՝ թէ ազնուական է Ադամ եւ արժանի սպասաւորութեան, հնարեցաւ եթէ զհարդ կարասցէ գողանալ զնա ի հիւղեայն եւ յիւր կողմն միաբանել: Առեալ զնա ի մի կողմն, ասէ. Ադամ, ես եմ Աստուած եւ չիք այլ որ. եւ բայց յինէն այլ Աստուած քեզ մի լիցի. ապա թէ ունիցիս զոք այլ աստուածս բայց յինէն, զիտասջիր, զի մահու մեռանիցիս: Եւ իբրեւ ասաց զայս ցնա, եւ յիշատակեաց նմա զանուն մահու, զահի հարեալ Ադամայ սկսաւ սակաւ զանձն մեկնել ի հիւղեայն:

And he (Marcion) says that the God of the Law, who was lord of the world, saw that Adam was noble and fitting for service, he plotted how he might steal him from matter and unite him to his own side. Taking him to one side, he said, “Adam, I am god and there is no other, and have no other god but me. So, if you have any other gods but me, know that you will surely die.” And when he said this to him and recalled the name of death to him, Adam, smitten by fear, began little by little to separate himself from matter.

- 47 170–71 Եւ եկեալ հիւղեայն՝ պատուիրել նմա ըստ սովորութեանն, տեսանէր՝ զի ոչ անսայր նմա Ադամ, այլ խորհեալ ի բաց մերժէր, եւ չմերձենայր առ նա: Յայնժամ հիացեալ ի միտս իւր հիւղեայն, իմացաւ՝ թէ տէրն արարածոց նենգեաց նմա: Ասէ. յականէ աղբերն պղտորեալ է ջուր նորա. զինչ է այս, չեւ եւս բազմացեալ Ադամայ ծննդովք, եւ գողացաւ զնա անուամբ աստուածութեանն իւրոյ յինէն: Որովհետեւ աստեաց զիս, եւ ոչ պահեաց ընդ իս զդաշնն, եւ արարից աստուածս բազումս, եւ լցից նոքօք զաշխարհ զոյի իւրով, զի խնդրիցէ՝ թէ ով իցէ աստուած, եւ ոչ զտանիցի:

And matter came to command him according to its custom, it saw that Adam was not obeying it, but considering (this) it drew apart and did not approach him. Then matter was amazed in its mind, it realized that the Lord of creatures had cheated it. It said: “The spring’s water has been muddied from (by) its source. What is this? Adam has not yet increased by offspring, and he has stolen him from me by the name of his divinity. Because he hated me and did not keep his compact with me, I will make many gods, and I will fill up the world with them as far as possible so that he may seek who might be god, and he will not find out.”

- 48 171 Եւ արար, ասէն, կուոս բազումս եւ անուանեաց զնոսա աստուածս, եւ ելից նոքօք զաշխարհ: Եւ ընկղմեցաւ անուն աստուծոյ, որ

տեառնն արարածոց, ի մէջ անուանց բազում աստուածոց, եւ ոչ ուրեք գտանէր: Եւ մոլորեցաւ ծնունդ նորա նոքօք, եւ ոչ պաշտէր զնա, զի ձգեաց զամենեսին առ ինքն հիւղն, եւ ոչ ետ թոյլ եւ ոչ միում ի նոցանէ պաշտել զնա: Յայնժամ, ասեն, բարկացաւ տէրն արարածոց, զի թողին զնա եւ անսացին հիւղեայն. եւ մի ըստ միոջէ, որ ելանէին ի մարմնոց իւրեանց, արկանէր զնոսա առ ցասման ի գեհենն. եւ զԱդամ արկ ի գեհենն վասն ծառոյն. եւ այնպէս արկանէր զայր ի գեհենն զամենեսին, մինչեւ ցքսան եւ ինն դար:

And it made, they say, many idols, and named them gods, and it filled the world with them. And the name of God which (is) of the Lord of creation was submerged in the midst of the names of many gods, and nowhere was it found. And his progeny went astray through them and were not worshipping him, because matter attracted them all to itself, and it did not permit even one of them to worship him. Then they say, the Lord of creation became angry because they left him and obeyed matter. And angrily he cast those who left their bodies into Gehenna one by one. And he cast Adam into Gehenna because of the tree. And thus he was casting them all into Gehenna, for twenty-nine centuries.

- 49 177 (Ե) Դարձեալ, եւ գոր արդարն ասեն՝ թէ արդարեւ արդար էր, յետ բաժանելոյ զիշխանութիւնսն, իւր գերկինսն երկոսին առնլոյ, հիւղեայ եւ որդւոցն նորա գերկիր միայն թողլոյ, զիարդ էր զի միւսանգամ նորա աշխարհին ցանկացեալ, ասէր թէ տուր ինձ ի կաւոյդ քումմէ, եւ յինէն տաց ոգի, եւ արասցուք մարդ ըստ նմանութեան մերում. որ ոչ արդարոյ գործ է այլոյ աշխարհի ցանկանալ այլ անիրաւ:

(5) Again, also, he whom they call the just one, if he were indeed just, after dividing of the principalities, taking his two heavens, leaving the earth alone to matter and her sons, why again having desired its (i.e., matter's) world, did he say, "Give to me some of your clay, and from myself I will give a spirit, and we will make man according to our likeness?"²⁴⁶ To desire someone else's world is not the act of someone just, but rather of someone unjust.

- 50 177–78 Կամ հիւղեայն զիարդ ընդ միտս հարեալ էր, ընդ մի անգամ բաժանելոյն ի նմանէ՝ դարձեալ հաղորդութիւնս առնել, եւ անձամբ անձին նենգել եւ մասնմուտ առնել օտարի յիւր աշխարհն, զի առնիցէ անդ զԱդամն եւ զամուսինն նորա, որ մերթ ի սա տայր ձեռն եւ մերթ ի նա:

Or how could it occur to matter to have intercourse again with the one who had divided from it once, and to deceive herself and to admit a stranger into her world, to make Adam and his spouse there—Adam, who sometimes

246. Gen 1:26; Gen 2:7; Gen 5:1.

would extend the hand to this one (i.e., matter) and sometimes to that one (i.e., the demiurge)?

LAZAR P'ARPEC'I C5

Text: Lazar P'arpec'i, Պատմութիւն Հայոց եւ Թուղթ առ Վահան Սամիկոնեան *History of Armenia and Letter to Vahan Mamikonean* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1933).

Translation: *Lazar P'arpet'si, History*, trans. R. W. Thomson (Columbia University Program in Armenian Studies: Suren D. Fesjian Academic Publications 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991). The translation here is my own.

1. The passage is not found in the actual history, but in the *Letter sent from the City of Amit* and occurs on pp. 607–8:

- 1 Քանզի ի սկզբանէ արարածոց բազում օճիրս գործեաց նախանձ՝ յաշխարհի: Անդէն եւ անդ ի սկզբանն զնախաստեղծն ընկճեալ՝ նախանձու բանսարկուին՝ դարձոյց զնա ի հող. եւ վկայէ զիր ի Կաթուղիկէսն, թէ Նախանձու բանսարկուին եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ: Երկուց միայնոյ դեռ եւս յԱդամայ ծնելոց՝ յաշխարհ, Կայէնի եւ Հաբէլի, որպէս ի փոքրիկ եւ ի նեղ յանբաւ բնակութիւն տիեզերաց հայեցուցեալ, զԿայէն նախանձարկու դիւին՝ եղբայրասպանութեամբ զաւակաց:

Because from the beginning of creation envy worked many evils in the world. Immediately in the beginning the first-created one was subdued by the envy of the Devil. He returned him to dust. And a verse from the Catholic Epistles witnesses that “by the envy of the Devil death entered the world.”²⁴⁷ When there were only two yet born of Adam into the world, Cain and Abel, as if in a small and in a narrow place, Cain having regarded the infinite dwelling of the universe arousing the demon’s envy, Cain (did) through the fratricide of (Adam’s) seed.²⁴⁸

Text: Lazar P'arpec'i, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of Armenia*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean and St. Malxaseanc' (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1982); repr. in *MH*, vol. 2, 5th century. (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003) 2237, 1.

- 2 Այր մի ի տոհմէն Սիւնեաց, որոյ անունն էր Վարազվադան, որով ըստ նմանութեան սատանայի, որ ի դրախտին օճին խաբեաց

247. This is actually from Wis 2:24.

248. Meaning unclear.

զնախաստեղծին հաղորդն, նոյնպէս եւ նա նովաւ զիւրոյ դառն կամացն վճարել ջանայր զհաճոյսն:

A certain man from the house of Siwnik⁴, whose name was Varazvałan, by whom, according to likeness of Satan who, in the Garden through the serpent, deceived the first protoplast's partner, similarly he too tried to carry out things pleasing to his own bitter will through him.

The Liturgy

Text: Tiran Nersoyan, *Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Orthodox Apostolic Church* (New York: Delphic Press, 1950).

- 1 խաչն . . . մխիթարիչ եղաւ Սեթայ նախագուշակ՝ հօրն Ադամայ
The Cross . . . It was a comfort for Seth, a presage to the father Adam.

MAMBRĒ C5

Text: Mambrē the Lector, Ճառք *Homilies*, in Կորյուն Վարդապետի, Մամբրէի Վերծանողի եւ Դաւիթ Անյաղթի Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings of Koriwn vardapet, Mambrē the Lector and Dawit' the Invincible* (Venice: Mechitarist Press, 1833).²⁴⁹ The translation is my own.

Երանելոյն Մամբրէի Վերծանողի ասացեալ Ի յարութիւնն Ղազարու

The (Homily) pronounced by Mambrē the Lector On the Resurrection of Lazarus

- 1 35 Ամենայն աստուածային նշանք Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի են, որք կարելոր են, եւ են, որ եւս կարելորք, որք մասնաւոր ունին զերկնային յուսոյն զմխիթարութիւնն: Այլ յորժամ զյարութիւնն տեսանես, ի ձեռն մասնաւոր յարութեանն հաւատասցիր զբոլոր մատունս զտառ ի յԱդամայ մինչեւ զգալուստն երկրորդ:

35 All the divine signs are of our Lord Jesus Christ, which are important; and there are those that are more important, which have in particular the comfort of the heavenly hope. But when you see the resurrection, by means

249. Weber (1927), 3-27.

of the particular resurrection you will believe all the parts, the book from Adam²⁵⁰ until the second coming.

- 2 53 Ողբասցէ մահ զկործանումն իւրոյ թագաւորութեան, կոծեսցին եւ դժոխք զքակտումն իւրոյ զօրութեան, հրճուեսցի նախաստեղծն ընդ գալուստ հովուին ի խնդիր կորուսեալ ոչխարին, ծափս հարցեն հաւատացեալք ի նորոգմանն Ղազարու, սուգ առցեն դէք զինքեանց տեսանելով զկործանումն: Աւետարանեսցեն, որոց ի գերեզմանսն բնակեն զյոս յարութեանն, մի՛ այսուհետեւ զարհուրեցուցէ զմեզ մահ, մի՛ դողացուցէ բանսարկուն, որ մահացոյցն: Գտաք զկենաց ծառն, ի բաց եկաց քերովբէն բոցեղէն սրոյն պահպանութեամբն, խափանեցաւ ներգործութիւն մահաբեր ծառոյն, տերեւ թգնւոյն պատառեցաւ, զի անապականութեան գուշակ մեզ այսր աւուր յարութեան եղէ:

Let death lament the destruction of its kingdom; let Hell bewail the destruction of its power, let the protoplast rejoice at the coming of the Shepherd to search for the lost sheep; let the faithful clap their hands at the renewal of Lazarus; let the demons mourn their own selves when they see the(ir) destruction. They will announce the hope of resurrection to those who dwell in their graves, “Henceforth let death not frighten us; let the Devil not make tremble, whom he put to death. We have found the tree of life; the Cherub stood outside guarding with the fiery sword, the influence of the mortal tree was prevented, the leaf of the fig-tree was rent, for he became the expounder of incorruptibility for us of this day of resurrection.”

- 3 55–56 Եւ այժմ է, զի օրինակ էր Ղազարու յարութիւն մարդկային բնութեանս, քանզի կամեցաւ գնախաստեղծին բժշկել զբովանդակ մարմինն, ի փոքրագոյն անդամոցն առնու սկիզբն. զումեմն զգօսացեալ ձեռն, զայլոյ զբորոտութիւն, զուրուք զտեսարանն, եւ զորդի այրւոյն ի Նային քաղաքի յարոյց, եւ զդուստր հազարապետին, սակաւ սակաւ եւ ապա զՂազարի Բեթանիա առհաւատչեայ յարութիւն ամենայն մարմնոց: Ի շաբաթու յաւուր, յորում մատնեցաւ Յիսուս, մեռաւ Ղազար, եւ յաւուր, յորում Տէրն ննջեաց ի գերեզման, յարոյց զՂազար: Վասն այսորիկ Ադամ գոհացողական ձայնիս նուագէ ծննդովք իւր.

And now it is that the resurrection of Lazarus was an example of this human nature, because He wished to heal the body of the protoplast completely. He began from the smallest of the limbs. For one, the withered hand; for the other, leprosy; for another person, the vision; and he raised up the son of the widow from the city of Nay, and the daughter of the centurion—little by

250. Or: epistle; cf. Gen 5:1. In *MH* 1:1095 this reads *qun* yielding the meaning “from, deriving from Adam.”

little—and then the resurrection of Lazarus of Bethany as an earnest for all bodies.²⁵¹ On Saturday, on which day Jesus was betrayed, Lazarus died; and on the day on which the Lord slept in the grave, he raised Lazarus. Therefore, Adam with praiseful voice sang through his offspring.

- 4 Եւ քանզի ի տասն ժամուն, յորում ելաք արտաքս ի դրախտէն, ի նոյն ժամու եւ Տէրն բոլորից էջ ի խաչէն ի գերեզման, ի նոյն ժամու յարոյց զՂազար ի գերեզմանէն:

And because on the tenth hour, on which we went forth from the Garden, in that same hour the Lord of all descended from the cross into the tomb, in the same hour he raised Lazarus from the tomb.

- 5 Էր ոմն հիւանդ Ղազարոս, որ ըստ եբրայեցոցն օգնականել ասի, եւ հիւանդութիւն ըստ իմանալի տեսութեան, զմեղացն ասէ զազգի մարդկան, եւ մեռանէն զմեղացն մահն, որ է չար, ի Բեթանիայ ի տուն սգոյ ասի աշխարհիս, ըստ նմանութեան յանցաւորութեան Ադամայ: Սգակցեն ամենայն արարածք, ողբան, հեծեն եւ երկնեն մինչեւ ցայժմ զանկեալն Ադամայ ի փառաց դրախտին վայելչութենէ՝ ի կենդանութենէն Աստուծոյ: Եւ Քրիստոսիւ արձակեցաք ի կապանաց մեղացն ի նորոգումն կենացն ի Քրիստոս Յիսուս:

“There was a certain sick man, Lazarus” which (i.e., Lazarus) means in Hebrew “to help”; and “illness” according to the intelligible theory refers to the sins of the race of humans, and “dying” refers to the death of sins, which is evil, “in Bethany” which means in the house of mourning of this world, according to the likeness of the sinfulness of Adam. Until now all creatures will be fellow mourners, they mourn, they wail and grieve the fall of Adam from the delight of the glory of the Garden, from the liveliness of God. And through Christ we are liberated from the bonds of sin into the renewal of life, to Christ Jesus.

- 6 64 Էր վասն արգելոյր զինքն եւ ոչ փութապէս գայր ի գերեզմանն, այլ զի ի հասանել համբաւ գալստեան նորա, զի ատեան գործեսցէ ժողովրդեանն, եւ ամենայն ոք ճեպեսցի առ ի տեսանել զսքանչումն աստուածագործ նշանացն, զի ի լրել մարդոյն ի պատուիրանապահութենէն Աստուծոյ, լրեր եւ աստուածագործ հրաշքն յերկրէ եւ մերկացաւ մարդն յաստուածատուր փառացն վասն յանցանացն. աստ յաղագս Ղազարու զհրամանն Աստուծոյ պահելոյ, կենագործէր ի գերեզմանէն:

On what account did he withhold himself and not come quickly to the tomb, but so that on the arrival of the rumor of his coming he might make a tribunal (an assembly) for the people and everybody might hasten to see the miracle

251. John 11:1–44.

of the divinely done signs. For when man desists from keeping the command of God, the divinely done miracles also desisted from the earth and man was stripped of the God-given glory on account of his sins.²⁵² Here, because Lazarus kept the divine command, he vivified (him) from the tomb.

- 7 66 Ասէ. Ո՞ր եղիք գնա: Ասեն. Ե՛կ եւ տե՛ս: Ո՛չ անգիտութեամբ, որպէս Հայր նորա հարցանէր. Ո՞ր ես, Ադամ, եւ ԳԿային. Ո՞ր է Աբէլ եղբայր քո, եւ ԳՄովսէս. Զի՞նչ է այդ, որ ի ձեռին քո է: Խնդրէ արարիչն զհօր պատկերն, որ ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ արար գնա, եւ չարն նախանձեցաւ ընդ բարւոյն Ադամայ եւ ընկէց գնա յերանելի կենացն, Տէրն եկեալ որսայր զմարդկան փրկութիւն: Ի Բեթանիայէ մինչեւ ի Բեթարբէ եօթանասուն եւ երկու մղոնք են, յայնչափ հեռաստանէն զիտաց էր զմահն Ղազարու, եւ մօտ ի կարմջիդ անգիտանաս:

It says, “Where did you put him?” They said, “Come and see!” Not through ignorance; just as his Father asked, “Where are you, Adam?” and to Cain, “Where is Abel your brother?” and to Moses, “What is that which is in your hand?” The Creator seeks his image, whom he made according to his own image, and the Evil One was envious of the good of Adam and cast him down from the blessed life. The Lord, having come, hunted the salvation of men. From Bethany to Betharbē is seventy-two miles, from that distance the death of Lazarus was known²⁵³ and close to this bridge you are ignorant.²⁵⁴

- 8 70 Ի Հօրէն Որդի եւ Հոգին սուրբ, այլ ոչ կոչին եղբարք եւ ոչ որդիք երկոքեանն. զոր օրինակ յԱդամայ են Սեթ եւ Եւայ, այլ ոչ եղբայրք եւ ոչ որդիք երկոքեան: Քանզի Հայր ծնող է, եւ Որդին ծնունդ, եւ Հոգին Սուրբ ելող է եւ նստի Որդի ընդ աջմէ Հօր, եւ Հոգի Սուրբ ընդ աջմէ Որդւոյ:

From the Father are the Son and the Holy Spirit, but those two are not called brothers or sons, just as Seth and Eve are from Adam but the two are not siblings and not sons. Because the father is begetter and the Son begotten and the Holy Spirit is comer forth and the Son sits at the right of the Father and the Holy Spirit at the right of the Son.

- 9 72 Բեթանիա տուն հնազանդութեան, վասն զի Ղազար հնազանդէր մահու վասն Ադամայ, որ անկաւ ընդ իշխանութեամբ մահու: Հնազանդէր մահ Յիսուսի յաղագս արարչական զօրութեան եւ ծառայապէս լսէր տէրունական ձայնին եւ ընձեռէր զմեռեալն աստուածային հրամանատրութեան: Գայ Յիսուս ի տուն հնազանդութեան, որ զանհնազանդութիւն մարդկան ընդ

252. Or: transgression.

253. Or: he knew.

254. Bethabara is near the northern end of the Dead Sea, where John was baptizing (John 1:28).

հնազանդութեամբ Բանին Աստուծոյ միաւորէ, եւ հնազանդութիւն աստուածախառն մարմնովն հասարակաց Հօրն՝ փոխանակ անհնազանդութեանն Ադամայ, եւ ըստ աստուածութեանն Ադամայ, եւ ըստ աստուածութեանն առնու բարեբանութիւն ընդ Հօր ի հրաբուն զօրացն:

Bethany is a house of subjection (obedience), because Lazarus was subject to death on account of Adam, who fell under the authority of death. Death was subject to Jesus on account of his creative power and servilely obeyed the Lord's voice and consigned the dead man to the divine commanding. Jesus comes to the house of subjection which unites human disobedience with subjection to the Word of God, and subjection by means of the divinely mixed body became equal to the Father, instead of the disobedience of Adam and according to the divinity of Adam, and according to the divinity he receives praise with the Father from the fiery hosts.

- 10 73–74 Այսօր զառաջին մարդոյն կապանսն արձակէ յանիծից մահուն, եւ առաւելութիւն մեղացն ոչ բաւէ զտէրունեան արգելով զհրամանն եւ յինքն զյանցանսն կորզէ, եւ որպէս զյանցաւոր, փոխանակ յանցաւորի մարդոյն պարտաւորի անպարտ, զպարտաւորն կացուցանէ առաջի Հօրն:

This day he released the bonds of the first man from the curse of death and the superfluity of sins is not enough to obstruct the Lordly command and he seizes the sin to himself, and like a sinner, instead of the sinful, culpable man is innocent, he sets the culprit before the Father.

Նորին յաղագս եկաւորութեան Փրկչին յԵրուսաղէմ Of the same, Concerning the Coming of the Savior to Jerusalem

- 11 91 Իսկ ի վեցերորդումն զմարդն իւրովն կենագործէ ձեռամբ եւ օրէնս աւանդէրպահպանակսն: Իլրել մարդոյն զպատուիրանապահութիւնն, լրէր եւ Աստուած զբարեգործութիւնն, զի ի վեցերորդումն մարդն դադարէր յօրինապահութենէն եւ յեւթներորդումն արգելոյր Աստուած զբարեգործելն, եւ զայս ոչ վայրաբար, այլ արարչական ճշմարտութեամբն, վասն զի երկինք եւ երկիր սակս մարդոյն, եւ մարդն վասն պատուիրանին: Պատուիրանապահելն աստուածեղէն բարերարութիւնն բացափայլէր, ի լրելն պատուիրանապահութեանն, լրէր եւ աստուածագործ հրաշքն, քանզի մերկանայր մարդն յարաբատուր փառացն յաղագս յանցմանն, եւ մեռանէր Ղազարոս երկրային եւ ժամանակաւոր մեռելութեամբն: Անդ յաղագս նախահօրն պատուիրանագանցութեանն լրէր Աստուած զյանցմանացն թողութիւն, աստ յաղագս Ղազարոս աւանդապահի երկասիրէր զկենագործելն ի գերեզմանէն: Նմանապէս շաբաթ առաջին եւ

Երկրորդ ի նախնումն ի բարեգործութենէ լռէր Աստուած նախահօրն պատուիրանապահութենէն լռելոյ աղագաւ, յերկրորդումն յաղագս Ղազարու քրիստոսասիրութեանն:

But on the sixth, he vivifies man by his hand and he transmitted to him a law as a keeping. When man ceased the keeping of the commandment, God ceased his beneficence, for on the sixth day man stopped keeping the law and on the seventh God withheld his beneficence, and this not to no purpose, but through his creative truth, because heaven and earth were on account of man, and man, on account of the commandment. The observance of the commandment made the divine beneficence shine forth, and in the ceasing of the observance of the commandment, the divinely done miracles also ceased, because man became stripped of his glory given by the Creator on account of the transgression. And Lazarus was dying an earthly and temporal death. There, on account of the forefather's transgression of the commandment, God ceased the forgiveness of sins, here on account of Lazarus the keeper of tradition, he with willing labor did the vivification from the grave. Similarly (are) the first and second Sabbath: on the first one God ceased from doing beneficence to the forefather on account of his ceasing observing the commandment, and on the second (he resumed it) because of Lazarus's love of Christ.

P'AWSTOS BUZAND C5

Text: P'awstos Buzand, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of the Armenians*, ed. K'. Patkanean (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1987). Patkanean's text was also reprinted with an introduction by N. G. Garsoïan in *Ps. P'awstos, Buzandaran Patmut'iwink' (The Epic Histories)* (Classical Armenian Text Reprint Series; Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1984).

Translation: N. G. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand. (Buzandaran Patmut'ink')*, translation and commentary by N. G. Garsoïan (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 8; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989).

Book 4, chapter 5

The first three excerpts that follow are from the lengthy homily set in the mouth of Nersēs, Catholicos of Armenia. "A number of parallels, both doctrinal and lexical, can be found between this homily and the Teaching of St. Gregory. . . . Consequently, it is consonant with the standard theological position of the early Armenian church as found in contemporary writings."²⁵⁵

255. Garsoïan 1989, 117.

- 1 128 որ ի սկզբանէն արար եւ հաստատեաց զհիմունս երկրի, եւ ձգեաց զերկինս որպէս զխորան. որոյ ձեռքն արարին եւ հաստատեցին զամենայն երեսս երկնից. որ արար զմարդն իսկ ի հողոյ, եւ կարգեաց զբանաւորս զխաւսունս իմաստունս անձնականս: Եւ իբրեւ անձնիշխան կամաւք ապականեցան մարդիկ, ոչ ծանեան զարարիչն եւ ոչ զպատուիրանս նորա,

Who from the beginning created and consolidated the foundations of the earth and “spread the heavens like a canopy”;²⁵⁶ Whose hands have created and consolidated all the expanse of the heavens; Who created man from dust and made them rational [gifted] with speech, wise and [endowed] with free will.²⁵⁷ And at the time that mankind²⁵⁸ was corrupted through its own volition and did not acknowledge its Creator or His commandments ²⁵⁹

- 2 130 եւ այսպէս զամենայն ի նոյն պնդեալ ձուլեաց զարարածս, զոր եւ ըստ նմանութեան պատկերի կերպարանաց իւրոց արար. եւ եղ զնա իշխան անձնիշխան իւրոց կամաց: Վասն որոյ նախանձու սատանայի ապականեալք հնացան ի բանսարկութիւն խարդախութեան պատրանացն:

And in the same way He firmly cast all the creatures whom He fashioned according to the likeness of the image of His form²⁶⁰ and gave him (man) power over his own²⁶¹ will. Because of this, [men] were corrupted and ruined by Satanic envy and grew old in false and deceitful slander.²⁶²

- 3 132 քանզի մեծութիւն Աստուծոյ արար զամենայն, եւ կացոյց զմարդն տէր ամենայնի. հրամայեաց եւ բազմացան:

For the greatness of God created all things, and He set man up as lord of all; he ordered and they multiplied.²⁶³

Book 5, chapter 28. This is part of a long prayer.

- 4 340 Տէր Աստուած զարուրեանց, որ արարեր զամենայն յօրնչէ, եւ ստեղծեր զմարդ ի հողոյ կենդանի եւ անապականացու. եւ

256. Ps 104:2.

257. In our own translations we usually render անձնիշխան as “autonomous.”

258. Or: men, humans.

259. Cf. Garsoïan 1989, 117.

260. Garsoïan adds in the text, in brackets: *nmanut'ean patkeri kerparanac'*.

261. See *Teaching of St. Gregory* §§264–265, excerpts 12 and 13 above.

262. Cf. Garsoïan 1989, 118. The word “deceit” derives from the same stem as բանսարկու = δίαβολος.

263. Gen 1:28; cf. Garsoïan 1989, 119.

անցին զքոյով պատուիրանաւք եւ անկան ի մահ՝ իւրեանց պատուիրանազանցութեամբն: եւ արդ արդար դատաստանաւք քովք մերժեցեր զնոսա ի դրախտէն փափկութեան յայս աշխարհ՝ ուստի ստեղծեր, եւ գրաւեցան լինել ընդ մահապարտութեամբ:

“Lord God of Hosts, who hast created all out of nothing and created man living and incorruptible from the dust of the ground. And they transgressed Thy commandments and fell into death because of their transgression. By Thy just judgments Thou didst drive them out of the Garden of delight into this world, from which Thou didst create [them], and they became subject to the sentence of death.”²⁶⁴

YĀCAXAPATUM ČĀRK‘ C5

Text: Gregory the Illuminator, Յաճախապատում ճառք *Dogmatic Homilies* (Constantinople: Abraham Yōhanean Press, 1824).

- 1 24 Զի որպէս մահ թագաւորեաց ի ձեռն յանցուածոցն Ադամայ, այսպէս եւ սատանայ ի վերայ մեղաւորաց տիրեաց, զի սիրեցին, ասէ, մարդիկ զմոլորութիւն, վասն այսորիկ առաքեաց առ նոսա ազդեցութիւն մոլորութեան, զի դատապարտեցին, զի հաճեցան ընդ չարն:

For, just as death became king through the transgressions of Adam, so Satan too became ruler of sinners, for men love, it says, error. Therefore, he sent the suggestion of error to them, so that they might become guilty, for they were pleased with evil.

- 2 29–30 Եւ վասն այսորիկ ստեղծ Արարիչն զմարդն անձնիշխան, զի ըստ ընտրութեան հոգեւոր օրինացն փոփոխումն առցեն ի փոքրկութենէս ի մեծութիւն, յանարգութեանցս ելանել ի պատիւ, յապականութենէս՝ յանապականութիւն, ի մահկանացութենէս յանմահութիւն Աստուածութեան ի Քրիստոս Յիսուս:

And for this reason the Creator created man autonomous, so that, in accordance with the(ir) choice of spiritual laws they might receive a change from this smallness to greatness, to go forth from this humiliation to honor, from this corruptibility to incorruption, from this mortality to immortality of the Divinity in Christ Jesus.

- 3 31–32 Եւ ի չորից նիւթոց արարեալ զմարդն՝ շնչեաց ի նա հոգի կենդանի եւ անմահ եւ մտաւոր եւ բանաւոր: Խառնեաց զհոգեւորն

264. Garsoian 1989, 208.

ընդ մարմնաւորն, զի զհանդէս իւրոյ մտերմութեանն ցուցցէ առ Արարիչն եւ ժուժկալեալ հոգւով՝ պահիցէ զպատուիրանս Տեառն ահիւ, զի հաճոյացեալ Աստուծոյ ժառանգորդ լիցի անվախճան ուրախութեանցն: Զի արար, ասէ, զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր եւ տէր ամենայնի կացոյց զնա: Ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ արար զնա, որ ըստ Քրիստոսի մարմնանաւոյն է իմանալ եւ անձամբ կամօք մեծաբեաց զմարդիկ, որպէս զհրեշտակս, եւ ելից իմաստութեամբ եւ գիտութեամբ եւ տեղեակ ամենայն հանգամանաց խրատու հոգեւոր իրաց արար զնա առ հաճոյս տէրութեան իւրոյ, զի լիցի տեսուչ Արարչին արարածոց ըստ պատուիւանի նորա: Եւ զամենայն տարերս ետ ի գործակցութիւն արուեստից հանճարոյ մարդոյն առ ի շինութիւն աշխարհի ըստ գաւառաց եւ քաղաքաց: Այլ եւ կահ եւ կազմած եւ անօք ըստ ընտրութեան արուեստից կազմիցէ առ պէտս վարուց աշխարհիս, որոց պէտքն տնօրինին:

And, having made man from four materials, He breathed into him a living and immortal and intelligent and rational spirit. He mixed the spiritual with the bodily, so that he (i.e., man) might demonstrate the evidence of his faithfulness to the Creator and, having suffered patiently through the spirit, he might keep the commandments of the Lord with fear, so that, having pleased God, he might become heir of endless joys. For He made, it says, man in his image and He made him master of everything. He made him according to his image, which is to be understood (as being) according to the incarnation of Christ. And He honored man with his own will like the angels, and He filled (him) with wisdom and knowledge and He made him familiar with all kinds of counsel of spiritual things, for the pleasure of His Lordship. Thus he might become the Creator's overseer of creatures, according to His commandment. And He gave him all the elements for cooperation in the arts of human understanding, to build the world according to provinces and cities. But He will also form equipment and utensils and tools, according to the selection of the arts, for the needs of the conduct of this world, of which the director (i.e., man) had need.

- 4 33 Եւ այսպէս յօրինեալ Արարչին զնախախնամութիւնն յարարածս իւր, որ երեւին եւ որ ոչն երեւին, եւ այսր ամենայնի տէր եւ իշխան եւ ժառանգորդ արար զմարդն եւ արուեստաւոր երեւելեացս մտօք: Զի յոչնչէ արար զամենայն եւ թագաւոր կացոյց զմարդն եւ մեծաբեաց, զի նովաւ ծանիցի Արարողն եւ փառաւորեացի միշտ, եւ մարդն ծանիցէ զիւր պատիւն յԱրարչէն, որ յանպատուութենէ ի պատիւ վերաբերեաց զմարդն յամենայն արարածոց: Որ արուեստաւոր իւելամտութեամբն, որ յԱրարչէն, կարասցէ ի գործ արկանել զշնչաւորս եւ զանշնչաւորս, զի երեւեացի գործ իմաստութեան նորա ըստ ամենայնի: Որք ի հնազանդութեան են հնազանդեալք ի Տեառնէ ի գործ պիտոյից եւ կամ առ շինութիւն եւ ի զարդ կամ այլ

ինչ փարթամութիւն, յայսոսիկ վայելելով՝ իշխանական ճոխութեամբ փառաւորեցէ միշտ զԲարեգործողն: Զի այսքան պատիւ տուաւ մարմնաւորացս, որպէս հոգեղինացն եւ անմահից անմարմնոց: Եւ արար ընտրողս արարչութեանն, որ միշտ օրինեցեն զնա ի ձեռն եղելոց օրինացն զիրաւանց իշխանականօք, հաստատեցին ի հաւատս ճշմարտութեան եւ ընտրեցեն զԱրարիչն եւ զարարածս ի միմեանց, զդարմանիչն եւ զդարմանաւորն, զկեցուցիչն ամենայն կենդանեաց, որովք լնու զպէտս պիտոյից ամենայն արարածոց:

And thus the Creator, having created providence for his creatures, visible and invisible, made man ruler and prince and heir of all this and artisan of the visible things through his mind. For He made everything from nothing and He established man as king and magnified (him), so that the Maker might be known through him, and be always praised. And that man might know (that) his honor is from the Creator, who elevated man from dishonor to honor more than all creatures. (Man) through his ingenious understanding, which is from the Creator, will be able to put to use the breathing and unbreathing ones, so that the work of his wisdom will be evident according to everything. Those who are subject are made subject by the Lord through a necessary deed, either for building and for ornamentation or any other opulence. Enjoying these things with princely authority he will continually praise the Beneficent. Because He gave the bodily ones as much honor as the spiritual ones and immortal bodiless ones. He made them discerning ones of the Creation, who continually will praise him by means of the given laws with respect to the authority of the laws, they will be established in the faith of truth and will distinguish the Creator and the creations from one another, the Nourisher and the nourished, him who vivifies all living things, by which He fills the needs of requirements of all creations.

- 5 37 Մինչ մարդն հնազանդ էր օրինացն Աստուծոյ, ե՛ւ զազանք, ե՛ւ թունաւորք հնազանդ էին մարդոյն, որպէս տեառն եւ թագաւորի:

While man was obedient to the laws of God, the wild beasts and the poisonous ones obeyed man, as lord and king.

- 6 63 Անհնազանդութիւն եւ ստահակութիւն ոչ էր յառաջ, մինչ ոչ էր անհաւանեալ Աստուծոյ սատանայ եւ մարդն:

Disobedience and wrongheadedness did not exist before; Satan and man did not disagree with God.

- 7 67 Զի մահ ոչ էր, մինչ ոչ էր պարտական լեալ մարդն մեղօք:

For death was not, until man became guilty through sins.

- 8 102 Զմարդն իւրում կարգին հաստատեաց Աստուած ի ներքոյ իւրոյ չափոյն, զի լիցի արբանեակ ճշմարիտ քարոզութեանն հրաւիրանաց

վերին կոչմանն եւ ըստ մարգարէութեան շնորհի՝ խորհրդակից լինիլ կամաց Արարչին:

God established man in his own order below His own measure, so that he might become a servant of the true preaching of the invitation of the supernal summons and, according to the gift of prophecy, become an advisor of the will of the Creator.

- 9 104 Զի յորժամ յաւելուած սուտ կարծեացն մտին ի նախաստեղծ մարդն յայրն եւ ի կինն ի մախանաց բանսարկուին, ի հրապուրանաց հեշտութեանն քարշեալք՝ սուտ կարծեօք աստուածք լինիլ, խաբեցան եւ ոչ պահեցին զպատուիրանն Արարչին իւրեանց. եւ ելին ի փափկութեան դրախտէն եւ զմահ ստացեալ ժառանգեցին: Զի յառաջագոյն պատուիրան տուաւ նոցա գործել եւ պահել զդրախտն ժուժկալութեամբ պահոցն՝ յորս ուտել նոցա ի պտղոյն եւ յորս ոչ:

. . . Զայս ասելով՝ ոչ իմանալի ասեմ զդրախտն, այլ տեսանելի առաջին մարդոյն, թեպէտ մեզ ծածկեաց հրեղէն սուրն ըստ խորին իմաստութեանն Աստուծոյ: Զի երկդիմի է իմանալ զդրախտն. մինն՝ շօշափելի եւ տեսանելի, եւ մինն՝ իմանալի, որ յառաքինութիւնն վերաբերի:

For when the additional lie of the thought (idea) entered the protoplast man, the male and the female, by the agency of the envy of the Devil, attracted by the enticement of voluptuousness, they were deceived by the false idea of becoming gods, and did not keep the commandment of their Creator. They went forth from the garden of delight and, having received death, they inherited it. Because previously he commanded them to work and guard the Garden with the patience (continence) of a fast; of which of the fruit they should eat, and of which not.

. . . By saying this I do not say that the Garden was noetic, but visible to the first man, although the fiery sword hid it from us, in accordance with the deep wisdom of God. For the Garden is to be understood in two aspects: the one is tangible and visible and the other, noetic, which I ascribed to virtue.

- 10 111 Զի որպէս անժուժութիւնն Ադամայ եւ Եւայի անէծս ի վերայ էած եւ մահ, նոյնպէս եւ ծնելոցս ի նոցանէ, որ զնոյն անժուժութիւն ունին եւ արտաքոյ բարոյն որովայնամոլութեամբն անկանիցին:

For just as the intemperance of Adam and Eve brought curses and death on (them), and likewise on those who were to be born of them, who have the same intemperance and will fall forth from the good by gluttony.

- 11 241–42 Որպէս ի սկզբանէ նախաստեղծին կեանքն ի Տեառնէ յարդարեցան անմեղութեամբ, զսոյն սուրբ սէրն հաստատել ի մեզ: Որպէս եւ Քրիստոս սիրեաց զմեզ եւ զանձն իւր մատնեաց պատարագ

ի հոտ անուշից, «որ բարկացուցաք զԱրարիչն, զի ոչ պահեցաք զպատուիրանս նորա»:

Just as in the beginning the life of the protoplast was adorned by sinlessness, to establish this same holy love in us. Just as Christ loved us and delivered himself over as an offering for the sweet fragrance, “we who angered the Creator, for we did not keep his commandments.”²⁶⁵

YOVHANNĒS MANDAKUNI C5

Text: Yovhan Mandakuni, *Ճառք Տերմոն* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1836).

4. Թուղթ վասն պահոց պնդութեան Epistle concerning the Constancy of Fasts

- 1 19 . . . Եւ քանզի կարի կարելոր է պահոցն առաքինութիւն բնութեանս մերոյ, եւ բազում թերութիւնք ի խոնարհութենէ պահոցն յարդարին, անդէն իսկ ընդ ստեղծանել մարդոյն պահոցն պնդութեամբ պարսպեաց զբնութիւնս մեր եւ եղ մարդոյն առաջին պատուիրան զպահոցն պնդութիւն չճաշակել ի ծառոյն: Զի թէ էր պահեալ զպահոցն պատուիրանն, անախտ եւ անմահ եւ անմեղ կեանս էր ժառանգեալ եւ յերկինս զերկնից բարութիւնսն,

. . . and because the virtue of fasts is very important for this nature of ours, and many imperfections are ameliorated by the humility of the fasts, on the spot, with the creation of man, through the constancy of fasts he walled our nature around and set the first commandment of constancy of fasts for the first man, not to eat of the tree. For, if he had observed the commandment of the fast, he would have inherited life without blemish and immortal and sinless and, in heaven, the heavenly goodness.

- 2 21–22 Զի սուրբքն առաջինք, յորժամ կամէին մերձենալ առ Աստուած, յառաջ պահօքն մաքրէին եւ ապա առ մաքուրն մերձենային եւ աստուածատեսք լինէին, իսկ որք հեռացան ի պահոցն, հեռացան ի շնորհացն Աստուծոյ եւ բազում չարեօք չարչարեցան: Ահա Ադամ հեռացաւ ի պահոցն պնդութենէ եւ ել ի դրախտէն յերկիր փշաբեր: Տնունդքն նոյական ազգին հեռացան ի պահոցն պնդութենէ եւ համաջունջ ջրհեղեղաւն սատակեցան եւ հեղձան . . . :

For the former saints, when they wished to approach God, first cleansed themselves by fasts and then they would approach the clean one and became seers of God. But those who distanced themselves from fasts were distant

265. Eph 5:2.

from God's grace and were tortured with many evils. Behold, Adam distanced himself from the constancy of fasts and he left the Garden for thistle-bearing earth. The descendants of the Noachic race distanced themselves from constancy of fasts and were slaughtered by the all-annihilating flood and were drowned . . .

ԺԱ վասն սիրոյ եւ մախանաց եւ նախանձու

XI Concerning Love and Jealousy and Envy

- 3 90 . . . Իսկ որ չարակներն եւ նախանձին, նա յոր խաւար երթայցէ եւ կամ ուր սուգանիցի կամ որպիսի տանջանօք խաշիցի եւ մաշիցի: Քանզի սկիզբն ախտից է նախանձ եւ չարակնութիւն, զի նովաւ անկաւ սատանայ ի փառացն, նովաւ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն, եւ անէծք եւ քրտունք, փուշ եւ տատասկ, մահ եւ մեղք ի վերայ ամենայն ծննդոց Ադամայ տիրեցին, նովիմք Կայէն երերեալ տատանէր:

. . . but those who begrudge and envy, behold, for which darkness shall he go or where will he be submerged or by which sort of punishment will he be worn out and worn away? Because envy and grudging are the beginning of sufferings for by that Satan fell from glory, by that Adam went out of the Garden, and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all the descendants of Adam, by that same thing Cain trembled and shook.

ԺԴ. վասն սակաւ գողութեան որ ոչ ապաշխարեն Concerning the Little Theft, of Which They Do Not Repent

- 4 107 . . . Զի որ զհրովարտակս որ արքունի պատառէ, ոչ միայն զքարտն փոխանակ քարտին պահանջեն ի նմանէ, զի զայն եւ սակաւ ինչ լումայիւք մարթ էր վճարել եւ կամ ըստ չափոյ քարտին պատժել, այլ ընդ արհամարիւելոյ զհրամանս թագաւորին են տանջանք զանազանք եւ մահք դառինք: Սոյնպէս եւ Ադամայ ոչ եթէ մեծ էին գողանքն, այլ հատումն միոյ ինչ մրգոյ: Եւ արդ, տէ՛ս զբազում հոյլս պատուհասիցն, զանիծիցն եւ զմահուցն ոչ միայն ի վերայ Ադամայ, այլեւ ամենայն ծննդոց Ադամայ, զի ոչ եթէ գողուն մրգոցն եղև պարտապան, այլ հրամանաց արարչին եւ բանի բերանոյ նորա, զի որ ասացն, եթէ մի՛ սպանաներ, նոյն ասաց, եթէ մի՛ գողանայցէս: Եւ ոչ եթէ փոքու եւ մեծի մեղաց ինդիր իցէ, այլ պատուիանազանցութեան եւ հրամանահատութեան:

. . . For, he who rips some royal decree—they do not only claim from him parchment in place of parchment, for that he could recompense for a few farthings, or to punish according to the measure of the parchment, but various punishments and bitter deaths for showing contempt of the king's com-

mandments. In the same fashion, also Adam, not that the robberies were great, only the cutting off of one piece of fruit. And now, see the numerous assemblies of punishments, those of curses and of deaths, not only upon Adam but also upon all of Adam's descendants. For not that the theft of the fruit was culpable, but of the commandments of the Creator and of the word of his mouth. For, he who said, "Do not kill," also said "Do not steal." And it is not that it is a question of great and small sins, but of the transgression of commandments and the breaking of ordinances.

ԺԹ վասն անասնամուլաց եւ իգացելոց եւ արւագիտաց Concerning the Bestials, the Sodomites, and the Homosexuals

- 5 135 . . . Ձի ոչ բաւեմ ցուցանել գղառն ողբալի ախտին զեղխութիւնսն. եւ առաւել եւս ընդ այս զարմանամ եւ հիանամ, յորժամ կանայք եւս զայնպիսի մոլեկան կատաղութիւնս գործեն եւ զանբանական զպղծութիւնս կատարեն: Ձի ի սկզբանէ այրն այր ստեղծաւ ի պէտս կանանց, եւ կինն կին ստեղծաւ ի յարանց յօգնականութիւն, իսկ անօրէն պակշտութիւնքն անզգայական ախտիցն զաստուածադիր զսահմանս փոխեցին ամբարշտութեամբ. եւ զպէտս բնականս, զոր պարտ էր արանց ի կանանց ընդունել եւ կանանց՝ յարանց, նոքա եւ յայլ աղտեղութիւնս փոխեցին . . .

For I cannot show the bitter, lamentable excesses of the passion and, even more, I am amazed and astounded at this, when women do even more such (acts of) raving frenzy and carry out irrational abominations. For, from the beginning the man was created as a man for the needs of women and the woman was created as a woman for the assistance of men. But, lawless lewdness of senseless passions impiously changed the boundaries set by God and the natural needs, which men should have received from women, and women from men, they changed to other filthiness . . .

ԻԳ. Թուղթ մխիթարութեան վախճանելոց յաշխարհէս Concerning the Comfort of Those Who Are Going to Depart from This World

- 6 174 Արդ, դու այդիւ մխիթարեա ամենայնիւ, եթէ ակն ունիս յարութեանն, այլ եւ ած գմտաւ, եթէ մահ է ճանապարհի ամենայն աշխարհի, եւ ամենեքեան երթամք ընդ այն ճանապարհ: Ադամ, Աբել, Սէթ, Նոյ եւ ամենայն արդարքն զմահ ընկալան, որով պարտ է եւ քեզ մխիթարել: Աբրահամ, Իսահակ եւ Յակոբ եւ Մովսէս եւ Դաւիթ տեսողքն Աստուծոյ, եւ ամենայն նահապետքն արդարքն եւ աստուածախօսքն, զմահ ընկալան, որով պարտ է եւ քեզ մխիթարել:

Now you have comfort through all that, if you hope for resurrection, but also consider that death is the way of the whole world and we all go along that path: Adam, Abel, Seth, Noah and all the righteous received death, by which you too must be comforted. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and Moses and David, seers of God, and all the patriarchs, the just and the speakers with God, received death, by which you too must be comforted . . .

Յաղագս պէսպէս ախտից Concerning Various Sorts of Sufferings

- 7 182 Արար Աստուած գմարդն եւ եղ գնա ի դրախտին փափկութեան՝ զամենայն սգայութիւնս ողջ ունելով ի բնութեան իւրում: Արդ, իբրեւ լուաւ այնմ, որ խաբեացն գնա, յայնժամ էառ զախտս ամենայն եւ իսկոյն ընկեցեալ եղև արտաքս ի մեծ եւ ի չքնաղ փառաց իւրոց, զի ծանիցէ մարդ, թէ գոն ախտք, որ մերժեն գնա յԱստուծոյ, եւ զի աղաչէ զբարերարն Աստուած, որպէս զի օգնեսցէ նմա եւ ապա կարասցէ կտրել յինքենէ ի բաց զախտս ամենայն: Այս ամենայն վերք են, որ կրին յանձին մարդոյն եւ քակեն որոշեն գնա յԱստուծոյ:

God made man and set him in the Garden of delight, having completely all the senses in his nature. Now, when he listened to that one who deceived him, then he received all sufferings and immediately he was cast outside his great and excellent glory. Thus man might realize that there are sufferings that separate him from God and thus he beseeches the beneficent God so that He might help him, thus he will be able to cut off from himself all sufferings. All of these are wounds which are carried in the soul of man and detach, divide him from God.

- 8 183 . . . Զի՞նչ է հպարտութիւն. հպարտութիւն է խստասրտութիւն, անհնազանդ լինել ամենեցուն եւ քաջալերել յիւր զօրութիւնն եւ համարելով զինքն իմաստուն, եւ առնել յար եւեթ զիւր կամսն եւ արհամարհել զընկերն եւ կարծել զինքեան իմաստուն գոլ եւ ունելով զինքն իբրեւ ոչ իմիք կարօտ գոլ: Այս ամենայն գործին յանձին մարդոյն, մինչեւ որոշեն գնա յԱստուծոյ: Այս է, զոր եբարձն Ադամ, յորժամ եկերն ի պտղոյ ծառոյն եւ անկաւ ընդ ոտիւք մահուն:

. . . What is pride? Pride is hardheartedness, to be disobedient to all and to trust in one's own might, and by considering oneself wise, continually to do one's own will and to despise one's fellow and to reckon oneself to be wise and holding oneself as not being needy of anything. All these are done in the soul of man until they separate him from God. This it is which Adam took up when he ate of the fruit of the tree and fell at the feet of death.

ԻԶ Թուղթ վասն հայոց դիւթականաց եւ անօրէն յուրթողաց 26 Epistle Concerning Auguries and Spells and Illicit Charms

- 9 198 . . . Յիշեա՛ վասն զի փոքր կարծեցուցանելոյ Ադամայ զպատուիրանն Աստուծոյ, ել ի դրախտէն, վասն փոքր կարծելոյ Քամայ զամօթ հօրն յայտնեալ անկաւ ընդ անիծիւք եւ ընդ ծառայութեամբ, վասն փոքր կարծելոյն Եսաւայ զանդրանկութիւնն ընկենուլ տեղի ապաշխարութեան ոչ եգիտ . . . :

. . . Remember because Adam was persuaded that God's commandment was small, he went out of the Garden; because Ham thought the uncovering of his father's shame was small, he fell under the curse and servitude; because Esau thought that the casting off the birthright was small, he did not find room for repentance. . . .

- 10 199 . . . Ի մի՛տ առ, ո՛վ յիմար եւ չարադիւթ, զի վասն միոյ մեղաց Ադամ ել ի դրախտէն, վասն միոյ սպանութեանն տատանումն Կայէնի, վասն զիջութեան ջրհեղեհն աշխարհի, վասն ամբարտաւանութեանն անկումն սատանայի, վասն անբարշտութեանն շփոթումն լեզուաց, . . .

Consider, O foolish and maleficent one, that Adam went out of the Garden because of one sin, that the trembling of Cain was because of one murder; that the flooding of the world was because of lasciviousness; that the fall of Satan was because of pride; that the confusion of tongues was because of impiety; . . .

Կանոնք Յովհաննու Մանդակունոյ հայոց կաթողիկոսի [Գլուխք Թ] “Canons by the Kat’olikos of the Armenians Yovhan Mandakuni [9 Chapters]” (reprint from Կանոնագիրք հայոց *Armenian Book of Canons*, vol. 1, ed. V. Hakobyan [Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1964], 491–500), introduction by Yakob K’eosēyan. *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century: appendix (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), 663–71.²⁶⁶

- 11 495 Դարձեալ, ոչ եթէ Ադամ պանիր եկեր, այլ պտուղ ծառոյ եւ ել ի դրախտէն:

Again, Adam did not eat cheese, but rather the fruit of the tree, and he went out of the Garden.

266. Hakobyan (1964), 666–67.

SIXTH CENTURY

AT'ANAS TARONAC'I C6

Text: At'anas Taronac'i, in Մատենան Գիտության եւ Հաւատոյ Թառփ քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit' (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981)*, ed. A. Mat'evosyan (Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran-Nairi Press, 1997).¹

This calendrical fragment, preserved in M2679, was edited by A. G. Abrahamyan, Anania Širakac'i, Մատենագրություն *Writings* (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1944), 310–13.² H. Anasyan says that the fragment is by At'anas and not Anania, as is also the view of M. Ōrmanean.³

- 1 223 [Ադ]ա[մ ամա]ց [Մ]Լ ծնանի զՄէթ յԵւայէ եւ եկեաց առ նովաւ ամս 2 մինչեւ ի ՃԼԵ ամն Մաղաղայելի:

Adam at the age of 230 begat Seth from Eve and he lived with him for <700> years until the 135th year of Mahalaleel.⁴

KOMITAS KAT'OLIKOS C6

Text: Komitas Kat'olikos, Կանոն սրբոց Հոփսիսմեանց “Canon of the Holy Hrip'simēans,” in Շարական հոգեւոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853). Compare Jerusalem edition of 1933, 574.

Canon of the Holy Hrip'simēans etc. in *Hymnal* 488, Jerusalem edition 574.

- 1 Դարձեալ վերստին արարչագործ զօրութիւն. եւ դարձեալ Եդեմ աստուածատունն զարդարի, քանզի ծառն կենաց տնկեցաւ ի դրախտին, բերելով մեզ պտուղ զերանելին Հոփսիսմէ: Երկունք մահաբերք անիծիցն լուծան, եւ Ադամ վերստին աստուածակերպ ճոխանայ. փոխանակ Եւայի դստերք նորա, մարտիրոսք եւ կուսանք ընծայեալք աստուծոյ:

1. The English version of the title is taken from the edition.

2. See Abrahamyan 1944, 107. However, Č'amč'ean (1984, 239) and Ōrmanean (1912, 1:384) support the At'anas view.

3. Ōrmanean 1912, 1:384.

4. Armenian is *Małalayēl*. The text has the corrupt figure 6. The overall figures exactly equal *History of Adam, his Sons and Grandsons* §5, see apparatus there, and *History of the Forefathers* §29. This is the first occurrence of a chronographic interest in these text. The figures are discussed in Stone 1996a, 84–89. The texts are also published in that volume.

Again the creative power returns, and again Eden planted by God⁵ is adorned! For the tree of life was planted in the Garden, bearing fruit for us—the blessed Hrip’simē. The mortal pains of the curse⁶ were abolished, and again Adam, divine in form, is given authority; the daughters of Eve, martyrs and virgins devoted to God, are in her stead.

Text: Komitas Kat’olikos, Կնիք հաւատոյ *The Seal of Faith*⁷ (reprint of Կնիք հաւատոյ *Seal of Faith*, ed. Bishop Karapet [Ējmiacin: Holy Ējmiacin Press, 1914]), introduction by Yakob K’eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 4, 7th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005), 49–311.

Նախասուրբին յանհասութեան Սուրբ Երրորդութեանս Prologue on the Incomprehensibility of the Holy Trinity

- 2 53 (13) Եւ ո՛չ ասի եղբայր Որդւոյ, քանզի չէ ծնունդ, եւ ոչ աստար Աստուծոյ, քանզի ի Հաւրէ ելանէ. որպէս եւ ոչ Եւայ եւ Հաբէլ եղբարք ասին միմեանց, թէպէտ եւ երկոքինս յԱդամայ են, մինն առաւելութեամբ եւ միւսն ծննդեամբ. եւ ոչ Ադամ հայր Եւայի ասի, թէպէտեւ ի նմանէ առաւ կողն:

(13) And he is not called brother of the Son, for he is not a descendant of God nor alien to God, for he comes out of the Father, just as Eve and Abel are not said to be siblings, although both are from Adam, one by augmentation,⁸ and the other by birth. And Adam is not called Eve’s father, although the rib was taken from him.

Երանելոյն Գրիգորի Աստուածաբանի Ազագացոյ, ի բանէն՝ Նաւակատիք պատուեցին: Of the Blessed Gregory Nazianzus the Theologian, from the Sermon In novam Dominicam

- 3 252 (2) Արդ եթէ էր կացեալ մնացեալ եւ զպատուիրանն էր պահեալ՝ լինեաք արդէք որպէս ո՛չ եմքս, ի փայտն կենաց մերձեցեալք՝ յետ

5. Language about Eden planted by God being “adorned” goes back to Gen 2:1 (LXX and Armenian Bible).

6. “Mortal pains of the curse” is perhaps a reference to the *Book of Adam and Eve* 8:2 = 34:2. Certainly the idea that the tree is մահաբեր (“mortal”) and so illness and death, is found in *Adam Fragment 1* §9 (Stone 1982, 6–9).

7. Each passage below is preceded by the subtitle of the corresponding subsection. In fact, three passages from Կնիք հաւատոյ *The Seal of Faith*, except the prologue, are citations from Greek authors.

8. I.e., she was built out of his rib; the rib was augmented to become the whole of Eve.

փայտին գիտութեան. եւ զի՞նչ լինէաք. անմահացեալք եւ յԱստուած մերձեցեալք⁹:

(2) Now if we stayed and observed the commandment, would we be what we are not, having approached the tree of life after the tree of knowledge? And what would we be? Having become immortal and having approached God.

Երանելոյն Երանոսի, հետեւողի առաքելոց, եպիսկոպոսի Ղաւգոնի. Գալիլէացոց՝ ի բանէն, որ զատորինք:

Of the Blessed Irenaeus, Follower of the Apostles, the Bishop of Lugdunum of the Galileans (Gauls) from the Sermon on the Infernal (Regions).

- 4 258 (17) Այլ մարդն յսկզբանն ազատ էր բարութ. քանզի ազատ է կամաւք Աստուած, որ ստեղծ զմարդն ըստ նմանութեան իւրում, որպէս «մարմին անկար է, այսպէս հոգիս յաւժար է»՝ ի Տեառնէ վկայեալ:

(17) But in the beginning man was free by his character, for God has free will, who created man in his likeness, just as “the flesh is weak, so the spirit is willing,”¹⁰ as attested by the Lord.

Երանելոյն Եւսեբէի եպիսկոպոսի Եմացոյ՝ ի խաւսիցն, որ յԵրուսաղէմ, վասն հաւատոց՝ ի Չարչարանաց ճառէն, ի բանէն՝ Իսկ զչարչարանացն լռել ինչ պարտիցիմք:

Of the Blessed Eusebius Bishop of Emesa from the Speech Spoken in Jerusalem on the Faith, from the Sermon “On the sufferings,” from the section “We cannot be silent about the sufferings.”

- 5 277–78 (9) Ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ Ադամ, ի նմին աւուր յանցեաւ. Հնազանդ եղեւ Յիսուս կրել զչարչարանս, զի յորում ժամի պարտեցաք, ի նմին եւ յաղթեցուք: (10) Փայտ ի դրախտին՝ փայտ խաչի. անդ կին, որով մեղք մտին յաշխարհ, եւ աստ կոյս, որ կայր եւ լսէր՝ «Սա մայր քո»: (11) Ձգեաց Ադամ յայսմ աւուր չարաչար զձեռն իւր պարզեաց եւ Յիսուս գեղեցիկ զուրբ բազուկն. Ադամ մերձեցաւ ի ծառն եւ փայտն չարաչար, եւ Յիսուս բեւեռեաց զոտս եւ զձեռս ի խաչին. բարիոք Ադամ առ ցանգութեանն ճաշակեաց զպտուղ ծառոյն, եւ Քրիստոս ճաշակեաց զբացախ եւ զլեղի դառնութեան: (12) Ադամ

9. Corresponds to *PG* 36:612 lines 42–44.

10. Cf. Matt 26:14 and Mark 14:38.

լուաւ եթէ «Փուշ եւ տատասկ բերցէ քեզ երկիր», եւ Յիսուս պսակ ի փշոց ընկալաւ. Ադամ ընկալաւ անէծս, եւ Յիսուս արհնեալ ընդ այլոց անիծից՝ կախեցաւ իբրեւ զանիծեալ զփայտէ. իրք կարելորք, զի ուսցուք, թէ որպէս մարդիկ մեռանին, եւ որպէս Աստուած կամարք, եւ ոչ ակամա մեռանի: (13) Որ ընդ բնութեան կարեաւք էին՝ նոցա բարձք խորտակեցան, զի ըստ բնութեանն նոյնպէս եւ զմահն կրեցին. իսկ որ իշխանութիւն ունէր դնել զանձնն, եւ նա ոչ էր ըստ բնութեան կարեաւք. որպէս ի կուսէն կամաւ, եւ ոչ ակամայ՝ առ մարմին, նոյնպէս եւ ի խաչին կամաւ, եւ ոչ ակամայ՝ արար որոշումն իւր հոգոյն ի մարմնոյն. «Հայր, ասէ, ի ձեռն քո աւանդեմ զհոգի իմ»:

(9) On the sixth day Adam was created, on the same day he transgressed. Jesus became obedient to endure the sufferings, for in what hour we were overwhelmed, at the same hour we shall overcome (be victorious). (10) The tree in the Garden (is) the tree of the cross. There (was) a woman, through whom sin came into the world, here (is) a virgin who heard him say: “here is your mother.”¹¹ (11) On that day Adam maliciously put forth his hand, and Jesus nicely (spread) his holy arms. Adam maliciously drew near to the tree, and Jesus nailed his hands and feet to the tree. Adam tasted the fruit through lust, and Christ tasted vinegar and bitter gall. (12) Adam heard, “The earth shall bring forth to thee thorns and thistles,”¹² and Jesus received a crown of thorns. Adam received a curse, and Jesus who is blessed with others’ curses, was hung on the Tree as one accursed. (This is) an important circumstance, so that we may learn how men die and how God dies, willingly and not unwillingly. (13) The thighs of those who were subject to the law of nature were broken, that they should endure death according to that nature. But he who had power to lay down his life was not subject to the law of nature. As he took on body from the Virgin willingly and not unwillingly, likewise on the cross too he willingly and not unwillingly made a separation of his spirit from his body. “Father, into your hands I commend My Spirit.”¹³

Text: Komitas Kat’olikos, “Կոմիտասի հայոց կաթողիկոսի եւ Պիոռոսի արշիապատրիարքի հարցաքննութիւն եւ վիճաբանութիւն վասն հաւատոյ եւ կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ եւ վասն տնարէնութեան բանին Of Komitas, Kat’olikos of the Armenians and arch-patriarch Piros: Questions and controversy about the faith and the orders of the Church and the dispensation of the Word” (reprint from Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters*, introduction and ed. Yakob K’eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 4, 7th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005), 312–26.

11. Cf. John 19:27.

12. Gen 18:3.

13. Luke 23:46.

- 6 312 (5) Կոմիտաս ասէ. Յորժամ ասաց Հայր ցԱղամ, թէ «Ո՞ր ես», այլ ոչ խաւսեցաւ ընդ արարածս մինչև ի մկրտելն Որդոյ ի Յորդանան, ապա ձայն տուեալ բոլոր արարածոցս, թէ «Դայ է Որդի իմ սիրելի, դմա լուարուք»:

Komitas says: when the Father said to Adam: “Where are you?”¹⁴ he spoke no more with creatures until the Son was baptized in Jordan. Then he called all the creatures saying: “This is my Son, the Beloved, listen to him.”¹⁵

MOVSĒS K’ERT’OLAHAYR C6?

Movsēs K’ert’olahayr, Երանելոյն մեծի քերդողահարն Մովսէսի (Խորենացի) եպիսկոպոսի “A Letter of Our Blessed Father of Poets Movsēs,”¹⁶ in Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters*, ed. Norayr Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press 1994), 163–71.

- 1 166 Զի մարմին յանարգ կաւոյ ստեղծանիլ զեկուցին՝ եւ շունչ եւ հոգի անեղին փչումն:

For (certain persons) say that the body is created of impure clay¹⁷ and breath and spirit are the insufflation of the Increate.

Text: Movsēs K’ert’olahayr, *Hymns*, in Շարական հոգեւոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853); cf. Jerusalem edition of 1933.¹⁸

Movsēs’s hymns contain a number of short mentions of Adam traditions like the following:

Կանոն վեցերորդ աւուրն

Canon of the Sixth Day

- 2 52 (67) Յայտնութեամբ քո Տէր ցնծացաւ երկիր. եւ նորոգեալ եղև Աղամ յառաջին յանցանաց, ի մեղաց իւրոց:

14. Gen 3:9.

15. Mark 9:7.

16. On this attribution, see the title of the letter in the *Book of Letters* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), which contains the name Խորենացի in brackets. The old edition of the *Book of Letters* (Tiflis, 1901) mentions this name in the index: Մովսէս (քերթողահայր, Խորենացի) (p. 559). Xorenac’i’s authorship is advocated by Abētyan 1968, 3:653–57.

17. Note that this is կաւ and not հող. This term is used also in two fifth-century texts: Agat’angelos 12, and Eznik 44 and 49.

18. Page numbers from the edition of Jerusalem 1933 are given in parentheses.

By knowledge of you, O Lord, earth rejoiced, and Adam was renewed from the first transgression, from his sins.

Մեծացուցէք Յարութեան Տեառն

Extol (on the occasion of) the Resurrection of the Lord.

- 3 67. (84) Ո՛վ գերահրաշ ծաղիկ բուրեալ յԵդեմայ, հոտ անմահութեան ծննդոցն Եւայի, յորմէ սփռեցաւ մահ ընդ տիեզերս:

A most wondrous flower giving fragrance from Eden¹⁹ fragrance of immortality for the descendants of Eve, from whom death was spread over the universe.

PSEUDO-BASIL C6

Text and Translation: Michel van Esbroeck, “Un court traité pseudo-Basilien de mouvance Aaronite conservé en arménien,” *Le Muséon* 100 (1987): 385–95. The translation here is my own.

This text is taken from Matenadaran M948 of 1196, 36v–37r. Van Esbroeck claims that it reflects sixth-century Armenian views and that its chronological data depend on *Cave of Treasures*.²⁰

- 1 386 զի եթէ զպատուիրանս պահեալ էր գիտութեամբ նախահայրն, ոչ էր զրկեալ յանմահական կենացն եւ մերկացեալ յանմահութենէն: Ի բաց խափանեցաւ եւ առարեա եղև նա ի դրախտին:

For if the forefather had observed this commandment with discernment, he would not have been deprived of immortal life and stripped of immortality. He was expelled and he was for one day in the Garden.

- 2 Արդ եւ զԺամուցն զյանցանս ճառեցուք. եւ ի ստեղծմանէն պատմեցուք: Զի ի գիշերէ առաւաւտ ստեղծաւ Ադամ

եւ յերրորդ ժամուն բանսարկուն աւձին պատրեաց զԵւայ, զկողաստեղծն,

եւ ի Զ-երրորդ ժամուն լուեալ կնոջն ճաշակեաց ի պտղոյն,

եւ յիններորդ ժամուն էլ ի դրախտէն,

եւ ի տասներորդ կացին արտաքոյ դրախտին:

Now let us also explain the transgressions of the (various) hours and let us relate (it) from the creation, for from night, at dawn Adam was created.

19. I.e., the Virgin.

20. No Armenian version of *Cave of Treasures* survives. For a translation of the Syriac, see Budge 1927. See also Ri 1990, 111–22; 2000.

And in the third hour the serpentine Devil deceived Eve, (the one) born of the rib,²¹

And in the sixth hour the woman, having hearkened, ate of the fruit.

And in the ninth hour, he went forth from the Garden.

And in the tenth, they stood outside the Garden.

3 Եւ ի նսեմել երեկոյին:

Եւ յառաջին պահուն զիշերին սկիզբն եղեւ փափագման միւս անգամ խնդրէր զտեղի դրախտին,

Եւ յառաջին ժամու զիշերին ստեղծումն մարդոյն, եւ կապանք փրկչին ի նմին ժամուն ուրբաթուն,

զի որպէս ի Զ ժամուն ուրբաթուն պատրանք աւձաջամբին ի նմին ժամու ուրբաթին խաչելութիւնն Քրիստոսի,

զի որպէս ի Զ ժամուն ուրբաթուն ճաշակումն պտղոյն եւ կորուստ ոգւոցն, ի նմին ժամու խաւարումն լուսաւորացն եւ ճաշակում լեղոյն,

զի որպէս Թ-երորդ ժամուն եւ ի դրախտէն նոյնպէս կամաւոր մահն Քրիստոսի եւ աւանդումն ոգւոյն

Եւ զոչումն ձայնին որ աւարեաց զդժոխս,

Եւ զհոգիսն ազատեաց զմարգարէիցն զբանսարկուն կորոյս անճառ թաղմամբն, եւ աստուածապէս յարուցեալ զամենեսեան ընդ իւր վերաբերելով տալ նոցա զերկնից արքայութիւնն որում փարք յաւիտեանս, ամեն:

And when the evening darkened,

And in the first watch of the night longing began, again he sought the place of the Garden.

And in the first hour of the night was the creation of the man, and the bonds of the Savior on the same hour of the Friday.

For, just as in the sixth hour of the Friday was the deceit of the serpentine nourishment, on the same hour of the Friday was the crucifixion of Christ.

For just as on the sixth hour of the Friday the eating of the fruit and destruction of the souls (took place), on the same hour was the darkening of the luminaries and the consumption of the gall.

For just as on the ninth hour he went forth from the Garden, likewise

21. This is a very early occurrence of this designation, which later became current in the texts.

(was) the voluntary death of Christ and the giving up of (his) soul.

And the calling of the voice which destroyed hell,

And freed the souls of the prophets; destroyed the Devil with the ineffable (or: indescribable) burial, and divinely he raised up all, by taking them up with him to give them the kingdom of heaven, to whom glory for ever, Amen.

SEVENTH CENTURY

ANANIA ŠIRAKAC'Ī C7

Text: Anania Širakac'ī, *Ժամանակագրութիւն (Գիրք Կայսերաց) Chronicle (The Book of Emperors)*, ed. Barsel Sargisean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1906). See also Erevan MS M2679, dated 971.

Anania Širakac'ī, *Անանիա Շիրակացու Մատենագրությունը The Works of Anania Širakac'ī*, ed. A. G. Abrahamyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1944).

Անանիայի հայոց վարդապետի Սակս բացայայտութեան թուոց

Anania *vardapet* of the Armenians, On Explanation of Numbers

- 1 248–49 Եւ այս եւ միտք մարգարէին՝ յՁ ազգին կարծիս ունէր զալ փրկչին եւ եթէ յերկարացին եւս վասն անլրութեան մարդկան, յՁ ազգին յայտնեցի, զորոյ թիւ յայտնէ մեզ Ղուկայ ազգաբանութիւնն՝ զերկրորդ Ադամն սկիզբն դնելով նոր ստեղծուածոյս: Որ ի ջրոյ եւ ի հոգւոյն վերստին ստեղծաք, նոր արարածք ի Քրիստոս եղեալ եւ տարեալ հանէ յԱդամ չԸ նահապետս եւ զհայր եւ զհոգին յարդարեալ կատարէ զթիւ Ձիդ զՔրիստոս հիմն եղեալ ըստ առաքելոյ եւ զհոգին կատարիչ եւ զհայր կատարումն: Եւ եթէ ոչ աւելորդ համարեցիս, ասացից եւ այլ եւս բարձրագոյն խորհուրդ: Ձի առաջինն Ադամ բացամերժեալ յԱստուծոյ իբրեւ ի բարձանց ի վայր հոսեալ. զարեւն ուղիսից գետոյ, ըստ նմանութեան Յորդանանու իջանելով ի ծովն աղի

... And the ideas of the prophet are the following: he considered the Savior to come in the time of the seventieth generation, and if he is delayed more,¹ it is because of the disobedience of men. He will appear in the time of the eightieth generation; the genealogy of Luke reveals this number to us putting the second Adam as the beginning of this new creation. We that were created anew from water and the spirit, became new creatures in Christ; and he traces the descent of seventy-eight patriarchs from Adam. Counting the

1. Plural in text, i.e., by more (generations).

Father and the Spirit, he makes up the number 80. He regards Christ as the foundation according to the Apostle, and the Spirit as the completer and the Father as the completion. And if it does not seem superfluous to you, I shall tell you another, higher secret (mystery) too. For first Adam, being chased outside by God, ran down from a height, like a stream of a river, like the Jordan flowing down into the Dead Sea . . .²

ի գատիկն Տեառն On the Lord's Easter

- 2 293 Քանզի յաւուր արարչութեանն լուսինն չորեքտասանարեայ էր. զի թեպէտ եւ մի ար էր լինելոյ լուսինն, սակայն լիութիւն բոլորութեանն որպէս չորեքտասան ար երեւէր, զի անմարթ էր թերի եւ կիսակատար լինել լուսնի յաւուր լինելութեան իւրոյ. վասն զի ամենայն արարածք լի եւ կատարեալ ստեղծան. որպէս բանջարքն ոչ դեռաբոյսք, այդ հասեալք. եւ ծառքն կատարեալք եւ պտղալիցք. եւ մարդն երեսնամեայ հասակաւ, թեպէտ եւ միոյ աւուր կենդանի: Ըստ նմին արիւնակի եւ լուսին չորեքտասանարեայ լիութեամբ լուսոյն կատարեալ. զնոյն եւ համարեցան վարդապետք երբայեցուցն յաւուր լինելութեանն չորեքտասանարեայ արարեալ զլուսին. զի ի վերայ նորա հաստատեցան ամիսք, եւ ի վերայ նորա եղեն գիտելի, որպէս եւ տարի յարեգականէ. Քանզի ասեն վարդապետք երբայեցուցն, եթէ ի չորրորդ աւուր ստեղծան արեգակն եւ լուսին . . . եւ ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ասեն լեալ զմարդն:

Because on the day of creation the moon was fourteen days old, for though the moon had been existing for one day, its round fullness looked like on the fourteenth day, for the moon could not be imperfect and half-complete on the day of its creation, since all the creatures were made full and perfect; like the vegetables—not newly sprouted, but ripe, and the trees—complete and full of fruits, and the man—thirty years old, though he had been alive for only one day. In the same way the moon was fourteen days old, perfect in full light. The Jewish doctors, too, hold the same opinion, that on the day of creation, the moon was made fourteen days old, for on it the months were established, and on it they became knowable, just like the solar year. Because the doctors of the Jews say that on the fourth day were created the sun and the moon, . . . and on the sixth day, they say, man came into being.

Text: Anania Širakac'i, Տոմարական պատարիկ "A Calendar Fragment," in Մատեան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Դատի քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր, 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest*

2. Eden is on a height; Adam runs down from the height on his expulsion.

Davit' (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981), ed. A. Mat'evosyan (Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran-Nairi Press, 1997) 53 = 3v of the manuscript.

Շիրակացու տոմարական պատառիկը A Calendar Fragment by Širakac'i

- 3 311 Ի սկզբանէ արար Աստուած զերկին եւ զերկիր. եւ արն այն միաշաբաթ էր. եւ այն ար առաջին էր աւելեացն երբայեցոց, արաբացոց, մակեդոնացոց մինչեւ ի չորրորդ արն. ապա յաւորն չորրորդի արար զարեգակ(ն) եւ զլուսին. եւ այն ար Դ էր աւելեացն երբայեցոց, արաբացոց, մակեդոնացոց, զի Գ աւուրքն որ յառաջ քան զարեգակն եղեն լուսատուք տիեզերաց, որ թափանցիկ լոյսն կոչի. եւ Գ ժամքն այն ժողովին ի չորս ամս. եւ լինի աւուր մի որ կոչի նհանջ:

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, that day was Sunday, and that day was the first of the epagomenal days of the Hebrews, Arabs, Macedonians; until the fourth day. Then on the fourth day he created the sun and the moon; that was the fourth day of the epagomenal days of the Hebrews, Arabs, Macedonians. For in the three days that were before the sun, there were the luminaries of the universe, called transparent light; and those three hours are accumulated during four years, forming one day, which is called leap-day.

- 4 311-312 Եւ մարդոյն լինելութեան սկիզբն յաւուր չորեքշաբթոց եղև: . . . Արարեալ խորհուրդ ծածկապէս . . . ապա յաւուրն հինգշաբթոց յայտնեաց Աստուած ցորդի եւ ցիւղի. Եկալք արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան . . . Արդ յաւուր ուրբաթու ստեղծաւ մարդն նիսան ամսոյ ամսամուտ էր: Եւ Ադամայ ար ստեղծման, եւ երբայեցոց տարեմուտ, զի այն հինգ աւուրքն որ յառաջ քան զլինել մարդոյն, այն աւելիք կոչեցան: Արդ ԵԳ ժամու էառ զհողն ի ձեռն աստուած. եւ Զ ժամու ստեղծաւ մարդն եւ առ զկենդանութիւն. եւ յԹերորդ ժամուն յանցեաւ եւ ել ի դրախտէն. եւ յուրբաթացեալ դարն էջ փրկիչն յարգանդ կուսին՝ փրկութիւն առնելով տիեզերաց: Եւ որ Լ ամ լուռ եւ աներեւոյթ էկա[ց] յաշխարհի, վասն զի նախահայրն Ադամ Լ ամ միով . . . [lacuna] մինչ զկենդանութիւն առ . . . Նոյն արինակաւ առաւ հողն յերիբ ժամու եւ ի [վեցերո]րդ ժամու ստեղծաւ մարդն . . . եւ Թերորդ ժամու յանցեաւ Ադամ եւ ել ի դրախտէն

. . . And the beginning of the creation of man was on Wednesday. . . Having made the plan secretly . . . then God made it known to the Son and the Spirit on Thursday: "Come let us make man according to our image, and according to our likeness."³ . . . Now on Friday man was created; it was the New Moon

3. Gen 1:26.

of the month Nisan. And the day of creation of Adam was the Jews' New Year, for the five days before the creation of man were called epagomenal days. So at the third hour God took dust in his hand and at the sixth hour man was created and became animated. And at the ninth hour he committed sin and came out of the Garden. And at the Friday millennium (i.e., the sixth millennium), the Savior came down into the womb of the Virgin, bringing salvation to the world. And he stayed in the world silently and invisibly for thirty years, because the forefather Adam was thirty years (old) . . . [lacuna] before he received life. . . . After the same example the dust was taken at the third hour, and at the sixth hour man was created; . . . and at the ninth hour Adam committed sin and came out of the Garden.⁴

Պատմութիւն Անանիայի Շիրակացւոյ համարողի History by the mathematician Anania Širakac'i⁵

- 5 357 Ադամ նախաստեղծ. սա կեցեալ ամս երկերիւր եւ երեսուն՝ ծնանի զՍէթ . . . Ենովս, որ առաջին յուսացաւ կոչել զԱստուած: Եւ ընդէր արդեւք այս, եւ կամ վասն որոյ պատճառանաց նախն է ասացեալ կոչելոյն զԱստուած, կամ որպէս կոչելն իմանի: Քանզի Ադամ ճշմարտութեամբ աստուածաստեղծն. եւ սա ի բերանոյ Աստուծոյ առեալ ասի պատուէր. այդ եւ յանցուցեալ եւ ի թաքստեան եղեալ, գՈՐԷ եսն յԱստուծոյ՝ եւ ոչ յայդ ումեքէ հարցանի:

The first-created Adam: having lived for two hundred and thirty years begat Seth . . . Enosh, who was the first to hope to call upon God.⁶ And why is it so, or for what reason he is said to be the first to call upon God? Or how is the “call upon” to be understood? For, truly, Adam was created by God; and he is said to have received the commandment from God's mouth; and when he committed sin and hid himself, the “Where are you?”⁷ came from God and it is not asked by anybody else.⁸

4. Arguments to show that the idea of the creation of man was conceived on the fourth day, revealed to the Son on the fifth day; and carried out on the sixth day.

5. The authorship of this writing is doubtful (A.T.).

6. Cf. Gen 4:26.

7. Gen 3:9.

8. Observe in this section that Adam is created by the hand of God. Moreover, Adam received the commandment from God's mouth. This is connected with Enosh, “he hoped to call,” and in Adam's case, God called upon Adam when he hid.

DAWIT' THE INVINCIBLE C7

Text: Davit' the Invincible, Ներբողեան ի Սուրբ Խաչն Աստուածընկալ
 “The Panegyric of the God-Receiving Holy Cross,” in Կորին Վարդապետի,
 Մամբրեի Վերծանողի եւ Դաւիթ Անյաղթի Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings*
by Koriwn vardapet, Mambrē the Lector and Dawit' the Invincible (Venice:
 Mekhitarist Press, 1833), 103–19.⁹

- 1 109–10 Զի գագաթն Գողգոթայ, տեղի կառափելոյ, եւ շիրիմ առաջին
 մարդոյն յերբայեցուցն ասացեալ: Եւ ամենայն անդ է, քանզի բերե
 զգագաթն բարձրութիւն սորա, եւ զկառափետոյն ձեւ սորա. իսկ
 զթաղումն քանզի փայտիւ Ադամայ վիրաւորեցելոյ առ ի նմին իսկ
 այնուհետեւ անկեալ ի մեռելոյ է ի համարի: Յորոյ վերայ հասանելով
 յերկրի երկնայինն Ադամ, գրածաբար զփրկութիւն կամեցեալ
 նորագործել աստ թաղեցելոյ ծառային եւ հօր, զյաւիտենական
 բարձեալ բերե զարդարութիւն. նմանասեր մարմնով լուծանելով
 աստ զնորա զհաճեալ զմեղսն, եւ ճաշակելով իբր նայապէս զմահ
 սպանանելով զնորայն մահ, բարձրացուցանէ զանուանեալն գագաթն
 գերագոյն երկնից:

Եւ զանսուրբ փայտն զպատճառս մեղաց, ի փրկութեան պատճառս
 եւ ի սրբութիւն սրբոց. եւ զկառափետոյն ի կենաց գործետեղ. իսկ
 զթաղումն ի սքանչելի յարութիւն ածեալ փոխարկէ մարդոյն: Եւ
 ամենեւին իսկ պատճառաւ փրկութեանն, զայն որ մեղացն էր
 պատճառ ի բաց բարձեալ ...

For the summit of Golgotha, the place of execution, the Jews say is also the
 tomb of the first man. And all is there, for its (i.e., the cross's) height signifies
 the summit, and its shape—its form, the place of execution and the burial
 because, Adam having been wounded by a tree on the same place thence-
 forth having fallen, is reckoned as one who has died. Reaching here upon
 the earth, the heavenly Adam, wanting mercifully to renew the salvation of
 the servant and father buried here, brought the eternal justice, remitting his
 willful sin through (his own) body of the same origin. And He tasted (or: ate)
 death like him, by killing his (Adam's) death, and elevated the mentioned
 summit higher than heaven.

And the impure tree, the cause of sin, he transformed for man into the cause
 of salvation and into the holy of holies; and the place of execution—into
 the place of vivification; and the burial—he transformed into the wonderful

9. The attribution of this work to a sixth-century David seems dubious (MES).

resurrection of man. And by means of the cause of salvation He abolished totally him who was the cause of sin . . .

DAWIT' HARK'AC'I C7

Text: Dawit' Hark'ac'i, Որ յիմաստասիրական եւ յիմաստասիրելի հարցուածս *Philosophical and Philosophisable Questions*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean (Vałaršapat: Holy Ėjmiacin Press, 1903) = *Ararat* (September–October 1902): 937–62.

13–17 (ԻԸ.)

1 Շ. Իսկ որպիսի տեսակն, որ եւ պատրել կարաւագոյն:

Պ. Տնկոց ձեւացաւ բարին, որպէս զի ստուգապէս առ ձեռն հայեցուցէ. (յ)երկին, այսպէս եւ չարն տեսակ առեալ ի խորհուրդս կերպանայ, ինքնաձին եղեալ ի նոյն վայրի, եւ ի բարւոջն բուսեալ եւ ընդ նմա աճեալ ընդդէմ հանդիսանայ. եւ սոքա երկոքին աճեցեալ ի ստեղն, ի յոստս, ի ճիւղս եւ ի / ծայրս, երկաքանչիւր ըստ իւր պտուղ բերեալ: Եւ է բարին ճաշակաւ յոյժ քաղցր, զի պտուղ նորա առ անմահութիւն հայի, իսկ տեսակաւ անպաճոյճ, ինքնագոյ պարզ. վասն այսորիկ եւ ոչ վաղ զիդձն բաղձացուցանաւ զտեսաւագն, մինչ չեւ ի բաց բարձեալ նորա դիմակ եւ զփորձ առեալ ճաշակմանն. առ որ հայեցեալ ընչաւէտն այն այր (Ադամ) ի բաց դարձաւ հրաժարեալ եւ ոչ կամեցաւ ճաշակել, թէպէտ եւ Տէրն յորդորեաց առ բարին մերձենալ, սակայն տրտմեալ այրն այն ի բաց գնաց առ պատիր անդր դարձեալ. վասն որոյ ի Տեառնէն իսկ խոստովանեալ, զի նեղ եւ սակաւագնաց շաւիղն որ ի յաւէժն տանի ի կեանս: Իսկ չարն ի ներքոյ դառն ապաժոյժ դեղւոյ, իսկ ի վերոյ բարեկերպ գունեալ, իբր քաղցր աւծմամբ, զի հրապուրանաւք խտրտեալ զքիմսն պարարիցէ, բարձիւ եւ բարեաւ զտեսաւոյն (տո)փացուցանէ, բայց ծայրայեղն յատակս հայի դժոխոց, քանզի զսորայն / ասացի պտուղ մահ է եւ ամենայն անփորձաբար անդր սողոսկեալ հոսեցաւ, ըստ որում եւ աւաղականն այն ի վերայ կայ տէրունեանն բան, զի Լայն առ կորուստ ուղին եւ բազումք անկեալ երթան:

Question: And of what qualities is the sort that is most able to deceive?

Answer: Good was generated among the plants, in order that one could truly observe heaven from a short distance. In the same way evil, springing up in thought, then takes shape. Being self-born in the same place, having sprouted and grown up with it, (evil) opposes it. And each of these two, growing in trunks, stems, branches and summit, each of the two bears fruit in its own

likeness. And good tastes very sweet, for its fruit looks toward immortality, and it is an unadorned sort, naturally simple. For that reason it does not excite the desires of those who look at it, before they unmask and taste it. Now looking at it, that fortunate man (Adam) turned away, refused, and did not want to taste it; though the Lord exhorted him to approach the good, the displeased man went away turning to the illusory thing. That is why even the Lord confessed that “narrow is the way (and used by but few travelers) that leads unto eternal life.”¹⁰ And evil has bitter unbearable gall inside, whereas on the outside it is beautifully colored as if with sweet unction, to delight the palate, tickling with attraction, to provoke, with splendor and beauty, the passion of those who look at it.¹¹ But it looks onto the extreme depth of Hell, for, as I said, its fruit is death; and all those inexperienced who crept there, rushed down. About this is the Lord’s sorrowful word: “Broad is the way, (that leadeth) to destruction, and many are they that fall down (thereby).”¹²

P‘ILON TIRAKAC‘I C7

P‘ilon Tirakac‘i, Ժամանակագրություն *Chronicle*, ed. Alek’san Hako-bean, in *MH*, vol. 5, 7th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005), 903–69.

- 1 905 (38) Եւ առնին յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի ջրհեղեղն ազգք Ժ, ամբ ՍՄԽԲ:
(38) From Adam until the flood it makes ten generations, 2242 years.
- 2 920 (263) Եւ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի գերութիւնն Բաբելացւոց, որ եղև յաւուրս Յեքոնիայ, ազգք՝ ԾԱ, ամբ՝ ՏՊԽԲ, ամիսք՝ Թ:
(263) From Adam until the Babylonian captivity which was in the days of Jechonias, 51 generations, 4842 years, and nine months.
- 3 925 (93) Եւ ի Սողոմոնէ եւ ի շինուածոյ տաճարին մինչեւ ի Կիրոս՝ ամբ ՆՂԵ: (94) Եւ յԷլիցն յԵզիպտոսէ, որ ի ձեռն Սոլսիսի, մինչեւ ցշինուած տաճարին՝ ամբ ՆԽԵ, եւ ի ջրհեղեղէն մինչեւ ցելսն Իսրայէլի՝ ամբ ՌՆԽԵ: (95) Եւ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ցջրհեղեղն՝ ամբ ՍՄԽԲ: (96) Միանգամայն յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի չարչարանսն Քրիստոսի՝ ամբ ԲՇԽ. եւ ի ԵԺ-երորդ ամէն Տիբերի կայսեր՝ մինչեւ ի հալածումն եկեղեցեաց, որ եղև յԹ ու Ժ-երորդ ամի Դիոկղետիանոսի, ամբ ՍՀԶ: (97) Ժողովին ամենայն աւուրքն եւ լինին ամբ ԲՊԺ:

10. See Matt 7:14.

11. Note the language of sweet and bitter, which often has an eschatological meaning.

12. Cf. Matt 7:13. This metaphor is a clear use of the Genesis tradition and implies an exegesis of Gen 3:6.

(93) And from Solomon and from the building of the temple until Cyrus, 495 years. From the exodus from Egypt which was through Moses until the building of the temple, 447 years, from the flood until the exit of Israel, 1445 years. (95) And from Adam until the flood, 2242 years. (96) Altogether from Adam until the passion of Christ, 5540 years, and from the 15th year of Emperor Tiberius until the persecution of churches which took place in the 19th year of Diocletian, 276 years. (97) All the days are summed up and make 5810 years.

- 4 936. (10) Լինին յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի ծնունդն Քրիստոսի ամբ ԲՄԿԴ:
(10) From Adam until the birth of Christ are 5264 years.

SAHAK JORAP'OREC'I C7

Text: Շարական հոգևոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853); cf. Jerusalem edition of 1933.

Կանոն երկրորդ ատուրն Canon of the Second Day

- 1 549–50 Ի ստունգանէլն Ադամայ ի կենագործ ի դրախտին խաբմամբ պատրանօք փայտին ծառոյն գիտութեան, օձաջամբ պատրանօքն ճաշակեալ ի պտղոյն, եւ եղև վայրաբնակիլ մայրաքաղաքն Երուսաղէմ: Արեւելք ի դրախտին ընծայեցին զփայտ խաչին . . .

When Adam disobeyed in the life-giving Garden due to the deception of the wood of the tree of knowledge, tasting the fruit by the seduction of the serpent, the metropolis Jerusalem became deserted. The sunrise brought forth the wood of the cross as a present in the Garden.¹³

Կանոն վեցերորդ ատուրն Canon of the Sixth Day

- 2 564 Այսօր զենար գառն Աստուծոյ վասն յանցանաց նախաստեղծին ի վերայ խաչին պատարագեալ հեղեր զարինդ ի փրկութիւն . . . Այսօր ընդ գիտութեան փայտին մահու որով նախահայրն մահացաւ, զփրկականոց քո նշան փոխանակեալ կենաց փայտ մեզ շնորհեցեր . . . Այսօր զճանապարհ ծառոյն կենաց, զոր եւ քրովբէից պարունակեալ պահէին զգուշութեամբ, սովաւ զբոցեղէն սուրն բարձեալ բացեր որդւոց Ադամայ . . .

13. The Garden here is called մայրաքաղաքն ("the capital Jerusalem"), showing how paradise and Jerusalem fall together.

Today you are sacrificed, Lamb of God, on account of the sin of the proto-plast, immolated on the Cross you shed your blood for salvation. Today you changed the mortal tree of knowledge because of which the forefather died, into your redemptive Cross, granting to us the tree of life. Today, removing the flaming sword, you opened for Adam's sons the way of the tree of life that was carefully guarded (kept closed) by the Cherubim.

- 3 565 . . . Որ փոխանակ պտղոյ մահաբեր ծառոյն, կենաց պտուղն որ ի վերայ քառաթեւին կերակրեաց զազգս որդւոց մարդկան . . . Որ զգիր պարտեաց կողածնին լուաց հրահոս վտակօքն ի տիգախոց կողէն բղխեալ գոր արբոյց տիեզերաց:

He who, instead of the fruit of the mortal tree, fed the race of the sons of men with the fruit of the tree of life which is upon the four-armed (i.e., cross). . . . He who abolished the bond of obligation of her born of a rib, washed by means of fiery flowing streams springing from the lance-struck side, which he gave the universe to drink.

T'ĒODOROS K'RT'ENAWOR C7

Text: T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor, Ճառք երեք *Three Homilies*, in Yovhan Ōjnec'i, Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1953), 171–210.

- 1 172 Զի՞նչ արդէօք այսպիսիքս կարծիցեն զհրեանց ծայրակոտոր իմաստսն, աղէ ասացեն մեզ մուրագիտ աղանդաբերքն: Մարմնական կիրառութեամբքն փրկանակն Բան վարակեալ հերքեաց զթշնամին մարդկան, թէ մերկ աստուածաբուն զօրութեամբն. եւ թէ իւրական յատուկ բնութեամբն՝ զի՞նչ պէտք մարդոյն զգեցման. որոյ կամակարօղ հրամանին ոչ որ դիմակացիլ զօրեր: Վասնզի ոչ զեական իւր բնութիւնն ի փորձ հանդիսի տուեալ, այլ զհիւրական մարմինն յաղթող ախտի եւ ապականութեան եւ մահու ցուցեալ. եւ մարմնական կիրառութեամբն պատրեալ զթշնամին՝ ի գործ պատերազմի կոչէր. զի իբրեւ առ Ադամն մատուցեալ ի փորձ որպէս յԱստուծոյ կործանեսցի պարտեալ: Քանզի աստուածական անուամբն պատրեալ զնախկին մարդն բարիատեացն թշնամին, սակս այսորիկ մարմնոյն զգեցմամբ եւ յանձնաւող զմարմնական կիրսն փրկանակն Բան իրագործելով, խաբեալ զթշնամին պարտեալ ամաչեցոյց. եւ փրկեաց մարմնականօքն զմարմնականսս

What will such (people) consider to be their mutilated ideas, let the sectarians, cadging knowledge, tell us. The redemptive Word affected by bodily passion repulsed the enemy of men both by mere divine power and by his

particular nature. Why would he need to clothe himself in human (flesh), he whose mighty command nobody could oppose? Because he would not test his increate nature publicly, but he exposed his body as conqueror of disease, corruption, and death and, deceiving the enemy with bodily passion, called him to fight, in order that when approaching Adam for tempting, he be defeated as if by God. Since the enemy, hating good, had deceived the first man by means of the divine name, for that reason the redemptive Word, clothing himself in flesh and accepting bodily passion, deceived the enemy, defeated him and put him to shame, and saved the bodily (i.e., world) with bodily (i.e., passion).

- 2 173 Արդ ի վեր կառու զաչս մտաց սրտիդ առ նախաստեղծ մարդն. եւ որ ինչ յաղագս պատուիրազանցութեանն պատուհասակրեցաւ իմաց զիրաքանչիւրսն: Եւ նախիմաց լեր զտէրունական օրինադրութիւնսն. Յամենայնսն վայելեցես ի յոքնաբուսական տնօգնն. բայց առ այդ մի հպեցիս փայտ իմացական բարոյ ի չարոյ: Աստանօր ծանիր զերկիւղն սկիզբն ամենայն բարոյ եւ չարոյ, եւ որ ինչ ի մարդումն առքնացեալն էին կիրք՝ եւ գնոյնս եւ բարեստեղծողն Աստուած պատուիրանադրեաց:

So raise your spiritual eyes to the first-created man and learn every punishment that he suffered for his transgression. And be provident with regard to the Lord's legislation. Enjoy all the diversity of trees but do not touch the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Now conceive fear, the beginning of all good and evil, and the passions inherent in man. The same was commanded by God who created everything good.

Նորին Երանելոյն Թեոդորոսի ճգնաւոր Միայնակեցի եւ վարդապետի Ներբողեան ի Սուրբ Խաչն Աստուածընկալ եւ ի Տօրէնութիւն Տեառն Մերոյ եւ Փրկչին Յիսուսի Քիստոսի:
Of the same Blessed T'ēodoros, ascetic solitary and *vardapet*,
Elegy on the Holy Lord-receiving Cross and on the Lordship of
Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ

- 3 178 Ապա եթէ ի գոյեղութեանն առլցեալ ունին զերկիւղն ամենից բացայայտ է՝ թէ անախտք են: Ուստի ամենայն անկարութեանն սկիզբն արտայայտեցաւ աներկիւղութիւն, որում նախկին բանսարկուին պիտառոցէ անկումն, եւ երկրորդ նախծին մարդոյն:

If they are full of fear with regard to creation, it is quite evident that they are innocent. That is why fearlessness appeared to be the beginning of every weakness, which is witnessed by the fall first of the Devil and second of the firstborn man.

- 4 195 Ո՛վ քառատեսակ սուրբ նշան, կենդանի փայտ եւ ձայն բանաւոր, սրեալ արեամբ որդւոյն Աստուծոյ. վասն զի քեւ ծանեաք զճշմարիտ արքայն Սողոմոն հանդերձ վաթսուն զօրօք պահպանութեամբ էիցն՝ ըստ թոյոյ հինգ զգալութեանցս, որով պիտակացեալ արտաքսեցուք տարապականութեամբ գործովք փայտին իմացութեան բարոյ եւ չարի: Քեւ լուծեալ բարձաւ քրտնաբեր անիծադրութիւնն Ադամայ, որ ի ձեռն հինգ շարադրեալ ազդեցութեան, եւ մուտ հարուածոցն մախանօք: Քեւ խայտառակեցաւ օձ աւագակն, եւ բացաւ դրախտ՝ մարդ աւագակին: Քեւ բացաւ սրովբեափակ աղիւնեալ դուռն դրախտին կենաց:

O holy cross, with four aspects, living wood and rational mind, aroused by the blood of the Son of God; for thanks to you we knew the true king Solomon together with the sixty armies,¹⁴ guarded by the existences according to the number of these five senses by which, having degenerated, we are alienated by useless acts from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Through you the sweat-bearing curse of Adam was removed, which was composed by the means of five admonitions, and the entry of blows through envy. Thanks to you the brigand serpent was put to shame and paradise was opened to the brigand man. Thanks to you the locked door of the paradise of life guarded by the Seraphim was opened.

VRT'ANĒS K'ERT'OL C7

Text: Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol, Յաղագս պատկերամարտից “Concerning the Iconoclasts,” ed. E. Durean (Turian), *Sion* n.s. 1 (1927): 23–25, 61–63; reprinted in Elišē Durean (Turian), Վրթանէս Քերթողի Յաղագս Պատկերամարտից “Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol, ‘Against the Iconoclasts,’” in Ուսումնասիրութիւնք եւ Քննադատութիւնք *Studies and Researches* (Collected Writings of Patriarch Elišē Turian [Durean] 6; Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1935), 299–308. Critical text in *MH*, vol. 3, 6th century, introduction by Yakob K'eosēyan (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003), 493–500.

- 1 62 Եւ մեղք իսկ առաջին ի ստութենէ ծնան, որպէս առ Ադաման:

... And in fact the first sin was born of falsehood, as in the days of Adam
...¹⁵

14. The reference to King Solomon is unclear.

15. It is a standard point that deceit was the cause of Adam's sin. Still, contrast Wisdom of Solomon and other sources, where there is more emphasis on envy.

YOVHAN MAMIKONEAN C7

Text: Յովհաննու Մամիկոնենի Եպիսկոպոսի Պատմութիւն Տարօնյ
The History of Tarōn by Yovhannēs Mamikonean (2nd printing; Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1889).

Yovhan Mamikonean, Պատմութիւն Տարօնյ *History of Tarōn*, ed. A. G. Abrahamyan (Erevan: Matenadaran, 1941).

Translation: *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean, The History of Tarōn (Patmut' iwn Tarōnoy), Historical Investigation, Critical Translation, and Historical and Textual Commentaries* by Levon Avdoyan (Suren D. Fesjian Academic Publications 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993). The translation is my own.

- 1 17 Այլ դու, Տէր, գթացար 'ի ստեղծուածս քո աստուածային ձեռացդ. առաքեցեր զմիածին Որդիդ քո 'ի փրկութիւն աշխարհի, որ եկն եւ եղև մարդ ի կնոջէ 'ի մեր նմանութիւնս, եւ էառ զմեր պատժապարտութիւնս. դատապարտեաց զմեզս մարմնով իւրով, ելոյծ զանէծս նախաստեղծին Ադամայ:

But you, Lord, had mercy on the creations of your divine hands. You sent your only-begotten Son for the salvation of the land (world). He came and became a man from a woman in our likeness. And he took our liability to punishment. He condemned sins by his body; he undid the curses of the protoplast Adam.¹⁶

16. Letter from L. Avdoyan 1/11/99: "This is one of the most corrupted of the passages in PsY, and I believe it is because it entered the Yaysmaurk' and was subject to extensive meddling. The two main variants are the 1941 edition which reads: եւ ոչ կրելով իւր զմեզս՝ դատապարտեաց ի մարմնի իւրում ելոյծ զանէծս ի վերայ խաչին: The other variant, which I used heavily (but I judged the ի վերայ խաչին is close also to the original) is from the Venetian edition of 1889, followed by several mss., including one I consider of prime importance (Abrahamyan's L): . . . եւ էառ զմեր պարժապարտութիւնս. դատապարտեաց զմեզս մարմնով իւրով, ելոյծ զանէծս նախաստեղծին Ադամայ:"

EIGHTH CENTURY

GRIGORIS ARŠARUNI C8

Text: Grigoris Aršaruni, Մեկնութիւն Ընթերցուածոց *Commentary on the Lectionary*, ed. K'. Č'ak'ean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1964), 86–87.

- 1 Թէ որպէս յաղագս մարդոյն երկիր եւ ծով իւրովք զարդուն եւ ծննդովք, ի ձեռն հաստատութեան երկնին լուսաւորոքն հանդերձ բաժանեալ յառաջին երկնէն, երկրորդ աշխարհ գոյացաւ ի փառս եւ ի գովութիւն արարչին:

On how for the sake of man, the earth and the sea with their ornaments and creatures were divided by the firmament, together with the luminaries from the first heaven, and the second world came into being for the glory and praise of the Creator.

- 2 Եւ արդ ունի խորհուրդ ընթերցուածոցն յայտնել նախ զայս միտս, որքան իմ տկարութիւնս հասու եղեւ, զանճառ Աստուծոյ իմաստութեանն գործ. հրաշալի նախախնամութեան յօրինուածովք առ մարդն. որպէս զի յաղագս նորա լինել նիւթական արարածոցս ի պատիւ ինքեան եւ ի գովութիւն արարչին. որ է լինելութիւն երկնի եւ երկրի, ծովու եւ որ ի նոսա, սքանչելի գործք արուեստաւոր բանին, որպէս եղելութիւն լուսոյն կարգառութեամբ տըւընջեան եւ գիշերոյ ի բաւանդակութիւն աւուրն:

Now the purpose of the lections first is to express the following idea, as far as my weakness comprehended the work of the ineffable wisdom of God, with the creations of wonderful providence to man, so that the material creatures existed for him, for his honor and for the glory of the Creator; that is the creation of the heaven and the earth, the sea and their inhabitants—the wonderful deeds of the ingenious Word, and also the creation of the light with the succession of day and night for the completion of day.¹

- 3 Նոյնպէս եւ հաստատութիւն երկնին խորանաձեւ շրջաբերեալ զոյգ ծովու եւ ցամաքի, որպէս պայծառութիւն արեգական, լուսնոյ եւ աստեղաց, մերկեաց զերկինս վերին եւ զլոյծ բնութիւնն ջուրց ի

1. Creation is for the sake of man, for the honor of man and the glory of the Creator.

միմեանց, եւ ծովս եւ գնացս գետոց աղբերօք հանդերձ, երկրորդ աշխարհ / նիւթական բացայայտեաց, ցուցանելով զծաղկածին ցամաքն, որ հրամայեցաւ բուսովք եւ պտղաբեր տընկովք եւ անտառախիտ մայրեօք լնուլ լերանց, դաշտաց, ձորոց եւ կղզեաց ծովու: Յուցանելով ինքնագարդ գեղեցկութիւն, ընդ նմին եւ ջրածին դուղակացն, սողնոց անբանից, գազանաց մեծամեծաց եւ փոքունց, եւ ահագին վիշապաց ի ջուրցն հրամայեցաւ լնուլ զջուրս ամենայն: Ուստի եւ թռչնոց տարմբ ելեալ, լցին զծովացեալ օդս ի վերայ երկրի, որ կոչի շաղկապ դրացի հաստատութեան երկնի. նովին հրամանաւ եւ երկրի հանեալ շունչ կենդանի, գազան եւ անասուն եւ սողուն երկրի, որով կրկնապատիկ զարդարեցան երեսք երկրի առ ի ցուցանել զառատ արարչին ամենահնար մեծութիւնն, ի բոյսս եւ ի զգայական կենդանիսս:

Also the vaulted firmament of the heaven surrounding both the sea and dry land, as the shining of sun, moon, and the stars, separated the upper heaven and the fluid nature of waters from each other, both the seas and the streams of rivers together with the springs. Second, he revealed the material world showing the flower-bearing dry land. The order was given for the mountains, fields, valleys, and islands of the sea to be filled with plants and fruit-bearing trees and leafy forest. Showing the natural beauty, with it also of aquatic animals, irrational creeping things,² large and small beasts, and fearsome sea-monsters in the waters, He ordered them to fill all the waters. Whence came forth flocks of birds and filled the sealike air above the earth, which is called the neighboring junction of the firmament of heaven.³

By the same command the earth brought forth living creatures, beasts, and cattle and creeping things of the earth, with the surface of the earth was adorned twofold, to manifest the most skillful power of the generous Creator with plants and with perceptible living things.⁴

- 4 89 Ե. Թէ մարդոյն լինելութեամբ հաւասարեաց զգգալի աշխարհս ընդ իմանալիսն: Եւ զայս խորհեցեալ բարերարին յառաջագոյն, առնել զմարդն ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ մտաւոր եւ բանաւոր, իբրեւ զիմանալիսն իմանալի լոյս բնակեալ մերձ յանմերձենալի լոյսն: Եւ արու եւ եգ ըստ զգայականացն, որոց եւ զլուին հանդիպեցաւ իբրեւ հաղորդ նոցուն առաջնորդութեամբ. եւ աճէ զնա ի դրախտ իբրեւ թագաւոր յարքունիս, հանդերձ թագուհեաւ, զի եղիցի որպէս փեսայ առ հարսին ուրախացեալ ի ներքուստ. եւ իբրեւ զթագաւոր սպասաւորեալ յորոց իշխիցենն արտաքուստ: Եւ այսպէս

2. Cf. Gen 1:24.

3. Note that the birds are related to the sea. This occurs in many Armenian accounts of creation.

4. Observe the idea, also mentioned in the text above, of the creation of two worlds.

աճեցուցեալ արարչական բանին ի նիւթականացն բուսականս եւ զգայականս յաւելլուածութեան կարգաւ, մինչեւ ի մարդն բանաւոր որ ըստ պատկերի արարչին ելից զտունս զայս եւ հաւասար առաջնոց եւ իմանալի տանն յօրինեաց, ի միոյ արարչի մի փառաւորութիւն բաւանդակելով:

5. That by creating man He equalized this perceptible world with the intelligible. And first thinking this over, the Benefactor created man in his image, intellectual and rational, like the intelligent (beings) dwelling in the intelligible light near unapproachable light. And He created male and female, like sensible beings of whom He happened to be the head, as if participating in them with priority. And He brought him into paradise, like a king into the court, together with the queen, so that he could rejoice inside, like a bridegroom with his bride, and be served like a king, by those whom they rule outside. And thus from the material things, the Creative Word gradually grew vegetal things and sensible beings by the order of multiplicity up to the rational man who (was) in the image of the Creator, He filled this house and He made him equal to the first things, He created the intelligible one for the house, one praise containing one glory for one Creator.⁵

- 5 107 Եւ ապա ընթեռնուն զպատմութիւն ամենաբարի արարչութեանն գործոց եւ կրից մարդոյն. յորում եւ նկարագրութիւնք խնամոցն Աստուծոյ առ կինն, ազդեալ մարգարէութեամբ ի ձեռն Ադամայ, կոչել զանուն կնոջ իւրոյ կեանս. գիտելով թէ որպէս մահ ի կնոջէ է, նոյնպէս եւ կեանք:

And then they read the story about the all-good acts of creation and man's vicissitudes, among which (are) also the description of God's solicitude concerning woman, the announcement by prophecy through Adam, that his wife is to be called "life,"⁶ for he knew that as death is caused by woman, likewise life is.

- 6 109 Այսպէս սկսեալ ի ծննդենէն Քրիստոսի, որ յաղագս Եւայի, անցանելով ընդ ամենայն խնամս փրկութեանն, որ վասն Ադամայ կատարեն յօրիներգութիւն Աստուծոյ ցնծալից ուրախութեամբ ամենայն արարածովք, որք ընդ նոսա վերստին նորոգեցան, երկնիւ, երկրաւ, ծովու, եւ ամենայն որ ի նոսա սքանչելի գործք բանաւորաց, զգայականաց եւ անշնչից:

Thus starting with the birth of Christ, which (took place) on account of Eve, passing to all the care about salvation, which (took place) on account

5. Man shares intelligence with like higher beings; humans are also male and female like sensible beings. Man is brought to paradise like a king, served by his subjects; and was created as the peak of a process of creation by the Creative Word.

6. Cf. Gen 3:20.

of Adam, they confer their song of blessing on God with cheerful joy, with all the creatures that were again renewed with them: the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all the wonderful creatures⁷ in them—rational, perceptive, and inanimate.⁸

- 7 113 Որպէս ոմանց վեցօրեա ստեղծուլ ասել զմարդն, եւ քառասնօրեա՝
ի դրախտն զմուտն, եւ նովին չափովն զելն, որ չէ յայտ

. . . As some say, man was created on the sixth day, and entered the Garden of Eden on the fortieth day, and came out after an equal period, which is not obvious . . .⁹

- 8 115–16 Նոյնպէս երկուքն յորս ընթերցուածքն. յուրբաթուն՝ վասն
նախահօրն, զի որպէս ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ ի սկզբանն,
եւ ի նմին աւուր ել փայտին յանցանօք, նոյնպէս եւ ի վեց հազարիս
փրկեցաւ յուրբաթուն, խաչին փրկութեամբ եւ ի նմին աւուր աւագակն
ի դրախտն եմուտ. իսկ չորեքշաբաթուն վասն Եւայի: Եւ թէպէտեւ
գաղտնեացն բան պատշաճագոյն էր մեզ որ ի չորեքշաբաթուն
զլինելն ասէ զԵւայի, եւ յուրբաթուն զմուտն ի դրախտն, փիլիսոփային
վկայութեամբ, բայց զի ի բնագրին ոչ գտանի, մեզ անընդունելի է:

. . . Եւ զոր օրինակ զգալի լոյսն ի չորրորդ աւուրն ժողովեցաւ ի նիւթն,
նոյնպէս եւ իմանալի լոյսն ի Հօրէ ի չորեքշաբաթուն աւետարանեցաւ
/ Կուսին . . . որպէս ի չորրորդի կենդանեաց լինել, եւ ստեղծուած
կնոջն, որով կեանքն յայտնեցան . . .

Որպէս եւ ի հինգերորդ աւուրն ջուրցն հանել զեռուն շնչոց
կենդանեաց, որ օրինակէ զմկրտութեամբ ծնունդն որդւոց մարդկան:

Likewise there are two lections on Friday concerning the Forefather, how in the beginning he was created on the sixth day and on the same day came out¹⁰ because of his sin with the tree; similarly, he was saved on Friday in the sixth thousandth year, finding salvation through the cross, and on the same day the brigand entered paradise; and (there is a lection) on Wednesday concerning Eve. And though we have a most suitable word about the mystery, saying that Eve was created on Wednesday and entered paradise on Friday,

7. Literally: deeds.

8. Note the symmetry, Christ has to be born because of Eve; salvation has to take place because of Adam. The Virgin is not yet here related directly to Eve, as Christ is often to Adam.

9. Already above, the idea occurs that man is created on the sixth day. It is common and is based on the Bible. According to Eliše's *Commentary on Genesis* 14 (Xačik'yan 1992, 243), some say Adam was in the Garden for forty days "because of male impurity." That Adam entered the Garden on the fortieth day is to be found in *Jub.* 3:9–10 and the *Life of Adam* cited by George Syncellus: see Stone 1992, 87; Adler and Tuffin 2002, 6 n. 4; 7.

10. I.e., of Eden.

according to the philosophical witness, it is unacceptable to us, since it is not found in the text.

. . . And just as the perceptible light was gathered into substance on the fourth day, likewise the intelligible light (emanating) from the Father was announced to the Virgin on Wednesday. . . . As living creatures appeared on the fourth (day), and woman was created, by whom life came into existence.

. . . As on the fifth day the waters brought forth swarm of living creatures,¹¹ after the same example is the birth of sons of men through baptism.

- 9 120 . . . յՈւրբաթուն յիշատակի առաջին մարդոյն անհնազանդութիւն պատուիրանին:

. . . It is mentioned that the disobedience of the first man to the commandment was on Friday.

- 10 122 . . . Եւ զկատարելագործութիւն ամենայն ընթերցուածոցն խորհրդոց պահենք յերեկոյ ճրագալուցին շաբաթու, զի անդ առնուն զկատարումն այլ շաբաթուցն խոստումնք մարգարէիցն. զոր յաղագս կնոջն առաջին եւ նախահօրն փրկութեան պատմեցին:

. . . And we observe the performing of all the mysteries of the lections on the eve of this Easter Saturday, so that there they might make a fulfillment of the promises of the prophets about the other Sabbaths: those which told about the salvation of the first woman and the forefather.

- 11 131 Իսկ երկրորդ ուրբաթուն, եւ պահեսցեն զպատուիրանս, զոր ի դրախտին Ադամ ոչ պահեաց, եւ զիրաւունս, ասէ՛ որ յօձէն խաբեալ հանդիպեցաւ ապաշխարութեանն, եւ զդատաստանս, ասէ՛ որ ըստ իւրաքանչիւր յանցանաց զարժանն առին խաբողն եւ խաբեալքն:

. . . Եւ օրհնեսցէ ասէ զծնունդս որովայնի քո, որ Եւային տրտմութեամբ ծնցիս որդիս, ասաց, եւ զպտուղ երկրի քո, որ Ադամաւն անիծաւ . . .

And on the second Friday they will observe the commandments which Adam did not observe in the Garden, and the statutes. It says, “he who was deceived by the serpent encountered repentance”; and of the judgments it says, “for the deceiver and the deceived obtained their deserts, each according to his sin.”¹²

“. . . And he will bless,” it says, “the fruit of your womb”;¹³ you, that shall

11. Cf. Gen 1:20.

12. The source of this quotation is unclear.

13. Cf. Luke 1:42.

bring forth children in pain because of Eve,¹⁴ and the fruit of your ground that was cursed because of Adam.

- 12 132 Եւ զի յուրբաթուն վիրաւորեցաւ Ադամ փայտին եւ ել ի դրախտէն, եւ յուրբաթուն փրկիչն իւրովք վիրօքն բժշկեաց ի խաչին . . .

For on Friday Adam was wounded by the tree and came out of paradise,¹⁵ and on Friday the Savior on the cross cured (i.e., Adam's wounds) with his wounds.

- 13 135 . . . Զի բանք անօրինաց զօրացան ի վերայ մեր, որ ի սատանայէ, ի դրախտին՝ օձին խաբէութեամբ եւ զամպարշտութիւնս մեր դուքսեցես, մարմնանալովդ:

For the words of the impious overpowered us, which (come) from Satan; you will expiate through your incarnation our impieties (which were caused) by the deception of the serpent in paradise.

- 14 162 Բազմօրեայք լինիջիք յանմահութեան, որ ի դրախտին սակաւօրեայք . . .

. . . Be immortal for many days, you that lived but few days in the Garden (of Eden).

- 15 167 . . . Զոր օրինակ առաջին մարդն ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ, եւ պատուհասեցաւ մեղօքն, երկարելով նմա կեանս ցաւալիցս, մինչ ի վեց հազարեան ամն լնով զօր երկոտասանաժամեան հինգ հարիւրեակ ամացն ժամուքս, առ ի կատարել բանին Տեառն թէ, յորում աւուր ուտիցէք ի ծառոյն՝ մահու մեռանիցիք:

Likewise the first man was created on the sixth day and was punished because of sin by his sorrowful life being lengthened until the fulfillment of the sixth millennium, the day (being) of twelve hours of five hundred years, in order to carry out the Lord's word that: "On the day that you eat of the tree, you shall die."¹⁶

- 16 169–70 Նոյնպէս եւ յուրբաթուն հրա/մայի դստերն Բաբելովնի ընկենուլ զքող զարդուն, որ զառաջին կնոջն հոլանեաց զպատկառանս եւ քարշել զալիսն՝ որ զպսակ պարծանաց նախահօրն յերկիր խոնարհեցոյց. եւ բանալ զարունս զի յայտնեցի ամօթ նորա, որ ամաչեցոյց մերկութեամբն զԱդամ եւ զկինն, ի կարել զտերեւ թզենոյն որով ծածկել կարծէին զամօթ իւրեանց . . .

14. Cf. Gen 3:16.

15. This word is translated indifferently "paradise" or "the Garden."

16. See Gen 2:17.

On Friday also the daughter of Babylon is commanded¹⁷ to remove the veil of her beauty, that bared the shyness of the first woman, and strip off the train that brought down to the ground the forefather's crown of glory, and to uncover the leg so that they made their shame visible that disconcerted Adam and the woman because of nakedness, so that they sewed fig leaves (together), with which they thought to cover their shame . . .

- 17 171 Եւ որպէս ի դրախտին անաշխատ կերակրէր զմարմինն՝ պտղովն, եւ զհոգիսն՝ պատուիրանան, նոյնպէս եւ յանապատին մանանային եւ օրինօքն . . .

And as in the Garden of Eden. (He) fed the body with fruit without labor, and the souls—with the commandment, likewise in the desert—with the manna and the law . . .¹⁸

- 18 183 Այսպէս եւ աստ յամենայն աւուր եւս վերագոյն սկսեալ, գնոյն ինքն զսկզբնաչար գորախտին օձն, իբրեւ զաւագակապետ ժանտատեցիլ եւ ահարկու դիմօք կալեալ եւ ձադաճանակ արարեալ անլուծանելի կապանօք, ամենեցուն անդր ժողովելով անցուցանեն ընդ հինգօրեայ ապարանս պահոցն, յարքունիս ուրբաթուն ուր թագաւորն փառաց պսակեալ ի խաչին. յանդիման առնելով զօձ աւագակն մարդ աւագակին. հանելով զնա ի հայիդութենէն ի խոստովանութիւն արքայութեան իւրոյ. լուծանէ զանէծս ընդ իւր տանելով ի դրախտն, փոխանակ Ադամայ. եւ զանդարձ օձն կախեալ զփայտէն, մերկ խայտառակեալ, որպէս յանապատին, ոչ ունելով ծածկոյթ ամօթոյն նախատանացն, եւ ոչ զտերեւ թզենոյն այլ եւ ոչ զկենդանութիւն: Արդ լսել կամելով մարդկային բնութեանս զպատմութիւն վիշապ օձին որ աստուածանալն կամելով ի վերայ նիւթական աշխարհիս, զոր արար Աստուած մեծասքանչ իմաստութեամբն իւրով. եւ կացոյց զմարդն թագաւոր ի վերայ սորա ըստ կերպարանի իւրում, եւ երկրորդ իւր առնելով. որում զադտ ի վերայ անկանելով աւագակաբար խաբէութեամբ, իբրեւ ի զիշերի, անգիտութեամբն կապեալ զնա, եւ գերի վարեալ դորդեաց ի հիմանց զթագաւորաբնակ աշխարհս ապականութեամբ. վասն որոյ թագաւորն փառաց շարժեալ ի հայրական աթոռոյն փառաց հանդերձ երկնային զօրօքն. եւ հետամուտ եղեալ եհատ զջիդս աւագակին, ձերբակալ առնելով կապեալ ած ի դատաստան մահու . . .

In the same way here—starting every day anew, seizing the first evil itself, the serpent of the Garden, as the ugly and horrible-looking chief brigand, and having made him a mockery through indissoluble bonds, they all gather there and make him pass through the palace of five-day-long fast to the royal

17. Cf. Isa 47:1.

18. There is some corruption of the text in the last two excerpts.

court of Friday. There the King of Glory is crowned on the cross, putting the brigand serpent before the brigand man; releasing the latter from blasphemy (and leading) him to the confession of His kingdom. He dissolves the curse and takes the (brigand man) with himself to paradise instead of Adam. And the unrepentant serpent is hanged on the wood, naked and defamed, as in the desert, without a cover for the shame of the dishonor, without a fig leaf and even without vitality. So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon serpent which wished to become the god of the material world which God created by his wonderful wisdom, and established the man according to his image to reign over it, and made him the second after himself; and (the serpent) secretly rushed upon him with brigandlike deceit, as in the night, bound him through (his) ignorance, and capturing him shook from its foundation this royal residence—the world—by corruption. Because of that the King of Glory, moving from the paternal glorious throne, together with the heavenly hosts, and pursuing the brigand, cut his sinews, seizing and binding him sentenced to death . . .

- 19 186 . . . Փրկիչն . . . զգենու զղենջեակն փոխանակ մաշկեղէն հանդերձիցն Ադամայ

. . . The Savior . . . wears linen instead of the leather clothes of Adam.

LEWOND C8

Text: Lewond *vardapet* of the Armenians, Արշաւանք արաբաց ի Հայաստան *The Arabian Invasions into Armenia*, ed. K. V. Šahnazarianc' (Paris: E. Thunot, 1857).

Lewond *vardapet* of the Armenians, Պատմութիւն *History*, ed. K. Ezean (St. Petersburg: Skoroxodov Press, 1887).¹⁹

Translation: Lewond, Պատմութիւն *History, Modern Armenian Translation, Introduction and Commentary* by Aram Tēr Levondyan (Erevan: Sovetakan Groġ, 1982). The English translation is my own.

From St. Petersburg 1887 edition:

- 1 51 Եւ նոքա մարմնեղէն էին յորդոցն Ադամայ, որք մոռանան եւ ի կարծիս ըմբռնին, զի մօտ է առ նոսա սատանայ եւ նմանօրք նոքա թշնամութեամբն իւրեանց:

And they in a bodily way were of the sons of Adam, who forgot and were

19. The Leiden Armenian Data Base used the St. Petersburg edition 1877.

entrapped in opinions. For Satan is close to them and those like him with their enmity.

- 2 79 Եթէ հաւատաս երկիւղին ի ժամ մահուն կենարար, եւ քրտանցն որ վասն Ադամայ քրտանցն կրեաց, զոր ինքն անմարմնաբար ասաց ցԱդամ. «Քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո», եւ առ ի հրեշտակէն զօրանալոյ . . .

If you believe in the fear, in the hour of death He is life-giving and in the sweat which He bore on account of Adam's sweat, which He himself in a nonbodily way said to Adam. "By the sweat of your brow you shall eat your bread,"²⁰ and strengthened by the angel . . .

- 3 81 Եւ այս է զոր ասեմս՝ աստուածաբանել զմեր Տէրն ընդդիմանաս, եւ մարդ սոսկ խոստովանիս, յօրինակ ածելով զԱդամ, թէ եւ նա առանց ծնողաց յԱստուծոյ ծնեալ եղեւ:

And this is what I say, that when the Lord spoke to us theologically, you resisted, and you avowed that man is single (or: devoid), bringing Adam as an example and he was born from God without parents.

Գլուխ 6 Chapter 6

Կայսրն Ղեւոն՝ Օմարայ Սառակինոսաց առաջնորդի ...
King Lewon to Omar, Leader of the Saracens.

- 4 From Paris edition pp. 92-94, which is equivalent to St. Petersburg edition p. 67:

Եւ ապա քանզի ոչ ինչ պատուական է Աստուծոյ յարարածս իւր քան զմարդն. վասն զի եւ դու խոստովան լինիս եթէ հրամայեաց Աստուած հրեշտակաց երկրպագել՝ Ադամայ, թէպէտեւ յաստուածային գիրս զայդ ոչ գտանեմք: Արդ՝ Ադամ մարդ էր գեղեցիկ վկայեցեր Բամբասեալ զքոյին հպարտութիւնդ. զի որ մարդկան ոչ երկրպագեցեն զիտացեն ընդ որս դասեցին, որպէս ասացեր: Արդ ի պատկեր Աստուծոյ եղեւ Ադամ՝ յայտ է: Զիարդ զայս ախտաւոր, ընդդիմահար մարմինս կարծիցես Աստուծոյ ասել պատկեր իւր, ոչ այլ զիւր եւ զԲանին իւրոյ եւ զՀոգւոյն իւրոյ զմանութիւն եղ ի նմա զհոգի, զմիտս եւ զբան: Զսոսա ի սմա հաւաքեալ կառոյց, եւ ընդ ինքնիշխանութեանն շրջարկեալ պատիւ՝ եղեւ Աստուծոյ պատկեր: Սա խաբանօք բանսարկուին անկաւ ի պատուոյն զոր ետ նմա Արարիչն. անարգեայ եղեւ մոռացմամբ Ստեղծողին իւրոյ. եւ վարուք

20. Gen 3:19.

անառակ եւ զարշէլի ցանկութեամբ, պիղծ եւ պէսպէս գիճութեամբք կելով, ասելութեամբք, զրկութեամբք միմեանց, սպանութեամբք, եւ որ վերջին եւ առաջին է յամենայն չարեաց՝ կռապաշտութեամբք, եւ այնպիսի պոռնկութեամբ որ ասել տաղականամ. զի ոչ միայն զոչէսն աստուածս կարծեցին եւ կամ զերեւելի արարածս. այլ զնոսին իսկ զախտսն՝ զպոռնկութիւն եւ զարուագիտութիւն աստուածս կարծեալ պաշտեցին: Զորս բանսարկուն իւր արար երկրպագուս եւ ուրախ լինէր պատկերօք կոռցն չարաչար նշանս ախտից կատարելոց յերկրպագուսն, եւ ի նոսին յորդորելով զնոսա:

And then since nothing is more honorable for God among his creatures than man, therefore you, too, confess that God commanded the angels to adore Adam, though we do not find this in the Divine Scripture. Now Adam was human: you nicely witnessed (this) reproaching the arrogance of your one; so those that do not worship men shall know among whom they are to be ranked, as you said. Now it is evident that Adam came into being in the image of God. How might you think that God says this passible, opposing body is his image? By no means, but in the likeness of Himself, His Word, and His Spirit he put in him spirit, mind, and speech. Joining these (properties) in him, God made (man), and, being honored with autonomy, (man) became the image of God. But, through the deception of the Devil, he fell from the honor given to him by the Creator. He became dishonored, through forgetting his Creator, living with impious behavior and disgusting desire, with impure and various lasciviousness, with hatreds, trespasses against one another, murders, and that which is the first and the worst of evils—idolatry, and with such fornication that it disgusts me to say. For they not only considered vanities or visible creatures to be gods, but even worshiped their vices—fornication and sodomy, considering them gods. The Devil made them his worshipers and he rejoiced at the evil vicious rites performed by the worshipers for the idols, exhorting them to continue the same.

- 5 Արդ՝ տեսեալ Աստուծոյ զիւր պատկերն անարգեալ երկրպագութեամբ բանսարկութիւն եւ գործովք հաճոյիցն նորա, ողորմեցաւ նմա որպէս բարերար եւ արդարեւ մարդասէր: Եւ զի այս էր փրկութիւն՝ ճանաչել զԱրարիչն իւր եւ ի բաց կալ ի թշնամոյն. ըստ ժամանակի ժամանակի, որպէս ի խաւարի ի կռապաշտութեանդ որպէս ճրագ լուցանէր զգիտութիւն իւր ի ձեռն ծառայից իւրոց մարգարէից: Եւ զի կուրացեալ էին միտք մարդկան, եւ ոչ կարէին զբովանդակ Աստուածութեան գիտութեանն ընդունիլ զոյս. վասն այսորիկ զչափաւոր գիտութիւն իւր առ սակաւ սակաւ յայտնէր մարդկան որպէս կանխաւ ասացի, մինչեւ ցկատարումն ժամանակացն, որչափ հաճեցաւ Աստուած խրատել զմարդիկ: Եւ յառաջագոյն խոստացաւ մարգարէիւք զգալուստ մարմնով Բանին իւրոյ:

Now God, seeing his image dishonored by worship of the Devil and by ful-

fillment of his whims (pleasures), mercifully forgave him as benefactor and real philanthropist. And since the salvation was through acknowledgment of his Creator and staying away from the enemy, (for that reason) from time to time, through his servants the prophets, He lighted His knowledge like a lamp in the darkness in idolatry. And as human minds were blind and could not accept the whole light of knowledge of God, for that reason He exposed moderate knowledge to men, little by little, as I said before, until the end of the times in which measure God wished to instruct men. And originally He promised through His prophets the advent of His word in flesh.

STEP'ANOS SIWNEC'I C8

Step'anos Siwnec'i, *Ժամակարգութեան մեկնութիւն*
 “Commentary on Divine Service,” ed. S. Amatuni, *Ararat* (July–
 August 1915): 634–39.

- 1 494–95 Արդ էր արդեաւք յԵրրորդ ժամու զայ ի խաչ ելանել. թուի եթէ ի նոյն ժամու գերեալ լինէր նախաստեղծն ի բանսարկունն մոլեկան ընթացիւք ի ծառնմահաբեր ի չարխորհուրդն, յորում էմանուէլն մերով կերպարանաւքս զծանրութիւն մեղաց մերոց բեռնաւորեալ, երթայր ի նոյն ժամու ի տեղի կառափմանն բարձրանալ ի խաչափայտին, զի անկեալն վերացուցէ բեւեռովք զոտս եւ զձեռս առաքինաբար տարածեալ յաղագս Ադամայ յանդգնապէս ընթացիցն ի պտուղ եւ ի ճաշակ ծառոյն, եւ զձեռագիր յանցանաց զկտակն խափանեաց. եւ տարերցն ապականութիւն որ յայսմ ժամու աւձաջամբ պտղովն դրդեաց, խաղա(ղա)ցուցանէ²¹ իւրով մաքրողական չարչարանաւքն:

/ . . . Սակս յայսմ ամենայնի ասեմք, յայսմ Երրորդ ժամու գլորեալ զմարդն առաջին, յորում ել եւ զբարեգործութիւն ընկալաւ:

Now why did He go forth at the third hour to ascend the cross? It seems that the protoplast was captured by the Devil at the same hour, rushing madly to the mortal tree, to the evil counsel, owing to which Emmanuel in our form, burdened with the heaviness of our sins, went at the same hour²² to the place of execution to ascend the cross, to raise the fallen, stretching out virtuously his nailed hands and feet: because of Adam's audacious rush toward the fruit and the eating from the tree; and [He] abolished the cheirograph (or: hand-

21. The printed edition has խաղացուցանէ, which is probably a misprint and should probably be խաղա(ղա)ցուցաբէ; cf. p. 170

22. Adam was overcome by Satan in the third hour.

written) testament of sins²³, the testament and the corruption of the elements, which he (i.e., Satan) shook at this hour by means of the fruit given by the serpent, He calmed down by His purifying tortures

... / Owing to all this we say that the first man fell at this third hour at which He went forth and received the benefaction.

- 2 637 Այլ եւ ի գլորմանէ բանսարկուին իւրովքն հնազանդելովք հիացումն կալաւ զերկնաւոր զարսն, որոց նշան զաւրութեան տուաւ նմանս իմն բարբառով անկասկածապէս կալ ի հաստատութեան փառսն:

But wonder seized the heavenly hosts (?) at the fall of the Devil with those obedient to him, to whom a certain similar sign of power was given by speech to be indubitably in the glory of the firmament.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, *Ժամակարգութեան մեկնութիւն*
 “Commentary on Divine Service,” ed. S. Amatuni, *Ararat*
 (January-February 1916): 129–41.

- 3 129–30 Ուրանաւ փոքր ինչ նախ քան գլիշելս ժամ վեցերորդ բնակէր Ադամ ի դրախտին հրճուալից ուրախութեամբ. ուստի անհնազանդ խաբէութեամբ խրատու ապստամբեցելոյն ի ճշմարտութենէն, յերկնից ունայնանայր պարգեւաց: Վասն որոյ եւ զեթանասնեկին եւթն ժառանգէր գորտմութիւն, եւ ընդ բազում ցաւաւք անկանէր ի տոկոյս, կայր իբրեւ ջերմ առ հիւանդութեան. ուստի անհնազանդութեամբ խրատու ի մատմառուտ վտանգին, լուծեալ յաւրք ոտիցն եւ ձեռացն ի բարեացն շարժմանէ, եւ կարկեալ լեզուացն անխոստովանութեամբ. եւ գոր աւրինակ մեռեալ ոք անզգայ յամենայնից, նոյնպէս եւ մարդն առաջին խաւարազգած խորհրդով պարփակեալ ի միջաւրէին՝ որպէս ի մէջ գիշերի, ոչ զառժամայն նշմարէր հետեւանս, եւ ոչ զապառնիսն մտածութեամբ հոգալ. կայր ի տարակուսի մղձկէին ոգիք նորա. մանաւանդ յիշատակ տէրունեան բանին՝ եւս առաւել խոցոտէր. եւ երկիւղ մահու ասացեալ մեռանիս, եւ զի ոչ գիտէր զինչ գործիցէ, զի կարճամտութեամբն ըմբռնեալ յանյուսութեան խորխորատս, սիրէր զմահ առաւել քան յանդիմանութեանն Աստուծոյ լինել:

A little earlier than the mentioned sixth hour, Adam dwelt in paradise with exultant joy, where by the disobedient deceit of the instruction of rebellious one, he was deprived of truth, of the gifts of heaven. For that he inherited seventy-seven-fold sorrows and fell from his steadfastness to beneath multiple pains; he was like (one with) fever during illness. Now because of dis-

23. Cf. Col 2:14.

obedience to the instruction, the joints of his feet and hands lost the ability to move through good things, and his tongue was silent, because he did not confess; and as a dead man is insensitive to everything, likewise the first man, being closed in by the gloomy counsel in midday, as in the middle of the night, / could neither observe the present circumstances nor think over and take care of the future. He hesitated, his spirit was tormented; particularly the recollection of the Lord's words greatly hurt him; also the fear of death, for (God) said, "You will die"; and since he did not know what to do, being drawn by his unreasonableness into the abyss of despair, he preferred death to God's reproach.

- 4 134–36 . . . Վասն զի անկեալ արտաքս ի կենացս տեղոյ մարդն առաջին, ոչինչ կարծեր ունել մխիթար երեւելեացս ուստի ամփոփին վրդովեալն միտք, բայց միայն զլուսաւորն մեծ յոր պշուցեալ ընդ գեղեցկութիւն տարերն զբօսմամբ սուղ իսկ խափանեալ յահագին եւ ի մեծ տրտմութենէն. նաեւ զովանայր իսկ ոչ ի պասքմամբ հեղձամղձուկ ալէկոծ ընկղմանցն: Նոյնպէս եւ զայլ արարածս տեսանէր նորին լուսովն. եւ յոյս յինքեան ընդունէր ի խնաման Աստուծոյ ապաւինելով. այսոքիկ ի մետասաներրորդ ժամու գործէին եւ ի նորին յաջորդի. ապա ի խոնարհ գնացեալ զարեգակն տեսանէր: Դարձեալ արհաւիրք փակէին զմիտս նորա. դարձեալ երկիւղ, դարձեալ տրտմութիւնք յոլովք քան զանցեալին. նաեւ ամենեւին իսկ յուսահատումն հանդիպիլ խաւարի եւ նորատեսիլ երեւման, վարանէր զգիշերն ամենայն անհանգիստ հեծութեամբք, լքեալ իսկ յերեւման միւսանգամ լուսոյն. եւ լինէր երեկորին, եւ զմարդասիրութիւն արարչին սովորութիւն առնոյր ի միջակայի տունջեան եւ զիշերոյ փառաւորել եւ արիննէ զԱստուած սակս անցելոցն խաղաղութեամբ եւ որ գալոցն է զիշեր . . .

. . . For the first man, having fallen from the place of life, considered himself to have no consolation among the visible things that would occupy his excited mind, except the great luminary; gazing with pleasure at the beauty of that element he forgot for a while about the terrible and great sorrow and even was refreshed after the thirst caused by the suffocating stormy flood. He saw also other creatures with the same light and was seized by hope, relying upon God's care; those things happened at the eleventh and the next hour. Then he saw the sun going down. Again, horrors enclosed his mind, again fear, again sorrow more than in the past; also absolute despair when meeting darkness, the newly visible phenomenon; through the whole night he was beset, groaning restlessly, deprived of any sight of light a second time.

And it was dawn, and he got into the habit of glorifying and blessing the philanthropic Creator God at the boundary of day and night, for the sake of the nights that had passed in peace and the coming one.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Պատճառ աղաթիցն
 “Etiological Interpretation of Prayer,” ed. S. Amatuni, *Ararat*
 (May-June 1916): 405–12; (September-October 1916): 694–703.

- 5 405 Մարդն Ադամ յերրորդ ժամու պատրի ի ծառն. եւ Տէրն ի սոյն ժամու խաչիւ դատապարտի: Հարցն, Ադամայ յարութեանն, եւ Մեծացուցէն եւ Ողորմեայն, Եւայեանց ազատութիւնն. . . . Որպէս Ադամ եւ Եւայ զմահու պտուղն ի սիրտս իջուցին ճաշակմամբն, նոյնպէս Քրիստոս Աստուածն մեր ի սիրտս առաքելոցն:

The man Adam in the third hour was overcome at the tree and in the same hour, the Lord was condemned on the cross. The question of “Adam’s arising” and of the “He magnifies” and the “Have mercy” (is) the freedom of the descendants of Eve. . . . Just as Adam and Eve brought down the fruit of death into their hearts by the eating, likewise Christ our God (is brought down) into the hearts of the apostles.

- 6 407 Եւ զիարդ եւթն գոբողայ եղեալ յաղաթս, որ զեւթնաւրեայ արարչութիւնն նշանակէ. եւ զեւթնաւորս կենցաղոյս՝ եւթնհազարեան դարուն խորհուրդ. եւ զքահանայական աղաթսն: Զամենայն ի փառս Աստուծոյ տեսանեմք բարւոք գոյ, եւ եւս պայծառագոյն զԱստուծոյ լոյսն զսահմանողն տուրնջեան եւ գիշերոյ, որով շարժին ժամանակք եւթնաւրեայ կենցաղոյս:

And why are seven gublas²⁴ put into the prayer? To signify the seven-day creation and the seven days of life, the mystery of the seven-thousandth year; and the sacerdotal prayer. . . .

We see everything to be good, to the glory of God, and also the very bright light of God determining day and night, by which the time of this seven-day life goes ahead.

- 7 409 . . . Իսկ զմարդն՝ զթագաւորական պատկերն՝ ստեղծ ի պատկեր Աստուծոյ տէրութեանն, ձեռաւք ստեղծմամբն առաւել մեծաբեաց, եւ ի տէրութեան փառս եհան, որ է նմանութիւն եւ պատկեր Աստուծոյ. սակս որոյ հրամայէ արժանապէս քաղաքավարի: Ինքնայաւածար կամաւք ըմպէ զբարին եւ վայրանկեալ չարին խաբմամբ, զանհաս բարձրութիւնն Աստուծոյ կամեցաւ յափշտակել, յորում անհանդուրժելի աղէտք ի վերայ հասանեն նմա. զի սիրտն ընկալաւ փափականաւք զխրատ չարին, եւ քարշեալ իբր շղթայիւք ի խորս անգիտութեան, Աստուած ինքեան առնել զկործանիչն իւր,

24. I.e., divisions.

եւ զարտաքին ժառանգէր զխաւարն, եւ ընդ մահու կորստեամբ զրաւեցաւ:

. . . And He created man, the kingly image, in the image of God's lordship, [He] highly honored him creating with his hands, and raised him up to the glory of lordship, that is the likeness and the image of God; for that reason He commanded him to behave in proper manner. He drank goodness voluntarily and, having fallen by the deception of the Evil One, he wished to seize God's unachievable height, because of which unbearable misfortunes overtook him; for his heart accepted desirously the counsel of the Evil One, and, being dragged as if by chains to the depth of ignorance, he made the destroyer his god and inherited outer darkness,²⁵ and was captured by the destruction of death.²⁶

- 8 696 Թէեւ Տէրն ի մէջ գիշերի ասաց. նա է առաւարտ կենաց եւ սկիզբն երեւելոյ արեգականն արդարութեան . . . վասն զի յայս ժամու ստեղծ զմարդն կենդանարար ձեռաւքն եւ ի նմին ժամու ընդունի զմիւսանգամ կենդանութիւնն . . .

Though the Lord said in the middle of the night: "He is the morning of life and the beginning of the appearance of the sun of righteousness"²⁷ . . . for at this hour He created man with life-giving hands and at the same hour he will accept the second animation . . .²⁸

- 9 697 «Էր ժամ եր(ր)որդ եւ հանին զնա ի խաչ». զի յայսմ ժամու գերեցաւ Ադամ ի բանսարկուէն, մոլեկան ընթացիւքն ի ծառն մահաբեր ի չար խորհուրդն . . . (Էմմանուէլն) զձեռագիւր յանցանաց նորա պատառեաց. եւ տարերցն ապականութիւն, որ յայսմ ժամու աւձաջան պտղովն զրգեաց, խաղաղացուցանէ իւրով մաքրողական չարչարանաւք:

"It was the third hour, and they took him out to the cross;²⁹ for at this hour Adam was captured by the Devil, rushing madly to the mortal tree,³⁰ to the evil counsel. . . . (Emmanuel) tore the cheirograph of his transgression and calmed down the destruction of the elements by his purifying tortures, caused at this hour by the fruit given by the efforts of the serpent.

25. Matt 8:12; 22:13; 25:30.

26. Cf. Hos 13:14; Wis 1:12; 4 Ezra 8:38.

27. Cf. Mal 4:2. The hour of creation is in the morning.

28. The hour of creation is in the morning.

29. Mark 15:25.

30. Same expression above, pp. 274, 305, 319.

Text: Step'anos Siwnec'i, Վասն անապականութեան մարմնոյն
 “On Incorruptibility of the Body,” ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč‘ean, *Ararat* 36
 (March-April 1902): 368–400.

- 10 369 Անապական՝ անապականութեամբ աճեալ եւ նուազեալ, որպէս կողն առ Ադամ նուազեալ եւ առ կինն աճեցեալ, այսինքն է յառնուլն նուազեալ եւ (ի) լնուլն աճեցեալ:

Incorruptible, [i.e.] growing and decreasing in incorruptibly, as the rib decreased in Adam and grew into the woman; that is to say decreasing when being taken and growing when being filled in.

- 11 369–70 Արդ՝ թէ գնախնի մարդոյն զմարմինն ստեղծանէր յերկրէ անապական Բանն Աստուած, զիւր ոչ կարէր անապական ստեղծանել յարգանդի կուսին:

Now, if the body of the first man was created from incorruptible ground, couldn't God create his Word incorruptible, in the womb of the Virgin?

- 12 392 Յոհան Իմաստասէր ասէր . . . ոչ աւճապատիր մերկացելոյն ի փառաց տերեւապատն Ադամայ դարձելոյն ի հող համեմատի երկրորդ Ադամ . . .

John the Philosopher said: “. . . The second Adam is incomparable with Adam deceived by the serpent, stripped of glory, covered with a leaf—the one who returned unto dust . . .”

Text: Step'anos Siwnec'i, Ստեփանոսի Սինեաց եպիսկոպոսի առ Գերմանոս “Bishop Step'anos of Siwnik՝ to Germanos,” in Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters*, ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), 435–66.

- 13 454–56 = 386–87 of Tiflis edition. Եւ դարձեալ զառաջին լինելութիւն մարդոյն յառաջ բերեալ նախատէք զմեզ անգիտութեամբ, եւ ասէք եթէ, ունէր Ադամ ի բնութեանն զկամսն եւ զերկիւղն. եւ յայտ է կամքն որով մեղան, եւ երկիւղն՝ սպառնալովն Աստուծոյ, Թէ ուտիցէք ի պտղոյն մեռանիցիք: ... Քանզի իբրեւ հաստատեցաւ յարարչէն նախահայրն պատուեալ բանաւորութեամբ՝ իմաստութեամբ, ի բնութեանն ունելով զգիտութիւն բարւոյ եւ չարի, եւ զնախնածն ի բարի, եւ զերկելոյ Տեառն որ է կենաց, եւ այլ այսպիսի ինչ, զի արարածական ընդ իշխանութեամբ, եւ ծառայ բնութեանս հարկաւորք եղեն այսոքիկ, այլ ամենայն ինչ բարի եղել, զի արարաւ ասէ մարդն յողորմութիւն, եւ կարգեցաւ ի միջասահմանս վայրի կենաց եւ մահու, եւ ի ձեռս տուաւ անձնիշխանութեանն իբրեւ կառավարի յոր կոյս եւ միտիցի կամաւք վիճակեալ, եթէ կենաց եւ եթէ մահու: Իսկ իբրեւ շեղեցաւ յաստուածային պատուիրանապահութեանն ըստ ախորժակաց իւրոց, յեւթնից պարունակութեանց դասուցն

հոգեղինացն, հեռագոյն բացորոշութեամբ եւթնից աշտիճանաւ ի վայր կործանեալ ի փառացն զրաւեցաւ, ի հոգւոյն՝ մարմին եղեւ, եւ զպատիժ պատուհասին զուգաթիւ ըստ յանցանացն տուժեցաւ. թափուր եղեալ ի հոգւոյ, յիմաստութենէ, ի հանճարոյ, ի խորհրդոյ, ի զարութենէ, ի գիտութենէ, յաստուածպաշտութենէ, ի ներքոյ անկեալ երկիւղի աւտարին՝ ստունգանելով պատուիրանին Տեառն, ի բաց եկաց հոգւոյն շնորհն՝ կնոջն լսելով խրատու, կորոյս գտիրական վերինն իմաստութիւնն ոտիցն հնազանդեալ զլիտյն անհանճարաբար, իբր գեղեցկագոյն եւ քաղցրաճաշակ քան զպատուիրանցն Աստուծոյ, զմահաբերն դատեցաւ պտուղ: Յանմահականն վայելից տարագիր եղեւ՝ անխորհրդապէս կորուսեալ զբոցաճաճանչ լուսափայլ զարդարանսն: Հակառակաբար հայթայթանաւքն ջանայր ծածկել զամաւթալին իւր մերկութիւն պատառատուն տերեւով, անյուսացեալ ի զարութիւն ամենակալին կարծեաց թաքել յամենատեսչութենէ նորա, ի ներքոյ անկեալ երկիւղին մահու, ձայնելով Տեառն յապաշխարութիւն, տգիտացեալ անզոյութեամբ՝ արտաքս անկաւ ի փափկութենէն կենաց, իբրեւ անձանաւթ Աստուծոյ ամպարշտութեամբ յարարիչն դարձուցեալ զպատճառսն որպէս ի հաղորդ յանցանացն, թէ Կինս զոր ետուր ընդ իս, զանիծից եւ ցաւագին ժառանգեաց կենցաղ: Իսկ մի եւ նոյն մարդկութեանս արարիչ, որ ի սկզբանն եւ որ յետ այնորիկ, յայնժամ առեալ հող յերկրէ զմարդն ստեղծ, դարձեալ առեալ ի կուսէն հող, ոչ պարզաբար մարդ ստեղծ, այլ զինքեամբ շրջաստեղծեաց, յայնժամ Բանն մարմին արար, իսկ յետ այնորիկ բանն մարմին եղեւ, ...

And again you ignorantly reproach us mentioning the creation of the first man, and you say that Adam had in his nature will and fear. Will is obvious since he sinned by it; and fear—when God threatened: “If you eat of the fruit, you shall (surely) die.”³¹ . . . For when the forefather was established by the Creator, he was honored with rationality (i.e., wisdom), having in his nature the knowledge of good and evil, and zeal for good and fear of the Lord, who is for life, and other similar things, because those things were necessary for the creative power, to serve nature. And everything was good, since it is said that man was created for uprightness, and he was placed on the boundary of life and death, and he was given autonomy like a governor, who has the possibility to go in which direction he is willingly inclined, either toward life or death. But when because of his inclinations he turned away from observing the divine commandment, then, separated by being cast down to earth from the seven included spiritual classes, separated by a very distant grade, he was deprived of the glory. He was transformed from spirit into body, and suffered punishments equal in number to the sins; he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of knowledge, of piety: becoming

31. Gen 1:17.

subject to the fear of the Other One; disobeying the Lord's commandment, he forfeited the spiritual grace, because he listened to the counsel of the woman. He lost the higher lordly wisdom, obeying his feet, owing to his stupid head, considering the mortal fruit as something more beautiful and delicious than God's commandments. He was exiled from immortal delight, having imprudently lost the resplendent shining ornaments. With adversary inventiveness he tried to cover his shameful nakedness by a ragged leaf; despairing of the might of all-powerful One, he thought to hide himself from His all-seeingness, falling into the fear of death. When God appealed for repentance, (he remained) ignorant in his obduracy, he fell out of delightful life. As if ignorant of God, he impiously blamed the Creator as if He (was) a participant of his sin, (saying:) "This woman whom you gave (to be) with me" ³² He inherited sorrowful and cursed life. And the one and the same Creator of mankind, who (existed) at the beginning and after that, took dust of the ground and created man, again took dust from the Virgin and did not simply create a man, but made him through Himself, then he made the Word body and afterwards the Word became body.

- 14 389 Թագաւորն փառաց . . . եմոյծ ի դրախտն զԱդամ՝ ուստի անկան, եւ զեթնեկին շնորհսն, զոր կորոյս եթնեկին յանցանաւք, ի վերայ ծննդոց նորին կոչէ, ոչ ի վերայ ինքեան, զի ի նմա էր ամենայն լրումն աստուածութեանն:

The King of Glory . . . introduced Adam into paradise from where he fell, and (gave him) the seven graces which he lost because of the seven sins, he calls upon his offspring, not upon himself, for in him was the whole fullness of divinity.

Շարական հոգեւոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853), 795–807; cf. Jerusalem edition of 1933.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Կարգ օրհնութեանց Յարութեան Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի

"Order of Blessing the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ"

- 15 (803) Անարատ տաճար Աստուծոյ բանին, որ զնախամօրն Եւայի զանէծսն բարձեր անճառելի ծննդեամբն ի քէն: (805) Քրիստոս բեւեռեցաւ ի խաչին, եւ ելոյծ զդատապարտութիւն Ադամայ նախաստեղծին:

32. Gen 3:12.

Immaculate temple of the word of God³³ who removed from you the curses of the foremother Eve through the ineffable offspring. Christ was nailed on the cross and undid the condemnation of the protoplast Adam.

Մատենան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Թաւրի քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit' (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981)*, ed. A. Mat'evosyan (Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran-Nairi Press, 1997), 240–59.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Պատասխանի Հոռոմոց թղթին “Answer to the Letter of the Byzantines”

This is equivalent to Step'anos Siwnec'i, Պատասխանի Հոռոմոց թղթին “Answer to the Letter of the Byzantines,” in *Girk' Tlt'oc'* 1994, 358–72, with considerable textual differences (see *ibid.*, p. 25). This alternate form of the text is excerpted above, pp. 324–25.

16 248.31-249.10 172ա-բ . . . եւ որ ասէք էթէ ունէր Ադամ ի բնութեանն տնկեալ զկամսն եւ զերկիւղ եւ յայտ է կամքն որով մեղան եւ երկիւղն սպառնալովն Աստուծոյ - էթէ ուտիցէք ի պտղոյդ մեռանիցիք, արդ / 249/ էթէ կամք քի ունէլ զբոլոր բնութիւնն Ադամ ունէր եւ զկամսն, զի կամք հոգոյն է ծնունդ, եւ էթէ ոչ ունէր զկամս եւ ոչ զհոգին . . . Իբրեւ հաստատեցաւ յարարչէն նախահայ(ր)ն պատուեալ բանիւ եւ իմաստութեամբ ի բնութեանն ունելով զգիտութիւն եւ զնախանձ ի բարի, եւ զերկիւղ Տեառն որ է կենաց պատճառ. եւ որ այլ ինչ այսպիսի որ ի բարի զշարժումսն որ առ Աստուած ունի. զի ամենայն յԱստուծոյ բարի լեալ ասի, զի արարաւ մարդն յուղղութիւն, եւ կարգեցաւ ասէ ի միջասահմանս վայրի. կենաց եւ մահու. եւ ի ձեռս տուաւ անձնիշխանութիւնն. որպէս կառաւար յոր կոյս եւ միտիցէ կամաւքն ի վիճակեալն էթէ կենաց եւ էթէ մահու իսկ իբրեւ շեղեցաւ աստուածային պատուիրանապահութենէն ըստ ախորժակաց իւրոյ, եւթնիցս պարունակութեամբ դասուց հոգեղինաց վերագոյն բացորոշութեամբ, եւթնից աշտիճանաւ ի վայր կործանեալ ի փառացն զրկեցաւ. հոգեւորն մարմնաւոր եղեւ, եւ զպատիժս պատուհասին զիւզաթիւ ըստ յանցանացն. տուժեցաւ թափուր եղեալ ի հոգւոյն իմաստութենէ, ի գիտութենէ, ի հանձարոյ, ի խորհրդոց, ի զարութենէ, յաստուածապաշտութենէ, ի ներքոյ անկեալ երկիւղի աւտարին, ստունկանելով պառնիրանին Տեառն, ի բաց եկաց ի շնորհաց հոգոյն կնոջն լսելով խրատու, կորոյս զտիրական վեհին իմաստութիւն, ոտիցն հնազանդեալ գլխոյն, անհանձարաբար իբր գեղեցկագոյն եւ քաղցրաճաշակ քան զպատուիրանն Աստուծոյ զմահաբերն եկեր

33. I.e., the Virgin.

պտուղ, յանմահական վաելիցն տարագիր եղել անխորհրդապէս կորուսեալ զբացաճաճանչ զլուսափայլ զգարդարանսն, հակառակաբար խայթայթանալ ջանայր ծածկել զամաթալի իւրն մերկութիւն. պատառատուն տերելով անյուսացեալ ի զաւրութիւն. /173ա/ ամենակալին կարծէր թաքչել յամենատեսչութենէ նորա. ի ներքոյ անկեալ մահու երկիւղի. ձայնելով Տեառնն յապաշխարութիւն, անգիտացեալ անզղջութեամբ. արտաքս անգեալ ի փափկութենէ կենացն, իբրեւ անաւթ աստուածպաշտութեան յարարիչն դարձուցեալ զպատճառսն, որպէս ի հաղորդ յանցանացն. էթէ զոր ետուր ինձ սա եղել պատճառ եւ անդէն զանիծից եւ զցաւագին ժառանգեաց կենցաղ, իսկ մի եւ նոյն մարդկութեանս արարիչ, որ յսկզբանն եւ որ յետ այնորիկ անդանաւր առեալ հող զմարդ եստեղծ, այլ ընդ ինքեամբ շրջաստեղծեալ բանն մարմին եղել. . .

. . . and that you say that Adam had will and fear planted in his nature; and will is obvious since by it they sinned; and fear by God threatening: "If you eat of the fruit, you shall die."³⁴ Now if will encompassed the whole nature, then Adam also had will, for will is an offspring of soul; and if he had no will, then (he had) no soul as well. . . . When the forefather was established by the Creator, honored with reason and wisdom, having in his nature discernment and zeal for the good and fear of the Lord who is the cause of life, and whatever other similar things which have movement toward the good which is God. For it is said that everything (originating) from God is good. Because man was created for justice and, as it is said, was placed in the intermediate place between life and death, and he was given autonomy like a governor, who has the possibility to go in which direction he is willingly inclined, either toward life or death. But when he turned away from observing the divine commandment in accordance with his appetites, by content of the seven classes of spiritual ones through superior separation having been destroyed (i.e. cast) down from the seventh by grade, he was expelled from (his) glory. The spiritual became bodily, and they suffered punishments equal in number to the transgressions; he was deprived, becoming empty of the wisdom of the spirit, of discernment, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of piety, becoming subject to the fear of the alien one; disobeying the Lord's commandment, he forfeited the grace of the spirit, through listening to the counsel of the woman. He lost the lordly, higher wisdom, obeying his feet's head (i.e., his feet's impulse); imprudently he ate the mortal fruit as something prettier and more delicious than God's commandment. He was exiled from immortal delight, having thoughtlessly lost the resplendent, refulgent ornaments. With adversarial inventiveness he was trying to cover his shameful nakedness with a torn leaf; having despaired of the power, he thought to hide himself from His all-powerful all-seeingness; having fallen subject to

34. Gen 3:3.

the fear of death, appealing to God for repentance; ignorant in his obduracy, he fell out of delight of (eternal) life. As a vessel of service of God, he blamed the Creator as if a participant in his sin, (saying): “She was the cause, whom you gave to me.” And straightway he inherited a sorrowful and cursed life. And the same Creator of mankind, who at the beginning and after these, having taken dust, created man, made perfectly the Word beside Him, that became body . . .³⁵

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Նշխարք ի մեկնութեանց արարածոց
“Fragments of the Commentary on Genesis,” ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan,
in *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of
Cilicia, 2006), 105–29.

- 17 108. (49) Եւ թէ էր վասն խոստացաւ Աստուած տալ զազատն ի ծառայութիւն. նախ՝ վասն ծիծաղելոյն Սառայի յաւետեաց բանին Աստուծոյ, երկրորդ՝ զի ըստ նմանութեան Ադամայ, որ ի դրախտին ազատ էր եւ ի ծառայութիւն դիւաց անկաւ մինչեւ ի չորրորդ ծնունդն Քրիստոսի:

(49) And why did God promise to give the free man into slavery? First, for Sarah’s laughing at the words of the good tidings³⁶ of God; second, according to the likeness of Adam who was free in the Garden and fell into slavery to demons until the fourth birth³⁷ of Christ.

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Նշխարք ի մեկնութեանց Ղուկասու
աւետարանի
“Fragments of the Commentary on the Gospel of Luke,” ed. Yakob
K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholi-
cosate of Cilicia, 2007), 257–340.

- 18 336, §326. (2) Արդ արեւն էր հրէիցն զաւուրս Լ լալ զմեռեալն երիտասարդ, զի յերիտասարդ հասակի ստեղծաւ Ադամ, լալ զմեռեալն եւ խնգել եւ զինս տալ կոծողացն, որպէս եւ Գամաղիէլ ասէր, թէ զինս կոծողացն Ստեփաննոսի յիմոյ ընչից ետու: (3) Իսկ որ մեռանէր ի փայտի, ոչ էր արեւն նմա զայս ամենայն կատարել:

(2) The Jews had a law of mourning for thirty days for a deceased young man, since Adam was created at a young age—of weeping and burning incense and paying the weepers, as Gamaliel said: “I gave the fee to the weepers for

35. Cf. *The Book of Letters*, 386.

36. Or: Annunciation, i.e., of the birth of Isaac.

37. Or: generation. The meaning of the expression is unclear.

Stephen from my property,”³⁸ (3) while there was no law of doing all this for one died on the cross.

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Նշխարք ի մեկնութեանց Յովհաննու անետարանի

“Fragments of the Commentary on the Gospel of John,” ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2006), 341–438.

- 19 384 §88. (5) . . . Յիսուս Քրիստոս, որ ի սկզբանէն էր առ Հաւր, որ ասաց Ադամայ՝ ոչ ուտել ի պտղոյն, եւ սիրել զԱստուած ի բոլոր յանձնէ եւ ի բովանդակ զարութենէ, զոր ոչ սիրեաց Ադամ:

(5) “Jesus Christ who from the beginning was with the Father, who had told Adam not to eat of the fruit and to love God with all his soul and with all his might,³⁹ in which way Adam did not love.”

- 20 417 §164. (1) Դառնալ Ադամայ ի դրախտն, ի մուտս փառացն, զոր եղանդ զպատկերն անզգեցող՝ եւ աստ զգեցեալ պատկերին զնմանական շնորհն աստուածատուր լուսոյն գերազարդարեալ մարդոյն, զի լոյս էր մարդն առաջին Աստուծոյ լուսոյն եւ լուսով պատուիրանին փայլէր աստուածային փառաւքն, ի փառաւորութեան Աստուծոյ էր ստեղծել:

(1) Adam returning to the Garden, to the entrance of glory, whom He had placed there as an undressed⁴⁰ image, and here He put the similar grace of the God-given light on the highly adorned man. For the first man was light of the light of God and in the light of the commandment he shone with divine glory; he was created in the glory of God.

- 21 428 §193. (1) «Եւ ես զփառս, զոր ետուր ինձ, ետու ինչա»: Տուեալ փառս ի Հաւրէ վասն մարմնոյն ասի անապականութեան. զառաջին զփառսն, ասէ, զոր ետ ինքն Ադամայ ի կեանս դրախտին զպատուական զշնորհսն եւ զփառացն վայելումն ի սպառ եւ յետոյ ելեալ յայս սնոտի աշխարհս:

(1) “And the glory that you have given me I have given them.”⁴¹ The glory given by the Father is said to be for the sake of the incorruptibility of the body. It [Scripture. (?)] says that the first glory which He had given to Adam—the precious gift (was) a complete enjoyment during (his) life in the Garden. And afterwards he went forth into this vain world.

38. Cf. Acts 8:2.

39. See Deut 13:3; Mark 12:30; etc.

40. The word անզգեցող is not in dictionaries and is not quite clear. It is opposed to զգեցեալ (“dressed”).

41. John 17:22a.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Ի խորհուրդ եկեղեցւոյ

“On the Mystery of the Church,” ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol.

6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2006), 490–504.

- 22 495. (56) Իսկ առ Եզեկիէլիւ յարեւմտից յարեւելս ձգեաց, ըստ կամակար իւրոյ իշխանութեան, քանզի զամենայն, զոր ինչ կամեցաւ եւ արար Տէր յերկինս եւ յերկրի, ի ծով եւ յամենայն խորս, որով ստեղծ զԱդամ:

(56) And in the days of Ezekiel, He stretched eastward from the west, according to His willing power, for whatever God wished He did in the heaven and on the earth, in the sea and in all the depths, with which (will) He created Adam.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Յաղագս ժողովոյն սուրբ հարցն՝

Աթանասի, Բարսղի . . . Թուղթ երանելւոյն Ստեփանոսի

Միւնեաց եպիսկոպոսի՝ պատասխանի թղթոյն հռոմոս

Գերմանոսի պատրիարգի Կոստանդինուպասի զոր ինքն

իսկ երէր

“On the Synod of the Holy Fathers Athanasius, Basil . . . Letter of the Blessed Step'anos Bishop of Siwnik' in Answer to the Letter of the Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople which he had brought himself,” ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2006), 521–42.

- 23 536. (133) Թէպէտ եւ զապականացուն բունս հարեալ զգաւակէն Աբրահամու, իսկ եւ իսկ յանապականութիւն փոխեալ, զի նոյն ինքն Բանն անձնիշխանութեամբ զկամսն իւր գործ կատարեալ ունէր, զի Աստուած էր բովանդակն: (134) Եկն ի խնդիր նախաստեղծին ազգակցին ըստ մարմնոյ, դիմեալ յԵղեմայ եգիտ զնա ընդ իշխանութեամբ Բանսարկուին, և զիւր սուրբ եւ անապական մարմինն իբրեւ զանիծից եւ զապականացու քաղցի եւ ծարաւոյ կցորդ առնէր եւ զհոգին մարդկային իբրեւ զանգիտացեալ եւ զերկուցեալ առաջի արկանէր. աւրինաւոր մարտիւ, թոյլ ետ յինքն ձգել զիրացեալ նետս մուխս չարին, զի շիջուցէ յինքեամբ (v.l. յինքեան) ոչ ունելով ի նորայոցն, զոր սերմանեաց յԱդամ յուսով աստուածանալոյն, զի էր արդարութիւն ածեալ ընդ մէջ իւր, եւ ճշմարտութեամբ պատեալ զկողս իւր:

(133) Although by touching the corruptible son of Abraham, He immediately changed (him) into incorruptibility, since the same Word itself, with autonomy had His will as a completed act, for He was wholly God. (134) He

looked for the first-created man, His kinsman according to the body, while he was coming out of Eden. He found him under the authority of the Devil and made His own incorruptible body as a companion of curse and corruption, hunger and thirst, and proposed the human soul as frightened and scared. In a fair battle He allowed the shooting of the burning arrows of the evil at himself, in order that he might extinguish—not having in himself any of (Adam's) characteristics—what (the Devil) had sown in Adam through hope of becoming god, for He had girded himself with justice and covered His ribs with truth.

XOSROVIK T'ARGMANIČ' C8

Xosrovik T'argmanič', Երկասիրությունը “Writings,” in G. Yovsēp'ean, Խոսրովիկ Թարգմանիչ. (Ը դար), Պատմական-մատենագրական ուսումնասիրություն *Xosrovik T'argmanič' (8th cent.): Historical-Literary Study* (Vafaršapat: Holy Ėjmiacin Press, 1899).

Գլուխ 3 Chapter 3

- 1 93 յայտ ուրեմն է՝ թէ՛ Քրիստոս կրելովն զայնոսիկ, ոչ էառ զադամայինն մարմին, այլ զմերս՝ որ ընդ մահուամբն եւ ապականութեամբ եղև ստորանկեալ: Իսկ եթէ զնախաստեղծին ունէր բնութիւն զառանց կրիցն եւ զանմահականն, սուտ ապա ըստ ձեզ եղ ի բաց երեւոցելն զկիրս եւ նորուն աշակերտացն վերաձայնէ կրիցն:

Christ did not take on Adamic body but ours, subject to death and corruption. But if he had the nature of the first-created one, which (was) without suffering and immortal, falsely did he place (it), according to you, outside the sufferings and did he proclaim its sufferings to the disciples.

- 2 167 Քրիստոս ոչ ունէր զբնութիւն զառաջին մարդոյն, զի կրեաց ... Եւ եթէ ունէր զբնութիւն առաջին մարդոյն եւ հաւասարեաց մեզ ամենայնիւ ըստ նմանութեան առանց մեղաց, յայտ է թէ եւ առաջին մարդն ընդունակ էր կրից:

Christ did not have the nature of the first man for he suffered . . . and if he had had the nature of the first man and were equal to us in everything according to the likeness without sin, it is evident that also the first man was able to undergo suffering.

N. Aginean (Akinean), Խոսրովիկ Թարգմանիչ և իւր երկասիրութիւնները: Քննական ուսումնասիրութիւն “Xosrovik Targmanič' and His Writings: A Critical Study,” *Handes Amsorea* 18 (1904): 262–70, 304–16, 353–61; 19 (1905): 19–22, 116, 213–20, 361–70.

Բանն վարդապետութեան յաղագս քառասնորդացն
ասացեալ Տեառն Խոսրովայ
“Teaching about Lent by Xosrov.”

էջ 310 (1904),

- 3 . . . Ի սկզբանն ընդ ստեղծանել մարդոյն առաջին՝ դաստիարակ նմա զպահսն ետ Աստուած . . . Իսկ իբրեւ ի բաց ընկեց եւ պատրեցաւ ի մահաբեր ճաշակէն, տե՛ս զի՛նչ ասէ նմա տոյն մարգարէ. «Մարդ ի պատուի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ, հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից եւ նմանեաց նոցա». (Մաղմ. ԽԸ, 21) ամենայն կենցաղիւ՝ լինելով խոտակեր բանջարաճաշակ որ նոցա [է կերակուր]: Եւ երանի թէ մինչ ցայսքան էր պատուիասն: Զկնի յանցմանն եւ դառն կերակրոյն ասէ ցնա Աստուած. Ադամ, «փոխանակ զի լուար ձայնի կնոջ քո եւ կերար ի ծառոյն՝ յորմէ պատուիրեցի պահել, անիծեալ լիցի երկիր. փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսուցէ քեզ», եւ որ զկնին. «զի հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս». (Ծն. Գ, 17–19):

. . . In the beginning with the creation of the first man, God gave him fasting as a teacher. . . . And when he fell and he was deceived by the mortal food, see what the same prophet says to him, “Man was in glory and did not understand, he became equal to the dumb animals and like them,”⁴² by all life, becoming eater of grass and greens that are (their food). And it is fortunate that the punishment was (only) in this measure. After the sin and the bitter food, God said to him, Adam, “Because you listened to the voice of your wife and ate of the tree, from which I commanded (you) to refrain, let the earth be cursed. Let it make spring up for you thorns and thistles,” and after “For you were dust and to dust you will return.”⁴³

YOVHANNĒS K‘OREPISKOPOS C8

Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos, Վասն որ ի Վարագ երեւեցաւ սուրբ նշան “Concerning the Holy Cross That Was Seen in Varag,” ed. P. Ananean, *Bazmavēp* 124 (January–March 1966): 14–28.

- 1 24 . . . Վասն կատարելոյ ի սկզբանն խորհրդոյ՝ արարեալ զմարդն ըստ պատկերի արարչութեան իւրոյ եւ եղեալ զնա ի մէջ երկրաբուխ վայելչական սերմանեացն բուսոց եւ տնկոց: Ապա թողեալ ի կամս վասն փորձանաց մարդոյն զխորատոյգ եւ զապստամբ վիշապն,

42. Ps 49:20 = Arm 48:21.

43. Gen 3:17–19.

զանկեալն ի լուսափայլ փառացն, որով անկեալ մարդոյն ընդ սահմանս դառնաշունչ չարաթոյն աւծին ժառանգեաց զմահ դառնալ անդրէն ի հող ուստի առաւ:

To accomplish [His] intention, in the beginning God created man according to his own creative image, and put him among earth-sprung pretty shoots of plants and trees. Then, having left for man his will for the sake of testing, the fallen and rebellious dragon, which fell from the splendid glory, through which man, having fallen into the region of the bitter-spirited venom of the serpent, inherited death, (which is) to return to the dust from which he was taken.

YOVHAN ԾՅՆԵՐ՝Ի C8

Text: Yovhan Ծյնե՛ր, Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1953).

Ընդդէմ պաւղիկեանց Against the Paulicians

- 1 54 Մինչեւ զթացեալ ստեղծողի պատկերին, եղև պատկեր ստեղծուածոյն. եւ որ ի սկզբանէ արար զմարդն ըստ պատկերի իւրում եւ ըստ նմանութեան, ինքն եկն, եւ ի վախճան ժամանակացս այսոցիկ զկերպարանս ծառայի էառ, եւ ի նմանութիւն մարդկան գտաւ եղեալ:

While the Creator pitied the image, he became the image of the created being. And he who in the beginning made man according to his image and according to (his) likeness, came and in the end of these times took the form of a servant and was found to have become the likeness of a man.⁴⁴

Ընդդէմ երեւութականաց Against Phantasiasts

- 2 83 . . . Եթէ եր ապականութիւն, ոչ կարէր ի միասին ընդ գոլոյն բաղկանալ, այլ են բաղկացականք գոյացութեան: Քանզի ասէր գոյացուցիչն մերում նախահօրն. «Յամենայն ծառոց՝ որ են ի դրախտիդ, ուսելով կերիցես»: Այս՝ ո՞չ ապաքէն ըստ բնութեանն պատշաճեալ կերակրողականին առաջի դներ զպէտս. զի եթէ ոչ այս այսպէս, աւելորդ վարկանիւմ զամենապտուղն զայս տնկագործողին

44. Man is created in the image of God, but God, in Christ, took on the likeness of man. Note that this is one interpretation of the image. In the fifth-century texts other interpretations are to be found.

տնկեալ գորախտն. եւ ի նմա դնելով զմարդն՝ հրամայեալ անդուստ վայելել նմա:

. . . If there was corruption, it could not have been composed together with existence; being had other components. For the Creator said to our forefather: "Of all the trees which are in the Garden you may freely eat."⁴⁵ Didn't He indeed place first the nutritional need, according to the appropriateness of nature? For if it were not thus, I consider superfluous this fruitful Garden of Eden planted by the Gardener, and putting the man there and then commanding him to enjoy it.

- 3 83–84 Եւ դարձեալ թէ՛ «Ի պտղոյ ծառոյն՝ որ ի մէջ դրախտին, մի ուտիցես, զի մի մեռանիցիս»: Եթէ ոչ երկիւղին տրամադրութիւն ի բանականումն նորա բնաւորեալ էր յոգւոջ, զիա՞րդ զգուշացուցանէր, եւ կամ զգուշացեալ լինէր, եւ կամ մեղադրիւր յետ ոչն զգուշանալոյ: Եւ յառաջ քան զայս գրեալ է, գործել զնա եւ պահել զփափկականն զայն դրախտ՝ զոր տնկեացն: Առաջինն զաշխատութիւն, եւ երկրորդն զհոգալն ընդ ինքեան շարամանեալ ունի: Իսկ զքնոյն ունակութիւն բացայայտակի ի գրեցելոց անտի բանից ծանեաք. «Էարկ, ասէ, Աստուած թմբրութիւն ի վերայ Ադամայ եւ ննջեաց»: Ոչ արտաքուստ ի նմա բերելով զքնոյն իրակութիւն, այլ բնաւորականին ըստ պիտոյիցն ի վերայ անկեալ կրից: Իսկ զցանկութիւն յորոց ցանկացան հրաժարեցուցեալն պտղոյ իմանամ: Եւ զոր ասէն. «Ադամայ ոչ գտաւ օգնական նմա»՝ այսուիկ զտրտմութիւն նշանակէ զնախաստեղծին, զայլս ի կենդանեացն զուգակենակցաբար ըստ ազգի տեսանելով վայելչացեալս, յաղագս նորին տրտմէր ընդ իւրն միայն անտուն ամայութիւն եւ զրկանս: Այլ եւ զյառաջգիտութեանն ոչ ըստ բնութեան ի նմա ասեմ զոլ նախաստեղծութիւն, այլ յաստուածային հոգւոյն ազդմանէ, որ / երբեմն շարժէ, եւ երբեմն առ ինքն ամփոփեալ թողացուցանէ զմտաւոր եւ զբանական հոգին . . .

And again: "Of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, you shall not eat, lest you die."⁴⁶ If disposition to fear was not inherent in his soul through his rationality, why did he warn or why was he warned, or why was he blamed after not being careful? And before this it is written: "to work it and to keep" this delightful Garden that he planted. The first means labor and the second is inseparable from care. And we have obviously learned (or: learned about) the habit of sleeping from the words written there; it says: "God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept."⁴⁷ And He brought upon him the action of sleep not from outside, but as a natural function occurring when necessary. And I understand the wish that caused him (to

45. Gen 2:16.

46. Gen 2:17.

47. Gen 2:21.

eat) the forbidden fruit. And when (the Bible) says, “for Adam there was not found a helper for him,”⁴⁸ by this it signals the sorrow of the protoplast; he saw other animals enjoying life in couples according to the species, for that reason he grieved about his homeless loneliness and hardship. And I consider prescience not to be natural in him, but from the power of the divine spirit which sometimes moves and sometimes, concentrating within itself, relaxes the intellectual and reasonable soul.

- 4 85 . . . Արդ յայտ է յասացելոց անտի՝ եւ վասն նախաստեղծին ասել, թէ ցորքան պատուիրանապահութեամբն թեւակոխէր, նոքումբբ այսոքիւք բնաւորականօքս ընդդիմամարտուցեալ ի բաց յինքննէ հալածէր զմահն եւ զապականութիւն. եւ այնպէս յարատեւողագոյն գոյացութեամբ՝ անճառելեաց երթեալ հանդիպանայր կենաց: Իսկ յորժամ առ պատուիրանագանցութիւնն ի վայր սողոսկեալ անկաւ, յորմէ եւ մեղացն եղև բողբոջ, յայնժամ ընդ լծով մահու եւ ապականութեան մտեալ հնազանդիւր: Եւ այսպէս ոչ ստեղծիչն, եւ ոչ ստեղծեալն ի նմանէ, այլ ինքնակամութիւն ստեղծուածոյն եւ պատրանք բանսարկուին զմահն եւ զապականութիւնն ի մերումս յարադրեաց բնութեան: Բայց սակայն դժուարաշարժ առ մեղսն յայնժամ, եւ դիւրաշարժագոյն առ բարին. որպէս եւ այժմիկ յապականացուս անկեալ կեանս՝ հակառական այսոցիկ վտանգիմք, դիւրաշարժ առ մեղսն, եւ դժուարաշարժ առ առաքինութիւնն փոփոխելով:

. . . Now, it is clear from those words, that it may also be said about the first man that as long as he sought to observe the commandment, he drove death and corruption away from himself, resisting them thanks to such abilities; and thus with continuous (proper) behavior he attained indescribable life. But when he slipped over into the transgression against the commandment and fell, by which he became a sprout of sin, then he passed under the yoke of and submitted to death and corruption. Thus, neither the Creator nor the one created by him added death and corruption to our nature, but the free will of the creature and the deception of the Devil. However, he was unwilling to sin and much inclined to good, whereas now, having fallen into corruptible life, we are endangered by the opposite of these, tending to the inclination toward sin and unwillingness toward virtue.⁴⁹

48. Gen 2:20.

49. The passage deals with the origin of corruption/corruptibility. It is not part of the initial creation, for the fruit of the Garden was appropriate food for humans. The disposition of fear was inherent in man, as is shown by the commandment with its sanction. Sleep is inherent in man, because God brought it upon Adam. The desire to abate loneliness is inherent but prescience is not: sometimes it is given by the Holy Spirit. These functions, which might be wrongly considered to be connected with corruptibility, were in fact part of the inherent, created order. Consequently, when man sinned he passed under the yoke of death and corruption.

- 5 90–91 Եւ այսպէս երկրորդս Ադամ / առաջնոյն գտաւ նորոգող. զի զոր օրինակ նա վիրաւորեալ ի մեղացն՝ հակառակորդին ետ զինքն ի ծառայութիւն

... And there this second Adam was found to be the renewer of the first. For just as he (the first Adam) was wounded by sins, he (Christ) gave himself into the servitude of the opponent.

Նորին Տեառն Յովհաննու Կաթողիկոսի Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ

Of the same Rev, Yovhannēs Catholicos concerning the Orders of the Church

- 6 106 Իսկ չորեքշաբաթին ըստ վեցերորդ ժամու պաշտմանն խորհրդեանն կարգեալ է, յորում ժամու հիւանդութիւն նախահօրն պատմի, եւ ի նմին ժամու բժշկութիւն վիրացն չարչարանօք խաչին Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի:

And the sacrament⁵⁰ is held on Wednesday, at the sixth hour, at which hour the sickness of the forefather is told (to have happened) and at the same hour—the healing of wounds through suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ on the cross.

- 7 110 Յայնմ ժամու. (յաւուր միաշաբաթու յառաջին ժամուն) վարկանիմ ստեղծեալ զմարդն առաջին:

At that hour (on Sunday at the first hour) I consider the first man to have been created.

- 8 112 Իսկ ի տուրնջեանն որոշեալ սահմանք աղօթիցն այս ըստ յանցման ժամուն նախահօրն հեշտասիրութեանն եւ մեղանացն . . . զի որպէս Ադաման ամենեքին մեռան, նոյնպէս եւ Քրիստոսին ամենեքեան կենդանացին . . . Զի յորում ժամու յանցեան Ադամն առաջին, եւ յետ յանցանացն յամեաց ի դրախտին, նոյնչափ եւ Քրիստոս եկաց ի վերայ խաչին ի բժշկութիւն վիրաց նորա:

And the fixed period of this prayer is determined within daytime, according to the time of the forefather's transgression, his sensuality and his sin. . . . For as all died through Adam, likewise all will revive through Christ. For at the same hour when the first (man) Adam transgressed and after the trans-

This was not the work of God or inherent in the creature, but the result of the exercise of free will. As a result we suffer from an inclination to sin and disinclination to virtue.

50. Literally: worship of mystery.

gression stayed in the Garden of Eden, for the same (amount of) time Christ stayed on the cross to heal his⁵¹ wounds.⁵²

- 9 113 Իսկ յիններորդ ժամուն կարգեալ զաղօթան, այս վասն անդարձ խոստովանութեանն մեղանացն Ադամայ. յորում ժամու դատապարտեալ ելաւ ի դրախտէն, եւ ի նմին ժամու աղաղակաւ աւանդեաց զոգին Փրկիչն աշխարհաց, եւ զԱդամ եհան ի դժոխոց:

And the prayer is arranged at the ninth hour for confession of Adam's irrevocable sin, at which hour he, being condemned, came out of the Garden; and at the same hour the Savior of the worlds yielded up his spirit with a cry,⁵³ and brought Adam out of the hell.⁵⁴

Ճառ երկրորդ յեկեղեցի

“Second Sermon on the Church,” ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Sis, 2007), 95–104. (This is also available in the Venice edition; see above).

- 10 156 Սա է դրախտ աստուածատունկ անմտանելի չարաց. զի ի նմանէ օձին արտաքս անկաք եւ Քրիստոսի ի սմա մտանեմք. եւ վասն զի դրախտն կենդանեաց զմեղօք մեռեալսն ոչ ընդունի, նոյնպէս եւ յայս եկեղեցոյ արտաքս որոշին ամպարիշտք եւ մեղաւորք: Յայնմ դրախտի ծառ կենաց, յորմէ արգելաւ նախաստեղծն, իսկ աստ խաչն լուսոյ . . . Անդ աղբերն եղեմաբուղիս ոռոգանէ զվայելչավայր բուրաստանն, եւ անտի ի չորս բաժանի առաջս. իսկ աստ Բանն ճշմարտութեան բղիւսեալն ի Հօրէ աղբերաբար՝ զաւետարանին հոսէ գնացս ընդ չորեքծագեան տիեզերս, եւ մկրտութեամբն մաքրէ եւ նորոգէ զմարդիկ ի կեանս արդարութեան:

This is the Garden planted by God which evil ones cannot enter, for we were cast out of it through the serpent, and we enter it through Christ; and as the garden of the living does not accept those who have died because of sin, likewise the impious and the sinners are excommunicated from this church. In that Garden (is) the tree of life, from which the protoplast was forbidden, and here (is) the cross of light. . . . There the spring emanating in Eden waters the

51. I.e., Adam's.

52. Note not only parallelism of time but also the use of “wound” both of Adam's sin and of Christ's passion. This we saw also above.

53. Cf. Matt 27:50.

54. Note that the confession of Adam's sin took place at the ninth hour and its liturgical correspondent. Adam left the Garden at the ninth hour and Christ died at the ninth hour. Observe that “brought Adam out of Hell” is a general observation connected with the Descent into Hell tradition. It is certainly not strictly chronological.

graceful Garden, and thence it is parted into four heads;⁵⁵ and here the Word of truth emanating from the Father like a spring makes the course of the Gospel flow through the universe having four parts, and by baptism cleanses and renews mankind for (or: in) the life of justice.

- 11 156–57 Յայնմ դրախտի Ադամ ստեղծաւ պատկեր Աստուծոյ. եւ աստ մարդն յեկեղեցւոջ ծննդեամբ աւագանին լինի որդի Աստուծոյ: Անդ փայտ գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. եւ աստ խաչին ծանեաք զճշմարիտ բարին զԱստուած եւ խոյս / տուաք ի պատրողաբար ծառայեցուցացն. որպէս եւ ինքն Փրկիչն հրամայեաց. «Յորժամ բարձրացուցանիցէք զորդի մարդոյ, յայնժամ գիտասցիք թէ ես եմ»: Անդ ծառք տերեւախիտք, ծաղկազարդք. եւ աստ դասք առաքելոց եւ մարգարէից լուսաբեր իմաստութեամբ եւ ծաղկազարդ առաքինութեամբ զԵրրորդութեան հաւատ ուսուցանեն վայելչածաղիկ վարդապետութեամբ: Ձնա սերոբէիցն պարփակէ հրեղէն սուրն. եւ զսա Հոգին սուրբ պարունակէ նշանաւ տերունականն խաչի: Յայնմ դրախտի պատուիրանն տուաւ զործոյ եւ պահպանութեան. զնոյն եւ աստ պատուէր առաք՝ ստանալ զօրէնս Հոգւոյն, եւ անսխալ պահել:

Յառաջինն Ադամայ շինեցաւ ի կողիցն կին, եւ տուաւ նմա յօգնականութիւն. իսկ յերկրորդն Ադամայ կողիցն, յորմէ եւ արին եւ ջուր, շինեցաւ եկեղեցի:

In that paradise Adam was created as the image of God, and here, in the church, man becomes a son of God through birth in the baptismal font. There (is) the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and here we learned through the cross the true good, God, and we escaped the deceitful enslavers, as the Savior himself commanded: “When you have lifted up the Son of man, then shall you know that I am he.”⁵⁶ There the leafy, flowery trees, and here companies of apostles and prophets teaching the belief of the Trinity with luminous wisdom and flowery virtue, by graceful indoctrination. That one the fiery sword of the Cherubim closes about, and this one includes the Holy Spirit through the sign of the Lord’s cross. In that paradise, commandment was given to work and to guard; we have received the same commandment also here: to receive the law of the Spirit and to keep it faultlessly.

Woman was made from the side of the first Adam and was given to him as a helper. And from the side of the second Adam, whence blood and water (flowed), the church was built.

55. Cf. Gen 2:10.

56. John 8:28.

Yovhan Ȭjnec'ı, *Ընթերցուածոց մեկնութենէ, Ի խորհուրդ նոր կիրակեիին* “From the Commentary on the Lectionary: On the Mystery of the Low Sunday,”⁵⁷ ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century. (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), 111–18.

- 12 114 Այսար դրունս դժոխոց բացան եւ մահ լուծաւ, հին Ադամն ի բաց եղաւ եւ նոր⁵⁸ լցաւ, նոր արարածք ի Քրիստոս նորոգեցան:

Today the door of the hell was opened and death was dissolved, old Adam was put away and the new one was fulfilled, new creatures were renewed in Christ.

Yovhan Ȭjnec'ı, *Ընթերցուածոց մեկնութենէ, Նախահաւաքումն պատմութեան այսմ բանից Տեառն Յովհաննու Վերծանողի* “From the Commentary on the Lectionary: Preliminary Collection for This Narrative from the Words of Yovhan the Lector,” ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), 156–72.⁵⁹

- 13 157–58 Եւ հրապուրէր ամբարիշտն այն. (Արտեմոն) զհաւանեալսն իւր որպէս եւ ի սկզբանն աւան Եւայ: Նա ասէր ցԵւայ յետ առաջնոյ հերձուածոյ. «Մինչեւ ցաքանեացս բազմութեան ծառոց դրախտին համարձակութիւն ետ Աստուած ուտել. Յայս ծառոյ զի՝ արգել: Զի՞նչ փառք են, զի՞նչ պատճառք: Աղէ տես յոյժ եւ քննեայ, յոյժ ներամտեա, կայ իմն յիրսդ:» Այսպիսի դիմաւք ի կարծիս արկանէր զնա եւ աղմկէր զսիրտն: Եւ իբրեւ խարդաւանեաց զնա եւ երկմտեցոյց, տիրացաւ ի վերայ զգայական մտաւորութեան նորա եւ ասէր. «Թէ ուտէ՞ր աստուածք լինիքդ:»⁶⁰ Նոյն խարդաւանութեամբ եւ Արտեմոնն ասէր ցհրապուրեալսն իւր. «Զի՞նչ համարիցիք զկարծեալ առաքելոցն զաւետաբանութիւնսն, որ զանխլացուցին եւ թաքուցին զլրութիւն հաւատոյն եւ սուղ ինչ վարդապետութեամբ դաւանեցին յերկրի» . . .

Աւան զԱստուած ամբաստան առնէր ընդ Եւայի, եթէ՝ «Վասն այնորիկ յապաւեաց ի ձէնջ Աստուած զծառոյն կերակուր, եթէ զուցէ ճաշակիցէք եւ աստուածք լինիցիք»: Եւ Արտեմոն զառաքելոցն ամբաստանէր . . .

57. This is the first Sunday after Easter, normally called “New Sunday.”

58. See Grigor Narekac'ı 2009, 505.

59. The second part of the title is not quite clear; it may be corrupt.

60. Gen 3:5.

And that impious (Artemon) tempted those who agreed with him, as in the beginning the serpent (had tempted) Eve. He said to Eve after the first rupture: "If God gave permission to eat from such a multitude of the trees of the Garden, why did He forbid (the fruit) from this tree? What is the glory? What is the reason? Now look thoroughly and examine, throughly go into the heart, is there anything in this?" With such an expression he made her inquire and excited (her) heart. And when he had plotted against her and made her doubt, he dominated over her sensible/sensual reason, and said: "If you eat, you will become gods." With similar plots Artemon too said to those whom he had tempted: "What do you consider the seeming preaching of the Apostles who have damped and concealed the fullness of the faith and have professed their mean teaching on the earth?" . . .

The serpent accused God before Eve saying: "For that reason God cut off for you the food from the tree, lest you eat and become gods." And Artemon accused the Apostles . . .

NINTH CENTURY

HAMAM AREWELC'İ C9

Text: Hamam Arewelc'ı, Մեկնութիւն Առակաց “Commentary on Proverbs,” in Step'anos Siwnec'ı, Մեկնութիւն չորից անտարանչաց *Commentary on the Four Evangelists; Hamam Arewelc'ı, Մեկնութիւն Առակաց Commentary on Proverbs*, ed. M. Saribekyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1994).

Translation: *Hamam: Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*, trans. and ed. Robert W. Thomson (Hebrew University Armenian Studies 5; Leuven and Dudley, Mass.: Peeters, 2005). The translation here is my own.

- 1 198 Ի պտղոյ արդարութեան բուսանի ծառ կենաց

Ուստի բուսաւ ծառն կենաց որդին Աստուծոյ ի խաչին, ծառն կենաց, որով շուրջ կան Սերօբէքն եւ Քերօբէքն:

From righteousness's fruit, a tree of life grows (Prov 11:30).

Whence¹ did the tree of life grow, the Son of God on the cross, the tree of life, around which stand the Seraphim and the Cherubim.

- 2 215 «Առաջ քան զբեկումն իւր բարձրանայ սիրտ առն, եւ նախ քան զկարծիս կործանի:»

Before its breaking,² the heart of man is haughty; and before thought it is destroyed (Prov 18:12).

Որ նախքան զբեկումն բարձրացաւ սիրտն սատանայի, որ ապստամբելովն կամեցաւ բարձրանալ քան զընկերս իւր: Եւ վասն նորին յայս մեծ բեկումն կորացեալ առաջի հզօրին Աստուծոյ: Եւ նախքան զկարծիսն այս եղեալ, մինչեւ ի նոյն եւս էր կամս, ի վայր բերեալ եղեւ, եւ կորացաւ առաջի ամենեցուն, որ էր պայծառ արուսեակ. խաւար վասն ամբառնալոյն կոչեցաւ եւ եղեւ: Նոյն զմարդն պարտեաց որ կորացաւ եւ նա ընդ նմա:

Before the breaking, the heart of Satan became haughty, who by rebelling, wanted to become more elevated than his fellows. And, therefore, he was

1. I.e., from the Holy Marriage.

2. I.e., destruction.

abased to this great rupture before mighty God. And this happened before thought, while he still had the very same desire; he was cast down and abased before everyone. He who was a brilliant Lucifer,³ on account of his haughtiness was named and became darkness. The same one defeated man who, too, was abased with him.

K'EROVBĒ *VARDAPET* C9

K'ervbē *vardapet*, Պատճառ գալստեան Տեան յԵրուսաղէմ “Explanation of the Coming of the Lord to Jerusalem,” ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 722–43.

- 1 730. (143) Տիմէի որդի թուի, թէ զԱդամ առակէ նշանակաւ, որ ստեղծմամբ Աստուծոյ ի չորից տարերց ծնեալ եղև իբր ի մաւրէ, զոր Տիմէ կոչէ, զի անունս այս չորիւք տառիւք գոյանաւ:

(143) He (Bartimeus) seemed to be the son of Timeus⁴ in order to hint symbolically at Adam, who being created by God was born from the four elements as from a mother, whom he calls “of Timeus,” since this name is made of four letters.

- 2 730. (151) Զի յելանէլն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն դեռես ճաճանչ լուսոյ աստուածգիտութեան ընդ ինքեան ունէր եւ զմարմնոյն աչս՝ բաց թէպէտ եւ կուրացեալ էր հոգւով, այլ զի յաւել մեղս ի վերայ մեղացն ամենայն ծննդաւք իրաւք (v.l. իւրովք):

(151) For when Adam went forth from the Garden, he still had with himself the rays of the light of the knowledge of God and corporeal eyes, but even if he was blinded in his soul, he added sins to the sins through all his descendants.

- 3 732. (184) Եւ նախաստեղծն Ադամ յամենայն կենդանիս միայն բանական եղեալ, պատիր խաբէութեամբ աւձին կորոյս զնա, ըստ մարգարէին. «Հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից»:

(184) As to the first-created Adam, being the only rational one among all the animals, he destroyed him by the false deceit of the serpent, according to the prophet: “He is like irrational animals.”⁵

3. “Morning star”; see Isa 14:12.

4. See Mark 10:46.

5. Ps 48:13 = MT 49:12, but MT differs.

MOVSĒS XORENAC'Ī C9

Text: Movsēs Xorenac'ī, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of the Armenians*, ed. M. Abelean and S. Yarut'iwnean (Tiflis: Mnac'akan Martiroseanc' Press, 1913); reprinted with the supplement by A. Sargsyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1991).

Translation: *Moses Khorenats'i, History of Armenia, translation and commentary on the literary sources* by R. W. Thomson (rev. ed.; Ann Arbor: Caravan Books, 2006). The translation below is taken from this book, referred to by pages.

The date of this work is greatly debated, and its traditional date is the fifth century. That date is maintained by many scholars, with arguments that are far from negligible. There is no doubt of the antiquity of much of the material included in this pivotal work of Armenian historiography though it may well have been put into its present form some centuries later.⁶

Դ Ծննդաբանութիւն Հայոց Մեծաց

IV Genealogy of Greater Armenia

- 1 14, 1.4 Ադամ նախաստեղծ. սա կեցեալ ամս երկերիւր եւ երեսուն՝ ծնանի զՍէթ:

69 Adam the first to be created. He lived two hundred and thirty years and begat Seth.

- 2 Քանզի է Ադամ ճշմարտապէս աստուածաստեղծ. եւ սա ի բերանոյ Աստուծոյ առեալ ասի պատուէր, այլ եւ յանցուցեալ եւ ի թագստեան եղեալ՝ զՈւր ես-ն յԱստուծոյ եւ ոչ յայլմէ ումեքէ հարցանի. սապէս եւ զվճիռ վարկին ի նորին բերոնոյ լսէ:

For Adam is truly the creature of God, and he is said to have received a command from God's mouth. But he, having transgressed and having hidden, was asked: "Where are you?"⁷ by God and not by anyone else. Likewise he heard the sentence from the same One's mouth.⁸

- 3 15 Քանզի ի պատուիրանազանցութեան գտեալ առաջինն ի մարդկանէ՝ ի դրախտէն եւ յԱստուծոյ, չարին աղագաւ, որպէս ասացեալ է, գտանի արտասահմանեալ: Զկնի եւ ընտանեզոյնն

6. Some arguments for its antiquity demand serious consideration. See, for example, the recent work of Topchyan (2006). The argument may well be over the date of redaction rather than the early origins of many of the sources.

7. Gen 3:9.

8. Gen 3:17–19.

Աստուծոյ յորդուցն Ադամայ՝ ի հարազատեն իւրմէ սպանանի յեղբօրէ:

70 Since the first of mankind was found in transgression of the commandment, because of his evil, as has been said, he was expelled from the Garden of Eden and from God.⁹ Afterwards, the one of Adam's sons who was most intimate with God was killed by his own brother.¹⁰

§6

- 4 22, 1.6 Title Յաղագս թէ ինչ որ հաւասար, եւ է ինչ որ օտար ի Մովսիսէ պատմեն այլքն հնախօսք, եւ յաղագս Ոլիմպիոդորայ փիլիսոփայի անգիր հին զրուցացն:

74 Concerning the fact that other antiquarians' accounts sometimes agree and sometimes disagree with Moses, and concerning the unwritten ancient stories of the philosopher Olympiodorus.

- 5 22, 1.6 Բայց որպէս ի սկզբանն երբեմն ճշմարտեն, երբեմն ստեն - որպէս յաղագս նախաստեղծին, ոչ առաջին մարդ ասելով զնա, այլ թագաւոր, սոյնպէս անուն իժական նմա եւ աննշանակ կոչելով, եւ ամս տալով երեսուն եւ վեց հազար.

75 But as for the beginning (i.e. Creation) sometimes they tell the truth, sometimes they lie; just as, concerning the protoplast, not saying the first man but king, calling him a barbaric and obscure name and giving him thirty-six thousand years.

PSEUDO-ՏԱՍՈՒՅԻՆ OR THE ANONYMOUS STORYTELLER C9

Pseudo-Տասուիքի Bagratuni, Պատմութիւն անանուն զրուցագրի կարծեցեալ Շապուի Բագրատունի *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller regarded as Տափու Բագրատունի*, ed. with Russian translation, introduction, and commentary by M. H. Darbinyan-Melikyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1971).

Translation based on R. W. Thomson, "The Anonymous Story-Teller (Also known as 'Pseudo-Shapuh')," *Revue des études arméniennes* n.s. 21 (1988–89): 182–229. The translation is my own.

184 Rich and honorable men assembled and journeyed as far as the land

9. Gen 3:23–24.

10. Gen 4:9.

of Syria. On the way Mahmet said: “O Persian magnates, we are not in the (right) faith and piety, for our idols are vain. Now I have heard from some people that there exists a God in Heaven, above the sun which is visible to us.” They said: “What is the matter with you, Mahmet? Be quiet and do not speak about that.”

- 1 45 Իսկ նա սկսաւ պատմել նոցա զաւուրս զառաջինս յԱբրահամու եւ ի Նոյէ, նաեւ ի յԱդամայ. եւ նոքա զարմանային ընդ իմաստութիւնս նորա եւ ասէն. «Ո՛վ Մահմէտ, ուստի ասես զայդպիսի բանս եւ բազում զհտութիւնս»:

Then he began to relate to them the earliest days, from Abraham and Noah and even from Adam. They were astonished at his wisdom and said: “O Mahmet, what is your source for such sayings and all this knowledge?” He replied: “Wisdom, knowledge, and prophecy have been given me from above.” And when they had drawn near the monastery, they camped there opposite the monk’s monastery in accordance with his advice.

SAHAK MRUT C9

Text: Sahak *vardapet* of the Armenians, Պատասխանի Թղթոյն Փոստայ՝ գրեալ Սահակայ Հայոց Վարդապետի, հրամանաւ Աշոտայ Հայոց իշխանաց իշխանի “Answer to the letter of Photius, written by Sahak *vardapet* of the Armenians, at the command of Ašot, Prince of Princes of Armenia,” in Գիրք Թղթոց *Book of Letters*, ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), 524–39.

529 ՂԱ. 81.

- 1 Ապաքէն մի բնութիւն յերկուս դէմս իմանի եւ ասի. քանզի է որ ըստ պարզութեան է մի որ ոչն է յաւդական, որպէս Գաբրիէլ եւ Միքայէլ. եւ է որ ըստ յաւդաւորութեանն է մի, որպէս Ադամ եւ Նոյ:

Is then one nature to be perceived and spoken of in two countenances, for there is that which is one according to simplicity, which is not compounded, like Gabriel and Michael; and there is one who is one in compoundedness, like Adam and Noah.

T‘ĒOP‘ILOS C9

T‘Ēop‘ilos, Ի մեծի երկուշաբադին ի թգենին եւ յԱդամայ մեկնութիւն յաղագս անիծիցն թգենոյն եւ վասն ապաշխարութեան “Commentary on

the Great Monday, on the Fig Tree and Adam, concerning the Curse of the Fig Tree and concerning Repentance,” ed. Yakob K’eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 788–800.

- 1 793. (73) Անդ Ադամ զանէծսն ընդ թզենովն լուաւ եւ վրիպելով ի կենդանութենէ զպատուհաս մահուն ընկալաւ եւ Ադամ զպատմուճան մահուն զկենդանութեան ծածկոյթն ազաւ:

(73) There Adam heard the curse under the fig tree, and missing the life received the punishment of death, and Adam put on the garment of death (as) the cover of life.

T’ēop’ilos, Վասն յարութեան Ղազարու եւ դժոխցն կործանման “Concerning the Raising of Lazarus and the Destruction of the Hell,” ed. Yakob K’eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 820–27.

- 2 820. (10) Մատուցեալ Ադամ ասէ ցՈվաննէս. Ես էի ի փառս դրախտին իմում, եւ վաւելի անմահական կերակրովն: (11) Ապա նախանձեցաւ ընդ իս բանսարկուն եւ եհան ի վայելչական կենացն:

(10) Adam approached and said to John: “I was in the glory of my Garden and I was enjoying immortal food. (11) Then the Devil envied me and brought me forth from the splendid life.”

Text: Yakob K’eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 828–41.

T’ēop’ilos, Վասն ամենայն առաքինութեան եւ ողորմածութեան “On Every Virtue and Mercy”

- 3 834. (97) Ասէ գերեզմանն. Եթէ դու, զոր գտեր ըստ սովորութեան քո գործեցեր ընդ նմա, առաւել եւս զսովորութիւն իմ կատարեցից, քանզի գիտեմ զքեզ վրիպեալ ի սովորութենէ քումմէ ի ձեռն Եդիայի եւ Եդիսէի: (98) Այլ ամենեւին, յորմէ հետէ դարձաւ Ադամ առ իս, ուստի առաւ մինչեւ ցայսար զեկեալ[սն] առ իս ոչ կարաց յափշտակել ոք յինէն: (99) Այլ որ առաւել եւս յարգեալ իսկ էր փշրեալ մանրեցի եւ արարի իբրեւ զիս որպէս եւ զԱդամ արարի: (100) Ստեղծեալ զնա Աստուած ըստ պատկերի իւրում եւ ես արարի զնա ըստ նմանութեան փառաց իւրոց, եւ ես գործեցի զնա ըստ պատկերի իմում. ետու պատկեր գեղեցկազարդ եւ առի թառամեալ, ետու /// (one unreadable word) սա պայծառ /// (one unreadable word), եւ առի պապանձեալ, ետու կարի իմաստուն, եւ առի յոյ(?) յիմարի, ետու թագաւոր, եւ առի աղքատ, ետու վեր քան զիս, եւ առի խոնարհ քան զիս, ետու զպայծառազարդ յինէն եւ զգեղեցիկն քան զիս, եւ առի զմին իբրեւ

զիս, եւ պայծառ քան զիս, նոյն դարձեալ գործեցի իբրեւ զիս: (101) Եւ եթէ զաստուածագործ պատկերն, որ լեալ յարմատոյ առանց ախտի եւ վասն փառաւորման նորա եւ վայելման Աստուած տնկեաց ձեռաւք իւրովք դրախտ եւ կացոյց զնա ի վերայ ամենայն ձեռակերտաց իւրոց եւ ի ձեռն իմ անցք այդ ամենայն անցին ընդ նա, գոր եւ ասացի . . . :

(97). (In a dialogue between death and Lazarus's grave) The grave says: "If you treat whomever you have found according to your custom, I will fulfill my custom even more, since I know that you have failed in your custom through Elijah and Elisha. (98) But in no way, from the time when Adam returned to me from where he was taken until today could anybody take from me away those who have come to me. (99) But him who was even more respected, I crushed and destroyed and made him like me, as I had done Adam. (100) God created him in his image, and I made¹¹ him in the likeness of his glory, and I made him according my image. I gave a well-adorned image and received a faded one. I gave it (one unreadable word) shining (one unreadable word), and received a silent one. I gave a very wise one and received a very (?) foolish one. I gave a king and received a poor man. I gave one higher than me and received one lower than me, I gave one more brilliant than me and handsomer than me and received one like me, and I made like me the one who is more brilliant than me. (101) And as to the God-made image which was originally without vice, God planted the Garden with his hands for glorifying him and for his enjoyment, he set him over all the works of his hands,¹² and all that passed into my power with him, which I also said . . ."

Դ'εορ'ilos, Ի սուրբ եւ յանձառելի չարչարանսն եւ ի խաչելութիւնն Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի
 "On the Holy and Ineffable Passion and on the Crucifixion of Our Lord Jesus Christ," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 851–71.

- 4 858. (184). (թշնամին զատենարտեալ ընդ թագաւորին և ընդ ծառայ նորա . . .) Ընդ նախագահ այրն Ադամ, որ էր քնարս պատրաստեալ չար վիշապն՝ լեզուն իւր սրելով սուր երկսայրի, զի կարաց պատառել զվահան պատուիրանացն, որ հրաման առեալ՝ ոչ ճաշակելի պտղոյն, եւ նա ճաշակեաց եւ ընկալաւ

(185) փոխանակ անմահ դեղոյն՝ մահ /// (one unreadable word)

11. This does not seem correct: perhaps it should be, "He made him."

12. Phrase from Ps 8:5–6 = Arm 8:6–7.

(186) փոխանակ [պատուիրանին]՝ զթերութիւն պատուիրանազանց:

(187) փոխանակ ուրախութեան՝ արտասուք եւ տրտմութիւն:

(188) փոխանակ լուսազգեցութեան՝ զպատկառելի մերկութիւն:

(189) փոխանակ համարձակութեան՝ զթագուստն ընդ թզենովն:

(190) փոխանակ բնակութեան դրախտին՝ զբնակութիւն դժոխցն:

(191) փոխանակ աներեկոյ տունջեանն՝ զխաւարն աղջամղջին:

(184) (the adversary wrestling with the king and his servant . . .) With the man Adam seated in the highest place, whom the evil dragon had made a lyre,¹³ sharpening his two-edged tongue, so that he could tear the shield of the commandments, according to which he was ordered not to eat of the fruit, but he ate and received:

(185) instead of immortal remedy, death <>;

(186) instead of the commandment, transgressive shortcoming;

(187) instead of joy, tears and sadness;

(188) instead of a luminous garment, shy nakedness;

(189) instead of boldness, hiding under the fig tree;

(190) instead of dwelling in the Garden, dwelling in the hell;

(191) instead of day without evening, gloomy darkness.

- 5 868. (401) Եւ Տէր կոխեալ ի վայր ի դժոխսն, լուաւ Ադամ զոտնաձայնն Տեանն, եւ ասէ ցբնակեալքն իւր զոր ի յիններորդ ժամուն լուայ զոտնաձայնն ի դրախտին ահա այժմ անկաւ յականջս իմ: (402) Ո՛ր էթէ ստուգեցից, էթէ ոտնաձայնն այն է ոչ երկնչիմ, զի պատուեցէ զիս կրկին, այլ եւ ջնջեցէ զգիր դատապարտութեան, իմոյ զձեռագիրս պատառէ, զանէծս լուծանէ, զդատապարտութիւն ազատէ, զփշաբերութիւն ծաղկեցուցանէ, զարտասուսն փարատէ, զապականեալսն նորոգէ, զտրտմութիւն ուրախացուցանէ, զմահն հալածէ եւ մեռելոցն յոյս յարութեան պարգեւէ:

(401) And when the Lord trod downwards to the hell, Adam heard the sound of the footsteps of the Lord and said to those dwelling with him: “The sound of the footsteps which I heard in the ninth hour in the Garden, now it has reached my ears. (402) Oh, if I can find out that these are those footsteps, I will not be afraid, since he will honor me again, he will also extirpate the document of condemnation, he will tear my cheirograph,¹⁴ he will loose the

13. See Stone 2009, 87–99. See also the appendix above.

14. See Col 2:14.

curse, he will release [me from] the condemnation, he will make the thorny place flower, he will solace my tears, he will renew those who were corrupted, he will turn sadness into happiness, he will drive away death, and he will grant the hope of salvation to the dead.”

T‘OVMA ARCRUNI C9

Text: T‘ovma Arcruni and the Anonymous Author, Պատմութիւն Արծրունեաց տան *History of the Arcruni Family*, ed. with modern Armenian translation by V. M. Vardanyan (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1985).

Translation: *Thomas Artsruni, History of the House of the Artsrunik*, trans. Robert W Thomson (Byzantine Texts in Translation; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985). The translation here is my own.

Յառաջաբանութիւն հեղինակին.

Author's Preface

1 6 Եւ ըստ նմանակերպութեան պատկերի իւրոյ, յանձնիշխան կամայական կամարարութեանն ձգեալ պատիւ զնա՝ եւ տէր բոլորակերտ իրողութեանց մակադրեալ զհողանիթեայ էակս, որպէս ասաց նախամարգարէն մովսէս. նմանագոյնս ասացեալ եւ թագաւորադնն մարգարեաշնորհն Տաւիթ՝ փառօք եւ պատուովք պսակեցեր զնա, եւ կացուցեր զնա ի վերայ ձեռակերտաց քոց, եւ զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր ի ներքոյ ոտից նորա: Եւ ծառայականս պատահիս տուեալ նմա, որ ի վերայ կառուցեալ լուսաւորացոյ պարողութիւն երեւելագոյն գոյիցն, ի գործառնութեան կենացադաւարութեան պիտոյից մարդոյ, ըստ տունջեան եւ զիշերոյ բացակայութեանց գործոց եղանակեալ:

And according to the likeness of His own image, (God) having honored him with¹⁵ autonomous voluntary complaisance, and appointed this earthen being lord of all matter, as the first prophet Moses said. Similar words were said by kingly David endowed with prophetic gift: “Yet you have made him and crowned him with glory and honor. You have given him dominion over the works of your hands; you have made all things obedient beneath his feet.”¹⁶ And, having given him a servant’s circumstance, the circuit was established over the visible companies of the luminaries, for the use of the needs of the life of man, arranged according to the distancing of the affairs of day and night.

15. Literally: having cast/drawn him into honor.

16. Ps 8:5–6.

Դպրութիւն Ա. Book 1

- 2 18–22 Տնկեաց, ասէ, Աստուած գորախտն յԵդեմ ընդ արեւելս. այսինքն յերկրի արեւելս, զորոյ չունի բան ասել անդր եւս քան զնա յարեւելս ունել բնակութիւն մարդկան. որով իցէ ասել արեւմտական գորախտն կամ /20/ ի միջոցի ուրեք. եւ զանբաւութիւն մեծութեանն յայտ առնէ սաստկութիւն յորդահոս աղբերն, որ արբուցանելով գորախտն ընկղմի ընդ երկրաւ, եւ չորեքվտակեան անյաղթ եւ զօրաւոր գետովք ելանէ յաներեւելոյն յերեւելի աշխարհս: Իսկ զգերագանցութիւն գեղեցկութեանն որ բերան բաւեացէ ասել բան մարդկային, միանգամայն եւ զաստուածագործ տնկոցն հեշտալի տեսութիւն. եւ անհասական իմն շնորհիւ փառօք եւ պատուով պսակեալ զմարդն իշխանական ճոխութեամբ՝ վայելեցուցանէ դրախտին, տալով նմա բազմամեայ կենաց սահման իբրեւ զմի օր, ոչ պիտոյացեալ եկամուտ լուսոյ, որով նսեմացի առ ի հասանել երեկոյին, ոչ ապաժամանութիւն արեգական առ ի մերժել զմութ զիշերի լուսազգեստ ստեղծուածոյն, որ յետ առաջնոցն կարգի եւ դասու գերկրորդն փոխանորդեցաւ վիճակ, ոչ կերակուր հոսանուտ առ ի լրութիւն տարաբարձ ունակութեանց անապականին, որ դոյզն ինչ փոքրագոյն քան զիրեշտակս գոլ. եւ զի ասէ՝ գործել եւ պահել ոչ իբր ի լիութիւն ամենակատար դրախտին կամ պահպանութիւն ի վնասակարաց, այլ ահա գործել զարդարութիւն եւ պահել զպատուէրն ասացեալ նմա. զի սակաւաջան նպաստաւորութեամբն իբրեւ ընծայաբեր արար լինելով, եւ այնր աղագաւ յեւս բարձրագոյնսն ձգեցի ըստ ասացելումն ի սակաւուն հաւատարիմ լինելով՝ ոչ այնմ եւեթ տիրեցէ տնկոյն, այլ եւ բազմերջանիկ երկնայնոցն հասցէ կենաց:

It says, “God planted the Garden in Eden, to the east,”¹⁷ that is in the east of the earth, about which it does not say that there was any further human dwelling (than this garden), in the east. Thus, it may be said that the Garden was in the west (i.e., of the earth) or somewhere in the middle. And (Scripture) makes evident the unbounded greatness and the intensity of the spring which, having watered the Garden, sinks under the earth and (then), with the invincible and powerful four-streamed rivers, ascends from the invisible world to this visible one. And whose mouth can express in human speech its (Garden’s) surpassing beauty, as well as the pleasing appearance of the trees created by God? And with inconceivable grace, having crowned man with glory and honor, with princely splendor, He caused him to enjoy the Garden, giving him a life span of many years as one day.¹⁸ He did not need external

17. Gen 2:8.

18. Observe the relationship to Ps 90:4 = Arm 89:4.

light which would be darkened toward evening's coming; nor the subsequent arrival of the sun to expel the gloom of night from the creation garbed in light, which, following the order and rank of the first (situation), was replaced by a second situation; soft food for the fulfillment of the removed status of the uncorrupted (man) who was only a little less than the angels.¹⁹ And that it says, "to work it and to keep it,"²⁰ is not as if for fullness of the all-perfect garden and protection from the harmful, but behold for doing righteousness and keeping the command given to him. For by means of an easily achieved goal, He made (man) to be as one who bears a gift and on account of that he would be drawn to higher things, according to the saying, "having been faithful over a few things,"²¹ and he will not only possess that tree, but will attain the most fortunate heavenly life.

- 3 Իսկ նա ի հրապոյրս ապստամբ վիշապին ելեալ, որ բազմախարդախ չարութեամբն եհեղ առատութեամբ գղառնութիւն խրատոյն յունկն կնոջն անգգամի: Որով ընթադրեալ՝ գսիրողական երախտիս Արարչին, միանգամայն եւ զպատուէրն՝ առ սպանողն հատուածեցաւ, զոր ի դէպ է այժմ ասել նենգաւոր զոլ եւ անմիտ. ոչ շատացաւ ինքեան ծնելութեամբն առ ի զմայլումն հրաժարել ի կերակրոյ, այլ եւ աստուածականն ցանկացաւ փառաց, կորզել ապարասանութեամբ ինքեան եւ զպատիւ Արարչին, որով փորձիւ եւ հրապուրիչն նորա բանսարկուն ախտացաւ: Այլ եւ նախապատիւ եւս քան զայրն յաստուածականին լինել կնոջն նախայարձակ ճաշակմամբն: Աւաղ խարդախագունին այնորիկ խորհրդոյ եւ յիմարական մտաբերութեանն, որով անգիտացեալ զհողանիւթեայ իւր զանգուած՝ յահաւորէն Աստուծոյ եւ յարարչէն խորհեցաւ թիկունս դարձուցանել, որ ամենատես ակնարկութեամբ ստորիջեալ ի խնդիր կորուսելոյն հեզագնաց զարշապարօք՝ ընդելականս նմա գուշակէր գալուստ, ընտանեզոյնս եւս ձայնի կոչելով ուր եւս Ադամ, աւաղականս նմա գորովալիւր զանկումնն, թերեւս ինքեամբ իսկ զօգտակարօքն տածիցի:

But she was seduced by the rebellious dragon (or: serpent) who, with very fraudulent wickedness, poured plentifully the bitterness of (his) advice into the ear of the foolish woman. Thus she trampled under foot the kind favor of the Creator, together with the command, (and) withdrew toward the killer. Now it is appropriate to call her deceitful and stupid; she was not satisfied with her birth to renounce the delight of food, but coveted the divine glory, to snatch insolently for herself the Creator's honor as well, by which temptation also her seducer, the Devil, was afflicted. And the woman was the

19. See Ps 8:5= Arm 8:6.

20. Gen 2:15.

21. Matt 25:23.

first to taste,²² in order to be prior in the divine honor to her husband. Alas! her fraudulent idea and foolish attempt, for, forgetting her earthen mixture, she thought she could turn her back upon the fearsome God and Creator who, having descended in search of the lost one with His all-seeing gaze, with gentle heels made known as usual His coming to him by calling with a familiar voice, “Adam, where are you”²³ with affectionate words of regret for his fall; perhaps he might care for (it) by himself, with respect to helpful things.

- 4 Իսկ նա անդէն եւ անդ հերքեալ ապաժամանակ առ ուղղակի տեսութիւն մեղանաց՝ առ Աստուած վերաբերէ զպատճառն, ասէ՝ կինս զոր ետուր / 22 / ընդ իս, սա ետ ինձ ի ծառոյ անտի եւ կերայ. եւ թէ Ադամ առ նմանն իւր եւ օգնական զայտոսիկ զինչ ի դէպ իցէ կնոջն անմեղադրելի զոյ՝ օձին պատճառել, որ եւս վատթարագոյն քան զանասունն լինիցի: Ուստի եւ ըստ կարգի մեղանացն՝ եւ դժուարինք անիծիցն հետեւին, նախ օձին եւ ապա կնոջն: Իսկ եթէ մշակն մեղաց եւ անդրանիկն ամենայն չարեաց, որ ի յօձն բունեալ ոչ անիծաւ, որպիսիս ուսուցանէ վնասապարտութիւն օձին առ ի պատժականութեանն գտանել պարտաւորութիւն, որ ոչ յինքնէ միայն, այլ մանաւանդ ի գտողէն չարեաց:

But he, refuting his sin too late (because it was seen directly on the spot), disclosed the reason to God, saying: “This woman whom you gave (to be) with me, gave me of the tree, and I ate.”²⁴ And if Adam (said) these words about the one like him and his helper, why it would be fitting that the woman be without blame, and the serpent who is worse than the (other) animals be blamed? Hence, according to the order of the sins, onerous curses follow, first for the serpent and then for the woman. And if the cultivator of sins and the firstborn of all evil, who nested in the serpent, was not cursed, what sort of things does the guiltiness of the serpent teach, for finding the condemnation of the punishment which is not only from him himself but particularly from the inventor of evil?

- 5 Առ որս ասեմք՝ եթէ ըստ ամենայն յեղանակի անբոյժն ի բարւոյ, ոչ մի ինչ ոչ ունի մասն ազնիւ. թէ ասիցէ որ անիծիւք ի բաց բառնալ. նա եւ կենդանականն որ ի նմա ոչ ի բարի ինչ, այլ զի անհրաժեշտ չարին կալով անմահականս չարչարեսցի: Զոր բան եւ վասն օձին սքանչելապէս ուսուցանէ Փիլոն Աղէքսանդրացի՝ յառաջ քան զդրժանացն դիպուածս յոլովութիւն իմաստից ունել ամենայն շնչականաց. այլ եւ մարդոյն եւս յստակագոյնս տեսանել զհրաքանչիւրոցն ի նոցանէ մտածութիւն . . .

22. Literally: by the aggressive tasting (A.T.).

23. Gen 3:8.

24. Gen 3:12.

In this connection we say that he in no way can be cured by goodness; he has not a bit of worth in himself, so that one might say (he is) to be exterminated with curse. He and the vitality which is in him must be tortured, since it stays immortal, not for any good but necessarily for evil. Philo of Alexandria marvelously teaches this thing about the serpent, that before this infringement happened, all living creatures were endowed with great intellect, and man clearly saw reason in each of them.

- 6 Եւ եհան արձակեաց գնա Տէր Աստուած ի դրախտէն փափկութեան՝ գործել զերկիր ուստի առաւ: Եւ ապա զի՞նչ առ այսոսիկ առցուք ի մէջ զողբերգութեան բերումն ի հառաչանս, որով զաստուածեանն լքեալ զերկիր՝ զախտականս զայս եւ տաժանելիս փոխանորդեաց վիճակ, անբժշկական եւ ողորմելի յեղափոխմամբ. ըստ պատկերին Աստուծոյ ստուերացեալ բարձրացեալն նուաստացաւ, անմահից կենաց հաղորդն ի ձեռն անիծիցն հողացաւ, ի տէրութիւն կարգեալն բազմադիմի չարիւք վարատեալ, եւ ծառայ ախտից եղել, ինքեան եւ որոց յետ իւր թողլով ժառանգութիւնն որդւոց կեանս վշտագինս հանդերձ մահուամբ, եւ ծննդականութիւնս տրտմութեամբ: Չոր պարտ էր աստանօր յոլովագունիւք ոմամբք աւաղականօք ընդ ողբակիցս՝ եւ զմարգարեականն առնուլ ի ձայնարկութիւն, «մարդ ի պատուի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ, հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից եւ նմանեաց նոցա»:

And the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of delights, to work the ground whence he was taken.²⁵ And then, in this connection, what aspect of the tragedy shall we take up to bemoan? Because of which, having left the land blessed by God, he exchanged it for this perishable and arduous condition, suffering incurable and miserable change: he was humiliated, who was according to the image of God exalted by the shadow; he who had shared immortal life, turned to dust through the curse; he who was appointed to lordship was displaced through multifarious evils and became servant of passions. He (gained) for himself and left to his sons after him the heritage of sorrowful life along with death, and painful childbirth. Here we should bewail with many lamentations, together with fellow mourners, and take the words of the prophet's plaint: "Man was in honor and understood not, became equal to the dumb beasts and became like them."²⁶

25. Gen 3:23–24.

26. Ps 49:20 = Arm 48:21.

Պատմութիւն Անանուան Ա History of the Anonymous Author 1

- 7 406 Իսկ չարարուեստ բանասարկուն սատանայ, որպէս երբեմն ի նախնումն ազդեցութեամբ կնոջն դաւաճանեալ, դիւրահաւան զնախահայրն առ պտղոյն առնելով ճաշակումն, զանմահս մահացոյց ի կենաց, զոր ունէաք ի դրախտին զբնութիւն նմանապէս եւ աստ ի վերայ քաջի եւ մեծանուն իշխանին զնախանձուն վառեալ հոր՝ յիս մախանաց արկանէր ի սիրտս ոմանց Հայաստանեայց, զործակից նոցա լինել:

And as the malicious Devil, Satan, once in former times betrayed through the influence of the woman, by making the credulous forefather taste the fruit, depriving the immortal ones of life, the nature we had in the Garden, likewise now (lit. here) he set in the heart of some Armenians the fire of zeal at the brave and famous prince to be his co-workers.

ZAK'ARIA KAT'OLIKOS C9

Text: Barsel Sargisean, Եղիշէի եւ Զաքարիա կաթողիկոսի ի թաղումն Քրիստոսի ճառերն եւ Նիկողիմոսի աւետարանը *The Homilies of Elišē and Zak'aria Kat'olikos on Christ's Burial and the Gospel of Nicodemus* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1910), 23–29.

Zak'aria Kat'olikos, Ի մեծի աւուր շարաթուն թաղման Տեառն Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի.

“On the Great Saturday, the Day of the Burial of the Lord Jesus Christ”

- 1 28 Եւ ասէ Ադամ. Յորժամ վրիպեալ կողոպտեցայ ի պատուիրանացն Աստուծոյ, իջեալ Աստուած ընդ երեկս՝ յաւուր ուրբաթուն զնայր ի դրախտին . . . եւ արդ ի սոյն տարածամեալ ուրբաթոս եկեալ ժամանեաց ոտնաձայնիւ. եւ հանցէ զմեզ ի ստուերաց մահու:

And Adam says: “When having been deceived, I was deprived of God’s commandments, God, descending in the evening on Friday, walked in the Garden. . . . And now toward nightfall of this Friday, He came with his footfall, and (He) will take us out from the shadow of death.”

Zak'aria Kat'olikos, Ներբողեան ասացեալ ի Յարութեանն Քրիստոսի

“Elegy Pronounced on the Resurrection of Christ,” *Ararat* 21.8 (1888): 461–75.²⁷

- 2 469 Լուաւ Ադամ նախահայրն մեր եւ ազատեցաւ ի դատապարտութենէ փայտին: Լուաւ Եւայ զոտնաձայն քո ի դժոխս եւ մատուցեալ յաւետիս՝ նախաստեղծին ասէ՝ նախ եւ լուայ զձայն հրապուրանաց բանսարկուին, եւ կերայ ի պտղոյն եւ ետու քեզ ուտել ուստի փափագեցաք լինել իբրեւ զԱստուած, եւ ի փառացն բարձրագունից զրկեցաք բանսարկուին խաբամաբ: Եւ արդ՝ նախ եւ լուայ, զի Աստուած վասն մեր իբրեւ զքեզ մարդ եղել ի կնոջէ, որ էր իբրեւ զիս: Եւ արդ՝ լուայ զոտնաձայն նորա՝ ոչ ի դրախտին, այլ ի դժոխս, զի զայ, ոչ վասն դատապարտութեան մահու, այլ վասն ազատութեան կենաց:

Adam our forefather heard and he was freed of the sentence of the tree. Eve heard your footfall in hell and, having drawn near to this Gospel, said to the protoplast, “First I heard the voice of the seduction of the Devil, and I ate of the fruit and I gave you to eat, since we desired to become like God, and we were expelled from the glory of the supernal hosts by the deception of the Devil. And now, first I heard that God for our sake came into being as a man from a woman, who was like me. And now, I have heard his footfall, not in the Garden but in hell, for he comes, not because of the sentence of death but because of the freedom of life.”

- 3 470 Ուրախացիր Ադամ, եւ ցնծա՛ Եւայ, սպառեաց անէծքն եւ ծաղկեցաւ օրհնութիւն, քանզի արտասուք ձեր բարձաւ եւ խնդութիւն տարածեցաւ . . . (this motif is repeated several times through the whole text):

Rejoice Adam; be happy, Eve; the curse is exhausted and blessing has blossomed, because your tears are removed and happiness is shown forth . . .

- 4 472. (Ադամ . . . ասէ . . .) ինէւ զմահ ճաշակեցիք, եւ արդ ինէւ զկեանս զգեցարուք: Զի Աստուածն իմ եւ արարիչն վասն իմ կամեցաւ իբրեւ զիս լինել:

(Adam . . . says . . .), Through me you tasted death and now through me put

27. Fr. Shahe Ananyan observed (private communication) that Abp. Norvan Zak'arean's translation of this homily occurs in *Bazmavēp* for 1994, 474–88, and that in an article in *Sion* (1957) 21, Sirarpie Der Nersessian attributes it to Theophilus of Alexandria.

on life. For my God and Creator, on account of me, wished to become like me.²⁸

Text and Translation: Michel van Esbroek, “Une Homélie de Zacharie le Catholikosos sur l’Annonciation,” *Handes Amsorea* 101 (1987): 487–503. The translation here is my own.

Zak‘aria Kat‘olikos of the Armenians, Հինգերորդ ատուրն Տեառն Ջաքարիայի հայոց Կաթողիկոսի յաւետիս ամենաւրինեալ Աստուածածնին եւ միշտ կուսին Մարիամու
 “[Homily] for the Fifth Day of the Annunciation to the Most Blessed Mother of God Mary, ever the Virgin”

- 5 490 (3) Այլ ոչ վարկաւ արար ինչ գտեղի անկելոցն, թափուր եւ ունայն մնալով զբանակետոյն ապստամբեցելոցն ընդդէմ ամբառնալ ամբարտաւանին: Առնէ ի նուաստ բնութենէս ի հողանիւթ զանգուածոյս կենդանի մի. եւ տնկեալ զգեղապանձ դրախտն յեդեմ ընդդէմ արեգականն: Եղ ի նմա զմարդն գործել եւ պահել զհրաման արարչին, եւ ելանել լնու զբանակետոյ անկելոցն հրեշտակաց: Եւ տեսեալ ապստամբին զբարիս մարդոյն սահմանեալ ի բարերարէն, մախացեալ պատրանաւք, տարանջատէ ի յաւերժակայ բաղձիցն, ի յոգնագանն տնկոց կամելով ի յինքն ըմբռնել զվայելչական տենչացեալ դրախտին: Հրամանաւ արարչին շրջապահ հրեղէն սրով զդրախտն պարփակել: Բսկ անաւրէն իշխանն ի գիտս չարութեան փութացեալ, մեղաւք զմարդիք պաշարէ, ուսուցանէր հեռանալ յարարչէն, եւ զամենեսեան յանաւրէն կռապաշտութիւն ձգել զմահ տարածեալ ի մարդիկ: Թագաւորութիւն ի դժոխս յարիներ հոգիսն ի նմա ըմբռնեալ, անդ դադարէր զի մի ոք ճողոպրեալ ի յերկինս թել արկիցէ:

But not by judgment did he make the place of the fallen ones anything, leaving the encampment of the rebels empty and vain, having risen up against the Proud One. He makes a living creature from this inferior nature, from an earthen mass. And having planted the glorious Garden in Eden toward the sun, He put the man in it,²⁹ to work and guard (or: obey) the command of the Creator,³⁰ and to go forth, fill³¹ the encampment of the fallen angels. And the Rebel, having seen the good things set apart by the Beneficent One for man, having become envious, deceitfully separated (him) from eternal delights,

28. Cf. Adam Fragment 1, այս չէ մեր կենաց ծառն այն, այլ ի սմանէ ճաշակեցաք զնախ: “This is not that tree of our life, but from it we ate death,” in Stone 1982, 6.

29. Gen 2: 8.

30. This is an exegesis of Gen 2:15.

31. This is based on Gen 1:28, but there man is ordered to fill and subdue the earth.

from diverse trees, wishing to take possession for himself of the splendid, desirable Garden. By command of the Creator, he enclosed the Garden of Eden around about with a fiery sword. But the lawless prince, doing his utmost to invent evil, besieges men with sins, was teaching (them) to be distant from the Creator and was drawing everyone into impious idolatry, spreading death upon mankind. He created a kingdom in hell, having seized the spirits in it, he remained there, so that not one could escape and take wing to heaven.

- 6 492 (5). (Խաւսեցաւ Տէր . . .) քանզի հակառակ զաւրութիւն աստուածանալոյ յուսով պատրեալ կործանեաց զձեռաց իմոց գործ, եւ զստեղծուած արարչական զաւրութեան իմոյ յեղափոխեալ ապականեաց զպատկեր արարչական փառաց իմոց. ասել ցԱդամ, թէ ուսիցէք ի ծառոյդ աստուածք լինիջիք:

(The Lord spoke . . .) “ . . . Because the opposing power deceived through the hope of deification,³² he destroyed the work of my hands and, altering the creation of my creative power, spoiled the image of my creative glory, saying to Adam, ‘If you eat from that tree, you will become gods.’”

- 7 494 (9) Ասէ ցնա հրեշտակապետն . . . Ոչ եկի խուճապել եւ վրդովել զքեզ, որպէս երբեմն խաբեբայն եւ պատրիչն, ի դրախտին զառաջին կոյսն Եւայ. որ ծոյլ եւ մերկ եւ պղերգական խորհրդով շրջագայեալ պարէր ի դրախտին:

The archangel says to her: “I have not come to startle and trouble you, as once in the Garden of Eden the impostor and deceiver (did) to the first virgin Eve, who, lazy, naked, and slow-minded was going around dancing in the Garden.

- 8 498 (15) . . . Ուրախացի՛ր ամենաւրինեալ Մարիամ Աստուածածին քանզի որ զԱդէնական դրախտն զարդարեալ պաճուճեաց զանազան եւ հրաշափառ տնկաւք յոգնազան ծառաւք, եւ յեղեմաբեր աղբերէն քառ առու գետաւքն ծաւալեալ արբուցանէ զտիեզերս, այսաւր ի քեզ բնակելով արտահոսեալ արբոյց զհամասփիւռ տիեզերս անմահական բաժական:

. . . Rejoice, most blessed Mary Mother of God, because He who having adorned, beautified the Edenic Garden with various and wonderful plants, with diverse trees, (He who) waters the universe with the four rivers spreading from the Edenic source, today by dwelling in you, having flowed forth watered the universe throughout from the immortal chalice.

- 9 Ուրախացի՛ր Մարիամ ամենաւրինեալ Աստուածածին, քանզի որ

32. Van Esbroeck takes it differently, “car la puissance adverse trompée par l’espoir de devenir Dieu”; my translation seems to me to be more in concordance with the biblical text.

զԱդամ գոյացոյց ի քառանիւթ տարրեղէն բնութենէ, եւ փչմամբ հոգիագործեաց շնչական հագագաւ, եւ բանիւ սպասաւորեաց ըստ պատկերի անհաս արարչական կերպի իւրոյ, եւ հատեալ զկողն անիրաւաբար շինեաց նմա կին, այսար ստոր իջեալ յորովայնի քում եւ վերառեալ զմեզ ներխառնեաց յանպարիմանալի աստուածութիւն իւր, եւ ծնեալ ծառայական կերպիւ զանկեալն Ադամ ի նոյն պատկեր վերստին նորոգեալ հրաշափառ քան զառաջինն:

Rejoice, Mary, most blessed Mother of God, for He who brought Adam into being from the material nature consisting of four elements, and made him insufflated by blowing His animating breath, by a word assisted him according to the image of His inconceivable creative form, and, cutting his rib unjustly, made a woman for him, today, descending down into your womb and raising us up, incorporated in His incomprehensible divinity, and begetting in slavish form the fallen Adam, restored him again to the same image, more glorious than the first one.

- 10 16 Ուրախացիր Մարիամ ամենաւրինեալ Աստուածածին, քանզի երբեմն իջեալ գնայր ի սպառուած աւուրն ի դրախտի անդ, եւ ոտնաձայն նախաժամանեաց առ յառաջաստեղծն Ադամ. եւ սաղարթապատեալ թագչէր յանտառախիտ ի մացառուտ վայրսն վարսաւորեալ, այսար մարմին առեալ ի քէն ընդ մարդկան շրջագայի յերկրի, զի զտերեւապատն պատառեցէ զպատմուճանն Ադամայ, եւ զնոր պճնեալ զգեցուցէ զՔրիստոս վերածնութեամբ աւագանին:

Rejoice, Mary, most blessed Mother of God, for once at the end of the day, having descended, he was walking in the Garden, and the footfall reached the first-created Adam first (i.e., before God did); and, covered with leaves, he hid in the woody, bushy, leafy place: today, having received a body from you, He walks among men upon the earth, to tear off Adam's garment made of leaves and put Christ on as a new adornment, through rebirth in the font.

- 11 Ուրախացիր Մարիամ ամենաւրինեալ Աստուածածին, քանզի որ ըստ մեղացն յայնժամ դատապարտեալ պատժեաց գնախաստեղծն, եւ տարամերժեալ արտորոշեաց յաւիժական եւ ի տենչալի աստուածատունկ ծառոցն, եւ շրջապատեալ հրեղէն սրովն սրովբեափակ պարփակեալ ամրացուցանէր զճանապարհս ծառոյն կենաց, . . .

Rejoice, Mary, most blessed Mother of God, for He who then punished the first-created (man), having condemned him in accordance with his sins, and drove him apart from the eternal and desirable divinely planted trees, and fortified the way to the tree of life, having encircled it with the fiery sword and surrounded (it) with the Seraphim, . . .

Text: Zak'aria Kat'olikos Jagec'i, *Ճառք Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 63–82.

Zak'aria Kat'olikos Jagec'i, Ի զալուստն Տեառն յԵրուսաղէմ
“On the Advent of Christ to Jerusalem”

- 12 67–68 §8 (36) Այսաւր մեծ արմաւենեաց արս նախատիպ է առաջին դարուն, յորում գործեցաւ այս ինչ. յետ երեսուն ամաց ելիցն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն՝ ծնաւ զԿայէն եւ յետ նորա զԿասմա զքոյր նորա: (37) Եւ զկնի երեսուն ամաց ծնաւ զՀաբէլ եւ զհետ նորա զԱբուսաք զքոյր նորա. Եւ զկնի երեսուն ամաց սպան Կայէն զՀաբէլ:

(36) Today the great Palm Sunday is the archetype of the first generation in which the following was done: after thirty years of Adam's coming out from the Garden, he begot Cain and, after him, his sister Kasma. (37) And after thirty years he begat Abel and, with him, his sister Abusak'. And after thirty years Cain killed Abel.

- 13 (38) Եւ կալան Ադամ եւ Եւա սուգ ամս հարիւր քսան, եւ յետ հինգ հարիւր ամին որդիք Կայէնի յաւելուին ի չարիս իւրեանց. եւ յինն հարիւր երեսուն ամին փոխեաց Աստուած զցեղն Սեթայ յանդիման դրախտին փափկութեան. եւ որդիքն Կայէնի բնակեցան ի դաշտին՝ ուր սպան Կայէն զՀաբէլ: (39) Եւ ի քառասուն ամին յարերգի (v.l. յարեղի) լցաւ դարն առաջին:

(38) And Adam and Eve mourned for one hundred twenty years, and after five hundred years Cain's sons multiplied their evils, and in the year 930 God moved Seth's tribe to opposite the Garden of delight. And Cain's sons settled in the field where Cain had killed Abel. (39) And on the fortieth year, in Areg the first century generation was fulfilled.

Text: Zak'aria Kat'olikos Jagec'i, *Ճառք Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 83–105.

Zak'aria Jagec'i, Ի մեծի երկուշաբթին արտադրութիւն
“Exposition on the Great Monday”

- 14 96 §12 (80) Բայց գաւսացեալ թգենին առակ էր թգենոյն՝ զոր Ադամ եւ Եւա զտերեւս սփածեալ սաղարթապատ եղեալ ի մեջ ծառոց դրախտին:

(80) But the withered fig tree is the parable of the fig tree, the leaves of which Adam and Eve put on, becoming covered with leaves among the trees of the Garden.

Text: Zak'aria Kat'olikos Jagec'i, *Ճառք Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 152–73.

Zak'aria Jagec'i, Մեծի հինգշաբթի արտադրութիւն “Exposition on the Great Thursday”

15 154 §3 (8) Եւ անդ անցեալ հրեշտակն ի գիշերին հարկանէր զանդրանիկսն եգիպտացոց, փոխանակ զի վիրաւորեաց սատանայ զանդրանիկն ազգի մարդկան, զնախաստեղծն Ադամ:

And the angel passing there struck at night the firstborn of Egypt, in revenge for the Satan having wounded the firstborn of the human race, first-created Adam.

Text: Zak'aria Kat'olikos Jagec'i, *Ճառք Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 174–204.

Zak'aria Jagec'i, Մեծի աւուր ուրբաթին կենարար չարչարանաց “On the Salvatory Passion on the Day of Great Friday”

16 176 §3 (24) Յառաջին ի Նիսան հնգետասան՝ եկն Ադամայ եւ տարորոշումն ի տենչալի դրախտէն:

(24) First, on the fifteenth of Nisan, Adam's coming and banishment from the desirable Garden.

17 188 §10 (133) Սա էր զատիկ ելիցն որդւոցն Իսրայելի յեգիպտոսէ, որ է Նիսան հնգետասան, առաջին ամիս ըստ եբրայեցւոցն: Այսաւր տարագրեցաւ Ադամ ի դրախտէն:

(133) This was the passover of the exit of the sons of Israel from Egypt, which is on the fifteenth of Nisan, the first month according to the Hebrews. On this day Adam was expelled from paradise.

18 201–2 §21 (249) Քանզի Ադամ ձգեաց զձեռն իւր ի տունկն եւ զմահ կթեաց ազգի մարդկան. իսկ երկրորդ Ադամ, փրկիչն, փոխանակ առաջնոյն Ադամայ, զբազուկս իւր տարածեաց ի վերայ խաչին եւ զանմահութեան կտակս վերագրեաց ազգի մարդկան: (250) Եւ զի Ադամ ի վեցերորդ ժամու Ուրբաթուն ճաշակեաց ի պատրողական

պտղոյն եւ մերկացաւ ի փառացն, եւ ի վեցերորդում ժամուն նսեմացոյց արեգակն ոսկեճաճանչ զճառագայթս իւր: (251) Եւ յիններորդ ժամուն՝ յորժամ թաքեաւ Ադամ յերեսաց Աստուծոյ ի մէջ ծառոց դրախտին, ոչ անկաւ առաջի Տեառն Աստուծոյ թողութիւն վերահայցել յանցանաց իւրոց: (252) Այսար Տէրն դէմ առեալ փոխանակ նորա եւ վասն նորա խաւսի առ Հայր:

(249) For Adam stretched out his hand to the tree and picked the death of the human race; and the second Adam, the Savior, instead of the first Adam, extended his arms upon the cross and inscribed above it the testament of the immortality of the human race. (250) And since Adam ate of the deceptive fruit and was stripped of (his) glory in the sixth hour on Friday, also in the sixth hour the sun darkened its gold-gleaming rays. (251) And in the ninth hour when Adam hid from the face of God amid the trees of the Garden, he did not fall down before God the Lord to beg his pardon for his sin. (252) Today the Lord appeals instead of him and speaks to the Father on his behalf.

- 19 203 §22. (265) Եւ որպէս սպունգն աման է խոնաւութեան իւրոյ եւ ընդունակ, եւ ունակացեալն ի նմա ոչ երեւի, այսպէս եւ աւձն որպէս սպունգն աման արար իւր պատիր բանից եւ նովաւ ախտացոյց զնախահայրն ի ճաշակմանէն աւձաշունչ եւ վիշապապատիր պտղոյն, զոր կնոջն դաւաճանեալ, ախտակիր եղեալ խաբանար արտահալածի ի տենչալի կենացն:

(265) And as the sponge is a vessel and receptacle of its moisture and what is absorbed by it is not seen, in this way too He made the serpent like the sponge a vessel of his false words and through him made the forefather ill by eating of the serpent-breathing and dragon-deceitful fruit, who being betrayed by the woman, becoming subject to suffering through deceit, is expelled from the desirable life.

Text: Zak'aria Kat'olikos Jagec'i, *Ճառք Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 205–31.

Zak'aria Jagec'i, Ի մեծի թաղման Տեառն ճրագալուցին “On the Easter Eve of the Great [Saturday] of the Lord's Burial”

- 20 206–7 §3 (11) Սակս այնր աղագաւ կերան զհրաժարեցուցեալ պտուղն, որպէս զի յաստուածայինսն կանխաւ ի վեր ժամանեցեն պատիւ, այլ ոչ առ կարաւորի կամ վտանգի հարկի պիտոյից կերան ի պտղոյ փայտին գիտութեան: (12) Քանզի ամենայն զանազան ծառոցն վայելուչ եւ տենչալի պտուղն առաջեաւ առ ձեռն էր նոցա՝ ճաշակել զվայելչականն, եւ ոչ նուազ եւ կարաւոր ինչ էին, այլ ամենայն

բարութիւնքն արձանացեալ կային առաջի նոցա, զոր ինչ ստեղծանէր ի սիրտս նոցա եւ բաղձային անձինք նոցա:

(11) They ate from the forbidden fruit so that they reached the divine honor beforehand, but they ate from the fruit of the tree of knowledge not out of necessity or under the pressure of some binding need. (12) For all the nice and desirable fruits of the various trees were at hand before them, that they might taste the(ir) delightful (fruit), and they were not in slightest need of anything, but all the goods stood firm before them, whatever He had created for their pleasure³³ and whatever their souls desired.

Text: *Tiramayr* 3, ed. T'amar Tasnapetean (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1997), 278–89; introduction by Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 277–96.

Zak'aria Jagec'i, Ի ննջումն ամենաբնեւալ տիրուհւոյ
Աստուածածնին եւ միշտ կուսին Մարիամոյ
“The Dormition of the All-blessed Mistress Theotokos and Ever-
Virgin Mary”

21 279, §4 (14) Պատուեացաւ Ադամ նախաստեղծն, քանզի ի ձեռաց
Աստուծոյ զոյացաւ:

(14) Adam the first created was honored, since he came into being by the hands of God.

33. Literally: heart.

TENTH CENTURY

ANANIA MOKAC'Ī, KAT'OLIKOS C10

Text: Anania Mokac'ī, Kat'olikos of All Armenians, Յաղագս ապստամբութեանն տանն Աղուանից *On the Rebellion of Albania*, ed. G. Tēr Mkrtč'ean, *Ararat* 30 (March 1897): 129–44.

- 1 137–38 Ապա աստանօր սկզբնաչարն սատանայ, որ ի ձեռն կնոջն գաղտնապատիր եւ սուտակասպաս խաբկանօք զերանալիրն՝ կազմած ընդվզեալ փաղաքշալուր աստուածայոյսն կարծեօք զնախագոյն բաղդատական տարամերժեալ պատիւ զնա տիրեսցեն քեզ / վճռաւորեաց, վատթարակի առեալ զասումն երկրաւոր, նգովեալ ի քոյդ սղալանս, անհեշտաբար զնա ըմբոյշխնեսցես. մինչեւ ի կատար խոցոսմունք վիրաւորիչք ընծիւղեսցին քեզ, փոխանակ եռանգասեն երփնեռացիկ ընդծաղկաւապատութեանց արքայականացն կայենիցն փափկութեանց՝ յերկս տաժանմանց կրիցես զտուգանսդ զսգոռողանացդ. զանասնաճարակն հարկեսցիս պարենաւորիլ, հանդերձանս դիրաթառամս եւ վաղահամուռս, մինչեւ ի ծոցաւորիլն քո անդէն: Եւ ստեղծեալդ ի ստեղծողէն ընկալցիս զ[ը]մբռնմանն աղէտս նոյն թիւնաբերան իժից խղիւսայթք:

Then, here Satan, the cause of all evil, who, deceiving through the woman by insidious and flattering deceit, having rebelled against the blissful, established by the caressing thought of divine things, with respect to the honor (which he had rejected) earlier. He sentenced her to “He shall rule over you,”¹ the Wicked One having received the saying about the earth, “Cursed² for your errors. You shall eat it with discomfort. Wounding wounders shall spring forth for you until the end.³ Instead of abundant colored, flowery crowns of its royal residence of delights, you will undergo those penalties in the labor of toils. You will be forced to get animal food as your provisions; your clothing will be easily faded and (unknown word) until you return to the bosom forthwith. And you, creature, will receive from the Creator the calamity of capture, the very ulceration of poison-mouthed serpents.”

1. Gen 3:16.

2. Gen 3:14.

3. Cf. Gen 3:18. From this point, the discourse is apparently directed to Adam.

ANANIA NAREKAC'Ī C10

Text: Hračēay T'amrazyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 396–420.

Anania Narekac'i, Խաւսք եւ խրատք աւետարանական, առաքելական եւ մարգարեական, որ տանին զմեզ ի կեանս յաւիտենականս եւ ոչ տան խտտորել յաջ կամ յահել “Evangelical, Apostolic, and Prophetic Sermon and Instruction Which Lead Us to Eternal Life and Do Not Allow to Go Astray Right or Left”

- 1 396 (5) Սոքա գերեն զոգիսն առ ի դժոխական պողոտայն, որպէս ասաց [ց]Ադամ, եթէ՝ «Յաւուր, յորում ուտիցեք ի նմանէ, մահու մեռանիցիք»։ (6) Արդ, ոչ եթէ ի նմին ժամու իսկ մեռաւ եւ հետաձիգ ժամանակաւ կրեաց զմահն, այլ ընդ մահու իշխանութեամբ անկեալ էր, եւ տիրեալ էր նմա մահու։

(5) They capture the souls on the infernal way, as He said to Adam that “On the day that you eat of it, you shall die.”⁴ (6) Now he did not die at the same hour and did not suffer death through a delayed moment, but he had fallen under the sway of death and death dominated him.

Anania Narekaci', Սակս բացայայտութեան թուոց “On the Explanation of Numbers,” ed. Azat Bozoyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 440–55.

- 2 453–54 (177) Զի առաջինն Ադամ բացամերժեալ յԱստուծոյ իբրեւ ի բարձանց ի վայր հոսեալ զարէն ուղիսից գետոյ, ըստ նմանութեան Յորդանանու՝ իջանելով ի ծովն աղի։

(177) The first Adam having been expelled by God, when he flew down from the height like the stream of a river, in the likeness of the Jordan descending to the salty sea.

Text: Anania Narekac'i, Հաւատարմատ. Լուծումն մաքառման երկաբնակաց, որք ի կարծիս ճշմարտութեան անյարմար դաւանեն երկակս ի մինն մուծանել բնութիւն, որ է Աստուած Բանն, Աստուած մարդն Յիսուս Քրիստոս “Root of Faith, Settlement of the Dispute with the Dyophysites Who Unsuitably Confess as a True Opinion the Introduction of Two into One Nature, Who Is God the Word (and) God the Man Jesus Christ,” ed. Hračēay T'amrazyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 480–598.

4. Cf. Gen 2:17.

- 3 516 (501) Քանզի անչափ մեղաւ Ադամ եւ անց ընդ չափ բնութեան մերոյ ոչ միայն վասն ճաշակման, այլ զի եւ անհասիցն բաղձացաւ եւ բարձրանալովն ի բարձանց հոսեցաւ եւ ընկղմեցաւ ի խորս մեղաց, որպէս կապար ի ջուրս սաստիկս զաւրէն տապարին Եղիսէի ի յորձանսն Յորդանանու, եւ չէր հնար ումէք վերաբերել զծանրացեալն մեղաւք ի խորոց մեղաց, բայց միայն այնմիկ, որ զամենայն ինչ վերաբերէ բանիւ զաւրութեամբ իւրով, որպէս վերաբերող փայտն, որ զծանրութիւն երկաթոյն ձգեաց:

(501) Since Adam sinned beyond all measure and transgressed the measure of our nature, not only in eating, but because he desired unachievable things and ascending, he flowed from height and plunged into the depth of sins, like lead in violent waters, as Elisha's axe in the whirling of Jordan,⁵ and nobody could raise the one burdened with sins from the depth of sins, except Him who raises everything with the power, with his word, like the raising wood⁶ which drew up the weight of iron.

- 4 555 (10.36) Առաքեալ ասէ. «Ադամ ոչ մեղաւ, այլ՝ Եւայ, ապա ուրեմն՝ նմա պատշաճի կերպարանք սգոյ եւ ոչ առն, որ ոչն մեղաւ»:

(1036) The Apostle says: “Adam did not sin, but Eve [sinned],” consequently the mourning appearance befits her and not the man who did not sin.⁷

ARTAWAZD MAZAZUNI C10

Text: Artawazd Mazazuni, Լուծումն Արտաւազտա Մազազունեայ տեառն “Solution(es) of Rev. Artawazd Mazazuni,” in Մատեան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Թաւրի քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit' (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981)*, ed. A. Mat'evosyan (Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran & Nairi Press, 1997), 457–58.⁸

- 1 458 314բ Եւ ձեռագիր յանցանացն Ադամ յանցեաւ ի ձեռն պտղոյ

5. It is unclear which incident is referred to here.

6. Does this refer to a lever?

7. Cf. 1 Tim 2:14.

8. Note by Mat'evosyan: “23 Ձեռագրում առաջին անգամ հանդիպում ենք Տաճատ վարդապետին՝ իր հարցմունքներով, Արտավազդ Մազազունյաց տիրոջը՝ իր լուծմունքներով, որ կատարում է Ատոմ Անձեւացյաց իշխանի հրամանով . . .), “In the manuscript we encounter for the first time Tačat *vardapet*, with his *Questions* and Rev. Artawazd Mazazuni with his *Solutiones* carried out by the order of Atom prince Anjewac'i.” See also Tačat *vardapet* below.

ճաշակման, եւ Տէրն ի խաչին ջնջեաց զձեռագիրն, վասն զի իւր մահուամբն սպան զմահ եւ ջնջեաց զձեռագիր յանցանացն . . .

314v And Adam transgressed (i.e., made) the cheirograph of transgression by eating the fruit, and the Lord “erased the cheirograph on the Cross,”⁹ for He killed death with His death and erased the cheirograph of transgression, . . .

Պատասխանի նորին Տաճատա վարդապետի եւ քահանայի, էջ 458 His answer to the *vardapet* and Priest Tačat (ibid, 458).

- 2 459–60 315բ . . . Թէ ջուր մկրտութե[անն բաժանեալ ապա]կանութիւն կրեաց կամ թէ ոչ Յիսուս մկրտի ի Յորդանան, անապական զնա գործէ, զի զազգս մարդկան ազատեցէ յանիծից, եւ զորջացեալ վիշապին զգլուխն ջախեցէ, սա զՅորդանան յակնակապիճսն ասէր ընդունել, արդ որ գրեալն է թէ ընդէր հոգին ջրոյ կարատանայ, աստանաւր մեծ վարդապետն հաստատէ զբանդ, բայց կանխաւ յայտնեալն ամենայն զհին Ադամն զի թաղեցէ ի ջուրն . . .

. . . Whether the water of baptism being divided underwent corruption or not: Jesus is baptized in the Jordan and makes it incorruptible, for He will liberate this human race from the curse and will crush the head of the lurking serpent.¹⁰ The latter is said to (be able to) take the Jordan in his eye socket;¹¹ about which now is written, “Why does the soul need water,”¹² here the great teacher confirms that matter, but all that which was formerly revealed, that he would bury the old Adam in the water . . .

GRIGOR MAGISTROS C10

Text: Grigor Magistros, *Թղթեր Letters*, ed. K. Kostaneanc‘ (Alexandropol: Gēorg Sanoyeanc‘ Press, 1910).

Պատասխանի տեառն Պետրոսի կաթողիկոսին Հայոց մխիթարական թղթին

The Response to the Merciful letter of Lord Petros, Kat‘olikos of the Armenians.

- 1 23 . . . Գոհանաւք զԱստուծոյ . . . զի զփակեալն նախահօրն Ադամայ բանայր . . .

9. Col 2:14.

10. Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14.

11. Cf. Job 40:23–24.

12. Cf. Ps 63:1 = Arm 62:2 and Prov 25:25.

... We praise things of God ... for you opened (i.e., released) the forefather Adam who was shut up ...

Առ արքեպիսկոպոսն To the Archbishop (46–49).

- 2 47 ... Սովոր է չարն ի ձեռն այլոց սողոսկել զայսպիսի սպրդումն բանից (զչար վարդապետութեանն խրատ) իբրու օձին կամ կնոջն ...

Evil is accustomed to insinuate such words of insinuation (counsel of his pernicious teaching) through others, as for example through the serpent or the woman ...

Առ Անանիա դարձեալ սակս ձմերայնոյ սաստկութեան Again to Anania Concerning the Severity of Winter (120–23).

- 3 120–21 ... Ոչ դանդաղեցաք ազդել զկաճառական հանդիսի մակթորական ասրափառ տեղման նախաօրն եւ ծայրի առաջնոյ մերոյ ծայրացելոյ պատճառի նաեւ մերոցն եւ մերականաց ածանցական բաղկացութեան: Զայսոսիկ գիտելով զնորայն անկումն եւ գօտութիւն եւ զանփառական փաղփումն եւ զանսաղարթական ճողոպրումն եւ կնտութիւն եւ ի հրաշափառագոյն հերաց շորթումն, որ երբեմն իբրեւ զհորանս այժեաց բիւրաբեղուն եւ յոգնորական մակստացականութեամբ, վասն որոյ փութացեալ ի հաւրական դովրացի մտանել մորթս եւ այսմ մակաւասար տրամախոհեալ երկորական մաշկից ի վտիտ եւ ի փանաք զազանական սերէ ստանձնեալ զանգարդութեանն զարդ եւ ծպտեալ ծակամուտ ծրարեալ:

We do not delay to announce to the solemn assembly about the wool-white precipitation of the forefather and of our first, utmost cause, also our derived composition and that of our kinsmen. Knowing these things, his fall and impotence and brightness without glory, and his leafless deliverance and baldness, and the loss of very wonderful hair which once was as a flock of goats,¹³ with very fruitful and various maturity, for the sake of which he strove to put on (lit., go into) the paternal Tauric¹⁴ pelt, reasoning about the double-quality skin equal to this one, from the lean and weak race of ani-

13. Cf. Song 4:1.

14. So Roberta R. Ervine suggests. An alternative rendering of this word is “Doric, Dorian” and it is a normal transliteration of Greek Δωρικός (A.T.). The question remains, however, what is a “Doric pelt”? If we take it as Tauric, the reference is to the Tauros sign of the Zodiac. Then it is just a fancy way of saying “animal skin” or the like and is a reference to the garments of leather. This may be a feature of the obscure and allusive style that Magistros affects in some of his correspondence.

mals, accepting the adornment of being unadorned, and hiding, disguised, in a hole.

Յաղագս նկարագրութեան սրբոյ եկեղեցոյն սրահի գաւթի
գրեաց զայսոսիկ եւ սակս Մանիքեցոց
He Wrote This for the Description of the Nave of the Holy Church
and about the Manichaeans¹⁵ (168–70).

- 4 169 Պատուի նախուստ ի դրախտին փայտն կենաց եւ գիտութեան, ոչ մերձենալ ի նա ժամանակաւ իմն հրաժարեցուցեալ եւ զկնիս սրովբէիւք պահեալ:

From the beginning the tree of life and knowledge is honored in paradise, because for some time it was forbidden to approach it, and later it was kept by the Seraphim.

Առ Իբրահիմ ամիրայն վասն հաւատոց Գրիգորոյ որդւոյ
Վասակայ ասացեալ
To Emir Ibrahim: On the Faith, by Grigor, Son of Vasak (170–201).

- 5 174 Կամեցար ի մէնջ . . . մատենագրել քեզ . . . եթէ զպտուղն Ադամայ, զոր եկերն, առանց հրամանի Աստուծոյ ճաշակեաց, եթէ յԱստուծոյ այնպէս պատշաճեցաւ . . .

You have wished that I . . . write to you . . . whether the fruit of Adam which he ate, was tasted without God's command, or was it rendered suitable by God . . .

- 6 175 . . . Գրեցից քեզ . . . եթէ Ադամ զպտուղն կամա՞ւ եկեր, եթէ յԱստուծոյ այնպէս պատշաճեցաւ . . .

. . . I shall write to you . . . whether Adam ate the fruit voluntarily or God rendered it suitable . . .

- 7 178–79 Իսկ յաղագս Ադամայ մերոյն նախահօր զհա՞րդ ճաշակելն զպտուղ՝ կամաւ Աստուծոյ եւ հրամանաւ, եթէ ակամայ, մեք, զամենայն մատեանս որք միանգամ յաշխարհի ընթերցեալ, ոչ անտեղեակ եմք՝ եթէ Քաղդէացւոցն / անվաւերական պատմութեանն եւ եթէ Հելլենացւոցն եթէ Կապադովկացւոցն եթէ Եթովպացւոցն եթէ Պարսից եւ այլոց բազմաց, զորս ոչ եմք բաւական զբոլորն յայտնի կացուցանել. արդ քանզի բազումք ի սոցանէ, ոչ հանգունակ միմեանց ասացեալք յաղագս առաջին մարդոյն ոչ զանուն, ոչ ժամանակ: Այսպէս Ապիւղինոս Քաղդէայ եւ Բիւռռոս այլանդակ իմն պատմեն

15. Thus he called the Tondrakians (G.M).

զինելութիւն երկնի եւ երկրի. օտարոտի եւ ասէն անուն Ադամայ Ադովրոս եւ կացեալ նորա շարս տասն, եւ ամս յանգեն երեսուն հազար, թէպէտեւ լուսնականօքն թունեն: Իսկ Ելլադացւոց իմաստունք ոչ այսպէս. վասն զի Եպիկուրեայքն ոչ կամեցան զԱդամ մարդ առաջին ասել եւ ոչ ստեղծեալ աստուածուստ, այլ եթէ ի պատճառէ ումեմնէ ապականեալ երկիր, եւ միայն մնայ Ադամ, որպէս եւ Նոյ: Բայց Պղատոն ոչ հանգոյն սոցա, այլ ի Տիմիոսի տրամաբանութեանն այսպէս . . . Եւ . . . Զրադաշտ մոգ Պարսից ... սա առաջին Ադամ ասէ լեալ, Բայց զկնի ոչ ասէ կատարած լինել երկրի . . . Այլ մեզ այսոքիկ ոչ հաւատացեալ եղիցի, այլ ընթերցեալք, զի մի պարսաւեսցեն զմեզ հեթանոսացն իմաստունքն, եթէ ոչ եմք տեղեակ անվաւերական նոցայն մատենագրութեանն: Սակայն մեզ հաւատացեալ լինի միայն Մովսէսին աստուածեղէն պատգամս . . .

But concerning our forefather Adam, how did he eat the fruit, was it by God's will and command or against His will, we are not ignorant, as we have read all the books that once are in the world: the apocryphal narration of the Chaldeans, of the Greeks, of the Cappadocians, of the Ethiopians, of the Persians and of many others, all of which we are not able to set forth clearly. Now because many of them do not tell about the first man like each other, neither of his name nor of the time. Thus, Apiwdinos (i.e., Abydenus) the Chaldean and Biwrros (i.e., Berossus) tell something fantastical about the creation of the heavens and the earth; they also call Adam by a strange name, Alovros, and (say that) he lived for ten "shars,"¹⁶ they come to thirty thousand years, though they count according to lunar months. But the Greek sages did not (write) this, for the Epicureans did not want to say that Adam was the first man and created by God, but (they consider) that the earth was corrupted by some cause or other, and only Adam remained like Noah. And Plato is not like them, but in the dialogue Timaeus (he writes) as follows . . . and the Persian magus Zoroaster . . . says that Adam was the first, but later he does not speak about the end of the earth . . . But these (stories) are unbelievable for us, and we have read them in order that the heathen sages would not reproach us for being ignorant of their apocryphal writings. However, for us only the divine oracles of Moses are credible.

- 8 180 Այլ այս Մովսէս . . . մեզ գրեաց, յաստուածուստ ընկալեալ, զԱդամ առաջին մարդ ի հողոյ ստեղծեալ եւ զկնի զկինն իւր ի կողէն կամացն յօժարութեան եւ կենացն հաղորդ եւ ի դրախտի անդր յԵդեմ յարեւելս. իսկ զդրախտն ամենապատիկ ծառօք ծաղկաւետեալ դալարավայր գեղեցկութեամբ զարդարեալ ծառոցն հովանաւորութեամբ եւ սաղարթացեալ վարսիւք, եւ պտղովք պայծառացեալ, անապականագոյնք եւ լուսատեսակք եւ երկուց ծառոցն ի նմա լինել

16. I.e., 3600, so according to Xorenac'i, 36,000 years (A.T.).

երիցագոյնք եւ վեհագոյնք, յորոց հրաժարեցոյց Արարիչն, այլ ոչ եթէ չարաչար տնկեալ ի սկզբանն եւ ոչ հրաժարեցուցեալ մախանօք, քանզի ստեղծ Աստուած զամենայն ի կերակուր Ադամայ, սակայն ի տնկոցն յայնցանէ վայր մի հրաժարեցուցանէ չուտել, զի ի դէպ ժամու կերիցէ, եւ յեղափոխեալ ի բարիսն կոյս, եղիցի յԱստուած մերձեցեալ. զոր ոչ լուաւ եւ եկեր եւ կորոյս զկեանս իւր անտրտում, մահու հասանէ, պատուհաս ընկալեալ, զոր ի մեզ պտղաբերեաց ցաւս եւ տրտմութիւն, ապականութիւն եւ մահ: Այլ ոչ ասեմք մեք անգէտ զոլ զԱստուած, եթէ ոչ էր յառաջագէտ, զոր ինչ յանցեալն Ադամ, քանզի նախագիտական է ամենայնի: Եւ ոչ ասեմք, եթէ յԱստուծոյ էր յանցանսն պատշաճեալ, քանզի զԱստուած ի չարեացն անփորձ իմանամք:

But this Moses . . . having received (the knowledge) from God, wrote for us that the first man Adam was created from dust and then his wife from the rib to share the inclination, will and life, and that (they were in) the Garden in Eden, to the east; and the garden having blossomed with every tree, the meadows adorned beautifully with the shade of the trees sprouting with foliage and glittering with fruit, and two most incorruptible and luminous trees in it were superior and more significant, and they were forbidden by the Creator. Not that from the beginning those trees were planted wickedly and they were not forbidden through envy, because God created everything as food for Adam, but He forbade to eat from those trees for a short time, so that he might eat at a proper time and, turning to the good direction, become close to God. He did not obey this and ate and lost his untroubled life and obtained death, having received punishment that brought forth pain and sorrow, corruption and death for us. But we do not say that God was ignorant, in that He did not foresee the transgression of Adam, because He is prescient of everything. And we do not say that God was pleased with the transgression, for we know that God is inexperienced in evil.

- 9 181 . . . Արդ՝ ոչ կամել իմացիս Աստուծոյ զյանցանսն Ադամայ եւ ոչ անգէտ յանցանաց նորա . . .

So you should know that God did not wish the transgression of Adam and was not unaware of his transgression . . .

Առ նոյն Մամիկոնեան, զոր կոչեալ ի տօնի նաւակատեաց եկեղեցւոյն

To the same Mamikonean (Prince T'onik) summoned on the Feast of the Inauguration of the Church (222–25).

- 10 224 Թէպէտ եւ եկեղեցիդ ըստ Եբրայեցոցն ժողովոյ բազմութիւն ասի, սակայն ժողովոցն բնակութիւն ընդունիլ պարտ է, յորմէհետէ ի

կենաց փայտէն եւ ի հայրենի տեղոյն արտաքս անկաք, որ էր եկեղեցի:
Քանզի ծառն կենաց զօրինակ սեղանոյն ունէր, իսկ գիտութեանն
զվարդապետութեանն եւ զպատուիրանացն Աստուծոյ:

Although “church” according to the Hebrews means “multitude of assembly,” nevertheless one must take “assemblies” as “residence”; hence we fell from the tree of life, from our native place, which was from the church. For the tree of life was the symbol of the altar and (the tree) of knowledge, of God’s teaching and commandments.

Text: Grigor Magistros, Տաղասացութիւնք *Poems* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1868).

Translation: Abraham Terian, *Magnalia Dei: Biblical History in Epic Verse by Grigor Magistros* (Hebrew University Armenian Studies; Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, Mass.: Peeters, 2012). The translation here is my own.

Առ Մանուշէ To Manuč’ē

- 11 6 Ստեղծ մարդ ի հողոյ՝ անախտական յիւր պատկերին:
Փշեաց հոգի շնորհաց՝ իմանալի հրեշտակային.
Յերկուց ընդդիմակաց՝ զգայական հողեղինին.
Կամաւ կինն ի կողէն՝ ինդիր յիւրոյ ազգականին.
Ըզսա եղ ի դրախտին, իշխել բոլոր գոյականին:
Զամենայն երկիր հնազանդ, եղեալ¹⁷ անուանէին:

He created man from dust without blemish, in His image,
And He breathed in the spirit of grace; rational, angelic.
(Man was composed) of two opposite natures; perceptive, earthly.
By will the woman (came) from his rib: his search (was) for his own kinsman.
He put him in paradise to have dominion over all existing beings.
Making subject the whole earth, he gave names; they were called (i.e., by them).

- 12 7 Թռչնոց երկնից տիրել, ձկանց ծովու անդնդային.
Կեանս անախտականս անմահութեան անկարօտին:
Պատուէր վասն պտղոյն՝ չուտել անփորձ վասն չարին:
Այլոցն առեալ հրաման, ազգ ըստ ազգի ճաշակէին,
Միայն ի գիտութեան ծառէն կենաց հրաժարէին:
Այլ ի դէպ ժամու ուտելն իւրեանց յԱստուած մերձենային:
Զմտաւ ածեալ չարին՝ այն որ յառաջն արուսեկին:
Վառեալ իւր նախանձու արուեստաւոր մեքենային.
Պարտեալ օձին ունկան՝ կորստական օգնականին:

17. The Constantinople edition of 1825 adds անունս (“names”).

Մախանօք բանսարկուին փաղաքշանօք կեղծաւորին,
Ուտել հաւանեցան յորմէ ուտել հրաման չաղին:
Յանցեան խափանեցին, զուխտն Աստուծոյ ի բաց թողին.
Բացան եւ իմացան, յորմէ անկեալ տեսանէին:

7 To have dominion over the fowl of the air, the fish of the deep sea,
unblemished immortal life without need.

(He gave) a command concerning the fruit: not to eat it, (in order) to be inexperienced in evil.

Having received the command concerning other (trees), they ate of various species,

They abstained only from the tree of knowledge of life,

But, eating of it at the proper time, they would become close to their God.

The Evil One thought, he who was formerly Lucifer,

Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue,

Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant.

By the envy of the Devil, the flattery of the dissembler,

They agreed to eat what they were commanded not to eat.

They transgressed, abolished and abandoned God's covenant.

(Their eyes) were opened and they knew, they saw because of whom they fell.

13 8 Փախեան եւ թաքչէին՝ տերեւապատս ծածկէին:

Ապա անդ ընդ երեկս, աստուածային ձայն լսէին.

Երկիւղ ոտնաձայնին, ուր եւ Ադամ բարբառէին.

Ի մէնջ եղեալ ասեն. այսպէս բանին հեգնէին:

Իսկ զանէծսն բարկութեան զոր ի Տեառնէ ընդունէին:

Յաւօք եւ հեծութեամբ որդի մահու վախճանէին.

Ի բաց կալ ի դրախտէն ընդ անասունս ճարակէին:

Զգեցեալ մորթ պատմուճան՝ փառօք այնու զարդարէին:

Եւ այսպէս հաւանիմ աստուածութեան հակառակին,

Ուսեալ պատճառ կենաց, անասնական ախտանային.

Եւ մահու վճիռ առեալ որդեծնութեամբն երկնէին:

They fled and hid themselves, they covered themselves with leaves,

Then toward the evening they heard the divine voice,

Fearing the footfall: "Where art thou, Adam"; they (i.e., the footfalls) said.

"It happened because of us," they said, thus taunting.

But the angry curse, which they received from the Lord,

With pain and lamentation, as children of death they died.

Having left paradise, they pastured with animals,

Putting on leather clothes, they used to be adorned with glory by that One.

And so they were persuaded¹⁸ by the opposite of divinity;

18. The text reads "I am persuaded," but that is difficult to translate. We prefer to read as above.

Learning the cause of life, they acted viciously like animals,
And, being condemned to death, they brought forth children in pain.

GRIGOR NAREKAC'I C10

Text: Grigor Narekac'i, Տաղեր եւ զանձեր *Poems and Ganjs*, ed. A. K'yoškeryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1981), 258–62. Its authenticity is questioned there on grounds of style and poetics (see p. 257).¹⁹

- 1 Ես այն եմ որ զԱդամ ստեղծի, եւ յԱդին դրախտին եղի,
պատուէր հրամանի ետու գործել եւ պահել զնա:
Չարին խորհրդոց լուաւ, յերկիր անիծից անկաւ.
Եկի վերստին կանգնել զիմ արարչական պատկերս:

I am that one who created Adam and put him in the Garden of Eden,
I gave him a command of instruction to work it and to keep it,²⁰
He listened to the counsel of the Evil One and fell to the cursed ground;
I have come to reestablish my creative image.

- 2 Ձուխտն զոր եղեր քեզ Տէր, յորժամ ի դրախտէն եհան,
նորոգել եկեալ զքո հողանիւթ բնութիւնդ:
Ձոժոխս աւերել կամի, գերեաց գերեդարձ առնել.
Ի յադին դրախտին տանի զիւր աստուածատիպ պատկերս:

The vow that the Lord made to you, when he drove (you) out of paradise:
He has come to renew your earthy nature;
He wishes to destroy hell, to set free the captives;
He takes His own God-formed image to the Garden of Eden.

- 3 Յնծա նախահայրդ Ադամ հանդերձ ծննդաւորդ քո:
Խնդա նախամայրդ Եւայ, երկունք անիծից լուծան . . .
Ձվիշապն առաջին կապէ, ի հուր գեհենին մատնէ.
Եւ զբանսարկու նորին հանդերձ պաշտանէիւք իւրովք:

Be joyful, O forefather Adam, with your offspring,
Be merry, O foremother Eve, the pains of the curse have been loosed:
He (i.e., Christ) chains the first dragon, delivers him over into the fire of Gehenna;
And his (i.e., Adam's) Deceiver (Devil) along with his servants.

- 4 Դարձեալ դառնալով դարձից ի յեղենական դրախտն,

19. See Grigor Narekac'i 1981, 258. K'yoškeryan notes that this poem is of unknown authorship and a variant for the genuine Տաղ զալստեան Տեառն առ Դաւաթ "Poem on the Coming of the Lord to Lazarus."

20. Gen 2:15.

Դարձեալ ճոխասցես անդրէն հանդերձ Եւայիւղ քո:

Again you will return to the Edenic Garden,
Again you will flourish there along with your Eve.

Text: Գրիգորի Նարեկայ վանից վանականի Մատենագրութիւնք *The Writings of Grigor, Monk of the Monastery of Narek*, ed. Y. K'ristap'orean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1840), 271–367.

Translation: *Blessing of Blessings: Gregory of Narek's Commentary on the Song of Songs*, trans. Roberta R. Ervine (Cistercian Studies Series 215; Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007). The translation here is my own.

Grigor Narekac'i, Մեկնութիւն երգոց երգոյն Սողոմոնի Commentary on Solomon's Song of Songs

- 5 276–77 Այլ եւ Ադամ եւս ի դրախտէն եւ ի լուսեղէն փառացն՝ յաղագս կնոջն սիրոյ մերժեցաւ եւ արտաքս անկաւ. եւ ոչ վասն Աստուած լինելոյ, այլ ի նորա սիրոյն ծանր համարեցաւ քակիլ: Որ գիտէր ճշմարտապէս թէ պատժելոց էր ինքն յԱստուծոյ. զի ոչ էր անգէտ, այլ լի մարգարէական հոգւով. եւ զի դէռ չէր եւս ի շնորհաց հոգւոյն անկեալ. վասն զի չէր անցեալ զպատուիրանաւ: Նա եւ յետ ուտելոյն զպտուղն ոչ ի սպառ կորոյս զհոգին. այլ որպէս մինչ ի դրախտին էր, հոգւով սրբով ծանեալ զամենայն կենդանեաց զբարս, եւ յաճելն Աստուծոյ զնոսա առ Ադամ՝ ըստ իւրաքանչիւր բարուց եւ բնութեանց կարգեաց զմի մի անուանս նոցա: Եւ ի ննջելն իւրում յորում ստեղծաւ Եւայ, եւ յաճելն զնա առ նա՝ մարգարէութեամբ ասաց, թէ «Այս այժմ ոսկր յոսկերաց իմոց». եւ զորդեծնութեան աճումն որ ի կնոջէն, եւ թողով զհայր եւ զմայր, եւ երթալ զհետ կնոջ, եւ լինել մարմին մի: Նա եւ յետ ուտելոյն ի պտղոյն զիտաց մարգարէութեամբ զփրկութիւնն մեր զոր ի ձեռն կնոջն էր լինելոց, այսինքն ի ձեռն սուրբ աստուածածնին. վասն որոյ եւ կեանս կոչեաց զկինն. ապա թէ ոչ այդպէս, զիարդ կոչէր զնա կեանս, որ ամենայն ծննդոց Ադամայ մահու պատճառն եղեւ . . . Արդ եթէ մինչ ի փառաց անտի անկեալ էր, զմարգարէութեան ունէր հոգի, որչափ եւս առաւել մինչդէռ ի փառսն էր. այո՛ եւ առաւել եւս ունէր: Արդ յայտ իսկ է, որպէս առաքեալ ասէ, թէ Ադամ ոչ պատրեցաւ / օձին սուտ խոստումն՝ որ սատանայիւ, այլ կինն պատրեցաւ եւ յանցեաւ. եւ Ադամ յաղագս ոչ բաժանելոյ ի կնոջէն եկեր զպտուղն եւ սիրելոյ զնա, այլ ոչ վասն աստուածանալոյ որպէս կինն:

And Adam moreover was driven out and fell outside of²¹ paradise and from luminous glory because of the love of the woman: and not for the sake of

21. Paradise was on a mountain; see n. 2 under Seventh Century.

becoming God, but he reckoned it grave to be separated from her love. The one who knew truly that he himself will be punished by God, for he was not unaware but was full of prophetic spirit: for he had not yet fallen from the gifts²² of the spirit, since he had not yet transgressed the command. Moreover, after eating the fruit, he did not totally lose the spirit but as long as he was in paradise, through the Holy Spirit he knew the dispositions of all the animals. And when God brought them unto Adam,²³ he arranged names for each of them according to its disposition and nature. And during his sleep Eve was created, and when (God) brought her unto him, he said prophetically, “This (one) is now bone of my bones,”²⁴ and (he knew prophetically) the fruitfulness of childbirth through the woman, and leaving father and mother, and cleaving unto the wife, and being one flesh. Moreover after eating of the fruit, he learned prophetically of our salvation that would take place through the woman, that is through the Holy Mother of God. Owing to that he called the woman “life”:²⁵ for if it is not so, why would he call her “life” who was the cause of the death of all Adam’s descendants? . . . Now, if while he had fallen from the honor he had prophetic spirit, how much more (did he have it) while he was in honor? Yes, he had much more. So, as the Apostle says, it is evident that Adam was not beguiled toward the serpent’s false promise which was through Satan, but the woman was beguiled and fell into transgression,²⁶ and / Adam ate the fruit for the sake of not separating from her and loving her, and not for the sake of becoming God, as (did) the woman.

- 6 316 Բայց թէ ոչ պահենք եւ գործենք գշնորհսն եւ զփառսն տուեալս, նախահօրն նմանենք, որ առեալ զլուսաւորութիւն եւ զանկարօս եւ զանցաւ եւ զանմահ կեանս եւ զդրախտն ոչ պահելովն եւ ոչ գործելովն կորոյս դարձեալ . . .

But if we do not keep and do the grace and the glory given (to us), we are like the forefather who, having received splendor and plenitude, and painless and immortal life, and by having not kept and worked the Garden of Eden, lost it again . . .

- 7 347 «Երթեալ ընդ եղբորորդւոյն իմոյ յուղղութիւն, բաւական լեալ շրթամբք իմովք եւ աստամամբք»: Այսինքն թէ յաղագս այնորիկ եղէ ձեզ սքանչելի, զի հրաժարեալ յաշխարհականմեղսասէր օձապատիր խաբմանց նախնոյն իմոյ, գնացի զհետ եղբորորդւոյն իմոյ յուղիղ վարս.

22. Or: grace.

23. Gen 2:19.

24. Gen 2:23.

25. Cf. Gen 3:20: “the mother of all living.”

26. Cf. 1 Tim 2:14.

“I went after my beloved²⁷ toward rectitude, being sufficient with my lips and teeth.”²⁸ That is, you admired me, abstaining from my ancestor’s worldly, sin-loving deception by the serpent, I went with my nephew toward right behavior.

- 8 351 . . . գիտացեալ զնախահօրն կործանումն, մանաւանդ թէ զսատանային իսկ ի բարձրութենէ եւ ի հպարտութենէ լեալ . . .

. . . Being aware of the forefather’s perishing, especially that the Satan’s took place because of his exaltation and arrogance.

- 9 355 Նա եւ իւր մկրտութեամբն եւ աւագանաւն ծնաւ Քրիստոս, եւ հոգւոյն սրբոյ զալստեամբն զփակեալն յԱդամայ զերկինս երաց . . .

Moreover, Christ was born also by his baptism and the font, and through the arrival of the Holy Spirit, He opened the heaven closed by Adam.

Text: Գրիգորի Նարեկայ վանից վանականի Մատենագրութիւնք *The Writings of Grigor, Monk of the Monastery of Narek*, ed. Y. K’ristap’orean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1840), 407–21.

Grigor Narekac’i, Ներբող ի սուրբ Խաչն Encomium on the Holy Cross

- 10 405 (քրիստոսեան նշան) Եւ մուտն անձուկ դրախտին սենեկի՝ ի բոցեղէնն սրոյ պարփակեալ, քեւ մարդկան ազանց հորդեցաւ:

And the narrow entrance of the chamber of paradise, closed by the flaming sword, was opened by you (i.e., Christ’s sign) for the human races.

Ներբողեան սրբոյ Աստուածածնին Encomium on the Holy Mother of God

- 11 414 Բանականս մարդոյ գոյութիւն պատկեր Աստուծոյ ի սկզբանս ստեղծաւ, եւ այսր աղագաւ ստեղծողին շնորհս կալաւ

. . . The nature of rational man was created in the beginning in the image of God, and for that reason he had the Creator’s grace . . .

- 12 զքեզ խոստովանիմք, երկրաւոր ծնունդքս, ստորաստեղծականն,

27. Literally: nephew.

28. Cf. Song 7:9: “And thy mouth like the best wine, that goeth down smoothly for my beloved, Gliding through the lips of those that are asleep.” There is a significant difference between the Armenian and English versions of Song of Songs here.

We, earthly offspring of Adam, created from inferior substances, confess you.

13 419 ստորաստեղծականն Ադամայ

Adam created from inferior substance . . .

Grigor Narekac'i, Պատմութիւն Ապարանից Ս. Խաչին
History of the Holy Cross of Aparank'

- 14 389 Քանզի գխանձարուսն խրթնածածկոյթս յիշատակ կորուսելոյ փառացն Ադամայ, եւ զմաշկեղէնն ծառայական սփածանելիս, փոխանակ տերեւոյ տնկոյ թզենոյն, որով նախահայրն պատսպարեցաւ, ի պատկեր յօդուածոյ բարձիցն վերբերելով ի հօրն օրինակ զորդոցն զարշապարս օժանդակեաց. եւ զփուշն դաժանաբոյսս ընդ ծաղկածինն վայրից դրախտին եւ զարիւնեանգն կարմիր ի տարացոյց խակութեան մտաց յանցաւորին, եւ պատերազմական փրկչին մարտի նշանակ. եւ զդժնդակատէգն սեւեռս ի թելադրութիւն նահանջման անարգելն ձեռաց, որ ներհակ հրամանի արարչին ձայնի յանդգնեալ ձգտեցաւ ի փայտին պտուղ. եւ զպտունգն դառնաթորմի ընդ ախորժեղի քաղցր ճաշականն. եւ զարկանելիս զգեստու արարչին ծնողի ի շուք պատկառանաց պարտաւորին մեղօք Եւայի:

For (the cross bears in itself) the wretched winding cloths²⁹ as the memorial of the lost glory of Adam, and the slave's leather girdle³⁰ instead of the leaf of the fig-tree by which the forefather was sheltered. An example for the image of the construction of the throne by raising (it) to that of the Father, he supported the heels of the son. And the harsh nails instead of the flower-producing valleys of paradise; and the bloody red as the sign of the crudity of the sinner's mind, and the martial symbol of the Savior's battle, and the nails wounding cruelly—for prompting to draw back the unrestrained hands which, having dared, stretched toward the fruit of the tree against the command of the voice of the Creator; and the very bitter sponge—instead of the pleasant sweet food; and the clothing of the dress of the Father Creator, for the respect of the modesty of the parent, the one culpable through sin, Eve.

Text: Grigor Narekac'i, Մատենան ողբերգութեան *Book of Lamentation*, ed. P. M. Xaç'atryan and A. A. Łazinyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1985).

29. Cf. Luke 2:7.

30. Cf. Matt 3:4.

ԺԸ, Գ: 18.3

- 15 311 Մինչ ի դրախտին փափկութեան զպտուղն կենաց կրէի:
Կաշկանդեալ գաւսացեալ ի կոր կործանմամբ ընդ կնոջն տագնապելոյ
...

While I was picking the fruit of life in the Garden of Eden,
Being bound, shriveled, bowed down by destruction with the distressed
woman . . .

ԼԷ, Բ: 37.2

- 16 400 Գովեալ արարչութեանդ զարեղութեան վանեալ են կարծրութիւնք
Արտաբերութեան սրտի բանսարկուին,
Որ քարին առակաւ յուսահատն վիատութեան,
Սպառմամբ խոպանման աղբերացս երկուց,
Որ ի զգայականս Եդեմայ բղիւեալ պատրաստեաց տնկողն,
Զի ոռոգեալ ծաղկեցի նովաւ,
Որ ի յիս բարեգործութեան կենսատունկն դրախտ:
Ահա մի ցամաքութեամբ արտասուացս
Աղանդահնար պատրանաւք չարաչար խորամանկեցէ
Վերստին հանել ի փափկութենէ նախնում վիճակին:

Your praised creation repels the firmness of might,
The expression of the Devil's heart,
That through the enigma of the stone's despondent despair
By exhaustion of the two sources becoming desert,
Which the planter prepared to flow in the sensible Eden,
So that, having been watered there should flower through it,
The life-planted Garden of beneficence, which is inside me.
Hence let him not, having dried my tears,
Deceive me wickedly by malicious tricks,
To drive me again out of the delight, into my former condition.

ԼԹ Բ: 39.2

- 17 406 Խոպանացեալ եւ տատասկաբեր անդաստանս,
Աստուածախնամ երկիրս անձնաւոր,
Որ բանսարկուին պատրանաց մշակեցայ,
Բւղբնձիւդ փայտս պտղակորոյս,
Հատանելի ծառս ունայնաբոյս . . .

I, a desert and thistle-bearing field,
I, an animated land cared for by God,

That was cultivated by the Devil's deception,
I, an olive-tree that drops the fruit,
I, a sterile tree worthy of being cut.

ԽԶ, Գ-Դ: 46.3–4

- 18 425 Գ Եղական պատկեր Աստուծոյ՝ կշտամբեալ ի սպառ, ոգի իմ գերի:
Եւ թէպէտ յառաջին նմանութենէն կողոպտեալ գտար՝
Պատուիրանին յանցաւորութեամբ ի դրախտին կենաց,
Այլ աւագանին լուսազարդ շնորհին զհոգւոյն փշոտմն առեալ՝
Եւ նմանութիւն եւ կերպարանին:
Դ Եւ արդ, ընդէ՛ր կորուսեր զփառսն երկնաւորս,
Իբր նախաստեղծն երբեմն զվիճակն երկրաւոր յԱդին դարաստանի.

Created image of God, entirely reproached, my captive soul,
And though you, found to be deprived of your former likeness,
Through transgression of the command in the Garden of life,
Nevertheless, having received the insufflation of the Spirit through the luminously decorated font,
And you are the likeness of His form;
4 But now why have you lost the celestial glory?
As once the protoplast (lost) his portion in the earthly Garden of Eden?

Ծ, Ա: 50.1

- 19 443 Զի որ զսխալելն Ադամայ անձին իւրում ոչ գրեցել
Եւ զմեղս ամենից ինքեան ոչ համարեցի ...

For one who does not ascribe to himself the error of Adam
And does not reckon the sins of all as his own . . .

ԾԶ, Ա: 56.1

- 20 467 Իսկ զառիթսն մահու դիպուածս
Դժոխարմատ ծառոյս դառնութեան պտուղք՝
Ընտանիք թշնամիք . . .

But these events, the cause of death,
The bitter fruit of this tree rooted in hell,
Are domestic³¹ enemies . . .

31. Or: familiar.

ԿԶ, Զ: 66.6

- 21 510 Եթէ ի մահ սատակման զիս վանեալ վիրաւորեսցէ,
 Ստուար տեգ զինու մխելոյն
 Ի կող ստեղծչին Ադամայ զնա հերձեսցէ:

If having driven me to death's destruction, it wounds me,
 Let the thick pike of a weapon plunging
 Into the side of Adam's Creator, pierce him.

Զ, Ա: 70.1

- 22 570 Աղաչեմ զքեզ, սուրբ Աստուածածին . . .
 Գերազանց, քան զբնակութիւն անկոխելի սրբութեանց,
 Երանաւոր խոստմանն տեղի, Եղեմ շնչական,
 Ծառ կենացն անմահից՝ բոցեղէն սրովն պարունակեալ . . .

I beg you, Holy Mother of God . . .
 More sublime than the untrodden residence of the sanctities,
 You, place of the blessed annunciation, spiritual Eden,
 Tree of immortal life, closed in by the flame of the sword . . .

Գ, Ե: 3, 5

- 23 622 Ոչ ահա Մելքիսեդեկ յարինակ ճշմարտիդ ահաւորութեան ի
 Զիթաստանեաց լերինն, ուր յետոյ ոտք մարմնացելոյդ Աստուծոյ
 զետեղեալ կացին, ի վերնոց անտի հրեշտակաց ի պտղոց տեղոյն
 իւղեցաւ. ուստի շիրմի սկզբնահարն պաշտպան եպիսկոպոսական
 արքայապատիւ ճոխութեամբ ի քէն հանդերձեալ նստաւ . . .

Was not Melchizedek anointed as a type of your true fearsomeness on the
 Mount of Olives where afterwards the feet of God incarnate stood, by the
 celestial angels in the place of fruits (i.e., olives), where by the power put on
 You from the grave of forefather, protector through episcopal royal power,
 he sat . . .³²

32. According to the editors' n. 35, Jewish tradition put the burial of Adam's skull on Golgotha. This is, of course, not really accurate and is a Christianized formulation. Adam's creation was in the center of the world, that is, in the sacred place of Jerusalem: see *y. Naz.* 7.2, *Gen. Rab.* 14:8. The idea that Adam died in the same place in which he was created appears first in 2 *En.* 71:35 (the passage is also connected to the priesthood of Melchizedek) and in *Apoc. Mos.* (Greek *L.A.E.*) 40:6. The tradition that Adam's skull was buried under the altar appears in several places in the Jerusalem Talmud: *y. Sotah* 5.20b; *y. Ned.* 6.39d-40a; *y. Pesah.* 9.36c; *y. Sanh.* 1.18d, according to the interpretation of L. Ginzberg. Starting from Origen's

Grigor Narekac'i, Տաղեր եւ գանձեր *Poems and Ganjs*, ed. A. K'yoškeryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1981), 93.

ԻԲ. Քարոզ ասացեալ ի սուրբ ծնունդն եւ ի մկրտութիւնն
22 Sermon Preached on the Occasion of the Nativity and Baptism

- 24 132 Որ երեւեցաւ այսաւր ի ցնծութիւն ազգի մարդկան,
Ազատելով զառաջինն Ադամ ի յանիծիցն առաջնոյ,
Ուստի եւ զնախամարն Եւայի լուծանելով զկնիք դատաստանութեան
...

(Christ) who appeared this day for the exaltation of the human race,
Liberating the first Adam from the curse of the first one,
Hence annulling the foremother Eve's seal of condemnation . . .

- 25 137 Ի պարծանս կուսից երեւեալ, սո՛ւրբ Աստուածածին,
Լուծանելով զառաջինն Եւայի զդատապարտութիւն . . .
Holy Mother of God, you appeared to the glory of virgins,
Annulling the former condemnation of Eve . . .

ԻԵ. Քարոզ եկեղեցւոյ
25. Sermon on the Church

- 26 164 Իմաստագործ, անսխալաստեղծ,
Պատշաճակերտ կազմիչդ համայնից,
Որ յսկզբնաձեռն յառաջակառոյց զայս կերպարան հրաշագարդ իրի
Հաճեցար լինել նախ զբնակն, ապա՝ զբազմեալն:
Զգեցեր զերկինս եւ անդ զերկնայինսն,
Հաստատեցեր զԱդին եւ զկնի զԱդամ . . .
Wisely acting, infallibly creating,
You, properly creating order of all,
Who, initially undertaking the primary construction of the form of this
wonderfully adorned reality,
First pleased to be the inhabitant and then the one seated (i.e., on the throne).
You stretched the heavens³³ and there—the heavenly ones,
You established Eden and then—Adam . . .

commentary on Matt 27:33, Christian traditions move the site to Golgotha. On Melchizedek on the Mount of Olives, see Stone 2012, 90n and 91.

33. Cf. Isa 40:22.

ԻԸ Քարոզ Վարդավառի

28 Sermon on Vardavař (The Feast of the Transfiguration)

27 191 Իսկ դու, անսկիզբն Աստուած, ի սկզբանէ եղեալ յեղելումն,
Իշխանական կամաւք եւ ասուածային ձեռաւք քո
Հաստատեցեր զԱդին եւ ի նմա՝ զԱդամ . . .

And you, God without beginning, that were in existence from the coming
into being:

With your authoritative will and divine hands

You established Eden and in it—Adam . . .

ԻԹ Քարոզ, ասացեալ ի փոխումն ամենաւրինեալ սուրբ
Աստուածածնին29 Sermon Preached on the Assumption of the Blessed Holy
Mother of God

28 202 Ի քեզ կատարեցան տառք աստուածախաւս եւ ընտրեալ
մարգարէիցն
Եւ նախագուշակ տեսողացն,
Որ փոխանակ Եւայի մայր գոլ զքեզ կենդանւոյ բանին Աստուծոյ,
Որով զարդարեցան արարածք
Յառաջին հնութենէ մեղացն վերստին նորոգելով ի փառս,
Ուստի նախամարն անիծիցն՝ երկունք
Ի յաւրհնութիւն փոխարկեալ լուծաւ.
Եւ գիր դատապարտութեան յանցանացն՝ խզեալ պատառեցաւ.
Քեւ ճոխանայ նախահայրն Ադամ . . .

In you were realized the words of the elect prophets, speakers with God,
And of the forewarning foreseers,

That instead of Eve you will be the mother of God's living Word

By which the creatures were adorned,

Having been renewed again for glory from the former old sin.

From this, the pains of the foremother's curse

Were dissolved, having changed into blessing,

And the document of condemnation for the transgression, having been
erased, was torn.³⁴

The forefather Adam is exalted by you . . .

34. Col 2:14.

ԻԳ. Քարոզ Գրիգորի Նարեկացւոյ ասացեալ, ի սուրբ
Յովհաննէս Մկրտիչն

23 Sermon Pronounced by Grigor Narekac'i on St. John the Baptist

- 29 142 Որոյ իսկապէս տեսակ յանցանացն է նիւթականցս անիմանալի,
Եւ զգացեալս վայր վիճակեալ բնակութեան տեղի տարփային
Եւ դրախտ կենդանեաց բուսովք բարգաւաճ,
Պատուիրան կիտիւ կառուցեալ լինել անհուպ կամաւքն առանձին:
Սակայն ապստամբն իմանալի, նիզական ստութեան կաճառեալ առ
կինն,
Բարբաւաւք աստուածական ճոխութեամբ ճողոպրեաց ի փառացն:

Which type of sins verily is incomprehensible to material ones,
And the sensible ones having appointed a site of dwelling, a desirable place,
And a garden of life, flourishing with plants,
A commandment in a moment he established to be nonproximate, by will
alone.

However, by rebellion of the understanding, through the spear of falsehood,
he joined with the woman,

By false accusation, by divine authority, He set him free from glory.

MOVSĒS KAĻANKATUAC'Ī C10

Text: Movsēs KaĻankatuac'ī, Պատմութիւն Աղուանից աշխարհի *History of the Land of Albania*, ed. V. AĻak'elyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1983).

Translation: C. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians, by Movsēs Daxuranc'ī* (London Oriental Series 8; London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1961). The translation here is my own.

- 1 244 . . . Ո՛չ գիտէք եթէ նախահայրն մեր Ադամ սակս սորա (այսինքն.
Սաստանայի) ելեալ ի դրախտէն զփշաբեր եւ զտատասկաճին
ժառանգեր երկիր:

Don't you know that our forefather Adam owing to him (i.e., Satan) hav-
ing come forth from paradise also inherited the thorny and thistle-bearing
ground?

SAMUĒĻ KAMRĴAJOREC'Ī C10

Text: Samuēl Kamrĵajorec', Յաղագս տաւնից տէրունականաց "On the
Dominical Feasts," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias:
Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 703–34.

- 1 705 §1 (25) Եւ սկիզբն առնելոյ հսկմանն սկսանին ընթեռնուլ. «Ի սկզբանէարար Աստուածգերկինս եւ գերկիր»։ զաշխարհարարութիւն Արարչին, զոր արար ի փառս եւ ի գովութիւն մշտնջենաւոր փառաց իւրոց բնական արինաց մարդկան ճանապարհի արարեալ զինքն միայն ճանաչել Աստուած, զորս բանսարկուն իբրեւ կուրաց առաջի անցեալ մոլորեցոյց եւ փոխանակ Արարչին զարարածս աստուածացոյց մարդկան յանարգութիւն Արարչին։

(25) And starting the vigil they begin to read: “In the beginning God made the heavens and the earth,” i.e., about the creation of the world by the Creator who made it for the glory and praise of his eternal glory, paving for humans the way of the natural law: to acknowledge only him as God. But the Devil led them astray, preceding them as if they were blind and, instead of the Creator, deified creatures for humans, dishonoring the Creator.

- 2 705–6 §(32) Իսկ զհետ այսորիկ առակաւքն խրատէ զեկեղեցի՝ ճանաչել զիմաստութիւնն ճշմարիտ՝ զՔրիստոս մարմնացեալն վասն մեր, եւ ընդունել զխրատ նորա փոխանակ խրատու բանսարկուին առ Ադամ։

(32) And after this he admonishes the church with examples: to acknowledge the true wisdom, Christ incarnated for our sake, and to accept his advice instead of the Devil’s advice to Adam.

- 3 707 §2 (3) Զայս Արտեմոն բաժանեաց՝ սուտանուն աշակերտն Յովհաննու Աւետարանչի՝ ի վերայ գեղեցիկ սերման Աւետարանչին որումն ցանելով, որպէս ի սկզբանն՝ բանսարկուն՝ զխաբէութիւնն յԱդամ՝ յուսովն աստուածանալոյն, եւ հակառակ Աստուծոյ։

(3) This, Artemon, the falsely named pupil of Evangelist John, divided by sowing darnel over the beautiful seed of the Evangelist, as in the beginning the Devil sowed in Adam deceit with the hope of becoming god and hostile to God.

- 4 708 §2 (22) Գիտեմք ճշմարտապէս եւ հաւատամք Գաբրիէլի աւետարանութեանն, այլ ի Զ ապրիլի. եւ այս՝ խորհրդաբար, զի ի վեցերորդ աւուրք³⁵ զպատրանս ընկալաւ Եւայ, եւ ի թիւն վեցերորդ Կոյսն՝ զաւետիսն, եւ զկնի խորհրդաբար կատարի, զի ի վեցերորդ աւուրս ստեղծաւ Ադամ, եւ ի նոյն վեցերորդի եղծաւ։ (23) Իսկ ի վեցերորդ աւուր առաջին ամսոյն նոր Ադամ ծնաւ։

(22) We truly know and believe in the good tidings of Gabriel, which was on April 6, and this is symbolic, since on the sixth day Eve received the deceit and on the sixth in number the Virgin [received] the Annunciation, and subsequently things are accomplished symbolically, since on the sixth

35. The case is anomalous and should be a locative.

day Adam was created and on the same sixth (day) he was destroyed. (23) And on the sixth day of the first month the new Adam was born.

- 5 725–26 §3 (47) Յուրբաթու եւ նախաստեղծն զառաջին արեւսն ընկալաւ եւ ի նոյն ուրբաթու յանցեալ յարինացն, եւ մեք ի նոյն յուրբաթու եւ յուրբաթացեալ դարի երկրորդ ընդունիմք արեւս, ընթեռնումք ի նոյն ուրբաթու ի Յովբայ զկիրս չարչարանաց արդարոյն Յովբայ, վասն զի արինակ էր Յովբ հին Ադամայ եւ նոր Ադամայ. չարաչար կրիւքն հնոյն Ադամայ արինակ էր, իսկ արդարութեամբ եւ չարչարանաւք՝ նորոյ Ադամայ եւ Աստուծոյ չարչարեցելոյ ընդդէմ մեղացն, որ չարչարեցան յաւուր ուրբաթու, եւ ուրբաթացեալ դարի:

(47) On Friday the forefather too received the first law and on the same Friday he transgressed the law, and we receive the second law on the same Friday and in the Friday-like [i.e., sixth] age,³⁶ on the same Friday we read from the book of Job about the sufferings of righteous Job, since Job was the example of the old Adam and of the new Adam: in his enormous sufferings he was the example of the old Adam, and in his righteousness and sufferings, of the new Adam and God who suffered for the sins which were suffered on Friday and in the Friday-like [i.e., sixth] age.

Text: Samuēl Kamrġajorec՝, Յաւուր բուն բարեկենդանին Պաւղոսի եւ Սամուէլի եւ Գրիգորի վարդապետաց *On Shrove Tuesday by vardapets Paulos, Samuēl, and Grigor*, in Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 738–41.

- 6 740 (42) Աղուհացիցն չորեքշաբաթի եւ ուրբաթի յոյժ խորհրդաւոր. չորեքշաբաթին՝ ի բժշկութիւն նախամաւրն Եւայի, քանզի ասեն, թէ խորհուրդ ստեղծման կնոջն առաջնոյ ի չորեքշաբաթու եղել, եւ ի նմին աւուր առաւ կող եւ ստեղծաւ եւս ի չորեքշաբաթի: (43) Դարձեալ՝ խաբէութիւն աւձին ասեն եղել յայս միտս:

(42) The Wednesday and the Friday of the Lent are very symbolic; Wednesday, for healing of the foremother Eve,³⁷ because they say that the mystery of the creation of the first woman was on Wednesday, and on the same day the rib was taken and she was also made on Wednesday. (43) Again they say that the serpent's deceit took place according to this meaning.

Text: Samuēl Kamrġajorec՝, Պաւղոսի եւ Սամուէլի եւ Գրիգորի եւ այլոց վարդապետաց Յաղագս քառասնորդացն ասացեալ եւ մեկնութիւն

36. Christ was born in the the sixth millennium: Stone (1996b, 88) lists a number of sources and others exist.

37. I.e., Adam's being healed after the removal of his rib.

ընթերցուածոց “*On the Lent and Commentary on the Lectionary by Paulos, Samuēl, Grigor, and other vardapets*,” in Yakob K‘eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 742–46.

- 7 742 (8) Արդ ասի յիմաստնոց. Ստեղծեալ զԱդամ Աստուծոյ՝ զկնի Խ աւուր մտանէ ի դրախտն, եւ յետ ուտելոյն ծառոյն բարոյ եւ չարի, զի բարի էր ոչ ուտելն, վասն որոյ ելանէր յերկիր դատապարտութեան, զոր ասաց Աստուած. «Տրտմութեամբ կերիցես եւ քրտամբք»:

(8) Now it is said by wise men: Adam having been created by God, after 40 days enters the Garden and, after eating from the tree of good and evil—since the not eating was good—on account of that he went forth to the condemned earth,³⁸ as God said: “With labor and sweat you shall eat.”

- 8 745–46 (68) Եւ յԹ ժամուն յանցեալ Ադամ եւ ել ի դրախտն, եւ յԹ ժամուն գոչեաց Յիսուս ի ձայն մեծ եւ արձակեաց զհոգին: (69) Եւ աւագակն ի դրախտն եմուտ: (70) Վասն այնր ուրբաթն՝ վասն Ադամա, եւ ընթերցուածն յերկրորդ արիինաց գեղեցիկ յարինեաց զծնունդն Քրիստոսի վասն Եւայի, եւ զյարութիւն՝ վասն Ադամայ:

(68) On the ninth hour Adam transgressed and went out of the Garden, and on the ninth hour Jesus cried out loudly and breathed his last (69) and the bandit entered paradise. (70) For this reason Friday is dedicated to Adam and the lection from the Deuteronomy nicely arranged the birth of Christ for Eve and his resurrection for Adam.

SIMĒON AĻJNEC‘I C10

Text: Simēon AĻj nec‘i, Ի Պետրոս եւ ի Պաւղոս սուրբ առաքեալսն Քրիստոսի “*On Peter and Paul, the Holy Apostles of Christ*,” ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 876–88.

- 1 876 (8) Եւ հինգմասնեա բաժին վասն հինգ զգալեաց նախամարն, որով յանցեալ: . . . (10) Եւ զիարդ վասն Եւայի ասի եւ ոչ Ադամայ: (11) Խորագոյն է բանս. վասն զի Եւայ ասի ի յայրին ի Սիւքեմ դրեալ ի շիրմի, եւ այրն բաժին Բենիամենի . . .

(8) And the fivefold share is because of the five senses of the foremother with which she transgressed. . . . (10) And why is it said about Eve and not about Adam?

38. Literally: the earth of condemnation.

(11) This matter is quite profound, since Eve is said to be put in a grave in a cave in Shechem, and the cave (is) the share of Benjamin . . .³⁹

- 2 877 (36) Յորժամ մեղաւ նախամայրն, թէպէտ եւ հանաւ ի փառացն, այլ ոչ ի սպառ բարկացաւ Տէր, այլ ետ ժամանակ կենաց:

(36) When the foremother sinned, although she was deprived of the glory, but the Lord did not wholly get angry, but he gave her time of life.

- 3 882 (131) Հարցաքննելի է . . . վասն խաչին Պետրոսի. Զիարդոյ հրամայէ գլխիվայր խաչիլ. . . (133) Խաչն ծառոյն գաղափար է, եւ առաքեալն՝ Ադամայ: (134) Եւ գլխիվայրն զայս պատկեր ցուցանէ՝ փոխանակ զի Ադամ լուաւ կնոջն եւ աւձին եւ արար զաջն որպէս զահեակ եւ զգլուխն՝ որպէս զոտս կոխան ամենեցուն:

882 (131) One should inquire . . . concerning the cross of Peter, why was he ordered to be crucified head-down? . . . (133) The cross is the type (or: notion) of the tree, and the Apostle, of Adam. (134) And the position head-down indicates the following picture: since Adam listened to the woman and to the serpent, he also made the right as left⁴⁰ and the head as feet to be trodden by all.

- 4 (141) . . . Բանն Աստուած պատարագեցաւ եւ դարձաւ ոգին Ադամայ եւ գնաց ի տեղի իւր:

(141) . . . God the Word was sacrificed and Adam's soul repented and went to its place.

STEP'ANOS TARŌNEC'I (ASOLIK) C10

Text: Step'anos Tarōnec'i Asolik, Պատմութիւն Տիեզերական *Universal History*, ed. S. Malxasean (St. Petersburg: Skoroxodov Press, 1885).

- 1 7 Սկիզբն արասցուք սկզբանս յորում նախահայրն մեր եւ արտաքս ի դրախտէն, փշալից երկրի եղեալ ժառանգորդ:

We shall begin from the beginning, when our forefather came out of the Garden, he became heir of the thorny ground.

- 2 223 Ադամ զանմեղանչական մարմինն եւ զանդատապարտականն ի դատապարտութիւն եւ յապականութիւն մահու իջոյց:

39. Compare with Eve's burial tradition in apocryphal Armenian sources; see Stone 2000b, 241–45. The location of Eve's grave in Shechem is unusual. See Stone 2012, 57.

40. This may appeal to the value-weighted use of right and left.

Adam caused his sinless and uncondemned body to fall to (the condition) of condemnation and to the corruption of death.

TAČAT *VARDAPET* C10

Text: Tačat *vardapet*, Հարցմունք “Questions,” ed. Yakob K’eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 849–57.

- 1 850 §10 (23) Եւ ձեռագիր յանցանացն՝ Ադամ յանցեալ ի ձեռն պտղոյն ճաշակման, եւ Տէրն ի խաչին ջնջեաց զձեռագիրն, վասն զի իւր մահուամբն սպան զմահ եւ ջնջեաց զձեռագիր յանցանացն. նմանեաւն զմանն մաքրէր:

(23) And the cheirograph of transgression: Adam transgressed by eating the fruit and the Lord on the cross deleted the cheirograph, since by his death he killed death and deleted the cheirograph of transgression.⁴¹ He cleaned the similar by a similar.

- 2 851 (36) Արդ, որ գրեալն է, թէ ընդէ՞ր հոգին ջրոյ կարաւտանայ, աստանաւր մեծ վարդապետն հաստատէ զբանդ բայց կանխաւ յայտնեալն ամենայնի զհին Ադամն, զի թաղեսցէ ի ջուրն . . .

(36) Now what is written, “Why does the soul need water?”⁴² Here the great *vardapet* confirms this saying, manifesting the old Adam beforehand to everybody that he will be buried in water . . .⁴³

- 3 854–55 (66) . . . զի որպէս առաջին Ադաման փակումն եղել դրախտին, երկրորդաւ եղիցի բացումնն, զի հակառակաւք զհակառակսն լուծանիցէ . . .

(66) As the closing of paradise took place through the first Adam, likewise through this second one the opening will take place, so that he will dissolve the opposite by the opposite.

41. See Col 2:14; and Stone 2002.

42. See Ps 63:1 = Arm 62:2; compare the language of Artawazd Mazazuni C10, 460.

43. The reference is unclear: perhaps Adam’s body will be in the Flood, but that runs against the tradition, known in Armenian, that Noah took it onto the ark: Stone 1996b, 116–17. Elsewhere Artawazd Mazazuni talks of burying the old Adam in water, referring to the trampling of the Satanic serpent in the incorruptible waters of the baptism.

TIMOT'ĒOS VARDAPET C10

Text: Timot'ēos *vardapet*, Յառաջաբան համառոտ ի ծննդոց “Concise Prologue on the Genesis,” ed. Yakob K'ēosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 904–20.

- 1 915 (173) Եւ լուսինն կատարեալ երեւեցաւ, որպէս Ադամ կատարեալ արարաւ:
(173) And the moon appeared perfect, just as Adam was made perfect.

- 2 916 (192) Ի վեցերորդում արար զԱդամ, ըստ կերպարանաց իշխանութեան, զի որպէս իշխանութիւն Աստուծոյ ի վերայ ամենայնի, նոյնպէս եւ տէրութիւն Ադամայ:
(192) On the sixth (day) he made Adam, in the state⁴⁴ of power, since as the power of God is over all, likewise is Adam's lordship.

- 3 918 (232) Զամենայն արար. ասէ. Եւ բարի են յոյժ: (233) Առ մարդն լռեաց «զբարին», զի իւր պատկեր ստեղծ, բաւական համարեցաւ, կամ զի գիտէր, թէ յանցանէր՝ ոչ ասաց: (235) Զսկիզբն արարչութեան պատմեաց, յաւուր յորում արար զերկինս եւ զերկիր եւ զամենայն ծառս դաշտի, զի չէ եւս էին արարեալ. յերրորդում աւուրն արարան: (236) Եւ զի Ադամ չէ եւս էր արկեալ զձեռն գործել զերկիր՝ երկրորդեաց՝ ասելով. «Աստուած զԱդամ» յետ առաջնոյն այսորիկ:
(232) He made everything (and) said: “they are very good.” (233) In the case of man He passed over “the good” in silence. Because He had created His image and was satisfied, or because He knew that he was going to transgress, He did not say (good). (235) He relates about the beginning of creation, on the day when He made the heavens and the earth and all the trees of the field, since they had not yet been made, they were made on the third day. (236) And since Adam had not yet undertaken to till the land, He repeated saying: “God [made?] Adam,” after this first one.

- 4 920 (271) Եւ գոր ինչ անուանեաց Ադամ, այն անուն է: (272) Եւ զի ոչ միայն գազանացն, այլ եւ անասնոցն: (273) Եւ անասնոցն դժուարին էր յաղագս փոփոխմանցն, թողո՛ւ վասն պատուոյ զնա հաղորդակից արարչութեան ղնելով անուանս, որպէս ինքն հաստատեաց, զի յորժամ կամեցի նա աստուածանալ՝ գողութեամբն իւրոյ կշտամբեալ յանդիմանեցի: (274) Եղ Աստուած անուանս ամենայն արարածոց, եւ զգազանսն եւ զանասունսն եթող Ադամա, զի գիտութեան իմաստութեան նորա ստացին զանուանսն իբրու կենդանութեան,

44. Or: form.

զի ահաւասիկ առանց անուան մեռեալ են տղայքն, եւ որք ունին զանունն, կենդանի են:

(271) And whatever Adam called, that was (its) name (Gen 2:19). (272) For (he gave names) not only to wild animals but also to the cattle. (273) And it was difficult (to give names) to the cattle, because of changes. So as to honor him as a participant in the creation by giving names to the cattle, he allows him (to do so), as He himself established, so that when he wishes to become god, he be scolded and reproached for his robbery. (273) God gave names to all creatures and left wild animals and cattle to Adam, so that they receive names of his knowledge and wisdom,⁴⁵ as if of life, since behold, children without names are dead, and those who have names are alive.

TIRANUN *VARDAPET* C10

Tiranun *vardapet*, Պատասխանի հարցմանց թագաւորացն Աղուանից Ատրնէքսեհի եւ Փիպէի “Answer to the Questions of the Kings of Albania Atrnerseh and Pipē,” ed. Azat Bozoyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 957–97.

- 1 959 §6 (15) Եւ զի երեց կարդան զլուսինն եւ աւագ քան զարեգակն .ժա. աւուրքք, զի յորժամ արար Աստուած զարարածս լի կատարեալ. լիակատար զնոսա եւ ոչ թերիս, զի ժամանակաւ կատարեալք եղիցին զկնի, որպէս այսաւր բոյսք եւ կենդանիք, ահա Ադամ Եւայ եւ դրախտքն (v.l. դրախտն) եւ պտուղքն լիակատարք եւ գազանքն եւ անասունքն:

(17) Ահա այժմ միտ դիր, զի կամիմ առնել զնա լիալուսին, ամենայն արարածք ստեղծան վասն մարդոյն տեսլեան եւ հաճոյից յաչս նորա. եւ զի մարդն յուրբաթու ստեղծաւ, պիտոյ էր զլուսին ի չորեքշաբաթի աւուրն մետասանաւրեայ ստեղծուլ. զի յորժամ երեւեսցի Ադամ մեղադիր լինել թերութեան լուսնի ի մետասան աւուրսն:

(15) And that they call the moon older and more senior than the sun by eleven days, for when God made the creatures fully complete, perfect, and not defective, so that afterwards in the course of time they might be perfect, as today the plants and animals. Behold Adam, Eve, paradise and fruit and wild animals and cattle are perfect. (17) Now think, I want to make it full moon. All the creatures were created for man's vision and for pleasure for his eyes. And since the man was created on Friday, the moon had to be created

45. Stone 2007a, 69–80.

on Wednesday eleven days old, so that when Adam appears, he could blame the wane of the moon in eleven days.⁴⁶

- 2 §7 (19) Աւր նոր արար Աստուած սկիզբն արարածոց, զիս զմուտ աւելեացն երբայեցոց. եւ դարձեալ եկ ի տարոյն սկիզբն, որ է յետ հինգ աւուր ուրբաթն. եւ այն է աւր ստեղծմանն Ադամայ, որ է Նիսան ամիս, յորում եւ Իսրաէլյեզիպտոսէ եւ ի սմա Տէր մեր յարեաւ :դժ: . . .

(19) God made a new day the beginning of the creation. He invented the introduction of the Hebrews' epagomenal days, and again came to the beginning of the year, which after five days is Friday, and it is the day of Adam's creation, which is the month of Nisan, in which Israel went out of Egypt, and this month our Lord resurrected, on the fourteenth.⁴⁷ . . .

- 3 959–960 §8 (20) Կատարեալս վասն այնորիկ արար Աստուած զարարածս, զի մի երեւեսցի Ադամ արարած կցորդ եւ հաղորդ արարչի իւրոյ, կամ հպարտացի զիտել զայս ամենայն անուանս, վասն այնորիկ ետ կոչել Ադամայ զազանացն, զի եղիցի հաղորդ արարչի իւրոյ, այս է գրեալն՝ թէ «արար զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր»:

(20) God made the creatures perfect on that account, so that creature Adam does not appear to be the companion of his own creator or does not swell with pride that he knows all these names. On account of that He allowed Adam to give names to animals so that he becomes the companion of his Creator, as it is written: “he made the man in his image (Gen 1:27).”

- 4 960 §9 (21) Եւ զի զիտեաց Ադամ կոչել անունս զազանացն. եւ ծանեալ ի քուն զԵւայ: (23) Կիրիւղ ի Պարապմունսն գրէ, թէ առ զԱդամ հոգւով, որպէս Տէր մեր աւծեալ ոչ իւղով, վասն այնորիկ զիտեաց նա զանունս արարածոց:

(21) And since Adam knew how to give names to animals and recognized Eve in (his) sleep⁴⁸ . . . (23) Cyril (of Alexandria) says in his Scholia that He anointed Adam with the spirit, as our Lord was anointed not with oil, that is why he knew the names of the creatures.

- 5 960 §10 (29) Արդ ստեն որք ասեն. «Ադամ եւ ոչ աւր մի ողջոյն եկաց ի դրախտին»: (30) Եւ այժմ ահա տես, զի թէ յուրբաթու ստեղծ Ադամ, եւ ի նմին աւուր յանցեալ եւ ել, ապա որ է այս Ադամս եւ աւ[ր]ինութիւնս, որ զկնի ուրբաթուն անիծիցն յաւուրն եւթներորդի

46. I.e., so that the moon would be full when Adam was created.

47. 14 Nisan is the date of Passover and, so Tiranun *vardapet* says, of the passion and resurrection.

48. I.e., immediately he awoke from the divinely induced sleep, during which his rib was taken and Eve created from it, he said, “. . . this one shall be called Woman, for out of Man this one was taken” (Gen 2:23).

սկսեալ է Աստուած արինել զարն երօներորդ: (31) Ապա յայտ է եթէ միւս եւս ուրբաթ պիտոյ էր, զի եկեսցէ ելցէ ի նմա Ադամ: (32) Արդ զեթն աւուրսդ աւադիկ ունիս յայտնապէս ասել զԱդամ ի դրախտին, մինչեւ գտցի այլ աւուր վկայս նոցին:

(29) Now those lie who say, “Adam did not stay in paradise even for one whole day.” (30) And now behold, see that he created Adam on Friday, and on the same day he transgressed and came out; then what is this Adam and this blessing that, after the Friday curse, on the seventh day God began to bless the seventh day?⁴⁹ (31) Now it is evident that another Friday was necessary so that Adam would come out on that day. (32) Now behold, you have to say manifestly that Adam (was) in the Garden for seven days, until a witness of another (number) of days will be found.

- 6 960 §12 (33) Յորում աւուր ուտիցես, ասէ, մեռցիս, եւ ահա ոչ մեռաւ, այլ նա աւանիկ վճիռս մահու ընկալեալ էր, եւ զառնաւատչեայ հրաժեշտ հրամանացն, թէպէտ եւ եկաց յետ այնորիկ զամս :ջլ:, զի նախ մեռաւ նա ի վճիռս եւ ի հրամանս Տեառն արարչի իւրոյ ի դրախտի անդ. եւ ապա զայր նա մտանել ղնել ի շիրմի յերկիր անիծից, զի յղացաւ մահ վաղվադակի, որպէս որոշքն Ղաբանու ասորոյ զդեղդ աւագանին:

(33) He says, “On the day that you eat, you will die,”⁵⁰ and behold, he did not die, but he had received the death sentence and the pledge of the farewell commandment, although he lived after that for 930 years. For he first died according to the sentence and commandment of the Lord his Creator in the Garden, and then he came to enter the land of curse and to be put in the grave, since he rapidly begat death, as the lambs of Laban the Aramean the remedy of the trough.⁵¹

- 7 960–61 §13 (34) Եւ ծառն ոչ եթէ չար ինչ էր, այլ զի տղայ եւ ի տարածամ հասակի մերձեցաւ ի նա. եւ պատուիրան հրամանին չար անուանեաց զնա: (35) Այլ նա հետ ուտելոյն եւ նախ քան զայն բարի էր, որպէս Յուդաս զեղեցիկ անուանի, եւ յետ մատնութեանն չար անուանեցաւ, եւ Թամար զոր սիրեաց, եւ վաղվադակի ատեաց Ամոն, բարւոք էր տեսլամբ եւ ոչ փոխեցաւ ինչ նա:

(34) And the tree was not something evil, but he was a child and approached it at an untimely age; and the commandment⁵² called it evil. (35) But, behold, after eating, and before he was good, as Judah is called nice and after the

49. See Gen 2:3: “So God blessed the seventh day.”

50. Gen 2:17.

51. Cf. Gen 30:32–43.

52. Literally: command of the order.

betrayal he was called evil, and Tamar whom Amon loved but soon hated was nice in appearance and did not change.⁵³

- 8 961 §14 (36) Գիտութիւն որ կայր ի ծառն, այս էր գիտել զմերկութիւն իւրեանց. եւ զձեւ անվայելուչ խառնակութեան առն եւ կնոջ:

The knowledge which was in the tree was knowing this: to know their nakedness and the indecent manner of the coition of man and woman.

- 9 961, §15 (37) Զաւձէն ասէ Փիլոն՝ թէ սուր էին նախնեացն մերոց լսելիք եւ միտք, եւ լուսւ Եւայ ի բարբառ աւձին զխաւսս նորա, բայց մեզ միոյ մեկնչի պատուեալ է ասացեալն վասն նորա, զի խաւսեցաւ նա իբրեւ զմարդ նորոգ եւ անընդել որպէս էշն Բաղամու խաւսեցաւ եւ լռեաց:

(37) Philo says concerning the serpent that the hearing and the mind of our ancestors were sharp, and Eve heard in the serpent's speech its words, but one commentator's pronouncement is honored to us, that it spoke like a new and unaccustomed thing, as Balaam's donkey spoke and stopped speaking.⁵⁴

- 10 961 §16(38) Եթէ սատանայ յանցոյց զաւձն, ընդէր արար պատուհասեալ զնա առանց ոտից, յանցոյց սատանայ, բայց ոչ ակամայ, այլ եւ աւձ իսկ կամակից եւ հաղորդ եղեւ ի կամս իւր:

961 §16 (38) If Satan caused the serpent to transgress, why did he cause him to be punished by (not having) feet? Satan caused to transgress, but not unwillingly, but the serpent itself became agreeing with and companion of his will.

- 11 961 §17. (39) Յանցանքն առաջին սատանայի իբրեւ ի ծածուկ էր ի հրեշտակաց եւ ի մարդկանէ, իսկ այն զի յանցոյց զԱդամ լուացաւ ի վեր երեւեալ բոցն ոտիւք աւձին եւ անիծիւք երկրի, եւ տարամերժելովն Ադամայ ի ժառանգութենէ հայրենի աւանդիցն . . .

961 §17 (39) The first crime of Satan was as if in secret from the angels and humans, but the fact that he caused Adam to transgress was heard; the flame was seen in the height, through the serpent's feet and the curse of the land, and casting Adam out of the heritage of the paternal traditions . . .

- 12 (40) Եթէ կացեալ եւ փորձանացն հաւբերեալ էր Ադամ, որ ի նենգաւոր թշնամւոյն ի ժամու անդ ծնեալ երեւեցաւ. ի ժամանակի կատարման հասակի մարմնոյ եւ գիտութեան հոգւոյն նորա, ապա կերեալ լինէր եւ յայնմ եւս ծառոյ եւ փոխէր ի տեղի անմահութեան երկրորդի գերակայի, զի ոչ եթէ նախանձէր արգելուլ զնա ի ծառոյն, այլ զի այնու

53. Cf. 2 Kgs 13:6–16.

54. See Num 22:29–32.

պատուիրանաւ յիշեցէ զտէր եւ մի մոռացի զԱստուած զարարիչ իւր, որ արգել զնա յայնքան գեղեցիկ տնկոյն:

(40) If Adam had stayed and endured temptation, which appeared to have been begotten by the deceitful enemy, at the time of perfection of bodily age and of knowledge of his soul, then he would have eaten also (from) that tree too and would have been transferred to the place of immortality of second preeminence. For He did not envy (him) to hold him back from the tree, but (he gave that commandment) so that through this commandment he might remember the Lord and not forget God his Creator, who held him back from such a beautiful plant.

- 13 962 §20 (42) Եւայ, նախ եկեր, զի Աստուած որդիս ծնցի, վասն այնորիկ ասէ. «ցաւաք ծնցիս»: (43) Սիրելի կամեցաւ առնել զաւճն վասն այնորիկ ասէ. «թշնամութիւն եղից ի միջի»:

Eve ate first, so that God should beget this son (or: so that she should bear God the Son); that is why he says, “in pain you shall bring forth.” (43) He wanted to make the serpent affectionate (or: lovable); that is why he says, “I will put enmity between.”⁵⁵

- 14 962 §21 (44) Տէր կամեցաւ լինել մեծ Ադամայ, վասն այնորիկ ասացաւ, «առ այր քո դարձ քո»:

(44) The Lord wished Adam to become exalted; that is why he said, “your return shall be to your husband.”

- 15 962 §23 (46) Ըստ պատկերի արար, զոր ի կուսէն իսկ պատկեր էր զգեկոյց, կամ զի անմահ եղև իբրեւ զԱստուած. կամ տէր ամենայնի արար եւ անձնիշխան: (47) Կամ այն է, զի յորժամ առնէր զմարդն, եւ եբաց արարածն զտեսիլս իւր, եւ տեսն զԱստուած արարիչ իւր, զի յառնել անդ արար եւ ի զիրկս ընկալաւ, երեսեցաւ ձեռով մարդոյ, որպէս Աբրահամու եւ Յետուայ ի դաշտին:

(46) He made (him) in (his) image, the one who was going to put on the image from the Virgin, or because he was immortal like God, or (because) He made him lord of all and autonomous. (47) Or that is (the explanation), that when he made man, the creature opened its eyes⁵⁶ and saw God its Creator who made him rise and embraced him and became visible in human appearance, as to Abraham and to Joshua in the field.⁵⁷

- 16 962 §24 (48) ԶԱդամ ոչ անէծ, զի ոչ յանցեաւ, այլ ողորմեցաւ եւ խոնարհեցաւ յանցանս ընկերի իւրոյ. եւ հաղորդ եղև Եւայի,

55. Gen 3:15–16. This seems illogical, and we would expect “unlovable.”

56. Or: vision.

57. See Josh 1:1; 4:1.

զի ի պատճառս Ադամայ կեցցէ Եւայ, որպէս որ ումեք հաղորդի յանցանացն ոչ յանցուցեալ եւ խնդրէ յԱստուծոյ, ահա զայս արար Տէր մեր ասելով. ընդէր թողեր Աստուած Աստուած իմ. նայեա ի բնութիւնն մարդկութեանս:

(48) He did not curse Adam, since he had not transgressed, but he (Adam) took pity on the transgression of his companion and humbled himself and shared it with Eve, so that Eve might live for the sake of Adam, as one shares the crime of someone else without having committed a crime and begs God. Our Lord did this saying: “My God, my God, why have you forsaken (me)?”⁵⁸ Observe the nature of mankind.

- 17 962 §25 (49) Արդ եկայք ելցուք առ նա արտաքոյ բանակին, ըստ որում Աբել եւ Տէր մեր, վասն որոյ իրի պատճառանաց սպան Կային զԱբել, կարծէր Ադամ յետ այնորիկ մտանելի դրախտ անդ, այլ իբրեւ բոցն ցանգ շրջապատեաց վասն Ադամայ, զի մի մտցէ անդ երկիցս, ապա սկսաւ քարոզել Ադամ ծննդոց իւրոց, զի մի նմանագործեսցեն զառաջինսն, այլ հաճոյ լիցին խորհրդովք կամաւք իւրեանց Աստուծոյ ի խրատն Ադամայ, եւ մտցեն հնազանդքն ի դրախտն փոխանակ Ադամայ անհնազանդի: (50) Արդ իբրեւ ետես Կայէն թէ ընկալաւ Աստուած զպատարագն Աբելի, եւ հանդերձեալ է մտանել ի նա, նախանձեցաւ որպէս որ ցոք, զի ասէ, թէ որովհետեւ ինձ չեղել քեզ զի մարթ է լինել, եւ սպան, եւ արգելան մտանել ի դրախտն:

(49) Now come let us go out to him (Adam ?) outside the camp in which Abel and our Lord are, for which reason Cain killed Abel. Adam was thinking after that to enter the Garden, but like a flame a fence surrounded it because of Adam, so that he does not enter it twice. Then Adam began to exhort his offspring lest they imitate the first (humans), but (wish) to please God in their thoughts learning the lesson of Adam and the obedient ones would enter the Garden instead of disobedient Adam. (50) Now when Cain saw that God accepted Abel's offering and he is going to enter it (the Garden), he envied as one another, for he said, “Since I did not get, why was it possible for you to get (i.e., this privilege)?” And he killed (his brother), and they were banned from entering the Garden.

- 18 962 §26 (51) Սուրն բոց էր շրջապատեալ զդրախտն, վասն Ադամայ, զի մի մտցէ անդր, այլ իբրեւ հեռացաւ Ադամ, վերացաւ սուրն ահացուցիչ մարդոյն, զի սրովբէն եւ քրովբէնի միւս լեզուէ հուր եւ բոց ասի թէպէտ եւ այլք բազում գիտութիւն ասեն:

(51) The sword was a flame surrounding the Garden on account of Adam lest he enter it, but when Adam left, the man-terrifying sword was removed, since

58. Mark 15:34.

Seraph and Cherub in another language mean “fire and flame,” although others say, “much knowledge.”⁵⁹

- 19 963 §27 (52) Ադամ եւ Եւայ ոչ գիտացին, թէ սպան Կային զԱբել, զի ոչ յաւուրն պատարագի սպան գնաւ. այլ ի միւսում աւուր տարաւ գնալ ի դաշտ զբաւանդելու, եւ դարձաւ խաբէաց զԱդամ եւ զԵւայ թէ վերացաւ Աբել ի դրախտ անդ, իսկ իբրեւ կոչեաց Աստուած քաղցր ձայնիւ զԿային յապաշխարութիւն, ասելով. ուր է Աբել, պիտոյ էր նմա զյանցանս իւր արկանել առաջի Աստուծոյ եւ ոչ միտ մտիլ եւ պատճառել, որպէս զհայր, եւ զմայր իւր ի դրախտի անդ, զի միւսն զաւճն, եւ միւսն զկիսն պատճառէին: (53) Յայնժամ անեծ գնաւ եւ ապա ծանեան Ադամ եւ Եւայ ի դողդոջանալն նորա զյանցանս նորա: (54) Վասն այնորիկ զէն որ առաջի տանն Ադամայ, վերացոյց ի դրախտն վասն մխիթարելոյ զԱդամ, զի յարութիւն եղեւ ի ձեռն Ենովքայ, վերանալոյն Աբելի սպանելոյ:

(52) Adam and Eve did not know that Cain killed Abel, since he killed him not on the day of the offering, but on the next day he took him to the field for relaxation. And he returned and deceived Adam and Eve that Abel had ascended to the Garden, but when God called Cain with a sweet voice to repent,⁶⁰ saying, “Where is Abel?” he should have laid forth his crime to God, but not to please and seek pretexts, like his father and mother in the Garden, for the one was accusing the serpent and the other the woman. (53) Then He cursed him, and later Adam and Eve recognized his crime from his trembling. (54) On account of that a certain sacrifice before Adam’s house (i.e., Abel) He took up to paradise to console Adam, because resurrection took place through Enoch, when the killed Abel rose.

UXTANĒS C10

Text: Uxtanēs, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of Armenia* (Vałaršapat: Holy Ėjmiacin Press, 1871).

- 1 15–16 Աստանօր սկիզբն արասցուք պատմել յաղագս թագաւորաց՝ սկսեալ յԱդամայ՝ որ է նախահայր մեր՝ եւ առաջին թագաւոր լեալ ի վերայ երկրի. իսկ զբան Արարչին հուսկ յետոյ քան զամենայն արարածս եւ թագաւոր զնա կացուցեալ ամենայն արա/ 16 /րածոց՝ որ ի ներքոյ երկնից: Վասնզի պարտ եւ արժան էր որպէս ասէ զիրն,

59. The etymology of “Seraph” deriving from Hebrew *saraf* (“burn”) is not found in *Onomastica Sacra*. That of “Cherub” is probably secondary to it. The etymology behind “much knowledge” remains occluded.

60. Literally: for repentance.

նախ գոյանալ թագաւորութեան, եւ ապա ի ներքս զալ թագաւորին՝ լինել թագաւոր որոց ի վերայ երկրի ընդ թագաւորութեամբ վերնոյն: Եւ ապա զկնի արտասահմանելոյն ի դրախտէն՝ աճեցին ծնունդք նորա, եւ բազմացան, եւ լցին գերկիր ըստ հրամանի Արարչին: Ադամ նախաստեղծն կեցեալ ամս երկերիւր եւ երեսուն՝ ծնաւ զՍէթ. եւ եղեն ամենայն աւուրք Ադամայ՝ զոր եկեաց՝ ամբ իննհարիւր եւ երեսուն, եւ մեռաւ:

Here we shall start to tell about the kings, commencing from Adam who is our forefather and was the first king upon the earth. And the Creator's word (created him) last after all the creatures and appointed him king over all the creatures under the heavens, since it was necessary and fitting, as Scripture says, first for the kingdom to come into being and then for the king to enter to be king over those on the earth, underneath the kingship of the supernal One. And then after the banishment from the Garden, his descendants increased and multiplied and filled the earth by command of the Creator.⁶¹ The protoplast Adam, having lived two hundred and thirty years, begat Seth. And all the days of Adam which he lived were nine hundred and thirty years, and he died.⁶²

XOSROW ANJEWAC'İ C10

Text: Xosrow Anjewac'ı, Մեկնութիւն աղօթից պատարագին *Commentary on the Prayers of Divine Service* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1869).

Translation: Xosrow Anjewac'ı, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. S. Peter Cowe (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1991). The translation here is mine.

- 1 10 Մի հաւանիր օձին՝ որ զԵւայն պատրեաց, զբարութն չբարութ նմա ասացեալ, եւ զիրսն նմա աստուածացուցիչս յուսացուցեալ լուր Աստուծոյ. Ունկն դիք ասէ լսելեօք ձերովք, զհետ եկայք ճանապարհաց իմոց. լուարուք ինձ եւ կերիջիք զբարութիւնս, եւ վայելեցեն ի բարութեան անձինք ձեր:

. . . Էհան (բանսարկուն) ի դրախտէն զմեզ, կամի զի մի եւ աստ Աստուծոյ խնամօքն կեցցուք, եւ մի դարձեալ յանմահական ի կեանսն վայելիցեմք:

Do not believe the serpent, who deceived Eve, having told her that the good was not good, and raised hope for her that he himself was maker of gods.

61. Cf. Gen 1:28.

62. Cf. Gen 5:5.

“Listen to god; attend,” he said, “with your hearing, follow my ways, listen to me and eat this goodness, and your selves will enjoy goodness”

... The Devil drove us out of paradise; he wants us not to live under God’s protection even here, and not to enjoy again immortal life.

- 2 35–36 Քանզի / սպառնացաւ մահ Ադամայ, թէ ճաշակեսցէ ի պտղոյն. եւ զի յանցաւոր պատուիրանին գտաւ ի մահ եւ ի մեղս գրաւեցաւ զաւակօք:

Because Adam was threatened by death, if he ate the fruit, and as he appeared to be transgressor of the command, he was captured into death and sins with his generations.

Text: Xosrow Anjewac’i, *Բացայայտութիւն կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ քարոզութեանց եւ աղաւթից ըստ իւրաքանչիւր ժամուց [Մեկնութիւն Ժամակարգութեան] Explanation of the Orders of the Church Preaching and Prayers for Each Hour [Commentary on Divine Service]*, ed. Hračēay T’amrazean, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 35–187.

- 3 82 (471) Քանզի էր Ադամ պատուալից, այլ անիմաց եղեալ՝ հաւասար անասնոց եւ նման նոցա գտաւ:

(471) For Adam was most honored, but becoming foolish he was found to be equal to animals and like them.

- 4 105 (744) Զի թէ անդէն քաւութեան եւ հաշտութեան հասեալ էր Ադամ, ոչ այսքան պատիժ ինքեան եւ մեզ բազմացեալ էր:

(744) For if Adam achieved expiation and conciliation, his and our punishments would not be so multiplied.

- 5 152 (1330) Զի ի ձեռաց Ադամայ ել ապականութիւն վասն ուտելոյ ի փայտէն գիտութեան զպտուղն, եւ ապականեցան մարդկան ոգիք մեղացն ախտիւք:

(1330) For corruption set forth through Adam on account of (his) eating the fruit from the tree of knowledge, and human souls were corrupted by the fault of the sin.

Xosrow Anjewac’i, *Պատարագամատոյց Liturgy*, ed. Hračēay T’amrazean, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 188–227.

- 6 202 (230) Եւ որ ի նորոգումն կենաց եղել, նորոգումն սովին շնորհեցաւ, զի նոյն (աստուածային) ձեռք է, որ զԱդամն զոյացոյց. թէեւ անմարմին

յայնժամ, որ այժմս մարմնով, նոյն ամենակար եւ ամենակեցոյց ձեռք, որ զհոդն մարդ հոգեւոր եւ բանական փոխադրեաց, զհացն առնելով՝ մարմին աստուածային փոխարկեաց՝ անդ զմարդկայինն միացուցեալ հոգի եւ ի սա զաստուածայինն միացուցեալ բնութիւն:

(230) And he who came into being for the renewal of the life, the renewal was granted through him, since it is the same (divine) hand that brought Adam into being, although being then incorporeal which is now corporeal, the same almighty and all-vivifying hand, which turned dust into a spiritual and rational man, taking bread turned it into a divine body, there uniting the human soul and in this, uniting the divine nature.

YAKOB CPATEC՝Ի C10

Text: Yakob Cpatec՝i, Ընդդէմ Խոսքովա իմացմանց “Against the Conceptions of Xosrow [Anjewac՝],” ed. Azat Bozoyean, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 297–307.

- 1 297 (1) [Ս]կիզբն կենաց, որ տուաւ նախահարն՝ խաղաղութեամբ էր պսակեալ, մինչ չարն բարոյն չէր հակառակ, եւ այնու պայծառացեալ հրաշագեղ վայելչանաւք դրախտին: (2) Վկայէ Մովսէս ի վեցերորդ աւուրն յետ զմարդն առնելոյ, եթէ ետես Աստուած զի բարի է: (3) Վկայէ եւ աւձն որ արտաքոյ դրախտին կայր, եւ խաւսէր ընդ Եւայի, եւ նա ոչ փախչէր ի նմանէ, զի ոչ միայն աւձին, այլ եւ ամենայն անասնոց անընդունակ էր դրախտն:

(1) The beginning of life, which was given to the forefather, was crowned with peace, when the evil one was not yet opposed to the good, and he flourished through it with the delightful splendor of the Garden. (2) Moses witnesses that on the sixth day, after making man, God saw that it was good. (3) The serpent also witnesses who stood outside the Garden and spoke with Eve, and she did not flee from him, since not only the serpent but also all the animals were inadmissible to the Garden.

YOVHANNĒS DRASXANAKERTC՝Ի C10

Text: Yovhannēs Kat՝olikos Drasxanakertc՝i, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of Armenia*, M. Emin (ed.). (Tiflis: N. Ałanean Press, 1912); repr. of edn. Moscow: Vladimir Gotier Press, 1853).⁶³

63. The Jerusalem edition of 1843, reprinted in 1867, is the first edition.

Translation: Yovhannēs Drasxanakerc‘i, *History of Armenia, English translation and commentary* by K. Maksoudian (Occasional Papers and Proceedings 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).⁶⁴

13 Jerusalem 1867, p. 18

- 1 իսկ ի Յափեթէ մինչեւ ի նախնի մարդն Ադամ ամբ երկու հազար երկու հարիւր քառասուն եւ երկու:.

Then, from Japheth to the first man, Adam it is 2242 years.⁶⁵

- 2 235–36 Իսկ ոստիկանն դաւաճանող ըստ խորամանկն սատանայի՝ որպէս երբեմն ընդ Եւայի, / . . . Եւ իբրեւ զճառ բարեպտուղ զճաճուկ չար հնարս իւր յօրինեալ հաճոյ կարծէր նմա թուեցուցանել . . .

And the disloyal governor met with the prudent man with gentle speech, as in time past the deceitful Satan (did) with Eve. . . . And like the tree with delicious fruit he (i.e., the governor) having made his wicked plots secretly, thought to make it seem pleasing to him.

64. Older translation: St.-Martin 1841. There are two entries for “Adam” in Maksoudian’s index. One refers to *The Anonymous Chronicle* as the source of the number of years from Adam to the Deluge. This is Hippolytus’s *Chronicle*; see Maksoudian, 39. This is the citation given here.

65. In the chronological tradition, we may note the following dates: (1) *Biblical Paraphrases Adam to Flood*, 2242 years (Stone 1982, 83); (2) *Dates*, 2242 years (Stone 1996b, 88, 99); (3) Loeff and Stökl 2002 (2242 years); (4) Greek *Hypomnesticon of Josephus*, 2262 years (cited in Stone 1996b, 88); (5) *Acts of Pilate*, Latin A 12, 2212 years (Stone, 1996b, 88). Consequently this date is deeply rooted in the Armenian tradition.

ELEVENTH CENTURY

ANANIA SANAHNEC'Ī C11¹

Text: Anania Sanahneç'ī, in Yakob K'ēyosēyan, Աստվածաբանական Բնագրեր, Ուսումնասիրություններ Ա. *Theological Texts and Studies*, vol. 1 (Ējmiacin: Holy Ējmiacin Press, 2000).

Encomium on the Holy Catholic Church

1 131 Օրհնեալ ես խորան սուրբ . . . գերազանցեալ լուսաճեմ ճառագայթիւք . . . քան զադինական դրախտին զայն զծաղկափթիթ տնկոցն զկանաչասաղարթ ոստոցն զտարածումն: Վասն զի անդանօր սպրդեալ սողոսկանաւք սողեցաւ աւձն մահաթոյն, նենգապատիր դաւաճանմամբ զանմահութիւն մարդոյն ընդ մահուամբ սահմանեալ կողոպտեաց ի լուսապաճոյճն պատմուճանէն:

You are blessed, holy tabernacle . . . surpassing with your brilliant rays . . . that Edenic garden, that of the blossoming trees, of the spreading of verdant branches. Because the serpent with deadly venom slithered there, having insinuated itself, and with insidious treachery brought death to man instead of immortality, depriving him of the luminous garment.

GĒORG LOREC'Ī C11

Text: Gēorg Lorēc'ī, Պատասխանի թղթոյն Յովհաննիսի ասորւոց պատրիարքի “Answer to the Letter of John, Patriarch of the Syrians,” in Գիրք թղթոց *The Book of Letters* (Tiflis: T. Rōtineanc' & M. Šaramē Press, 1901), 335–37; and in the edition by N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press 1994), 624–56.

1 341 / 633 Արդ արժան է հաւատացելոց եւ ճշմարիտ քրիստոնէից՝ ոչ

1. The previous edition was Anania Sanahneç'ī 1747, 441–83.

մարդկեղէն մտաւք լինել արարիչ մարմնոյն Քրիստոսի, թէ Ադամ ի չորից էր ստեղծեալ, զոր եւ ոչ պարզ գիրաքանչիւրսն ցուցանել, զի Մովսէս հող միայն ասէ առեալ, թէ Ա՛ռ Տէր Աստուած հող յերկրէ, եւ զայլսն լռեաց: Այլարժանէ հաւատալաւետարանչացն որքստուգապէս զժամանակն եւ զաւուրսն եւ զժամն ցուցանեն: Զժամանակն թէ յետ զարնանային հասարակաւորութեանն յառաջնում ամսեան ի չորեքտասաներորդ լուսնին յորում զգառն զենուին, եւ զաւուրսն զբաղարջակերացն, եւ զժամն զերեկոյ պատեքին եւ զտաւնն Հրէից,
...

Now it is fitting for believers and true Christians not to be creators of the body of Christ with their human mind, (declaring) that Adam was made of four (elements): one cannot clearly show each of them, for Moses only says that He took dust: “God took dust of the ground,”² and he was silent about other (elements). But it is fitting to believe the Evangelists who indicate exactly the time and the days and the hour. The time was in the first month after the vernal equinox, on the fourteenth day of the moon, when they used to sacrifice the lamb, and during the days of unleavened bread; and the hour was the evening of Passover, and the feast of the Jews . . .

- 2 348–50 . . . Այլ երթիցուք ի սկզբան արարչութեան եւ ի մեծ մարգարէն Մովսէս որ ասէ, Ի սկզբանէ արար Աստուած զերկին եւ զերկիր: Ահաւասիկ զերկինն վերին ասաց, որ է լոյս, քանզի հուր ասի. զի բնակեալքն ի նմա հրեղէնք . . . Ապաքէն ցուցաւ առաջին լոյսն եւ ոչ յետին. զի երկրորդս իրին երկիր գոյացեալ եւ առագաստեալ աւդոյդ խստութեամբ միջոցն երկնի, երկրի ստուերք գործեցան ի վերայ արարածոց. վասն այսորիկ դարձեալ ասէ աստուածայինն Մովսէս, թէ, Եղիցի լոյս: Եւ եղև լոյսն թափանցիկ ի մէջ աւդոյ, եւ ստուերք տարերց չքաւորեցան. քանզի ոչ եթէ ի ստուերէ գոյացան արարածք, որպէս ոմանք բարբաջեն, այլ լուսով զարդարեցան. զի թէպէտ եւ ոչ էր գոյացեալ արեգակն մինչեւ ի չորրորդ աւրն, սակայն փոխանակ արեգական, հեղեալ լոյսն տարածանէր զճառագայթս իւր մինչեւ յերկոտասան ժամս տուրնջեան, եւ ապա տեղի տուեալ ամփոփէր յերթն վերին եւ յառաջխաղացեալ ստուերացն զիշեր գործէր: Վասն այսորիկ ասաց Մովսէս, թէ կոչեաց Աստուած զլոյս տիւ, եւ զխաւարն զիշեր, եւ ոչ ասաց աւր, մինչեւ ցլնլուլ երկոտասան ժամու զիշերոյն, եւ վերաբերեաց առաւօտուն / զսկիզբն երկրորդ աւուրն. ապա ասաց աւր առաջին: Արդ եթէ զիշերն է սկիզբն աւուրն, ընդէր յետ երեկոյին անցանելոյ ոչ ասաց աւր երկրորդ, այլ մի. քանզի զկնի նորին ասաց թէ, արար զհաստատութիւն զերկինդ որ երեւի եւ ամենեցուն յայտնի թէ երկրորդին է ստեղծուած աւուր: Բայց Աստուածային բանն լռէ զաւուրդ անուն, մինչեւ ցկատարումն երկրորդ զիշերոյն, եւ սկիզբն

2. Gen 2:7.

երրորդ տուրնջեանն, ապա ասաց զնա ար երկրորդ: Եւ յետ սորա պատմէ զծողովումն համատարած ջրոյն, եւ զերեւումն բուսոց եւ տնկոց, եւ զդաշտաց դալարաբերութիւն, եւ այսոքիկ երրորդ աւուր ստացուածք, զորոց զանունն առնութեռ ոչ դրոշմեաց մինչեւ ցծողովն երրորդ զիշերւոյն, եւ ի մուտս չորրորդ տուրնջեանն, ապա անուանէ զնա ար երրորդ: Եւ յետ սորին զեղելութիւն լուսաւորացոյ թէ, Արար Աստուած զլուսաւորն մեծ յիշխանութիւն տուրնջեան եւ զլուսաւորն փոքր յիշխանութիւն զիշերոյն. եւ զաստեղս, որ եւ յոյժ տխմարաց է յայտնին թէ ի չորրորդ աւուրն են գոյացեալ տարր լուսաւորացոյ, զորոյ զանունն ոչ բացայայտեաց մինչեւ ցկատարումն չորրորդ երեկոյն, եւ ի սկիզբն հինգերորդ տուրնջեանն, ապա կոչէ ար չորրորդ: Եւ առ ետեղ պատմէ զեղելութիւն թռչնոց եւ ջրդաւղակ զեռնոց եւ զծովային կենդանեաց, եւ այս հինգերորդ աւուրն է գործ, զորոյ անուն ոչ ակնարկեաց մինչեւ յաւարտումն հինգերորդ զիշերւոյն սկզբան վեցերորդ աւուրն, ապա ասաց զնա ար հինգերորդ: Եւ աստանար ասէ զլինելութիւն գազանաց եւ սողնոց, եւ անասնոց կենդանաստեղծութիւն եւ զմարդն ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ եղեալ: Արդ ո՞ւմ ոչ է յայտնի ի վեցերորդին ստեղծեալ զմարդն ձեռամբ Աստուծոյ, սակայն ոչ ունի զանուն առնութեռ տիւն, յորում վայրի եւ իշխանութիւն տուեալ ասի նախաստեղծ մարդոյն ի վերայ ամենայն երկրածին կենդանեացս, եւ դաւղական զեռնոց եւ ջրաթռիչ թռչնոց, եւ ի վերայ հողածին տնկոց եւ մրգաբեր փայտից, եւ հասեալ առ երեկն, եւ զանց արար մինչեւ առաւարտն սկիզբն եւթներորդի տուրնջեանն, ապա ասաց զարն վեցերորդ ի հաւաքել զիշերային մասանց, եւ ի նմին վայրի ասէ, թէ Կատարեցան երկինք եւ երկիր եւ ամենայն զարդ նոցա, եւ Կատարեաց զամենայն զգործ իւր զոր արար. եւ հանգեաւ յաւուրն եւթներորդի յամենայն գործոց իւրոց, զոր սկսաւ առնել Աստուած:

. . . And let us go to the beginning of the creation and to the great prophet Moses who says, “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.”³ See here, he said “the upper heaven,” which is light, for it is called “fire,” since its inhabitants are fiery ones . . . ⁴ In fact, light was shown first and not last, for the second thing coming into being was the earth, and the air veiled firmly the separation of the heavens, and shadows of the earth were made upon the creatures.⁵ The divine Moses again says about this, “Let there be light and there was light”;⁶ transparent⁷ the air and the shadows of the elements weakened, not because the creations came into being from the shadow,

3. Gen 1:1.

4. I.e., angels.

5. Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis*, Sect. 1 1.8; see Mathews and Amar 1994, 80–81.

6. Gen 1:3.

7. Or: penetrating through.

as some people prattle, but they were decorated with light. For, although the sun did not come into being until the fourth day, nevertheless instead of the sun, the poured-out light spread its rays until the twelfth hour of the day, and then, retreating, it was enclosed in the upper ether, and the shadows having advanced made night. And for this reason Moses said, "God called the light day (*tiw*) and the darkness (He called) night."⁸ And he did not say day (*awr*) before the completion of the twelfth hour of night, and he connected the beginning of the second day with the morning, / and then he said, "first day."⁹ Now if night is the beginning of day, why didn't he say "second day" after the evening passed, but "first"? For after that he said that "He made the firmament,"¹⁰ this heaven which is seen, and it is evident to everybody that it was created on the second day. But the Divine word keeps silence about the name of that day until the end of the second night and the beginning of the third day, and then calls it "second day."¹¹ And after that, (Moses) tells about the gathering of the spread-out waters and about the appearing of the plants and the trees, and about the verdure produced by the fields; and these were creations of the third day, which meanwhile he did not register by name until the gathering in of the third night and the entrance of the fourth day. Then he calls it "the third day." And after this, (it relates) the creation of the lights (luminaries) saying, "God made the greater light for rule of the day and the lesser light to rule the night, and the stars."¹² Even the very ignorant know that the elements of the lights came into being on the fourth day which he did not reveal by name until the end of the fourth night¹³ and the beginning of the fifth day: then he calls (it) "the fourth day."¹⁴ And he tells immediately about the coming into being of the birds and sea-reptiles and marine animals. And this is the work of the fifth day, which he did not signify by name until the end of the fifth night at the beginning of the sixth day, and then he called it the "fifth day."¹⁵ And in this place he tells about the creation of the beasts and creeping things, and the making of the cattle and man created in the image of God. Now who does not know that God created man on the sixth day with his hand? But meanwhile the day does not have a name. In the same place dominion is said to be given to the first-created man over every earth-born living thing and over the swimming reptiles and aquatic birds¹⁶ and over

8. Gen 1:3.

9. Gen 1:3; i.e., this exegesis connects "morning" not with day 1 but with day 2.

10. Gen 1:6–8.

11. Gen 1:8.

12. Gen 1:16.

13. Literally: "evening," as in the biblical text; we use "night" for the sake of clarity.

14. Gen 1:19.

15. Gen 1:23.

16. Observe the connection between the birds and sea animals; see Stone 2000d, 180–

the plants of the earth and fruit-bearing trees. And reaching the evening, he neglected the beginning of the seventh day till morning; then he said, “the seventh day” at the gathering in of night’s parts. And in this same place he says: “The heavens and the earth were finished, and all the order of them, and he finished all his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his works which God had begun to make.”¹⁷

Text: Gēorg Lořec’i, Պատասխանի թղթոյն Յովհաննիսի ասորոց պատրիարքի *Answer to the Letter of John, Patriarch of the Syrians*, in Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters*, ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), 624–56.

- 3 634 Գիտեն գիրք սովորութեամբ՝ հին զմեղսն կոչել, վասն զմեզ հնացուցանելոյ, եւ այսպէս յովակի մարդ հին, եւ Ադամ հին զմեղսն կոչէին:

Books know by custom to call the sin old, in order to make us old, and so they often called the sin old man and old Adam.

- 4 649 Արտեմոն ոմն սուտանուն աշակերտ Յովհաննու աւետարանչի, ի վերայ գեղեցիկ սերման աւետարանչացն եւ առաքելոցն որոմն սերմանելով, որպէս ի սկզբանն բանսարկուն յԱդամ զյոյս աստուածանալոյն . . .

Artemon, the false pupil of Evangelist John, sowed darnel over the nice seed of the Evangelists and Apostles, as in the beginning the Devil sowed in Adam the hope of becoming god . . .

17. Cf. Gen 2:1–2.

TWELFTH CENTURY

ABUSAYID C12

Text: Abusayid, Յադագս կազմութեան մարդոյն *On the Formation of Man*, ed. and trans. into Russian by Stella Vardanyan (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1974). He was a Syrian.

- 1 117 Արար Աստուած զերկինս եւ զերկիր, զծով եւ զցամաք, զհրեղէնս եւ զհողեղէնս, զհոգեւորս եւ զշնչաւորս, զանասունս եւ զթռչունս, զսողունս եւ զգեռունս: Արար եւ զադամային զմարմինս ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ եւ եղ ի վերայ նորա սիրել զԱստուած եւ պահել զպատուիրանս նորա եւ ետ իմաստութիւն եւ հանճար մարդոյն գտանել զբժշկութեան արուեստ գիտութեան:

God made the heavens and the earth, the sea and the dry land, the fiery and earthly beings, the spiritual and animated beings,¹ the animals and the birds, the creeping things and the reptiles. He also made Adam's body according to his image and laid upon him to love God and observe his commandments,² and gave the man discernment and wisdom to invent the art of medical science.

- 2 119 Յորժամ ստեղծեաց Աստուած զԱդամ, զարուն էր, եւ զիշերն եւ ցերեկն հաւասար էին միմեանց: Եւ արեգակն յառաջին տարածան էր ի Խոյն:

It was spring when God created Adam, the night and the day were equal to one another.³ And the sun was on the first degree of Aries.

DAVIT' GANJAKEC'I C12

Text: Davit' Ganjakec'i, Դաւիթ Ալաւկա որդու կանոնները "Canons of Davit', Son of Alawik," ed. A. Abrahamyan, *Ējmiacin* 9 (1952): 48–57; 10 (1953): 56–60.

1. I.e., "those with . . . spirit, soul and those with . . . breath."

2. Exod 10:4; Deut 5:20; 7:9; Neh 1:5; Dan 9:41; cf. John 14:15, 21; 1 John 5:2, 3.

3. I.e., it was the vernal equinox.

See also Dawit' Ganjakec'i, *The Penitential of David of Ganjak: Armenian Text and English Translation*, ed. C. J. F. Dowsett (CSCO, 216, 217; Leuven: Peeters, 1961).

Ējmiacin 9 (1952) 48–57

Կանոն Ա. Թէ արարածք ամենայն բարի են
Canon 1. All the Creatures Are Good.

- 1 52 . Եւ արդ, նախ հարցումն քո այս է՝ եթէ զի՞նչ է, որ յարարածս Աստուծոյ ոմանք սուրբ կոչեցան եւ ոմանք անսուրբ: Քանզի Աստուած բարի է եւ ամենայն տուրք բարիք, պարգեւք կատարեալք ի բարերար Հարէն իջեալ առ իւր արարածս: Եւ զի սկզբնատիպ բարոյ է Աստուած, ի բարոյ բարի ստեղծան արարածք, որպէս ի լուսոյ լոյս: Եւ ետես Աստուած զլոյսն զի բարի է: Եւ ահա բարի են յոյժ ամենայնն եւ չիք ինչ ի նոսա խոտան ըստ բնութեան: Եւ այս ընտրութիւն յետ յանցանացն Ադամայ եմուտ յաշխարհս. ոմանք խոտեցան եւ ոմանք ընտրեցան: Որպէս եղ Ադամ անուանս յար ըստ բնութեան ամենայն կենդանեաց, եւ այն անփոփոխելի անուն գտաւ նոցա նոյնպէս եւ յետ յանցանացն թոյլ տուեալ նմա ըստ վայելման:

Now your first question is this: why is it that some creatures of God are called pure and some impure? For God is good and all (his) gifts are good, perfect gifts descending from the beneficent Father to his creatures. And as God is the prototype of good, the creatures were made good by the Good One, like light, by the light. And God saw the light, that it is good. So all things are very good, and there is nothing worthless in them by nature. And this distinction entered this world after Adam's transgression: some were rejected and some, selected. Just as Adam gave names conformable to the nature of each animal, and those were found (to be) their unchangeable name, likewise, also after the transgression he was, according to convenience, granted permission.

Ējmiacin 10 (1953) 56–60

Կանոն ԶԵ. Վասն որք սուգ ունին մեռելոյն
Canon 85. On Those Who Mourn over the Dead.

- 2 52 Այսպէս իմացիր, զի սակաւ ժամանակեայ էր անտրտում կեանքն մեր ի դրախտին, եւ նախաստեղծիցն թուով եւ սակաւ աւուրք, ուստի յետ լուծանելոյ պատուիրանին՝ դատապարտութիւն, եւ մահ, եւ ապականութիւն եւ դժոխս, որով եւ խառնեցաւ սուգ եւ տրտմութիւն ի

բնութիւնս մեր: Եւ որպէս ոչ մնաց միայն պատուիրանագանցութիւն պտղոյն, այլ ի նմանէ, որպէս ի խմորէ աճեաց պէսպէս եւ ազգի ազգի յանցումն մեղաց . . . Արդ, վասն այսորիկ ամենայն ծնունդք Ադամայ արտասուալից եւ սգապատ զոն . . . Եւ այսպիսի կենաց եւ անմահութեան խոստումն Աստուծոյ, հաւատարիմ է առ մեզ, քանզի առաջինքն անյուսաբար լային աւուրս Լ զմեռեալս՝ ըստ Լ ամի հասակի ստեղծմանն Ադամայ, ուստի կործանեցաւ ի մահ, եւ անց ի ներքոյ դժոխցոյ:

Understand thus, that our life without worry in the Garden lasted for a short time, and the days of the first-created are few in number. Therefore, after the breach of the commandment, (there were) condemnation and death and destruction and hell, by which mourning and sadness were mixed with our nature. And just as the transgression with the fruit did not remain alone, but from it, as from yeast, various and diverse sinful transgressions grew up. Now, for this reason, all the offspring of Adam are tearful and mournful. And God's promise of life and immortality is so trustworthy for us, because the first ones were hopelessly weeping over the dead for thirty days, according to Adam's thirty years' age upon his creation, after which he perished to death, went down to hell (Hades).

Ղ. Հարցումն նոյն քահանայի յաղագս էրիցն նաւակատեաց՝
յորում մսակէր ոչ գոյ:

80. Question of the Same Priest concerning the Three Fasts, on
Which It Is Forbidden to Eat Meat

- 3 57 Պատասխանի. Քանզի հնութիւն ամենայն ծննդոց մարդկան ի յանցանացն Ադամայ եղեն, ուստի մահ եմուտ յաշխարհս եւ ապականութիւն, որով հնացաւ բնութիւնս: Վասն որոյ Արարիչն՝ բնութեանս ոչ արար անտես ի սպառ զկործանեալ պատկեր իւր զթաղեալն յաղբ, այլ եկն ի խնդիր հնացեալ պատկերին եւ կորուսեալ դրամին եւ նորոգեալ զնա յառաջի փառսն յորում ստեղծն:

Answer: Because the age (antiquity)⁴ of all generations of mankind came about from the transgression of Adam, whence death entered the world, and corruption, by which this nature is aged. On account of this, the Creator of this nature did not make the destruction of his image vainly invisible,⁵ the interred rubbish, but there came under discussion the aged image, and the destroyed imprint and its restoration to its former glory, in which He created it.

4. I.e., ageing, becoming old.

5. I.e., hide it.

GRIGOR PAHLAVUNI C12

Text: Grigor Pahlavuni, Տաղ ծննդեան Ս. Աստուածածնին “Poem on the Birth of the Holy Mother of God,” in Հայ աշուղներ *Armenian Troubadours (Ašuls)*, ed. T. Palean (Smyrna: Mamurean Press, 1912), 2:235–40.

Տաղ ծննդեան Ս. Աստուածածնին
Poem on the Birth of the Holy Mother of God

- 1 237 Կորուսեալ Եւայ, կողոպտեալ կենօր,
Կանգնեցաւ ի վեր, կայր մըտօք առ կոյսն:
Eve, undone, deprived of life,
Was established on high, stayed in her thoughts with the Virgin.

GRIGOR TĬLAY C12

Text: Grigor Tĭlay, Տաղ, բան պիտանի եւ արքինութեան նախահարցն սրբոց “A Poem, A Useful Writing and Blessing of the Holy Forefathers,” in Հայ աշուղներ *Armenian Troubadours (Ašuls)*, ed. T. Palean (Smyrna: Mamurean Press, 1912), 2:176–83.

- 1 177–79 . . . Այլ եւ չորս տարերքս արարան,
Ընդ լուսոցն որ պայծառացան
Հողն ու ջուրն աւդն ու հուրն եղան,
Յորոց գոյքս ամէն բաղկացան,
. . . And the four elements were created
With the lights that shone:
Earth and water, air and fire came into being,
Of which all the beings were composed.
- 2 Բաժանեաց զերկիրս ի յեր(կ)նէ,
Զերդ զատակ ի յառաստաղէ,
Զկապոյտ եթերդ ձեղուն հաստատէ,
Տան յարկիս որ այս աշխարհս է:
He separated the earth from the sky,
Like the floor from the ceiling;
He makes firm this blue ether as a roof,
Of the ceiling of this house, that is this world.
- 3 Զայս բուսով տընկով լըցուցէ,
Զանագան ծաղկով զարդարէ,

Բարելի սեղան պատրաստե,
Կենադանեաց զոր յետոյ առնէ:

He fills it with plants (and) trees,
Adorns it with various flowers,
Prepares a table full of goods things
For the animals which he subsequently creates.

- 4 Զդէմս եր(կ)նից լուսով զարդարե,
Արելով աստեղօք պարե,
Զերդ ճրագի տանս վառե,
Որ զաշխարհս լուսաւորէ:
He adorns the face of the sky with light,
He dances with the sun (and) stars,
Like a lamp he lights this house,
He who illuminates this world.

- 5 Զլողականս ի ծով ստեղծանէ,
Եւ ըզջուրս նոքօք զարդարե,
Զմեծամեծսն ընդ փոքունս առնէ,
Զբանականս հիացուցանէ:
He creates the swimming beings in the sea,
And adorns the waters with them;
He makes the big ones with the small;
He amazes rational beings.

- 6 Ըզթռչունս ի ծովէ հանէ,
Թեւաւորս օդագնաց առնէ,
Զչորքոտանիս յետ նոցա ստեղծէ,
Զանասունս ընդ գազանս յօղէ:
He brings forth the birds from the sea,
Makes winged ones fly in the air;
After them, he creates the quadrupeds;
He joins domestic animals with wild beasts.

- 7 Յուրբաթու ըզմարդրն կազմէ,
ԶԱդամ իւր նըման յօրինէ,
Զնա իշխան եւ տէր կացուցէ
Աշխարհիս որ անցաւոր է:
On Friday, he forms man;
He creates Adam like himself,
Makes him master and lord
Of this world, which is transient.

- 8 Ի դրախտին յանմահ գնա դընէ,

Պատուիրան նրմա աւանդէ,
Ուտել տայ պըտդոցն յամենէ,
Ի ի միոյ չուտել պատուիրէ:

He sets him immortal in paradise,
Transmits a commandment to him,
Gives him to eat of every fruit,
And commands not to eat of one.

- 9 Սատանայ յաւձըն մըտանէ,
Ընդ Եւայի խօսել ուսուցէ,
Առանձին զԵւա զըտանէ,
ՅԱդամայ ի զատ եւ խաբէ:

Satan enters the serpent,
Teaches it to speak with Eve;
It finds Eve alone,
Away from Adam, and deceives (her).⁶

- 10 Զայն պըտուղն որ հրաժարեալ է,
Եւայի ուտել ուսուցէ,
Ով ուտէ զայն Աստուած լինի,
Զչարն եւ զբարին ճանաչէ:

That fruit that is forbidden,
It teaches Eve to eat,
(Saying,) "He who eats it, becomes God,
he knows evil and good."

- 11 Կին Եւայ օձին հաւատայ,
Զոր ասացըն ստոյգ կարծէ նա,
Ուտէ նա լուսոյն մերկանայ,
Զչարն եւ զբարին գիտենայ:

The woman Eve believes the serpent;
She considers what he said true;
She eats, is stripped of light;
She learns evil and good.

- 12 Ադամայ տեսեալ եւ խըղճայ,
Զկինն մերկ եւ զըթայ ի նայ,
Ի պըտդոյն առեալ ուտէ նա,
Զմերկութիւն անձին գիտենայ:

Adam sees and has compassion
On the naked woman and pities her;

6. See *Pen. Adam* [44](15):2 and [44](17):1.

Having taken the fruit he eats (it);
He learns his own nakedness.

- 13 Ոտնաձայն Տեառն լիանայ,
Ի խընդիր սիրոյն Ադամայ,
Ուր եւ Ադամ հարցեալ ըզնա,
Թէ ասէ Աստուծոյ մեղայ:

The sound of God's footfall becomes loud,
In search of beloved⁷ Adam,
“Where are you, Adam?” He asks,
And he says to God, “I have sinned.”

- 14 Երբ ասաց Ադամ թէ մեղայ,
Այլ պատճառն եհան ի յԵւա,
Եւայի անձն եւ սատանայ,
Որ եւ Տէրն անէծ ըզնոսա:

When Adam said, “I have sinned,”
But cast the blame on Eve,
Eve herself and Satan,
Whom the Lord cursed.

- 15 Օձն ի լանջ ‘ւ ի պորտըն լողայ,
Եւայի ծընունդն երկընտայ,
Երկիր փուշ⁸ բուսոյց Ադամայ,
Եւ մահուամբ ի հող նա դառնայ:

The serpent creeps upon his breast and his belly;⁹
Eve's delivery is in pains;
The earth grew thorns for Adam,
And, on death, he will return unto the ground.

- 16 Աստուած քաղցր եւ բարերար է,
Որ Ադամ անտես ոչ առնէ,
Այլ խնամով ըզնա դարմանէ,
Ծընանել որդիս յաջողէ:

God is kind and beneficent,
For he does not neglect Adam,
But with care he nurtures him,
Favors him with bearing children.

7. Reading սիրոյն as սիրուն.

8. Emending փուշ to փուշ.

9. The curses are drawn from Gen 3:14–20.

Text: Grigor Tlay, *Poems*, in Բանաստեղծություններ եւ պոեմներ *Verses and Poems*, ed. A. Š. Mnac'akanyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1972).

Ասացեալ բան պիտանի ի խնդրոյ Հեթմոյ Սեւաստոսի
Useful Discourse Pronounced at the Request of Het'um Sewastos

- 17 203–4 Որ նախախորհի հրամայական,
Հօր եւ Հոգւոյդ խորհրդական,
Լինել պատկեր աստուածական,
Համանման եւ տարրական:
Ստեղծէր զԱդամ միջասահման,
Լցեր հոգւով կենդանական,
Մահկանացու անմահական
Եւ անմարմին, եւ մարմնական:
Զոր կորուսեալ խրատու խաբման
Եւ թշնամւոյն եղեալ հաւան,
/ Ել նա արտաքս այնու փոխան
Եղև ծառայ մեղաց մահուան:

That (which is) prescient, commanding,
Taking counsel of the Father and the Spirit;
To form a divine image,
Similar and made of elements.
He created Adam as an intermediary,
Filled him with a vivifying spirit,
Mortal (and) immortal,
Both incorporeal and corporeal,
Which he lost through the deceitful counsel
And the Enemy's persuasion.
For that he came forth outside,
Became the slave of mortal sins.

Ասացեալ բան ողբերգական վասն առմանն Երուսաղեմի
Elegiac Discourse on the Capture of Jerusalem

- 18 246.77–80 Ամ, դու լսէ, երկիր վերին,
Արեւելից տուն Յաբեթին,
Ուստի ծագէ լոյսն արեւին,
Ուր է դրախտն Ադենին.

Now, hearken you celestial land,
House of Japheth in the east,
Whence the sun's light shines,
And where the Garden of Eden is.

- 19 274.989–92 . . . Ուր արտասուեաց Տէր զմարմին
 Զնախահօրն զԱդամին,
 Որով զարտօսք զերեսին
 Եբարձ յաչաց զամենեսին:

. . . Where the Lord lamented over the body
 Of the forefather Adam;
 By which he removed his countenance's tears
 from the eyes of all.

- 20 317.287–96 Դու, որ ստեղծեր զԱդամ նախկին,
 Եղեալ ի դրախտն Ադենային,
 Պահել զօրէնք պատուիրանին
 Եւ ժառանգել զցանկալին,
 Թէպէտ 'ւ եղէւ հնազանդ չարին
 Եւ խաբեցաւ ողորմելին
 Եւ թէ յանցեաւ ըստ նախանձին
 Եւ պատժեցաւ զիրաւացին . . .

You that created the first Adam,
 Having set him in the Garden of Eden,
 To keep the law of the commandment,
 And to inherit the desirable thing.
 Although he obeyed the Evil One,
 And, pitiful one, was deceived,
 And if he transgressed in accordance with envy,¹⁰
 He was punished justly.

- 21 318.3121–26 Դարձեալ դու, Տէրդ Հաբելին,
 Որ խնդրեցեր զարիւն նորին,
 Անիծեցեր զեղբայր նորին,
 Որ նենգաւորն էր արդարին,
 Ետուր զՄէթ փոխան նմին,
 Որ միւ 386–87.
 Իթարն էր Ադամին:

Again you, O Lord of Abel,
 You who sought his blood,
 You cursed his brother
 Who was deceitful to the just one.
 You gave Seth instead of him,
 Who was a consolation to Adam.¹¹

10. Apparently, the intention is Satan's envy, which brought about Adam's transgression.

11. In Armenian literature, Seth is often dubbed "son of consolation"; see part 1, chapter 3 §4.2.4.

GRIGOR VKAYASĒR C11-12

Text: Grigor V kayasēr, Խաւսք որ նախ առ Վահրամ առձայնեալ “A Speech First Addressed to Vahram,” ed. M. van Esbroeck, *Christianskij Vostok*, n.s. 1.7 (1999): 38–57.

- 1 45 Զխաչն իւր տայր փոխանակ տ[ն]կոյն Ադամայ և գտուրբ մարմին իւր պարզ(ն)է փոխանակ դառնութեան պտղոյն, և փոխանակ աղբերն Եդոմայ արբուցանել է մարդկան զփրկաւետ արին իւր: Զպատուհասն զոր եղ փրկիչն ի վերայ մարդոյն վասն յանցանաց, զայն ի մարմնի իւրում կրել սպան: . . . Իսկ ի յայրին ուր էր գերեզման նախամարն ուր թաղեցաւ Աբրահամ և իւրքն, անդ արքայ անմահից ի մտուր յանբոնից¹² բազմի, զի մարդիկ յերկինս վերակոչեցէ որ ի ձեռն մեղացն նմանեցան անասնոյ: Խանձարրապատի զի զպատմուճանն Ադամայ պատառեցէ: Ասէ. Տրտում է անձն իմ զի զմեր տրտմութեամբ հատուցելն խափանեցէ Ադամ: փախեաւ ի մէջ անդառախիտ ծառոցն, վասն այնորիկ փրկիչն մեր փախեաւ յեգիպտոս զի նմանեաւն զմանն բարձցէ: Յորժամ յաստուածային գագաթն ընկալաւ զփշոցն պսակն, յայնժամ զանեծն մեր եբարձ և բեւեռեաց ի խաչին:

Յաւուրն ժամու յորժամ և առ լսելիս մատոյց խրատու չար վիշապին, ի նոյն ժամու աւուրն մատնի Տէրն մեր ի դատաստան մահու: Յաւուր ուրբաթու և վեց ժամ աւուրն ճաշակեաց Ադամ պտղոյն և յաւուր ուրբաթու և վեց ժամ աւուրն բարձրեցաւ Տէրն մեր ի խաչին: Ադամ մերկացաւ ի փառացն և Տէրն մեր մերկացաւ ի խաչին: Նոր Ադամ փրկիչն վասն առաջին Ադամայ գոչէ ասելով. Աստուած Աստուած իմ ընդէր թողեր զիս: Ի խաչին աղաղակեաց և առ Հայր արձակեաց զոգին վասն զի արտաքսեալ զԱդամ յաշխարհս յայս: Եդաւ մարմնով ի գերեզմանի զի զիշխանութիւն մեղաց լուծանէ: Ընդ երեկս աւուրն լուաւ Ադամ զձայն գալոյ ի դրախտի անդ և ընդ երեկ աւուրն ոտնաձայն առնէր առ դրունս դժոխոցն: Ծանալթ եղէւ Ադամ ոտնաձային և աւետիս մատուցանէր հոգւոցն որ ի դժոխս ըմբոնեալ կային:

He gave his cross instead of Adam's tree, and grants his holy body instead of the bitterness of the fruit, and instead of the source of Eden, he has given mankind his saving blood to drink. The punishment that the Savior imposed upon the man for his sin: he killed it by bearing in his body. . . . And in the cave, where the tomb of the foremother was, where Abraham and his relatives were buried: there the king of the immortal willingly sits in the manger, in order to call back to heaven the people who through their sins became like

12. Perhaps corrupt for յանբանից (GM).

animals. He is swaddled, so that he might rend Adam's garment. He says, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful" (Mark 14:34), in order to impede us eating with sorrow. He (Adam) fled into the thick trees; that is why our Savior fled to Egypt in order to annihilate his (behavior) by similar (behavior). When he accepted the crown of thorns on his divine head, then he annihilated our curse and (was) nailed on the cross.

At the hour of the day, when he offered his ears to the counsel of the wicked dragon, at the same hour of the day our Lord was delivered over to death sentence. On Friday, at the sixth hour of the day Adam ate of the fruit, and on Friday, at the sixth hour of the day our Lord ascended the cross. Adam was stripped of the glory, and our Lord was naked on the cross. The new Adam, the Savior cries out for the first Adam, saying, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"¹³ He cried on the cross and yielded up the ghost to the Father, because he had expelled Adam into this world. He was put bodily into the tomb in order to abolish the power of sin. In the evening, Adam heard the sound of steps¹⁴ in paradise, and in the evening He tramped at the door of hell. Adam recognized the steps and announced (this) to the spirits that were captured in hell.

IGNATIUS *VARDAPET* C12

Text: Ignatius *vardapet*, Մեկնութիւն աւետարանին ըստ Ղուկասու
Commentary on the Gospel according to Luke (Constantinople: Abraham Aknec'i Press, 1824).

- 1 184 Ղուկաս Ժ.30 Այր մի իջանէր Երուսաղէմէ Երիքով. եւ անկաւ ի ձեռս աւազակաց. որք մերկացուցին զնա եւ վերս ի վերայ եղին:

"A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell into the hands of thieves, who stripped him naked and wounded him . . ."¹⁵

- 2 184 . . . Այր մի իջեալ Երուսաղէմէ Երիքով, նշանակ ունի բնութեանս մերոյ, վասն զի առաջին մարդովն ամենեքեան անկան. եւ ի մի համարեալ որք ի նմանէն ծննդեամբ յառաջ եկին՝ իբրեւ զմի այր անկեալ ի ձեռս աւազակաց: Քանզի յաստուածային վայելչութեան փառաց անտի զոր ունեաք ի դրախտի անդ՝ սողոսկեալ անկաք ի խոնարհ ի ստորինս այս կեանս. եւ այնպէս ի բարձրութենէ անտի իջեալ ի խոնարհ անկաք ի ձեռս առաջին չարին եւ դաւաճանողին զմեզ: Արդ թեպէտ եւ զառաջին խոցուածս նետից աւազակացն

13. Matt 27:46, Mark 15:34; cf. Ps 22:1 = Arm 21:2.

14. Literally: coming.

15. Luke 10:30.

ընկալաք ի դրախտի անդ, որով եւ մերկացաք զփառսն. սակայն մնաց սերմն անապականութեան: Իսկ յետ իջանելոյն ի դրախտէ անտի յայս վայր, ապա իսպառ անկաք ի ձեռս առաջնորդին կորստեանն: Եւ յայնժամ կարէվէր խոցեցաք եւ կարի մերկացեալ յաստուածային շնորհէն՝ իսպտառակ գտաք:

“... A certain man having gone down from Jerusalem to Jericho”: this is the symbol of our nature, because all fell because of the first man; and if we reckon those who issued forth from him by descent as one, (they are) like the one man fallen into the hands of thieves. Since, having slithered forth from the divine glory of the splendor which we had in paradise, we fell into a depth, into this lower life; and thus having descended from the height to a depth, we fell into the hands of the first Evil One and Deceiver. Now though we received the first arrow wounds of the robbers in paradise, owing to which we were stripped of the glory, nevertheless the seed of incorruptibility remained. But after descent from paradise to this place we entirely fell into the hands of the leader of destruction. And then we were savagely wounded and found ourselves disgraced, having been thoroughly stripped of the divine grace.

- 3 264–65 Ղուկաս ԺԵ. 8 Ո՛վ իցէ կին՝ որ ունիցի դրամս տասն. եւ թէ կորուսանիցէ մի դրամ, ո՞չ լուցանէ ճրագ:

“Which woman is it who has ten drams, and if she loses one dram, does not light a candle?”¹⁶

- 4 ... Եւ մի ի տասանց անտի կորուսեալս ասէ ցմեզ, որ յայց եւ կորուսելոց պատկերին. այն որ ի սկզբան անդ պայծառ եւ անապական ստեղծաւ յամենաբարի արարչէն. արծաթեղէն եւ պատուեալ, յարմարեալ ըստ իւր պատկերին եւ ի նմանութեան. քանզի զայս՝ առակաւ պատկերին / զեկուցանել թուի: Արդ սա պակասեալ ի թուոյ տասանցն, զի այսպէս զղասս հրեշտակաց ուսաք ինն գոլ. եւ տասներորդ մերս բնութիւն պակասեալ ի թուոյ անտի:

... And he speaks to us about this one lost of the ten, he who visited the image of the lost, him that was created in the beginning by the very kind Creator, shining and incorruptible, silvery and honored, proportioned in accordance with His image and in the likeness; for it seems that by this parable he refers to the image. Now this one is missing from the number of the ten, for we have learned thus, that the ranks of the angels are nine: and the tenth is this nature of ours, missing from that number.

- 5 272–73 Ղուկաս ԺԵ. 15 Եւ այն որ ունկնդիր եղև ուտել զպտուղ ծառոյն եւ աստուածանալ, ի պաշտօն էած եւ աստուածացոյց

16. Luke 15:8.

զղեւան. արկեալ զանձն ընդ նոցա ծառայութեամբն. որ ի սկզբան անդ թշնամին եւ պատերազմողն էր: Եւ նա անյագ չարութեամբ վարեցաւ առ բնութիւն մեր. եւ զամենայն եհեղ ի մեզ զբարկութիւն իւր. եւ քան զամենայն արարածոցս բնութիւն կամեցաւ անարգ առնել զմեզ: Քանզի առաջին ընդ Աստուծոյ հաստատեաց զանձն ի թշնամութիւն եւ հակառակ արարչին ամբարձաւ. եւ անկեալ ի պատուոյն պատրանօք եւ զմեզ հաւանեցոյց ընդ իւր անկանիլ, եւ այսպէս տիրեաց բնութեանս մերում: Եւ զի արարչին փառաց վնասել ինչ ոչ զօրէր, գտեալ զմեզ պատկեր եւ նմանութիւն Աստուծոյ, այնպէս հնարեցաւ ամենայն նախատանօք եւ զազրալի գործովք թշնամանել զկերպարանն. եւ ի խոնարհ ընկենուլ քան զամենայն անարգս ի կենդանեաց. Ջոր օրինակ ատելի որ թագաւորի՝ նմին չար ինչ հատուցանել անկարացեալ եւ պատահեալ որդւոց նորա, եւ կամ թէ պատուականի ուրուք ի ծառայիցն, եւ զամենայն գոր ունի չարութիւն առ թագաւորն՝ ի նա հնարի թափել. եւ նմին իսկ թագաւորին հա/մարի զվնասն: Այնպէս եւ սատանայ կալեալ ընդ ձեռամբ զմարդն՝ կամեցաւ մարդոյն թշնամանօքն նախատել զարարիչն, որ արար զնա իւր պատկեր եւ նմանութիւն:

Luke 15:15 And he who was attentive to eat the fruit of the tree and become god, worshiped and deified the demons, casting himself with them under the command¹⁷ of him who at the beginning was the enemy and the antagonist. And the latter acted with insatiable malice with respect to our nature and poured out upon us all his anger, and wished to humiliate us more than the nature of all the (other) creatures. For first he established himself against God in enmity and rose up against the Creator and, having fallen from honor by deceit, he persuaded us also to fall with him, and thus he became master of our nature. And as he was powerless to harm the glory of the Creator at all, he found us, the image and likeness of God. In that way he contrived to dishonor the image by all kinds of disgrace and disgusting deeds, and to cast it down lower than the most worthless of animals. Just as one who hates the king, being unable to requite him any evil, and having met his sons or any honored one of his servants, contrives to pour out upon him all the hatred he has toward the king, and the harm is regarded as (caused) to the king himself. In that way the devil having power over man, wished, by disgracing man, to dishonor the Creator, who had made him his image and likeness.

- 6 283 Ղուկաս ԺԵ. 15.20 . . . Ասէ, հայր՝ մեղայ յերկինս: Զդրախտն կոչեաց երկինս. յորում առաջին յանցանքն եւ դատապարտութիւն եղել. որով այսքան ապականութիւն հեղաւ ի բնութիւն մեր: Իսկ երկին ասել զդրախտն՝ վասն տեղւոյն դրութեան եւ անմահ եւ անապական կենացն է:

17. Literally: servitude.

... (And the son) said (unto him), “Father, I have sinned against heaven.”¹⁸ He called paradise heaven, in which the first transgression and condemnation took place, owing to which such corruption was poured upon our nature. And paradise is called heaven because of its location and it is (the place) of immortal and incorruptible life.

- 7 310–11 Ղուկաս ԺԶ. 16.8 . . . Որդիս լուսոյ անուանէ զհրեշտակս: Իսկ որ ի դասուց անտի նոցա շեղեալ անկան չարացան անմտութեամբ.

. . . անմտացեալ՝ ի պատերազմողի կարգ զինքն հաստատեաց եւ եցոյց: Եւ ընդ պատկերին Աստուծոյ մարտո/ցեալ՝ պատրանօք ուսոյց եւ նմա ապստամբիլ. եւ հաւանեցոյց գործակից լինիլ իւրում անօրէնութեանն: Եւ այսպիսի չարասէր եղեալ՝ անօրէնութեամբ զբնութիւնս մեր ապականեաց, մինչեւ շարժիլ Աստուծոյ վրէժս հաստուցանել նմա:

... He calls the angels “sons of light.”¹⁹ Indeed those who, in their ranks went astray and fell, did evil mindlessly . . .

(The devil) mindlessly established and showed himself to be in the antagonistic rank. And fighting against the image of God, he deceitfully taught him (Adam) also to rebel, and persuaded (him) to be his collaborator in lawlessness. And loving evil so much, he corrupted our nature by lawlessness, until God was moved to revenge him.

- 8 440 Ղուկաս ԻԳ.43 Վասն որոյ ասաց Տէրն, այսօր ընդ իս իցես ի դրախտին: Արդ՝ զգիր պարտեացն Ադամայ պատառեալ ի վերայ խաչին (ի ձեռն որոյ փակեցաւ դուռն մտից դրախտին,) այսօր բացեալ լինի աւագակին ընդ պատառին դատակնքին մահու:

. . . Ըստ որում Ադամ զի յաւուր յորում էանց զպատուիրանան՝ մահկանացու եղել բնութիւն եւ մեռաւ, եւ զորս եկաց ի կեանս ի մեռելութիւն համարեալ էր նմա:

For that reason the Lord said: “Today shalt thou be with me in paradise.”²⁰ Now, the document of Adam’s debts, by means of which the entrance door of paradise was closed, having been torn on the cross;²¹ today (paradise) is open for the brigand, since the tearing of the decree of death.

... According to which, on the day when Adam transgressed the command, he became mortal by nature and died, and those (days) that he remained alive were regarded as spent in mortality.

18. Luke 15:20.

19. Luke 16:8.

20. Luke 23:43.

21. Col 2:16.

MXIT'AR ANEC'I C12

Text: Mxit'ar Anec'i, Մատեան աշխարհավէպ հանդիսարանաց *Book of Universal Scenes*, ed. H. G. Margaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1983).

- 1 63 Խնդամտաբար եւ խնկեալ յաւժարութեամբ պարտ եւ վայելուչ է առնել զհիմն բանիս ի նախաստեղծէն մերմէ Ադամայ, համառատիւ հասուցանել մինչեւ ուր խնդիրն է մեզ, լայն եւ ընդարձակ գրել: Արդ՝ որ հիմն եւ սկիզբն է բնութեան ազգի մարդկութեանս՝ Ադամ, առաջին մարդն, զնա դիցուք առաջին վէմ ի հիմունս աստ . . . Ադամ, յետ ելանելոյն ի դրախտէն, լեալ ամաց ՄԼ ծնանի զՍէթ յԵւայէ կնոջէ իւրմէ եւ եկաց այլ եւս ամս Զ, մինչեւ ի ՃԼԵ ամն Մադաղիէլի: Ծնանի այլ եւս ուստերս եւ դստերս, մեռանի ԶԼ ամաց:

It is necessary and proper to lay the foundation of this story with joy and honored disposition from our first-created Adam and bringing the narrative briefly up to the (time) in question for us, (then we shall) write amply and in detail. Now, let us set the first man Adam, who is the foundation and origin of the nature of our human race, as the first stone of the foundation. After leaving paradise, Adam, being 230 years old, begat Seth from his wife Eve, and lived 700 years more, until the 135th year of Mahalaleel (Małaliēl). He begat other sons and daughters; he died at the age of 930.

- 2 99 Այլ բազումք իսկ յիւրոց անտի ոչ հաւատան առասպելայաւոք բաջադանաց նորա (Մահմետի) . . . Իսկ վասն զքարինս ձգելոյ, զոր յառաջն ասացաք, յաւդեն այսպէս, թէ յորժամ էհան զԱդամ ի դրախտէն Աստուած, յայսմ աշխարհի բնակեցոյց զնա: Եւ նորա տեսեալ զաստանայ յայսմ տեղոջ, ուր զքարինսն ձգեմք, ծանեաւ, թէ սա էր, որ մեզ էհան ի կենացն: Առեալ քարինս արկ ի վերայ նորա, վասն որոյ եւ մեք այսպէս առնեմք:

But even many of his (Mohammed's) adherents do not believe his fabulous prattle. . . . And as to throwing stones, about which we spoke before, they compose the following: When God drove Adam out of paradise, he lodged him in this world. And when (Adam) saw Satan at this place where we throw stones, he recognized that this was he who drove us out of life. He took stones and threw (them) at him. That is why we do the same.

MXIT'AR GOŠ C12

Text: Mxit'ar Goš, Թուղթ "Letter," *Ararat* (October 1900): 497–504, 562–68; (January 1901): 55–61; (February 1901): 121–27.

- 1 563 . . . այլ ի լրման ժամանակի եկն Որդին եւ առ մարմին ի Մարիամայ կուսէ, եւ ճշմարտեալ, զի ոչ նախանձեցաւ Աստուածն ընդ Ադամա, զոր ասաց սատանայ, թէ գիտէր Աստուած, թէ ուտես ի ծառոյ անտի աստուածանաս. եւ վասն այնորիկ արար զորդիսն Ադամա Աստուած մարմնանալովն:

. . . but in the fullness of time, the Son came and took on body through the Virgin Mary and testified (that) God did not envy Adam, whom Satan said that God knew (that) “If you eat of the tree, you shall become gods.”²² And on account of that he made Adam’s sons [*sic*] God through incarnation.

NERSĒS LAMBRONAC’I C12

Text: Nersēs Lambronac’i, Ատենաբանութիւն *Declamation*, ed. B. Awger-ean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1812).

Ատենաբանութիւն Declamation

- 1 30 Եւ որպէս գուղիղ բանն Աստուծոյ նախահօրն ձեր թիւր մեկնեալ՝ գրեցուցի, այսպէս կարելի է եւ այժմ զբանս զրոց ոմանց ի ձէնջ այլ եւ այլ ցուցանել, եւ նոքօք զամենեսեան խոռվեցուցանել. թերես կարացից զմիջնորդն խաղաղութեան՝ խաւարեցուցանելով զմիտս ձեր, ատելութեան տալ պատճառ տեսանել: Միթէ կարացից զկենաց ծառն՝ որպէս նախահօրն ձեր, եւ ձեզ մոլորութեամբ մտաց չարի գիտութիւն ուսուցանել:

And as I caused your forefather to stumble interpreting God’s direct word incorrectly, thus now too one could represent to some of you the words of the Scriptures in diverse forms and by them to trouble everybody. Perhaps I could, by darkening your mind, the mediator of peace, cause the reason for hatred to be visible. Could I not teach you through error of mind that the tree of life (is) knowledge of evil, just as (I did) to your forefather Adam?

Text: Գրիգոր կաթողիկոսի Տղայ կոչեցելոյ, Նամականի. Տեառն Ներսէսի Լամբրոնացոյ . . . թուղթ եւ ճառք *Epistles of Grigor Kat’olikos called Tlay. Epistle and Homilies of Lord Nersēs of Lambron* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1838).

22. Cf. Gen 3:5.

Բարեբանութիւն Ներբողական գովութեամբ ի համբարձումն
Տեան Յիսուս Քրիստոսի յերկինս

Benediction with Elegiac Praise on the Ascension of Lord Jesus
Christ to Heaven

- 2 270 Տէր ամենակալ, աղաղակէին, մինչեւ յէրբ ոչ ողորմիս վերինս
Երուսաղէմի, եւ քաղաքացն դրախտին, ուստի արտաքս ձգեցեր զերի
զբնակիչն զԱդամ, եւ անտես արարեր թողեալ ամայի այս եօթնեակ
դարուց եօթնից:

Omnipotent Lord, they cried, how long you will have no mercy on upper
Jerusalem and the towns of paradise, whence you exiled the inhabitant
Adam and you neglected (them), leaving (them) uninhabited for these seven
weeks of eons?

Ներբողեան ասացեալ ի հրաշափառ գալուստ Հոգւոյն սրբոյ
Encomium Spoken on the Glorious Coming of the Holy Spirit

- 3 294 Իսկ Հայրն Բարի հաճեալ ընդ գործս սքանչելի՝ որդւոյն սիրելւոյ,
եւ լուծեալ զկնիք դատապարտութեան Ադամայ իօրն նախնոյ, ետ ի
նա զՀոգին, սփռել ի վերայ արեամբ գնեալ իւր հօտին :

And the Father being gracious as to the wonderful deeds of his beloved Son,
and having undone the seal of the forefather Adam's condemnation,²³ gave
Him the Spirit to spread over His flock bought by (His) blood.

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, Քաղաքային օրէնք *City Laws*, ed. K. Basmajean (Paris: Banasēr Press, 1907).

- 4 15 Աւրէնք. բարիեալ զճշմարիտ Տէր Աստուած ի սկզբանէ Ա մարդոյն
որպէս յառաջին զիրն արարածոց եցոյց մեզ օրէնս եւ գրեաց մեզ
Մովսէս, եթէ եղ Աստուած օրէնս մարդոյն ի ծառոյն որ ի մէջ դրախտին
ոչ ուտել, եւ ի ծառոյն գիտութեան բարոյ եւ չարի, զի եւ ոչ պահեաց
զօրէնսն անդէն առ նա ուսաք զաւրինազանցին զպատուհասն քանզի
ասաց Աստուած ցմարդն. փոխանակ զի կերար ի ծառոյն յորմէ
պատուիրեցի քեզ չուտել, անիծեալ լիցի երկիր ի գործս քո, եւ ի հող
դարձցիս ուստի առար, եւ այսպէս զաւրինազանցսն պատուհասեալ,
էհան արտաքոյ դրախտին, եւ առաքեաց պանդխտի յաշխարհ . . .

“Law”: The Lord God in the beginning rightly (showed) to the first man the
true command, as Moses showed us in the first book of Genesis and wrote
down for us that God made a law for man not to eat from the tree that was

23. 1 Cor 15:22.

in the middle of the Garden and from the tree of knowledge of good and evil; and as he did not observe the law, we learned at once with respect to him about the punishment of the transgressor, because God said to the man: “Because you have eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat, cursed be the ground in your works, and you shall return unto dust, out of which you were taken.”²⁴ And thus having punished the transgressors, He drove (them) out of paradise and sent (them) to sojourn in the world . . .

Text: Nersēs Lambronac’i, Ներբողան ի վերափոխումն Աստուածածնի. “Encomium on the Assumption of the Mother of God,” ed. H. Oskean, *Handes Amsorea* 39 (July–August 1925): 360–366; (September–October 1925): 442–62.

5 447 (Words of Christ while dying)

. . . ես ահա հատուցանեմ զպարտսն Ադամայ, եւ այլ ոչ եւս կենացադավարիմ ընդ մարդկան.

. . . And now I compensate for Adam’s debt and I no longer live among mankind.

Text: Nersēs Lambronac’i, Տեսութիւն աղօթից, Պատմութեան բանից ննջմանն Աստուածաբան Աւետարանչին Յօհաննու *Examination of Prayer: Of the Narrative of the Falling Asleep of the Evangelist John the Theologian* (Constantinople: Barseł & Sargis Sebastac’i Press, 1736).

6 28–29 եւ մեզ ի մեղացն եւ յանիծիցն զոր յառաջին Ադամն սփռեաց սատանայ, երկրորդ Ադամն / սրբեաց.

And the second Adam cleansed us from the sin and the curse that Satan spread upon the first Adam.

7 30 Այսպէս եւ մեզ որք նախ ըստ մարմնոյ ծնաք յԱդամայ, եւ յետ այնր՝ հոգւով ի Քրիստոսէ, հարկէ ըստ հնոյ հօրն բնութեան մեռանիլ, եւ ապա ըստ նոր հօրն յառնել:

Thus we that were born first according to the body from Adam, and after that in soul from Christ, have to die according to the nature of the old father and then to arise according to the new father.

8 56 Իսկ յորժամ մահուամբն ի վախճան էած (զՔրիստոս) զհնազանդութիւնն կապեաց զհիւսեալ պսակն ի գլուխ նորա. այսինքն զի շնորհեաց նմա անուն ի վեր քան զամենայն անուն. որ եւ ամենեցուն ծունր կրկնի պատկերին Ադամայ որ ի կերպարանն հօր միացաւ անշփոթ խառնմամբ:

24. Cf. Gen 3:17–19.

And when he brought (Christ) to an end by death, he bound obedience as the woven crown to his head. That is, he granted to him a name higher than any name. Everybody's knees are bent before the image of Adam, who was united to his Father's form through unconfused mixture.

- 9 107 . . . դատակնիքն Ադամայ ի վերայ նոցա էր: ... (Քս) փոխանակ անհնազանդութեան հնոյն Ադամայ հնազանդ եղել հօր մահու չափ:

. . . . Adam's condemnation was upon them. . . . In place of the old Adam's disobedience, (Christ) obeyed the Father unto death.

- 10 113 . . . սատանայ զայս (գիտակցութիւն մտաց) պղծեր. եւ յորժամ իւր կամացն հաւանեցուցանէր, մարմինս իբրեւ զարբանեակ զկամս մտացն կատարէր. եւ ոչ կարեն մարդիկ սրբիլ այնու. զի չունէին մտացն օրէնք:

Satan defiled it (the consciousness of the mind), and when he persuaded (it) to his will, the body like satellite carried out the mind's will; and people cannot be cleansed of this, for they have²⁵ no control over their mind.

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, *Խորհրդածութիւն սրբազան պատարագի Reflection on the Holy Liturgy* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1842).

- 11 49 Որ ի չգոյէ ի գոյ ածեր ամենայն արարածս, որ ստեղծեր զմարդն ըստ պատկերի քում, եւ նմանութեան, եւ ամենայն շնորհիւ քով զնա զարդարեցեր, եւ ուսուցեր խնդրել զիմաստութիւն եւ զգօնութիւն:

You who brought all the creatures from nonexistence to existence, who created man according to your image and likeness, and adorned him with all your gifts²⁶ and taught him to seek wisdom and prudence.

- 12 Յետ հրեշտակացն գոյացութեան. արարածքս զգալի ստեղծան, եւ ապա մարդն՝ իշխան նոցա. ըստ որում ուսուցանէ զայս մեզ Դաւիթ. Ո՛ր արար զհրեշտակս իւր հոգիս. եւ ապա յաւելու. Ո հաստատեաց զերկիր ի վերայ հաստատութեան իւրոյ. զսոյն ի մէջ առնու եւ քահանայս, յետ հրեշտակաց՝ զարարածոցս լինելութիւն դնէ, եւ ապա զմարդոյն ստեղծանէն. որոյ ասէ, ուսուցեր խնդրել զիմաստութիւն. քանզի դրախտ ամենապատիկ ծառովք զիմաստութիւն առակէ, եւ զգործել մարդոյն եւ պահել, զխնդրելն եւ պահել անդրժեղի գնոյն օրինակէ:

After the coming into being of the angels, the perceptible creatures were created, and then man, their master. Accordingly David teaches this to us:

25. Literally: had.

26. Or: grace.

“Who maketh his angels spirits,” and then he adds, “Who made earth firm upon his firmament.”²⁷ 49 This priest also deals with the same, he puts the coming into being of the creatures after the angels, and then the creation of man whom, he says, you taught to seek wisdom. Because paradise with various trees is the allegory of wisdom, and “to dress it and to keep it” by man symbolizes seeking and keeping the same inviolable.

- 13 49 Եւ ոչ անտես արարեր զմեղուցեալն, այլ եղեր ի վերայ նորա ապաշխարութիւն փրկութեան:

You did not neglect the sinner, but you were on his account the penance of salvation.

- 14 Մեծ շնորհ եղև այս Ադամայ յԱստուծոյ՝ զիտել զապաշխարութիւն յետ յանցանացն,²⁸ սակս մարմնոյն, որում ոչ գտաւ արժանի բանսարկուն: Քանզի որդիք աշխարհիս այսորիկ իմաստնագոյնք են քան զնսա (Ղուկ. ԺԶ. 8):

This was great grace granted by God to Adam: to know penance after transgression, because of the body of which the Devil was not worthy, “because the children of this world are wiser than” them.²⁹

- 15 58 Որ խօսեցաւ յօրէնս եւ ի մարգարէս եւ յաւետարանս

Who spake in the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels

- 16 Յօրէնս, Հոգի Աստուծոյ շրջէր ի վերայ ջուրց. եւ փչումն էր նա կենսադանական. եւ շնորհեաց ի մարդն առաջին եւ առ փչօղն սակս պատուիրանազանցութեան դառնայ:

In the Law: “The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.”³⁰ And the inbreathing was vital (vivifying), and He granted it to the first man, and it returns to Him who breathed it in, because of the transgression . . .

- 17 81 Տէր Աստուծ սաւ՝ զօրութեանց, եւ արարիչ ամենայն լինելութեանց
It says, “Lord God of Hosts and Creator of all beings.”

- 18 Նախ զանունն Աստուծոյ՝ զորս գտին մարդիկ, նմին անուանէ. անուն ասեմ, ոչ բնութեանն որ է սքանչելի եւ անհաս, այլ՝ փառացն եւ ներգործութեանն. քանզի ստեղծիչ արարածոցս զիտացեալ միայն զնա, այսր աղագաւ յարդեանց իրացն կոչեցաք զարարիչն Աստուած. այսինքն աստ ածող զոչ էսն յեութիւն եւ ի գոյութիւն զերկնաւորս եւ զերկրաւորս:

27. Ps 104:4–5 = Arm 103:4–5.

28. Corrig. յանցանացն.

29. Cf. Luke 16:8.

30. Gen 1:2.

First, he names him with God's name which people found; I do not mean the name of his nature which is marvelous and incomprehensible, but of his glory and action. Because having learned that He alone is Creator of beings, on account of this, we called the Creator of the structures of things God (*Astvac*) that is "he who brings here (*astacol*)," the nonexistent to existence and being, heavenly and earthly things.

- 19 123 Ձոր փրկեցեր պատուական արեամբ միածնի քո, եւ ազատեցեր խաչին սրբով

Whom you saved through the precious blood of your Only-Begotten (Son) and (whom you) freed through the holy cross.

- 20 Իսկ ազատեաց եւ խաչին, ուստի՞ ի դատակնքէն Ադամայ. քանզի նորա մեղօքն ամենեքեան դատապարտ էաք մահու:

Indeed he freed also by the cross: from what? From the condemnation of Adam, because we all were condemned to death through his sin.

NERSĒS ŠNORHALI C12

Text: Nersēs Šnorhali, Տաղեր եւ զանձեր *Poems and Ganjs*, ed. A. K'yoškeryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987).

1 Տաղ աւետեաց Poem on the Annunciation

- 1 4.23–24 Սաւս խրնկաբերին,
նոր դրախտ Ադենի,
Ծառ կենաց պլտողոյն:

Fragrant cypress,
new Garden of Eden,
Tree of the fruit of life!

- 2 6.5–8 Նոր բուրաստան ծաղկերանգ,
Ողկուզաբեր բարունակ,
Դրախտ Տեառն դարձեալ քեւ տուաւ
Մարն Եւայի, որ մեղաւ:

New garden colored with flowers,
Vine-shoot bearing bunches of grapes!
Through you the Lord's paradise was given again
To Mother Eve who sinned.

2 Ի Սուրբ Աստուածածին կոյսն To the Holy Virgin Mother of God

- 3 9.7 Բախանայ դրախտն Եդեմայ նոր ծառ կենաց տնկեաց ի նմա:
The new Garden of Eden feasts at the new tree of life he planted in it.

8 Տաղ ծննդեան Poem on the Nativity

- 4 35.21–24 Որք էաք մեղաւք կապեալ ի յԱդամայ,
Քրիստոսիւ արձակեցաք ի կապանաց,
Եւայիւ դատապարտեալ ազգքն կանանց
Մարիամաւ ազատեցան ի յանցանաց:
We, having been bound by sin to Adam,
Were released from the bonds by Christ;
The race of women condemned by Eve
Was freed from the transgression by Mary.

9 Տաղ ծննդեան Poem on the Nativity

- 5 36.1–2 Այսար աւետեաց ձայն եհաս ի յունկն Եւայի,
Եւա՝ առաջին կոյս, ցնծայր դրստերք Կուսին,
Today the voice of the Annunciation reached Eve's ear;
Eve, the first virgin, exulted with her daughter, the Virgin.
6 37.17–20 Պրտողոյն առաջնոյ մահ լուծաւ կենացքն պրտողով,
Պրտող անմահին ծառոյ տուաւ մեռեալն Ադամայ,
Ադամ վերըստին եմուտ ի դրախտն Եւայիւ,
Եւա պարէ այսար ծնանելով զԱստուածորդին:
Death by the first fruit was dissolved by the fruit of life;
Fruit of the immortal tree was given to the dead Adam;
Adam entered paradise again through Eve;
Eve dances today, at the bringing forth of the Son of God.

14 Տաղ ծննդեան Poem on the Nativity

- 7 60.80–81 Այսար երկրորդ Ադամ պահեալ
Պարտեաց զյաղթող հնոյն Ադամայ:
60.80–81 Today the second Adam, enduring,
Defeated the vanquisher of the old Adam.

15 Տաղ ծննդեան Poem on the Nativity

- 8 62.19–22 Ջահ լուսոյն դարձեալ ի Նազարէթ բնակէր,
Ծածկէր զճառագայթն երեսնամեայ լըրամբ:
Պարագրեալ մարմնով ի Յորդանան եկեալ,
Զհընոյն Ադամայ լուանալ պարտեացն ըզգիր.

Again the torch of light dwelled in Nazareth;
He concealed the ray until he was thirty.
Circumscribed by body, having come to the Jordan
To wash away the promissory note of the old Adam.

21 Տաղ մեծի ուրբաթին Poem on Good Friday

- 9 83.27–28³¹ Ծանեաւ Ադամ զնըշան գալոյ Տեառն ի դըժոխս,
Ծանր ամաւթով կայր հիացեալ երկիւղագին:

Adam recognized the sign of the Lord's coming to hell;
He was gravely shamed, he was astonished by fear.

- 10 89.51–52 Պայծառ փառաւք շրքեղացոյց ըզնախահայրն,
Պըճնեալ փառաւք եմոյծ դարձեալ յԱդին դրախտին:

He glorified the forefather with brilliant glory;
Adorned with glory, (He) again introduced (him) into the Garden of Eden.

22 Ողբք մեծի ուրբաթին Lament on Good Friday

- 11 96.59–60 Զանէծսն Ադամայ բառնամ
Փշեղէն պըսակաւս:

I remove Adam's curse
With this crown of thorns.

- 12 97.77–80 Զկապեալն արձակեմ զԱդամ,
Կապեմ ըզկապողն,
Ի դրախտն ուստի ել տանիմ,
Ուր եւ զաւագակն:

I release the bound Adam;
I bind the binder;
I take (Adam) to the Garden whence he went out,
Where also the brigand (is).

31. See also: 87.27–28, 92.27–28.

26 Տաղ յարութեան

Poem on the Resurrection

- 13 114.23–24 Ստացաւ զԱդամ անդրէն ի կեանս
Յադէնական տեղն եւ ի փառս:

He created Adam again for life,
In the Edenic place and in glory.

28 Տաղ յարութեան

Poem on the Resurrection

- 14 120.23–28 Այսաւր Տէր յարեաւ, ցընծացէ՛ք, ասէ,
Դըստերք Ադամայ:
ՅԵւայի մաւր լըսելիս ձայնեցէ՛ք,
Աւձըն պարտեցաւ:
Ուրախ լէ՛ր, Ադամ, այսաւր Որդին քո
Ըզբեզ նորոգեաց:

Today the Lord arose, he says: “Rejoice,
daughters of Adam,
Cry to the ears of Mother Eve:
‘The serpent is defeated.’
Be happy, Adam, today your Son
Has renewed you.”

37 Տաղ փոխման սուրբ Աստուածածնին

Poem on the Assumption of Holy Mother of God

- 15 161.3–4 Զքեզ նախատեսացըն գուշակեալ ցուցին
Ծառ կենաց ի մէջ աստուածատունկ դրախտին:
Կենաց փայտ տընկեալ ըզքեզ տընկողին զԵդէմ,
Զտնկագործն էից ի քէն պըտղաբերեցեր:

The prophets predicted and demonstrated you,
Tree of life in divinely planted paradise.
The planter of Eden planted you as a tree of life,
You brought forth from yourself the cultivator of beings!

42 Տաղ սուրբ խաչին

Poem on the Holy Cross

- 16 184-5.9–12 Դըրախտին Ադէնայ ծառ կենաց ի մէջ նըմին,
Դիմակ մահառիթ մի՛ ճաշակել պատուէր:

/ Զպատուիրան լուսոյ խաւարին խաբմամբ թողեալ՝
Մերկացաւ զլոյսն անըստուերական փառացն:

The tree of life in the midst of the Garden of Eden,
The command not to eat is a mask causing death;³²
Having abandoned the command of light through darkness's deception,
He was stripped of the light of shadowless glory.

- 17 185 21–22 Ձեռին Ադամայ փոխանակ ձրգմանն ի ծառն,
Տարածեալ ի սմա զիր զանարատ բազուկսն:

Instead of the stretching out of Adam's hand to the tree,
He spread his immaculate arms upon it (i.e., the cross).

44 Տաղ առաքելոցն Poem on the Apostles

- 18 98.41–44 Յորդահոս գետոց գնացիւք
Քառալըտակ ի յԱդենայ
Նորակերտ քաղաքն սուրբ
Առոգելով ուրախանայ:

By the flow of streaming rivers,
Fourfold stream from Eden,
The newly built, holy city
Rejoices at being irrigated.

49 Տաղ Յովհաննու մկրտչին Poem on John the Baptist

- 19 233.13–16 Ադամ նախաստեղծ, զարթիր, արի, որ նընջեսդ,
Լուսատու լիցի Քրիստոս քեզ ի խաւարիդ:
Ի յամլորդւոյս ընկալ, Եւա, զաւետիս՝
Նոր Ադամ ծընաւ քո դուստրն՝ կոյսըն Մարիամ:

First-created Adam, wake up, rise, you who sleep,
Let Christ give you light in that darkness.
Receive, Eve, the annunciation of the barren woman's son:
Your daughter the Virgin Mary has borne a new Adam.

32. The mask "causing death" means the tree of life.

57 Տաղ սրբոց Հռիփսիմեանց
Poem on the Holy Hrip'simeans

- 20 275 13–16 Բացաւ դուռն Եդէմ դրախտին,
Ծառըն կենաց տընկեալ յերկիր,
Քաղցրաճաշակ համեղ պրտուղ
Փոխանակ դառըն ճաշակմանն:

The door of the Garden of Eden is open;
The tree of life is planted in the ground:
Delicious, tasty fruit,
Instead of the bitter food.

60 Քարոզ փոխման Աստուածածնին
Sermon on the Assumption of the Mother of God

- 21 299 22–24 Ի հակառակաց միացուցեալ ոգւոյ եւ մարմնոյ զԱդամն
առաջին
Գեղապաճոյճ փառաք զարդարեալ կողածնան ի դրախտն Ադէնայ.
Որոց զտիրականն արբէն մոռացեալ դատապարտին մահու:

Having conjoined the first Adam from opposites, spirit and body,
Having adorned him with splendid glory in the Garden of Eden, together
with one born from the rib,
Who, having forgotten the Lord's law, are condemned to death.

61 Քարոզ սրբոց հրեշտակապետացն
Sermon on the Holy Archangels

- 22 310 1.68–69 Սրովբէն հրանիւթ զկենացն տունկ պահէր,
/ Զի մի՛ պատրեալն Ադամ կերեալ մշտասցի մահուամբն անյաջորդ:

The fiery Seraph guarded the plant (tree) of life,
So that the deceived Adam would not eat and permanently stay in unalter-
able death.

Text: Nersēs Šnorhali, Բանք չափաւ *Verses* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1928).

Ողբերգութիւն վիպասանական ի տառից սրբոց. (Յիսուս Որդի)

Historical Elegy from the Holy Books (also known as Jesus the Son)

- 23 10 Որպէս Ադամն այն առաջին,
Այն որ մեղօքն անուանի հին,
Որով մեռաք ամենեքին
Եւ կորուսաք զցանկալին:

Like that first Adam
Who is called old through the sin;
Through whom we all died,
And lost the desirable (Garden).

- 24 11 Եւ յանցանաց մօրն Եւային.
Եւս առաւել քան ըզնոսին
Գըտայ յանցող սուրբ օրինին:
Զի պատուիրանն էր նոցա մին,
Վասըն միոյ դառըն պըտղին:

. . . And by the transgression of mother Eve;
even more than them,
Was I found to be a transgressor of the holy law,
For they were given one commandment,
Concerning one bitter fruit.

- 25 12 Ընդ փափկութեան կենաց դրախտին,
Որ իմաստիցն օրինակին,
Մըշակեցի յիմումս անձին
Զփուշ եւ զտատասկ մեղաց բուսին:
Ընդ անաշխատ կենաց վայրին,
Որ ըստ յուսոյն թեթեւ ասին,
Ուտեմ քրտամբք զառօրէին,
Դառնամ ի հող ուստի առին:

Instead of the delight of life in the Garden,
Which is a symbol of wisdom,
I cultivated in myself
Thorns and thistles of the plant of sin.
Instead of the place of untroubled life,
Which is called light³³ for the hope,
I eat my daily bread with sweat;
I return to ground whence I was taken.

33. I.e., in weight.

- 26 86 Ընդարձակեա զկապըս լեզուիս,
 Բարբառեցո ինձ ըզբարին.
 Եւ խից զականջս ընդդէմ օձին,
 Զի մի լուայց ըստ Եւային:
 Release the bonds of my tongue,
 Make me say good things,
 And close my ears against the serpent,
 So that I will not listen (to him) like Eve.

Բան հաւատոյ Word of Faith

- 27 224–25 Ի միջօրեայն նըսեմացաւ,
 Յորժամ Ադամ մեղօք մեռաւ . . .
 Քացախ ետուն ի ծարաւի
 Այնմ որ բըղխեաց գետ յԱդէնի . . .
 Յերրորդ ժամու պատրեալ օձին
 Զմիտըս նախնոյ մօրն Եւային,
 Ի վեցն անկեալ մարդն առաջին
 Հաւանական բանիւ նորին.
 It was darkened at midday,
 When Adam died because of sin . . .
 They gave vinegar for thirst,
 To Him who made a river flow in Eden . . .
 In the third hour the serpent deceived
 The mind of the foremother Eve.
 In the sixth (hour) the first man fell,
 Through its persuasive speech.
- 28 225 Ի սոյն ժամու Տէրն ի խաչին,
 Զի քաւեցէ զմեղըս նոցին.
 Եւ յորժամ ել Ադամըն հին,
 Եմոյծ ըզգոռն ի մէջ դրախտին:
 In the same hour the Lord (was) on the cross,
 To expiate their sin,
 And when the old Adam came out,
 He introduced the thief into paradise.
- 29 231 Եւ յերկնային ծառըս կենաց
 Նախ ադամեանքն են մերձակաց,
 Եւ ոչ Եւայ ձըզմամբ ձեռաց,
 Որ հան զԱդամ յանճառ փառաց:

And first Adam's sons
Are close to the celestial tree of life,
But not Eve who by stretching out her hands
Drove Adam out of ineffable glory.

263 Ներբողեան կենսատու սուրբ խաչին Encomium to the Life-giving Holy Cross

30 Ի Գողգոթա տեսէք ըզձեզ ի պաշտաման.
Անդ՝ ուր շիրիմն էր նախահորըն հանգըստեան,
Որ կանգնեցաւ՝ առեալ ըզխաչս իւր գաւազան:
Քանզի փայտիւ վիրաւորեալ հինն այն Ադամ,
Անկեալ դրնէր ի յայն խըշտին տարտամութեան.
Առ որ հասեալ որ սըլացաւ յերկնիցն Ադամ,
Գըթայր ի նա իբր ի պատկեր իւր եւ նըման:
See yourselves worshiping at Golgotha,
There, where was the tomb of the forefather's repose,
Which was set up, having taken the cross as his staff,³⁴
For that old Adam was wounded by a tree.
Having fallen, he was put on that cowardly lance.
He who descended from heaven reached Adam,
had mercy on him as his image and likeness.

31 268 Օրհնեալ էս, փայտ սուրբ զարդարեալ,
Որ յԱստուծոյ էս պաճուճեալ.
Ադին տընկոյն գերհրաշեալ,
Այնմ որ Քրովբէքն են շուրջ եղեալ:
Blessed are you, decorated holy tree,³⁵
Who are adorned by God,
More admirable than the tree of Eden,
Around which the Cherubim have been set.

32 269 Օրհնեալ էս, փայտ սուրբ տէրունի,
Յույ՛ յոր անկեալն Ադամ հաստի:
Blessed are you, the Lord's holy tree,³⁶
Staff upon which the fallen Adam leans.

34. Or: where . . . its . . .

35. Or: cross; literally: wood.

36. Or: cross; literally: wood.

Յադագս երկնից եւ զարդուց նորա On the Sky and Its Stars

- 33 311 Քանզի յորժամ աստուածաստեղծըն մարդ Ադամ
Կորոյս մեղօք ըզշնորհսըն ձրի եւ տիրական,
Ի յարարչէն նըւազ իմաստ այս շնորհեցան.
Նախագուշակ լինել մարդկան չար պատահման:

For when the man Adam, created by God,
Destroyed by his sin the freely given and God-given grace,
They were granted this lesser wisdom by the Creator
To prophesy to men about misfortunes.

Յորդորակ Didactic Poem

- 34 321–22 Ադամեան սեռ մարդկային որ ստեղծեցան,
Ի պատկեր անմանւոյդ յօրինեցան.
Շուսատիպ զարմանազան նկարեցան
Երկնաւորն եւ երկրայինս զուգեցան:
Ի դրախտի անմահութեանն տնկեցան.
Ի մահու պտղոյն կերան եւ մերկացան:
Նոր Ադամ հնոյն Ադամայ որդիացաւ.
Ի Կուսէ Աստուած եւ մարդ նոր խառնեցաւ:

The human species of Adam which was created
Was made in the image of you, peerless One.
They were pictured as shining and wondrous;
They joined together earthly and heavenly;
They were planted in the Garden of immortality;
They ate of the fruit of death and were stripped naked.
The new Adam became the son of the old Adam;
From the Virgin, God and man, newly he was mixed.

Text: Nersēs Šnorhali, Ողբ Եդեսիոյ *Elegy on the Fall of Edessa*, ed. M. Mkrtč'yan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1973).

- 35 24 Հռոմ, մայր քաղաքաց . . . որպէս զդրախտն, որ յԱդէնի . . .

Rome, mother of towns . . . like paradise which is in Eden . . .

- 36 27 Աղէքսանդրիա . . .

Որ եւ աթոռ դու Մարկոսի՝ մեզ աւետեաց քարոզողի,
Որ եւ դրախտին աստուածայնոյ տունն բանաւոր ի քեզ տնկի:

Alexandria . . .

You who are the see of Mark, of the preacher of good news to us,
And the reasonable tree of divine paradise is planted in you . . .

- 37 44–45 (Ես՝ Եդեսիա, Ուռհա քաղաք)
Զի ոչ ծածուկ էի տեղի, կամ ի յանկեան ինչ թաքստի,
Այլ ի գետիցն, որ յԱդենի, էի բազմեալ ես ի միջի
/ Ի յԵփրատայ եւ Տիգրիսի, որ Միջագետք անուանէի:

(I, Edessa, the town of Urha),
I was not a secret place or in a hidden corner,
But I was seated in the midst of the rivers, which were of Eden
Of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and I was called Mesopotamia.

- 38 61–62 Զի թէ աստուստ տարագրեսցուք, որ հայրենեաց կոչի գետին,
Որ է պայծառ յերեւելիս եւ վայելուչ աչաց բերին,
Այլ փոխանակ անցաւորին ժառանգեսցուք զանանց բարին՝
Ի փափկութեան լուսոյ դրախտին, յորմէ անկաւ մարդն առաջին,
Յանմահութեան անախտ վայրին, ի սեփական մեր հայրենին:
Եւ փոխանակ այս քաղաքի, որ է շինուած սա մարդկային,
Ունիմք շինուած մեք յԱստուծոյ, անձեռագործ եւ երկնային,
/ Որոյ շինող ճարտարապետ աջ արարչին է անեղին:
Այն, որ կանգնեաց կամար գերկին, կառոյց ի նմա զդասս վերին,
Այն, որ գերկինս հաստատեաց, եւ զորս ի սմա՝ մինչ ոչ գոյին:

Since we are exiled from here, which is called the soil of the fatherland,
Which is splendid among visible things and gratifying to the eye,
Now instead of the transient, we shall inherit the eternal good,
In the light of the Garden's delight whence the first man fell,
In the immaculate place of immortality, in our own fatherland.
And instead of this town, which is built by men,
We have a building made by God, made without hands and celestial,
The builder of which is the skillful hand of the increate Creator,
Who erected the arch of the heaven, put in it the supernal ranks,
Who made the earth firm and those in it, that did not exist before.

- 39 122 (Դուք որդիք իմ սիրելիք . . .)
Ծառոյն կենաց մերձեալ հայիք, ի մահացուն այլ ոչ խաբիք,
Բազմաբեղուն ստեղն արծակիք, մինչ ի յեկինս հասանիք . . .
Յորժամ հնձէք, զոր ցանեցիք, յանմահական դրախտին հանգչիք,
Ընդ զովարար տնկոյն նստիք եւ յաղբերէն կենաց արբջիք:
Որ չարչարեացն զձեզ լացցէ, դուք խնդալից սրտիւք բերկրիք,
Ի բոց հնոցին նա կիզանի, դուք ի վտակն Ադին շրջիք:

(You, my beloved children . . .)
You having approached, touch the tree of life and are not deceived again by
the fatal one,

You send forth abundant offshoots, until you reach heaven.
 When you reap what you have sown, you repose in the immortal paradise,
 You sit under a refreshing tree and drink from the spring of life.
 He who has tortured you will weep, and you will rejoice with joyful heart.
 He is burnt in the fire of furnace, you will stroll round Eden's stream.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն Սուրբ Աւետարանին որ ըստ Մատթեոսի արարեալ ի սրբոյն Ներսիսէ Շնորհալոյ մինչ ի համարն 17. հինգերորդ գլխոյն եւ անտի աւարտեալ յերանելոյն Յօհաննու Երզնկացոյ որ եւ կոչի Ծործորեցի *Commentary on the Holy Gospel of Matthew by St. Nersēs Šnorhali as far as the 17th verse of the fifth chapter, and thence completed by the blessed Yovhannēs of Erznka, who is called Corcorec'i* (Constantinople: Abraham Aknec'i Press, 1825).

- 40 17 Ադամն հին ըստ անձնիշխան կամաց կորոյս զպատին առաջին՝
 այլ զիտութեանն Աստուծոյ յայտնիք էին լինելոցն:

The old Adam according to his autonomous will lost his former honor, but the things that were going to happen were evident to God's knowledge.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Թուղթ ընդհանրական *Encyclical Letter*, ed. Է. Bałdasaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1995).

Առ դասս քահանայից To the Class of Priests

- 41 134 Եւ այրն աւագագոյն պարտի լինել ըստ ժամանակի քան զկինն,
 որպէս զԱդամ նախ ստեղծեալ Աստուծոյ եւ ապա Եւայ:

And the husband must be older by time than the wife, just as God created Adam first, and then Eve.

Առ կանանց դասս To the Class of Women

- 42 161 Եւ մի՛ որ նմանօղ լիցի օձին՝ գործի անօրէնութեան լինելով սատանայի, գոր եւ կաւատն անուանեն, զի որպէս նա Եւայի ջամբեաց զպտուղն մահու խաբէութեամբն, նոյնպէս եւ սա զանմիտ կանանց եւ զարանց տայ ճաշակել զպտուղն մահաբեր մեղաց, որ ի սկիզբն քաղցր երեւի անմտաց, եւ յետ կատարմանն դառն, քան զլեղի, որ եւ զանէծս օձին ժառանգեսցէ այնպիսին յԱստուծոյ, զորոյ եւ զգործն ստացաւ:

And let no one be like the serpent, by being an instrument of lawlessness for Satan, who is also called “the procurer.” For just as he fed Eve the mortal

fruit through deception, in the same way he also gives mindless women and men to taste the mortal fruit of sin, which first seems sweet to the foolish, and at the end more bitter than gall (or: wormwood). Such a person will inherit from God the serpent's curse, whose deed he has received.

Nersēs Šnorhali, *Թուղթք Letters*. (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1873).

Մխիթարական առ ուրուկս յԵդեսիա Consolatory Letter to the Lepers in Edessa

- 43 230 Քանզի նախահայրն մեր Ադամ՝ քաղցր պտղոյն հեշտութեամբ կորոյս զաստուածային զփառսն, եւ զկեանս անմահականս եւ զդրախտին վայելչութիւնն, եւ փոխանակ ընկալաւ զերկիր փշաբեր եւ զկեանս տրտմականս եւ զախտալիցս եւ զտաժանելիս, եւ մահ ի կատարածի. վասն որոյ եւ արարիչն եւ Տէրն ամենայնի երկրորդ Ադամ եղև եւ անուանեցաւ, ի բնութենէ նորին առնլով մարմին յաղազս փրկութեան նորա:

For our forefather Adam, through enjoyment of the sweet fruit, lost the divine glory and the immortal life and the splendor of paradise, and received instead the earth bringing forth thorns, and sorrowful, suffering and distressing life, and death at the end. Therefore, too, the Creator and Lord of all became and was called “Second Adam,” by taking on body from his nature for the sake of his (Adam's) salvation.

Nersēs Šnorhali, *Մեկնութիւն սակս տասն խորանացն Աւետարանին Commentary on the Ten Canon-Tables of the Gospel*, ed. Y. K'iwrtcan, *Bazmavēp* 131,3-4 (1973): 419–37; and V. Łazaryan, ed., *Խորանների մեկնություններ Commentaries on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xač'enc', 1995), 44–60.

An English translation may be found in James R. Russell, trans., “Two Interpretations of the Ten Canon Tables” in *Armenian Gospel Iconography: The Tradition of the Glajor Gospel*, ed. Thomas F. Mathews and Avedis K. Sanjian (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 29; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991), 207–11.

- 44 429 Եւ խորանն չորրորդ՝ զդրախտն տպաւորէ. քանզի ի չորից սեանց կայ զգգալի տարեքս առակելով՝ որ ի չորից է խառնուած: Եւ է գոյն կապոյտ եւ սեւաւ. քանզի անյայտացաւ Ադամայ եւ որդւոց նորա պայծառութիւն դրախտին, զոր եւ մաշկեայ պատմութեանն առակեր. դիմահար եղեալ փառացն Աստուծոյ, եւ դրախտին յորս վայելէր զառաջինն:

And the fourth canon-table represents paradise, for it stands through four pillars, being an allegory of the perceptible elements, which is mixed of four (i.e., elements). And its colors are blue and black, for the brightness of paradise was concealed from Adam and his children. The coats of skins are also

an allegory of this, as opposed to the glory of God and paradise, where he enjoyed (life) at first.

- 45 430 Եւ յալ խորանքս մթատեսակ ինչ ձեւով՝ եւ խաչ ընդ աղօստ երեւեալ ի ներքոյ կամարացն՝ որ ցուցանէր զխորհուրդն Քրիստոսի, որ գայր ծածկապէս ի ժամանակսն առաջինս. վայր իջեալ յԱստուծոյ ի հրեշտակս եւ ի նոցանէ յԱդամ եւ ի ծնունդս նորա խորհուրդ հանճարոյն:

And other canon-tables are somewhat dark-looking in form, and under the arches the cross is glimpsed, which demonstrates Christ's mystery that in former times appeared in a concealed form, the mystery of wisdom which descended from God to the angels, and from them to Adam and his offspring.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Հանելուկ “Riddle,” *Ararat* 1 (May 1868): 8.

I

- 46 8 Դատաւորն իրաւարար
Ի մահ մատնեաց զգողն արդար,
գոր գողացաւ զգողոնքն էառ
Փրկանք անձին իւրոյ արար:

The judge-arbitrator
Justly condemned to death the thief,
He who stole, took the spoil
And made it a ransom for himself.

“Solution” *Ararat*, 2 (June 1868): 22.

- 47 Մայիս մասոյ հանելուկն էր
Առաջինն՝ Աստուած և Ադամ,
Երկրորդը՝ Դրախտ:

The riddle of May meant
First—God and Adam,
second—the Garden.

II

“Riddle,” *Ararat* 2 (June 1868): 22.

- 48 Զաւակ ծնաւ յայն մեծ այգին.
Ծառն երեւոյ ծիծ՝ ի եսպան գորդին
նոքա որպէս զգեստ ունէին.
հանին ու հազան զայծու մորթին:

Կանաչ մի կայ ի մեջ դրախտին,
չորս գետք անցնին հետ իր տակին.
պտուղ ունի քաղցր ու լեղին
’ւ է՝ ճշմարիտ երկու բնութիւն,

A child was born in that large garden;
The tree gave breast and killed the son.
The clothes that they had,
They took them off and put on the goatskin.
There is a plant in the Garden,
Four rivers pass beneath it,
It has sweet and bitter fruit,
And truly has two natures.

“Solution,” Ararat 6 (October 1868): 84.

49 Յունիս ամսոյ հանելուկն էր
Առաջինն նախահարք:
Երկրորդն՝ ծառն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի:

The riddle of June meant:
First—the forefathers,
second—the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

III

Nersēs Šnorhali, Հանելուկ “Riddle,” Ararat 6 (October 1868): 84.

50 Դաշտ մի կայր արձակ ու լայն
անսիւն շինուած էր, անգերան,
կանթեղքն ի կախ կան անշուան,
ջրահերն անշէջ զլոյսն տան:
Կոյս մի մաքուր անհպելի,
երիտասարդ մի ցանկալի,
անմեղ կային ի միասին,
եւ ոչ յարատ մինչ հայէին,
մինչեւ առիթ ոմն եղէւ,
զկապ կուսութեան նորա եհեղ,
ետ կերակուր նախ զազանին
եւ ինքն եմուտ յորովայնին:

There was a plain, spacious and wide,
It was built without pillars, without beams;
Lamps are hanging without strings;
Torches give inextinguishable light.

A pure, untouched virgin,
 An amiable young man,
 Stayed together innocently
 And did not look at any sin,
 Until there was an occurrence.
 She loosed the tie of her virginity;
 First he gave food to the beast
 And he himself entered the belly.

“Solution,” *Ararat* 8 (December 1868): 116.

51 Հոկտեմբեր ամսոյ հանելուկն է
 դրախտ՝ Եւայ. Ադամ՝ եւ օձ:

The riddle of October means
 The Garden, Eve, Adam and the serpent.

PAWŁOS TARONAC՝I C12

Text: Pawłos Taronac՝i, Թուղթ ընդդէմ Թէոփիստեայ հոռոմ փիլիսոփային *Letter against the Greek Philosopher T'ēop'istus* (Constantinople: Yohannēs Press, 1752).

1 (?)173–74 Զի որպէս առաջին փայտն՝ անհնազանդութեան գոլով պատճառ, զմահ եւ զապականութիւն մեզ ժառանգեցոյց: Այսպէս եւ փայտ խաչին՝ հնազանդութեան գոլով առիթ, զանմահութիւն եւ զանապականութիւն մեզ ժառանգեցոյց: Եւ զի անդ զքաղցր պտուղն ճաշակելով Ադամայ, յորմէ հրաժարեցաւ ի դրախտէն, զոր եւ Սատուածանալն կամէր: Եւ յաղագս այնորիկ Քրիստոս զլեղին էարբ, փոխանակ այնր յանցանացն, եւ զդառնութիւն պտղոյն եբարձ. զի ահա անդ ի վեր համբարձեալ զգլուխն իւր Ադամ, եւ հայեր ի ծառն, որ ոչ էր արժան հայիլ: Աստ Քրիստոս խոնարհեցուցեալ զիւր Սատուածային զգլուխն, եւ զմարդկային հոգին աւանդեաց առ հայր իւր: Անդ ձգեալ Ադամայ առ ի առնուլ ձեռքն զպտուղն, աստ ի խաչն բեւեռեալ Քրիստոս զձեռն իւր, փոխանակ Ադամայ: Անդ մերկանայր նախահայրն զփառսն վասն մեղացն, եւ աստ մերկացաւ Քրիստոս զպատմութեան իւր: Անդ նախահայրն յաւուր ուրբաթու ճաշակեաց զլեղին ի վերայ խաչին: Յայնմ ուրբաթուն հալածեցաւ Ադամ ի դրախտէն, եւ աստ յայսմ ուրբաթունս առեալ եղեւ Քրիստոս ի խաչէն եւ եղաւ ի զերեզմանի:

For, just as the first tree, being the cause of disobedience, made us heirs of death and corruption, likewise also the wood of the cross, being the cause of obedience, made us heirs of immortality and incorruption. And since Adam

ate the sweet fruit there, wanting to become God, for which he was deprived of paradise; because of that Christ drank gall as compensation for the transgression of that one (i.e., Adam), and removed the bitterness of the fruit. For, behold, there Adam lifted up his head on high and looked at the tree at which he was not worthy to look; here Christ having lowered his divine head, gave his human soul to his Father. There, Adam reached out to take the fruit with his hands, and here Christ had his hands nailed to the cross, instead of Adam. There the forefather was stripped of his glory because of the sin, and here Christ was stripped of his garment. There the forefather drank gall on the cross on Friday; on that Friday Adam was driven out of the Garden; and here on this Friday Christ was taken down from the cross and was put in the tomb.

- 2 226–27 Եւ ահա այսպէս քարոզեցաւ մեզ ծնունդն Քրիստոսի յունվարի վեցն, եւ ոչ էր ի դեկտեմբերի քսան եւ հինգն. եւ զայս այսպէս գիտեմք խորհրդաբար ըստ ճշմարտութեան. զի ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ Ադամ նախահայրն, եւ ի Նիսան ամսոյ մէկն, եւ ոչ ի դեկտեմբերի: Եւ յուրբաթոյ ի վեց ժամու աւուրն ստեղծ Աստուած զԱդամ, եւ ոչ ի դեկտեմբերի քսան հինգն: Եւ ի տբէթի քսան եւ մէկ ծնաւ Քրիստոս: Եւ որպէս յաւուր ուրբաթոյ եւ Ադամ ի դրախտէն, ի վեց ժամն, նոյնպէս եւ Քրիստոս ի խաչն / յաւուր ուրբաթոյ . . .

Եւ ամիսն նիսանի սկիզբն էր ամսոցն եբրայեցոց. եւ ահա այս եւս ըստ խորհրդեանն: Վասն զի ի նմա արար Աստուած զսկիզբն լինելութեան արարածոցս: Եւ հաստատեաց զաշխարհս յաւուր կիրակէի. եւ յայսմ ամսեանս ստեղծաւ Ադամ: Եւ յայսմ ամսեանս ցածուցեալ եղև ջուր ջրհեղեղին յերեսաց յերկրէ:

And behold, thus it is announced to us that Christ's birth was on the 6th of January, and not on the 25th of December. And thus we apprehend this mystically and truly. For the forefather Adam was created on the sixth day, on the 1st of the month Nisan, and not in December. And on Friday, at the sixth hour of the day, God created Adam and not on the 25th of December. And on the 21st of Tebet Christ was born. And just as on Friday Adam went out of paradise in the sixth hour, likewise Christ ascended the cross on Friday . . .

And the month Nisan was the beginning of the Hebrews' months, and this is also according to the mystery (symbol).³⁷ For God began the creation of the creatures in it, and established the world on Sunday; and in this month Adam was created and in this month the water of the Flood lowered from the face of the earth.

- 3 230 Բայց լուաք՝ զի ասացին ոմանք վասն աւուրն սրբոյ յայտնութեան Տեան, եթէ յաւուր ուրբաթոյ հանդիպեցաւ. վասն զի յաւուր ուրբաթոյն

37. I.e., typology.

եղեւ լինելութիւն առաջին մարդոյն Ադամայ: Եւ այլք ոմանք ի շաբաթու ասացին: Բայց եւ հաւանեալ եմ սրբոյն Պօղիկարպոսի, վասն զի նա աշակերտ էր սրբոյն Յօհաննու աւետարանչի:

But we have heard that some people said about the day of the holy revelation of the Lord, that it took place on Friday, because the creation of the first man Adam took place on Friday. And some others said that it was Saturday. But I agree with Saint Polycarp, for he was the student of the holy evangelist John.

SAMUEL ANEC'İ, C12

Samuel Anec'ı, Տոմարագիտական եւ տիեզերագիտական աշխատութիւն “A Calendrical and Cosmological Work,” ed. A. Abrahamyan, *Ėjmiacin* (January 1952): 30–37; (February 1952): 34–43.

- 1 35 Ամսոց անուանք ի սկզբանէ ոչ էին, այլ սկսեալ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի Մովսէս՝ զգարնանամուտն տարեմուտ առնէին ամենայն ազգք:

In the beginning there were no names of months, and from Adam up to Moses all the peoples made the beginning of spring to be the beginning of year.

- 2 43 Հց. Քանի՞ են գլխաւոր արարածք: Պիւ. Ոմանք քսան եւ երկու ասեմ՝ ըստ նշանագրացն երբայեցւոց եւ այլք քսան եւ չորս՝ ըստ ժամուց աւուրցն: Եւ է այս. առաջին աւուրն եօթն են, այսինքն՝ հրեղեն երկինքն եւ չորս տարերքն եւ լոյսն եւ հրեշտակք ընդ լուսոյն, երկրորդ օրն՝ հաստատութիւն եւ ջրեղեն կամարն եւ ծովք եւ ցամաք երկիր, երրորդ օրն՝ բոյսք եւ տուն[կ]ք եւ դրախտն, չորրորդ օրն՝ արեգակն եւ լուսին եւ աստեղքն, հինգերորդ օրն՝ լուղակք եւ թռչունք, վեցերորդ ցամաքային կենդանիք եւ Ադամ եւ Եւա, եօթներորդ օրն շաբաթ, որ է հանգիստ, այլ եւ տիւ եւ գիշեր, որք ընդ լուսոյն եղեն, որով լինի քսան եւ չորս:

Question: How many are the main creations? Answer: Some say twenty-two, according to the Hebrew characters, and others twenty-four, according to the hours of the days. And these are: the seven of the first day, namely, the fiery heavens and the four elements and the light and the angels with the light; on the second day, the firmament and the watery vault and the seas and the dry land; on the third day, the shoots and the plants and paradise; on the fourth day, the sun, the moon and the stars; on the fifth day, the swimming creatures and the birds; on the sixth day, the land animals and Adam and Eve; the seventh day is Saturday (*Šabat'*), that is rest; also the day and the night which came into being together with the light, and they make twenty-four.

SARGIS ŠNORHALI C12

Sargis Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն եօթանց թղթոց կաթողիկեայց *Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles*, ed. A. Narinean Aknec'i (Constantinople: Abraham Aknec'i Press, 1828).

- 1 41 Զանազան են ասէ՛ պատրանք բանսարկուին, եւ ամենայն երեւոյթք են³⁸ եւ խաբէութիւնք մտաց. վասն զի կեղծաւորեալ ի ներքս անկանի զօրէն սիրելւոյ, եւ քաղցրացուցանէ զանցաւոր եւ զլի ցաւօք կեանս հոգւոյն իբրու զպտուղ ծառոյն առաջին մարդոյն՝ որով զտիրականն կորոյս զփառս, եւ դատապարտեալ անկաւ ի յայս երկիր անիծից. նմանապէս եւ զմեզ տեսեալ վերստին ի պատկերն Աստուծոյ կերպարանեալ՝ զալստեամբ նորոյս Ադամայ, հնարի պէսպէս կերպարանօք խաբել զմեզ:

He says, the tricks of the Devil are various and all of them are visible and deceits of mind, for he intrudes, dissembling, like a friend and delights the life of the spirit, transient and full of sorrow, (in the same way) as the fruit of the tree (delighted) the first man, due to which he lost the Lord's glory and being condemned, fell to this cursed earth. Likewise seeing us appearing again in God's image, thanks to this new Adam's advent, he devises to deceive us through various forms.

- 2 56 Արդ՝ մի՛ զրպարտեր զաստուածութիւն, եւ մի՛ Ադամայ նմաներ նախնւոյն քո հօր՝ որ վասն զպատուիրանաւն անցանելոյ զԱստուած պարտական առնէր, կինս ասէ՛ զոր ետուր ինձ, սա՛ խաբեաց զիս՝ եւ կերայ:

Now do not slander the Divinity and do not be like your forefather Adam who made God responsible for transgressing the commandment, saying: "The woman whom you gave me, she deceived me, and I ate."³⁹

- 3 64 «Հեզութեամբ ասէ՛ ընդունիջիք զբանն ընդաբոյս . . . »

Ընդաբոյս ասելն զնա՛ սակս ի սկզբանն սերմանելոյ զպատուիրանն նախաստեղծին Ադամայ, զոր ունէր ընտանի բոյս բուսուցանել եւ խամբացոյց զնա:

It says: "Receive with meekness the engrafted word."⁴⁰

Saying it to be "engrafted," (means) the commandment that was seeded in the beginning for the first-created Adam, in order to grow a cultivated plant; but (Adam) made it useless.

38. A note by the editor: "... or, according to another view invisible."

39. Gen 3:12.

40. Jas 1:21.

- 4 113 «Ամենայն բնութիւն ասէ՛ զազանաց, եւ թռչնոց, եւ սողնոց, եւ որ ի ծովու եւ, հնազանդեալ են՝ եւ հնազանդին մարդկեղէն բնութեան:»

It says: “Every kind of beasts, and of birds, and of reptiles, and of things in the sea, are subjected, and are obedient to human nature.”⁴¹

- 5 Ձտիրական պատիւ մարդոյն նշանակէ բանիւս՝ զոր ի ստեղծմանէն յԱստուծոյ ընկալաւ, (զի) եւ զնա տէր եւ իշխան եւ թագաւոր կացոյց երեւելի արարածոցս. ըստ որում եւ ասաց առաջին մարդոյն, իշխեցեք ձկանց ծովու եւ թռչնոց երկնից՝ եւ զազանաց երկրի, եւ սողնոց՝ որք սողին ի վերայ երկրի. (դարձեալ) եւ այլում նախահօր ասաց, զահ եւ զերկիւղ ձեր եղից ի վերայ ամենայն շնչոյ կենդանոյ:

By these words he signifies the Lord's honor of man, which he received from God from his creation. (For) the Lord appointed him both master and king over the visible creatures, in accordance with what He said to the first man: “Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and the fowl of the air, and the beasts of the earth, and creeping things that creep on the earth.”⁴² Again in another place he said to the forefather: “I have put the fear and the dread of you upon every breathing creature.”⁴³

- 6 114 Չարախօսեաց զԱստուծոյ օձն անմարմին, եւ խաբեալ պատրեաց զմարդն առաջին. եւ նոյն այն չարախօսութիւն փոխատրաբար կապեցաւ ի լեզու մարդոյ:

The incorporeal serpent slandered God and deceived the first man by its tricks, and (then) the same slander, by way of recompense, was tied to the man's tongue.

- 7 115 Զի որ զպատկեր թագաւորի թշնամանէ՝ ընդ նմին եւ զթագաւորն թշնամանէ, եւ մահապարտութեան է արժանաւոր. եւ որ զպատկեր Աստուծոյ անիծանէ՝ զմարդ, ընդ նմին եւ զսկզբնատիպն անիծանէ, զի ի պատկեր Աստուծոյ ստեղծ զնա արարիչն. արասցուք ասէ՛ զմարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան. իսկ դու անիծանես զնա եւ անպատուես, եւ որում ներելոյ արժանի գտանիցիս:

One who dishonors the king's image, together with it dishonors the king as well and deserves condemnation to death. And one who curses man, the image of God, together with him he curses the prototype, for the Creator made him in the image of God. It says: “Let us make man in our image, and according to our likeness.”⁴⁴ But you curse and dishonor him; and how can you be found deserving forgiveness?

41. Jas 3:7.

42. Cf. Gen 1:28, 30.

43. Cf. Gen 9:2.

44. Gen 1:26.

- 8 Տէրն քո եւ արարիչն պատկերաւ իւրով պատուեաց զնա՝ եւ օրհնութեան արժանաւորս արար. Օրհնեաց, ասէ՝ զնոսա Աստուած՝ եւ ասէ, աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք. եւ դո՛ւ անիծանես. եւ ո՞ր գեհեան ոչ ընկալցի զքեզ:

Your Lord and Creator honored him through His image and made him worthy of blessing. It says: “God blessed them and said, Be fruitful, and multiply.”⁴⁵ And you curse (them); and which Gehenna would not accept you?

- 9 134 Մի նմանէք ասէ՝ Ադամայ նախնւոյն ձերոյ եւ հօրն, որ այնքան պատուով պատուեալ Մասնուծոյ՝ անհնազանդ գտաւ պատուիրանաց նորա, զոր ասաց նմա չուտել ի պտղոյ ծառոյն՝ եւ ոչ մահանալ. իսկ նա զխրատ չարախօսին բարւոք վարկաւ՝ որ չարախօսեաց զԱստուծոյ, նախանձուտ գոլ եւ անմարդասէր. գիտէր ասէ՝ Աստուած, եթէ յաւուր յորում ուտիցէք ի ծառոյն բանայցեն աչք ձեր, եւ լինիցիք իբրեւ զաստուածս՝ ճանաչել զբարի եւ զչար. իսկ նա ոչ եկաց հակառակ չարախօսին, այլ հաւատաց եւ հնազանդեցաւ (նմա.) եկեր ի պտղոյն եւ ըղձանալոյն ոչ էհաս, այլ մերկացեալ ի փառացն յանդիմանեցաւ սուտ լինել (խրատն):

He says: “Do not be like your ancestor and father Adam, who, having been honored by God with such honor, was found disobedient to His commandments, which He said to him not to eat of the fruit of the tree and not to die. But he considered the counsel of the Devil to be good, who slandered God as being envious and misanthropic. He said, “God knew that in the day you eat of the tree, your eyes shall be opened, and you shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.”⁴⁶ But he did not oppose the slanderer, but believed and obeyed (him); he ate of the fruit and did not achieve the desirable (thing), but being stripped of glory was blamed, for (the counsel) was deceitful.”

- 10 Արդ՝ եւ դուք ասէ՝ ընդդէմ նորա զհակառակսն գործեցէք, հնազանդ լերուք Աստուծոյ. այնմ՝ որ պտուղ կենաց պարգեւեաց ձեզ զխոնարհութիւն, եւ պտուղ գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի եցոյց ձեզ զամբարտաւանութիւնն եւ զսէր աշխարհիս այսորիկ: Իսկ եթէ բանսարկուն դարձեալ առաջի քո դնէ զմեծութիւն աշխարհիս այսորիկ եւ զփառս եւ զամբարտաւանութիւն, որպէս եւ յայնժամ զպտուղ ծառոյն ի պատճառս աստուածանալոյն, մի հաւանիր նմա. այլ կաց հակառակ ընդդէմ նորա:

“So you,” he says, “do the opposite things against him; be obedient to God, to the one who granted you the fruit of life, humility; and showed you the fruit of the knowledge of good and evil, pride and love of this world. And if

45. Gen 1:28.

46. Gen 3:5.

the Devil offers you the grandeur of this world again, and its glory and its pride, in the same way as then (he offered) the fruit of the tree for the reason of becoming God, don't agree with him, but oppose him.”

- 11 142 Նմանեա ի մասինս յայսմիկ Աստուծոյ. արար ասէ Աստուած Ադամայ եւ կնոջ նորա հանդերձս մաշկեղէնս եւ զգեցոյց նոցա, ծածկել զամօթալի զմերկութիւն նոցա՝ փոխանակ պատառատուն տերեւոյն:

Be in these portions like God. It says, “For Adam and his wife the God made leather garments, and clothed them”⁴⁷ to cover their shameful nakedness, instead of the torn leaf.

- 12 187 Եւ կամք առաքչին հօր այն էին, զի մահուամբ որդւոյն՝ արարածք փրկեսցին, ի պատճառս որոյ առաքեացն գնալ յաշխարհս. եւ այս՝ սակս անհնազանդութեան նախնւոյն Ադամայ, որով զապականութիւն եհեղ ի բնութիւնս: Իսկ Տէր մեր զգեցեալ զեղծեալ պատկերն Ադամայ՝ եւ նովին հնազանդի հօր, զի զկեանս եւ զանապականութիւնն ի մարդիկ աղբիւրացոյց: Եւ զի անհնազանդութիւն սակս ճաշակման պտղոյ ծառոյն եւ անմահ բնութեան աստուածանալոյն եղեւ՝ որով մահ թագաւորեաց:

And that was the will of the Father, the Sender, that the creatures be saved by his Son's death, for which reason he sent Him to this world. And this was because of the ancestor Adam's disobedience; by which he poured corruptibility into natures.⁴⁸ But our Lord, wearing the corruptible image of Adam, obeyed God in this, that he poured out abundantly life and incorruptibility upon people. And since the disobedience was for the sake of eating the fruit of the tree and (obtaining) immortal nature of becoming God, because of that, death started to rule.

- 13 215 . . . Յետ զկերպարանս նորոյ Ադամայ վերստին ստանալոյ հոգւով որդեգրութեանն՝ եւ լուսաւորելոյ լուսով գիտութեան, մի դարձեալ կերպարանիք ի կերպարանս հնոյն Ադամայ, զանգիտութեանն ձերոյ զցանկութիւնս վերստին ձգել ի ձեզ նայապէս: Զի որպէս նա անգիտացաւ զցանկութիւն պտղոյն՝ եթէ վնասակար է, եւ ի պատճառս աստուածանալոյն եկեր զցանկացեալ պտուղն՝ եւ մահացաւ, նոյնգունակ եւ դուք:

After receiving again the new Adam's form by adopting him through the Spirit, and being enlightened with the light of knowledge, do not assume again the old Adam's form by again casting like him your ignorant desires again on yourselves. For just as he was ignorant in his desire for the fruit that

47. Gen 3:21.

48. I.e., people, or as often, bodies.

was harmful, and ate the desirable fruit to become God, and died; likewise (will happen to) you.

- 14 257 . . . Ի յապականել մարդոյն՝ ապականեցան ընդ նմին եւ այլ արարածքս, որք հեծեն եւ երկնեն մինչեւ ցայժմ:

When man became corruptible, with him also other creatures became corruptible, which groan and grieve till now.

- 15 260 յառաջին մարդոյն՝ զկնի մեծագոյն փառացն եւ գերագոյն երանութեանն՝ զսա պահանջեաց (Աստուած) օրինադրութեամբն՝ ոչ ճաշակել ի մահաբեր փայտէն. եւ զի ոչ եղեւ հնազանդ, նմին իրի յամենայնէն զրկեցաւ:

After supreme glory and highest bliss (God) demanded the following from the first man by his giving a commandment:⁴⁹ not to eat of the mortal tree. And as he did not obey, for that he was deprived of every part of that same thing.

- 16 290 Ի բազում ինչ իրս պիտանացու է կնոջն հնազանդութիւն առ այրն. նախ ըստ կարգի ստեղծմանն Աստուծոյ յառաջ զայրն ստեղծանել, եւ ապա երկրորդ ստեղծուած՝ յառնէն ստեղծանել զկինն. արդ երկրորդին պարտ եւ արժան է ի հնազանդութեան կալ առաջնոյն, եւ ապա ըստ դատապարտութեանն օրինակի՝ առ այր քո՝ ասէ, դարձ քո, եւ նա տիրեսցէ քեզ. եւ այսու առաւել եւս պարտի կալ ի հնազանդութեան:

In many matters obedience to her husband is necessary for the woman. First, according to the order of God's creation: first creating the man, and then the second creature—the creating of woman from the man. Now, it is necessary and fitting for the second one to remain obedient to first one. Then, after the pattern of the condemnation, it says: “Your turning shall be to your husband, and he shall rule over you.”⁵⁰ And for that the woman must all the more remain in obedience.

- 17 322 (Ամենատէրն մեր) . . . յիջանելն յերկնից եւ ի մարդն լինել՝ թագոյց զաստուածութիւն իւր ընդ վարագուրաւ մարմնոյն, զի մի արագ իմացի չարն. այլ զի տեսանելով զնա ի կերպարանս Ադամայ, դիմեսցէ ի վերայ նորա՝ սպանանել զնա որպէս զԱդամն, եւ մեռցի մահու դատապարտեալ ի սքանչելի զօրութենէ նորա:

Our most lordly One in descending from heaven and becoming man, concealed His divinity under the curtain of the body, so that Evil One would not recognize (him) quickly, but, that by seeing him in the form of Adam,

49. Literally: legislation.

50. Gen 3:16.

he would rush against him to kill him like Adam, and he would die, being condemned to death by His wonderful power.

- 18 323 . . . Յիշեաց զստեղծուածս ձեռաց իւրոց զԱդամ՝ եւ զպատկեր նմանութեան իւրոյ՝ զանկեալն ի դժոխս ներքինս.

. . . He recalled the creation of his hands, Adam, and the image of his likeness, fallen into the inner hell.

- 19 325 . . . Յեղծանել պատկերին Աստուծոյ՝ որ վասն փառացն Աստուծոյ ստեղծաւ, ընդ նմին եղծան ապականեցան եւ այլ արարածք՝ որ սակս փառաց մարդոյն ստեղծան:

When God's image that had been created for the glory of God was perishing, together with him also other creatures that were created for the glory of man perished and became corruptible.

- 20 333 Եթէ գառաջին պատիւ արարչագործութեանն ասիցես, ահա մեծ է եւ սքանչելի. վասն զի այլ արարածք հրամանաւ Աստուծոյ ստեղծան եւ դու ձեռամբ Աստուծոյ, այլ արարածք ի պատկեր գծութեան, իսկ դու ի պատկեր արարչին, այլ արարածք ի պատիւ քո եղեն՝ եւ դու ի պատիւ փառացն Աստուծոյ, այլ արարածք ի բնութիւն կապեալ կան իսկ դու անձնիշխանութեամբ արարչին քում նման ես. այլ արարածք անբանութեամբն անգարդք երեւեցան եւ տրուալք, իսկ դու բանիւ եւ իմաստութեամբ զարդարեցար եւ զպատիւն քո տիրապէս ոչ իմացար, այլ՝ անասնոց նմանեցար անբանից՝ կորուսանելով զտիրական պատիւն (քո) եւ զվեհ իմաստութիւնն. հնացար մեղօքն, ծերացար անօրէնութեամբն, դարձեալ լուծար եւ ի հող դարձար:

If you speak about the first honor of the creation, behold, it is great and wonderful. Because the other creatures were created by God's command, and you, by God's hand; other creatures in a humble image, and you, in the Creator's image; other creatures were made in your honor, and you, in the honor of God's glory; other creatures remain tied to (their) nature and you are like your Creator through (having) autonomy; other creatures appeared not adorned with reason and wretched, and you were adorned with reason and wisdom. But you did not acknowledge your honor properly, but became like irrational⁵¹ animals, by losing your lordly honor and supreme wisdom; you grew old through your sin, you became aged through your transgression, again you were dissolved and returned to dust.

51. Or: dumb.

YOVHANNĒS IMASTASĒR (SARKAWAG) C12

Text: Yovhannēs Imastasēr, Մատենադարանի *Writings*, ed. A. G. Abrahamyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956).

Մեկնութիւն տումարիս հայկազնեայ
Commentary on the Armenian Calendar

- 1 223 Եւ զի՞ ասէն ոմանք՝ թէ ի դրախտին ոչ էր տիւ եւ ոչ գիշեր, եթէ յերկրի է, ի ներքոյ արեգական է, զի՞արդ ոչ լինէր տիւ եւ գիշեր, զի յառաջ որոշեաց Աստուած գտիւ եւ զգիշեր եւ ապա զդրախտն արար: Եթէ ի վեր քան զարեգակն է դրախտն, որպէս Ռրոգինէս ասէր, ապա ոչ էր գրեալ թէ աղբեր ելանէր յԵդեմայ, այլ ի դէպ էր ասել թէ աղբիր իջանէր: Դարձեալ ասէ լուան զձայն գալոյ Տեառն Աստուծոյ ի դրախտէն ընդ երեկս:

And why do some (philosophers) say that in paradise there was neither day nor night? If it is on the earth it is below the sun; why was there not day or night? For first God separated day and night, and then made paradise. If paradise is above the sun, as Origen said, then it would not be written that a spring went out of Eden, but it would be proper to say that a spring went down. It also says that they heard the sound the Lord's coming from paradise toward evening.⁵²

- 2 232 Որ ասաց ցԱդամ. Ահա եղեր իբրեւ զմեզ: Արդ ինքն եղեւ իբրեւ զնա:

He who said to Adam, "Now you have become like us."⁵³ Now He has become like him.

Text: Yovhannēs Sarkawag, Աղօթամատոյց *Prayer Book* (Sop'erk' 17; Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1854).

Առ Աստուած հայր
To Father God

- 3 5-7 որպէս վկայ են ի ձեռն աչաց արարածք ամենայն նիւթականք եւ երեւելիք, որոց վախճան եւ կատարած զմարդն հաճեցար ստեղծանել, տուեալ նմա պատիւ բազմագունակ եւ զարմանալի. որոց առաջին եւ մեծ՝ լինել եւ անուանել պատկեր անձառելոյ բնութեանդ: Եւ ապա զնախաստեղծս քան զնա զգալի բնութիւնս

52. Cf. Gen 3:8.

53. Gen 3:22.

ի հարկի ծառա/յութեան կացուցանելով նմա, հաւատալով ի փրկութեան նմա գրգանս գորախտին գեղեցկութիւն յորում զազատութիւն եւ զինքնիշխանութիւն անձին նորա յայտնապէս ցուցանել կամելով, ականդեցեր փոքր ինչ նմա պատուիրան իբր առհաւատչեայ մեծամեծաց ի բարերար կամս քո հանդերձելոց այնմ նմա յաղթականաց յետ հանդիսին առաքինութեան: Իսկ նորա նախապատուեալ զառ կինն կամակցութիւն օձին հաւանեցելոյ, եւ որ ի նմայն եւ նովաւ խօսեցաւ, զաստուածային հրամանս քո կենդանարարս եւ սուրբս որպէս զանօգտաբերս եւ անշահս կամ ոչ ճշմարիտ՝ սպուծեալ քամահէր. եւ փոխանակ կենաց տարաժամ ճաշակմամբն իբրեւ զդեղ մահու զպտուղն ընտրեալ ընդունէր: Ի վերայ այսր ամենայնի ոչ միայն խոստովան ոչ լինէր ի հարցանել անոխակալիդ, այլ եւ զքեզ բաղբաղէր զոլ պատճառ ստահակութեանն զկնոջն տուր քո նմա յառաջ բերեալ, եւ զանիծիցն վճիռ / բռնադատեալ զբաղցր եւ զհաշտ բնութեան քո կամսդ ի գլուխ եւ յարարածս վասն ինքեան ի քէն եղեալս ընդունէր:

Just as all material and visible creatures witness through their eyes the completion and perfection of that which you were planning⁵⁴ to create, man, and to give him manifold and wonderful honors. The first and the greatest of them was to become and to be called the image of your ineffable nature. And then by establishing the necessity of the perceptible natures that were created before him to serve him, you entrusted to him the delights of salvation, the beauty of the Garden in which, desiring to demonstrate clearly his freedom and autonomy of self, you transmitted to him a certain small command as a pledge of future greater prizes to him by your beneficent will after his demonstration of virtue. But he preferred the woman's shared will with the persuasive serpent and with him (Satan) who spoke in it (i.e., in the serpent) and through it. He ignored your divine, life-giving, and holy command⁵⁵ as useless, profitless, and not true. And instead of life he chose and took the fruit, eating it untimely, as a mortal poison. Besides all this, he not only did not confess when you asked him without rancor, but also accused you of being the cause of his dishonorable behavior, pleading your giving him the woman, and forcing the decision to curse against the will of your sweet and mild nature; he received from you those things that had happened on (his) head and on created things, on account of himself.

54. Literally: designed.

55. Corrig. հրամանս.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

FRIK C13

Text: Frik, Բանաստեղծություններ *Poems*, ed. M. Mkryan and E. T'orosyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1941).

11. Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ վասն ի¹ Pronounced by the same Frik, concerning

1 70–71 Նոքա կեանք եւ
Ջանանց բարին էր յաջողեալ,
Անմահ աշխարհին էր քեզ տրւած.
Սերովբէիք պարիսպ ածեալ
Մէկ պատուիրան էր քեզ գրած:

The eternal good was thriving,
The immortal land was given to you,
Walls were made of Seraphim,
One commandment was written for you.

2 10 Կեր դու յամէն պտղոյ Ադամ,
Ջատ ի մէկէն որ չէ հրամաւ.
Երբ ի հողոյ էր գրեզ զուգել,
Դու ոնց կամիր լինել Աստուած:

Eat from every fruit, Adam,
Except one, which is not commanded [to be eaten].
When he composed you from dust,
How did you want to be God?

3 Երբ քու ստեղծողն էր խոնարհել,
15 Ոտնաձայնիւ առ քեզ եկած.
Դու յամօթոյն իր փախուցեալ,
Եւ թըզենաւն էիր ծածկած:

1. *Sic!* In the other edition by Archbishop Tiran (1952, 312), the title of this poem is Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ վասն հոգոյ “Of the same Frik, pronounced Concerning spirit.”

When your Creator came down,
 15 Came to you with his footfall,
 You fled in shame of him,
 And were hidden by a fig tree.

- 4 Տէրըն ձայնիւ առ քեզ գոչեաց,
 Ադամ, Ադամ ուր ես թաքած,
 20 Քեզ ով եղեւ առիթ բանիդ,
 Դու ոնց հանիր զպատճառն Աստուած:

The Lord called you loudly,
 Adam, Adam, where are you hidden?
 20 Who prompted you to say those words?
 How did you make God the cause?

- 5 Կինդ որ տըւիր դու իր ստեղծել,
 Այս որ համար եմ աքսորած.
 Քեզնով եղեւ երկիր պագեալ,
 25 Գիտեմ չէիր որդի մեղաց:

(Adam speaks,)

“The woman that you gave me, you created.”

“Because of her, I am expelled.”

(God speaks,)

“Through you he (i.e., Satan) became worshiped.

25 I know that you were not a son of sin,”

- 6 Դու հակառակ եղար բարին,
 Ի քո կողէդ ես դու խոցած,
 Դաւաճանիւ ես դու խաբեալ,
 Յանանց լուսոյն ես դու զըրկած:

You became opposed to good;
 You are wounded by your rib;
 You are deceived by the traitor;
 You are deprived of eternal light.

- 7 30 Գընա դու կեր հաց դատելով,
 Փուշն ու տատասկն էր քեզ բուսած.
 Քեզ յարծըւէն պիտէր լսել,
 Ձինչ կու խաւսէ ի քո դիմաց:

30 Go, eat your bread with hard labor,
 Thorns and prickles had grown for you.
 You should listen to the eagle,
 What it would say concerning you?

12 Բան պիտանի եւ լաւ ասացեալ Ֆրկանն

A Necessary and Good Word Pronounced by Frik, which is also titled: Նորին Ֆրկանն է ասացեալ. Վասն լաւ հաւատոյ Of Good Faith, Pronounced by the same Frik

- 8 81 Աստուած մարդասէրն ասաց, թէ Ադամայ համար խաչեցայ:
Զարիւնդ ի վերայ խաչին դու հեղեր Տէր վասն Ադամայ:

81 Man-loving God said, "I was crucified for Adam."
Lord, you shed your blood on the cross for Adam.

17 Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ
Pronounced by the same Frik

- 9 108 Դըժոխք շինել էր սատանայ,
Շատ մի հոգիք ժողվել ի նա.
Փրկիչն երեկ վասն Ադամայ,
Եւ ազատեաց արեամբն ըզնա:

108 Satan had made hell;
He had gathered many spirits in it.
The Savior came on account of Adam
And freed (him) through His blood.

22 Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ Բան մեկնութեան
Interpretative Poem Pronounced by the Same Frik

- 10 128 Քան զԱդամ այլ ո՞վ հարուստ, որ ունէր գորախստն առանձին.
Դեռ այն ծառըն չէր բուսել, ո՛չ պտուղն, ինչ պատուիրեցին:
25 Պտուղ մի ուտել Ադամ, որ չընկնիս ի մեծ գերութիւն.
Կերաւ, խաբեցաւ Ադամ, զօրըն լայր ի դիմաց դըրախտին:

Who was richer than Adam that alone had the Garden?
That tree had not grown yet, nor was there any fruit forbidden,
25 "Do not eat the fruit Adam, so as not to fall into great captivity."
Adam ate, he was deceived, he cried all day before the Garden.

23 Բանք գովութեան առ Աստուած Ֆրկանն ասացեալ
Words of Praise to God Spoken by Frik

- 11 131–32 Դու ի բանից ստեղծեր զամէն,
Հաստատեցաւ անօրինակ.

Քո հրամանիւ եղեն լերինք,
 Ծովք եւ ցամաք, գետք եւ վտակք.
 Թռչունք հաներ ի ջրբէն ի դուրս,
 50 Բազում ի մէջ ջրբին լողակ:

You created all by words;
 It was established unparalleled.
 By your command the mountains were,
 Seas and dry land, rivers and brooks.
 You brought forth birds from the water,
 Many swimming things in the water.

- 12 Ձանտառ մայրին բազմացուցեր,
 Որ գազանաց են աշտարակ.
 Ձդաշտ եւ զբլու<ր> զարդարեցեր,
 Որ անասնոց եղեն ճարակ:

You multiplied the forest groves,
 Which are a tower for wild beasts.
 You adorned vale and hill,
 To be pasture for animals.

- 13 55 Հողս է հաստատ ի վերայ ջրի,
 Ձեռունք սողունք աստ են բնակ.
 Ձտարերթըս չորս հաստատեցեր,
 ոչ առաւել եւ ոչ նուազակ:

55 This dust is established upon the water;
 Here creeping things and reptiles live.
 You established the four elements,
 No more and no less.

- 14 Ի սոցանէ գոյացուցեր,
 60 Բոլորովիմբ զամեն բանակ.
 Յետոյ սոցա զմարդն արարեր,
 Քեզ օրինակ եւ նմանակ:

From these you put together,
 60 Every single host.
 After these you made man,
 Your copy and likeness.

- 15 Ձամեն արեր իւրն հընազանդ,
 Ձեռակերտաց դաստիարակ.
 65 Ձարդարեցեր պըտղաբերօք,
 Ձանանց դրախտն եւ զանհասակ:

You made everything obedient to him,
Tutor of creatures.

65 You ornamented with fruit-bearers,
The Garden eternal and inconceivable.

16 Տուեր նմա ի վայելումն,
Թէ դու կացիր ի դմա յերակ.
Օձին բանիւ արտաքսեցաւ,
Մերկ անդամօք եւ խայտառակ:

You gave him (it) to enjoy,
“Stay in it as a vein!”
He was expelled by the serpent’s words,
With naked limbs and in shame.

- 17 Յանճառ լուսոյն նա զրկեցաւ,
Թափուր, յամէն փառաց դատարկ.
Անցաւորիս նա ցանկացաւ,
Օր յետ աւուրց մահն է ճաշակ:

He was deprived of the ineffable light,
Forsaken, empty of all glory.
He desired the transient things,
Day after day, he tastes death.

- 18 Երեկ այսօր եկաց հաւան,
Բանսարկուի եղև կատակ.
Եղև գերի սատանայի,
Ջորդիքն երես դիւաց մըշակ:

He came on this day, he was persuaded;
He was mocked by the Devil.
He was captured by Satan;
He gave his sons to serve the demons.

- 19 Զայն որ ի լոյսըն ճեմալու,
80 Անկաւ ի կուպրըն եռ անտակ.
Ուրախացոյց ըզԲելիար,
Փորել երես զգուբն անտակ:

He who walked in the light
Fell into the bottomless boiling pitch.
He made Belial happy,
Making him dig the bottomless pit.

- 20 Տարաւ զԱդամն եւ ըզթոռունքն,
Անդ արգիլեաց շատ ժամանակ.

Այս այլ չեղաւ Ադամայ խրրատ,
Պոռնրկեցաւ պիղծ եւ խառնակ:

He took Adam and his grandchildren
And imprisoned (them) there for a long time.
But this was not a lesson for Adam;
He fornicated impiously and corruptly.

24 Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ բան մտաւոր և հոգեշահ
Յաղագս արարչութեան ամենայն կենդանեաց
A Useful and Profitable Word Pronounced by Frik on the Creation
of All Animals

- 21 141—43 Աստուծոյ զօրութիւն եւ կեանք օրինեալ է,
Զարարածս յոչընչէ թէ ոնց գոյացել:

God's power and life are blessed,
How he created creatures from nothing.

- 22 Ի հըրոյ, ի լուսոյ հրեշտակք է ստեղծել,
Պարունակ աթոռոյն է շրջափակել:

He created angels from fire, from light,
To surround the circuit of his throne.²

- 23 15 Հրամանաւ ըզհողոյ երեսն է բացել,
Ի հըրոյ 'ւ ի ջըրոյ լերինք եռացել:

15 He opened by his command the face of the earth;
He erected³ mountains of fire and water.

- 24 Յամաքին ամրութեան բեւեռ է դրել,
Ի լերանց է զաղբիւրք եւ զգետքըն բըղխել:

He set the steadfast nail of the dry land;
He made the springs and rivers arise from the mountains.

- 25 Զինչ ի տիկ ըզծովու ջուրըն ժողովել,
20 Սահմանիւ զամեն է ամրացուցել:

He has gathered the water of the sea as in a skin;
He has fortified it all with a boundary.

- 26 Մեծամեծ կենդանիք ի ջուրն է դրել,
Ի ջըրոյն թեւաւորք յօղըն թըռուցել:

2. I.e., with the angels, cf. Ps 104:4 = Arm 103:4.

3. Literally: boiled.

He put very great animals into the water;
He made the winged creatures fly from the water into the air.

- 27 Ի հողոյ 'ւ ի ջրոյ ըզբուսքն է հանել,
Ջանասուն ու զգազանք յերկիր սընուցել:

He brought forth the plants from the earth and water,
To nurture animals and beasts on the earth.

- 28 25 Տարերօք զամէն ողորդ կառուցել,
Յետ այսոցս ամէն զմարդն արարել:

25 He correctly built everything from the elements;
After all these he made man.

- 29 Արարչին քաղցրութիւն եւ փառքն օրհնել,
Թէ հողոյն ինչ գօհար պատկեր յօրինել:

The Creator's mercy and glory should be blessed,
That composed such a precious image from dust.

- 30 Եօթնարփեան շընորիօք ըզմարդն լըցել,
30 Հանց հոգի եւ իմացք ու միտք է տուել:

He filled the man with the seven lights of grace;
30 He gave him as spirit, both understanding and mind.

- 31 Ձորախտըն եղեմ յարեւելս մարդոյն է տուել,
Գեղեցիկ մըրգաբերք ի նա է տընկել:

He gave the Garden of Eden in the east to man;
He planted beautiful fruit-bearers in it.

- 32 Զինչ գեղունք կանայք է ստեղծել,
Աշխարհի շինութեան պատճառ հըրամել:

He created women for fertility,
Made them the cause of the prosperity of the world.

- 33 35 Գոյնըզգոյն հանդերձիւ զինքըն պըճընել,
Ջանազան պըտըղով զինքըն ճաշակել:

35 He adorned her with colored clothes;
He fed her with various fruit.

- 34 Ջարեգակն ու զլուսինըն ճորտ է տըվել,
Ի ցերեկն աշխարհ ի վայելք է զուգել:

He gave the sun and the moon as servants;
He composed the world for enjoyment during the day.

- 35 Ըզգիշերն քրնոյ հանգիստ հրամայել
40 Նաւելով ըզմարդիկ ի ծովն իջուցել:
He ordained sleep's rest for the night,
Bringing down men to the sea in ships.
- 36 Ձմարդ եղելոց իշխան կացուցել,
Ձանասուն ու զազանք ու զդէք է կապել:
He made man the ruler of the beings;
He bound⁴ the animals, beasts and demons.
- 37 Հանճարով զամէն ի ձեռն է տըւել,
Հանց տաճիկ ձիանով է բարձրացուցել:
He prudently gave everything into his hands;
He raised him up as an Arab on a steed.

26 Ֆրկանն Ասացուածք տնօրէնութեան փրկչին Words of Frik on the Economy of the Savior

- 38 150–51 Արարեր ըզհրէշտական ի հուր 'ւ ի հոգի,
Քեզ երկինք եւ երկիր աթոռ կու լինի:
You have made the angels of fire and spirit;⁵
The heavens and the earth are your throne,⁶
- 39 10 Դու ստեղծեր ըզդականն որ ոչ խափանի,
Քո բանի չորս տարերքս ուղորդ կու վարի:
10 You have created fate that does not fail;
The four elements act correctly by your word.
- 40 Ձարեգակն ես կշռել դրել դու վեցի,
Որ մոլար աստեղօք երկիր սընանի:
You have examined⁷ and put the sun in the sixth place;⁸
It nurtures the earth with planets.
- 41 Ի հողոյ 'ւ ի ջրոյ ծընան շընչելի,
15 Ի յեղեմ տնկեցեր գորախտըն բարի:

4. I.e., in obedience to man.

5. Ps 104:4 = Arm 103:4.

6. Isa 66:1.

7. Literally: weighed.

8. I.e., of the seven moving stars.

Breathing things were born of the earth and water;
15 You planted a good Garden in Eden.

- 42 Թագաւոր զուգեցիր զմարդն ամենի,
Երբ չեկաց մարդն ի պատուիրանի:

You made the man king of all,
But the man did not observe the commandment.

- 43 Ոնց հաներ ի դրախտէն եղև նա գերի
Եւ թողեր վեց դարիւ ի խոր խաւարի:

As you expelled him from paradise, he became captive,
And you left him for six eons in deep darkness.

33 Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ Pronounced by the Same Frik.

- 44 180–83 Զհրեշտակն արար ի լուսոյ,
’Ի ի հոգոյ անմահ միաբար,
Շինեց գերկինքըն կամար
25 Եւ զծով ու ցամաք հետ յիրար

He made the angels of light
And simultaneously of immortal spirit.
He made the heavens a vault,
25 And the sea and the earth one after the other.

- 45 Արար զարեւն եւ զլուսինն,
Եօթն աստեղ ի հետըն մոլար
Զտարերք ու զչորս բնութիւնս
Կշռով զուգեց միաբար:

He made the sun and the moon,
And after that the seven planets.
He composed by singular weight
The four elements and substances.

- 46 30 Զդական եղիր տանուտեր,
Որ պահէ զամէն ի դադար,
Զըկունք, թռչունք եւ սողունք
Անասունք ամէն հաւասար:

30 He set fate as a master
That keeps all in order.⁹

9. Literally: in cessation, quietude.

(He created) fish, birds and creeping things,
Animals—all equal.

- 47 Շինեաց դրախտ ի յեդեմ
35 Եւ տընկեց զծառըն գերերար
Չամէնն ստեղծեաց ի վեց օրն
Եւ արար մըտօք նա հանճար:

He made a Garden in Eden,
35 And planted the captivating tree.
He created all in six days,
And did this with prudent mind.

- 48 Խաղաղութիւն առաքեաց Տէր,
ողորմութիւն իւր յաշխարհ.
40 Յառաջ մինչ դեռ չէր եղեր
Այս ամեն գրութիւն ի համար:

The Lord sent peace,
His mercy into the world,
40 Before there had existed
All these writings about him.

- 49 Երրորդական միութիւն
Արարին խորհուրդ եւ հընար,
Եկայք, որ մարդ արասցուք
45 Մեզ նըման պատկեր մի գօհար:

The threefold Union
Conceived an idea and strategy,
“Come, let us make man,
45 A precious image like unto us.”¹⁰

- 50 Դարձեալ եղև հըրաման.
Ո՛չ տանի պատուէր, գայ ի ծայր.
Որդիդ եղեր հընազանդ
Եւ խոնարհութիւն կամեցար:

Again, there was a commandment;
The order was not obeyed but came to an end.
O, Son, you were obedient,
And you wished humility.

- 51 50 Ասացեր թէ զմեղս Ադամայ
Ես քաւեմ, զի մարդ է տըկար.

10. Gen 1:26.

Ի հողէն, ջրէն , կրակէն
 Ի ի քամոյն զուգեցեր կաղապար:

50 You said, "I shall expiate
 Adam's sin, for he is a weak man."
 You composed a model
 Of earth, water, fire, and wind.

- 52 Պատկերակից ու նըման
 55 Իւր ձեռօքն արար՝ դու եղար.
 Փըչեաց զշունչն ՚ւ երեստ հոգի
 Եւ կընքեաց որ կենադանացար:

He made with His hands, one
 55 Sharing His image and likeness, it was you.
 He breathed in the breath and gave (you) spirit,
 And He sealed (you) so that you would come to life.

- 53 Կազմեց ու եղիր ի դրախտն
 Ջանազան փառաց տիրացար.
 60 Ջաչերդ ի յետ դու բացիր,
 Ինքնաբոյս դու քեզ թըվեցար:

He formed and put (you) in paradise,
 You possessed various kinds of glory.
 60 Then you opened your eyes;
 You seemed self-created to yourself.

- 54 Ասցեր, թէ մէն կու կենամ,
 Ի դրախտին ընկեր կամեցար.
 Երեստ քեզ քուն թըմբրութեան
 65 Ի ի կողեղ ետ կին քեզ համար:

You said, "I am living alone";
 You wished to have a companion in the Garden.
 He caused a deep sleep to (fall upon) you
 65 And gave you a woman from your rib.

- 55 Դու իր ՚ւ Եւա միաւոր,
 Ի դրախտըն այլոք մի չըկայր.
 Աստուած միշտ եւ հանապազ
 Ի տեսոյդ ձեր ուրախանայր:

You and Eve were alone;
 There was nobody else in paradise.
 Always and continuously God
 Rejoiced at the sight of you.

- 56 70 Պըտուդն որ պատուիրեցաւ,
Մի ուտել Ադամ, նախահայր,
Չարիք մըտիկ դըրախտին,
Ի պըտուդն ի կեր դու եղար:

70 The fruit about which was commanded,
“Eat not, forefather Adam,”
You did not consider paradise,
You ate of the fruit.

- 57 Դառն ճըչեր եւ ասէր
75 Մի մօտիկ, թէ չէ՛ գերեցար.
Դրախտին անմահութիւն
Ու բարիքն ամէն քեզ համար:

He cried out bitterly and said,
75 “Do not approach, or else you will be captive.
The immortality of paradise,
And (its) good things are all for you.”

- 58 Ասաց թէ կեր յամէնէն
Բայց մէկէն ուտել քեզ չըկայր.
80 Ադամ, ընդէր լուծեցեր
Եւ հանդարտութեամբ դու կերար:

He said, “Eat of every (tree),
But of one you should not eat.”
Adam, why did you transgress,
And (why did) you calmly eat?

- 59 Դու մարգարէ իր փառաւոր,
59 Ի վերին դասուցն իր ի յար.
Կընոջ դաւաճանութեամբ
85 Եւ օձի բանիւ խաբեցար:

You were a glorious prophet,
Close to the supernal ranks.
By a woman’s treachery you were deceived
85 And by the serpent’s words.

- 60 Դու հող ու մոխիր էիր,
Ո՛նց աստուածութեան ցանկացար.
Պատճառ դու Եւա դըրիք
’Ի ի յանանց լուսոյն զատացար:

You were dust and ashes,
How did you desire divinity?

You accused Eve
And you were separated from eternal light.

- 61 90 Թէ ո՞նց խաբէց սատանայ
Եւ կամ ուր տարաւ Բելիար.
Երբ տէրըն երեկ ի դրրախտն,
Քեզ խնդիր եւ քեզ ձայն արար:

90 How did Satan deceive (you)?
Or where did Belial lead (you)?
When the Lord came to paradise,
He sought and called you.

- 62 Դու է՞ր չանկար ի յուր յոտին
95 Ի ասացեր թէ իմ բարերար.
Ես հող ու մոխիր էի,
Ի՞նչ գիտի, թէ հանց լինենայր:

Why did not you fall to his feet?
And did not say, "My benefactor,
I was dust and ashes,
Could I know it would be thus?"

- 63 Նա չէր հանել ու վարել
Իւր ձեռացն ի վեր կայր ու գայր.
100 Դու մարդ էիր ի պատիւ
Ու գաղղոր պատիւըն չիմացար:

He would not have expelled or led (you) out,
He would have understood (the work of) his hands and come.
100 You, man, were in honor,
And you did not understand that honor.

- 64 Նըմանեցար անբանից
Ի անասնոց հետըն վարեցար.
Ադամ լալով կու աւէ
105 Ստեղծողին. այ իմ դեղ ու ճար:

You became like the non-rational,¹¹
And you followed the animals.
Adam crying says
105 To the Creator, "Woe to me, O my medicine and remedy."

- 65 Զպըտուղն ես դեռ չի կերեր,
Զինչ յառաջ դու հոր խոստացար.

11. Or: dumb, i.e., animals.

Դու է՞ր անկար ի կարիք
 Դ ի կուսէն մարմին ըզգեցար:

I had not yet eaten the fruit,
 When you had already promised the Father.
 Why did you descend into need,
 And put on flesh through the Virgin?"

Փոփոխականեր

Variants

1. Բարսղի ումեմն մարդոյ կոիւ եղեալ ընդ Աստուծոյ կու
 մեղադրէ եւ յետոյ
 Of a Certain Man Barseł, Having Undertaken a Debate with God,
 Accuses and Subsequently . . .

11 240 Գեթ մեկ Ադամ էր ի դրախտի,
 Եւ մեկ Եւայ իւր նմանի,
 Եւ մի բարբառ Եբրայեցի
 Մինչեւ կերեալ պտղոյ ծառի:
 There was only one Adam in the Garden,
 And one Eve like him.
 And one Hebrew language,
 Until they ate the fruit of the tree.

67 15 Ամ այս է բան հիանալի
 Եւ առաւել զարմանալի.
 Որ մեկ յԱդամ եւ յԵւայի
 Թէ քանի՞ ազգեր ծնան յերկրի:
 Now, this is an amazing thing,
 And even more wondrous.
 That from one Adam and Eve
 So many nations were born in the world!

Text: Ֆրիկի Դիւան *Poetry of Frik*, ed. Archbishop Tirayr (New York:
 Armenian General Benevolent Union, 1952).

257 Ֆրիկ: Աղաչանք առ Տէր Յիսուս Քրիստոս Frik:
 Supplication to Lord Jesus Christ

68 Յիսուսի անուն յիս գթացար, զինչ ըստեղծեցեր գնախնին Ադամ,
 Երբ ծընայ ու զգաւնացայ յիշեմ ըզՔո գութն ու դողամ:

«Մի՛ ուտեր» պատուիրեցեր Քո հրամանիդ ես ոչ անսամ,
Մերկացայ յանճառ լուսոյն, վասն այն զարեան գետըն կու լամ:

Name of Jesus, You pitied me, just as you created the first Adam,
When I was born and grew clever, I remember your pity, and tremble,
“Do not eat!” you commanded; and I did not obey your order;
I was stripped of the ineffable light, therefore I weep a river of blood.

GRIGOR AKNERC՝I C13

Text: Grigor Aknerc՝i, Պատմութիւն վասն ազգին նետողաց *History of the Nation of the Archers*, ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1974).

Another edition, together with translation and a study is the following:

R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, “Grigor of Akanc՝i, ‘The History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols)’: the Armenian Text edited with an English Translation and Notes.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1949): 269–400.¹² The translation here is my own.

- 1 1 Յետ ելանելոյ աստուածաստեղծ մարդոյն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն, եւ պատուիրելոյ Տեառն Աստուծոյ քրտնաջան աշխատութեամբ ուտել հաց զամենայն աւուրս իւր, յաղագս խաբման կնոջն եւ դաւաճանութեան պիղծ աւձին, վասն մոռանալոյ զգեղեցիկ պատուիրանն Աստուծոյ: Ապա յայնմհետեւ կարաւտացաւ բնութիւն մարդոյն հեշտութեան եւ մարմնական զբաղմանց: Իսկ բանսարկուն սատանայ, վասն չար նախանձու իւրոյ, հանապազ ուսուցանէր զմարդիկ գործել զանարժանս. որպէս Կայէնի զեղբայր{ա} սպանութիւնն, եւ անաւրէն հսկայիցն զյարանալն ի մեղս, եւ ուտել զմեռելոտիսն:

1 After the divinely created man, Adam, had gone forth from the Garden, the Lord God commanded that he eat bread all of his days with most fatiguing labor on account of the deceit of the woman and the betrayal of the abominable serpent, because he was unmindful of the beautiful commandment of God. Then, thenceforth, the nature of man yearned for joy and bodily distraction. But the Devil, Satan, on account of his evil envy, continually taught men to do unfitting things, such as the fratricide of Cain and the sinful debauchery of the giants and their eating of corpses.

12. The same number of the journal contains F.W. Cleaves, “The Mongolian Names and Terms in the History of the Nation of the Archers by Grigor of Akanc՝i,” 400–443.

KIRAKOS GANJAKEC'Ī C13

Text: Kirakos Ganjakec'Ī, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of Armenia*, ed. K. Melik'-Ohanjanean (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1961).

- 1 5 In talking of Eusebius of Caesarea, he says:

Որպէս մեծն Եւսեբիոս զերկուս գիրսն եթող՝ զՔրովնիկոնն, սկսեալ ի նախնոյն Սդամայ, զխժական անուանս նահապետացն, զոր գրեցին արտաքինքն՝ համեմատելով ընդ աստուածայնոց արանց պատմութիւնս:

As the great Eusebius left two writings, the Chronicle starting from the fore-father Adam, barbarous names of the ancestors, which the external writers wrote, comparing them with the histories of divine men.

STEP'ANOS ŌRBELEAN C13

Text: Step'anos Ōrbelean, Պատմութիւն տանն Սիսական *History of the House of Sisakan*, ed. M. Emin (Moscow: Lazarean Institute Press, 1861).

- 1 2–3 Եւ արդ ստեղծ Աստուած զմարդն ամենայնիւ նման ինքեան, եւ եղ զերիս զայս ի նմա, որով կարող գոյ ամենայնիւ նմանիլ Աստուծոյ, այս է զարարչութիւնն, զսէրն, զխոհականութիւնն, որ է բանականութիւն - զարարչութիւնն, որով արարչակից լինի ստեղծողին. զսէրն, որով միշտ բաղձայ ցանկալոյն, եւ հանապազ ջանայ հասանել եւ վայելել ի նմին. զխոհականութիւնն, որով որոշի յանբանից եւ կարող գոյ խորհել եւ ընտրել զպիտանին եւ զանպիտանն, զվնասակարն եւ զօգուտն. եւ ուսմամբ եւ ջանիւ ի կատարեալն հասանել հասակ: Եւ թէ որպէս լինի արարչակից, վարդապետք ուսմամբ զտհաս ոգիսն առնեն այր կատարեալ. քահանայք զախտի ծնունդս անախտ, եւ զմարդիկ՝ Աստուած. իսկ արհեստաւորք գոյացուցանեն յանպատշաճ իրաց զպատշաճաւոր եւ զպիտանի. որպէս հիւսուիք ի մայրից սեղան եւ աթոռ, / կարուակք յօդեաց կօշիկ եւ զգեստ. դարբինք ի քարանց երկաթ, եւ յերկաթոյ սուսեր եւ այլ ինչ գործիք -- Ահա այսոքիւք նմանին մարդիկ Աստուծոյ եւ արարչակից կոչին:

Now God created the man like himself in everything, and put these three things into him, by which he could be like God in everything, i.e., creativity, love, and wisdom, that is, reason. As to creative power, by which he is the collaborator of the Creator in creation; as to love, by which he always longs for the desirable and continually strives to achieve and to enjoy it; as to wisdom, by which he is distinguished from irrational¹³ (animals) and is able to

13. Or: dumb.

think and to distinguish the useful and useless, the harmful and profitable and to reach perfect stature by learning and striving. And how does he collaborate in creation? Teachers make perfect men of immature souls through learning; priests make the offspring of vice pure, and men—God.¹⁴ Craftsmen, moreover, bring proper and useful things into being from the improper, as carpenters (make) tables and chairs of wood, leatherworkers (make) shoes and clothes of sheepskin, blacksmiths (make) iron from stones and swords and other tools from iron. Behold, in these things men are like God and are called collaborators in creation.

Text: Step'anos Ōrbelean, Ողբք եւ հառաչանք ի դիմաց մօրս մեր սրբոյ աթոռոյն Էջմիածնի *Elegy and Prayer before our Mother, the Holy See of Ējmiacin* (Calcutta: Araratean & Co Press, 1846).

A critical text and translation may be found in Avedis K. Sanjian "Step'anos Orbelian's 'Elegy on the Holy Cathedral of Etchmiadzin,'" in *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1976), 237–82.

Յիշատակարան Colophon

- 2 30 Երկնաբառակ՝ տանն Սիւնի
Որ անմարմնոցն է սրիսրալի:
Բոլոր բնաւից՝ ըստ բաղձալի.
Որպէս դրախտն՝ Ադէնայի:

Of the heavenly house of Siwnik՝
Which is wonderful to the incorporeal ones,
Desired by all,
Like the Edenic Garden.

Text: Step'anos Siwnec՛i [Ōrbelean], Հակաճառութիւն ընդդէմ երկաբնակաց *Disputation against the Dyophysites* (Constantinople: Astucatur Press, 1756). This work is sometimes wrongly attributed to Step'anos Siwnec՛i C8.

- 3 62 Եւ որպէս առաջին կինն ի կողից առաջին մարդոյն առա՛ւ այնպէս
եւ եկեղեցի ի կողից երկրորդն Ադամայ սկսաւ:

And as the first woman was taken from the rib of the first man, likewise the church started from the ribs of the second Adam.

14. I.e., godlike.

- 4 94 Նաւակատեացս խորհուրդ, նախ ի դրախտին աւանդեցաւ մեզ զի հրամայեցաւ յամենայն ծառոց դրախտին ուտել բաց ի միոյն: Որպէս հրամայեցաւ եւ մեզ յայսմ աւուր յամենայն կերակրոց ուտել բաց ի մսոյ:

The mystery of the consecration was first conveyed to us in paradise, for it was commanded to eat of every tree of paradise except one. Likewise, we were commanded to eat of every food on this day except meat.

- 5 94–95 ինամ տարաւ արարիչն իւրում պատկերին՝ զի մի փոյթընդփոյթ ի կատարեալն հասեալ փառս՝ նման բանսարկուին / ընդվզեալ հպարտացի եւ անկցի:

The Creator took care of his image, so that it would not, reaching too zealously, perfect glory, rebel like the Devil, grow arrogant and fall.

- 6 95 Եւ զի Ադամայ ասացաւ յայլոցն ուտել՝ եւ ի միոյն պահել. արդ եթէ խստութեամբ եւ զայլսն ընդ միոյ պահեալ էր պատուիրանազանց էր. եւ թէ զմինն ընդ այլոցն կերեալ՝ նոյն պատուիրանազանց:

Because Adam was told to eat of other (trees) and to abstain from one; now if he abstained rigorously from the others alongside the one, he would be a transgressor, and if he ate the one alongside the others, in the same way he would be a transgressor.

- 7 106–7 Իսկ զԱստուածածնին նաւակատիսն առնենք, թէ որպէս ի ձեռն Եւայի զմահ եւ զգերութիւն ժառանգեցաք, այժմ ի ձեռն դստերն նորա՝ զանմահութիւն եւ զազատութիւն եւ զդրախտին կեանս ընկալաք:

And we celebrate the feast of the Mother of God, for as we inherited death and captivity through Eve, now through her daughter we have received immortality and liberty and the life of the Garden.

VAHRAM RABUNI C13

Text: Vahram Rabuni, Լուծմունք «Ստորոգութեանցն» Արիստոտէլի *Commentary on Aristotle's "Categories,"* ed. G. Grigorean (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1967).

- 1 32 Երբ լինի անհատն՝ լինի տեսակն եւ սեռն, որպէս Ադամ անհատ եղել եւ ապա ի նմանէ՝ տեսակ եւ սեռ:

When the individual exists, there exist (also) the species and genus, as Adam was an individual, and from him there (derived) his species and genus.

Text: Grigor Narekac'i and Vahram vardapet, Ճառք եւ խոստովանութիւնք

հաւատոյ *Homilies and Confessions of Faith* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1856), 115–216.

Vahram Rabuni, Խոստովանութիւն հաւատոյ Confession of Faith

- 2 138 Զի ահա Եւա յԱդամայ է՝ այլ ի կողէ, եւ Աբել յորովայնէ Ադամայ, սակայն մի են բնութիւն նոքա եւ Ադամ՝ յորմէ նոքին եւ ոչ եղբարք միմեանց Եւա եւ Աբել, թէպէտ ի միոյ պատճառէ էին յԱդամայ. որպէս եւ ոչ որդի եւ հոգի եղբարք պատճառք մի իմն ունելով զհայր:

For, behold, Eve is from Adam, but from his rib; and Abel is from Adam's belly, but they and Adam, from whom they (descend), are one in nature; yet Eve and Abel are not brothers of one another, though they were of one origin, from Adam. Likewise the Son and the Spirit are not brothers, (though) being of one origin, the Father.

Ի մարդեղութիւն Քրիստոսի On the Incarnation of Christ

- 3 191–93 Փայտիւ մեղաւ առաջինն Ադամ. ի փայտի բարձրացաւ երկրորդն Ադամ՝ շնորհելով ամենեցուն զփայտ փրկութեան եւ կենդանութեան: Պտղոյն ճաշակմամբ ի պատուոյ անտի պատրեալն ի նախնումն անկաւ. լեղոյն ճաշակմամբ կենարարին էառ զճաշակ անմահութեան պտղոյն վերստին: Կողածնաւն կործանեցաւ նախնին մարդ. յանարատ կողս իւր ընկալաւ զվերս Որդին Հօր միածին, որ էառ ի տանէն Ադամայ զմարմին, զի յազնուականութիւնն կանգնեցէ դարձեալ զանկեալսն յառաջինն:

The first Adam sinned by the tree, the second Adam was raised on the cross, granting to all the wood of salvation and life. The one, deceived in the beginning by eating the fruit, fell; through the Redeemer's tasting the bile, he (Adam) received again the taste of the fruit of immortality. The first man perished because of the one made from the rib, the Only Begotten Son of the Father received wounds to his immaculate ribs, he who received body from Adam's house, in order to restore the first fallen to their nobility.

- 4 Ընթացաւ առաջնաստեղծն ի ծառն կթել ձեռքն զպտուղն մահածին. տարածեաց զձեռս իւր ի խաչին եւ բեւեռմամբ ոտին որ եղեւ ի զաւակէ նորին մարմին, արձակեաց ի կապանաց զիւրն պատկեր, եւ ըստ մարդն գոլոյ զիւր նախնին: Եհան յայնժամ զԱդամ յադենայ, եմոյծ այժմ ի դրախտ անդր զգոլ որդի նորա ընդ նորա: Անէծս եղ ի

վերայ մեղանչականին Ադամայ. յինքն ընկալաւ զա/նէծս վասն նորա, զի այնու օրհնեցել յօրհնութիւնս հոգեւորս զծնունդս նորա:

The first-created (man) ran to the tree to pick the mortal fruit with his hands; (the Son) stretched his arms on the cross with his foot nailed, he who became body from his, (Adam's) seed. He released his image from the bonds and, according to his being a man, his ancestor. Then he had expelled Adam from Eden; now he introduced Him into the Garden, who was his son, to be with him. He imposed the curse upon the sinful Adam; he, (the Son) accepted the curse upon himself for his sake, so that by that he might bless his (Adam's) offspring with spiritual blessings.

- 5 Ի փուշ դատապարտեաց զփշաբեր ախտից վանողն, զնոյն փուշ եբարձ յաստուածային գլուխն, զի մեզ բոլորեցի պսակ հոգեւոր ի քարանց պատուականաց եւ յիմանալեաց: Զքիրտն երեսաց վճռեաց ի յամօթոյ սղալման քիրտն զգեստեալն, քրտունքն ոլոռն ոլոռն իջանէին ի նմանէ, զի զքիրտն մեղացն ջնջեցել կենդանական շնչամբն որ յինքենէ: Մերկացաւ՝ որ յանցեալն յետ ճաշակմանն, որ եւ զթզնւոյն ծածկոյթ ինքեան սփածաւ. մերկացաւ լոյս փառացն Հօր յատեանն Պիղատոսի, եւ զգեցաւ զքղամիթն նախատանաց, զի մեզ զգեցուցել զանապականութեան զգեստ եւ զանմահութեան:

He (God) condemned to thorns the conqueror of thorny sufferings. He raised the same thorns to the divine head, in order to crown us with a spiritual crown of precious and intelligible stones. The sweat of His face released from shame the one who had put on the sweat (of the transgression); the sweat dripped down from him drop by drop, so that he could abolish the sweat of the sin by the redemptive breath that is from himself. He who sinned became naked after eating, who put on a fig leaf to gird himself. The Light of his Father's glory was stripped naked in Pilate's tribunal, and put on the chlamys of dishonor, in order to dress us with the clothing of incorruption and immortality.

- 6 Մեռաւ Ադամ ըստ անհրաժեշտ հրամանին. ի մահուան իւրում միշտ կենդանին ցօղեաց ի վերայ նորին զարին իւր զաստուածային, կենդանութիւն շնորհելով նորին. զի կենդանութիւն ամենայն մար/մնոյ զարինն իւր ասաց առ օրէնս հինս: Հուր վառեցաւ յԵւայէ ընդ բովանդակ ծագս աշխարհի, ջուր եւ ի կողից Փրկչին եւ շիջոյց զբոց ցաւազին ախտին:

Adam died by the irrevocable command; in His death, He who lives forever sprinkled His divine blood upon him, granting him life; for according to the old Law, he said that his blood (is) the life of every body.¹⁵ Fire was kindled

15. See Gen 9:4; Lev 17:11; Deut 12:23.

by Eve through all the ends of the world; water came out of the Savior's side and extinguished the flame of the painful suffering.

Text: Vahram Rabuni, Վերլուծութիւն բանին Եսայեայ “Commentary on Isaiah,” *Ararat* no. 10 (1868): 137–41; no. 12 (1868): 165–69; no. 1 (1869): 8–9; no. 2 (1869) 36–39; no. 3 (1869) 49–52; no. 4 (1869) 72–78; no. 5 (1869) 97–101.

- 7 1869, 37 . . . տեսցուք, թէ յորմէ՞ հետէ, կամ զիարդ ի մարդիկ սկսաւ թագաւորութիւնն:

. . . Let us see, after what and why did the kingdom begin among men.

- 8 1869 38 . . . ընդ հովուացն գշովին քաջ՝ որ . . . թափեաց ի բերանոյ անուանեալն առիւծու զբլթակ ունկան նախամաւրն չարաչար լսելութեամբ եւ զաքեացս երկուս նախահաւրն անպատշաճաբար ի ծառն ընթացողութեան:

. . . The good shepherd among shepherds who . . . released from the mouth of the so-called lion the lobe of the foremother's ear, (whereby she had) listened to evil, and the forefather's two legs, (whereby he) moved improperly towards the tree.¹⁶

Սկիզբն մարդկան թագաւորութեան The Beginning of Men's Kingdom

- 9 1869, 2, 37 Ի սկիզբն մարդկութեանս շնորհեցաւ նմա այս պատիւ. զի արար Աստուած զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր. «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա. եւ արքինեալ զնա, ասաց. իշխեցէք ձկանց ծովու եւ թռչնոց եւ անասնոց, ամենայնի որ ի վերայ երկրի»։ Եւ այսպէս թագաւոր կացոյց նա երեւելի արարածոցս. թագաւորութեամբ իւրով հնազանդեալ . . . այլ քանզի նա ի պատուի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ. անհնազանդ եղեալ Արարչին իւրոյ, անկաւ ընդ հնազանդութեամբ որոյ իշխէրն, զորս եւ պաշտեաց իսկ զարարածս եւ ոչ զԱրարիչն. եւ մարմին լինելովն զրկեցաւ ի շնորհաց հոգւոյն, պաշտաւնեայ եղեալ մեղացն, ծառայեաց նոցին:

In the beginning of mankind, this honor was granted, that God made the man in his image, “According to the image of God He made him. . . . And he blessed them, and said: Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl, and over the animals, all that is upon the earth.”¹⁷ And thus he made him king over visible creatures, being obedient by his kingship. . . . But as

16. Amos 3:12.

17. Gen 1:26–29.

he was in honor and did not realize that, having disobeyed his Creator, he fell into subjection to those over whom he reigned; and he worshiped the creatures and not the Creator, and being a body, was deprived of the gifts of the spirit; having become minister to sins, he served them.

VANAKAN *VARDAPET* C13

Text: Vanakan *vardapet*, Յաղագս տարեմսին *“Concerning the New Year,”* ed. L. Xač’ikyan, *Gitakan nyut’eri žolovac*¹⁸ 1 (1941): 151–69.

- 1 159 Իսկ ահա անուն ամսոյդ՝ են որ ի նախնեացն յանւանէ, եւ են որ յեղանակացդ եւ են որ ի դիցն. քանզի Եբրայեցիք եւ Մակեդոնացիք զաւել աւուրքն դնեն սկիզբն տարոյն, եւ ասեն՝ աւր առաջին եւ երկրորդ եւ երրորդ եւ չորրորդ եւ հինգերորդ եւ վեցերորդ մուտն Նիսան ամսոյ, որ թարգմանի կազմութիւն՝ զի ի հողոյ կազմեաց զԱդամ: Զնոյն եւ յայտ առնէ արն, զի ուրբաթ ասի, որ է կազմութիւն. ասի եւ բաւթ այսինքն սուգ եւ տրտմութիւն, վասն ելանելոյն ի դրախտէն եւ լսելոյն, թէ «հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս»:

And some of the names of the months are those which (derive) from the names of the ancestors, some from the seasons and some from gods. For the Hebrews and the Macedonians put additional days at the beginning of the year and say, “The first day and the second and the third and the fourth and the fifth and the sixth (are) the entry into of the month Nisan,” which is translated “formation,” for He formed Adam of dust. The day manifests the same, for it is called “urbat” (Friday), that is “formation.” It is called also “bawt” (sorrowful news), which means grief and sorrow, due to being expelled from paradise and hearing, “dust you were, and unto dust shall you return.”¹⁹

Text: Vanakan *vardapet*, Պատճառ առաջաւորաց պահոց *“Concerning the Arafawor Fast,”* ed. L. M. Melik’set’-Bek, *Ējmiacin*, no. 6 (1959): 35–44.

- 2 41–42 Երանելի Բարսեղ ասէ, թէ «Պաիք նախ ի դրախտին օրինադրեցաւ եւ հասակակից է նախահօրն Ադամայ: Պահոց պատուիրանն եղ չուտել ի ծառոյն գիտութեան, զոր ոչ պահեաց, զողացեալ հեշտութեամբ եւ մերկացեալ անկաւ ի հաւասարութիւն անասնոց եւ ի համարս մեռելոց»: Արդ, այս պահս այնմ պահոցն հաւաստեցաւ յառաջնորդացն մերոց, զի զոր ոչ պահելովն արտաքս անկաք ի դրախտէն եւ կորուսաք զփառսն. թերեւս պահելովն այսրէն

18. This journal was later renamed *Banber Matenadarani*.

19. Gen 3:19. This is actually the old Armenian reckoning; see Stone 1988, 5–12. The “etymologies” bear no resemblance to reality.

առցուք զնա: Եւ զի Ե զգայութեամբն մեղաւ Ադամ, Ե-օրեայ պահօրս սրբեցուք զգայութիւնս մեր:

Այս է առաջին պահք: Եւ յորժամ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն, ասէն թէ մահու մնալով Ադամայ ոչ կամէր ուտել ինչ: Եւ զկնի Ե աւուր զթացեալ Աստուած ողորմեցաւ եւ հրամայեաց հրեշտակի իւրոյ մխիթարել զնա եւ խոստանալ նմա զառաքումն Միածնին եւ մարմնանալ Բանին Աստուծոյ վասն փր/կութեան նորա. եւ հրամայէ ուտել ի պտղոյ աշխարհին: Զայս խոստումն յիշեցուցանէ Դաւիթ ի դիմաց Ադամայ ասելով. «Յիշեա՛ զբան ծառայի քո, յոր եւ յուսացուցեր զիս» (Սղմս. ԶԺԸ. 49): Դարձեալ Ե աւուրք յառաջ քան զլինելութիւն մարդոյն արարչագործեցան արարածք եւ ապա յետ Ե աւուր ստեղծ Ադամ:

The blessed Basil (Barsel) says that “the fast was first ordained in the Garden and is coeval with the forefather Adam. (God) gave the commandment of fasting, not to eat of the tree of knowledge, which he did not observe; being captured by voluptuousness and having been stripped, he fell to a level of animals and to the number of the dead.” Now this fast was confirmed by the fasting of those who preceded us;²⁰ since, not observing the fast, we fell outside of the Garden and lost the glory; perhaps by observing the fast, by this we might receive it (back). And since Adam sinned with his five senses, we shall clean our senses with this five-days-long fasting.

The first fast is the following. When²¹ Adam came out of paradise, they say that, expecting death, Adam did not wish to eat anything. And after five days, God had pity and mercy and ordered his angel to console him and to promise him the sending of the Only Begotten and the incarnation of the Word God for the sake of his salvation. And he ordered him to eat of the fruit of the land. David recalled this promise before Adam, saying, “Remember the word to your servant, upon which you have caused me to hope.”²² Again in the five days before the creation of man, the creatures were created and then after five days, He created Adam.

VARDAN AREWELC‘I C13

Text: Vardan Arewelc‘i, *Աշխարհացոյց Geography*, ed. H. Perperean (Bér-bérian) (Paris: Arax Press, 1960).

- 1 3 Ոչ կամեցաւ ինքն միայն [Աստուած] վայելել զիւր առատ բարին, այլ շարժեալ սիրով յիւր բարի կամացն, եւ գոյացոյց զարարածս

20. Or: guides, leaders. The word apparently refers to forefathers.

21. Literally: and when.

22. Ps 119:49 = Arm 118:49.

զիմանալիս եւ զգալիս, եւ է ինքն միայն անեղ, եւ յետ նորա ամենայն եղականք են:

(God) did not wish to enjoy his abundant goodness alone, but moved by love of his good will, he also brought into being the intelligible and sensible creatures, and only He is uncreate, and after him all things are created.

- 2 5 Եւ դրախտն Ադամայ ի վերայ երկրի է, ի վերայ բարձրաբերձ բերքի եւ Դ. իր պատեալ է զդրախտն եւ զգամաք երկիրս:

Նախ Ովկիանոս ծովն, եւ Լեւիաթան ձուկն՝ ընդդէմ կալով կոհակացն Ովկիանոս եւ ի կողմն արեւմտից զտուտն եւ զգլուխն միատեղ է եղեալ:

Եւ ապա Քեռինոս կղզին, զի եւ նա բոլորածիր կղզի է ի մէջ Բ. ծովուն: Եւ յետ նորա Անդլնդական ծովն:

Adam's paradise is on the earth, on a high elevation, and four things surround paradise and the dry lands. First the ocean and the fish Leviathan, situated opposite the ocean's billows, and to the west its tail and head are set in the same place. And the island Cherinus, for it is a round island between two seas. And after that the Atlantic sea.

Text: Vardan Arewelc'i, Հաւաքումն պատմութեան *Historical Compilation*, ed. L. Ališan (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1862).

Translation: Robert W. Thomson, "Vardan Arewelc'i, 'Historical Compilation'." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989): 125–26. Quoted by permission.

4–9 (the story of the creation starts on p. 2)

- 3 Իսկ ի հինգն շուրջն եւ ի վեցն, եւ հրաման ի ջուր եւ յերկիր վասն կենդանեաց, սկսեալ ի կառաբոյսս եւ ի սպունգս, եւ կատարեալ ի մարդն ի կատարեալ կենդանին բանաւորութեամբ, ի հազար ազգս, գլխաւորօքն իւրեանց Լեւիաթանաւ որ ի ջուրս, եւ Բեհմովթան որ ի ցամաքային անապատս. եւ այս է ըստ Արիստոտելի հոգի ընդհանուր տուող գոյութեան ամենայնի: Եւ արդ բնութիւնն շարժէ զգունդն երկնից, եւ նա զժամանակն, եւ նա զտարրն, եւ նա զտունկս եւ զկենդանիս. եւ զհալական նիւթս, զոսկի եւ զարծաթ, եւ զակն, եւ զայլսն զոր գործէ բնութիւնն ծծմբով, եւ ժիպակաւ՝ որպէս ասեն զիտողք:

Now on the fifth revolution and the sixth there came forth the command to water and earth concerning the living beings: beginning with the zoophytes and sponges and culminating in man as the perfect living being with rationality, in a thousand species, with their leaders Leviathan in the waters and

Behemoth in the deserts of the dry land. According to Aristotle, this is the general spirit that gives existence to everything.

So nature moves the sphere of heaven, and it (in turn causes) time and it, matter,²³ and it, plants and living beings and metallic substance, gold and silver, and precious stones and the other things which nature works through sulphur and mercury, as learned men say.

- 4 Իսկ ի գլուխն հասուցեալ զանդամոցն յօրինուած, որպէս քաջ պատկերագիրքն՝ զի յոտից սկսանին, հրաշագործէ իմն նոր յօրինելով բնութիւնս յերկնէ եւ յերկրէ, եւ որ ի մէջս են վեցից ձեռաց խոնարհելոց ի միոյ պատկերի շինուած, զի մինն նման իցէ երիցն, որովք մի հաւատասցի ստեղծողին բնութիւն եւ էութիւն եւ աստուածութիւն. գիտելով որ ինչ լինելոցն էր զմեղանսն, այլ ոչ կարէր արգելով նախագիտութիւնն զշարժումն յորդառատ բարերարութեանն. այլ եւ ի նոյն իսկ բարերարութենէն ոչ հրաժարէր ոտիւք զալ հիւանդատես այնմ զոր ձեռքն ստեղծ, եւ տուեալ զնա երկրի, մատնէ դահճին մահու կարճել զմեղսն, եւ հանել զչարութիւնն ի նմանէ, եւ ցուցանել նմա զվնաս օձին եւ զնենգութիւն չարին, զի այլ մի լուիցէ նմա, գիտելով զոր ինչ առնելոց էր զվերստին նորոգումն. այլ եւ ոչ էտ նմա գութն իւր կատարել զվճիռ մահուն՝ զոր եհատ նմա, զի ահա ոչ մեռաւ հոգին, այլ հողն հող եղել, եւ բնակիչն մնաց: Եւ ա/Տ/րուեստաւորն կարող է եւ գթած, եւ նիւթն ի ձեռին նորա, եւ ժամանակ յարութեանն անմոռաց ի նմա:

Then he brought to perfection the structure of the limbs. Like good portrait painters, since they begin from the feet, he wonderfully fashioned some new nature from heaven and earth and what is in between, six hands engaged in the forming of one picture, so that one might be like three; whereby the nature and being and divinity of the Creator may be believed to be one. He knew what sins would occur, but his foresight was unable to prevent the activity of his liberal benevolence. By the same benevolence he did not abstain from going on foot as a visitor to the sick to the one whom he had created with his hands. The earth having delivered him us, he handed him over to the executioner of death to cut off his sins and remove the evil from him, and to show him the harm of the serpent and the deceit of the Evil One, so that he might heed him²⁴ no more, knowing what he was intending to do—the renewal. But his compassion did not allow him to carry out the sentence of death which he had decreed on him. For behold the spirit did not die; but the dust became dust, while the dweller (in it) remained. The Maker / is able and compassionate, and matter is in his hand, and with him the time of resurrection cannot be forgotten.

23. Literally: the element.

24. I.e., the evil one.

- 5 Բ Արդ սրբելիք բոցապատ արարեալ Աստուծոյ զդրախտն՝ որ կայ ընդ արեւելս, յերկրի արմատացեալ ի կատարս լերինն բարձու, որ հաւասար է գնդին լուսնի, անծորելի պտղով եւ անթառամ սաղարթիւք, ուր ոչ ներգործէ արեգակն տիւ եւ գիշեր, այլ յարփույն պայծառանայ, եւ կամ նշողիւք փառացն Աստուծոյ, որպէս զմեծ գործ նորա, եւ հրաշալի տեղի. որում ոչ համարեցաւ արժանի զանցաւորն տեսլեան անգամ, այլ յամենայն կողմանց վառեաց զնա հրով՝ ի կողմանց եւ ի վերուստ, որպէս զշանթական հուրդ, որ յորժամ անկանի զինքն եւ զտեղին ծածկէ յաչաց, զի մի՛ ժպրհեցի որ խնդրել զնա առանց կամացն Աստուծոյ:

II Now by means of Seraphim and fire, God surrounded paradise, which is in the east, rooted on earth at the top of a high mountain.²⁵ It is equal with the sphere of the moon, inexhaustible in fruit and unfading with foliage, where the sun does not make day and night but it shines from the ether or with the rays of God's glory, as his great work and wonderful place. He did not reckon the transgressor worthy of seeing it again, but on all sides guarded it with fire, on the sides and above—like the fire of a thunderbolt, which when it falls hides itself and the place from one's eyes—lest anyone presume to seek it without God's will.

- 6 Ուստի զամս երեսուն ողբացեալ Ադամայ Եւայիւ զանխորհրդութիւնս իւրեանց կուսութեամբ, ապա գիտացին զմիմեանս յանասնոցն անկեալ յանարգանս, եւ ծնան զԿայէն հիւանդ ծնողաց ցաւած ծնունդ, որպէս ասէն բժիշկք, քերբ միով Կլիմաս կոչեցեալ. եւ զկնի այլ երեսուն ամաց ծնան զԱբել, եւ զԱբելուհի քոյրն նորա: Եւ զկնի եւս երեսուն ամի սպան Կայէն զԱբել. քանզի ուսեալ ի ծնողացն պատուել զԱստուած պատարագօք պատուականաց եւ առաջնովք, եւ վասն սիրելոյ զմիմեանս՝ ընդ անձին եւ ընդ եղբօրն մատուցանել: Իսկ Աբելի ածեալ յանդրանկաց գառանց եւ ի պարարտաց զիւր եւ զեղբօրն, վասն որոյ հայեցաւ Աստուած նախ ի Հաբել եւ ի պատարագս նորա, եւ ի Կայէն ոչ նայեցաւ, զի զյոռին եբեր, ընդ անձին միայն, եւ ոչ զմասն եղբօրն. եւ ոչ եղեւ ընկալեալ ի վերուստ հրով, որպէս զՀաբելին. վասն որոյ ի կարծիս եղեալ Կայէն վասն Աբելի, թէ առնու զնա ի դրախտն Աստուած վասն ընդունելի պատարագին, եւ նախանձու վառեալ՝ սպան զնա: Եւ իմացեալ Ադամայ եւ Եւայի, / սգացին զնա ամս հարիւր եւ քառասուն:

So for thirty years Adam lamented with Eve in virginity for their recklessness; then they knew one another, falling into the shame of animals, and begat Cain (Kayēn)—a painful birth for sick parents, as doctors say—with his sister called Klimas. After thirty years they begat Abel and his sister Abeluhi. After yet another thirty years Cain killed Abel; for he had learned

25. Murray 1975, 221, 258–61, 306–10.

from his parents to honor God with gifts of honorable things and first-fruits, and for the sake of mutual love to offer these for himself and for his brother. So Abel brought some firstborn lambs and fattened [animals], of his own and his brother's. Therefore God looked first on Abel and on his offerings; but to Cain he paid no heed, since he brought a defective [offering], on his own behalf only and not the portion for his brother. It was not received from above with fire, like Abel's. Therefore Cain supposed about Abel that God would receive him into paradise because of his acceptable offering; and inflamed with jealousy he slew him. When Adam and Eve learned [of this], / they mourned him for one hundred and forty years.

- 7 Ե Այլ զթիւ յամելոյն Ադամայ ի դրախտին ոչ որ կարէ ասել. մի՛ զի ժամանակագործ արեգակնս այս ոչ սպասաւորէ դրախտին, եւ երկրորդ՝ զի որքան անմեղ էր Ադամ՝ ընդ անմահսն էր նորա վիճակն, որք չեն ընդ տարեօք: Իսկ զկնի յանցմանն ոչ յամեաց ի դրախտին. զի ընդ մահու վճռաւ եմուտ, եւ Աստուծոյ մեռաւ, եւ գերեզմանի պէտք էին, եւ դրախտն անմահից էր տեղի, վասն որոյ յերկիր հանեալ մտանէ ընդ ժամանակաւ: Եւ անտի համարէ Հոգին գտարիսն ի ձեռն Մովսիսի. որ լինի ըստ եօթանասնից թարգմանութեանն յելիցն ի դրախտէն մինչեւ ցորհեղէն՝ երկու հազար երկու հարիւր քառասուն եւ երկու ամբ եւ ըստ երբայեցւոցն՝ հազար վեցհարիւր հիսուն եւ վեց ամբ, պակաս հինգ հարիւր ութսուն եւ վեց ամօք. եւ զպատճառսն ասեն թէ կնասէրք էին Հրէայքն, կարճեցին գտարիս ամուսնացելոյ առաջնոցն, զի մի՛ որ արգելցէ գնոսա ի տղայութեանն առնուլ զկանայս. քանզի անմիաբանութիւն նոցա նախ քան զամուսնանալն է:

V But the duration of Adam's stay in paradise no one can tell. First because this sun which marks time did not serve paradise; and second, since Adam was so sinless his lot was with the immortals, who are not subject to years. But after the transgression he did not stay in the Garden, for he was sentenced to death²⁶ and became dead to God. There was need for a tomb, but paradise was the place of immortals; therefore, cast forth onto earth, he became subject to time.²⁷ From that point the Spirit numbers the years through Moses: namely, according to the translation of the Seventy, / from the departure from the Garden down to the flood 2,242 years; but according to the Hebrews, 1,656 years, less by 586 years. They say the reason is that the Jews were women-lovers and shortened the years of marriage of their ancestors lest anyone prevent them from taking wives in their youth. For their disagreement concerns [the period] before marriage.

26. Literally: entered under the sentence of death.

27. Literally: enters under time.

- 8 Ջի զԱդամ հարիւր եւ երեսուն ամաց ասէն ծնանել զՍէթ, եւ Սէթայ հարիւր եւ հինգ ամաց ծնանել զԵնոքս. իսկ զյետ ամուսնութեան ժամանակն զոյգ բերեն եօթանասնիցն.

They say that Adam at 130 years begat Seth, and Seth at 105 years begat Enos. But after marriage they make the period of time equal to the Seventy.²⁸

Text: Vardan Barjraberdci (Arewelc'i), Մեկնութիւն Սաղմոսաց Դաւթի *Commentary on the Psalms of David* (Astrakhan: Archbishop Yovsep' Arlūt'eanc' Press, 1797).

- 9 42 Փոքր ինչ խոնարհ արարեր զնա քան զհրեշտակս քո:

Ջի հրեշտակք յառաջնում աւուրն, եւ Ադամ ի վեցերորդին. կամ զի՝ կարօտ կերակրոյ եղեւ կամ՝ ընդ երկնաւ էառ տեղի:

“For you have made him a little lower than your angels”²⁹

Because the angels (were created) on the first day, and Adam on the sixth, either because he needed food, or he received a place under heaven.

- 10 50 ի քեզ թողեալ է աղքատն, եւ որբոյն դու ես օգնական

Աղքատ առաջին՝ Ադամ, եւ զնոյն որբ, յԱստուծոյ եւ ի դրախտէն:

“The poor commits himself unto you; you are the helper of the fatherless.”³⁰

The first poor man was Adam, and he was fatherless, (deprived) of God and the Garden.

- 11 83 Ադամ հեռացաւ յիւր փրկութենէն, քան վասն պտղոյն ճաշակմանն՝ աւելի վասն բանից յանցանացն, որ ասաց կինս զոր ետուր ինձ:

Adam was estranged from his salvation more because of the sinful words, for he said, “the woman whom you gave to me,”³¹ rather than for eating the fruit.

- 12 106 Դարձոյց զսուգ իմ յուրախութիւն, զերծ յինէն զքուրծ:

ԶԵւայի սուգն, կուսին ասելով՝ ուրախ լեր բերկրեալ, որդի քո՝ սրբէ զամենայն արտասուս: Զերծ յինէն զԱդամայ մաշկեայն:

“You have turned my mourning into rejoicing: you have put off my sackcloth from me.”³²

28. I.e., the Septuagint.

29. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6.

30. Ps 10:14 = Arm 9:14.

31. Gen 3:12.

32. Ps 30:11 = Arm 29:12.

Eve's mourning, by saying to the Virgin, "Be happy, rejoiced One."³³ Your son wipes off all your tears. He looses me from the Adamic coat of skin.

- 13 117 յամենայն ժամ օրհնութիւն նորա ի բերան իմ

. . . ի բերան իմ, հոգւոյ, որ է միտքն. եւ մարմնոյն եւս. եւ իբրեւ զպտուղն կենաց յորմէ ոչ կերան նախաստեղծքն, այլ ի մահաբեր պտղոյն:

"His praise is continually in my mouth"³⁴

. . . In my mouth: of the spirit, which is mind, and also of the body; and like the fruit of life, of which the first created did not eat, but (they ate) from the mortal fruit.

- 14 122 Ես ի նեղել նոցա քուրձ զգենուի. խոնարհ առնէի պահօք զանձն իմ:

Եւ Տէրն զԱդամայն զգեցաւ զձախողակի տրտմութիւնն, զոր մինչ ի մահ իւր ասաց. զի քուրձ այծեայ է, ի վերայ կորուսելոցն որ այծիք եղեն:

"When they were suffering, my clothing was sackcloth: I humbled my soul with fasting"³⁵

Also the Lord put on Adam's unfortunate sorrow, of which he spoke until his death. For sackcloth is goatskin upon those that perish who became (like) goats.

- 15 131 Այլ որ հեզքն են նոքա ժառանգեցեն զերկիր. եւ փափկասցին ի բազում խաղաղութեան իւրեանց:

Հեզութիւն հակառակ է բարկութեան եւ ստրմտութեան, ուստի՝ հանգչիլ ասաց նախ. եւ աստ՝ փափկանալ ի բազում խաղաղութեան, զոր Ադամ վայելէր զդրախտն փափկութեան որում եւ Տէր երանեաց:

"But those who are meek shall inherit the earth; and shall delight themselves in the abundance of their peace."³⁶

Meekness is opposite to anger and indignation; that is why first he said to rest, and then delight in the abundance of peace, which Adam enjoyed, the Garden of delight, that the Lord blessed.

- 16 171 Մարդ ի պատուի էր՝ եւ ոչ իմացաւ հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից:

33. Luke 1:28.

34. Ps 34:1 = Arm 33:2.

35. Ps 35:13 = Arm 34:13.

36. Ps 37:11 = Arm 38:21.

Իբր զԱդամ հաւասարեաց անասնոց՝ որ խոտ ուտեն փոխանակ պտղոյ դրախտին: Եւս՝ փոխանակ անմահութեանն՝ ախտիւք եւ մահուամբ վճարին:

“A man that was in honor, and does not understand, is like the dumb beasts.”³⁷

As Adam he became similar to the beasts that eat grass instead of the fruit of the Garden; moreover, instead of immortality, they are recompensed with illness and death.

- 17 178 Անօրէնութեամբ յղացաւ, եւ ի մեղս ծնաւ զիս մայր իմ

Նախ քան զծնանելն մեղաւ Եւայ, եւ զկնի մեղացն յղացաւ:

“Behold, she conceived in iniquity; and in sin did my mother carry me.”³⁸

Eve sinned before giving birth and conceived after the sin.

- 18 187 Յերեկոյ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն. եւ Տէրն աւանդեացն զհոգին առ հայրն: Ի վաղորդայն՝ ստեղծաւ Ադամ, եւ ի վեց ժամն ճաշակեաց ի պտղոյն:

In the evening Adam went out of the Garden, and the Lord yielded up the ghost to the Father. In the morning Adam was created, and in the sixth hour he ate of the fruit . . .

- 19 195 Սրտմտութիւն անբան եղել պատճառ սատանայի, Սաւուղի, եւ հրէիցն, եւ հերձուածողաց, որպէս զօձին առաջնոյ՝ որ ցասեաւ վասն փառացն Եւայի:

Irrational indignation was Satan's cause, Saul's and the Jews', and the heretics', just like that of the first serpent that was angry about Eve's glory.

- 20 200 Աստուած մերժեցեր եւ աւերեցեր զմեզ:

Վասն մեղաց ի դրախտէն. եւ յԵրուսաղէմէ զհրեայսն: Աւերեցեր զբնութիւնս՝ ասելով հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս:

“O God, you have separated and ruined us.”³⁹

From the Garden on account of the sin, and the Jews—from Jerusalem. You ruined our nature, saying, “you are dust, and unto dust shall you return.”⁴⁰

- 21 230 ԶԱդամայն եւս հարուածք դէս յովկեցին:

The demons multiplied also Adam's misfortunes.

37. Ps 49:20 = Arm 48:21.

38. Ps 51:5 = Arm 50:7.

39. Ps 60:1 = Arm 59:3.

40. Gen 3:19.

- 22 Անխալեցէ նա յաղքատն եւ ի տնանկն եւ . . . ի վաշխից չարեաց փրկեցէ զանձինս նոցա:

Փոխանակ չլսելոյն նմա՝ ի դրախտին ճաշակմամբ ի քաղցր պտղոյն, միշտ պահանջէ զվաշխն:

“He shall spare the poor and needy. . . . He shall redeem their souls from the usury of evil (men).”⁴¹

He always requires (to pay) the interest for not obeying him and eating the delicious fruit in the Garden . . .

- 23 305 Նա փրկեցէ զիս յորոգայթէ որսողին, եւ ի բանիցն խռովութենէ: Յորսողէն՝ որ եղ Ադամայ որոգայթ զաստուածանալն, եւ բանիւք խռովեցոյց զնա:

“He will deliver me from the hunter’s net; and from the confusion of words.”⁴²

From the hunter, who set divinization as a net for Adam and confused him with words.

- 24 329 Մի դարձուցանէր զերեսս քո յինէն, իբր յԱդամայ:

Turn not your face from me, as from Adam.

- 25 331 դէւք զբնութիւնս նախատէին, զոր ի դրախտին նախանձելով գովէին:

Demons injured natures, whom they praised by envying in the Garden . . .

- 26 344 Դարձուցեր զերեսս քո յԱդամայ, եւ ապա մեռաւ:

You turned your face from Adam and then he died.

- 27 360 Զի դառնացուցին զբանն Աստուծոյ, եւ զխորհուրդս բարձրելոյն բարկացուցին:

Զբանն Աստուծոյ ի դրախտին ոչ պահելով, եւ զխորհուրդս՝ որ խորհեալ էր ի դէպ ժամու տալ ճաշակել եւ աստուածացուցանել:

“For they displeased the word of God, and angered the plan of the Most High.”⁴³

By not observing the word of God in the Garden and this plan which he had conceived, to give (them) to eat at the fitting time, and to make them divine.

41. Ps 72:13–14 = Arm 71:13–14.

42. Ps 91:3 = Arm 90:3.

43. Ps 107:11 = Arm 106:11.

- 28 Խոնարի եղեն ի ցաւոց սիրտք նոցա. տկարացան, եւ ոչ ոք էր՝ որ օգնէր նոցա:

Խոնարի եղեն, զի յամենայն պտղոյն զրկեցան՝ ցաւէին. հիւանդացան, տկարացան, մահկանացուք եղեն, եւ ոչ ոք էր որ առաջնորդէր նոցա ի տեղի ուստի ելին:

Their hearts were brought low through pains, they were weak, and there was none to help.⁴⁴

They became low for they were deprived of all the fruit (i.e., of the Garden); they were in pain; they became sick, weak, and mortal, and there was none to lead them (back) to the place whence they went forth.

- 29 386 Ո՛ր Տէր ես ծառայ քո եմ, եւ որդի Եւայի, որ աղախին եղեւ հեշտութեանն՝ որ տիկինն էր:

O Lord, I am your servant and the son of Eve, who was the mistress and became a maidservant of voluptuousness.

- 30 394 Պտուղ մեղաց՝ ամօթն է, որպէս ամաչեաց Ադամ:

Shame is the fruit of sin, just as Adam was ashamed.

- 31 396 Զսատանայ անէծ օձին, այլ՝ ոչ զԱդամ բայց՝ զերկիր:

(God) cursed Satan through the serpent, and not Adam, but the ground . . .

- 32 455–56 Եւ սուտ ասաց օձն, թէ յաչաղեաց զաստուածանալն Ադամայ եւ / Եւայի:

And the serpent lied that He was envious of Adam and Eve becoming gods.

- 33 468 Նախ՝ սատանայ կոչեցաւ չար, զի տրտմութեամբ չարչարեաց զվերինսն, իւր անկմամբն, եւ զբնութիւնս պատրանօք խաբեալ եհան ի դրախտէն, չարացոյց զնա:

First, Satan was called evil, for he tortured the higher creatures with sorrow, through his fall; and fraudulently deceiving the natures.⁴⁵ He expelled (him) from the Garden and he incited him to evil.

- 34 480 Էաք մսեղի, եւ թշնամի եւս ունիմք զսատանայ, որ հալածեաց ի դրախտէն եւ յանմահութենէն: Խոնարի արար յերկիր զկեանս իմ, ի հող իջանել իբրեւ զինքն, որ յաւիտենից է մեռեալ հեռաւորութեամբն յԱստուծոյ:

We were corporeal and, moreover, we have Satan as enemy, who expelled us from the Garden and immortality. He humbled my life to the earth, so that I

44. Ps 107:12 = Arm 106:12.

45. I.e., humans.

descended to the ground like himself, who is dead forever due to his remoteness from God.

- 35 481 Մի դարձուցաներ զերեսս քո յինէն. նմանիցեմ այնոցիկ, որ իջանեն ի գուր

Իբր Աղամայի դրախտին. նմանիցեմ այնոցիկ հոգւոցն ախաստեղծիցն ի դժոխն, ուստի չկարենք ելանել առանց օգնականի:

“Turn not your face from me, (lest) I be like to them that go down into the pit.”⁴⁶

Like to Adam in the Garden, I might become like the souls of the protoplasts in hell, whence we cannot come out without aid.⁴⁷

Vardan Arewelc'i, Հատուածք Հիպոդիտեայք ըստ մեկնութեանն Երզոց երզոց որ ի Վարդանայ “Fragments of Hippolytus according to Vardan's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*,” in N. Y. Marr, *Ипполит. Толкование Песни песней. Грузинский текст по рукописи X в.. Commentary on the Song of Songs: Georgian Text according to a Tenth Century Manuscript* (Texts and Investigations in Armeno-Georgian Philology 3; St. Petersburg: V. F. Kirschbaum Press, 1901), 3: lxxxviii–cxiv.

- 36 Ը Ստինք չեն իբրեւ զայլ անդամսն առանձին երեւեալ, այլ իբրեւ բոյս կամ տունկ ի սրտէն յառաջ եկեալ, որպէս ի սրտէ երկրի առեալ հող. եւ Բ. իմանալի եւ զգալի շինեցաւ Ադամ: . . . եւ այժեման ուրոց նմանեցին սրատես գոլ եւ ճանաչող արօտի եւ ոչ գիտել զԵւային:

Breasts are not like other limbs seen separately, but they project from the heart like a shoot or a plant, as (God), having taken dust from the heart of the earth, and Adam was made the two, rational and perceptive. . . . Likewise they (the breasts) were acute like kids of a roe, and they recognized their pasture and did not know Eve's affairs.

VARDAN AYGEKC'I C13

The fragment is from a *Sermon* in manuscript M8030, fol. 426v–428r cited from P'aylak Ant'abyan, Վարդան Արեւելցի *Vardan Arewelc'i*, vol. 1. (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 177–78.

- 1 Ահայ, որդեակք, իմացէք, զի Աստուած ոչ դժոխք ունի եւ արքայութիւն, այլ ամենայն մարդ ինքն շինէ իր դժոխք եւ արքայութիւն: Եւ բանիս

46. Ps 143:7 = Arm 142:3.

47. Or: a helper.

վկա Քրիստոս, որ է հաւասար հօր եւ հոգւոյն եւ ասէ, թէ՛ զանձէք զբարին յերկինս, զի յաւուրն դատաստանի զամենայն տամ ձեզ, զոր ի վեր, առ իմ հայրն առաքէք, թէ չար եւ թէ բարի, զի որով չափով չափէք, եւ ձեզ այնպէս չափեմ: Ահայ որ ի մեր ձեռս է բանալիք դժոխոցն (եւ) արքայութեան, եւ զոր բանամք եւ սիրեմք մէք յայն մտանեմք: Եւ բանիս վկայ՝ սատանայ եւ Ադամ. զի Աստուած բարի արար զնոսա, եւ ի բարի, եւ ի հանգիստ, եւ ի լոյս եղ զնոսայ եւ եցոյց նոցայ զչարն եւ զբարին՝ ասելով, թէ զոր գործէք դուք, զայն ժառանգէք, զի բանալիք արքայութեան եւ հանգստեան բարի գործքն է: Եթէ բարին առնէք, նայ դուք լինէք ձեզ արքայութիւն եւ հանգիստ, եւ թէ զչարն առնէք, նայ այն է դժոխքն եւ այն է բանալիք դժոխոցն: Նայ սատանայ, որ է շուն կատաղի, ձգեաց զբանալի արքայութեան, ուր կայր եւ կամաւ էառ զբանալիք դժոխոցն՝ ասելով, թէ այդ է բանալիք արքայութեան: Իսկ Ադամ հաւատաց բանիցն սատանայի եւ պահեաց զբանալին դժոխոցն եւ էբաց չար գործօքն զդժոխքն, եւ մտեալ՝ նստաւ ի նմայ եւ ողորմելի եղեւ: Այսպէս լինի եւ այսաւր, ով որդեակք, զի տեսանէք, որ մի ոմն ունի զբանալի արքայութեան զխոնարհութիւն եւ զամենայն բարի գործ Ահայ, որդեակք, այս է արքայութիւն եւ բանալիք արքայութեան, իսկ այլք ոմանք լինին շնացողք եւ արբեցողք եւ գողք եւ սպանողք եւ անողորմք եւ յիշոցատուք եւ զրկողք եւ կախարդք եւ անդարձ ի չարն մեռանին . . . :

Behold, children, learn that God does not have hell and the kingdom, but each man himself builds his own hell and kingdom. And Christ is a witness to this statement, who is equal to the Father and to the Spirit, and he says, “Lay up good in heaven⁴⁸ for on the day of judgment I will give you everything which is above, you send the Father to me, either for good or evil, for by the measure by which you measure, I will measure you thus.”⁴⁹

Lo, in our hands are the keys of hell (and)⁵⁰ of the kingdom: that which we open and love, we shall enter. And the witnesses to this pronouncement are Satan and Adam, for God made them good, and for good and for repose, and he put them in light and he showed them good and evil, saying, “That which you do, you will inherit.” For good works are the keys of the kingdom and repose. If you do good, then you will be the kingdom and repose for yourselves, and if you do evil, then that is hell and that is the keys of hell. See, Satan, who is a mad dog, threw away the key of the kingdom where he was and voluntarily took the keys of hell saying, “This is the key of the kingdom.”⁵¹ But Adam believed in the words of Satan and kept the keys of hell and opened

48. Matt 6:20, Luke 12:33-34.

49. Cf. Matt 7:2.

50. My emendation.

51. This is based, presumably, on Rev 9:1 and 20:1.

hell with evil deeds and, having entered, sat in it and became pitiable. Thus it is also today, O my children, for you see that no one person has the key of the kingdom, humility and every good deed. . . . Behold, my children, this is the kingdom and the keys of the kingdom, but certain other persons become adulterers and drunkards and thieves and murderers and merciless and insulting and extorters and magicians and they die irrevocably for evil.

Text: Vardan Aygekc'i, *Գիրք հաստատութեան եւ արմատ հաւատոյ* *Book of the Establishment and Root of Faith*, ed. Y. K'ēosēyan and Š. Hayrapetean (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1988).⁵²

Աթանասի եպիսկոպոսի Of Bishop Athanasius

- 2 Ադամ զանմեղ մարմինն ի դատապարտութիւն եւ յապականութիւն արկ, իսկ Քրիստոս զաւանապական եւ խափանիչ մահու եցոյց:

Adam cast the sinless body into culpability and corruption, while Christ showed it to be incorruptible and obstructing death.

- 3 308 In citation of a poem by Vardan⁵³

Դու մեղաւք եւ զարդարեալ,
Եւ խաւարին գործաւք լըցեալ,
Ժառանգ հըրոյն եւ յարիւնեալ,
Եւ ի խաւարն արտաքին ելեալ:
Զի հարսանեաց չես պատրաստեալ,
Պատմուճանով ժահահոտեալ:
Երկաթակապ շըղթայ արկեալ,
Հրեղէն սըրովն ընդ մէջ հատեալ,
Ի բարի գ[ը]նդէն ելեալ,
Անհաւատից մասին դասեալ:

You are adorned with sin,
and full of deeds of darkness.
You are created as an heir of fire,
and have gone forth to the outer darkness.⁵⁴
For you are not prepared for a wedding,
made stinking with a tunic,⁵⁵

52. Note the extensive introduction on Vardan Aygekc'i by Kēosēyan in that book, p. 167.

53. The attribution is uncertain.

54. Matt 8:12, 22:13; 25:30. Here, presumably Matt 22:13 serves as the primary source.

55. Satan is not ready for the heavenly wedding feast; cf. Matt 22:11-13.

Bound with iron chains,⁵⁶
 Separated by a fiery sword in between,⁵⁷
 Gone forth from the goodly host,
 Ranked in the lot of the unbelievers.⁵⁸

405 A Fragment from Xosrov Rhetor of the Armenians⁵⁹

- 4 Մելքիսեդեկ հաց բաղարջ եւ անապական գինին բաշխեր ի վերա գերեզմանին Ադամայ, որ ցուցանէ զանապական գալուստն Աստուծոյ մերոյ յերկնից:

Melchizedek distributed unleavened bread and uncorrupted wine upon the tomb of Adam, which shows the uncorrupt coming of our God from heaven.

A Fragment from manuscript M512 (1701), taken from the bottom margin of fol. 183v. The attribution to Aygekc'i is uncertain.⁶⁰

- 5 Հարց, Զի՞նչ է՝ «Գլուխն ոտից խոնարհեցաւ»: Պատասխանի. նախ՝ գլուխն է միտքն, եւ ոտք՝ ցանկութիւնն: Երկրորդ՝ հոգի եւ մարմին: Երրորդ՝ Այր եւ կին: Չորրորդ՝ Ադամ եւ օձն:

Question. What is, “The head is brought low to the feet?”⁶¹

Answer. First, the head is the mind, and the feet desire; second, spirit and body; third, man and woman; fourth, Adam and the serpent.

Text: Vardan Aygekc'i, Ժողովածոյք առակաց Վարդանայ *Collections of the Fables of Vardan Сборники притч Вардана*: Изслѣдование, part 2, ed. N. Marr 2 (St. Petersburg: Skorokhodov Press, 1894).⁶²

1-2 Թագաւոր եւ երկու ապարանք 1-2 A King and Two Palaces

(A king made two palaces, one was faithful to him but there was a proud prince in the other, who deceived the guardians of the faithful palace for which the king expelled him from there. And the rebels built another palace and took everybody there. . . . Finally the king saved them from there.)

56. Perhaps deriving from Job 41. The binding of Satan with chains occurs in Armenian art. Compare also Ps 149:8 ձեռակապեալ երկաթեալ (“with chains of iron”).

57. See Gen 3:24.

58. This refers, undoubtedly, to the fall of Satan.

59. It is unclear who this is.

60. It is mentioned by Vardan Aygekc'i 1988, 68.

61. The citation is not from the Bible.

62. Marr writes, “calling the fables Vardan’s, we do not insist that they belong to Vardan.”

- 6 . . . Յուցանէ առակս յայտնի, որ թագաւորն ամենայնի Քրիստոս է. եւ բապարանքն մէկ հրըշտակաց տեղիքն է եւ մէկն՝ դրախտն, որ զԱդամ եղ, թէ պահէ. եւ հպարտ իշխայն սատանայ է, որ անկաւ ի փառացն եւ խաբեաց զԱդամ եւ եհան ի դրախտէն. եւ / ելեալ Ադամ լալով եւ կոծելով եւ դառն արտասաւք անկաւ յաշխարհս. բաց ակն ունէր, որ թագաւորն խնդիր լինէր իւրն. եւ սատանայ եւ զաւրքն իւր անգեղջ մնացին եւ շինեցին ապարանք իւրեանց գոծոյն. եւ զմարդկային բնութիւնս գերեալ տանէին սատանայք անդ եւ այլ ոչ տային ելանել, մինչեւ եկն թագաւորն ամենայնի Քրիստոս եւ քսկեաց զբանդն, որ է դոժիքն, եւ զԱդամ իւր ծնընդեալքն ազատեաց:

The fable points out clearly that the king of all is Christ, and the two palaces, one is the place of the angels and the other (is) paradise, where (God) put Adam to keep it. And the arrogant prince is Satan that fell from the glory and deceived Adam and drove (him) out of the Garden. And Adam went out crying and mourning and with bitter tears he fell into this world. But he hoped that the king would look for him. And Satan and his host remained impenitent and built their palace, hell; and the demons⁶³ captured the human natures⁶⁴ and took (them) there and did not let them go out, until the king of all, Christ, came and destroyed the prison, that is, hell, and liberated Adam with his offspring.

43–44 Այծք եւ գայլք Goats and Wolves⁶⁵

(The goats wrote a letter to the wolves and dogs offering peace. They agreed but finally they ate the goats who did not take care.)

- 7 . . . Բելիար. որ է շուն կատաղի. եւ նայ պահէ իւր գանձատունն, որպէս եւ պահեաց զմեղս Ադամայ, զոր ասեն, թէ ի ձեռայգիր եղ Ադամ սատանայի, իսկ յորժամ նախատանաւք եւ արեամբն իւրով բանն Աստուած ի վերայ խաչին ջնջեաց զձեռայգիրս եւ զմեղս Ադամայ լուաց, այն կատաղին, որ է Բագու, կոչեաց զչար իշխանն եւ զվատակերպ դէքն եւ ասէ. եկաք լացէք եւ վայ տուք անձին իմոյ. զի նշան մեծ սիրոյ եւ միայբանութեան ունէի յԱդամայ առ Աստուած եւ պահեաց զնա, որպէս զոսկեգիր թուխթ ի վերայ սրտի իմոյ. եւ ահա կորեաւ յանկարծակի նշան եւ պայման սիրուն. եւ ոչ գիտեմ, ուր եղի զնայ. զի մէնջ հրեշտակք եւ մարգարէք ջանացան առնուլ եւ ոչ կարացին ի ձեռաց իմոց. եւ աս է զարմանք, որ իսկ զկերպ եւ

63. Or: satans.

64. I.e., human beings.

65. According to the variant of manuscript C.

զմանութիւն նշանին չկարեն յիշել, որ ետ ցիս Ադամ եւ ոչ կարեն ածել զմտաւ, թէ որպէս. ահայ քրիստոնէայք եւ աստուածայաւ ժողովուրդք, յորժամ / զմեղս մեր խոստովանիմք եւ ապաշխարենք. նայ յանհետ լինի եւ ջնջի եւ սատանայ մոռանայ:

. . . Belial, who is a rabid dog, and he guards his treasury, as he guards Adam's sins, which, as they say, Adam put into the cheirograph of Satan. And when God the Word erased the cheirograph on the cross⁶⁶ with his dishonor⁶⁷ and blood and washed away Adam's sin, that rabid (one) who is Bazu, called the evil prince and the ugly demons and said, "Come and weep and lament upon me, for I had the sign of great love and unanimity from Adam against God, and he kept it⁶⁸ upon my heart like a gold-lettered epistle. And now suddenly the sign and agreement of love are lost, and I do not know where I have put it. For the angels and the prophets tried to take it from us and could not [take it] from my hands. And the wonder is that I cannot remember even the shape and likeness of the sign that Adam gave me, and I cannot imagine how (it happened)." Behold, you Christians and peoples protected by God, when we confess our sin and repent, it disappears and is annulled and the devil forgets it.

203 Տասն վաճառականք Ten Merchants

(Ten merchants found themselves in a foreign country full of famine and vipers. . . . Finally they found their way to the town where there were other merchants and goods.)

8 . . . Յուցանէ. զի տասն վաճառականք Ադամ է եւ իւր ծնունդքն. եւ այն որ օտար երկիր եւ յիժանոց եւ ի սով, որ եւ արտաքսեցաք յանմահական դրախտէն եւ անկաք յայս աշխարհս, ուր կայ իժ եւ օձ, որ է սատանայ. եւ ի նեղութեան կամք հոգւով եւ մարմնով:

[The fable] points out that the ten merchants are Adam and his generations, and that the foreign country was a place of vipers and famine (means) that we were expelled from immortal paradise and fell into this world, where there are the viper and snake, which is the Devil, and we are in distress both in soul and body . . .

66. Cf. Col 2:14.

67. I.e., His crucifixion, *passim*.

68. Perhaps emend to: I kept.

306 Դ. ազգ պահք Four Types of Fast

- 9 Դ. ազգ պահք է. մէկ Քրիստոսի, որ Ադամայ ասաց, թէ ի ծառուն մի ուտէր:

There are four types of fast: the first one is for Christ, because (God) said to Adam, “Do not eat of the tree . . .”

342 Ծառայք ի պահք Servants Fasting

(The servants told their master that they will serve him well if he keeps them fasting, but if he gives them much to eat, they will kill him and his children.)

- 10 . . . այսպէս Ադամ եւ Եւայ որչափ ի պահք էին ի դրախտին, բարւոք կատարէին զգործս իւրեանց եւ ի խոկումն էին զԱստուծոյ եւ հրեշտակաց. այլ յորժամ կերան ի պտղոյն եւ կտրեցին զպահքն, սպանին զորդիս իւրեանց, այսինքն զմեզ, այլ եւ ինքեանս եւս սպանին հոգւով:

. . . Likewise Adam and Eve; while they observed the fast in the Garden, they fulfilled their tasks well, and God and the angels took care of them. But when they ate of the fruit and broke the fast, they killed their children, namely, us, and they themselves were killed spiritually.

Appendix

- 11 98 Թ. Ադուն մի եգիտ զրեհ մի. եւ կարծեաց, թէ այս է պատմուճան Ադամայ, զոր կորոյս խաբմամբ բանսարկուին. զի գրեալ է «լուսաւոր էր»:

A fox found a coat of mail and thought it was Adam's garment, which he lost due to the Devil's deceit, for it is written (about Adam's garment) that “it was luminous.”

Text: Vardan Aygeke՝i, Խրատք *Admonitions*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1956).

Ի խորհուրդ չորեքշաբթի եւ ուրբաթի On the Mystery of Wednesday and Friday

- 12 29–30 Յաւուր չորեքշաբթի ել խաւար ի բերանոյ օձին, եւ խաւարեցոյց զդրախտն լուսաբեր. քանզի ծառքն եւ պտուղքն եւ տերեւն լուսաւորք էին քան զարեգակն: Եւ յորժամ եկն արարողն ի դրախտն եւ ձայնեաց թէ Ուր եւ Ադամ, երկրպագեցին Տեառն ծառքն ամենայն եւ առաւել պտղաբերեցան քան զառաջինն: Եհան Տէրն արտաքսեաց զԱդամ ի փառակենցաղ դրախտէն. եւ խաւարն ընդ նմա տարածեալ / եղև ի ծագս տիեզերաց . . .

On Wednesday darkness came out of the mouth of the serpent and darkened the luminous Garden, because the trees and fruit and leaves were more luminous than the sun. And when the Creator came to the Garden and called, “Adam, where are you?”⁶⁹ all the trees worshiped the Lord and brought forth more fruit than before. And God took away and drove Adam out of the Garden that gives glorious life. And darkness spread throughout it up to the extremities of the universe . . .

- 13 35 Զաւուրս քառասուն պահէին ամենեքեան. եւ ընդէր զաւուրս քառասուն. վասնզի ստեղծ Աստուած զԱդամն ի կատարումն քառասնեկին, եւ եղ զնա ի դրախտին. վասն այսորիկ սկիզբն ի քառասնից առնէ . . .

Everybody fasted for forty days; and why for forty days? For God created Adam at the end of forty (days) and put him in paradise. For that reason it starts from forty . . .

YOHAN K‘AHANA C13

Text: Yohan K‘ahana?⁷⁰ Ժամանակագրութիւն *Chronography*, in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ, 13–18 դդ. *Minor Chronicles, 13th–18th Centuries*, ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1951), 1:22–25.

- 1 22 Ոչ է մեզ զիտել զժամս եւ զժամանակս, զոր հայր եղ յիւրում իշխանութեան, ուսաք ի զրոց ոչ եթէ իբր արդեալք զաշխարհ

69. Gen 3:9.

70. The general title is Անանուն ժամանակագրութիւն *Anonymous Chronography*. In the introduction, V. Hakobyan writes (p. 17) that in the manuscript this small text follows Yovhan Sarkawag’s (the Deacon) work on the calendar, so it too may belong to him, but this does not seem so (GM). The name Յոհան քահանայ “Yohan the priest” stands at the beginning of the text.

Աստուած սկսաւ գործել, այլ զի արար. եւ ոչ յայնմանէ կամ անտի զթիւ ժամանակաց, այլ յորմէ ելին նախաստեղծքն ի դրախտէն, ապա ոչ ումն զսկիզբն ժամանակաց մեր է գիտել, թէպէտ եւ արեւստիւ դիպողագոյնս ինչ կանոնեմք . . .

Եթէ կամիցիս յեւանելոյն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն գիտել զժամանակն՝ կալ ԲՃԼԸ. (5138) եւ զամս որ ի ծննդէն փրկչին ի վերաբեր: Եւ մի հաւատար որոց ասեն՝ զլինելութիւնն աշխարհի գիտել զժամանակ, զի գիտէ միայն որ ստեղծն. իսկ մեզ յայտնի թերեւս է յետ յանցանաց մարդոյն ժամանակն ըստ մեծին Մովսէսի, որ համարի մինչեւ յինքն ամս ՎՉԻԹ. (3729) ըստ եւթանասնիցն թարգմանութեան . . .

We cannot know the hours and the times which the Father established in his dominion; we have not learned from the Scriptures when God began to make the world, but that he made (it). And (we reckon) the count of the times not from that or thence, but from when the protoplasts came out of paradise. This is why no one can know the beginning of our times, although we determine (it) skillfully, in the most proper way . . .

If you wish to know the time from Adam's coming out of paradise, take 5138 and add the years from the birth of the Savior. And do not believe those who say that they know the time of the coming into being of the world, for only the One who created it knows. But perhaps the time from the sin of man is revealed to us, according to the great Moses, who reckons the time until himself to be 3729 years, according to the translation of the Seventy . . .

YOVHANNĒS ERZNKAC'Ī PLUZ C13

Text: Yovhannēs Erzncac'ī Pluz, Բնագրեր “Texts,” in Հովհաննէս Երզնկացիին եւ նրա խրատական արձակը *Yovhannēs Erzncac'ī and His Didactic Prose*, ed. Ē. Baghdasaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1977).

Է եւ այժմ գրենք եւթներորդ Վասն գողութեան VII And Now Let Us Write a Seventh On Robbery

- 1 Ասաց Աստուած Ադամայ. «Քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո»:

God said to Adam, “By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread.”⁷¹

71. Gen 3:19.

Ժ Յադագս Յիշոցնա(տուաց)

X On Those Who Swear

- 2 163 Տասներորդ կանոնք գրեմք վասն ահեղ եւ մեծ եւ դառն եւ զարհուրելի մեղացն, որ ասի իշոցք՝ գեղջուկ բառով եւ ըստ գրոց սովորութեան՝ անէծք եւ թշնամանք կոչի, որ խաբեալ եւ սովորեալ մարդիկ զբերանն եւ զլեզուն գործարան են տուեալ սատանայի թշնամանէ, հայիոյել եւ անարգել զմիմեանս: Որ է մեծ մեղք եւ անքաւելի իշոցքն եւ չար է, քան զամենայն հերձուածս, զի որ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ցայսօր հերձուած է լել եւ ժողովով նգովել են:

We write the tenth canon concerning the frightful and great and bitter and dreadful sin called “swearing” by the popular word and named “curse” or “enmity” according to the written usage; for people, being deceived and accustomed, give their tongue and mouth to Satan, as an instrument of enmity, cursing and offending each other. Swearing is a great sin, unexpiable and worse than all heresies that have existed from Adam till the present, and have been anathematized by councils.

ԺԷ Յադագս պահոց

XVII On Fasting

- 3 176 Զպահքն սուրբ եւ անարատ պարտ է պահել՝ եւ որք սրբութեամբ պահեցին՝ արդարացան, եւ որք ոչ պահեցին կորեան: Առաջին պատուիրան պահքն է, զոր ետ Աստուած Ադամայ: Զի ասաց Աստուած. «Յամենայն պտղոյ կեր». այդ ուտեիցն է արինակ: «Բայց ի պտղոյ միոյն մի ուտել». այս պահքն է: Զի ոչ պահեաց Ադամ. ել ի դրախտէն եւ անկաւ յայս չարչարանաց աշխարհս:

176 The holy and pure fast shall be observed . . . , and those who fasted were justified, and those who did not fast, perished. The fast is the first commandment that God gave to Adam. For God said to Adam, “Eat of every fruit”: this is the pattern of a meat day. “But do not eat of one fruit,” is the fast. Since Adam did not observe the fast, he went out of the Garden and fell into this world of suffering.

Կանոնք եւ խրատք տղայահասակ մանկանց
աշխարհականաց

Canons and Admonitions for Lay Boys

Յաղագս գաւտոյ On the Girdle

- 4 234 Առաջին գաւտի քրիստոնէականն է, որ յետ կնքոյն յաւագանն զգեցուցանէ քահանայն սպիտակ հանդերձ եւ ածէ գաւտի ընդ մէջն՝ զնարատն, մանեալ կարմիր եւ սպիտակ: Արդ, սպիտակ հանդերձն արիւնակ է Ադամայ անմեղութեանն, մինչ ի դրախտին էր: Զնոյն անմեղութիւնն, որ նա կորոյս, գտանեն որդիք նորա յեկեղեցիս, որ է նոր դրախտ:

The first girdle is the Christian one: after baptizing in the font, the priest arrays (the baptized) in a white robe and ties around his middle a colored girdle spun with red and white. Now the white robe is the sign of Adam's innocence while he was in the Garden. The innocence that he lost, his descendants find in this church, which is the new Garden.

Վասն գաւտի տալոյն Concerning the Giving of a Girdle

- 5 238 Զի Ադամ վասն միոյ պտղին, որ առանց հրամանացն Աստուծոյ եկեր, էլ ի դրախտէն:

For Adam, on account of one fruit that he ate without God's command, went forth from the Garden.

Text: Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, Թուղթ առ իշխանս Եկեղեաց գաւառի "Epistle to the Rulers of the Ekeleac' Region," ed. Ē. Bałdasaryan, *Banber Matenadaran* 10 (1971): 295–314.

- 6 306 Արար Աստուած զմարդն հոգի եւ մարմին եւ զարդարեաց յիւր նմանութիւն պատկերին. եւ զմիտքն հոգւոյն աչք արար եւ զաչքն մարմնոյն ճրագ:

God made man spirit and body, and adorned him in the likeness of His own image. And he made the mind the eyes of the soul and the eyes a candle (lamp) of the body.

- 7 Եւ դու զմիտքտ ի վերա կալ եւ զմեղաց խրատն յականջտ մի թողու: Թէ առաջին մայրն մեր Եւա զաւձին խրատն յականջ չէր թողել՝ չէր խաբվել:

Զինչ աւտար իրք տեսանես, աչաւքտ մի՛ ցանկար: Թէ չէր աչաւքն տեսել զպտուղն եւ ցանկացել զեղեցկութեանն՝ չէր կերել:

Զեռաւքտ ի մեղք մի խաբվիր: Թէ չէր ձեռաւքն զպտուղ շոշափել, չէր հեշտացել եւ կերել:

Զբերանդ աւելորդ ուտելոյ կամ խմելոյ, կամ զլեզուս մաշում խաւսից մի՛ տար: Թէ պահել էր զբերանն առաջին մարդն, չէր ի փառացն մերկացեալ եւ ի դրախտէն ելեալ եւ ի ներքո դատապարտութեան եւ անիծից անգեալ:

Զայս գիտենալ պիտի, որ սատանայն աւձն է, որ զԵւայ խաբեաց եւ այժմ զամենայն մարդ ջանա խաբել, ընդ այս հինգ դրունս:

And you restrain your mind and do not admit sinful counsel to your ear. If our first mother, Eve, had not admitted the serpent's counsel to her ear, she would not have been deceived.

Let your eye not desire whatever foreign thing you see. If she had not seen the fruit with her eyes and desired its beauty, she would not have eaten (it).

Let not your hand be deceived in sins. If she had not touched the fruit with her hands, she would not have delighted (in it) and eaten.

Do not give your mouth to excessive eating or drinking, or wear out your tongue from speaking. If the first man had watched his mouth, he would not have been stripped of glory nor have gone forth from the Garden and fallen under punishment and curse.

It is necessary to recognize this, that the serpent is Satan, who deceived Eve and now strives to deceive all men, through these five gates.⁷²

- 8 310 Երբ Աստուած զԱդամ ստեղծեաց եւ ի դրախտն էդիր, քանի զԱստուծոյ հրամանքն պահեց, ոչ ի մարմինն հիւանդութիւն կայր եւ ոչ ի հոգին մեղք: Եւ երբ յԱստուծոյ հրամանացն ելաւ, նա մեղքն ի հոգին գտաւ տեղի: Եւ երբ ի դրախտէն ելաւ, հիւանդութիւնն ի մարմինն գտաւ տեղի եւ ապա մահն:

When God created Adam and set him in the Garden, as long as he kept God's commandments, there was no illness in his body nor sins in his soul. And when he left God's commandments, then sins found a place in his soul. And when he came forth from the Garden, illness found a place in his body, and then death.

Text: Yovhannēs Erznkac'ī, Բանք չափաւ “Verses,” in Հովհաննէս Երզնկացի *Hovhannes Erznkac'ī*, ed. A. Srapyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1958), 143–266.

72. I.e., the five senses.

Քառեակներ

Quatrains. F II 143

- 9 5 Օրինեալ է Աստուծոյ անունն, որ գբարեաց դրոններն է բացել,
 Զաշխարհս գեղեցիկ ստեղծել 'ւ յերեք դիմաց բաժանել,
 Զհրեշտակս ի յերկինս դրել 'ւ Ադամայ գորախտն է տընկել,
 Զերկիրս գազանաց տընել 'ւ անասնոց տեղի գաա շինել:

Blessed is the name of God, who opened the gates of good;
 He created this beautiful world, and divided (it) into three aspects;
 He set the angels in Heaven and he planted the Garden of Adam;
 He gave the earth to the beasts, and made it a place for animals.

Գ III 144

- 10 9 Ի յերկնաւորաց դասուց Սադայել երեսն էր շրջել,
 Յերկնից ի յանդունդս անկել 'ւ ի լուսոյն խաւար մնացել,
 ԶԱդամ ի դրախտէն հանել 'ւ անասնոց յերկիր գնա ձգել,
 'Ի ամեն Ադամայ որդիքս ենք օտար տեղիս բընակել:

From the heavenly ranks Sadayēl turned his face;
 From the heaven to the deeps he fell, and from light, remained in darkness.
 He brought Adam forth from the Garden and cast him to the earth of the
 animals.
 And we sons of Adam all inhabit a strange place.

ԾԴ LIV 157–58

- 11 215 Աշխարհս է ոչինչ նըման, շատ դատին դառնան փոշիման,
 Հալալ ու հարամ անեն՝ հոս թողուն ' ի հոն կու գընան,
 Զան արա՛ գործէ բարի, որ յետոյ չլինիս փոշիման,
 Թէ չէ Ադամայ դըրախտէն քեզ կանաչ տերեւ մի չի տան:

This world is like nothing, many are judged, they turn to repentance.
 They do right and abomination, here they leave,⁷³ thither they go.
 Strive, do good, so that afterwards you are not sorry;
 If not, they will not give you one green leaf from Adam's Garden.

192–94 Նորին Յովհաննիսի Վարդապետի Եզնկացոյ
 ասացեալ ի իրատ աշխարհականաց

73. Or: are forgiven.

Spoken by the Same Yovhannēs *vardapet* Erznkac‘i for Admonition of Laymen

- 12 145 Արարիչն երբ ստեղծեց զԱդամն ի հողէն,
Գեղեցիկ յօրինեց ըզկինն ի կողէն,
Յիւր պատկերն պատուեց փառօք լուսեղէն,
Կերպարան իւր արար զմարդն նիւթեղէն:

When the Creator created Adam from the dust,
He made the woman from (his) side, beautiful.
He honored His image with luminous glory,
He made material man in His form.

- 13 Ի դրախտին եղ պատուով տնկեալն ի յէն,
150 Պատուիրան ետ պահել ի միոյ ծառէն
Յամենայն պըտողոյ դու կեր, բայց մի՛ ի մէկէն,
Թէ չէ մահ քեզ տիրէ յահեղ հրամանէն:

He set him in the Garden, gloriously planted by the Existent,
150 He gave a command to refrain from one tree,
“Eat of all fruit, but not from the one,
If not, death will rule you, through the fearsome command.”

- 14 Նախաստեղծըն պատրեալ խաբմամբ ի յօձէն,
Զրկեցաւ ի դրախտէն յանմահ ի վայրէն.
155 Ողորմելին այն կորոյս զփառքըն լուսեղէն,
Ու մահու մատնեցաւ յիւր արարողէն:

The first-created having been overcome deceitfully by the serpent,
Was deprived of the Garden, of the immortal place,
155 That pitiful one lost the luminous glory,
And he was given over to death by his Maker.

- 15 Բարկացաւ արարիչն, որ զնա ստեղծեաց,
Փըշաբեր դառնութեամբ զերկիրս անիծեաց,
Քըրտամբք կերակրիլ ըզհաց հրամայեաց,
160 Զստեղծուածըն ի հողոյ ի հող նա մատնեաց:

The Creator was angered, who created him,
With thorny bitterness, He cursed this earth.
He commanded him to eat bread with sweat,
160 He gave to dust the one created from dust.

- 16 Զգեղեցիկ կինն, որ ի կողէն յօրինեաց,
Տըրտմութեամբ եւ ցաւօք ծնանիլ հրամայեաց,
Փոխանակ մի պըտողոյն, զոր եւ ճաշակեաց,
Ամենայն իւր ծընընդովքն զմահ ժառանգեաց:

The beautiful woman whom He formed from the rib,
 With sorrow and pains he commanded to give birth.
 In return for the one fruit that she ate,
 With all her descendants she inherited death.

- 17 165 Բանսարկուն սատանայ, որ զմարդըն խաբեաց,
 Ի դրախտէն եւ յանմահ պտղոյն որոշեաց,
 Զարարածըս մարդկան պաշտել հրապուրեաց,
 Հեռանալ յարարչէն ի բաց բաժանեաց:

- 165 The Devil Satan, who deceived man,
 Separated him from the Garden and the immortal fruit.
 He induced man to worship created things,
 To become distant from the Creator, he separated him.

- 18 Ահա այս էր պատճառ բանին հայրական,
 170 Իջանել ի յերկնից յարգանտ կուսական,
 Յիւրական աթոռոյն էր անգատական,
 Եւ ի ծոց սուրբ կուսին մանուկ գոյական:
 Behold this was the cause of the fatherly Word,
 170 To descend from heaven to the virginal womb.
 He was inseparable from His own throne,
 And an existent infant in the bosom of the Holy Virgin.

- 19 Ծնանի ի կուսէն սուրբ անապական,
 Անարատ պահելով զկնիք կուսական,
 175 Ի յերկրի մարդ լինի ծննդեամբ մայրական,
 Ի յերկինս է ընդ հօր անբաժանական:
 His is born from the Holy incorruptible Virgin,
 Preserving the virginal seal immaculate,
 175 On the earth He is a man, by his maternal birth,
 In the heavens, He is with the Father, inseparable.

- 20 Ի յերկուց կատարեալ բնութեանց բանական,
 Միացեալ նոր խառնումն եւ անճառական,
 Անորիշ եւ անքակ եւ անբացական,
 180 Անխառն, անշփոթ եւ անեղական:
 From the two, of perfect and rational nature,
 United new mixture and ineffable,
 Without limit, without measure, and inexpressible,
 180 Unmixed, unconfused, and increate.

7. 208–18 Յովհաննու Վարդապետի Եզրնկացոյ, Մականուն
 Պլուզ կոչեցեալ, ասացեալ բան շահավէտ եւ օգտակար

Profitable and Useful Discourse Pronounced by Yovhannēs *vardapet* of Erznka, dubbed Pluz

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 167–68.

- 21 1 Ադամայ որդիք ամէն ու ծնունդ ի հողէն,
Եկէք տամ ձեզ խրատ Աստուծոյ բանէն,
Գիտեմ որ ամէն մարդ չկարէ ուսնիլ ի գրէն,
Վասն այնոր զայս գրեցի, որ լսէք յինէն:

1 All sons of Adam, and generation of Earth,
Come, let me give you advice from God's wise Words,
I know that not every man can learn from books,
For which reason I wrote this, that you hear it from me.

- 22 5 Երբ Աստուած զԱդամ ստեղծեաց ու զկինն ի կողէն,
Ի պատկեր աստուածութեան արար լուսեղէն,
Ի դրախտին փառօք եդիր տնկեալ յանմահէն,
Պատուիրան եդ ի նմա պահել յանճառէն:

5 When God created Adam, and Eve⁷⁴ from the rib,
He made them in the luminous image of divinity,⁷⁵
He placed him in the Garden in glory, planted by the Immortal,
And set in him the commandment to hold back from the ineffable.

- 23 Յամենայն պտղոյ դու կեր, բայց մի՛ ի մէկէն,
10 Թէ չէ շուտ մահու մեռնիս՝ ւ ելնես ի դրախտէն.
/ Թէ պահես զիմ պատուիրանն, որ առեր յինէն,
Ի դրախտէն փոխեմ յերկինս՝ ի դասս լուսեղէն:

“Eat of every fruit but⁷⁶ one,
10 Else you will soon die and go out of paradise,
If you keep⁷⁷ my Commandment that you took from me,
I will transfer you to heaven from paradise, into the luminous ranks.”

- 24 Զայս լուեալ սատանայի անկեալն ի փառաց,
Նախանձեալ ընդ Ադամայ, ընդ Տէրն աշխարհաց,
15 Գործակից զօձն էր առեալ յամէն զազանաց,
Ընդ Եւայի նենգաւ խօսել զուսումն մեղաց:

74. MES: his wife.

75. MES: luminous in the image of divinity.

76. MES: not from the.

77. MES: will keep.

Satan, fallen from glory, having heard this,
 Jealous of Adam, in opposition to the Lord of the worlds
 15 Took as his associate the serpent, from among all the beasts,
 To tell⁷⁸ Eve with treachery the teachings of sin:

- 25 Թէ ուտէք դուք յայն պտղոյն որ ի մէջ դրախտին,
 Աստուածք դուք լինենայք նրման արարչին:
 Ողորմելի կինն այն գերի լսել պիղծ օձին,
 20 Ի ծառոյ պտղոյն կերեալ մերկացել մարմին:
 “If you eat of that fruit which is in the midst of paradise,
 You will be gods, like the Creator.”
 The pitiable woman, captive, listened to the vile serpent,
 20 Ate of the fruit of that tree; her body was stripped.⁷⁹

- 26 Ադամայ էր գայն տեսել ու կնոջն ողորմել,
 Ի պտղոյն առեալ կերել, ի լուսոյն մերկացել,
 Ըզթզենոյն գտերենն առել զմարմինն ծածկել,
 Յամօթոյն փախուստ առեալ, յԱստուծոյ թագել:
 Adam had seen this and had taken pity on his wife,
 And took and ate of the fruit, was stripped of light,
 And took the fig leaf and covered⁸⁰ his body,
 And he—crowned by God⁸¹—fled for shame.

- 27 25 / Ադամայ ստեղծողն եկեալ յիւր պատկերն ի տես,
 Ադամայ էր ձայն տրուեալ՝ Ադամ դու ուր ես:
 --Տէր, զքո ձայնըդ լուայ, սասանեցայ ես,
 Քանզի մերկ եմ՝ և ամօթով, փախեալ թագեալ ես:
 25 The Creator of Adam came to see His image,
 And called Adam, saying, “Adam, where are you?”
 “Lord, I heard your voice and was shaken,
 For I am naked and ashamed; I fled and hid myself.”

- 28 Աւաղ ըզթեզ Ադամ, դու էր խաբեցար,
 30 Զպատուիրանն չպահեցիր պըտղոյն դու կերար,
 Արի՛ ել ի դրախտէդ, մեղօք դու մեռար,
 Արդ չէ տեղ մեռելոյ, այտի դու անկար:
 “Alas for you, Adam, how were you deceived?
 30 You did not heed the commandment; you partook of the fruit.

78. MES: speak with.

79. MES: stripped (naked).

80. MES: to cover.

81. Perhaps թագել is the same as թագնել (“hide”) (cf. թաքչիմ) with q/p alternation. If so, translate, “He took flight from shame, to hide from God.” See Russell’s translation of թագել in the next stanza as “hide.”

Get up, get out of paradise,⁸² you are dead of sin.
This is no place for a dead man; you have fallen from it.”⁸³

- 29 Ադամայ դալատ խօսելն ու լացն էառ զիս,
Զպատճառն զԵւայ հանելն, ափսոս ու վայ զիս.
35 --Կինըս այս որ ետուր ինձ, սա՛ խաբեաց զիս.
Անմահական փառաց դրախտէն սա կողոպտեաց զիս:

Adam's wretched words and sobbing gripped me.
Eve was the cause of his exile; alas and woe is me!
35 “This woman, whom you gave me, she deceived me,
And from the Garden of immortal glory has deprived me!”

- 30 Ողորմելի կինն այն գերի յօձէն խաբեցաւ.
Եւ մեռաց թոյնքըն մահու յԵւայ թափեցաւ:
Աստուծոյ պատկերն Ադամ խղճաց եւ կերաւ,
40 Իւր ամէն բոլոր ծըննդեամբըն մահու մեռաւ:

The⁸⁴ pitiable woman, prisoner to the serpent, was deceived
And sin's deadly poison then spilled from⁸⁵ Eve.
God's likeness,⁸⁶ Adam, took pity and ate,
40 And died all the death of his progeny.⁸⁷

- 31 Քաղցր եւ բարերարն Աստուած, որ զնոսա ստեղծեաց,
Զկենաց դուռն ու զմահուն գերկուսըն յայտնեաց,
Զանձնիշխան կամքն Ադամայ պըտղովըն փորձեաց,
Զպատուիրանն չպահեցին, նա դատապարտեաց:

Sweet and beneficent God who created them,
The door of life and death: the two He revealed;
The free will⁸⁸ of Adam with the fruit he tried;
They kept not the commandment, and He condemned.

- 32 45 Ընդ Ադամայ դարձեալ ասէ--Ադամ, դու հող իր,
Զպատուիրանըն չպահեցիր, ի հող դու դարձիր
Զկեցար փառօք ի դրախտն, յաշխարհ դու անկիր,
Քրտամբք եւ վաստակօք գործէ դու գերկիր:

Again to Adam He says, “Adam, you were earth.
You did not keep the commandment: to earth return!

82. MES: this Garden.

83. MES: here.

84. MES: That

85. MES: into, NB!

86. MES: image.

87. MES: with all his descendants.

88. MES: autonomy.

You lived not with glory in paradise; fall into the world!
Work the earth with sweat and toil.”

- 33 Փոխանակ տընկոցս անմահ, փուշ բուսանի քեզ,
50 Ի ի լուսեղէն դրախտիս տեղի խաւար տիրէ քեզ.
Անցաւ ՚լ անհոգ էիր՝ հոգօք մաշէ գքեզ,
Մինչեւ գալ օրըն մահու՝ գերեզմանէ գքեզ:

Instead of immortal plants, thorns shall spring up for you,
50 And in place of the luminous paradise, darkness will reign over you.
You had neither pain nor care: now cares will wear you down
Until the day of death comes, when you will be entombed.”⁸⁹

- 34 Ահա եղբայրք իմ սիրելիք, ողորմեցեք ձեզ,
Աղամ հայրն ձեր մեղաւ ու զպարտքն եթող ձեզ,
55 Այն մէկ մարդն որ մեղաւ դատապարտեաց զձեզ,
Ու հետ այն մէկին հետին մահն գերեաց զձեզ:

So pity yourselves, my dear brothers.
Your father Adam sinned and left his debts to you.
The one who sinned condemned you,
And with that one, death imprisoned you in turn.

- 35 65 Բայց զի մարդ ին հողեղէն ու ծնեալ ի մարդոյ,
Չկարացին մարդկան օգնել ու ազատել ի մահոյ,
Ոչ զմեղաց գիրըն ջնջել զհոգոյ եւ զմարմնոյ,
Ի՞նչ զմահու գերի անկեալքս դարձնել ի հողոյ:

65 But as they were of earth⁹⁰ and born of man,
They could not help men and free them from death,
Nor could they erase the book of sins of soul and body,⁹¹
Nor return to⁹² dust those fallen captive to death.

- 36 Անմահ աստուածութեամբըն զմահն կոխեաց,
Անմեղ եւ սուրբ մարմնովն զմեղքըն քաւեաց.
Անարատ ձեռօքն ի խաչն զգիրն ջնջեաց,
Թաղմամբ եւ յարութեամբ յերկինքս կոչեաց:

In deathless divinity, he trampled death.
With his sinless and holy body he atoned for the sin.
With his immaculate hands on the cross he annihilated the writing.⁹³
With his burial and resurrection he summoned the heavens.

89. MES: and it buries you.

90. MES: because they were of dust.

91. MES: of body and soul.

92. MES: bring back from.

93. I.e., the cheirograph.

222–23 9. Այլ մեղեդիք եւ տաղեր հոգոյն սրբոյ Յոհանէս
Պլուզէ

Additional Tunes and Poems to the Holy Spirit by Yovhanēs Pluz

- 37 Յարարածոցս նիւթ առեալ, զԱդամ ստեղծեալ,
10 Նորոգեալ փրչեաց հոգի սուրբ ի նմա:
Սուրբ դրախտին եղեալ, զործել, պահել ըզնա,
Ռաբունին բարի օրինադրէր բանիւ,
Բանիւ հրամայէր մի ճաշակել որթոյն,
Որթոյն գիտութեան, զի մի՛ մահուամբ լիցիս:
15 Յամօթ նա եղեալ, մերկացեալ փրչմանէն,
Փրչմանէն զրկեալ եւ խայտառակ եղեալ:
Յորդորակ / յանկարծ ձայնեալ Տէրն, թէ Ադամ յո՞ւր ես.
Ո՛ւր ես կողոպտեալդ եւ մերկացեալդ փառաց:
20 Հանդերձ ըզգեցեալն հանեալ, եղեալ աղին դրախտին,
Արտաքսեալ զԱդամ ի փառաց դըրախտին:
Նիւթեալ բանսարկուին, կամաց իւր նըւաճեալ,
Նըւաճեալ չարին ստրուկ կամաց իւրոց:
Իւր կամօքն անկեալ, յիւրմէ բարձեալ հոգին:

Having taken matter from the creations, He created Adam,
10 Having made (him) anew, he blew the Holy Spirit into him,
Having set him in the Garden, to work, to guard it,
The good Teacher legislated by speech,
By speech He commanded not to eat of the vine,
The vine of knowledge, lest you die.
15 He was ashamed, being stripped of the breath,
Deprived of the breath, he also became despicable.
Suddenly, the Lord called out, “Adam, where are you?
Where are you, O plunderer, and stripped naked of glory?”
20 Brought forth (expelled) clothed with garments, (him who was) set in the
Garden of Eden,
Having expelled Adam from the glory of the Garden,
The material Devil, captive of his will,
The Evil One captive, slave of his own will,
Fallen through his will, having removed the Spirit from himself.

224–27 Տաղ Ադամայ, Պլուզ Վարդապետի ասացեալ է
Poem about Adam, Pronounced by Pluz *vardapet*

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T’lkuranc’i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 170.

- 38 1 Մեր Տէրն ի դրախտն երեկ,
Աղամայ ձայնեց թէ՛ Ո՛ր ես:
Աղամ թզենայն ի դուրս
Զայս ասաց, թէ՛ Մերկիկ եմ ես:

1 Our Lord came to Paradise,
And called out to Adam, “Where are you?”
Adam replied from the fig tree,
“I am naked.”

Refrain

- 39 Ողորմած, ողորմած ես մարդասէր,
Մի անտես առնէր դու մեզ, տէր:

Merciful, merciful you are, and love men.
Do not ignore us, Lord!

- 40 5 Իմ տէ՛ր, ի քեզնէ կուգեմ,
Որ զԵւայ ու զօձն անիծես,
Նոքայ խափեցին ըզիս
Քո լուսոյն, որ մերկացայ ես.

5 “My Lord, I want you
To curse Eve and the serpent;
They deceived me,
So I was stripped of your light.

- 41 Պտղոյն ինձ ուտել տվին
10 Եւ քէնէ արին սեւերես:
Ողորմած, ողորմած ես մարդասէր,
Մի անտես առնէր դու մեզ, տէր:

They gave me to eat of the fruit,
10 And made me black-faced⁹⁴ before you.”

Refrain

Merciful, merciful you are, and love men,
Do not ignore us, Lord!

- 42 Իմ տէ՛ր, այն հողէն եմ ես,
Քո ձեռքորդ զիս ստեղծեալ ես,
15 Սատանան ցաւեցոյց զիս,
Կու խնդրեմ զցաւս փարատես

“My Lord, I am from that soil,⁹⁵
By your own hands you created me.

94. See note on this in Stone 1990a, 259.

95. Or: dust.

15 Satan saddened me;
I ask you to dispel⁹⁶ my pain.

- 43 Քան ըզջուր ճապաղեցայ,
Կաղաչեմ որ զիս ժողովես,
Ժողովես ու շիշան լնուս,
20 Քո աջովըդ մատնահարես:

I was scattered more than the water;
I ask you to gather me up.
Gather me up and fill a bottle,
20 *Seal it with your right hand.*⁹⁷
Refrain

- 44 Սատանայ տեսաւ զԱդամ
Ի դրախտին դուռն կանգնած,
35 Զերկու ձեռքն իրար ի զարկ
Եւ բարկ-բարկ ինքն ծիծաղեաց:

Satan saw Adam,
Standing at the gate of Paradise,
35 Pounding his two hands together,
And cackled caustically.

- 45 Ադամ զայս պատասխանեաց.
Զինչ տեսար քո բարքդ անիծած,
Թէպէտ ի դրախտէն հանիր,
40 Չի թողու մեր Տէրն ի ձեռաց:

Adam addressed him:
“How did you see your damned ways?
Although you removed us from the Garden,
40 Our Lord does not leave us from his hands.”
Refrain

- 46 Սատանայ տեսաւ զՄովսէս,
Արգելեաց ու շատ մի ի լաց
45 Իմ աստուածախօս Մովսէս
Մեր Տէրն էր է մեզ խռոված,

Satan saw Moses,
Forbade him and cried much:
45 “My divine-speaking Moses,
Why is our Lord stirred up against us?”

96. MES: solace.

97. Russell has: And take power over me with your eye.

- 47 Երբ մեր աշակերտ էաք
Աստուծոյ, Ադամ չէր ըստեղծած,
50 ԶԱդամ ի հողոյ ըստեղծեաց,
Մեր ի մեր փառացն եմք զըրկած:

When we were disciples
Of God, Adam was yet uncreated.
50 *He created Adam from dust,*⁹⁸
We have been deprived of our glory!"
Refrain

- 48 Ի յերկնաւորաց դասուց
55 Սադայել գերեւն էր շրջեր,
Ի յերկնից անդունդս իջեր
'Ի ի լուսոյն խաւար մնացեր,

From the heavenly orders,
Sadaël had turned his face;
From Heaven he descended into the abyss,
And remained obscured from light.⁹⁹

- 49 ԶԱդամ ի դրախտէն հաներ
'Ի յանասնոց երկիրն է ձրգեր.
60 Ամենքս ենք օտար, եղբայր,
Անասնոց երկիր բնակեր:

He took Adam out of Paradise,
And flung him into the world of beasts.
We are all strangers, brother,
Inhabitants of the beasts' land.
Refrain

- 50 Օրհնեալ է Աստուծոյ անունն,
65 Որ փակած դռլին է բացեր,
Զաշխարհս գեղեցիկ ստեղծեր,
Եւ երեք դիմաց բաժաներ.

Blessed is the name of God,
65 Who opened closed doors.
Created the world beautiful,
And divided into three faces;

- 51 Զհրեշտակս ի յերկինս դասեր,
Ադամայ դրախտն է տուեր,

98. Russell omits this line,

99. MES: from light, he lived in darkness.

70 Զերկիր անասնոց տուեր,
Անբանից տեղիք զսա շիներ:

Who arranged the angels in Heaven,
Gave Paradise to Adam.

70 And the earth to beasts
And made these places of the mindless.¹⁰⁰

Refrain

52 Ողորմած, ողորմած ես մարդասեր,
Մի անտես առներ դու մեզ, տէր:

Merciful, merciful you are, and love men.
Do not ignore us, Lord!

228–34 Տաղ Ադամայ ասացեալ ի Պլուզ Վարդապետէ Poem on Adam, Pronounced by Pluz *vardapet*¹⁰¹

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 171–73.

53 1 Ադամ նստել դուռըն ի դրախտին,
Լայր եւ ձայներ ողորմագին,
Աղիողորմ ի դէմ դրախտին,
Կու հառաչէր արտասուագին:

1 Adam sat at the gate of Paradise,
Cried and called piteously,
Miserably at¹⁰² Paradise,
And sighed tearfully.

54 5 Այ՛ սերովբէք, այ՛ քերովբէք,
Այդ որ ի դրախտըն մտանէք,
Զաստուածութիւն աղաչեցէք,
Զայս մեղաւորս հաշտեցուցէք:

5 “Ah, Seraphim! Ah, Cherubim!
You who enter Paradise,
Implore the Divine,
To give these sinners¹⁰³ ease!

100. MES: And made it a place for the animals (i.e., nonrational).

101. There are also variants included in Srapyan's notes.

102. MES: opposite.

103. MES: me, the sinner

- 55 Երեկ էի ի մեջ դրախտին,
 10 Լուսով ծածկեալ աստուածային,
 / Անդ թագաւոր էի յադին,
 Նըման հըզօր թագաւորին,
 Yesterday I was in the Garden,
 10 Covered with godly light.
 There¹⁰⁴ I was king,
 Like the powerful King.
- 56 Վասն Եւայի իմ կողակցին,
 Որ դալտեցաւ խաբմամբ օձին,
 15 Ես այլ նորայ հաւանեցայ,
 Արտաքսեցայ դրախտէն ադին:
 For Eve, partner of my rib,
 Who was spoiled by the serpent's deception,
 15 I, too, was persuaded by him,¹⁰⁵
 And was expelled from the Garden of Eden.
- 57 Զիմ գեղեցիկ զարդերքն առին,
 Զիս անողորմ մերկացուցին,
 Վասըն միոյ պատուիրանին,
 20 Անմահական ծառոյ պտղին:
 They took away my beautiful ornaments,
 They stripped me mercilessly.
 For the sake of one commandment,
 20 The fruit of the immortal tree.
- 58 Հօսկայ մերկ եմ ես հիմայ,
 Եւայ նըստել ու խիստ կուլայ:
 — Էր չի ասել թէ՛ Տէր, մեղայ,
 Դու ես ստեղծել ինձ, ողորմեա՛.
 I am stark naked here.
 Eve sits and cries terribly.
 Why did I not say, “Lord, I have sinned?
 You created me, have mercy!”
- 59 25 Այս մէկ տարապաշս ես դալտեցայ,
 Բանիւ կնոջըն խաբեցայ,
 Երբ խայտառակ տեսայ զԵւայ,
 Փառացըն մերկ զէտ սատանայ,

104. MES: In Eden there

105. Or: her.

25 This one time was I spoiled;
I was deceived by a woman's words.
Then I saw Eve shamed,
Stripped of glory like Satan.

- 60 Ես ի յիւր գուրն վառեցայ,
30 Յանմահ պտղոյն առեալ կերայ,
Ասցի, թէ իմ ստեղծողն զայ,
Մերկ տեսանէ զիս զէտ զԵւայ,
I was inflamed with compassion for her
30 And, taking of the immortal fruit, I ate of it,
And said, "If my Creator comes
He will see me more naked than¹⁰⁶ Eve.

- 61 Նա հայրական սիրով գթայ
Եւ ողորմի ինձ եւ նորայ.
35 Երբ ոտնաձայն Տեառն լուայ,
Գալոյ ի դրախտն եւ ավշեցայ:
With paternal love He will show compassion,
And have mercy on me and on her."
35 When I heard the footfalls of the Lord
Coming to Paradise, I was stupefied.

- 62 Տերեւ թզենոյն զինեւ սփածայ,
Ի մէջ ծառոց անկեալ թագեայ:
Տէրն ձայնեաց, — Ադամ, ուր ես:
40 Ես ձայն տուի, թէ՛ Մերկ եմ ես:
I covered myself with a fig leaf,
Fell amidst the trees, and hid.
The Lord called, "Adam, where are you?"
40 I called out, "I am naked."

- 63 Տէր ըզքո ձայնըդ լուայ ես,
Զահի հարայ ամօթերես:
— Ամ ո՞վ ասաց ձեզ, թէ մերկ եք,
Կամ ո՞վ խաբեաց զձեզ, պատմեցէք:
"Lord, I heard your voice,
And, shamefaced, was gripped by fear."
"Now, relate who told you that you were naked?
And who deceived you?"

106. MES: me naked like.

- 64 45 Էր չի ընկնիլ յոտքն ի նորայ,
 Լալով ասցել թէ՛ Տէր մեղայ,
 / Քանց թէ պատճառ դրրի զԵւայ,
 Յանանց բարեացն թափեցայ:

45 Why did I not fall at his feet
 Crying, saying "Lord, I have sinned,"
 Rather than accuse Eve?
 It is I who have fallen from eternal good.

- 65 Ի կողես կին ստեղծեր զԵւայ,
 50 Պըտողոյն երես ինձ եւ կերայ
 Վերջին բանն էր, որ լուայ,
 Որ խօսեցաւ Տէրն ընդ Եւայ:

From my rib you created the woman Eve,
 50 Who gave me of the fruit and I ate.
 The last thing that I heard
 Was the Lord speaking to Eve:

- 66 Պատուէր տըլի, թէ մի՛ ուտէք,
 Այնկի կերաք դրախտէն ելէք.
 55 Ես ձեզ անանց դրախտն եղի,
 Դուք զանցաւորն սիրեցիք,

"I commanded you not to eat
 But you ate of it: leave Paradise!
 55 I placed you in eternal Paradise,
 But you loved that which is fleeting.

- 67 Ես քեզ կենաց պըտուղ տվի,
 Դու ըզմահուն ճաշակեցիր,
 Ես զքեզ լուսով զարդարեցի,
 60 Դու ըզխաւարն սիրեցիր:

I gave you the fruit of life,
 But you tasted of death.
 I adorned you in light,
 60 But you loved the dark."

- 68 Եւայ պատասխան ետ նըմա.
 — Օձըն խաբեաց զիս եւ կերայ:
 Տէրն անիծեց զօձն եւ զԵւայ,
 Ես այլ ի մէջն գերեցայ:

Eve answered him:
 "The serpent deceived me and I ate."

The Lord cursed the serpent and Eve,
And I was trapped with them.

- 69 65 / Տէրըն հրամեց մեզ թէ՛ Ելէք,
Թէ՛ հող էիք, ի հող դարձէք:
Ես աղաչեմ զձեզ, սերովբէք,
Գանգատ ունիմ, ի՛նձ լսեցէք:

65 The Lord ordered us: “Go!
Earth you were; to earth return!”
I implore you, cherubim,¹⁰⁷
I have a complaint, hear me out.

- 70 Երբ ի յադին դրախտըն մտնէք,
70 Յանմահ պըտողոյն ճիւղ մի առէք,
Բերէք յաչացս ի վրայ դրէք,
Զխաւարեալ աչս ողջացուցէք:

When you enter that Paradise,
70 Take a branch of the immortal fruit,
Bring it and place it over my eyes
And cure my eyes cast into darkness.

- 71 Երբ ի դըրախտըն մըտանէք,
Ըզդրախտին դուռըն մի՛ փակէք,
75 Զիս ի դիմաց կանգնեցուցէք,
Պահ մի հայիմ կարճ, դարձուցէք:

When you enter Paradise,
Do not close the gate of Paradise.
75 Place me before it,
Let me look a moment, and turn me away.

- 72 Ա՛հ, կու յիշեմ ըզձեզ ծաղկունք,
Անուշահամ աղբերակունք
Ա՛հ, կու յիշեմ ըզձեզ թըռչունք
80 Քաղցրաբարբառ, եւ անասունք,

Ah, I remember you, flowers,
Sweet-tasting springs!
Ah, I remember you, birds
80 Sweet-voiced, and animals,

- 73 Որք ըզդրախտըն վայելէք,
Ձեր թագաւորն եկայք լացէք,
Որք ի դրախտն աստուածատունկ

107. MES: seraphim.

Յերկրի ընտրեալք ազգի ազգունք:

Who enjoy the Garden;
Come to your king and cry —
Who are planted by God in Paradise
And chosen from every species in the world.”

237 12. Տաղ Յովհաննէս Պլուզ Վարդապետի ասացեալ (թերի)
A Poem Pronounced by Yovhannēs *vardapet* Pluz (incomplete)

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 174.

- 74 1 Անդ, ի մէջ դրախտին, երեք անձինք կային,
Ադամ եւ Եւայ եւ պատուիրանըն Տեառն.
Օձըն իրամատեաց ըզցանկ այգոյն կենաց,
Արտաքսեաց զԱդամ ի լուսեղէն դրախտէն:

1 There, in the midst of the Garden, were three souls,
Adam and Eve and the Commandment of the Lord,
The serpent ruptured the boundary of the orchard of life,
And banished Adam from luminous Paradise.

- 75 5 Ստունգանել կընոջըն խաբողին բանի,
Մերձեցան ի ծառն, զոր հրամայեաց չուտել:
Ճաշակմամբ պըտողոյն, որով ըզմահ գործեաց,
Կերան եւ ծանեան նոքա, զի մերկ էին:

5 The woman showed disobedience by the deceiver's word;
They neared the tree, of which He had ordered them not to eat,
By tasting the fruit, wherewith he had fashioned death,
They ate and knew that they were naked.

- 76 Կարեցին տերեւս ի թզենոյ ծառոյն,
10 Ծածկոյթ արարին ամօթալից մարմնոյն.
Ոտնաձայն եղել Տեառն Աստուծոյ գալոյն,
Լըւեալ Ադամայ եւ փախուցեալ թագեաւ:

They sewed¹⁰⁸ leaves of the fig-tree,
10 And made a covering for their bodies filled with shame.
There tread of the Lord was of God's coming,
Adam, heard fled, and hid he hid.

108. Russell: desired leaves of.

249–60 15. Տաղ ի Յովհաննէս Պլուզ Վարդապետէ
A Poem by Yovhannēs Pluz *vardapet*¹⁰⁹

- 77 251 Թագ արքայական կազմեալ,
Նախնոյն Ադամայ շնորհեալ,
35 Դու փառք Եւայի բերեալ,
Մայր Մանուէլի սուրբ կոյս:

Having formed the royal crown,
Having bestowed it upon the first Adam,
35 You brought glory to Eve,
Holy Virgin, Mother of Emmanuel.

YOVHANNĒS GARNEC'Ī C13

Text: Yovhannēs Garneć'ī, Աղօթք առ հայրն երկնաւոր “Prayer to the Celestial Father,” in Գիրք աղօթից սրբոյն Եփրեմի Խուրին Աստուոյ *Book of Prayers of St. Ephrem Syrus* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1933).

256 Երկուշաբթի աւուր
Monday

- 1 Արդ, դու կարող եւ մարդասէր, որ յառաջ քան զլինելութիւն երկնի եւ երկրի պատրաստեցեր զարքայութիւնդ ի ժառանգութիւն սրբոց քոց:

Now you, mighty and philanthropic one who prepared your kingdom before the creation of the heavens and the earth as inheritance for your saints . . .
- 2 277–78 Բարերար եւ ամենակալ, յոյս ապաւինի ամենայն տարակուսելոց, Տէր իմ եւ Աստուած իմ, արարիչ էից յանէից եւ նախախնամող բոլորից. որ յայսմ աւուր հրամանաւ քով բաժանեցեր զբազմութիւն ջուրց, զքաղցունսն ամբարձեր ի վեր յամպս տեղալ ի վերայ երկրի ի բոլիւն զաղբիւրս եւ խաղացուցանել զգետս, եւ զաղտաղտիսն թողեր յերկիր ստորին անսահման իմաստութեամբ եւ արկեր անջրպետ ի մէջ նոցա լոյծ եւ հոսանուտ զհաստատութիւնն օդոյ, զի փոխադարձ տուրեւառութեամբ ջուրց մշտնջենապէս հաղորդիլ կարասցեն ընդ միմեանս վերինքն եւ ստորինք յօգուտ համօրէն տիեզերաց, եւ ի պէտս ազգի մարդկան, զոր հանդերձեալ էիր արարչագործել ի վայելումն երանաւէտ փառաց աստուածութեանդ քո:

109. Not included in Russell's translation.

Beneficent and Omnipotent, hope of refuge for all doubters; my Lord and my God, Creator of existent things from nonexistent and provider for all. On this day you divided by your command the multitude of waters. You raised the fresh waters up to the clouds on high to rain over the earth, to bring forth springs and to cause rivers to run, and you left salt waters on the lower earth in (your) unbounded wisdom. And as a divider between them you put the loose and flowing firmament of air, so that the upper and the lower could always communicate with each other through mutual exchange of the waters, for the benefit of the whole universe and for the advantage of the human race, which you were going to create in order that [they] enjoy the blissful glory of your divinity.

396–98 Ուրբաթ անուր

Friday

- 3 Էապէս Բարի եւ ամենակարող զօրութիւն Աստուած յաւիտենական, որ յայսմ անուր հրամայեցեր երկրի, եւ եհան զանասունս եւ զտղունս եւ զգազանս ըստ ազգի. եւ չհանդուրժեալ բնութեամբ Բարիդ արարեր զմարդն ի հողոյ ի պատկեր եւ ի նմանութիւն արարչապետիդ տիեզերաց, եւ կացուցեր տէր եւ իշխան ի վերայ բոլորեցունց քո արարածոց եւ զգուշացուցեր զնա կալ ի պատուիրանի քում, եւ վայելել զբարիսն զոր ետուր (397) նմա ձրի եւ առանց փոխարինի ի քումսմէ առատութենէ:

Եւ արդ, տէ՛ր իմ Աստուած իմ, որ զիս հողս անարգութեան այսպիսի անկշռելի բարութեամբ բարգաւաճեցեր, եւ ինքնին հրապուրանաց թշնամւոյն կենաց անսացեալ պատուիրանաց կենարարիդ հետեցի. եւ օտարացայ ի նմանութենէ հաստողիդ իմոյ Աստուծոյ: Եղծի զգեղեցկութիւն կերպարանաց հոգւոյս՝ ազգի ազգի անօրէնութեամբ, եւ ոչ զարհուրեցայ:

Պերճացուցեր զիս իմացական մտօք խորշիլ ի չարէն եւ ընտրել զբարին. իսկ ես վար/եալ անմտութեամբ յօժարեցայ ի չարիս: Ամբարձեր զիս ի նմանութիւն աստուածութեանդ քո անձնիշխան կամօք, եւ ես ծառայ եղեալ կրից մարմնոյս հաւասարեցայ անասնոց անբանից: Թողի զոյս հրամանաց քոց՝ զոր ետուր ինձ առաջնորդել նովաւ զգնացս ոտից իմոց ի ճանապարհ ուղիդ երկնից օթեւանին, եւ ես ընդ խաւար գնացեալ անկայ ի խորխորատ անելանելի կորստեան վրիի:

Essentially good and omnipotent power, eternal God! On this day, you commanded the earth, which brought forth cattle, creeping things, and beasts after their kind. And, not tolerating through your good nature, you made the man from dust in your image, in your likeness, O Creator of the universe.

And you set him up as master and sovereign over all your creatures, and warned him to observe your commandment and enjoy the goods that you had given to him freely and without compensation, by your generosity.

Now my Lord, my God, who made flourish, with such inestimable kindness, me, the worthless ground. I myself, yielding to the temptation of the antagonist of life, disobeyed your, the Redeemer's, command. And I estranged myself, my Creator God, from your likeness. With various lawless deeds I corrupted the beauty of the form of my soul, and did not tremble.

You glorified me with intelligent mind to shun the evil and to choose the good, but I, conducting myself with mindlessness, preferred evil. You exalted me to the likeness of your divinity with autonomous will, but I served the passions of my body and became equal to irrational animals. I abandoned the light of your commandments, which you had given me to conduct by them the steps of my feet, on the straight way to the celestial abode; but I went toward darkness and fell into the inextricable abyss of perdition.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

BARSEL MAŠKERONC'İ C14

Text: Barseł Maškeronc'ī Մեկնութիւն սրբոյն աւետարանին որ ըստ Մարկոսի *Commentary on the Gospel According to Mark* (Constantinople: Abraham T'erzean Aknec'ī Press, 1826).

- 1 43 Եւ տէ՛ս զայս յառաջին մարդն՝ որ թերեւս եւ ո՛չ մի օր ողջոյն եկաց ի դրախտին, եւ յայսպիսի չարիս կործանեցաւ հանգստեամբն, զի հաւասար Աստուծոյ ցանկայր լինել եւ միում պատուիրանի չկարաց անսալ: Թէ՛ զայլ եւս ժամանակսն առանց փորձութեանց կացեալ էր ո՞րպիսի ինչ չարիս ո՛չ գործէր. յաղագս այսորիկ ասէ, հարկ է զալ փորձութեան եւ զայթազողութեան:

And see this in the first man who perhaps did not remain even one whole day in the Garden restfully, and perished in such misfortunes, for he desired easily to be equal to God and could not obey one command. If he had remained there more time without any temptations, what sort of evil deeds would he not do? For this reason (the Gospel) says, “it must needs be that temptation and traps come.”¹

- 2 121 Զի Ադամ յաղագս բանի եւ կերակրոյ ոչ կարաց հաճոյ լինել Աստուծոյ. կերակրովն՝ զոր կերաւ ի ծառոյն, եւ բանիս՝ զոր պատասխանեաց Աստուծոյ, որով զպատճառն ի կինն եհան, թէ կինս այս՝ զոր ետուր ընդ իս, սա ետ ինձ եւ կերայ: Որպէս եւ այժմ բազումք ասեն, թէ Աստուած արար զիս հեշտասէր եւ կարօտ կերակրոյ, եւ յաղագս այսորիկ ոչ կարեմ ի բաց կալ ի շնութենէ եւ ի շատ ուտելոյ եւ յարբեցութենէ. վասն որոյ այսպիսիքս զրկեալ գտանին ի լուսոյ աստուածութեանն . . .

For Adam could not please God on account of speech and food. Through food that which he ate of the tree and through speech, which he answered God, by which he put the blame on the woman, saying, “This woman whom you gave (to be) with me, she gave me and I ate.”² Like now, many say that “God has made me libidinous and desirous of food, and on account of this

1. This citation based on the Armenian text of Matt 18:7, but expanded.

2. Gen 3:12 with some variation.

I cannot abstain from adultery and from gluttony and from hard drinking,” because of which such (people) are found to be deprived of the light of the Divinity . . .

- 3 354 Ադամ յորժամ մեղաւ, գրեալ է թէ՛ լուաւ զձայն զգնալոյ Տեառն ի դրախտի անդ ընդ երեկս. յորժամ խոնարհեալ էր ի նմանէ լոյս հաւատոյն, եւ պաղեալ էր բոբբոքումն սիրոյն Աստուծոյ, զտեառն մերոյ զգնալն լուաւ՝ որ բաժանեալ էր ի մեղաւոր մարդոյ կարգ իրաւանցն, եւս առաւել կարգ գթութեան Աստուծոյ: Եւ որ ի յայն ժամ ժամանակաւոր փակեաց զդուռն դրախտին՝ մեղանչելով Ադամայ, զղջանալով աւագակին՝ Քրիստոս եբաց նմա յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից. եւ ի ժամն՝ որ Ադամայ ետ զմահ, ի նոյն ժամն երկրորդն Ադամ մեռանելով՝ քակեաց զմահ:

When Adam sinned, it is written that “he heard the sound of the Lord walking in the Garden toward evening”;³ when the light of belief had become low in him⁴ and the fervor of love of God had cooled, he heard the walking of our Lord, who had separated from the sinful man the order of justice and moreover, the order of God’s mercy.⁵ And he who at that hour temporarily closed the door of the Garden, because of Adam’s sinning, when the robber repented, Christ opened (it) for him for ever and ever, and in the hour when He gave Adam death, in the same hour the second Adam, by dying, demolished death.

- 4 355 Վասն էր ի յորբաթու խաչեցաւ Տէրն մեր. զի ի նմա ստեղծաւ Ադամ, ի նմա էանց զպատուիրանաւն, ի նմա ընկալաւ զվճիռ դատաստանին՝ ի նմին ել ի դրախտէն, եւ ի նմին էառ հրաման քերովբէն պահել զդրախտն հրեղէն սրովք շուրջանակի. վասն այսորիկ ի սմին ընկալաւ Քրիստոս զխոցումն տիգաւ ի կողն, եւ արձակեաց զսուր քերովբէն, եւ եմոյծ ի դրախտն զհոգի աւագակին, եւ կցորդեաց անճառ փառացն իւրոց. որպէս խոստացաւ նմա, թէ այսօր ընդ իս իցես ի դրախտին:

Why was our Lord crucified on Friday? Because Adam was created on it, he transgressed the command on it, he was condemned on it, he went out of the Garden on the same (day), and on the same (day) the Cherub received the command to guard the Garden with the fiery, turning sword. For this reason, on this same (day) Christ received the lance’s piercing in his side and broke the sword of the Cherub and introduced the soul of the robber into the Gar-

3. Gen 3:8.

4. Literally: from him, through him.

5. The contrast of God’s justice and mercy is widespread in rabbinic thought; see Stone 1990a, 269, 435–36.

den and shared with him His ineffable glory, as he had promised him that, “Today you shall be with me in the Garden.”⁶

- 5 413 . . . Ի սկզբան լինելութեան մարդոյն՝ զամենայն բարեացն պատճառս եղ Աստուած ի մարդն. որպէս զի մի արտաքուստ ի մեզ բարեացն իցէ մուտ . . .

In the beginning of the creation of man God put all the causes of good things in man, so that the good things should not enter us from outside . . .

ESAYI NČ'EC'Ī C14

Esayi Nč'ec'ī, Վերլուծութիւն քերականութեան *Commentary on Grammar*, ed. L. Xaç'eryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1966).

- 1 188 Մի մի անուն, որ ոչ հատանի յալ ոմն, որք ի նմանէն բաժանին եւ կամ ծնանին, ամենեքեան սոքա իսկ ասին. եւ է՛ն այսոքիկ՝ Ադամ, Սէթ, Ենոփս, Կայինան, Մաղաղիէլ, Յարեդ, Ենովք, Մաթուսաղա, Ղամէք, Նոյ, եւ ամենեքեան սոքա մի ըստ միոցէ, որք ընդհանուր մարդիկ մինչեւ ցայսար . . .

Each single name (is) that which is not divided into any other(s), which are separated from it or are born; all these are indeed stated. And these are they: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel (Malaliēl), Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah; and all these one after the other, that (are) common men, till today . . .

218–19 Թուղթ առ տէր Մատթէոս “Letter to Rev. Matt'ēos,” *Črak'al* 10 (1860): 157–64; 13 (1861): 205–11.

- 2 207 Եւ այրն աւագագոյն պարտ է լինել ըստ ժամանակի քան զկինն որպէս եւ զԱդամ նախ ստեղծեաց Աստուած, եւ ապա զԵւայ . . .

And the man must be more senior in time than the woman, just as God first created Adam and then Eve . . .

GRIGOR TAT'EWAC'Ī C14

Text: Grigor (Tat'ewac'ī), Pupil of Yōhannēs Orotneč'ī, Ի լուծումս Պարապմանց Սրբոյն Գիւրղի (Գիրք պարապմանց) *Commentary on St. Cyril's Scholia (Book of Scholia)* (Constantinople: Astuacatur Press, 1717), 529–774.

6. Or: paradise; Luke 23:43.

- 1 590–91 Բան: Քանզի ո՛չ ասէ՛ ի պատկեր իւր արար Աստուած զմարդն, այլ ըստ պատկերի. Լծ.: Առաջինն իբրեւ ուղղական է. իսկ / վերջինն հողովական, որ նկատէ՛ պատկերակից որդւոյ զոլ զմարդն, եւ ոչ հօր:

Topic: For it (Scripture) does not say “God made the man in his image,” but “according to (his) image.”⁷ Comment: The first (expression) is as if nominative, and the latter is in an oblique case, which regards the man as sharing the same image of the Son and not of the Father.

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Գիրք հարցմանց *Book of Questions* (Constantinople: Astuacatur Press, 1729, repr., Jerusalem: St. James Press 1993).

Յաղագս գործոյ եւ արարչութեանն Աստուծոյ վեցօրեից
(պրակ ԾԲ)

Concerning the Six-Days' Work and Creation by God (Section 52)

Վասն իմաստութեան օձին: Այլ եւ սպանմանն (պրակ ԾԲ)
Concerning the Wisdom of the Serpent; also of the Killing
(Section 52)

- 2 218–19 Հարցումն. Զի՞նչ է իմաստութիւն օձին որոյ պարտ է մեզ նմանիլ:

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ զի զդէմքն ընտրեաց՝ եւ ընդ Եւայի խօսեցաւ . . . / Մահու մարդոյն սկիզբն օձն եղեւ: Եւ զի երկատեսակ էր բանն՝ այսինքն սուտ եւ ճշմարիտ, լեզուն երկճղի եղեւ: Եւ զի զմարդն հողացոյց, ինքն հող եկեր: Եւ զի թեւ եւ ոտք եղեւ չարին, թեւք եւ ոտք իւր կտրեցան: Եւ զի զկենդանին սպանանել ջանայ, ինքն յամէն կենդանւոյ սպանանի: Եւ զի օրհնութիւն ի յանձն փոխեաց, ինքն անիծաւ եւ զրկեցաւ յօրհնութենէ ամենայն կենդանեաց: Եւ զի թշնամութիւն էարկ ի մէջ մարդոյն եւ Աստուծոյ, զթշնամութիւն եղ ի մէջ մարդոյն եւ օձին: Եւ որպէս ընդ գլխոյն պատերազմեցաւ, գլուխն սատակեցաւ: Եւ զի զմարդն ընկեց յերկնից ի յերկիր, ընդ գարշապար ոտից նորա անկանի: Եւ զի բարեկամութեամբ եկն եւ շրջեցաւ ի թշնամութիւն, ինքն յետս շրջի ի խածանելն: Եւ զի նախանձեցաւ ընդ մարդոյն, ի լանջս եւ յորովայնս սողայ: Եւ զի նենգաւոր է, թիւր ընթանայ: Եւ զի զԵ զգայարանս մարդոյն խաբեաց, Ե ման առնու ի գնալն: Եւ զի մերկացոյց զնախաստեղծքն ի փառաց, զխորիս իւր մերկանայ:

Question. What is serpent's wisdom, which we have to imitate?

Answer. First, because he chose the person and spoke to Eve . . . / The serpent became the beginning of man's death. And since his discourse was

7. Gen 1:26.

of two kinds, namely, false and true, the tongue was forked. And since he turned the man into dust, he himself ate dust. And since he was the arms and legs of the Evil One, his arms and legs were cut off. And since he tries to kill the living being,⁸ he is killed by every living being. And since he changed the blessing into curse, he himself was cursed and deprived of the blessing of all animals. And since he put enmity between the man and God, (God) put enmity between the man and the serpent. And as he fought against the head, (his) head was killed. And since he cast the man from heaven to the earth, he falls under the heel of his feet. And since he came with friendship and turned to enmity, he turns back when biting. And since he envied man, he creeps upon (his) breast and belly. And since he is a deceiver, he goes crookedly. And since he deceived the five senses of the man, he makes five circular motions while going. And since he stripped the first-created of glory, his skin is stripped.

Վասն անուան կենդանեաց հարցումն (պրակ ԾԳ)

Question Concerning the Names of Animals (Section 53)

3 Հարց. Վասն էր Ադամ անուանս եղ ամենայն կենդանեաց եւ այլոցն:

Պատասխանի. . . . Երրորդ՝ զի Ադամայ ետ Աստուած՝ զբնական իմաստութիւնն, առ ի ցուցանել զլաւագոյն ծնունդս բանին՝ հրամայէ անունս դնել: Զորրորդ՝ զի ցուցցէ անձնիշխան գոլ զմարդն, վասն որոյ հրամայէ նմա զի գոր ինչ եւ կամեսցի անուն դնիցէ: Հինգերորդ՝ օգնական ետ զկենդանիքդ մարդոյն. որպէս ծառայք տեառնն. անուամբ պարտ էր ճանաչել զնոսա: Վեցերորդ՝ բարերարն Աստուած իւր արարչութեանն կցորդեաց զԱդամ՝ անունս դնելովն: Եօթներորդ՝ զի փչեաց ի նա զշնորհաց հոգին զանազան պարգեւաց, այժմ զքահանայութեան շնորհն երեւեցոյց ի նա: Զի քահանային է անունս դնել յետ աւագանին ծննդեանն: Ութերորդ՝ զխոհեմութեան եւ խօսից եւ ձայնից եւ տէրութեան շնորհն այժմ երեւեցոյց ի յԱդամ

Question. Why did Adam give names to all cattle and other (animals)?

Answer. . . . Third, because God had given Adam natural wisdom; He commands (him) to give names in order to demonstrate the best offspring of the Word. Fourth, in order to show man to be autonomous; wherefore he commands him to give whatever names he wishes. Fifth, he gave these animals as assistants to man, as servants to the(ir) lord; he had to know them by name. Sixth, the beneficent God made Adam companion of his creation by giving names. Seventh, since he had breathed into him the breath of grace of various

8. կենդանի could also be “the living one,” perhaps indicating Adam.

gifts, now he manifested the grace of priesthood in him. For it is the duty of a priest to give names after the birth in the font. Eighth, now he manifested in Adam the grace of prudence and speech and voice and lordship.

Վասն իշխանութեանն Ադամայ հարց (պրակ ԾԴ) Question Concerning Adam's Authority (Section 54)

- 4 220 Հարց. Ո՞րպէս գիտեմք թէ մարդն իշխան է ի վերայ անասնոց. զի ահա բազումք անհնազանդք են. որպէս վայրիք եւ զազանք եւ այլք:

Պատասխանի. Եւ զի մարդն թագաւոր եւ իշխան է ամենայն կենդանեաց յայտ է ի բազմաց: Նախ ի նոյն իսկ աստուածային հրամանացն՝ որ ասէ. (իշխեսցէ ձկանց ծովու, եւ զազանաց, եւ սողնոց:) Երկրորդ զի պատկեր Աստուծոյ է մարդն. այսինքն զի որպէս Աստուած իշխան եւ թագաւոր է ամենայն արարածոց. նոյնպէս եւ մարդն իշխան է ամենայն կենդանեաց: Երրորդ ի նոյն իսկ ի ձեւոյ շինւածոյ մարդոյն. զի ուղիղ գոլով՝ զիշխանականն նշանակէ, իսկ կենդանիքն կոր գլխով զծառայականն ցուցանեն: Չորրորդ յայտ է ի հնազանդելոցն որք կան այժմ ընդ ձեռամբ մարդկան. որպէս ոչխար, պախրէ եւ այլն: Հինգերորդ յայտ է ի փախուցելոցն՝ որ երկնչին ի մարդկանէ որպէս զապստամբեալ ծառայս: Վեցերորդ զի անձնիշխան է մարդն այսինքն իշխէ բանականաւն ցասման եւ ցանկութեան որք են անասնական մասունք: Ուստի յայտ է թէ՛ եւ իշխէ արտաքին անասնոց: Իսկ որք այժմ ապստամբք եղեն՝ վասն բ պատճառի: Նախ զի յորժամ մարդն անհնազանդ եղէւ Տեառն իւրոյ արարչին, յիրաւի անհնազանդք եղեն եւ մարդոյն անասունք տւեալ նմա ի ծառայութիւն: Երկրորդ զի ցորքան իշխէր ինքն ի վերայ անասնական մասանց իւրոց որպէս ասացաք, իշխէր եւ ի վերայ արտաքին անասնոց եւ զազանաց. իսկ յորժամ ապստամբեցին ներքինքն բանականին տեառն իւրեանց ապստամբեցին եւ արտաքինքն մարդոյն տեառն իւրեանց:

Question. How do we know that man is ruler over the animals? For behold, many are disobedient, like the wild (animals) and the beasts and others.

Answer. It is evident from many (signs) that man is king and ruler of all animals. First, from the very divine commands that He says, “let him have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the beasts and the creeping things (Gen 1:26).” Second, because man is an image of God; that is to say, just as God is the ruler and king of all created things, likewise man is the ruler of all animals. Third, from the very form of man’s structure (constitution), for being upright, he symbolizes the lordly, while the animals, having bent heads, exhibit the servile. Fourth, it is evident from the subjected ones which are now under men’s power, such as sheep, cattle, etc. Fifth, it is evident from the (animals) that run away, that are afraid of man like rebellious ser-

vants. Sixth, because man is autonomous, that is to say, through the rational he subdues his passion and desire, which are the animal parts (of the soul). Hence it is evident that he subdues also the external animals. As to those who now became rebellious, there are two reasons (for that). First, because when the man became disobedient to his Lord the Creator, justly also the animals given to him as servants became disobedient to the man. Second, as long as he himself subdued his own (soul's) animal parts as we said, he subdued also the external animals and beasts, but when the internal (irrational parts) rebelled against the rational, their lord, the external ones too rebelled against the man, their lord.

Զի միշտ լոյս է ի դրախտին (պրակ ԾԶ)

That There Is Always Light in the Garden (Section 56)

5 222 Հարց. Ո՞րպէս ասէն թէ դրախտն լուսոյ արեգական չէ կարօտ:

Պատասխանի. Վասն զի բնական լուսաւոր է օդն որ ի մէջ դրախտին: Եւ այլք ասէն թէ ծաղիկք եւ տերեւքն լուսընկալք են: Եւ այլք թէ՛ իմանալի է լոյս նոցա. եւ կամ յեթերէն: Իսկ այլք ասէն թէ՛ վասն առաւել բարձրութեանն՝ լոյս արեգականն ոչ երբեք հեռանայ ի նմանէ. թէպէտ ի ներքոյ երկրի անցանէ ... Ոմանք ի դրախտն եւս ասէն թէ տիւ եւ գիշեր լինի. կամ գարուն եւ աշուն. զոր մեզ չէ ընդունելի: Այլ որպէս ասէ Յոբ, (զի՞նչ երկիր իցէ յորում լոյսն ազանիցի:) յայտ է զի գիշեր ոչ լինի անդ. եւ ոչ եղանակք փոփոխին: Զի ոչ անձրեւ եւ ոչ ձիւն եւ ոչ հողմ է անդ: Զի ի վերին մասն օդոյն է մերձեցեալ՝ որ է առաւել բարեւուն. եւ ամպոց եւ հողմոց շարժմունք ի միջին մասն օդոյս ծնանին. եւ ի դրախտն ոչ հասանեն:

Question. Why⁹ is it said¹⁰ that the Garden does not need the light of the sun?

Answer. Because the air that is in the Garden is naturally luminous; and others say that flowers and leaves receive light; others, that their light is intelligible, or from the ether, while others say that because of the very high position, the light of the sun never becomes distant from it, although the sun passes under the earth. . . . Some (people) say, moreover, that there is day and night also in the Garden, or spring and autumn, which is not acceptable to us. But, as Job says, “Which is the land in which light passes the night?”¹¹ it is evident that there is no night there, and the seasons do not change. For there is no rain, nor snow, nor wind there. For it is close to the upper part of the air (atmosphere), which is the most vivifying. And the movements of

9. Literally: how.

10. Literally: do they say.

11. So the Armenian of Job 38:19a.

clouds and winds are born in the middle part of the air and do not reach the Garden.

Զի անապական է դրախտն. That the Garden is Incorruptible

- 6 222–23 Հարց. Արդ զի՞նչ ասեմք, անապական՝ թե ապականացու է դրախտն:

Պատասխանի. Որպէս առաջին հարքն անապական գոլ ասացին. եւ մեք հետեւողք նոցին անապական ուսանիմք: Դարձեալ եւ ի կարգէ իրացն յայտնի է: Նախ զի թէ ապականացու էր որպէս երկիրս այս, վասն էր զմարդն պատուելով ի դրախտն եղ Սատուած: Երկրորդ եւ յորժամ մարդն ապականացաւ մեղօք, վասն էր ի դրախտէն հանէր զնա: Զի ապականեալ մարդն ապականացու դրախտին էր վայելչական: Երրորդ զի համաձայնին ամենեքեան՝ որ նախ քան զյանցանելն զմարդն անապական ասեն: / Արդ եթէ մարդն անապական էր յապականացու տեղուոջ ոչ բնակէր: Ապա թէ ոչ ի տեղուոջն եղել ապականացու ¹² եւ ոչ ի գործոյն:

Question. Now what do we say, is the Garden incorruptible or corruptible?

Answer. As the first fathers said it (to be) incorruptible, we too, their successors, learn (that it is) incorruptible. It is also evident from the order of things. First, if it was corruptible like this earth, why did God, honoring the man, put (him) in the Garden? Second, when the man was corrupted by sin, why did he expel him from the Garden? Because the corrupted man would suit a corruptible Garden. Third, all agree when they say that the man (was) incorruptible before the transgression. / 223 / Now since man was incorruptible, he would not live in a corruptible place; if not, then he became corruptible because of the place and not because of (his) deed.

- 7 Հարցումն. Ո՞ր երեւի անապականութիւն նորա:

Պատասխանի. Յայն՝ զի փայտ դրախտին անփուտ է եւ տերեւն անփտելի. եւ պտուղն անծորելի. եւ ծաղիկն անթառամելի. եւ Սատուծոյ տնկեալ ձեռօք իւր. տեղի անապական ձեռագործին Ադամայ . . .

Question. Where is its incorruptibility manifested?

Answer. In that the wood of the Garden does not putrefy, and the leaves do not rot, and the fruit (is) undroppable, and the flowers (are) unfading, and

12. In the edition, this word is abbreviated as ապակցւ, and we have resolved this as ապականացու ("corruptible").

God had planted them with his hands; an incorruptible place for the hand-made Adam . . .

- 8 Հարց. Պտուղն որ հատանի եւ ծասկի եւ ի մարմին փոխարկի. որպէս է անապական:

Պատասխանի. Պտուղքն դրախտին շօշափելիք են եւ կերակրելիք, հատանի եւ ծասկի եւ փոփոխի ըստ պատահական որակացն. եւ անապական մնայ ըստ գոյացութեանն եւ ներգործութեանն ի կերօղն . . . Դարձեալ փայտն կենաց ունէր կերակրելի պտուղ: Որպէս ասէ գիրն, (գուցէ ձգիցէ զձեռն իւր եւ առցէ եւ կեցցէ յաւիտեան:) Արդ, զի՞նչ ասես վասն կենաց պտղոյն. եթէ կերակրելի է եւ հատանելի, որպէս է կենաց պտուղ: Եւ թէ կեանս տայ որպէս հատանի: Արդ որպէս կենաց պտուղն կերակրելի է եւ կենսունակ, նոյնպէս ամենայն պտուղքն կերակրելիք էին եւ անապականք:

Question. How is the fruit incorruptible that is picked and chewed and converts into body?

Answer. The fruits of the Garden are tangible and edible, are picked and chewed and converted according to casual¹³ qualities, but remain incorruptible by nature and by (their) influence on the eater. . . . Besides, the tree of life had edible fruit. What does Scripture say? “. . . Lest he put forth his hand and take . . . and live forever.”¹⁴ Now, what do you say about the fruit of life? If it is edible and can be picked, how is it the fruit of life? And if it gives life, how is it picked? Now, as the fruit of life is edible and vivifying, likewise all the fruits were edible and incorruptible.

Վասն գիտութեան պտղոյն հարցումն (պրակ ԾԷ)

Question about the Fruit of Knowledge (Section 57)

- 9 223–24 Հարցումն. Զի՞նչ էր պտուղն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի:

Պատասխանի. Պտուղ էր զգալի եւ կերակրելի: Որպէս կենաց պտուղն անմահութեան էր պատճառ. եւ այլ ամենայն պտուղքն լիութեան: Նոյնպէս եւ նա գիտութեան էր պատճառ բարւոյ եւ չարի որպէս ասէ սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիսացին: Դարձեալ ասէ աստուածաբանն, պտուղ էր բարի ի բարի արարչէն գոյացեալ: Եւ յիւր ժամանակն ուտելոյ բարի էր ըստ այլ ամենայն պտղոցն. այլ տարաժամ ուտելն, եւ առանց հրաման արար զնա չար: Դարձեալ ասեն ոմանք, նախ քան զուտելն ի պտղոյն գիտէր Ադամ զբարին փորձիւ, եւ զչարն գիտութեամբ. իսկ

13. Or: accidental.

14. Gen 3:22.

յորժամ եկեր՝ գիտաց զչարն փորձիւ, եւ զբարին գիտութեամբ. այն է գիտութիւն բարւոյ եւ չարի:

Եւ այլք ասեն թէ՝ պատճառ էր բարւոյ եւ չարի՝ ոչ ըստ ինքեանն, այլ օրինօքն: Զի թէ հնազանդեալ էր օրինացն, լինէր բարւոյ պատճառ. եւ ոչ հնազանդեալ՝ եղև չարի պատճառ . . .

Question. What was the fruit of knowledge of good and evil?

Answer. It was a perceptible and edible fruit. As the fruit of life was the cause of immortality, and all other fruits (were the cause) of abundance, likewise it was the cause of knowledge of good and evil, as St. Gregory of Nyssa says. Besides, the theologian says, “the fruit was good, created by the good Creator. And eaten in due time, it was good like all the other fruit, but the untimely eating, and without command, made it evil.” Again, some say, before eating of the fruit, Adam apprehended good by experience and evil by knowledge, and when he ate, he apprehended evil by experience and good by knowledge; that is the knowledge of good and evil.

And others say that it was the cause of good and evil not according to itself but through the law. For if (Adam) had obeyed the law, it would have been the cause of good, and because (he) did not obey, it became the cause of evil . . .

10 Հարց. Զի՞նչ էր պտուղն որ կերաւ Ադամ:

Պատասխանի. Ոմանք թուզ ասեն թէ ի նոյն ժամն որ կերաւ եւ մերկացաւ՝ եւ կարեաց ի տերեւոյ նորա. եւ վկայ բերեն թէ՝ վասն այն անէծ զթգենին յԵրուսաղէմ: Այլք ասեն թէ՝ խաղող էր. կամ ցորեան. զի զգինին ետ գրաւական կենաց՝ եւ զհաց մարմնոյն: Այլք ասեն թէ՝ խնձոր. վասն զի բազում անգամ ի յերզսն խնձոր յիշի: Եւ զոր զիրք սուրբ ոչ է յայտնեալ, զի՛արդ իշխէ մարդ խօսիլ: Այլ այս է ճշմարիտն. որ մինն ծառ էր կենաց՝ եւ մինն գիտութեան. եւ ի դրախտին այլ ոչ գոյր նման նմա. թող թէ յերկրիս, որպէս ասեմք թէ այս է կամ այն:

Question. What was the fruit that Adam ate?

Answer. Some say a fig, for at the same time as he ate and was stripped, he sewed a girdle of its leaf. And they corroborate this (saying), that is why (God) cursed the fig-tree in Jerusalem.¹⁵ Others say that (it was) a grape or wheat, for (Christ) gave wine as pledge of life and bread, of the body. Others say that (it was) apple, for often the apple is mentioned in the Songs.¹⁶ And how can man speak of that which the Holy Scripture has not revealed? But this is the truth, that one was the tree of life and the other of knowledge. And

15. Cf. Jer 8:13.

16. I.e., Song of Songs, e.g., 2:3 and 8:5.

there was no other (tree) in the Garden like it, a fortiori on the earth. How can we say that it is this or that?

224-5 Թէ անծորելի է պտուղն դրախտին (պրակ ԾԸ) That the Fruit of the Garden Is Undroppable (Section 58)

11 Հարց. Ո՞րպէս է կերակրելի՝ թէ անծորելի է պտուղն:

Պատասխանի. Զէ՛ զարմանք հրաշիցն Աստուծոյ. որպէս ամենայն ընդունք զհոտն զգան, եւ աչք զգոյնն կրէ յինքն, եւ անծորելի է անապակաս են յենթակայէն.

Question: How is the fruit edible if it is undroppable?

Answer. There is nothing surprising in God's miracles. As all nostrils sense smell, and the eye bears color in itself, (likewise) (they, i.e., the fruit, are) both undroppable and do not lack any quality.

12 Հարց. Ծառք դրախտին ո՞րպէս ըմպեն ջուր, թէ անապականք են:

Պատասխանի. Որպէս լուսաւորք երկնից քարշեն յերկրէ եւ ի ծովէ զհիւթ՝ եւ կերակրին եւ անապականք են: Եւ որպէս հուր ճրագին զիւղն կերակրի, եւ ինքն ոչ առա/ւելու: Նոյնպէս եւ տունկք դրախտին ընպեն զջուր գետոյն որ ոռոգանէ զդրախտն:

Question. How do the trees of the Garden drink water, if they are incorruptible?

Answer. As the lights of heaven draw the moisture from the earth and the sea, they both feed themselves and are incorruptible; and as the flame of a lamp feeds on oil and does not itself increase, likewise the plants of the Garden drink the water of the river that irrigates the Garden.

13 Հարց. Տկարանայ միտքս թէ յապականացու երկրէ է դրախտն եւ մասն է երկրի, ո՞րպէս է անապական:

Պատասխանի. Թէպէտ ըստ նիւթոյն յապականացու յերկրէ է, այլ ըստ կատարման յանապակութիւն փոխեցաւ: Որպէս մարմինն Ադամայ յերկրէ է եւ անապական, եւ մանանայն յօդոյ եւ անապական ...

Question. My mind is unable (to understand): if the Garden is of corruptible earth and is a part of the earth, (so) how is it incorruptible?

Answer. Though according to substance it is of corruptible earth, yet according to its perfection it was changed to incorruptibility. As Adam's body is from the ground and is incorruptible, and manna is from the air and is incorruptible . . .

14 Հարց. Վերջին հուրն ի կատարածի՝ զդրախտն փոփոխէ՞ թէ ոչ:

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ ասեմք թե ո՛չ: Զի որպէս ջրհեղեղն ոչ եմուտ ի դրախտն զի ոչ էր ապականեալ մեղօք: Նոյնպէս եւ վերջին հուրն նովին չափով հեղեղին ի նոյն տեղիսն ընթանայ: Եւ զի ո՛չ է ապականացու դրախտն՝ եւ ոչ փոփոխի: Զի երկիր անիծաւ եւ ապականեցաւ, եւ ոչ դրախտն: Դարձեալ ասեմք թե գոյացութիւն դրախտին Բ իր է. այսինքն նիւթ եւ ապականութիւն: Արդ՝ վերջին հրովն յորում վառին երկինք եւ երկիր, ըստ նիւթոյ մասին պարզի. այլ ըստ անապականութեանն մնայ անփոփոխ: Նոյնպէս եւ ըստ թանձրութեանն:

Question. Does the last fire at the consummation¹⁷ change the Garden or not?

Answer. First, we say “no.” For, as the flood did not enter the Garden, for it was not corrupted by sin, likewise the last fire moves over the same places within the same limits, as the flood.¹⁸ And since the Garden is not corruptible, it also does not change. For the earth was cursed and corrupted, and not the Garden. Besides, we say that the being of the Garden is two things, namely, substance and incorruptibility.¹⁹ Now, according to its substance it is purified by the last fire in which the heavens and the earth burn, but according to its incorruptibility, it remains unchanged. Also according to its density.

Թէ ի դրախտին ծնունդ ոչ լինի (պրակ ԾԹ)

That There Is No Birth in the Garden (Section 59)

15 Հարց. Ի դրախտին լինէ՞ր մարմնական ծնունդ որպէս այժմ ի յերկրի, թէ ոչ:

Պատասխանի. Ոմանք կամին ցուցանել ապականացու գոլ գորախտն եւ շաղաշարումն արուի եւ իգի. եւ առաւել ցանկութիւն եւ ծնունդ զաւակաց: Եւ բազում մտացածին բանս տողեն: Որ ընդդէմ է ըստ գրոց. եւ ուղղափառ հարց: Նախ զի ասէ աստուածային հրամանն «աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք գերկիր» յերկիր ետ հրաման աճելոյ եւ ոչ ի դրախտին: Երկրորդ զի դրախտն է տեղիք անապական. եւ ոչ լինէր ի մարդոյն ծորումն ինչ աղտեղութեան. եւ ոչ որպէս տնկոցն: Արդ եթէ ծորումն ոչ լինէր եւ ոչ ապականութիւն մարմնական, եւ ոչ ծնունդ ախտական: Երրորդ եկեղեցի սուրբ օրինակ է դրախտին: Արդ պսակ օրհնութեան դնի յեկեղեցին, եւ մանկարարութիւն ոչ: Նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտն եղեւ պսակ օրհնութեան, եւ մանկարարութիւն ոչ: Չորրորդ զի թէ լինէր անդ ախտական ծնունդ որպէս ի յերկրի, կարօտանայր

17. I.e., the eschaton.

18. For the idea of two floods, one of water and one of fire, see *History of the Forefathers* §41 in Stone 1996b, 198–99; *Abel* §§4.3–4; Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.70–71; Ginzberg 1960.

19. So emending անապականութիւն to ապականութիւն, see next phrase.

մարդն ամենայն պիտոյից գաւակին: Մննդեան. աճելոյ. խնամելոյ. եւ այլոցն, եւ այսոքիկ ոչ են ի դրախտին. եւ ոչ զգեստ մարմնական: Հինգերորդ նախ քան զյանցանելն էին Ադամ եւ կինն մերկ եւ ոչ ամաչէին. վասն զի ոչ ունէին ցանկութիւն հեշտութեան: Վեցերորդ զի ասէ սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիւսացին ի զիրս կազմութեան եթէ առաջին կեանք դրախտին էր կու/սութիւն եւ անապականութիւն եւ հրեշտակաց նմանութիւն. եւ յետ յարութեանն վերըստին դառնամք յառաջին կեանս դրախտին. յանապականութիւն եւ ի հրեշտակաց հաւասարութիւն: Արդ եթէ առաջին կեանքն էր ամուսնութեամբ եւ որդեծնութեամբ որպէս նոքա շաղակրատեն. ապա եւ ի վերջին յարութեանն նոյնպէս է լինելոց: Եւ լինի աղանդն այնոցիկ որք ասեն մարմնաւոր արքայութիւն, եւ կերակուր եւ ամուսնութիւն, եւ այլ աղճատանք: Չորս զայնպիսի ասացողքն եւ ընդունողքն որոշեալ նգովէ եկեղեցի Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ: Իսկ եթէ ոք հարցանէ, ապա վասն էր ստեղծան ծննդական անդամքն յորժամ ոչ ծնանէին ի դրախտին: Ասեմք թէ՛ կանխազէտ է Աստուած եւ նախ ծանեալ զի ոչ կարէին աճիլ անմեղութեամբ ի դրախտին որպէս զհրեշտակս վասն որոյ կազմեաց նոցա մարմին. զի յերկրի անասնապէս աճեցին: Եւ թէ ոք պնդեսցէ զօրինակ եւ զորպիսութիւն անմեղութեան ծննդեանն: Չայս ասեն սուրբ վարդապետք եթէ՛ որպէս հրեշտակք աճեցին յերկինս, նոյնպէս եւ մարդկան ազգ ի դրախտին: Եւ թէ ասեն, հրեշտակք յանէից գոյացան եւ ոչ ի միմեանց. իսկ մարդկան ազգ պարտ էր ի միոյն ծնանիլ: Ասեն սուրբք, որպէս ի միոյ լուսոյ բազում լոյսք վառին: Եւ թէ ասեն՝ անկատար է այս ծնունդս: Ասեն սուրբք, եթէ զոր օրինակ աստուածածին կոյսն Մարիամ կուսութեամբ ծնաւ առանց սերման կատարեալ եւ ճշմարիտ: Նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտին կարէին ծնանիլ կուսութեամբ եւ առանց սերման. կատարեալ մարդ ի բնութենէն Ադամայ: Եւ կամ որպէս Եւա ի կողիցն Ադամայ: Եւ կամ այլ ինչ եղանակաւ որպէս ինքն զիտէ ամենազէտ արարիչն: Այլ մեզ զոր զիրք սուրբք լռեալ են լռութեամբ պատուեսցի. եւ մի՛ մտացածին բանիւք վտարանդեալ ի գուր կորըստեան անկցուր:

Question. Was there corporeal birth in the Garden, as now on the earth, or not?

Answer. Some want to show that the Garden is corruptible and (there is) copulation of male and female; and moreover, desire and birth of children. And they limn many fabulous things, which are contrary to Scripture and the orthodox Fathers. First, because the divine command says, “be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth.”²⁰ He ordered them to be fruitful on the earth,²¹ and not in the Garden. Second, since the Garden is an incorruptible

20. Gen 1:28.

21. Emending to յերկրի; cf. the following ի դրախտին.

place, there was no trickle of impurity from the man, like from the plants. Now if there was no trickle, (neither was there) bodily corruptibility nor impure birth. Third, the holy church is the type of the Garden. Now, the marriage ceremony²² takes place in the church, but not childbirth. Likewise in the Garden the marriage ceremony also took place, but not childbirth.²³ Fourth, if there were impure birth there, as on the earth, the man would be short of all necessities for the child; of nurture, of growing, of care and other things, and these things are not in the Garden, nor any bodily garment. Fifth, before sinning Adam and the woman were naked and were not ashamed, because they did not have lust. Sixth, because St. Gregory of Nyssa says in the book of formation²⁴ that the primordial life in the Garden was virginity and incorruptibility and resemblance to the angels. And after the final resurrection, we return to the primordial of the Garden, to incorruptibility and to resemblance to the angels. Now, if the primordial life were with marriage and childbirth, as they babble, then also during the last resurrection it will be the same. And it is a heresy of those, who say (that there was) corporeal kingdom and food and marriage (in the Garden), and other nonsense. The church of Christ God having excommunicated, anathematizes those who say and accept such things. And if somebody asks, then for what were the reproductive organs created, if they did not bear children in the Garden? We say that God is prescient and he knew before, that they could not increase innocently in the Garden, like angels, for which reason he formed their body, so that they might increase on the earth like animals. And if one persists (in looking for) an example and character of sinless birth, the holy doctors say this, that as the angels increased in heaven, in the same way the human race (increased) in the Garden. And if they say: the angels came into being from the nonexistent and not from each other, and the human race had to be born from somebody. The saints say: just as many lights are kindled from one flame. And if they say that such birth is imperfect, the saints say that just as the Mother of God Virgin Mary bore in virginity without sperm, perfectly and truly, in the same way too in the Garden (they) could give birth, in virginity and without sperm, to a perfect man from Adam's nature; or as Eve (was born) from Adam's rib; or in any other way, as the omniscient Creator himself knows. But let us respect with silence that about which the Holy Scriptures keep silent, and not, being banished for fictitious words, fall into the abyss of perdition.

22. Literally: the crown of blessing. *uquulj* is the usual term for the wedding ceremony.

23. Perhaps here "the begetting of children" and so below: the issue is the emission of semen.

24. I.e., his *On the Making of Man*.

Վասն գլխաւոր արարածոց հարցումն Question Concerning the Chief Creations

16 226–27 Հարց. Քանի՞ են գլխաւոր արարածք:

Պատասխանի. Ոմանք ԻԲ ասեն ըստ նշանարացն եբրայեցոց. եւ այլք ԻԴ ըստ ժամուց աւուրցն: Եւ այսպէս ասեն. յԱռաջին աւուրն է արարածք եղեն. հրեղէն երկինքն եւ չորս տարերք. եւ լոյս եւ հրեշտակք ընդ լուսոյն: յԵրկրորդ օրն, հաստատութիւն. եւ ջրեղէն կամարն. եւ ծովք. եւ ցամաք երկիր: յԵրրորդ օրն, բոյսք եւ տունկք եւ դրախտն: Ի չորրորդն, արեգակն եւ լուսին եւ աստեղք: Ի հինգերորդն, լողականք եւ թռչունք: Ի վեցերորդն, ցամաքային կենդանիքն. այլ եւ Ադամ եւ Եւա: Եւ յեօթներորդն զհանգիստ արդարոցն ասեն: Այլ եւ տիւ եւ գիշեր որք ընդ լուսոյն եղեն: / Որովք լինին ԻԴ արարածք: Եւ սոքա են գլխաւորագոյնքն: Իսկ ամպք եւ հողմունք ի յօդոյն են. որպէս քարինք եւ երկաթք յերկրէ. սոյնպէս աղբիւրք եւ գետք ի ծովէ:

Question. How many are the chief creations?

Answer. Some (people) say twenty-two, according to the characters of the Hebrews,²⁵ and others twenty-four, according to the hours of the days. And they say as follows: on the first day seven creatures were made: the fiery heavens and the four elements, and the light and the angels with the light. On the second day—the firmament and the watery vault, and the seas and the dry land. On the third day—the shoots and the plants and the Garden. On the fourth—the sun, the moon, and the stars. On the fifth—the swimming creatures and the birds. On the sixth—the terrestrial animals, and also Adam and Eve. And on the seventh they say the repose of the righteous. Also the day and the night, which came into being with the light. With these, there are twenty-four creations, and these are the most important ones. But the clouds and winds are from the air, just as the stones and metals from the earth, likewise the springs and rivers from the sea.

229 Սկիզբն հինգերորդ գրոց հարցմանցս յաղագս լինելութեան մարդոյն Beginning of the Fifth Book of Questions Concerning the Creation of Man

17 Հարցումն. Վասն է՞ր մարդն ի հողոյ ստեղծաւ: (պրակ Ա)

Պատասխանի. Ասեմք վասն բազում պատճառի: Նախ՝ որպէս ասացաւ ի վերոյ, հողն ունի զայլ Գ տարերքն ի յինքն խառնեալ.

25. Compare *Jub.* 2:15.

յորժամ ի հողոյ ասէ՝ իմանալի է զԴ տարերս . . . Չորրորդ՝ հողն զխոնարհութիւն նշանակէ . . . Զի թէ զպատկերն Աստուծոյ տեսեալ ի մեզ հպարտացուք, զհողն տեսեալ խոնարհեցուք . . . Վեցերորդ զի տեսցէ Ադամ թէ յապականացու հողոյս անապական մարմին կազմեցաւ վասն փառաց. եւ յորժամ կորոյս մեղօքն եղև ապականացու, ինքն իցէ պատճառ ապականութեան իւրոյ . . . Դարձեալ ի հողոյ ստեղծ ի նախատինս սատանայի. զի յամօթ լիցի յորժամ տկարս այս եւ կաւեղէնս ի փառսն մտանէր յորմէ նա որ փառաւորն էր անկաւ:

Question: Why was Man Created from Dust (Earth)? (Section 1)

Answer. We say, for many reasons. First, as it has been said above, the dust (earth) has the other three elements mixed with it. When it [i.e., the Bible] says from the ground, one should understand the four elements. . . . Fourth, the ground symbolizes humbleness. . . . So that if we are proud, having seen God's image in ourselves, we will be humble having seen the dust (earth). . . . Sixth, so that Adam would see that the incorruptible body was made of the corruptible dust (earth) for the sake of glory, and that when he lost it by sinning, it became corruptible; (thus) he himself is the cause of his own corruptibility. . . . Besides, he created (the man) of the dust (earth) to the shame of Satan, so that he might be ashamed when this weak and clay-made (man) entered the glory, from which he who was glorious had fallen.

Վասն կնոջն հարցումն (պրակ ԼԲ)

Question Concerning the Woman (Section 32)

18 276 Հարց. Վասն էր զկինն ի կողէն ստեղծ եւ ոչ ի հողոյ:

Պատասխանի. Վասն բազում պատճառի: Նախ զի մի՛ համեմատ առն կարծիցէ զինքն. այլ որպէս ոչ համահասակ եւ ոչ համահող լիցի: Երկրորդ զի մի՛ անփոյթ եւ անհնազանդ եղիցի մարդոյն. այլ ի նմանէ ի կողիցն, զի որպէս մարմին հնազանդ լիցի գլխոյն: Երրորդ զի որպէս խօսիլ գլխոյն է նոյնպէս լոռութիւն կողին է. զի լուռ լիցի կինն ընդ իշխանութեամբ առնն: Չորրորդ զի մի տկար ոք կարծիցի. այլ որպէս կողեղ եւ հաստակող ասեմք զըմբիշս. այսպէս զօրեղ եղիցի կինն ի տնօրինել գտունն: Հինգերորդ զի կողն է աման եւ տեղի երիկամանց. յորմէ շարժի ցանկութիւնն. զի թէպէտ ոչ շարժէ գնա. այլ ազդումն ինչ ունի գնմանէ: Վեցերորդ ոչ առնու ի գլխոյն եւ ոչ ի յոտիցն. այլ ի միջացն. զի խրատէ զմարդիկ ոչ հաւասար գլխոյն պատուել զկինն, եւ ոչ անարգել իբրեւ զոտք. այլ միջակ պատուով չափաւորել գնա: Եօթներորդ զի պարունակածէ է կողն. ի նշանակել, զի կինն պարունակիչ եւ հաւաքիչ է տան առն եւ ընչից: Ութերորդ զի կողն կեռ գոլով՝ ցուցանէ զկինն նենգ գոլ եւ երկմիտ. կեռ, այսինքն

խեռ ընդ առն: Իններորդ՝ զի որպէս կողից երեսն որ ի փորն նայի՝ կոկ գոլով եւ մզնատեսակ. իսկ մէջն փուչ եւ մրրախառն. այսպէս սէրն գոր ցուցանէ առ այրն, նօսր առ ի ցոյցս՝ եւ երեսս միայն ունի. իսկ ի սիրտն զմրուր դառնութեան: Տասներորդ՝ որպէս կողն զգորութիւնն քարշէ եւ տայ ի թիկունքն եւ պնդէ զնա. այսպէս կիին զփառս եւ զինչս առն յինքն քարշելով թանձրացուցանէ եւ պնդէ զինքն:

Իսկ կոչի կին: Նախ՝ զի յառնէ իւրմէ առաւ: Երկրորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կէս մարդոյ: Երրորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կող մի, որ է զօրութիւն մի: Չորրորդ՝ կին, զի ի կենդանւոյ առաւ: Հինգերորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կողաբոյս կամ կողածին: Վեցերորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կայանք եւ հանգիստ մարդոյն: Եօթներորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կրօղ զօրութեան եւ ընչից առն: Ութներորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կցորդ եւ օգնական առն յամենայն գործս: Իններորդ՝ կին, նշանակէ զթոյլն եւ զտկարն: Եւ վասն կրկին պատճառի է տկար: Նախ զի ոչ ունի զառնողական զօրութիւնն. որպէս եւ յամենայն կենդանիս էգն: Երկրորդ՝ զի ի ձախ կողէ շինեցաւ կինն. եւ տկար է ձախ կողմն մարդոյս: Տասներորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կեանք. զի որպէս կենօք է տեւել, նոյնպէս տեսակ մարդոյս ի ձեռն կնոջ ծննդեանն տեւէ, եւ կայ մնայ մինչ ի կատարած: Վասն այսր պատճառի կոչեաց զանուն կնոջ իւրոյ կեանս. զի աճումն է եւ ծնունդն եւ մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց:

Question. Why did he create the woman from the rib and not from dust?

Answer. For many reasons. First, so that she would not consider herself comparable to the man, but as not being of the same age nor of the same dust. Second, in order that she would not neglect and disobey the man, (but he made her) from him, from the ribs, so that like the body she would obey the head. Third, as speaking is (characteristic) of the head, likewise silence is (characteristic) of the rib, so that the woman would be silent under the authority of the man. Fourth, so that she should not be considered a weak person, but just as we call athletes robust and firm-ribbed, thus the woman should be strong in managing the house. Fifth, because the rib is the container and the place of the kidneys, whence sensuality is moved, for although (the rib) does not provoke it, yet it has some influence on it. Sixth, she is not taken from the head nor from the feet, but from the middle, in order to admonish men not to honor the woman like the head, and not to dishonor (her) like the feet, but to limit her to medium honor. Seventh, as the rib is round, in order to symbolize that the woman is the container and the collector of the man's house and goods. Eighth, for the rib, being crooked, shows the woman to be insidious and duplicitous; crooked means stubborn to the man. Ninth, like the surface of the rib that faces the belly is smooth and membranous, and the inner part is empty and full of dregs, likewise the love that she demonstrates to the man, is delicate outwardly and has only exterior, but there is only bitter dregs in the heart. Tenth, as the rib draws the power and gives it to the

back and strengthens it, likewise the woman, drawing to herself the man's glory and goods, makes herself thick and firm.

And she is called woman. First, because she was taken from her husband.²⁶ Second, woman, as if the half of a man. Third, woman as one rib, which is one power. Fourth, woman, because she was taken from a living being. Fifth, woman, as grown from a rib or born from a rib. Sixth, woman, as if an abode and repose for the man. Seventh, woman, as if bearer of the power and the goods of the man. Eighth, woman, as the companion and assistant of the man in all affairs. Ninth, woman means the weak and powerless one. And she is weak for two reasons. First, because she has not the virile strength, like the females of all living creatures. Second, because the woman was made from the left rib, and the man's left side is weak. Tenth, woman, as life, for she continued alive thanks to life; similarly the human race lives through women's childbirth, and exists until the end. For this reason he named his wife "life," because she is increase and birth and the mother of all living creatures

Վասն զի ոչ ամաչէին (պրակ ԼԵ)

Concerning That They Were Not Ashamed (Section 35)

19 278 Հարց. Վասն էր ոչ ամաչէին Ադամ եւ կինն:

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ վասն պարզամտութեանն. զի որպէս տղայք ոչ ամաչեն անծածուկ ունելով զմասունս. նոյնպէս եւ նոքա: Երկրորդ՝ վասն անմեղութեանն. զի ամօթն յետ մեղացն է: Երրորդ՝ զի չէին առեալ զպատուէրս որ ծնանէր զերկեւոյ եւ զգուշութիւն. որ ի պակասումն զգուշութեան ամօթն է: Չորրորդ՝ զի ընդ ծառս դրախտին եւ յանթառամ ծաղիկսն եւ ի բազմապատիկ պտուղսն՝ պշուցեալ էին, ոչ զերկնչիլն գիտէին եւ ոչ զամաչելն: Հինգերորդ՝ զի մտօք յաստուածային խոկումն էին վերացեալ, եւ զգայարանօք ընդ գործս հրաշիցն. եւ ոչ էին պարապեալ քննութեան անձին . . . Վեցերորդ՝ զի թէպէտ ի ձեռագործ հանդերձից մերկ էին, սակայն ի լուսոյ շնորհաց զարդարեալ էին:

Question. Why Adam and the woman were not ashamed?

Answer. First, because of simplicity, for as children are not ashamed having the parts (of the body) uncovered, likewise they were (i.e., not ashamed). Second, because of sinlessness, for shame follows sin. Third, for they had not received the command which begat fear and precaution, as shame is (produced) by dearth of precaution. Fourth, because they were amazed at the trees of the Garden and unfading flowers and very variegated fruits and were unaware of both fear and shame. Fifth, because they had soared in their

26. Gen 2:23.

thoughts to divine contemplation and in their senses (they were captured) by miraculous deeds and did not devote themselves to self-examination. . . . Sixth, because although they were naked of handmade clothes, nonetheless, they were adorned with the light of grace.

Վասն երկոտասան պարգեւաց մարդոյն (պրակ ԼԶ) On the Twelve Gifts of the Man (Section 36)

20 278–79 Երկոտասան պարգեւք էին ի դրախտին զոր կորոյս Ադամ: Նախ տեսութիւնն Աստուծոյ: Երկրորդ խօսակցութիւնն: Երրորդ անմահութիւն: Չորրորդ լուսեղէն պատմուճան: Հինգերորդ անախտ կեանք: Վեցերորդ անծերանալի հասակ: Եօթներորդ վայելչութիւն անաշխատ փափկութեան դրախտին: / Ութերորդ մշակութիւն Աստուծոյ. այսինքն անմահ տնկոցն երկրագործ եւ պահապան: Իններորդ սէր եւ գութ Աստուծոյ ի վերայ մարդոյն հնազանդութեամբ պատուիրանին որ գայր առ նա: Տասներորդ թագաւորութիւն ի վերայ ամենայն ձեռակերտաց: Մետասաներորդ քահանայութիւն: Երկոտասաներորդ մարգարէութիւն: Զայս երկոտասան պարգեւս էհան ի մէնջ Եւա: Նախ ի տեսութենէն, զի ոչ եւս յաւել տեսանել զերեսս Աստուծոյ: Ի խօսակցութենէն, զի մինչ ի Յորդանան այլ ոչ ասի հօր Աստուծոյ խօսիլ ընդ մարդկան: Իսկ յանմահութենէն, զի վճիռ էհատ ասելով «հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս:» Ի լուսաւոր պատմուճանէն, յորժամ կերին ի պտղոյն եւ ծանեան զի մերկ էին եւ արարին սփածանելիս: Իսկ յանախտ կենացն, «տրտմութեամբ եւ քրտամբ կերիցես զհաց:» Իսկ յանծերանալի հասակէն, «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուցին ի քեզ:» Իսկ ի պահպանութենէն, «յորմէ պատուիրեցի չուտել կերեր արդեօք ի նմանէ:» Իսկ ի վայելչութենէն, ասէ «էհան զնոսա եւ բնակեցոյց ընդդէմ դրախտի փափկութեան:» Իսկ ատելութեան ցոյց, «գուցէ ձգիցէ զձեռն իւր:» Ի թագաւորութենէն, «մարդ ի պատի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ. հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից:» Ի քահանայութենէն, զի ոչ իշխեաց պատարագ մատուցանել ի կեանս իւր: Իսկ մարգարէութիւնն լռեաց զի ոչ եւս երեւի բան մի յիշատակ շնորհաց նորա:

There were twelve gifts in the Garden that Adam lost. First, vision of God. Second, the conversation (with him). Third, immortality. Fourth, the luminous garment. Fifth, life without blemish. Sixth, non-advancing age. Seventh, enjoyment of the labor-less delight of the Garden. Eighth, serving God, that is (being) cultivator and keeper of immortal trees. Ninth, God's love for and mercy on the man who approached him observing the command. Tenth, reign over all made by hand. Eleventh, priesthood. Twelfth, prophecy. Eve took away these twelve gifts from us. First, (she deprived us) of the vision, for (we) no longer see God's face. Of conversation, for until the Jordan, God the Father

is no longer said to speak with men.²⁷ And of immortality, for he resolved saying, “You were dust and to dust you shall return.”²⁸ Of the luminous garment: when they ate of the fruit and recognized that they were naked and made girdles. And of life without blemish, “in sorrow and in the sweat of your face shalt thou eat bread.”²⁹ And of non-advancing age, “thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to you.”³⁰ And of keeping, “Have you eaten that of which I commanded you not to eat?”³¹ And of enjoyment, it says, “He drove them out and made them dwell before Garden of delight.”³² And the demonstration of hatred (is), “lest he put forth his hand.”³³ Of kingship: “But man was in honor and realized not: He became equal to the dumb beasts.”³⁴ Of priesthood, for he did not have authority to offer sacrifice during his life. And prophecy fell silent, for no single word appears any more as a memory of His grace.

Դարձեալ վասն շնորհաց եւ յանցմանցն Ադամայ հարցումն (պրակ ԼԷ)

Again a Question Concerning Adam's Gifts and Transgression (Section 37)

21 279 Ո՞ր է է շնորհքն Ադամայ գոր ետ Աստուած:

Պատասխանի. Այսպէս ասեն վարդապետք: Նախ զի արար Աստուած: Երկրորդ ինչի: Երրորդ միտք: Չորրորդ կամք: Հինգերորդ գիտութիւն: Վեցերորդ բանաւորութիւն: Եօթներորդ գործականութիւն:

Question. Which are Adam's seven gifts that God gave?

Answer. The doctors say the following. First, that God created (him). Second, the soul. Third, reason. Fourth, (free) will. Fifth, knowledge. Sixth, rationality. Seventh, activity.

22 Հարց. Եւ զի՞նչ է եօթն յանցանքն:

279 Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ զի ցանկացաւ աստուծանալ: Երկրորդ զի հաւատաց օձին: Երրորդ զի հնազանդեցաւ կնոջն առաւել քան Աստուծոյ: Չորրորդ զի եկեր ի պտղոյն: Հինգերորդ զի թաքեաւ: Վեցերորդ զի ոչ զղջացաւ մեղայ ասելով: Եօթներորդ զի զԱստուած ասաց պատճառ. եթէ կիինս գոր ետուր սա՛ ետ ինձ ուտել:

27. Relating to Christ's baptism; see Matt 3:17 and parallels.

28. Gen 3:19.

29. Gen 3:19.

30. Gen 3:18.

31. Gen 3:11.

32. Gen 3:11.

33. Gen 3:22.

34. Ps 49:12, 22 = Arm 48:13, 21.

Question. And which are the seven transgressions?

Answer. First, that he wished to become God; second, that he believed the serpent; third, that he obeyed the woman rather than God; fourth, that he ate of the fruit; fifth, that he hid; sixth, that he did not repent saying, “I have sinned”; seventh, that he accused God (saying), “This woman whom you gave, she gave me to eat.”³⁵

23 279 Հարց. Որո՞ց է պատժոց ընդունակ եղել:

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ զի մերկացաւ յանմահութենէն եւ յանասնոց կարգ անկաւ: Երկրորդ՝ զի զրկեցաւ ի կենացն փայտէն եւ ի դրախտէն արտաքսեցաւ: Երրորդ՝ զի ընդդէմ դրախտին բնակեցաւ եւ ի միշտ նախանձէն մաշեցաւ: Չորրորդ՝ զի քրտամբ եւ աշխատութեամբ վարեցաւ: Հինգերորդ՝ զի ցաւօք եւ հեծեծանօք ապրեցաւ: Վեցերորդ՝ զի յառաջ քան զիւր վախճանն ետես զմահ կնոջն եւ որդւոյն: Եօթներորդ՝ զի լուծաւ եւ եմուտ յարգանդ երկրի. այսինքն ի գերեզման:

Question. What seven punishments did he receive?

Answer. First, that he was stripped naked of immortality and fell into the rank of animals; second, that he was deprived of the tree of life and was expelled from the Garden; third, that he settled opposite the Garden and wore himself out by perpetual envy; fourth, that he lived by sweat and toil; fifth, that he lived in grief and laments; sixth, that before his decease he saw the death of his wife³⁶ and his son; seventh, that he decomposed and entered the womb of the earth, that is, into the grave.

Վասն Ժ աստիճանի անկմանն Ադամայ (պրակ ԼԸ) Concerning the 10 Degrees of Adam's Fall (Section 38)

24 280–81 Բայց սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիւսացին Ժ աստիճան դնէ անկման մարդոյն ի դրախտէն ի գիրս կուսութեան: Որով եւ որդիքս վասն պարտուց իւր արտաքոյ մնացաք: Եւ որ ոք կամեսցի զդարձն, անդրէն ի ձեռն նորին յարմարութեան այսինքն նորին կարգին կարողանայ ելանել ի նոյն: Արդ՝ անկման աստիճան առաջին էր հեշտութիւն. որ ունի յինքեան գերեք կարգն: Նախ զդարձումն յետս աստուածային փառացն. եւ վասն այն շրջեցաւ ի զբօսանս դրախտին: Երկրորդ՝ հեշտութիւն խօսակցիլ ընդ օձին. եւ վասն այն կամեցաւ լսել զի հեշտացաւ վասն փառաց աստուածանալոյն: Երրորդ՝ հեշտութիւն տեսութեանն եւ ճաշակելեացն. ըստ որում «գեղեցիկ էր ի տեսանել. եւ քաղցր ի կերակուր:» Չորրորդ՝ ամօթն. «բացան

35. Gen 3:12.

36. This contradicts *Pen. Adam* 45(33), 48(40):3, and 48(42):2.

ասէ աչք երկոցունցն, եւ տեսին զի մերկ էին:» եւ վասն այն արարին ի թգենւոյն ծածկոյթ: Հինգերորդ երկիւղն յայնմ. զի լուսն գձայն գնալոյ Տեառն եւ երկեան: Վեցերորդ ոչ եւս համարձակութեամբ կալ առաջի Աստուծոյ: Եօթներորդ տերեւօք եւ սուերօք թաքչիլն. ըստ այնմ «լուայ գձայն գնալոյ եւ երկեայ. քանզի մերկ էի եւ թաքեայ:» Ութերորդ մաշկեղէն հանդերձն. ոչ ըստ ոմանց թէ մորթ մարմնոյս, զի ունէր զայս ի ստեղծմանէն: Այլ մորթ մաշկեղէն ստեղծեաց եւ զգեցոյց նմա փոխանակ լուսեղէն զարդուն. զմեռելութիւն նորա նշանակելով: Որպէս ասէ, «արար հանդերձս մաշկեայ, եւ զգեցոյց նմա:» Եւ ապա իններորդ ի ցաւալից երկիրս այս պանդխտանալ: Որպէս ասէ «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսուցէ քեզ երկիր. եւ քրտամբ երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո զամենայն աւուրս կենաց քոց:» Իսկ Ժ երորդ յորում ամուսնութիւնն մխիթարութիւն տուաւ մեռելոյն, ըստ այնմ, «աճեցէր եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք զերկիր:» Եւ դարձեալ «տրտութեամբ ծնցես որդիս:» Տեւ, զի յայտնապէս ցուցանէ սուրբն, զի թէ պահպանութեամբ կացեալ էին ի դրախտին, ոչ եւս ամուսնութեամբ լինէր աճումն: Այլ կամ իբր զհրեշտակս, կամ որպէս ի միոյ լուսոյ բազումք, կամ կուսութեամբ ծնունդ, որպէս սուրբ կոյսն Մարիամ աստուածածին սրբութեամբ եւ կուսութեամբ ծնեալ փոխեաց զկարգ բնութեան ծննդեանս որ ի սերմանէ առն եւ կնոջ. զի սա ծնունդ միայն ի մօրէ . . .

/ Եւ արդ՝ հեռանալոյ մեզ ի դրախտէն կենաց՝ վերջին ամուսնութիւնն եղեւ. զայն նախ պարտ է թողուլ, եւ ապա յերկրաւոր հոգւոց եւ տառապանաց հեռանալ: Երկրորդ՝ զմաշկեղէն պատմութեանն մերկանալ այսինքն զխորհուրդս մարմնեղէնս եւ զմեռելոյսիս . . . Եւ Ե երորդ ոչ եւս թգենեաւ այսինքն դառն վարուք ստուերանալ. տերեւ թգենւոյն դառն է եւ փշոտ ըստ մեղացն առակի . . .

But St. Gregory of Nyssa in his book on virginity speaks of ten degrees of the fall of the man from the Garden. That is why we, sons, too, remained outside because of the father's debt. And whoever wishes to return, at once he can ascend to the same (place) with the same ease, that is to the same degree. Now the first grade of the fall was lust, which has three degrees in itself. First, the turning away from divine glory and due to that, he went around in the pleasures of the Garden. Second, the lust of conversation with the serpent, and due to that, he was willing to listen, because he lusted for the glory of becoming God. Third, the lust of seeing and tasting according to: "it was pleasant to the sight, and good for food."³⁷ Fourth, the shame: "the eyes of them both" it says, "were opened, and they saw that they were naked."³⁸ And for that reason they made a cover from the fig-tree. Fifth, the fear accord-

37. Gen 3:6.

38. Gen 3:7.

ing to: “they heard the sound of God coming and were frightened.”³⁹ Sixth, no more standing boldly before God. Seventh, hiding behind the leaves and shadows according to: “I heard the sound of coming, and I was frightened, because I was naked; and I hid myself.”⁴⁰ Eighth, the garment of skin, not, as according to some, the skin of the body, for he had this from the creation. But He made a leathery skin and garbed him⁴¹ instead of the luminous adornment, symbolizing his mortality. As it says, “and he made leather garments and clothed him.”⁴² And then ninth, the sojourn in this sorrowful earth. As it says, “thorns and thistles shall the earth bring forth for you,”⁴³ and “by the sweat of your face shall you eat your bread, all the days of your life.”⁴⁴ And tenth, when marriage was given for consolation to the mortal (man) according to: “be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth.”⁴⁵ And besides, “in pain shall you bring forth children.”⁴⁶ Behold, the saint shows explicitly that if they had remained in observance in the Garden, increase would not have been by marriage. But, birth would be either like (that of) the angels, or like many (lights are born) of one light, or birth in virginity, as the Holy Virgin Mary the Mother of God, having given birth in purity and virginity, changed nature’s order of birth which is of the sperm of man and a woman, for this was a birth only from a mother. . . . And now, when we left the Garden of life, the consequence was marriage. First, it is necessary to abandon it, and then, to become distant from earthly cares and sufferings. Second, to strip off the leather robe, that is bodily and mortal thoughts. . . . And fifth, not to be shaded by a fig-tree, that is, by bitter behavior; the fig leaf is bitter and thorny, according to the simile of sin . . .

Վասն մաշկեղէն հանդերձին հարցումն (պրակ ԼԹ) Question Concerning the Leather Clothing (Section 39)

25 281 Զի՞նչ է մաշկեղէն հանդերձն զոր զգեցոյց Աստուած Ադամայ:

Պատասխանի. Մաշկն է կենդանական մորթ զոր ստեղծեաց Աստուած եւ զգեցոյց զԱդամ եւ զԵւա: Եւ զուստին մի հարցանէր թէ ի կենդանւոյ էառ, եւ թէ նոր գոյացոյց. զի ամենայն ինչ կարելի է Աստուծոյ . . .

Question: What is the leather garment with which God clothed Adam?

39. Gen 3:8.

40. Gen 3:10.

41. I.e., Adam.

42. Gen 3:21.

43. Gen 3:18.

44. Gen 3:19.

45. Gen 1:28.

46. Gen 3:16.

Answer. It is the leather of an animal skin that God created and clothed Adam and Eve. And do not ask whence (it came), whether he took it from an animal or created (it) anew, because everything is possible for God . . .

Թէ վասն էր մաշկեղէն կոչի մարմին մեր (պրակ Խ) Why Is Our Body Called Leather? (Section 40)

26 282 Հարց. Որպէս ասէն մաշկեղէն հանդերձ գմարմինս մեր:

Պատասխանի. . . . Այսպէս մաշկեղէն հանդերձն նշանակէ գոխրալի եւ ախտաւոր մարմինս: Որ յետ յանցանացն փոխեցաւ եւ եղև թանձր եւ ծանր եւ մահկանացու եւ ընդդիմահար եւ աղտեղի: Զոր յանմեղութեանն էր մարմինն Ադամայ անչարչարելի եւ երազ եւ պայծառ եւ թեթև: Որպէս ասէ աստուածաբանն թէ ոչ ինչ էր ծածկոյթ ի մէջ նոցա եւ Աստուծոյ. իսկ յետ մեղացն փոխեցան այսոքիկ. վասն որոյ մաշկեղէն հանդերձին ցուցմամբն նշանակէ գմարմինս: Եւ թէ որ ասիցէ, այսոքիկ ի յարութեանն են լինելոց անկարօտ մարմնոցն: Ասեմք եթէ՝ զոր ինչ ի յարութեանն աւուր լինելոց է սրբոցն, զսկիզբն անդանօր սերմանեաց ի նախնի մարդն Ադամ. զի թէ յիւրում ժամանակին կերեալ էին ի կենաց պտղոյն, լինէին կատարեալ անմահք. եւ փոխէին յարքայութիւնն: Եւ այսպէս էր միջասահման կեանք նոցա զոր ասէն ի մէջ մահու եւ անմահութեան: Զի զանմահութեան եւ զանապականութեան սկիզբն եւ զսերմն ընկալաւ Ադամ: Եւ ունէր առաջադրեալ իր զերանութիւնն եւ զթշուառութիւնն. որ է անմահութիւն եւ մահ: Զի պահելով զպատուիրանն ի կատարեալ անմահութիւնն ժամանէր յերկինս, իսկ անցանելովն փոխեցաւ ի մահ եւ անկաւ յերկիր: Եւ թէ որ ասիցէ, եւ երկրորդն Ադամ Քրիստոս՝ գմարմինն Ադամայ ունէր, եւ էր թանձր եւ ծանր:

Question. How do they say that our body is a leather garment?

Answer. . . . Thus the coat of skin symbolizes this sorrowful and infirm body, which changed after the transgression and became thick and heavy and mortal and hard (opaque) and impure. While being innocent Adam's body was impassible and quick and shining and light. As the theologian says, there was no covering between them and God. But after the sin they changed, that is why by showing the skin-coat it indicates the bodies. And if anyone says that these will be not needing bodies in the resurrection, we say that whatever will happen to the saints on (the day of) resurrection, he sowed its beginning there in the first man Adam. For, if they had eaten of the fruit of life in due time, they would have become perfectly immortal and would have passed to the kingdom. And such was their life, intermediate, as it is

said,⁴⁷ between death and immortality. For Adam had received the beginning and the seed of immortality and incorruptibility, and he had the blessedness and misery set before him, which are immortality and death. For, by observing the command, he would arrive at perfect immortality in heaven, but by transgressing, he was removed to death and fell onto the earth. And if one says that the second Adam, Christ, also had Adam's body and it was thick and heavy . . .

298 Վեցերորդ հատոր հարցմանց զինչ զիրքն է Մովսէսի
վասն աշտարակին (պրակ է)
Sixth Part of the Questions, Which Is the Book of Moses concern-
ing the Tower (Section 7)

- 27 Եւ թէ ո՞ր է Ադամայ լեզուն: Ասեմք եթէ՝ քաղդէացին որ է՝ արապն. զի մնաց առ Եբեր եւ ոչ խառնակեցաւ:

And which is Adam's language? We say the Chaldean, that is the Arabic, for it remained with Eber and was not mixed.

391 Վասն աւարաց (պրակ ԿԶ)
Concerning Depredations (Section 66)

- 28 Զի ասէն թէ Խ օր էր պայմանն Ադամայ. յետ Խ աւուր ուտէր ասէն ի փայտէն գիտութեան եւ սրբութեամբ որդիս ծնանէր. եւ ապա ուտէր ի կենաց փայտէն եւ վերափոխէր . . .

For they say that Adam's limitation was forty days; they say, after forty days he would eat of the tree of knowledge and would beget children in purity, and then he would eat of the tree of life and be transformed . . .

591 Իններորդ հատոր վասն նոր օրինաց եւ եկեղեցւոյ վասն
մկրտութեան (պրակ ԽԹ)
Ninth Volume Concerning the New Law and Concerning the Bap-
tism of the Church (Section 49)

- 29 591 Մեղքն Ադամայ այն է որ զարդարութիւն կորոյս. եւ մեղօք եւ ցանկութեամբ ծնաւ զորդին. եւ այն մեղքն սկզբնական կոչի. եւ ոչ թողցի եթէ ոչ ի մահն Քրիստոսի մկրտեսցի:

47. Literally: as they say.

Adam's sin is that he lost righteousness and begat his son in sin and desire. And that is called original sin, and it will not be forgiven unless he is baptized in the death of Christ.

776 Հարցմունք Գեորգ վարդապետի եւ լուծմունք Գրիգորի նորին հարազատի

Questions of Gēorg *vardapet* and Solutions of the Very Same Grigor

Հարցումն Գ. Question 3

30 Արդ՝ առաջնոյն ասեմք թէ՛ ի պատկեր արարչին ինքնիշխան տէրութեամբ եւ անմեղութեամբ կազմեցաւ առաջինն մարդ։ Եւ պատուեալ երկակի զարդու. եւ պարգեւեալ եւ խոստացեալ պատուիրանօք։ Իսկ յանցանել նորա՝ կորոյս զամենայն. ոչ միայն զխոստացեալն, այլ եւ զպարգեւեալն. զի ըստ որում յանմեղութենէն մեղանշական գտաւ, այսպէս մահու եւ ապականութեան գրաւեցաւ։ Ուստի ասացաւ թէ մահու մեղցիս, ոչ սոսկ. այլ զկրկնակի նշանակելով մահ. այսինքն զմեռանիլն մարմնով եւ զպատժիլն հոգւով։

Now, first we say that the first man was formed in the image of the Creator, with autonomous authority and sinlessness, and being honored by twofold ornaments, both granted and promised by commands. And when he sinned, he lost everything, not only that which was promised but also that which was granted. For as from sinlessness he became sinful, likewise he was captured by death and corruption. Thence it was said, “you shall surely die,”⁴⁸ meaning not a simple but a double death, that is, to die in the body and to be punished in the soul.

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Գիրք որ կոչի Ոսկեփորիկ Book Called Oskep'orik. (Constantinople: Abraham dpir Press, 1746). Հատոր երկրորդ. Յաղագս մարդեղութեան բանին Second Volume, Concerning the Incarnation of the Word.

Վասն Ադամայ եւ հրեշտակաց։ Գլուխ ԺԸ Concerning Adam and Angels: Chapter 18

31 177–80 Ասէ մարգարէն. «փոքր ինչ խոնարհ արարեր դու զմարդն քան զհրեշտակս քո։» Վեց ինչ է փոքրութիւն առաջին մարդոյն քան զհրեշտակաց։ Նախզի մարդն ունի զմարմին. եւ հրեշտակք /

48. Literally: die by death; see Gen 2:17.

անմարմինք են: Երկրորդ՝ մարդն հողեղէն. եւ նոքա լուսեղէնք: Երրորդ՝ մարդն ի յուրբաթու արարաւ. եւ նոքա յառաջին աւուրն ընդ լուսոյն գոյացան: Չորրորդ՝ մարդն ի դրախտին եղաւ. եւ հրեշտակք յերկինս են: Հինգերորդ՝ մարդն պիտոյացաւ կերակրոյ եւ վայելչութեան դրախտին. եւ հրեշտակք անկարօտ են: Վեցերորդ՝ մարդն ի մէջ մահու եւ կենաց էր. եւ հրեշտակք անմահ բնութեամբ: Այսպէս վեց իրօք՝ խոնարհ է մարդն քան զհրեշտակս: Իսկ վեցիւք առաւել ունի զպատիւ քան զհրեշտակս: Նախզի մարմնով եւ հոգով եւ մտօք պատուեցաւ. որպէս ասէ. «Փառօք եւ պատուով պսակեցեր զնա:» Երկրորդ երեք շնորհիւ զարդարեցաւ ի յերից անձանցն. այսինքն, թագաւորութեամբ, քահանայութեամբ եւ մարգարէութեամբ. ըստ այնմ, «զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր:» Երրորդ զի ի պատկերն արարաւ մարդն. եւ վասն հրեշտակաց ոչ ասէ պատկեր եղեալ: Չորրորդ զի ըսկիզբն ամենայն մարդկան մին մարդն է. որպէս / հայր Աստուած սկիզբն է ամենայնի. իսկ հրեշտակք յօշից եղեն: Հինգերորդ զի հրեշտակք մարդոյն սպասաւոր եւ պաշտօնեայք եղեն. ուստի յայտ է զի յետ յանցմանն զնոյն կարգ պահեցին. Վեցերորդ զի տէր եւ աստուած եղև մարդն հրեշտակաց եւ ընդ աջմէ հօր նստաւ. եւ երկրպագեցին նմա յորժամ բանն մարդ եղև: Այլ է փառօք եւ պատուով պսակելն զնա: Դարձեալ ի խորհուրդ երկրորդն Ադամայ: «Փոքր ինչ խոնարհ արարեր զմարդն:» Եւ այս վեց կերպիւ տեսանի: Նախ զի կամաւ խոնարհեցաւ ի յարգանդ կուսին: Երկրորդ զի «բանն մարմին եղև:» Երրորդ ի յերկրի շրջեցաւ մարմնով: Չորրորդ կրից եւ վաստակոց ընդունակ եղև: Հինգերորդ չարչարեցաւ եւ խոցեցաւ Վեցերորդ մեռաւ եւ թաղեցաւ: Չայսոսիկ հրեշտակք ոչ ունին: Այս փառօք եւ պատուով պսակեցաւ: Նախզի խաչին պսակեալ, զմահ մեռոյց. եւ զթշնամին կապեաց: Երկրորդ զպարտսն Ադամայ եւ զանէծս եբարձ: Երրորդ զհոգիսն ազա/տելով, զդժոխս աւերեաց. զոր ոչ կարացին հրեշտակք: Չորրորդ յարութեամբն տիրեաց երկնի եւ երկրի. կենդանեաց եւ մեռելոց եւ այլն: Հինգերորդ զի եւ ի յերկինս. եւ ընդ աջմէ հօր նստաւ: Վեցերորդ զի «ամենայն լեզու խոստովան լիցի երկնաւորաց եւ երկրաւորաց եւ այլն:» Եւ յարուցանէ զմեռեալս եւ փառօք պսակէ: Այս է փառօք պսակելն Քրիստոսի. զոր չունին հրեշտակք. եւ այլն բազում գլխով ցուցաւ ի վերոյ:

The prophet says, “you have made him but a little lower than your angels.”⁴⁹ The lesser nature of the first man compared with the angels is in six (things). First, because the man has body and the angels are bodiless. Second, the man is of dust and they are luminous. Third, the man was made on Friday, and they came into being on the first day with the light. Fourth, the man was put in the Garden, and the angels are in heaven. Fifth, the man was in need of food and the delight of the Garden, and the angels are not in need. Sixth,

49. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6.

the man was between death and life, and the angels are immortal by nature. Thus, the man is lower than the angels through six things. But by six (things) he has more honor than the angels. First, because he was honored by body and soul and mind, as Scripture says, “And crowned him with glory and honor.”⁵⁰ Second, he was adorned with three graces by the three Persons, namely, with royalty, priesthood, and prophecy, according to, “You put all things in subjection (under his feet).”⁵¹ Third, because the man was made in the image, and about the angels (Scripture) does not say they are image. Fourth, because one man is the beginning of all humans, as God the Father is the beginning of everything, while the angels came into being from nothing. Fifth, because the angels were the servants and ministers of the man, whence it is evident that after the transgression they remained in the same rank. Sixth, because the man became the lord and god of the angels and was seated on the right hand of God, and they worshiped him when the Word became man. This is to crown him with glory and honor. Again, concerning the mystery of the second Adam. “You made man a little lower.”⁵² And this is seen in six ways. First, he voluntarily descended to the Virgin’s womb. Second, because “the Word became flesh.”⁵³ Third, he walked on the earth in body. Fourth, he accepted passion and pain. Fifth, he was tortured and pierced. Sixth, he died and was buried. The angels do not suffer⁵⁴ such (things). But he was crowned with glory and honor. First, being crowned with the cross, He killed death and bound the Enemy. Second, He abolished Adam’s debt and curse. Third, releasing the souls, He destroyed hell, which the angels could not do. Fourth, by his resurrection He became ruler over the heaven and the earth, over the living and the dead, etc. Fifth, because He ascended to heaven and was seated on the right hand of the Father. Sixth, “that every tongue will confess the heavenly and earthly,” etc.⁵⁵ And (he) raises the dead and crowns them with glory. This is Christ’s crowning with glory, that the angels do not have. And other things have been demonstrated in many chapters above.

Վասն եկեղեցւոյ եւ Ադամայ Concerning the Church and Adam

- 32 182 Դարձեալ գիտելի է. զի ասէ աստուածաբանն. թէպէտ Ադամ անծերանալի էր հասակաւ եւ անտրտում ուրախութեամբ այլ չորս իրօք այժմ եկեղեցի սուրբ առաւել է: Զի գեղեցիկ է ըստ հոգւոյն քան

50. Ps 8:5 = Arm. 8:6.

51. Heb 2:8.

52. I.e., than the angels. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6; Heb 2:7.

53. John 1:14.

54. Literally: have.

55. The source of the quotation is unclear.

զԱդամ որ ի դրախտին: Նախ զի՝ Ադամ ձեռօք Աստուծոյ արարաւ եւ բանիւ որպէս այլ արարածք. իսկ եկեղեցի սուրբ՝ մարդեղութեամբն Քրիստոսի եւ չարչարանօք մահուամբ եւ յարութեամբն Քրիստոսի սրբեցաւ. որ գերագոյն է պատին եւ փառքն քան զնորայն: Երկրորդ զի Ադամ ի մեջ մահու եւ կենաց էր. իսկ սրբեալն աւագանաւ յանմահութիւն գրեցաւ: Երրորդ Ադամ խոստմամբ առնէր զարքայութիւնն վերին. իսկ մրկրտեալն արդեամբ զխոստացեալ տեղին նմա ընկալաւ: Չորրորդ զնա ի պատկերն Աստուծոյ արար. իսկ զսա՝ որդի Աստուծոյ եւ ժառանգակից Քրիստոսի, ունելով զպատկերակցութիւն. եւ այսու առաւելեալ: Այսքան Ադամայ. եւ հրեշտակաց. եւ Տեառն. եւ եկեղեցւոյ:

Again, one should know that the theologian says: Although Adam was not growing older in age, and there was not sorrowing in his joy, nevertheless the holy church is now higher in four things. Because it is more beautiful according to the Spirit than Adam who was in the Garden. First, because Adam was made by God's hands and by speech, like other creations, whereas the holy church was purified by Christ's incarnation and passion, death and resurrection; which is a higher honor and glory is higher than his (i.e., Christ's). Second, because Adam was between life and death, while he who was purified by the font was inscribed for immortality. Third, Adam would gain the supernal kingdom through a promise, whereas he who was baptized, by merit received the place promised to him. Fourth, He made that one in the image of God, and this one, son of God and co-heir with Christ, having the same image and surpassing by this. Enough about Adam and the angels, and the Lord and the church.

219 Հատոր երրորդ: Միահամուռ վկայութիւնք սուրբ գրոց վասն Տնօրէնութեանն Քրիստոսի: Գլուխ ԻԴ
Third Volume, Collection⁵⁶ of Witnesses of the Holy Scriptures concerning Christ's Disposition: Chapter 24.

- 33 Եւ նախ քան զամենայն՝ Ադամ մարգարեացաւ. այն որ «կոչեաց զանուն կնոջն կեանս զի նա է մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց.» որ է կոյսն Մարիամ. մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց կենդանատուին Յիսուսի:

And before everything Adam prophesied, when (lit. that) he “called his wife's name ‘Life,’⁵⁷ because she is the mother of all living,”⁵⁸ who is the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus, giver of life to all living.

56. Literally: all together, at once.

57. I.e., Eve.

58. Gen 3:20.

371 Վասն ծննդեան Տեառն: Գլուխ ԼԵ

Concerning the Nativity of the Lord: Chapter 35

- 34 . . . Գիտելի է՝ զի Դ են ծնունդք մարդկան: Առաջին ոչ ի մորէ եւ ոչ ի հորէ, որպէս Ադամ: Երկրորդ՝ ի հորէ եւ ոչ ի մորէ, որպէս Եւա: Երրորդ ի հորէ եւ ի մորէ, որպէս Սէթ եւ այլ մարդիկ: Չորրորդ ի մորէ եւ ոչ ի հորէ, որպէս Քրիստոս:

. . . One should know that there are four kinds of human birth: first, not of mother and not of father, like Adam; second, of father and not of mother, like Eve; third, of father and of mother, like Seth and other humans; fourth, of mother and not of father, like Christ.

430 Հարցմունք տասն վասն յարութեանն Քրիստոսի: Գլուխ ԽԱ

Ten Questions Concerning the Resurrection of Christ: Chapter 41

- 35 Ադամ երեսնամեայ ստեղծաւ:

Adam was created thirty years old.

526 Հատոր հինգերորդ: Տեառն Վահրամ վարդապետի
ասացեալ Յաղագս սրբոց երրորդութեանն եւ միոյ
աստուածութեանն. եւ փրկական տնօրէնութեանն
Քրիստոսի: Գլուխ ԽԶFifth Volume, Pronounced to Rev. Vahram Concerning the Holy
Trinity and the Single Deity and the Salvific Disposition of Christ:
Chapter 46

- 36 Եւա յԱդամայ է՝ այլ ի կողէն. եւ Աբել յորովայնէ Ադամայ. սակայն մի են բնութիւնք նոցա եւ Ադամայ յորմէ նոքին. եւ ոչ եղբարք միմեանց Եւա եւ Աբել. թէպէտ եւ ի միոյ պատճառէ էին յԱդամայ. որպէս եւ ոչ որդի եւ հոգի եղբարք՝ պատճառ մի իմն ունելով զհայր:

Eve is of Adam, but from his rib. And Abel is from Adam's womb. But their nature and Adam's, from whom they come, is the same. And Eve and Abel are not brothers, though they were from one cause, Adam; likewise the Son and the Spirit are not brothers, (though) having one cause, the Father.

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Մեկնութիւն սաղմոսաց. (համառոտ տարբերակ) *Commentary on the Psalms (The Short Version)*. ed. A. K'yoškeryan (Erevan: Zvart'noc' Press, 1993).

- 37 14... Զորպիսութիւն Ադամայ մոռացեալ էաք, այսինքն՝ զանմեղութիւն, զփառքն եւ զայլն, վասն որոյ Աստուած մարդ եղել, զի ի նա տեսանելով ճանաչեսցուք զկերպ առաջնոյն Ադամայ:

We had forgotten the character of Adam, that is, the sinlessness, the glory, and other things, on account of which God became man, so that by seeing Him, we shall get to know the form of the first Adam.

- 38 48 ԽԶ. Հարց. Վասն էր ի յիշատակի մեռելոց ասեմք զԱնբիծքն. (ՃԺԸ, 1):

Պատասխանի. Ասեն թէ ի վերայ գերեզմանին Ադամայ ասաց Դաւիթ զսաղմոսս, որ էանց զօրէնս եւ զպատուիրանս Աստուծոյ:

46 Question. Why do we mention those “that are without blemish”⁵⁹ when (we) remember the dead?

Answer. It is said⁶⁰ that David said this Psalm upon Adam’s tomb, who transgressed God’s law and commandments.

- 39 49 Օրէնք է գրով տուեալ, որպէս Մովսիսի, իսկ պատուիրանն՝ բանիւ աւանդեալն, որպէս Ադամայ:

A law is given in writing, as to Moses, and a commandment is that conveyed orally, as to Adam.

- 40 54–55 ԾԱ. Հարց. Վասն էր Աստուած զԱդամ ի դրախտն ետ եւ պատուիրեաց մի ուտել:

Պատասխանի. Վասն է պատճառի: Նախ՝ զի մի ասիցէ՝ զի՞նչ ետուր ինձ զի պատուիրանս քո պահէի յերկրի, վասն այն ի դրախտն եղ: Երկրորդ զի խոստումն փառացն հաւատասցի ի նա թէ առանց գործոց գորախտն ետ ինձ Աստուած, ապա եւ գործով զայն եւս տալոց է: Երրորդ՝ զի անձնիշխան ստեղծ ոչ ի ներքոյ հարկի, այլ յօծար կամօք ընտրեացէ: Չորրորդ՝ զի ոչ միայն ողորմութեամբ, այլ եւ արդարութեամբ պսակեցէ: Հինգերորդ զի ի չարէն պարսպեալ ամրացոյց ի մէջ դրախտին: Վեցերորդ զի անկարօտ արար եւ յայտ է զի զամենեսեան հրամայեաց ուտել: Եօթներորդ զի պատուիրանաւ զգուշացոյց զի անմեղադրելի լիցի, ապա / յիրաւի դատապարտեցաւ որ զայս ամենայն ունէր եւ ոչ պահեաց:

51 Question. Why did God put Adam in the Garden and command (him) not to eat?

Answer. For seven reasons. First, so that he would not say, “What have you given to me in return for observing your commandments on the earth?” That is why he put (him) in the Garden. Second, because the promise of

59. Ps 119:1 = Arm. 118:1.

60. Literally: they say.

glory to him was confirmed to him: “If without (any) deeds God gave me the Garden, he will give it to me also for deeds.” Third, because he created him autonomous, but (so that) he might choose voluntarily, not under obligation. Fourth, to crown him not only with mercy but also with justice.⁶¹ Fifth, because, closing (him) within walls against evil, he fortified (him) in the Garden. Sixth, because he made (him) without need, and it is known that He commanded him to eat everything. Seventh, because he warned him by the command so that he might be sinless; then, he who had all this and did not observe,⁶² was condemned justly.

- 41 58-59 ... Մարդկային բնութիւնս մոլորեցաւ զհետ օձին պատրանաց եւ անկալ յայս տեղի պանդխտութեան, այլ ոչ մոռացաւ զպատուիրանն, զի յետոյ զղջացաւ եւ ոչ մնաց անգեղջ.

... This human nature went astray after the serpent's deceit and fell into this place of sojourning, but did not forget the command, for later it repented and did not remain impenitent.

- 42 99-100 «Ո կայք ի տուն Տեառն եւ ի գաւիթս Աստուծոյ». (ՃԼԴ, 1) . . . Տուն Տեառն նախ ասի երկինքն. ք) հրեշտակաց դասքն. գ) դրախտն . . . Տեսցուք ոյք են գաւիթք եւ պատուական տունքն. ա) տուն վերինն Երուսաղէմ կոչէ, իսկ գաւիթ՝ զդրախտն. ք) տուն՝ զդրախտն կոչէ, իսկ գաւիթ՝ զաշխարհս . . . / . . . Իսկ դրախտն է նման սմա, ա) զի ի սմա է ծառն կենաց տնկեալ, սոյնպէս եւ ի սմա փայտն կենաց խաչն Քրիստոսի. ք) զի զուարճալի է պտղով, սոյնպէս եւ շնորհք Հոգւոյն պայծառացեալ զոն աստ. գ) զի անմահ վայր է. սոյնպէս եւ յեկեղեցի Աստուծոյ, որք ի սա դիմեն անմահ մնան:

“You that stand in the house of the Lord and in the courts of . . . God.”⁶³ First, the heavens are called “house of the Lord”; second, the ranks of the angels; third, the Garden. . . . Let us see which are the courts and the honorable houses. First, Scripture calls the supernal Jerusalem⁶⁴ “house” and the Garden, “court.” Second, it calls the Garden “house” and the world, “court.” . . . And the Garden is like this one (i.e., the house of the Lord), first, because the tree of life is planted in it;⁶⁵ likewise the wood (tree) of life, Christ's cross is in it. Second, because (the Garden) is pleasant with the fruit, likewise the splendid graces (gifts) of the Spirit exist here.⁶⁶ Third, because it is an immortal place, likewise (is) the church of God; those who turn to it, remain immortal.

61. Notice the use of the pair of attributes.

62. I.e., the commandment.

63. Ps 135:2 = Arm 134:1.

64. Gal 4:26.

65. I.e., the Garden.

66. I.e., in this world.

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Գիրք քարոզութեան որ կոչի Ձմեռան հատոր *Book of Sermons, Called Winter Volume* (Constantinople: Abraham dpir Press, 1740; repr., Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1998).

85 Վասն Տեառն առաջին (Գլուխ ԺԴ) Concerning the Lord's First One: (Chapter 14)

- 43 . . . Եթէ Ադամ երեսուն ամեայ ստեղծաւ. վասն էր երկրորդն Ադամ մանուկ երեւեցաւ յերկրի. եւ ծնաւ մի օրական տղայ. եւ քառասնօրեայ բերաւ ի տաճարն: Ասեմք թէ վասն բազում պատճառի: Նախզի յորժամ մեղաւ Ադամ, եկն Աստուած ի խնդիր նմա . . .

. . . If Adam was created thirty years old, why did the second Adam appear on the earth as a child and was born a one-day-old baby and was brought to the temple at forty days? We say that for many reasons. First, when Adam sinned, God came to seek him . . .

- 44 86 Նոյնպէս չար թշնամին սատանայ կողոպտեաց զպատիւ մարդոյն . . . Նոյնպէս յորժամ մեղաւ Ադամ, վաճառեաց զերկնից արքայութիւնն եւ ոչ կարէր գնել: Եւ որ կամի զհայրենիս աղքատին յետ գնել պիտոյ է Դ ինչ: Նախ որ լինի ազգական նմա. զի օտարն ոչ կարէ գնել: Երկրորդ զի ի լման զին ունիցի: Երրորդ զի յայն տարին որ ծախած է յետ գնել, թէ լինի կալուածն ի պարսպաւոր քաղաքի: Չորրորդ որ ունիցի կարողութիւն ընդդէմ կալ թէ ոք տաւի առնէ: Նոյնպէս զհայրենիսն Ադամայ հրեշտակ(ք) ոչ կարէին յետ գնել. զի ոչ էր ազգական մարդոյս. եւ ոչ ունէր լման զին. զի մին հրեշտակն ոչ արժէ զբոլոր մարդկութիւնս, որք են անթիւ անձինք: Այլ Աստուած կարօղ էր յետ գնել. զի անչափ է կարողութիւն Աստուծոյ. այլ ոչ հասանէր նմա. զի ոչ էր ազգական մարդոյս: . . . վասն այն որդին Աստուծոյ եկն տղայ հասակաւ, զի զհայրենիսն Ադամայ յետ գնեցէ:

Likewise the evil Enemy, Satan, stole the man's honor. . . . Likewise when Adam sinned, he sold the kingdom of heaven and could not buy (it back). And one who wants to buy back the patrimony of a poor (man), needs four things. First, to be his kinsman, for a stranger cannot buy (it). Second, to have the entire sum. Third, to buy back during the same year in which it was sold, if the property is in a town surrounded with walls. Fourth, to be able to oppose, if anyone starts a trial. Likewise angels could not buy back Adam's patrimony, for he (an angel) was not the man's kinsman and did not have the entire sum, for one angel is not worth the whole mankind who are innumerable persons. But God could buy it back, for God's might is immeasurable, but he did not come to his aid, for he was not the man's kinsman. . . . For that reason the Son of God came at a very young age, in order to buy back Adam's patrimony.

147 Քարոզ վասն չորեքշաբթի եւ ուրբաթի. Ղու. 18.12 (Գլուխ ԻԷ)

Sermon concerning Wednesday and Friday, Luke 18:12
(Chapter 27)

45 Ձի պահոց էր պատուիրանն այն՝ զոր հրամայեաց Աստուած ոչ ուտել ի գիտութեան փայտէն. «յամենայն պտոց ասէ ուտիցէք՝ բայց ի փայտէն գիտութեան մի՛ ուտիցէք, զի մի մահու մեռանիցիք:» Ձորս ոչ պահեցին նախաստեղծքն Ադամ եւ Եւայ՝ եւ անկան ի շնորհացն եւ մերկացան ի լուսոյն. ելին ի դրախտէն, եւ ընդ անիծիւք եւ ընդ մահու գրաւեցան:

For the commandment which God gave⁶⁷ was about fasting, not to eat of the tree of knowledge; “of every fruit,” it says, “you shall eat, but of the tree of knowledge, do not eat lest you surely die.”⁶⁸ Which the protoplasts Adam and Eve did not observe and fell from the grace and were stripped of the light; they came out of the Garden and were captured beneath curse and death.

275 Քարոզ շաբաթի աւուր բարեկենդանին. վասն շարժման երկրի եւ կրօնից. Առակ. 30.21 (Գլուխ Կ)

Sermon for the Saturday before the (Lenten) Fast: On “The trembling of the earth and morality” (Prov. 30:21). (Chapter 60)

46 275 Ադամ երիւք մեղօք շարժեցաւ եւ ել ի դրախտէն. այսինքն՝ ամբարտաւանութեամբ, որկրամոլութեամբ. եւ ազահութեամբ: Ամբարտաւանութիւն այն էր որ ասացաւ նոցա. «լինիցիք իբրեւ զաստուածս.» վասն այն կինն փութացաւ ի պտուղն, թէ Աստուած որդի ծնանիմ. եւ տիրեմ ի վերայ առն. վասն այն «տրտմութեամբ ծնաւ որդի, եւ առ այր դարձ նորա:» Որկրամոլութիւնն այն էր որ ետես գեղեցիկ զպտուղն. եւ հաճոյ աչաց եւ քաղցր ի կերակուր, էառ եւ եկեր. եւ ի լուսեղէն փառացն գրկեցաւ եւ մերկացաւ: Ազահութիւնն այն էր, որ ցանկայր գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. զի յառաջ զբարւոյ գիտութիւնն միայն ունէր. փորձելով զչարին գիտութիւն եւս ազահացաւ, եւ գիտաց փորձելով. վասն որոյ գրկեցաւ յաստուածային իմաստիցն, եւ ի հոգեւոր շնորհացն. այսինքն զի յառաջ քան զմեղանչելն Ադամ ունէր Գ շնորհս. զքահանայութիւն, զթագաւորութիւն, եւ զմարգարէութիւն: Եւ երեւեցաւ թագաւորութիւնն յայն որ ասաց. «զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր ի ներքոյ ոտից նորա. զխաշն եւ

67. Literally: commanded.

68. Citation based on the Armenian translation of Genesis (Gen 2:16–17).

զայն:» Իսկ քահանայութիւնն յայն էր՝ «որ եղ անուանս ամենայն կենդանեաց:» Իսկ մարգարէութիւնն յայն որ ասաց. «այս այժմ ոսկր յոսկերաց իմոց:» Եւ երեքին յանցանօքն՝ մերժեցաւ յերեքին պատուոյս. զի ամբարտաւանութեամբն անկաւ ի թագաւորութենէն: Եւ որկրամոլութեամբն՝ ի քահանայութենէն. եւ ազահութեամբն՝ ի մարգարէութեան շնորհէն: Այս երիւք յանցանօքն՝ շարժեցաւ Ադամ յերեքին պատուոցն: Եւ ի չորրորդին՝ ոչ հանդարտեաց. այլ ի տեղւոյն եւ յանմահութենէն զրկեցաւ. եւ անկաւ ի մահ եւ յապականութիւն. եւ «հաւասարեցաւ անասնոց անբանից եւ նմանեցաւ նոցա:» Դարձեալ «երիւք շարժի երկիր.» այսինքն, զի որպէս երեք մեղօքս այս՝ շարժեաց սատանայ զԱդամ եւ Էհան ի դրախտէն. նմանապէս ընդ Քրիստոսի երկրորդն Ադամայ Գ մեղօքս պատերազմեցաւ ի փորձութեանն . . .

Adam was moved by three sins and came out of the Garden, namely, by pride, gluttony, and avarice. Pride was that it was said to them, “you shall become like gods.”⁶⁹ For that reason the woman hastened to the fruit, (thinking), “I shall bear god as a son and will rule over the man.” On account of that, in pain she brought forth a child and her return is to her husband.”⁷⁰ Gluttony was that he saw that the fruit was beautiful and “pleasant to the sight and good for food,”⁷¹ he took and ate and was deprived of the luminous glory and was stripped naked. Avarice was that he wished the knowledge of good and evil, for before that he had the knowledge only of good. By attempting the knowledge of evil, he became more avaricious and got to know (it) by testing, on account of which he was deprived of divine wisdom and spiritual gifts (grace). That is, before sinning Adam had three gifts: priesthood, royalty, and prophecy. And royalty was evident in that (David) said, “you have made all things obedient under his feet: sheep,” etc.⁷² And priesthood was in that “he gave names to all cattle.”⁷³ And prophecy in that he said, “this (is) now bone of my bones.”⁷⁴ And because of three sins he was deprived of three honors. For because of pride he fell from royalty, and because of gluttony, from priesthood, and because of avarice, from the gift of prophecy. Because of these three sins Adam was moved away from the three honors. And he did not have respite on the fourth, but was expelled from the place and immortality and fell into death and corruption, and “became equal to the beasts and resembled them.”⁷⁵ Besides, “for three things the earth trembles,”⁷⁶ that is, as

69. Gen 3:5.

70. Based on Gen 3:16.

71. Gen 3:6.

72. Ps 8:6–7.

73. Gen 2:20.

74. Gen 2:23.

75. Cf. Ps 49:20.

76. Prov 30:21.

Satan made Adam tremble⁷⁷ by these three sins and expelled (him) from the Garden, likewise with those three sins he fought against Christ, the second Adam, during the temptation . . .

324–25 Քարոզ առ հասարակ ապաշխարութեան. Եսայ. 1.16 (Գլուխ 2).

Sermon for Common (general) Penitence. Isa 1:16 (Chapter 80)

47 324–25 Ապա թէ գործ մարդոյն վատթար լինի եւ լեզուն սուտ, ոչ կարէ արդարանալ. գործինակ նախաստեղծքն Ադամ եւ Եւա՝ որք ի պատուիրանն Աստուծոյ յանցեան եւ կերին ի պտղոյն: Եւ յորժամ էհարց գնոսա յապաշխարութիւն կոչելով, Ադամ պատճառեաց զկինն. եւ կինն զօձն. զի էհարց զԱդամ եւ ասէ. «ո՛ր եւ.» ողբական եւ հարցական. ողբականն այսպէս. զի ձեռքն ստեղծ՝ եւ ոտիւքն զայ ի հարց հիւանդին. եւ ձայնիւն ողբայ եւ ասէ. «ո՛ր եւ.» իբր թէ յոր փառաց յոր անարգութիւն անկար. երկնայինդ եւ անմահդ երկրային եւ մահկանացու եղեր: Ողբամ զքեզ՝ զի զիմ պատկերս ի քեզ նկարեցի. եւ դու ոչ ի քեզ խնայեցեր, եւ ոչ ի պատկերէն ամաչեցեր:

If the man's deeds are bad and his tongue lying, he cannot be justified just like the first-created ones Adam and Eve, who transgressed God's command and ate of the fruit. And when he asked them, summoning (them) to penitence, Adam accused the woman, and the woman (accused) the serpent. For (God) asked Adam and said, "Where are you?"⁷⁸ plaintively and interrogatively; "plaintively" is this, since he made him with his hands and comes on foot to ask the ill (man) and mourns loudly and says, "Where are you?" As if, "From what glory to what dishonor did you fall? O, heavenly and immortal one, you became earthly and mortal. I lament over you, for I painted my image in you, and you did not care of yourself and were not ashamed by the image."

48 324–25 Իսկ հարցականն այս է. «ո՛ր եւ.» այսինքն, ի յոր մեղս, եւ յոր տեղի որպիսութեան. զի նա խոստովանեցի եւ ասիցէ զպատճառն: Եւ նա ասէ «յուայ զձայն քո եւ երկեայ. քանզի մերկ էի եւ թաքեայ:» Եւ տես զմեղաց պտուղսն զերկիւղն եւ զթագչիւն եւ զմերկութիւնն: Ջի ամենայն մեղք զայդ երեքդ պտղաբերէ աստ. զերկիւղն վասն տանջանացն. զամօթն վասն գործեալ մեղացն. եւ մերկութիւնն՝ զրկումն է ի շնորհացն Աստուծոյ: Չայս երեւեցոյց Ադամ ի յինքն: Եւ ասաց Աստուած «ո՞ պատմեաց քեզ թէ մերկ եւ:» Յօրն յորում ստեղծեցի զքեզ չէիր մերկ. եւ յորժամ կենդանեաց անուանս եղեր չէիր

77. Or: move.

78. Gen 3:9.

մերկ. այժմ ընդէր մերկացար. ո՞րք պատմեաց քեզ զմերկութիւնդ. իբր չգէտս լինի: Ապա ասէ. («մի թէ թէ ի ծառոյն յորմէ պատուիրեցի քեզ չուտել կերէր արդեօք ի նմանէ.» իբր կարծեօք դընէ զբանն. զի ինքն իւր բերանովն խոստովանեսցի եւ արդարացի:

And “interrogatively” is this: “Where are you?”⁷⁹ That is, in what sin and what kind of place? So that he will confess and say the reason. And he said, “I heard the sound of you . . . and I was afraid, because I was naked and I hid myself.”⁸⁰ Now behold the fruits of the sin: the fear and hiding and nakedness. For every sin produces these three fruits: fear of punishment, shame for committing sin, and nakedness is deprivation of God’s grace. Adam demonstrated this in himself. And God said, “Who told you that you are naked?”⁸¹ On the day on which I created you, you were not naked, and when you gave names to animals, you were not naked; now why did you become naked? Who told you of your nakedness, as if you were ignorant?” Then he says, “Have you eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded you not to eat?”⁸² He speaks hypothetically⁸³ so that (Adam) might himself confess with his own mouth and be justified himself.

- 49 324–25 Այլ նա յանդուգն ետ պատասխանի. «կինս գոր ետուր ցիս՝ սա ետ եւ կերի ասէ.» տէս զյանդգնութիւնն. զպատճառն յԱստուած եհան եւ ի կինն. վասն որոյ ոչ ընկալաւ զթողութիւն. մի վասն մեղացն. եւ միւսն վասն յանդգնութեանն. զի Աստուած զլիրբն առաւել աստէ քան զյանցաւորն եւ զմեղաւորն:

And he replied audaciously, “This woman whom you gave to me, she gave and I did eat of it,” he said.⁸⁴ Behold the audacity! He accused God and the woman, on account of which he did not receive forgiveness, both for the sin and for audacity, because God hates the impertinent more than the transgressor and the sinful.

- 50 Եւ ցրկինն ասէ. «ընդէր գործեցեր զայդ.» իբր թէ յինչ միտս ախտացար. եւ զինչ կամօք կերեր. զի նա ասացէ զպատճառն. ցուցանէ բանս թէ, թէպէտ գործն մին լինի, երկու գործակիցքն պարտին որք խոստովանին. վասն այն որիչ որիչ հարցանէր: Եւ նա ասաց. «օձն խաբեաց զիս:» Տես զկէս մեղացն ասաց եւ զկէսն ծածկեաց. այսինքն, զաստուածանալոյ պատճառն ոչ ասաց. վասն այն մեղքն ոչ թողաւ: Այլեւ ոչ զկէսն ասաց ուղիղ. զի ասաց «օձն խաբեաց զիս.» օձն մեծ որ չէր քան զնա. եւ ոչ ընկեր նորա. այլ ընդ ձեռամբ ի ներքոյ նորա.

79. Gen 3:9.

80. Gen 3:10.

81. Gen 3:11.

82. Gen 3:11.

83. Literally: puts the words supposedly.

84. Gen 3:12.

զի հարկն եւ բռնութիւնն մեծին է. եւ խաբէլն հաւասարին. եւ աղաչելն ներքնագունին: Այլ արդ՝ օձն զնա ոչ աղաչեաց. եւ ոչ բռնադատեաց. եւ ոչ խաբեաց. ընկեր եւ հաւասար չէր նմա. վասն էր խաբեցաւ. յաղազս որոյ մեղքն ոչ թողաւ:

And he says to the woman, “Why did you do that?”⁸⁵ That is, for what intention did you grow corrupt and with what desire did you eat? so that she might tell the cause. This word shows that although the deed is one, the two cooperators are liable, who confess. That is why he asked separately. And she said, “The serpent beguiled me.”⁸⁶ Behold, she told about half of the sin, and she concealed half, namely, she did not mention the cause (the wish) of becoming god(s), that is why the sin was not forgiven. She did not even say the half honestly, for she said, “The serpent beguiled me.” The serpent was not someone grander than she, nor was he her friend, but one in her power, beneath her. For compulsion and force belong to a greater (one), and deceit, to an equal, and begging, to a humbler (one). But now, the serpent did not beg her and did not force, and did not deceive: he was not equal, and friend of hers. Why was she deceived, on what account was the sin not forgiven?

- 51 324–25 Այլ որ զօձն ոչ եհարց՝ էր վասն երեք պատճառի: Նախզի՝ անարժան էր ընդ նմա խօսիլ. որ զպատկերն իւր զմարդն ընկեց ի փառաց: Երկրորդ՝ զի բան եւ խօսք չունէր օձն զինչ տայր պատասխանի: Երրորդ՝ թէ հարցեալ էր, նա օձն ցուցանելոց էր զբանսարկուն. եւ թէ յայնժամ պատժէր զնա ի հուր գեհենին, նա բազում բարութիւն մարդկան կորնչելոց էր. եւ այն զի փորձութեամբն սատանայ բազմաց պսակաց առիթ եղէ: Այլեւ ոչ եթող զնա անպատիժ. այլ օձին միջնորդութեամբ՝ եւ զսատանայ պատժեաց որ իմանալի օձն է: Արդ չորս են սոքա. այսինքն, սատանայ օձն Եւա եւ Ադամ. այսպէս ի մեզ. Ադամ է միտքն. Եւա զգայարանքն. օձ ցանկութիւն. սատանայ նոյն շարժող ցանկութեանն. եւ ապա զմեղսն / գործեմք: Դարձեալ ի գործ մեղացն է չորս աստիճան. այսինքն է, յիշեցումն սատանայի. հեշտութիւն խորհրդոց մերոց. եւ հաւանութիւն կամացն. եւ ապա գործ մեղացն: Դարձեալ շարժումն բնական ցանկութեանն մերոյ՝ է յիշեցումն օձի. եւ հեշտութիւն ներքին մասին բանականին. որ խառնեալ է ընդ զգայութիւնս եւ հեշտանայ որպէս զԵւա. եւ հաւանումն վերին մասին որպէս զԱդամ. եւ ապա գործի մեղքն այս չորս աստիճանաւ:

And that (God) did not ask the serpent, was for three reasons. First, it was not suitable (for Him) to speak with one who cast his image, man, down from the glory. Second, since the serpent did not have reason and speech; what would he answer? Third, if he had asked, behold, the serpent would point at the

85. Gen 3:13.

86. Gen 3:13.

Devil, and if (God) then punished him in the fire of Gehenna, behold, a great deal of human goodness would perish; and that since⁸⁷ Satan, by the temptation, became the cause of many crowns.⁸⁸ Moreover, (God) did not leave him unpunished, but through the mediation of the serpent he also punished Satan, who is the intelligent serpent. Now they are four, namely, Satan, the serpent, Eve, and Adam. Likewise for us: Adam is mind (reason), Eve is the senses, the serpent is desire, Satan is the very instigator of desire; and then we sin. Besides, there are four grades of sinful deeds, namely, the prompt of Satan, the lasciviousness of our thoughts, the consent of the will, and then sinful deed. Besides, the instigation of our natural desire is the instigation of the serpent, and the lasciviousness of the lower part of the rational, which is mixed with the senses and is lascivious like Eve, and the consent of the upper part, like Adam; and then the sin is committed in these four grades.

- 52 Եւ ապա յետ մեղացն գործելոյ՝ պատճառեն մի զմի. աշխարհական զքահանայն. փոքրն զմեծն. այր զկինն: Եւ որպէս Ադամ եւ Եւա որք պատճառեցին զմիմեանս, ոչ արդարացան. նոյնպէս եւ որք պատճառեն զմեղս՝ ոչ արդարանան. ըստ այնմ, «ի պատճառել զպատճառս մեղաց ընդ մարդս.» այլ իւրաքանչիւր ոք զպատիժն իւր կրէ, որ է գործունեայ մեղացն: Որպէս յայնժամ պատժեցաւ նախ օձն զի նախ մեղանչեաց նա. ասացաւ նմա. «անիծեալ լիցիս յամենայն կենդանեաց.» այն է՝ զի ամենայն կենդանիք սպանանեն զնա. «ի վերայ լանջաց եւ որովայնի քում զնսացես.» զի ոտն եղեր թշնամոյն: «Եւ հող կերիցես.» զի հողացուցեր զմարդն: «Եւ եղից թշնամութիւն ի մեջ քո եւ կնոջդ.» զի մարդն ընդ Աստուած թշնամի արարեր: «Եւ նա սպանեցէ քում զլիւտդ.» զի ըզմարդն սպանանել ջանացեր որ զլուխ է ամենայն կենդանեաց: Եւ դու ի ներքոյ զարշապարի ոտին նորա կոխան լիցիս. եւ այս ամենայն նշանս որք կան ի յօձն՝ ի յանիծիցն եղել: Զի զսուտն ընդ ճշմարիտն խառնեաց. վասն որոյ երկճդի եղել լեզուն. եւ զմարդն մերկացոյց՝ ինքն մերկանայ յիւր խորիւնն. եւ ընդ մարդոյն նախանձ եբեր ինքն սողի ի վերայ լանջաց եւ որովայնին. եւ այլն նոյնպէս: Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ, օձն անբան կենդանի էր. վասն էր՝ այսպէս դատապարտեաց Աստուած: Ասենք. թէպէտ ինքն անբան էր այլ գործի եւ ընդունօղ եղել չարին. որպէս պիտո՞ կենդանի որ անկանի ի սուրբ անօթ եւ պո՞ծ զնա: Եւ որպէս օրէնքն հրամայեաց սպանանել զանասունն յոր մարդն մտաբերէր. նոյնպէս եւ առ ջրհեղեղան, եւ առ սողոմայեցւոյլքն, անասունքն եւս պատժեցան . . .

And then after committing the sin, they accuse each other: the layman (accuses) the priest, the small (accuses) the great, the man (accuses) the woman. And as Adam and Eve who accused each other were not justified,

87. Literally: and that.

88. I.e., of those who resist temptations.

likewise those who accuse (others) of sin are not justified, according to that (verse), “In the accusation of the causes of sin against men,”⁸⁹ but everyone who commits sins suffers his own punishment. As then the serpent was punished first, since he sinned first it was said to him, “cursed are you more than⁹⁰ all animals,”⁹¹ that is, that all animals kill him;⁹² “you shall go on your chest and belly”⁹³ for you were the feet of the Enemy.⁹⁴ And “dust shall you eat”⁹⁵ for you turned the man into dust. “And I shall put enmity between you and the woman,”⁹⁶ for you made the man enemy to God; and “he shall kill your head,”⁹⁷ for you tried to kill the man who is the head of all animals. And you will be trodden under the heel of his foot. And all these signs that are on the serpent, came into being because of the curse. Since he mixed the lie with the truth, that is why his tongue became forked; and he stripped man naked (so) he himself is stripped of his skin; and he bore envy of the man, (so) he himself creeps upon his breast and belly; and likewise other things. And if one should say, “The serpent was a dumb⁹⁸ animal, (so) why did God condemn him so?” we say that although he himself was irrational (dumb), yet he became as an instrument and recipient of the Evil One, like an impure animal that falls into a pure vessel and pollutes it. And as the law ordered to kill the animal of which the man thought, likewise at the time of the flood and at the time of the the Sodomites animals were (also) punished. . . .

- 53 324–25 Իսկ զօձն պատժեաց Աստուած վասն երկու պատճառի: Նախզի՛ ընդունակ եղեւ չարին եւ գործի. եւ երկրորդ՝ զի առաւել նման է օձն մեղաց. զի ի գնալն հինգ ման առնու. որ նշանակէ զհինգ զգայարանս մեր. երկու աչքն. եւ երկու ականջն. եւ մին լեզուն. որովք խօսին եւ լսեն եւ տեսանեն զմիմեանս այր եւ կին, եւ գործեն զմեղս նման օձին. վասն որոյ յիրաւի անեծ զօձն:

So God punished the serpent for two reasons. First, because it became the recipient and instrument of the Evil One. Second, because the serpent is very much like the sin, for while going it makes five circular motions, which symbolize our five senses: two eyes, two ears, and one tongue, by which a

89. Ps 141:4 = Arm. Ps 140:4.

90. Or: by.

91. Gen 3:14.

92. Taking the Armenian ablative not as partitive but as agentive.

93. Gen 3:14.

94. See Appendix.

95. Gen 3:15.

96. Gen 3:15.

97. Gen 3:15. The biblical verse has սպասեալէ (“will await”); so also Zeyt’unyan’s critical edition (1985). Grigor Tat’ewac’i either has a variant text or has adapted the biblical formulation to his needs.

98. Or: irrational.

man and a woman speak and hear and see each other, and they sin like the serpent, for which He justly cursed the serpent.

- 54 Իսկ Եւայի ասաց «բազմացուցանելով բազմացուցից գորտմութիւն քո եւ զհեծութիւնս.» միայն զի ըստ ինքեան մարդկային բնութիւնս այլալոտ է եւ ցաւոտ. յորժամ Աստուած եւս բազմացուցանէ՝ ո՛ր կարէ զաղէտն պատմել: Եւ այս է պատճառն. զի որքան օրս յաւելլու՝ այնքան եւ ցաւս մեր բազմանայ: Եւ դարձեալ որքան յերկարի ժամանակս՝ մաշի երկիր եւ ի ծերութիւն երթայ եւ տկարանայ. որպէս ծեր մարդոյն գորտութիւն պակասի եւ ցաւն յաւելլու: Եւ դարձեալ որքան մերձիմք ի կատարած, այնքան մերձենամք ի ցաւս դժոխոցն. որպէս յերեկոյն սակաւ սակաւ առաւելլու խաւարն եւ ցուրտն: «Տրտմութեամբ ծնցես որդի.» այլ զինչ տրտմութիւն. զի մահկանացու զաւակ ծընանի. եւ բազում զաւակք առաջի մարց մեռանին. եւ այրեն եւ խռովեն զաղիս մօրն. թող գորտմութիւն երկանցն որ կրկին մահ է. եւ առաւել քան զծնունդն անասնոց. զի նոքա ի բնութիւնս իւրեանց կացին. իսկ մարդն եթող՝ վասն այն ցաւն եւ երկն առաւել է ի մեզ: «Եւ առ այր քո դարձ քո.» զայս պատիժս կրեն ամենայն կանայք. որք փորձեն զերկն եւ զցաւս ծննդեան. եւ դարձեալ դառնան յամուսնութիւն: «Եւ նա տիրեսցէ քեզ.» զի կամեցար տէր լինիլ Ադամայ. եւ Աստուած որդիս ծնանիլ. վասն այնորիկ ընդ իշխանութեամբ մարդոյն լինիս: Ուստի յայտ է՝ զի կնոջ / վկայութիւն չէ ընդունելի. եւ ոչ լինի դատաւոր. եւ ոչ իշխան գեղի, կամ քաղաքի: Եւ ոչ այլ ինչ աստիճան կարէ առնուլ. սարկաւազութեան, քահանայութեան, եւ այլն. Զի ընդ հնազանդութեամբ է մարդոյն եւ ոտք նորա. այս էր պատիժ կնոջն:

And to Eve he said, "I will greatly multiply your pain and your lamentation,"⁹⁹ only that this human nature according to itself is changeable and suffering; when God multiplies (the pain) further, who can relate the misfortune? And this is the reason that as much as He increases the days, to the same extent our pain multiplies. And besides, as much as the time lasts, (to the same extent) the earth is wasted away and ages and weakens, just as an old man's vigor lessens and his pain grows. And besides, as much as we approach the end, to that extent we come closer to the pains of hell; just as in the evening, darkness and cold increase little by little. "In distress you shall bear children."¹⁰⁰ But which distress is it? For the child is born mortal, and many children die before (their) mothers and they burn and confuse the mother's innards, not to speak of the distress of birth pangs, which is a double death and more than the parturition of animals. For they remained within their nature, while man abandoned (this); for that reason, pain and labor are more in us. "And your

99. Gen 3:16.

100. Gen 3:16.

return shall be to your husband.”¹⁰¹ All women suffer this punishment, who experience labor and the pains of birth and again return to marriage. “And he shall rule over you.”¹⁰² For you wished to be lord over Adam and to bear God sons. On account of that you are under the authority of the man. Hence it is evident that a woman’s testimony is not acceptable, and she does not become a judge, or a ruler of a village or a town. And she cannot receive any other rank, of diaconate, of priesthood, etc. For she is under obedience to the man and (is) his foot. This was the woman’s punishment.

- 55 Իսկ Ադամայ ասաց «անիծեալ լիցի երկիր ի գործս քո. զի լուար ձայնի կնոջդ.» վասն այն ընդ կնոջդ զանիծից երկիր ժառանգեա. զի թէ ինձ էիր լուեալ զդրախտդ ժառանգէիր. «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսցի քեզ.» զի խոցեցէ եւ ցաւեցուցէ զքեզ: «Քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես ըզհաց քո.» փոխանակ անաշխատ փափկութեան դրախտին: «Մինչեւ դարձցիս ի հող.» այս է մահու մեռանիլն որ ասաց. «յաւուր յորում ուտիցես ի նմանէ, մահու մեռանիցիս:» Այս է՝ որ հոգիդ ի մարմնոյդ բաժանի. եւ մարմինդ լուծանի ի տարերս. եւ հոգիդ յաներեւոյթ տանջանան. եւ կամ մահու մեռանիս. այսինքն թէ, զոյ անձնաւոր մահ որ է սատանայ նովաւ մեռանիս: Եւ դարձեալ ընդ անասնոց մահուն մեռանիս. կամ թէ մահու մեռանիլն՝ զառաւելն նշանակէ. որպէս ասեմք կենաց կեանք. որ է արդարութիւն եւ սրբութիւն . . .

And he said to Adam, “Cursed will be the ground in your deeds, for you listened to the voice of your wife.”¹⁰³ On account of that, inherit the earth of curses together with your wife. If you had listened to me, you would have inherited the Garden. “Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth for you”¹⁰⁴ in order to wound and afflict you. “By the sweat of your face shall you eat your bread”¹⁰⁵ instead of the labor-less delight of the Garden. “Till you return unto the dust”¹⁰⁶; this is dying,¹⁰⁷ of which he said, “in the day that you eat of it you shall surely die.”¹⁰⁸ This (mean)s that your soul is separated from your body, and the body is dissolved into elements, and the soul into invisible suffering. Or, “you shall surely die,”¹⁰⁹ that is, there exists personified death, which is Satan; through him you will die. And again, you will die by animals’ death. Or “dying by death” means the increase of the same, as we say “life of life,” which is justice and holiness. . . .

101. Gen 3:16.

102. Gen 3:16.

103. Or: the woman; Gen 3:17.

104. Gen 3:18.

105. Gen 3:19.

106. Gen 3:19.

107. Literally: die by death.

108. Gen 2:17. Literally: die by death.

109. Literally: die by death.

494–95 Քարոզ վասն մեծի երկու շաբաթի եւ աւագ շաբաթի.
Մատ. 21:18 (Գլուխ ԶԹ)

Sermon concerning Great Monday and Easter Saturday. Matt 21:18
(Chapter 109)

- 56 Բեր նախ զառաջինն տեսցուք թէ զի՞նչ էր՝ որ շաբաթս այս [աւագ շաբաթն] ունի զխորհուրդ առաջին շաբաթուն. յորում ամենայն արարածք գոյացան: Արդ երեկեան օրն արմատենեաց՝ որ կիրակէ էր, նշանակէ զառաջին օր արարչութեանն որ կիրակէ էր. եւ ասաց Աստուած «էղիցի լոյս:» Յորժամ արար զհրեղէն երկինս, եւ զբնակիչս նորա զհրեղինաց դասս. եւ չորս տարերք յայնմ աւուր գոյացան:

Let us first see, what did it (mean) that this week (Holy Week) contains the mystery of the first week during which all creations came into existence. Now the eve of the Day of Palms, which was Sunday, symbolizes the first day of the creation, which was Sunday. And God said, “Let there be light.”¹¹⁰ When He made both the fiery heaven and its inhabitants, the fiery ranks, the four elements came into existence on that day.

- 57 Իսկ մեծի երկու շաբթի օրն՝ ցուցանէ զերկրորդ օր արարչութեանն. յորում արար Աստուած զհաստատութիւն. զոր եւ հինգերորդ տարր ասացին իմաստունք զատեալ ի չորիցս. եւ անապական էութիւն: Եւ զջրեղէն կամարն բարձրացոյց ի վերայ հաստատութեանն. եւ զհաստատութիւն անջրպետ. վերին եւ ներքին ջրոյն բաժանեալ ի միմեանց: Եւ այս վասն կրկին պատճառի: Նախ զի թէթեւասցին ջուրք յերեսաց երկրի. եւ երեսեցի ցամաքն: Եւ երկրորդ զի զովացուցէ զջերմութիւն երկնից եւ զլուսաւորացն եւ զհրեղէն տարերցն: Վասն այսորիկ զի սկզբանէ արարածոց աշխարհի զգիրս ընթեռնումք յառաջնումն աւուր շաբաթոս: Որպէս զվերնագիր գրոց ընթերցեալ զպատճառ գրոցն իմանամք. նոյնպէս այսօր զգիրս արարածոց ընթերցեալ իմանամք զբոլոր շաբաթս պատկեր գոլ արարչութեան մեծի շաբաթուն:

And the Holy Monday symbolizes the second day of the creation, on which God made the firmament that sages have called the fifth element, separating it from the (other) four, and (it is) an incorruptible substance. And he raised up the watery vault above the firmament, and the firmament, a barrier separating the upper and lower waters from one another. And this was for two reasons. First, so that the waters might be lightened from the face of the earth and the dry land appear. And second, to cool the heat of the heavens and of the luminaries and of the fiery elements. This is why we read “In the beginning” from the Book of Genesis on the first day of this week. As if,

110. Gen 1:3.

having read the title of a book, we learn about the subject¹¹¹ of the book, likewise having read today the Book of Genesis, we learn that this whole week is the image of the great week of the creation.

- 58 Եւ աստ է կրկին հարցումն: Նախ թէ՛ ընդէր ի տարին երեք անգամ ընթեռնումք ի սկզբանէ գիրսն: Մին այսօր [մեծն երկուշաբթի]. զի ցուցանէ թէ, շաբաթս այս՝ է, առաջին շաբաթն. աւուրք արարչութեանն Աստուծոյ: Մին ի ծննդեան օրն: Նախզի ցուցցէ, թէ որ ի սկզբանն զնախամայրն Եւա դատապարտեաց «տրտմութեամբ ծնցիս որդի:» Նոյն Տէրն եկեալ ծնանի ի սուրբ կուսէն, եւ զդատակնիք անիծիցն բառնայ: Երկրորդ զի Ադամ կոչեաց զկինն «մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց.» որ է աստուածածին կոյսն. զի նա եղև մայր կենդանութեան ամենեցուն. որպէս ասաց Քրիստոս. «ես եմ ճանապարհ եւ ճշմարտութիւն եւ կեանք:» Իսկ ի զատկին ընթեռնումք: Նախզի ցուցցէ, թէ արարիչն երկնի եւ երկրի որ արար զԱդամ ի պատկերն իւր, եւ եղ զնա ի դրախտին, եւ վասն յանցանացն արտաքս ընկեցաւ, նոյն արարիչն է որ այսօր վերստին նորոգէ զԱդամ, եւ ի դրախտն մուծանէ: Երկրորդ զի զԱդամ անիծիւք դատապարտեաց. «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուցի ի քեզ. եւ դարձցիս ի հող:» Ինքն եկն եւ զչարչարանս նորա յանձն էառ. զփուշն ի գլուխն եղեալ. եւ ի հող գերեզմանի մտեալ. եւ այնպէս զԱդամ ազատեալ: Յայս միտս ընթեռնումք զարարչութեան զիրս յայս Գ օր տարւոյն:

And here there are two questions: first, why do we read the book “In the Beginning” thrice a year? Once today (Holy Monday) because it shows that this week is the first week, the days of God’s creation. Once on the day of Nativity: first, to show that He who in the beginning condemned the fore-mother Eve, “in pain shall you bring forth children,”¹¹² the same Lord, having come, is born of the Holy Virgin and abolishes the condemnation of the curse.¹¹³ Second, because Adam called his wife “the mother of all living,”¹¹⁴ who is the Virgin Mother of God, for she was the mother of everybody’s life, just as Christ said, “I am the way, and the truth, and the life.”¹¹⁵ And we read¹¹⁶ on Easter: first, to show that the Creator of heaven and earth, who made Adam in his image and put him in the Garden—and (Adam) was cast out on account of his transgression—is the same Creator that today again renews Adam and introduces (him) into the Garden. Second, since he condemned Adam with the curse, “Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth for

111. Literally: cause.

112. Gen 3:16.

113. Cf. Col 2:14 դատակնիք is used in some texts when ձեռագիր may be expected: see Stone 2002, 105.

114. Gen 3:20.

115. John 14:6.

116. I.e., “in the beginning” from Genesis.

you; and you shall return to the dust.”¹¹⁷ He Himself came and took his ¹¹⁸ sufferings upon Himself, putting the thorns on His head and entering the dust of the tomb, and thus freeing Adam. In this sense we do read the book of creation on these three days of the year.

- 59 Իսկ երկրորդ հարցումն, թե վասն է՞ր գիրքս այս ծնունդ կոչի եւ արարած: Ասեն վարդապետք թե՛ վասն հինգ պատճառի: Նախզի առ ինչք են սորա. ծնունդն զծնօղն ցուցանէ. եւ արարածն զարարիչն: Երկրորդ՝ զի ծնունդք եմք կամացն Աստուծոյ, եւ արարածք բանին: Երրորդ՝ զի յորժամ արարած լսիցես, մի՛ կարծիցես օտար ի նմանէ զեղեալսս. կոչէ ծնունդ: Եւ յորժամ ծնունդ լսիցես, մի՛ կարծիցես յեութենէն Աստուծոյ զեղեալսս. ի վերայ բերէ արարած: Չորրորդ՝ զի նախ ծնանիմք ի բարի կամսն Աստուծոյ յառաջ գիտութեամբ նորին. եւ ապա զոյանամք արդեամբք եւ զոյացութեամբք ըստ իւրաքանչիւր տեսակաց: Հինգերորդ՝ զի եւ Քրիստոս որ եղէ երկրորդ կրտակ եւ օրէնք մեզ կոչի ծնունդ եւ արարած. ծնունդ զի ի բնութենէն է հօր յառաջ քան զյաւիտեանս ծնեալ եւ արարած եղէ այսինքն ի մարդկային բնութիւնս խառնեալ եւ միաւորեալ:

And the second question: why is this book called Genesis¹¹⁹ and Creation (or: creature)? The doctors say, for five reasons. First, because they are related: the offspring reveals the father, and the creature (reveals) the Creator. Second, because we are offspring of God's will and creatures of the Word. Third, when you hear "creature," do not regard these beings as alien to Him: He calls (them) "offspring." And when you hear "offspring," do not regard these beings as of God's substance: above¹²⁰ it puts "creature." Fourth, because first we are born in God's good will, through his foreknowledge, and then we really come into existence as result and substance, each according to the various species. Fifth, because Christ too, who was a second testament and law for us, is called offspring and creature. Offspring, for he had been born of the Father's nature before eternity, and he became a creature, that is to say, mixed and united with this human nature.

- 60 Իսկ մեծի երեք շաբաթի օրն՝ ունի զխորհուրդ երրորդ աւուր արարչութեանն. յորում բոյսքն եւ տունկք բոխեցան եւ զարդարեցին զերկիր: Այլեւ լինելութիւն դրախտին ի նմին աւուր եղէ . . . Զի որպէս զբոյսս եւ ըզտունկս վասն անասնոց յառաջագոյն պատրաստեաց Աստուած. նոյնպէս եւ զդրախտն ի վայելչութիւն մարդոյ յառաջագոյն արար եւ ելից բարութեամբ. զի յորժամ երեւեսցի մարդն ոչ լիցի սին

117. Gen 3:18.

118. I.e., Adam's.

119. Literally: birth, offspring.

120. I.e., in the book's title.

և աղբատ սրտի և աչօք. այլ լի և առատ ամենայն բարութեամբ տեսանիցէ զամենայն:

And the Holy Tuesday holds the mystery of the third day of the creation, on which plants and trees sprang up and adorned the earth. Also the coming into being of the Garden took place on the same day. . . . As God prepared the plants and trees in advance for the sake of the animals, likewise he made the Garden in advance for the enjoyment of man and filled (it) with goodness, so that when man would appear, he would not be destitute and poor of heart and eyes but would see everything full of and abounding with all goodness.

- 61 Իսկ մեծի չորեքշաբթի օրն՝ ունի ըզխորհուրդ յորում լուսաւորք արարան և եղան յերկինս. / այսինքն, արեգակն և լուսին և աստեղք: Զի յառաջին երեք աւուրսն՝ անմարմին լոյսն սփռիւր և տարածիւր և լուսաւորէր մինչև ցերեկոյ. և ի գիշերի ժողովիւր ի վերայ դրախտին, և ծածկէր ըզլոյսն: Եւ այս երեք աւուր լոյսս էր օրինակ անբստուէր լուսոյ սրբոյ երրորդութեանն. զի միշտ լուսաւորէ զերկինս և ըզսուրբս իւր. իսկ յերկրէ և մեղաւորաց երբեմն ծածկի և հեռանայ . . . Եւ այսպէս ի յօդոյ աման կազմեալ լուսաւորացն, էարկ զլոյսն ի ներքս. զառաւել պայծառն յարեգակն. և զայլ նւագս ի լուսին և յաստեղս. և եղ գնոսա ի հաստատութեան: Նախզի՛ լուսատու լիցին ի վերա երկրի: Երկրորդ զի ի վեր տեսցուք աչօք. և մտօք «զվերինն խորհեսցուք, ուր Քրիստոս նրստի ընդ աջմէ Աստուծոյ որպէս ասէ առաքեալն:» Երրորդ զի տեսցուք և իմասցուք թէ, արտաքին սրահն երկնից այսպէս զարդարուն է. քանի՛ առաւել ներքին կողմն սրբութեան իմանալեացն դասուց: Չորրորդ զի ի միտ ածցուք զառաջին փառսն մեր, և ցանկասցուք. և մի որպէս զանասուն յերկիր կորասցուք:

And the day of Holy Wednesday holds the mystery (of the day) on which the luminaries were made and put in the heavens, namely, the sun, the moon, and the stars. For during the first three days bodiless light was diffused and spread and shone until the evening, and in the night (it) was gathered above the Garden, and it (the Garden)¹²¹ concealed the light. And this light of three days was the type of the unshadowed light of the Holy Trinity, for it always illuminates the heavens and His saints. Yet sometimes it is hidden and is distant from the earth and from the sinful. . . . And thus forming from the air a vessel for the luminaries, he cast the light inside: the more brilliant into the sun and the other, lesser (light) into the moon and the stars. And He put them in the firmament. First, so that they might give light upon the earth. Second, so that we could see above with (our) eyes and mind, "Consider the things that are above, where Christ is seated on the right hand of God" as

121. Or: God.

the Apostle says.¹²² Third, so that we might see and learn how the exterior chamber of heaven is decorated thus, so how much greater is the inner side of the holiness of the intelligible ranks! Fourth, so that we might recall our former glory and desire (it) and not bend down to the earth like animals.

- 62 Իսկ ի հինգերորդ աւուրն գոյացոյց Աստուած զլօղակս եւ զթռչունս ի ջրոց. եւ ելից զօդս եւ զջուրս նոքօք. զի որպէս զերկիր բուսօք եւ տնկօք զարդարեաց, եւ զերկինս աստեղօք եւ լուսաւորօք, նոյնպէս զօդս եւ զջուրս լօղակօք եւ թռչնօք զարդարեաց: Եւ որպէս լօղակք ի ջուրս խաղան. նոյնպէս եւ թռչունք յօդս լօղան. վասն որոյ ի ջրոց եղեն, եւ ազգակից են միմեանց:

But on the fifth day God brought into existence the swimming creatures and the birds from the waters, and filled the air and the waters with them. For just as he adorned the earth with the sprouts and plants, and the heavens with stars and luminaries, in the same fashion he adorned the air and waters with swimming creatures and birds. And just as the fish play in the waters, in the same way the birds swim in the air, on which account they came into being from the waters and are related to each other.

- 63 Այլ ի վեցերորդ աւուր ուրբաթո՛ւ՝ արար Աստուած զցամաքային կենդանիս. զանասունս եւ զգազանս եւ զսողունս: Եւ սողուն կոչին՝ կամ սողալով գնան, կամ սղացեալ են ոտիւք, կամ զի սուղ են ձայնիւ: Իսկ անասուն զի անխօսուն են. կամ զի անսնունդ են եւ անընտել: Իսկ գազան՝ կամ զի գեգօղ են եւ պատառօղ. կամ զանազան եւ ահագին կերպարանս ունին: Իսկ յետոյ քան զամենայն արարածս՝ արար Աստուած զմարդն ի հողոյ. եւ զկինն ի կողէ նորա. «Եւ եղ զնոսա ի դրախտին գործել եւ պահել:» Եւ աստ է կրկին հարցումն: Նախ թէ, յորժամ մարդն պատկեր Աստուծոյ է, որպէս ասէ զիրն, վասն էր զնա ի հողոյ ստեղծ: Ասեմք եթէ մարդն պատկեր է Աստուծոյ ի հոգւոյ կողմանէ. իսկ զմարմինն ի հողոյ ստեղծ եւ խառնեաց ընդ նմա: Նախ վասն խոնարհութեան. զի հողն զխոնարհութիւն նշանակէ. որպէս Աբրահամ ասէր. «Ես հող եմ եւ մոխիր:» Զի թէ զպատկերն Աստուծոյ տեսանելով ի մեզ հպարտացուք, ըզհողն տեսանելով խոնարհեցուք. որպէս ասէ մարգարէն. «խոնարհութիւն քո՛ է՝ ի միջի քում:» Երկրորդ ի հողոյ ստեղծ զմարդն ի նախատինս սատանայի. զի յամօթ լիցի, յորժամ տկարս այս եւ կաւեղէնս ի փառս մտանէր յորմէ նա որ փառաւորն էր անկաւ: Երրորդ՝ հող ի յերկրէ առեալ. զի երկիրդայից է մարմինս մեր. վասն այն կոչի հող եւ երկիր. որպէս ասէ առաքեալն. . . . Զի որքան ի մարմնի եմք, պարտ է երկնչիլ միշտ ի պատծոյ եւ ի զլորիլոյ ի մահու եւ յայլոցն: Չորրորդ՝ զի մայր մեր հողն է. եւ սեղան եւ տեղիք եւ գերեզման. թէպէտ եւ այլ տարերքն մեր ազգական են, այլ մեք իբր ի մօրէ ծնանիմք ի հողոյ. եւ ի նմա պահիմք

122. Col 3:1.

Եւ թաղիմք, եւ ի նմանէ դարձեալ յառնեմք: Երկրորդ հարցումն է՝ թէ վասն էր պատուականս այս մարդ յետոյ ստեղծաւ քան զամենայն արարածս: Ասեմք՝ թէպէտ մարդն յետոյ ստեղծաւ, պատուական է քան զամենայն երեւելի արարածս:

Now on the sixth day, on Friday, God made the terrestrial animals; the cattle, and the beasts and the creeping things. And they are called creeping things either because they move by creeping, or because their feet have been shortened, or because they have weak voice.¹²³ Then cattle, since they do not speak, or since they are not docile and wild.¹²⁴ And beasts, either because they are pulling about and tearing, or (because) they have various and frightening appearance.¹²⁵ And after all these creations God made the man of the dust and the woman from his rib, “and put them into the Garden to work (it) and to keep (it).”¹²⁶ And here is a double question. First, if man is the image of God, as Scripture says, why did He create him of the dust? We say that man is the image of God from the side of the soul, while He created the body from dust and mixed (it) with it. First, on account of humility, for the dust symbolizes humility, as Abraham said, “I who am dust and ashes.”¹²⁷ So that if, in seeing the image of God in us, we will become proud and in seeing the dust we become humble, as the prophet says: “your humbleness is in yourself.”¹²⁸ Second, He created man of the dust to dishonor Satan, so that he would be ashamed, when this weak and clayey one entered the glory from which he, who was glorious, fell. Third, having taken dust of the earth, because our body is timorous, and because that it is called dust and earth,¹²⁹ as the Apostle says. . . . For as long as we are in the body, it is necessary to be always afraid of punishment and of being destroyed by death and of other things. Fourth, because dust is our mother, and table, and place, and tomb. Although other elements too are our relatives, we are born of the earth as of a mother, and we are preserved and buried in it and we rise again from it. The second question is why was this honorable man created after all the creatures? We say, although man was created later, he is more honorable than all the visible creations.

- 64 494–95 Նախ զի՝ Աստուած զմարդն իշխան եւ թագաւոր ստեղծ ամենայն արարածոց. նախ պարտ էր զարքունիսն պատրաստել.

123. There are three wordplays in the text here, between սողուն (“creeping things”), սողալուն (“creeping”), սղացեալ (“shortened”), and սուղ (“weak of voice”). Similar wordplays affect “cattle” and “beasts.”

124. The word անասուն (“cattle”) etymologically means “unspeaking, dumb.”

125. Another, less convincing, etymology.

126. Gen 2:15.

127. Gen 18:27.

128. Cf. Arm Prov 16:3.

129. Wordplay in Armenian of հող (“dust”) and երկիր (“earth”), which are associated with երկիւղալից (“timorous”).

որպէս զերկինս եւ զերկիր. եւ զգահոյս որ է դրախտն. եւ զսպասաւորսն որք են կենդանիք: Եւ զմեծութիւնս բուսոց եւ տնկոց՝ արծաթ եւ ոսկի. եւ ապա թագաւորին բնակիլ: Երկրորդ՝ զի մի իցէ նեղասիրտ եւ տառ բարութն տեսեալ զինքն ի չքաւորութեան ստեղծեալ. Այլ տեսցէ զամենայն կատարեալ զի արձակ եւ առատ բարութ սնանիցի եւ վայելեացէ: Երրորդ՝ զի ի սկիզբն ստեղծման արարածոց՝ եղեն իմանալի բանականքն ընդ լուսոյն գոյացեալ որպէս ասացաւ: Եւ ի վախճանի եղեւ զգալի բանականն իբր մատնէհար եւ կնիք արարածոց որ /496/ ունի զիմացումն եւ զզգացումն: Զի իմաստութեամբն ծանիցէ զիմաստութիւն արարչին. եւ զգայարանօք՝ զգայցէ զամենակարօղ զօրութիւն նորա: «Զի աներեւոյթն Աստուծոյ՝ երեւելի արարածովքս իմացեալ տեսանի:» Չորրորդ՝ մեջ եւ կապ ամենայն գոյիցս մարդն՝ է կազմեալ. զի ամենայն արարածք յերկու դէմս որոշին. այսինքն՝ միսն իմանալի, եւ միսն զգալի: Եւ սոքա եղեն յառաջագոյն. վասն որոյ մարդն ըստեղծաւ յերկուցն խառնեալ իմանալւոյն եւ ի զգալւոյն ի մի էութիւն, զի իցէ միաւորիչ եւ կապ իմն բոլոր արարածոց: Եւ յայսմանէ ցուցանի, թէ մի է արարիչ բոլոր ամենայն գոյիցս: Եւ միջակ գոլով ըստ էութեանն եւ զմիջակ վայրս դրախտին ընկալաւ, զմիջին կշիռ մահու եւ կենաց ունելով: Զի թէ զաստուածային նմանութիւնն յինքեան բերիցէ, փոխեսցի յանմահ կեանս երկնից. եւ թէ ընդ մարմնոյն շեղեսցի, ի մահ դատապարտիցի. եւ անկցի ի մարմնաւոր տեղիս. որպէս եւ եղեն իսկ: Որ յանցանօքն զմահ ճաշակեաց. եւ ի հող դատապարտեցաւ: Այս ամենայն յաւուր ուրբաթու եղեւ. վասն այն կոչի ուրբաթ, այսինքն՝ բօթ եւ գուժ մահու. որ յայնմ աւուր հանդիպեցաւ մարդոյն:

First, because God created man as ruler and king of all creations. It was necessary first to prepare courtiers, such as the heavens and the earth, and the throne which is the Garden, and the servants that are the animals, and the magnificence of the shoots and plants—silver and gold, and then for the king to dwell (there). Second, so that he would not be narrow-hearted and mean in conduct, seeing himself created in poverty. But let him see everything perfect, so that (he) would be nourished and enjoy (it) with free and rich conduct. Third, because in the beginning of the creation of the creatures, the intelligible rational (beings) came into existence with the light, as has been said. And in the end, the sensible rational one came into being as signet-ring and seal of creation, who has intellect and senses. So that by his intellect he might apprehend the wisdom of the Creator and with his senses he could feel His omnipotent power “for the invisibility of God, having been apprehended, is seen through visible creatures.”¹³⁰ Fourth, man is formed as an intermediary and link between all beings, for all the creations are divided into aspects, namely, one intelligible and the other sensible. And these came

130. Cf. Col 1:15–16.

into being first. That is why man was created as a mixture of the two, intelligible and the sensible, in one nature, so that he would be as if a uniter of and a link between all the creations. By this it is demonstrated that there is one Creator of all beings. And being middle by his nature, he received the middle place of the Garden, holding the middle balance between death and life. So that if he bears in himself the divine likeness, he will be transferred to the immortal life of heaven, and if he goes astray with the body, he will be condemned to death and will fall to this bodily place, as indeed happened. He who tasted death through the transgression was also condemned to dust. All this took place on Friday, that is why it is called Friday, namely, sad news and sorrowful message of the death¹³¹ that happened to the man on that day.

- 65 Իսկ ի յեօթներորդում աւուր որ է շաբաթն, «հանգեաւ Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց» զի շաբաթն հանգիստ լի: Նախ զի ի վեց աւուր արար զԺամանակաւոր եւ զապականացու աշխարհս. եւ յեօթներորդ օրն՝ սկսաւ զիմանալի աշխարհն. որ սրբոցն է հանգիստ: Դարձեալ զի հանգեաւ Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց ի բարութիւնն՝ զի որպէս Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց հանգուցեալ է. նոյնպէս եւ սուրբքն ի գործոց իւրեանց հանգչին: Եւ դարձեալ որպէս ի բարին հանգուցեալ է Աստուած. նոյնպէս եւ բարի գործքն մեր հանգիստ են Աստուծոյ եւ մեզ: Զայս նշանակէ ասելն «հանգեաւ Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց զոր սկսաւ առնել» Այս վասն առաջին գլխոյն. որ մեծ եւ աւագ շաբաթս այս՝ նշանակէ զշաբաթ վեցօրեից յորում ստեղծան արարածք ամենայն:

And on the seventh day, which is Shabbat, “God rested . . . from all his works”¹³² for Shabbat means repose. First, because during six days he made this temporary and corruptible world and on the seventh day he began (to make) the intelligible world, which is the resting place of the saints. Again, because God rested from his work for the good; because as God has rested from his work, likewise the saints rest from their work. And again, as God has rested for the good; likewise our good deeds are repose for God and for us. This is what the saying means, “God rested from his works that he began to make.”¹³³ This is about the first chapter, that this Great and Holy Week symbolizes the week of the hexaëmeron during which all the creatures were created.

131. An Armenian wordplay.

132. Gen 2:2.

133. Gen 2:2.

595 Քարոզ խաչին. Ծնն. 2.9 (Գլուխ ԺԼԶ)
 Sermon of the Cross (Gen 2:9) (Chapter 136)

66 Աստուած կրկին անգամ ստեղծեաց ըզմարդկային բնութիւնս: Առաջինն Ադամ ծնաւ ի հողոյ եւ ի նմանէ ծնունդն ապականեալ եւ ի հող դարձեալ: Երկրորդն Ադամ ծնաւ ի հոգւոյն սրբոյ. եւ ի նմանէ ծրնունդն սրբեալ եւ հոգիացեալ: Թմրեցաւ Ադամ, եւ ի կողից նորա շինեցաւ Եւա: Թմրեցաւ Քրիստոս եւ ննջեաց ի վերայ խաչին. եւ ի բղիսմանէ կողիցն նորա՝ շինեցաւ սուրբ եկեղեցի: «Զդրախտն տընկեաց ընդ արեւելս, եւ եղ անդ զմարդն զոր ստեղծ գործել զնա եւ պահել:» Եւ շինեաց զեկեղեցի դէմ ընդ արեւելս. եւ եղ զհաւատացեալս ի սմա գործել եւ պահել զպատուիրանս Աստուծոյ: Վասն որոյ դրախտ կոչի եկեղեցի Աստուծոյ ի վերայ երկրի: Փոխանակ զանազան պտղոցն զանազան իմաստութիւն սուրբ գրոց . . . Եւ փոխանակ փայտին գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի՝ հրամանք աստուածային օրինացն. որք բարի են պահողացն. եւ չար անարգողացն: Եւ փոխանակ ծառոյն կենաց ի մէջ դրախտին՝ խաչն սուրբ կանգնեալ ի մէջ եկեղեցւոյ, բերելով մեզ կենաց պտուղ զՔրիստոս . . . Վասն այն ասէ. «Տնկեաց Տէր Աստուած զծառն կենաց ի մէջ դրախտին:»

God created this human nature twice. The first Adam was born of dust, and by him birth was corrupted and he (it) returned to dust. The second Adam was born of the Holy Spirit and by him birth was purified and spiritualized. Adam slept deeply and Eve was made (built) of his rib. Christ slept deeply and died¹³⁴ upon the cross, and of that which sprang from his ribs the holy church was built. "He planted the garden to the east and put the man whom He made in it to work it and to keep (it)."¹³⁵ And he formed the church facing the east, and he put the believers into it to work and to keep God's commandments. That is why the church of God on the earth is called a garden. In place of the various fruits (is) the various wisdom of the Holy Scriptures. . . . And in place of the tree of knowledge of good and evil are the commandments of the divine law, which are good for those who observe (them) and evil for those who refuse. And in place of the tree of life in the midst of the Garden (is) the holy cross erected in the midst of the church, bringing forth for us the fruit of life, Christ. . . . That is why (Scripture) says: "The Lord God planted the tree of life in the midst of the Garden."¹³⁶

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Գիրք քարոզութեան որ կոչի Ամառան հատոր *Book of Sermons, Called Summer Volume* (Constantinople: Abraham dpir Press, 1741; repr., Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1998).

134. Or: fell asleep.

135. Gen 2:8.

136. Following Gen 2:8–9.

Քարոզ վասն պսակին, Ծնն. 1.27 (Գլուխ ԽԴ)
Sermon on the Nuptials, Gen 1:27 (Chapter 44)

67 192–94 Արարչագործն Աստուած յորժամ ստեղծեաց զԱդամ, ասէ «ոչ է բարւոք մարդոյ միայն լինիլ. այլ արասցուք օգնական ըստ դմա:» Նախ զայն ցուցանէ թէ՛ մարդն է մարդոյ օգնական. զի թէպէտ կային այլ կենդանիք օգնական մարդոյ ի բեռն ի լուծ եւ յայլ պէտս, այլ ի յառաքինութիւն եւ ի սրբութիւն հոգւոյ՝ մարդն է օգնական մարդոյ: Եւ յորդեմութիւն եւ յայլ շինութիւն տան կինն է օգնական. վասն այն ասէ. «ոչ է բարի մարդոյ միայն լինիլ:» Եւ դարձեալ Աստուծոյ միայն է բարի միայնակ գոյն. զի անկարօտ եւ անեղ բնութիւն է: Իսկ այլ արարածք՝ եղականք են, եւ կարօտ միմեանց: Որպէս ինն դասք հրեշտակացն են յերկինս փառաբանիչք Աստուծոյ. հազարք հազարաց եւ բիւրք բիւրոց. նոյնպէս ի յաշխարհի՝ բարի է բազմութիւն մարդկան: Նախ զառաւ մարդասիրութիւն Աստուծոյ ցուցանեն: Եւ երկրորդ՝ զի միմեանց օգնական լինին ի շինել ի տնկել ի յարուստ՝ ի պէտս մարմնոյ՝ եւ յուսումն հոգւոյ, եւ յուրախութիւն միմեանց: Եւ այլ բազում բարիս ի միմեանց գտանեմք. վասն որոյն ասէ. «Ոչ է բարի մարդոյ միայն լինիլ:»

When God the Creator created Adam, he said, “It is not good for the man to be alone; but I shall make him a helpmeet for him.” First, this shows that man is the helper of man, for although there were other animals helping the man for (carrying) burden under the yoke, and for other needs, but for virtue and purity of the soul man helps man. And in childbirth and other (aspects of) the prosperity of the house the woman is a helper. That is why it (i.e., Scriptures) says, “It is not good for the man to be alone.”¹³⁷ And besides, it is good only for God to be alone, because he is an unneedful and increate nature. But other creations are created and need one another. As the nine ranks of the angels are glorifiers of God in the heavens, thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads, likewise in the world the multitude of humans is good. First, they demonstrate God’s abundant love of humanity. And second, because they help each other in building, in planting, in handicraft, in bodily needs and in the education (learning) of the soul, and for the joy of each other. And we find a lot of other mutual goodness, that is why (God) says, “It is not good for the man to be alone.”

68 Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ՝ կինն եղեւ պատճառ յանցանաց մարդոյն՝ որպէս է բարի: Նախ պատասխանեմք եթէ՛ կանխագէտ է Աստուած. զիտէր զի մարդն անմեղութեամբ ոչ կարէր աճիլ որպէս հրեշտակք. վասն այն մարմին ստեղծ. եւ զկինն օգնական ետ. զի անասնական ծննդեամբ աճիցին եւ բազմանայցեն մարդիկ որպէս օրհնեաց եւ ասէ. «աճեցէք

137. Gen 2:18.

եւ բազմացարութ՝ եւ լցե՛ք գերկիւր:» Դարձեալ ասեմք թէ՛ Աստուած՝ բարի է բնութեամբ եւ առատ եւ բարերար. ոչ կարէ մին մարդոյ մեղք՝ զբոլոր բարութիւնն Աստուծոյ խափանել եւ արգելուլ. այլ միայն ինքն մեղաւորն ի բարութենէն Աստուծոյ զրկի: Չոր օրինակ՝ արեգակն բոլոր գիւր լոյսն ծագէ. այլ թէ մի մարդ զակն իւր խփէ, զարեւու լոյսն ոչ կարէ արգելուլ. այլ ինքն միայն զրկի: Նոյնպէս թէպէտ կիինն մեղանչեաց՝ այլ զբազում բարութիւնս ոչ արգել Աստուած ի մարդկան ազգէ: Եւ դարձեալ ասեմք. թէպէտ կիինն մեղանչեաց՝ այլ բազում արք ընտիրք եւ արդարք ի նմանէ ծնան. որպէս նահապետքն եւ մարգարէքն եւ ամենայն ընտրեալք՝ մինչ ի կատարած աշխարհի. եւ վասն բարի ծննդոց նորա խնամեաց եւ պահեաց զկիինն. թէպէտ պատճառ եղեւ յանցանաց . . .

And if anyone says, "The woman was the cause of the man's transgression, how is she good?" First, we answer that God is foreknowing. He knew that the man could not increase sinlessly like angels. For that reason he created (his) body and gave the woman as a helpmeet, so that people could increase and multiply through birth like animals, as he blessed and said, "Increase and multiply and fill the earth."¹³⁸ Again we say that God is good by nature and generous and beneficent; the sin of one man cannot obstruct and holds back the whole goodness of God, but only the sinner himself is deprived of God's goodness. In this fashion, the sun spreads its light around, but if a man closes his eye(s), he cannot hold back the sun's light, but only he himself is deprived (of it). Likewise though the woman sinned, God did not deprive the human race of manifold goodness. And we say again, although the woman sinned, many excellent and righteous men were born of her, like the patriarchs and the prophets and all the elect, until the end of the world; and for the sake of her good offspring (God) took care of the woman and kept her, although she was the cause of the transgression . . .

- 69 193 Նոյնպէս եւ նախամայրն Եւա թէպէտ յանցեաւ, յետոյ ապաշխարեաց. եւ բազում զաւակք ի նմանէ ծնանելոց էին. վասն այն ներեաց Աստուած: Դարձեալ եւ զլիաւորն ամենեցուն թէ կիինն ոչ էր յանցեալ, բանն Աստուած ոչ էր մարդացեալ . . . Եւ թէ որ ապիցէ անհանձար մտօք, յորժամ այս ամենայն բարութեանս պատճառ եղեւ մեղքն Եւայի, վասն էր ինքն պատժեցաւ: Ասեմք եթէ՛ մեղքն ըստ ինքեան չար է եւ պակասութիւն բարւոյ եւ արդարութեան: Նաեւ ինքն Եւա՝ ոչ յայն պատճառս մեղանչեաց թէ՛ այս ամենայն բարութիւնս հետեւի մեզ. այլ մարդասիրութիւն Աստուծոյ եւ ամենիմաստ գիտութիւնն հնարեաց զփրկութիւն մեր . . . Ապա ուրեմն պատճառ փրկութեան մերոյ՝ Քրիստոս է եւ ոչ Եւա. եւ շնորհք նորա արդարացուցին զմեզ եւ ոչ գործք մեր: Եւ թէ որ ապիցէ

138. Gen 1:28.

թէ՛ Եւա եւ Ադամ անմեղ էին կացեալ, որպէս աճէր մարդկային բնութիւնս: Ասեմք եթէ՛ ոմանք ասեն ըզդրախտն ապականացու գոլ եւ շաղաշարումն արւի եւ իգի. եւ առաւել ցանկութիւն եւ ծնունդ զաւակաց: Եւ բազումք մըտացածին բանս տողեն. որ ընդդէմ է սուրբ գրոց եւ ուղղափառաց հարց:

Likewise the foremother Eve, although she transgressed, subsequently repented, and many children were to be born of her. On account of that God forgave (her). Again, the most important (thing): if the woman had not transgressed, God the Word would not have become man. . . . And if one says with simple mind: if Eve's sin was the cause of all this goodness,¹³⁹ for what was she punished? We say that sin in itself is evil, and lack of goodness and righteousness. Besides, Eve herself sinned not because all this goodness would ensue for us, but God's love of humanity and very wise knowledge contrived our salvation. . . . Hence the cause of our salvation is Christ and not Eve, and His grace justified us but not our deeds. And if one says that if Eve and Adam remained sinless, how could the human race increase? We say that some (people) say the Garden is corruptible and (there is) copulation of male and female (in it) and moreover, desire and birth of children. And they compose many fabulous things, which is contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the orthodox Fathers.

- 70 Նախ զի՛ ասէ աստուածային հրամանն. «աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք գերկիր.» յերկրի ետ հրաման աճելոյ. եւ ոչ ի դրախտին: Երկրորդ զի դրախտն է տեղի անապական. եւ ոչ լինէր ի մարդոյն ծորումն ինչ աղտեղութեան. եւ ոչ տնկոցն: Արդ եթէ ծորումն ոչ լինէր, եւ ոչ ապականութիւն մարմնական. եւ ոչ ծնունդ ախտական: Երրորդ եկեղեցի սուրբ օրինակ է դրախտին. արդ պսակ օրհնութեան դնի յեկեղեցին. եւ մանկարարութիւն ոչ: Նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտն եղեւ պսակ օրհնութեան. եւ մանկարարութիւն ոչ: Չորրորդ զի թէ լինէր ախտական ծնունդ որպէս ի յաշխարհի, կարօտանայր մարդն ամենայն պիտոյից զաւակին. սննդեան, աճելոյ, խնամելոյ, եւ այլոցն. եւ այսոքիկ ոչ են ի դրախտն. եւ ոչ զգեստ մարմնական: Հինգերորդ նախ քան զյանցանելն էին Ադամ եւ կինն մերկ եւ ոչ ամաչէին. վասն զի ոչ ունէին ցանկութիւն տոփանաց առ միմեանս. արդ ի յանմեղութեանն միշտ այնպէս մնային ապա ոչ ունէին ցանկութիւն հեշտութեանց: Վեցերորդ եւս յայտնի. զի թէ ապականացու էր, զապականեալն Ադամ վասն էր հանէր ի դրախտն. յայտ է զի դրախտն չէ ապականացու եւ ոչ զապականացու բնակիչս ընդունի: Եօթներորդ զի ասէ սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիսացին ի գիրս կազմութեան եթէ առաջին կեանքն դրախտին էր կուսութիւն եւ անապականութիւն. եւ հրեշտակաց նմանութիւն. որ եւ յետ յարութեանն վերստին դառնամք յառաջին կեանս դրախտին յանապականութիւն, եւ հրեշտակաց

139. Literally: goodnesses.

հաւասար: Արդ՝ եթէ առաջին կեանքն Ադամայ ամուսնութեամբ էր եւ որդեծնութեամբ որպէս նոքա ասէն, ապա ի վերջին յարութեան նոյնպէս է լինելոց. եւ լինի ադանդն մահմետականացն մարմնաւոր արքայութիւն եւ կերակուր. եւ ամուսնութիւն եւ այլ աղճատանք զորս նգով սուրբ եկեղեցի զայնպիսի ասացողս եւ ըզխորհողս. եւ եղիցին նգովեալ:

First, because the divine command says, "Increase, and multiply, and fill the earth." God ordered them to increase on the earth, and not in the Garden. Second, since the Garden is an incorruptible place, there was also no trickle of impurity from the man, and not from the plants. Now if there was no trickle, (there was) also no bodily corruption and no impure birth. Third, the holy church is the pattern of the Garden. Now nuptial blessing is set in the church, but not childbirth. Likewise in the Garden the nuptial blessing took place, but not childbirth. Fourth, if there were impure birth, like on the earth, the man would lack all necessities for the child: nurture; for nurture, growing, care and other things, and these things are not in the Garden, nor any bodily garment. Fifth, before sinning Adam and the woman were naked and were not ashamed, because they did not have lustful desire for each other. Now if they always remained thus in sinlessness, then they would not have had lascivious desire. Sixth, more obviously, if (the Garden) was corruptible, why did He drive the corrupted Adam out of the Garden? It is clear that the Garden is not corruptible and it does not contain corruptible inhabitants. Seventh, because St. Gregory of Nyssa says in the *Book of the Formation of Man* that the first life in the Garden was virginity and incorruptibility and similarity to the angels, and that after resurrection we shall return to the former life of the Garden, to incorruptibility and (being) equal to the angels. Now, if Adam's first life were with marriage and childbirth, as they say, then during the last resurrection it would be the same. And there is a Muslim heresy: corporeal kingdom and food and marriage (in the Garden), and other nonsense. The holy church anathematizes those who say and think such things, and let them be anathematized.

- 71 Իսկ թէ ոք հարցանէ՝ ապա վասն է՞ր ստեղծան ծննդական անդամքն, յորժամ ոչ ծնանէին ի դրախտին: Ասեմք եթէ յառաջագէտ է Աստուած. եւ նախ ծանեաւ եթէ ոչ կարէին աճիլ անմեղութեամբ ի դրախտին որպէս զհրեշտակս. վասն որոյ կազմեաց նոցա մարմին՝ զի յերկրի անասնապէս աճեցին: Եւ թէ ոք պնդեսցէ զօրինակ եւ զորպիսութիւն անմեղութեան ծննդեանն: Չայս ասեն վարդապետք սուրբք եթէ որպէս հրեշտակք աճեցան երկինս նոյնպէս եւ մարդկան ազգ ի դրախտին աճին: Եւ թէ ասէ՝ հրեշտակք յանէից գոյացան եւ ոչ ի միմեանց, իսկ մարդկան ազգ պարտ էր ի միոյն ծնանիլ: Ասեն սուրբք. որպէս ի միոյ լուսոյ բազում լոյսք վառէին: Եւ թէ ասեն՝ անկատար է այս ծնունդս: Ասեն վարդապետք սուրբք եթէ՝ զօրօրինակ աստուածածին կոյսն Մարիամ կուսութեամբ ծնաւ առանց սերման

կատարեալ եւ ճշմարիտ. նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտն՝ կարելին ծնանիլ կուտութեամբ եւ առանց սեռման կատարեալ մարդ ի բնութենէն Ադամայ: Եւ կամ Եւա ի կողիցն Ադամայ. եւ կամ այլ ինչ եղանակաւ. որպէս ինքն զիտէ ամենագէտն արարիչ: . . .

And if somebody asks, then why were the genitals created, when they did not bear children in the Garden? We say that God is prescient and he knew before, that they could not increase without sin in the Garden, like angels. For this reason he formed their body so that they increase on the earth like animals. And if one insists upon the way and character of sinless birth, the holy doctors say that as the angels increased in heaven, so the human race was increasing in the Garden. And if one says: the angels came into being from nothing and not from each other, and the human race had to be born from somebody. The saints say: just as many lights are kindled from one light.¹⁴⁰ And if they say that this birth is imperfect, the holy doctors say that just as the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary bore in virginity without sperm, perfectly and truly, likewise in the Garden they could bear, in virginity and without sperm, a perfect man of Adam's nature,¹⁴¹ or Eve of Adam's rib, or in any other way, as the omniscient Creator himself knows.

- 72 Եւ օրինադրեցաւ ի բանն այն՝ յորժամ ոչ գըտաւ օգնական մարդոյն, նա ասաց Աստուած. «ոչ է բարւոք մարդոյդ միայն լինիլ. արասցուք դմա օգնական ըստ դմա:» զի ծընօղն եւ արարիչն Աստուած խորհեցաւ վասն հարսանեացն Ադամայ. եւ նշանեաց զԵւա կազմեալ օգնական նմա . . . Եւ այս երեւեցաւ ի բանն այն որ ասէ զիրն. «թէ զկողն զոր շինեաց ի կին՝ էած առ ադամ:» Այս էր ածելն առ Ադամ. զի տեսեալ հաւանեցին միմեանց:

And it was decreed in Scripture, when no helpmeet was found for the man: indeed, God said, "It is not good for the man to be alone; let us make him a helpmeet according to him."¹⁴² For God the parent and Creator took care of Adam's wedding and betrothed Eve, having formed (her) as a helpmeet for him. . . . And this was evident in the word that (scriptural) word which says, "The rib, which He had made into a woman, he brought her unto Adam."¹⁴³ She was brought¹⁴⁴ unto Adam, so that, having seen, they would like each other.

140. Literally: light.

141. Or: from Adam's body.

142. Gen 2:18

143. An approximate quotation from Gen 2:22.

144. We translate as if it were ածելն.

Քարոզ դարձեալ վասն պսակին, Ծնն. 2:21 (Գլուխ ԽԷ)
 Another Sermon on the Nuptials, Gen. 2:21 (Chapter 47)

73 195–98 Թմրութիւն ի վերայ Ադամայ՝ ոչ բնական քուն է, որ յաշխատանաց մարմնոյն եւ ի կերակրոյ գոյանայ. եւ ոչ ապշութիւն եւ խելաց ցընորումն անախորժելի: Այլ է յափշտակութիւն մըտացն վերացեալ առ Աստուած մարգարէութեան հոգւով . . . /

“Deep sleep upon Adam”¹⁴⁵ it is not a natural sleep, which takes place as a result of bodily exertion and of food, nor is it stupor and unpleasant distraction of mind. But it is rapture of the mind risen to God through the spirit of prophecy . . .

74 Իսկ թէ վասն էր թմրեցաւ: Նախզի՝ մի զգացի զցաւ կողին: Եւ կարօղ էր Աստուած առնուլ զկողն յարթութեան առանց ցաւոց. այլ էր ի խորհուրդ. զի որպէս երկիրն յորմէ առաւ հողն Ադամայ՝ ոչ ցաւեաց. նոյնպէս եւ Ադամ ոչ ցաւեաց յառնուլ կողին: Երկրորդ՝ զի բազում ինչ ետես ի ննջմանն վերամբարձեալ մտօք վասն Քրիստոսի եւ վասն եկեղեցւոյ. զարթուցեալ ասաց զմարգարէութիւնն: Երրորդ՝ զի ի ննջելոյն Քրիստոսի ի վերայ խաչին շինեցաւ եկեղեցի ի կողէն, յորժամ ել արիւնն եւ ջուրն ի հաստատութիւն եկեղեցւոյ. ջուրն ի մըկրտութիւն աւազանին. եւ արիւնն ի ճաշակումն հաղորդութեան: Այսպէս եւ ի ննջելոյն Ադամայ՝ շինեցաւ կինն ի կողէն. որպէս ասէ. «էառ մի ի կողիցն նորա. եւ ելից ընդ այնր մարմին:»

And why did he fall asleep? First, so that he would not feel the pain of the rib. And God could take the rib without pain while he was awake, but it was for a purpose. For, as the earth from which Adam's dust was taken did not feel pain, likewise Adam too did not feel pain when the rib was taken. Second, because he saw many things about Christ and about the church, having ascended by his mind in sleep; having awakened, he pronounced the prophecy.¹⁴⁶ Third, because while Christ fell asleep¹⁴⁷ on the cross, the church was built from his side (rib),¹⁴⁸ when the blood and the water came forth for the establishment of the church: the water for baptism in the font and the blood for eating the Eucharist. Thus, while Adam was sleeping the woman was made from his rib (side), as it says, “he took one of his ribs and he filled up the body in its place.”¹⁴⁹

145. Gen 2:21.

146. Perhaps a reference to Gen 3:20, which was often taken as a prophecy of the birth of the Virgin.

147. I.e., died.

148. The Armenian word may have both meanings.

149. Gen 2:21.

- 75 Եւ ընդէր ի հողոյ ոչ ըստեղծ զԵւա որպէս զԱդամ: Նախզի՛ մի իցեն հաւասար. պատուով եւ հասակաւ կամ ժամանակաւ. այլ նախապատիւ եւ առաջին է այրն. եւ երկրորդ եւ կրտսեր կինն: Ջի յառաջին ժամն ըստեղծաւ Ադամ եւ յերկրորդն կինն: Վասն այն յօրինաւոր պսակին՝ պարտ է զի լիցի հարսն կրտսեր քան զփեսայն: Երկրորդ՝ զի թէ ի հողոյ էր ստեղծեալ, լինէին այր ու կինն օտար եւ անգութ առ միմեանս. Այլ ի մարմնոյն Ադամայ զի սիրեցէ այր զկին իր որպէս զիւր մարմին. եւ ցաւակից լիցին միմեանց: Երրորդ՝ զի թէ երկուքն ի հողոյ էին, լինէին աննմանք եւ այլատեսակք. որպէս եգն եւ ձի են ի մի հողոյ այլ եւ այլ բնութիւնք: Ապա եւ մանուկն ի նոցանէ լինէր այլատեսակ եւ աննման ծնողացն: Չորրորդ՝ զի թէ ի հողոյ էր կինն, պիտոյ էր նմա այլ եւս որիչ փչումն եւ շունչ կենդանութեան. եւ այլ օրհնութիւն եւ հրաման որպէս Ադամայ: Վասն այն ի յԱդամ ստեղծաւ՝ զի զօրութեամբ ընդ Ադամայ ընկալաւ զօրհնութիւնն եւ զփչումն շնորհաց եւ զայլն ... Հինգերորդ՝ զի թէ կինն եւս ի հողոյ էր ստեղծեալ, յայնժամ սկիզբն մարդկան ազգի ոչ լինէր մինն. այլ երկուքն: Այլ այսու եւս նման է մարդն արարչին. զի որպէս Աստուած միայն սկիզբն է բոլոր աշխարհի. նոյնպէս եւ առաջին մարդն՝ միայն էր սկիզբն բոլոր տեսակին: Եւ դարձեալ՝ որպէս հայր Աստուած սկիզբն է որդւոյ ծննդեան եւ հոգւոյ բոխման. նոյնպէս եւ Ադամ սկիզբն է Սեթայ եւ Եւայի. միոյն ծննդեամբ, եւ միւսոյն բոխմամբ, այլ այս օրինակ, եւ նա ճշմարտութիւն. եւ հեռի է օրինակն. եւ իրօք ինչ նմանի:

And why did not he create Eve of the dust like Adam? First, so that they would not be equal in honor and in age or in time, but the man is more honorable and for me, and the woman the second and younger. Adam was created during the first hour and the woman in the second. For that reason during lawful nuptials the bride must be younger than the bridegroom. Second, if she were made of dust, the man and the woman would be alien and uncaring toward each other. But (she was made) of Adam's body, so that the man would love his wife like his own body and they would be sharers of each other's pain. Third, if both were of dust, they would be unlike and of different sort, as the bull and the horse are of the same dust but of different natures. Then, their child too would be of different sort and unlike its parents. Fourth, if the woman were of dust, she would need another insufflation and breath of life, and another blessing and command, like Adam. For this reason, she was made from Adam, because potentially she received with Adam the blessing and the insufflation of grace, etc. . . . Fifth, because if also the woman were made of dust, then the beginning of the human race would not be the one but the two. And through this, too, man is like the Creator: for, as God alone is the beginning of the whole world, likewise also the first man alone was the beginning of all his kind. And again, as God the Father is the beginning of the Son's birth and the Spirit's emanation, likewise Adam too is the begin-

ning of Seth and Eve, the one by birth and the other by emanation (coming forth). Now this one is the fashion, and that one (is) the truth. The example is far away but there is indeed some likeness.

- 76 Վեցերորդ ըստ խորհրդոյ. զի որպէս Եւայի սկիզբն է Ադամ. նոյնպէս եւ եկեղեցի սուրբ սկսաւ ի Քրիստոսէ . . . Յաղագս ասացեալ պատճառացս՝ ոչ յօտար հողոյ ստեղծեաց զկինն. այլ ի կողէն Ադամայ: Իսկ թէ վասն էր ի կողէն եւ ոչ յայլ ինչ մասնէ: Նախզի՛ հնազանդ լիցի Ադամայ եւ լուռ: Երկրորդ ի կողէն էա՛ն՝ զի մի տկար ոք իցէ. այլ զօրեղ. զի կողեղ եւ հաստակող կոչեմք զըմբիշս: Երրորդ զի շարժումն ցանկութեան ի կողից է. որպէս աման է երկկամացն եւ տեղի որ ի կողիցն զօրանայ. նոյնպէս եւ ցանկութեան առն տեղի կինն է. եւ բեղնաւորէ եւ սնուցանէ զսաղմն: Չորրորդ՝ զի կողն է միջասահման վայր. ցուցանէ զպատիւ կանանց ոչ հաւասարիլ զլիւնյն. եւ ոչ ընդ ոտիւք կոխան եւ անարգ. այլ զմիջին սէրն ստանալ առնա: Հինգերորդ զի ի կողն կեռ ոսկր է. նշանակէ թէ՛ կինն է ժողովումն եւ հաւաքումն մարդոյն եւ ընչիցն. զի մարդն է որպէս գետ. եւ կինն որպէս ծով. առ որ ժողովին գետք: Վեցերորդ՝ կողն զերեսն փայլուն ունի. եւ զմէջն բրոր. նոյնպէս եւ կինն ի դէմս ցուցանէ զգեղեցկութիւնն. այլ ի սիրտն նենգութիւն ունի լցեալ. զի այլ է ի լեզուին, եւ այլ է ի սրտին: Եօթներորդ՝ երկու երեսս ունի կողն. նոյնպէս եւ կինն ունի զդէմս առ իւրսն եւ առ օտարսն: Ութներորդ՝ սուր է բերան կողին. այսպէս սուր է եւ հատանօղ լեզու կնոջն. եւ պատառէ լեզուաւն որպէս զչար զազան . . .

Sixth, according to the mystery, for as Adam is Eve's beginning, likewise also the holy church began from Christ. . . . For the mentioned reasons He created the woman not of the alien dust but of Adam's rib. And why of the rib and not of any other part? First, so that she would obey Adam and be silent. Second, He took (her) from the rib, so that she would not be something weak but vigorous, as¹⁵⁰ we call the athletes robust and with strong ribs.¹⁵¹ Third, because the movement of desire is from the ribs, as it is (they are) the container of the kidneys and a place that grows strong from the ribs; likewise the cause of the man's desire is the woman, and (she) fertilizes and nurtures the foetus. Fourth, because the rib is an intermediary place: it shows that the woman's honor is not equal to the head, nor is it trodden underfoot and dishonorable, but receiving middle love is for her. Fifth, for in the rib (side) is a curved bone, it signifies that the woman is the assembling and gathering together of man and his property. For man is like a river and woman is like a sea, in which the rivers are gathered. Sixth, the rib has a shining surface and there is sediment inside, likewise the woman exhibits beauty in the face,

150. Literally: because.

151. Both attributes derive from the word for rib.

but has a heart full of deceit, for one thing is on (her) tongue and another in (her) heart. Seventh, the rib has two surfaces, likewise the woman has one face for her own¹⁵² and (another) for the outsider. Eighth, the edge of the rib is sharp, likewise the woman's tongue is sharp and cutting, and she tears with her tongue like a cruel beast . . .

- 77 Իններորդի՝ որպէս Ադամ ետ գկողն եւ էառ մարմին. զի ասէ՝ «եւ ից ընդ այնր մարմին» / ... Որպէս կողն նախ ի յԱդամ էր՝ եւ յետոյ շինեցաւ կին եւ եղեւ մի մարմին անբաժանելի ի նմանէ. նոյնպէս օրինաւոր կինն՝ անբաժանելի է յառնէն . . . Եւ որպէս Աստուած էառ գկողն եւ շինեաց կին. նոյնպէս ամենայն մարդոյ պարտ է սրբութեամբ կալ . . . Եւ թէ ասիցէ որ յոր կողմից էառ. յաջոյ թէ ի ձախոյ: Ասեն վարդապետք եթէ ի ձախոյ. եւ յայտ է: Նախզի կինն ի ձախոյ կողմն գոյանայ յարգանդի. եւ դարձեալ զի կնոջն մին կող աւելի է ի ձախն: Եւ դարձեալ ըստ մեզ օրինակի. աջովն ստեղծեաց եւ էառ գկողն. կարգաւոր է ի ձախոյն առնուլ ի դիմաց կոյս . . . Եւ թէ որ ասիցէ՝ Եւա ի յԱդամայ կողէն է, ապա դուստր է Ադամայ եւ ոչ կին: Ասենք, եթէ ի ծնունդս զաւակին պիտոյ է երեք ինչ: Նախզի՝ իցէ յառնէ եւ ի կնոջէ: Երկրորդ ի սերմանէ կամ յարենէ: Երրորդ ի ծննդական մասնէ: Այլ արդ կինն ի կողէն է Ադամայ եւ ոչ ի սերմանէ կամ յարենէ. եւ ոչ ի ծննդական մասնէ յառաջ եկեալ. եւ ոչ ներգործութեամբ առն. այլ աստուածային զօրութեամբն առաւ ի կողէն. ապա ուրեմն ոչ է դուստր Ադամայ Եւա . . .

Ninth, because¹⁵³ Adam gave up the rib and received body, for (Scripture) says, “and he filled body in its place”¹⁵⁴ . . . As the rib was first with Adam, and then the woman was fashioned and became one body inseparable from him, likewise a legal wife is inseparable from her husband. . . . And as God took the rib and fashioned a woman, likewise every man must remain in purity. . . . And if someone should say: of which rib (side) did He take, of the right or of the left? The doctors say that of the left, and it is evident. First, for the woman comes into existence in the left side of the womb, and moreover, because the woman has one more rib on the left. And besides, like us, He created and took the rib with the right.¹⁵⁵ It is normal to take from the left, (if one is taking) from the front. . . . And if someone should say, Eve is of Adam's rib (side), so she is Adam's daughter and not (his) wife. We say that three things are needed for the birth of a child. First, it must be of a man and a woman; second, of sperm or blood; third, of the genitals. But now, the woman is from Adam's rib (side), and not from sperm or blood, and she did not derive from the genitals, nor from the activity of the man, but she

152. I.e., her family.

153. Literally: as.

154. Gen 2:21.

155. I.e., hand.

was taken by the divine power from his rib (side); hence Eve is not Adam's daughter . . .

- 78 «Շինեաց զկողն զոր էառ յԱդամայ ի կին:» Ջկինն շինուած կոչէ Աստուծոյ: Նախզի Աստուծոյ է շինուած. ոչ որ կարէ քակել. բայց միայն նա որ շինեացն ... Դարձեալ շինուած կոչէ. զի առանց կնոջ աւեր է տունն. եւ տան շինութիւն կինն է. եւ դարձեալ զի առն քաղաք եւ գաւառ եւ տունն՝ կինն է. հանգստարան /198/ եւ բնակութիւն եւ ժողովումն որպէս ասացաք ի վերոյ: Ջայս սովորութիւն կալան այժմ. եւ կոչեն զկինն տուն. տուն ունիս. տուն առեալ ես: Վասն այն ասէ. «զկողն զոր շինեաց, էա՞ծ առ Ադամ:» Եւ տեսեալ Ադամայ նախ հիանայ եւ հրաժարելով ասէ. «այս այժմ ո՞նկր՝ յոսկերաց իմոց.» իբր թէ այս գեղանիշ պատկերս՝ այն մերկ եւ դատարկ կողն իցէ . . .

“ . . . He fashioned the rib that he took from Adam into a woman.”¹⁵⁶ (Scripture) calls the woman God's construction. First, because (she) is God's construction, nobody can destroy (her) except He who made. . . . Besides, (it) calls (her) construction, because without a woman the house is ruined, and the woman is the prosperity¹⁵⁷ of the house; and again, because the woman is the man's town, region and house, resting place and dwelling place and collection, as we said above. Now (people) have this habit and they call woman house: “Do you have a house?” “Have you taken a house?” Concerning that (Scripture) says, “the rib, which . . . he fashioned, he brought unto Adam.”¹⁵⁸ And Adam, having seen, first wonders and says refusing, “Is this now bone of my bones?” That is, “Is this beautiful image that naked and empty rib?”

202 Նորին դարձեալ վասն պսակին. Եփես. 5.32 (Գլուխ ԽԶ) Of the Same (Author) Again, Concerning Marriage. Eph. 5:32 (Chapter 46)

- 79 Յորժամ արտաքս ելանեն յեկեղեցւոյն, հարսն լինի ի ձախ կողմն փեսային. եւ յորժամ նստին ի բարձր տեղւոջն զոր կոչեն թախտ կամ հաճիք, փոխէ եւ յաջ կողմն նըստուցանէ զհարսն. Այն է՝ զի Ադամ ի դրախտին ունէր ըզկինն յաջ կողմն իւր. Եւ յորժամ արտաքս եկին, եղեւ կինն ձախակողմն Ադամայ եւ պատճառ զլորման . . .

Յորժամ Ադամ եւ Եւա էին ի փառակենցաղ դրախտին անապական մարմնով եւ լուսազարդ փառօք. ուստի յայտ է զի ոչ տեսանէին զմերկութիւն միմեանց:

156. Gen 2:22.

157. The same Armenian word as “construction.”

158. Gen 2:22.

When they go out of the church, the bride is on the left side of the groom; and when they sit upon the high place, which is called throne or ottoman, he changes and seats the bride on the right side. That is, in the Garden Adam had the woman on his right side, and when they went forth, the woman was on the left side of Adam and the cause of (their) fall.

When Adam and Eve were living in the glorious Garden (they had) incorruptible bodies and luminous glory, whence it is evident that they were not seeing each other's nakedness.

211 Քարոզ դարձեալ վասն մեղաց. Յակոբոս 1.15 (Գլուխ ԽԹ)
Sermon Again Concerning Sins. James 1:15 (Chapter 49)

80 Օձն որ խօսեցաւ ընդ Եւայի եւ խաբեաց՝ զհեշտ ցանկութիւնս նշանակէ որ խաբէ զմեզ:

The serpent that spoke to Eve and deceived (her), symbolizes this lascivious desire that deceives us.

572–73 Քարոզ վասն հրեշտակաց. եւ դիւաց. եւ մարդկան
ընտրելոց. Առակ. 17.28 (Գլուխ ԽԶ)
Sermon Concerning Angels and Demons and Elect Men. Prov
17:28 (Chapter 46)

81 Այսպէս կազմեցաւ աշխարհ իմանալեացն վերին բնակութիւն. եւ զգալեացս ստորին վայրս երկրի: Արդ՝ յետ իմանալեաց դասուց՝ կամեցեալ կազմել զգալի արարած ի չորից տարերց. եւ ի սմա բարձրագոյն եւ գերաւբարձ տեղի «տնկեաց Աստուած զդրախտն Եդեմ ընդ արեւելս.» տեղի վայելուչ եւ լուսաւոր. անապական եւ անմահութեան տեղի, զմիջինն ունելով սահման ամենայնիւ: Եւ ձեռօք իւրովք արար ըզմարդն ի հոգոյ երկրէ. եւ փչեաց յերեսս զշունչ անմահ կենդանութեան. եւ եդ անդ զմարդն զոր արար հոգի եւ մարմին. զի մարմնովն վայելչացի ընդ զգալի արարածոցս. եւ հոգւովն իմաստնացի ընդ իմանալեացն դասուց պահպանողացն ի դրախտին:

So the world was formed of the intelligible—the upper dwelling; and of the sensible —the lower places of the earth. Now, after the ranks of the intelligible ones, wishing to form a sensible creation from four elements, and in this a very high and most elevated place, “God planted the Garden in Eden, to the east,”¹⁵⁹ a delightful and luminous place, incorruptible and a place of

159. Gen 2:8.

immortality, completely occupying the middle region. And with his hands he made the man of the dust from the earth and breathed into (his) face the breath of immortal life, and put there the man whom he had made, soul and body, so that with his body he might delight among the sensible creations, and with his soul he would be wise among the ranks of the intelligible guards in the Garden.

- 82 Եւ արար զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր տէր եւ իշխան ի վերայ ամենայն զգալի արարածոց. զի որպէս Աստուած Տէր եւ թագաւոր է իմանալեացն զօրութեանց երկնից եւ բոլոր գոյից: Նոյնպէս եւ մարդն ի պատկեր նորա՝ տիրեսցէ ամենայն երկրի ըստ այնմ, «զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր ի ներքոյ ոտից նորա. զխաշն եւ զարջառ եւ զամենայն ինչ:» Իսկ մին ի յանկէլոց երկնայնոցն դասուց՝ նախանձեալ ընդ զերապատիւ փառս առաջին մարդոյն, պատրեաց զնա նովին հպարտութեան ախտիւն, որով ինքն անկաւ ի փառաց «եթէ ուտիցէք ի պըտդոյն, լինիք իբրեւ զաստուածս անմահ կենօք եւ զերամբարձ փառօք.»

And he made the man in his image, the lord and ruler over all the sensible creatures; for as God is Lord and king of the intelligible powers of heaven and all beings, likewise the man, in his image, should rule over the whole earth, according to, "You made everything subject, beneath his feet, sheep and cattle and everything."¹⁶⁰ But one of those fallen from the celestial ranks, envying the very honorable glory of the first man, deceived him by the very flaw of pride, due to which he himself had fallen from glory, "If you eat of the fruit, you shall become as gods"¹⁶¹ with immortal life and lofty glory."

- 83 յորում օձապատիր խաբմանն հաւանեալ եւ կերեալ ի պտդոյն, աստուծութեանն ոչ հասին. այլ եղկելի կենօք ի ներքոյ մահու գրաւեցան. եւ զոր ունէին զփառս եւ յայնմանէ զրկեցան ըստ արդար վճռին: Նախ եթէ «յորում աւուր ուտիցէք ի նմանէ՝ մահու մեռանիցիք.» այսինքն, եթէ է ոմն անձնաւոր մահ որ է բանսարկուն. եւ նովաւ մահու մեռանիցիք ասէ . . . մահու մեռանիլ զհոգւոյ մահն ասէ որ մեղօքն մեռանի . . . Մահու մեռանիլն այն է՝ որք հոգւով եւ մարմնով տրտմին, եւ անմահ չարչարին . . . Ուստի էր սատանայ որ պատրեաց զմարդն: Ասեն վարդապետք եթէ՝ սատանայ էր մի ի դասուց երկնաւոր հրեշտակացն. եւ զի հպարտացաւ եւ հակառակ եղել Աստուծոյ . . . Եւ ոմանք ասեն եթէ՝ ընդ պատիւ մարդոյն նախանձեցաւ. եւ ի խորհուրդ եմուտ թէ, սուրբ կատարումն ինչ լինի. եւ ոչ կարաց հասու լինիլ . . . Իսկ Նարեկացին Գրիգոր ասէ թէ, յորժամ ի սկզբանն Աստուած կամեցաւ ստեղծանել զարարածս, բանն Աստուած մարդեղութեան կերպարանան լինէր եւ ըստեղծանէր.

160. Ps 8:7 = Arm 8:8.

161. Gen 3:5.

որպէս ի ստեղծանելն Ադամայ. որպէս ասէ մերն Լուսաւորիչ. եւ ամենայն հրեշտակական էութիւնքն տեսին զբանն կերպիւն Ադա/մայ եւ երկրպագեցին եւ օրհնեցին. եւ սատանայ ոչ երկրպագեաց սոսկ մարմին եւ մարդ կարծելով:

Having been persuaded by that deceit of the serpent's and having eaten of the fruit, they did not achieve divinity but were captured by miserable life subject to death; and (they) were also deprived of the glory that they had, according to the just sentence. First, that "on the day that you eat of it you shall surely die."¹⁶² That is to say, there is a personified death, namely, the Devil, and (Scripture) says, they will die by that death. . . . "Dying by death" means the death of the soul that dies through sin. . . . "Dying by death" is those that suffer in soul and body, and are tortured without dying. . . . Whence was Satan that deceived the man? The doctors say that Satan was one of the ranks of the celestial angels, and that he became proud and opposed God. . . . And certain people say that he envied the man's honor, began to think, what is the holy perfection, and he could not comprehend. . . . While Grigor Narekac'i says that when in the beginning God wanted to create the creations, God the Word appeared in incarnated appearance and was creating in incarnated appearance, as during Adam's creation, as the Illuminator says.¹⁶³ And all the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's form and worshiped and blessed. And Satan did not worship, considering (him) mere body and man.¹⁶⁴

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Ի ցանգն աւետարանին տեսութիւն եւ վասն ժխտրանացն *"On the Concordance of the Gospels and on the Ten Canon Tables,"* in V. Lazaryan, Խորանների մեկնություններ *Commentary on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xac'enc' Press, 1995), 86–103.

- 84 86 Գիտեալ է, զի եղբայրութեան եղանակն բազում է: Նախ՝ զի եմք ի սկզբնական պատճառէ, այսինքն յԱստուծոյ: Երկրորդ ի միոյ նիւթական պատճառէ, այսինքն ի հողոյ եւ յԱդամայ: Երրորդ ի նոյնատիպ պատկերէ, այսինքն ի պատկերէ Աստուծոյ եղեալք:

It is known that there are many kinds of brotherhood. First, for we are of the original cause, namely, of God. Second, (we are) of one material cause, namely, of dust and of Adam. Third, having come into being from the same image, that is, of the image of God . . .

- 85 90–91 Չորրորդ խորանն՝ դրախտն Ադամայ: Չորք սիւնքն, զի ի չորից տարերք է: Սեաւ գոյնն՝ զմաշկեակն Ադամայ եւ զխորհուրդն

162. Literally: die by death, Gen 2:17.

163. As in *The Teaching of St. Gregory* §§264 and 272.

164. See *Pen. Adam* 14:1–15:1.

Աստուծոյ, որ ծածկեցաւ ի նմանէ: Կապոյտն, որ թէպէտ անկաք ի փառացն, սակայն նշոյլք աստուածային էր առ մեզ:

The fourth Canon is Adam's Garden. Four columns, for it is of four elements. The black color (symbolizes) Adam's skin-coat and God's mystery, which was concealed from him. The blue (color) is that although we fell of the glory, however, divine signs were with us.

GRIGOR CERENC' (XLAT'EC'I) C14

Text: Grigor Cerenc' (Xlat'ec'i), Յայլմէ ասացեալ բան վասն խորանաց աւետարանիս “The Writing of Another on the Canon Tables of the Gospel,” in V. Lazaryan, Խորանների մեկնություններ *Commentaries on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xac'enc', 1995), 68–78.

- 1 72 Եւ խորանն չորրորդ զդրախտն նշանակէ. որ ի վերայ չորից սեանց կայ եւ ի չորից տարերաց ցուցանէ զնա եւ է գունով կապոյտ եւ սեւաւ, որ ցուցանէ թէ ծածկեցաւ յԱդամայ եւ յորդոց նորա մինչ կենդանիք են:

And the fourth Canon symbolizes the Garden, which stands on four columns, and shows it to be of four elements and is blue and black in color, which shows that (it) was concealed from Adam and his sons, while they are alive.

KIRAKOS ERZNAKAC'I C14

Text: Kirakos *vardapet* Erzszakac'i, Անտիպ տաղեր “Unpublished Poems,” ed. Y. K'yurtyan, *Ėjmiacin* nos. 8–9 (1965): 91–99.

Բ Ի տասն կուսանսն ոտանաւոր տաղիւ չափեալ II Rhymed Poem on the Ten Virgins

- 1 93 Յուցաւ նախնի մայրն կուսան, կերեալ զպտուղն զիտութեան:
Եւ մերկացաւ զպատմուճան, կորոյս զդրախտն փափկութեան:
Լերկ եւ մաշկեակ լուսոյն փոխան, զգեցաւ մարմինըս տըխրութեան:
Ո՛չ թէ հրեշտակաց եւ դու նման, անբիժ եւ սուրբ, անմեղ կուսան:

The foremother was born¹⁶⁵ as virgin, (who) ate¹⁶⁶ the fruit of knowledge.
 And she was stripped of the garment, lost Garden of delight.
 Bald and leathery, instead of light, she put on this body of sorrow.
 Aren't you like angels, stainless and clean, innocent virgin?

Դ Սրբոյ Գեորգէայ տաղ IV Poem on St. George

- 2 97 Մէր եւ սիրոյ ծնունդ եւ աղբիւր կենաց,
 Բախճան պերճալի վերնոց եւ նիւթականաց,
 Բարի եւ բարեաց բաշխաւդ. եւ լոյս երեսաց. . . .
 Որ ստեղծեր զԱդամ պատկեր մեծի քո փառաց,
 Յանպատում դրախտին եդեր փափկութեան վայրաց,
 Նորագուարճ գեղապաճոյճ լուսատարագ,
 Գերափայլ պճնագարդեալ նման հրեշտակաց,
 Էական լուսով լցեր յեթնյարփիցն հաց:
 Որպէս թագաւոր աւծէր տէր տիեզերաց,
 Բենական հաղորդ ըզնա արարեր կենաց.
 Գործել եւ պահել զԱդամին բան քո հրամայեաց,
 Եդեր պատուիրան նիւթ անձնիշխանականաց:
 Արփիափայլ պտղոյ դրախտին վայելօղ եկաց,
 Յատուկ իմոյ ծառոյն հրաժարել ի բաց:
 Իբրեւ զփայլակ անկեալն յերկնային զօրաց,
 Կամակոր զաւրօք դիւաց խաւարասիրաց:
 Իսկապէս հայրըն մեղաց եւ զըտակ չարեաց,
 Բամապէտ դասուց խըմբից սեւագունդ զօրաց:
 Անդ լրւաւ զպատուէր կենաց մարդոյն մախաց,
 Կըցորդ խորհրդոց առեալ զօձն ի զագանաց,
 Որ խաբեալ էհան զԱդամ ի դրախտէն կենաց:

Love and love's birth and source of life,
 Magnificent festivity (banquet?) of the upper and lower material ones,
 Good and giver of goodness and light of (our) face! . . .
 You that created Adam, the image of your great glory,
 Put him in the place of delight, in the ineffable Garden,
 Rejoicing anew, adorned with beauty, dressed in light,
 Brilliantly embellished like angels,
 You filled (him) with increate light,
 bread of seven lights.
 You anointed (him) as king, lord of the universe,

165. Literally: shown, shown forth.

166. Literally: having eaten.

Made him participant in divine life,
 Your Word ordered Adam to work and to keep,
 You set a command, an object of free will,
 He was enjoying the shining fruit of paradise,
 “Abstain from my particular tree.”
 He who fell like a lightning bolt from the celestial hosts,¹⁶⁷
 With the crafty army of darkness-loving demons
 Truly the father of sin and inventor of evil,
 Head of the ranks of groups of black hosts,
 There he heard the man’s command of life¹⁶⁸ (and) envied.
 Having taken of the animals the serpent as partner in his plan,
 Who, having deceived, brought Adam forth from paradise of life.

KOSTANDIN ERZNAKAC’I C14

Text: Kostandin Erzszakac’i, Տաղեր *Poems*, ed. A. Srapyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1962).

Translation: Theo Maarten van Lint, *Konstandin of Erzinka: An Armenian Religious Poet of the XIIIth-XIVth century* (Ph.D. thesis, Leiden University, 1996).¹⁶⁹

ԻԶ XXVI

- 1 220-3 Ըստեղծեցեր քեզ պաշտօնեայ՝
 ըզսերովբէքն վեցթեւեան,
 Զինն դասըս հրեշտակաց
 որ անդադար քեզ փառըս տան.
 Զքառակերպեան ըզքերովբէքն
 եւ ըզհրեշտակքն բազմաչեան,
 Զչորեքկերպեան ըզկենդանիքն
 որ են աթոռք աստուածութեան . . .

You have created servants for yourself:
 the six-winged seraphim.
 10 The nine ranks of angels
 that glorify you without pause.
 The four-faced cherubim
 and the many-eyed angels,

167. Cf. Isa 14:12.

168. I.e., the command designed to bring man life.

169. Prof. van Lint graciously revised these translations for the present work.

The four-faced beasts
that are the thrones of the Godhead. . . .¹⁷⁰

- 2 25 Ասաց Աստուած. Արասցուք մարդ՝
ի պատկերի մերում նրման,
Զի իշխեսցէ արարածոց,
ամենեցուն կացցէ իշխան.
Ստեղծեց թգմարդ հող ի յերկրէ,
շունչ ետ ի հոգի անմահական,
Քան ըզիրեշտակս այլ գերագոյն՝
պատկերակից արարչական:

25 God said, "Let us make man,
in the likeness of our image."¹⁷¹
That he have dominion over the creatures,
be ruler over all."
God created man dust from the earth,
he gave (him) breath and an immortal soul,
More sublime than the angels,
sharing the Creator's image.

- 3 29 / Փառօք պատուեց զմարդն առաջին,
տընկեց զդրրախտն անմահական.
30 Եւ նրմա ետ վայելել
ըզփափկութիւն վայելչական:
Երփնազարդ, զարմանալի
դրախտըն ծառովք զարդարեցան,
Գեղեցիկ ի տեսանել,
քաղցր ի ճաշակ մարդոյն տուան:

29 With glory he honored the first man;
he planted the immortal garden,
30 And let him enjoy,¹⁷²
his pleasurable delight.
The miraculous garden, decked out in many colors,
was adorned with trees,
Beautiful to the sight,
and sweet to taste they were given to man.

- 4 33 Արկ թըմբրութիւն Տէրն Ադամայ
եւ առ մի ի կողից նորայն,

170. Cf. Ezek 1:6, 10 and many images of the divine throne such as Donabédian 1980 and other representations.

171. Literally: in our image, like.

172. Or: and gave (it) to him to enjoy.

Շինեաց մարմին զկողն Ադամայ
 եւ ետ ընգեր՝ նրմին նրման.
 35 Ետ պատուիրան վասըն պըտողոյն՝
 չուտել անդի, որ եւ կերան
 Ի նախանձու չար բանասարկուին
 որ եւ օձիւրն խաբեցան:

33 The Lord cast a deep sleep upon Adam,
 and took one of his ribs.
 He shaped the rib of Adam into a body
 and gave him a companion in his likeness;
 35 He gave a command concerning the fruit;
 that they should not eat of it, but they did,
 Because of the envy of the evil tempter,¹⁷³
 so that they were deceived by the serpent.

5 Հաճոյացան բանից օձին
 եւ ի պըտողոյն առին կերան,
 Մերկացան յանմահ լուսոյն,
 եւ թըզենի տերեւ սփածան.
 Ընդ երեկս անդ ի դրախտին
 զձայն գնալոյն տեառըն լուան.
 40 Եւ փախեան ի յարարչէն,
 եւ ամօթով գնացին թագեան:

They took pleasure in the words of the serpent
 and took of the fruit and ate,
 They were stripped of the immortal light
 and girded themselves with fig-leaves;
 Towards the evening they heard the sound¹⁷⁴
 of the Lord walking in the Garden.
 40 And they fled from the Creator
 and out of shame they went and hid themselves.

6 Ի դըրախտին Տէրն Ադամայ
 կոչեաց ձայնին արարչական.
 Թէ՛ Կերար դու ի պըտողոյն
 եւ չպահեցիր զիմ պատուիրանն.
 Զըրկեցար դու ի դրախտէդ
 յանմահ կենացդ անապական:
 Հրամայեաց ի հող դառնալ,
 զի ի հողէն նոքա ծընան:

173. Or: Devil.

174. Or: voice.

In the Garden the Lord called Adam
 with the voice of the Creator:
 “Did you eat of the fruit
 and did you not keep my command?
 Did you deprive yourself of paradise,
 of your immortal, immaculate life?”
 He commanded them to return to dust,
 for they were born out of dust.

- 7 45 Անիծեաց զկինըն եւ զԱդամ,
 եւ ետ օձին բան բարկութեան.
 Վերայ լանջաց 'ւ որովայնիտ
 յերկիր գընաս դու անխափան,
 Հողըն լիցի քեզ կերակուր
 քո զամենայն կեանքդ որչափ կան,
 Փոխանակ զի արարեր
 ըզբանըդ զայդ կորըստական:
- 45 He cursed the woman and Adam
 and uttered words of anger to the serpent:
 “On your chest and on your belly
 you will go forever about the earth.
 Dust will be your food
 all your life, as long as it lasts,
 Because you committed
 that act of perdition.”

- 8 Հրամայեաց դարձեալ յԱդամ,
 թէ՛ Քեզ բուսցի փուշ անախտան,
 50 Եւ քրքտամքք աշխատանաց
 դու կերիցես հաց տըրտմական:
 Եւայի. ցաւօք ծընունդ
 եւ տրտմութիւն որդէծնութեան,
 Բազմանալով բազմացուցից
 ըզտրտմութիւն քո հեծութեան:
- Again he commanded Adam:
 “Useless thorns will sprout for you,
 50 And by the sweat of your toil
 you will eat your bread of sorrow.”
 To Eve: “Painful delivery
 and sorrow of childbearing,
 I will greatly multiply
 the sorrow of your woes.”

- 9 Ի դրըախտէն արտաքս էիան

Եւ հրամայեաց՝ կալ յանդիման.
 Եւ սերովբէք եւ քերովբէք
 շուրջանակի եդ պահապան,
 55 Զի մի՛ գայցեն եւ ուտիցեն
 զըպտուղ կենացն անմահական,
 Այլ զի դարձցի հողն ի յերկիր
 մարդն ի ծնունդ ուստի առան:

He took them out of the Garden,
 and commanded them to remain opposite,
 And placed Seraphim
 and Cherubim around it as watchers,
 55 That they should not come and eat
 the fruit of immortal life,
 But that man be returned to dust on the earth
 whence he was taken for birth.

- 10 Ադամ հայրն արտաքսեցաւ
 կայ յանդիման յեզեր դրախտին.
 Սկիզբն առին եւ ծնանեցան
 Ադամայ որդիք առաջին:

Adam the father was driven out
 and remained opposite at the edge of the Garden;
 The first sons of Adam
 were begotten and born.

MXIT'AR AYRIVANEC'I C14

Text: Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of Armenia*, ed. M. Emin (Moscow: Lazarean Institute Press, 1860).

Յադագս վեցօրեայ արարչութեանն Աստուծոյ On the Hexaëmeron of God's Creation

- 1 7 Ի սկզբանէ արար Աստուած զերկինն հրեղէն եւ ի նմա
 հրաշակերտեաց զհրեշտակս տասնեակ դասուք եւ պատուով
 զանազանեալս եւ յանբաւ բիրս աճեցեալս, գոլով նոցա հուր
 անկիզելի եւ լոյս թափանցական եւ առ առանց սողման. որոց
 անուն էութեանն եւ թիւք որքանութեան եւ փառք բնութեան եւ չափք
 իմաստութեան անհաս մնան ի մէնջ: Արար եւ զլոյսն խզում ի հրեղէն
 արփույն, այլ եւ զհուր եւ զաւղ, զջուր եւ զերկիր . . .

In the beginning God made the fiery heaven and in it miraculously made the angels¹⁷⁵ in ten ranks, and differing in honor, and increasing to numberless myriads; they being non-burning fire and transparent light and air without movement,¹⁷⁶ the name of whose essence and numbers of (whose) quantity and glory of (whose) nature and measures of (whose) wisdom remain incomprehensible for us. He made also the light, a breaking off from the fiery ether, and also fire and air, water and earth . . .

- 2 9 Արար Աստուած ի վեցերորդին զգազանս եւ զանասունս եւ զսողունս. ստեղծ զԱդամ ձեռք երեսնամեայ եւ զԵւայ երեք ժամաւ յետոյ վաթսուն եւ հինգ աւուրքք, եւս եւ զծառս գեղեցիկս, եւ զարծիւն եւ զառիւծն եւ զեզն առաջի աչաց Ադամայ: Եղ զմարդն ի դրախտին յետ քառասուն եւ երկու աւուր եւ հրամայեաց դնել անուանս ամենայն կենդանեաց եւ իշխել ամենայնի թագաւորաբար, եւ չուտել ի ծառոյն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի: Ասացին բնախօսքն, թէ ժիպակ եւ ծծումբ խառնեալ կայ ի հողն, եւ յարեգական ջերմութենէ եռացեալ գոյանան ոսկի եւ արծաթ, պղինձ եւ երկաթ, կլայել եւ արճիճ, եւ ամենայն գոյնք ականց, եւ բոյսք համօրէն:

Յանգեաւ Աստուած յաւուրն եօթներորդի յամենայն գործոց իւրոց եւ սկսաւ նախախնամել զարարածս իւր. օրհնեաց զօրս զայս եւ ի սմա սրբոց իւրոց հանգիստ եւ փառս պատրաստեաց, որ ցուցանէ թէ բնաւին ոչ հանգչի Աստուած ի նախախնամելոյ զի բառնայ զամբարիշտն յերկրէ:

On the sixth day God created the beasts and the cattle and the creeping things, with (his) hands He created Adam thirty-years-old and Eve three hours later, sixty-five-days old, and further the beautiful trees and the eagle and the lion and the ox before Adam's eyes.¹⁷⁷ He put the man into the Garden after forty-two days and commanded (him) to give names to all the animals and to have dominion over all royally, and not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Physicists¹⁷⁸ said that mercury and sulphur are mixed in the dust, and being boiled by the heat of the sun, (they) turn into gold and silver, copper and iron, tin and lead and all colors of precious stones and plants completely.

On the seventh day God rested from all his works and began the providence of his creatures. He blessed this day and prepared repose and glory on it for his saints, which shows that God never rests from giving providence, for he removes impiety from the earth.

175. Word play of հրաշակերտեաց and հրեշտակ.

176. սողումն means literally "creeping."

177. Symbols of the evangelists and also the beasts in Ezekiel 1.

178. Apparently alchemists.

- 3 Յայլում ուրբաթու յանցեան նախաստեղծքն եւ ելին ի դրախտէն եւ անկան ի Սելան կղզի: Եւ ընդ բուսանել փշոցն յաղագս անիծիցն՝ բուսան եւ ծաղիկք ի պէտս բժշկութեան մարդկան: Իսկ քրովբէական սուրն՝ որ պահէր գորախտն, շանթիւքդ է՝ որ անկանի յերկնից յահ եւ յերկիւղ ամբարշտաց. եւ ջուրք ջերմկաց յանդնդային հրոյն / եւ, որ ի կատարածի տանջէ զմեղաւորս, եւ սրբոցն ի վերին արփոյն է: Անյայտ իմն է ժամանակն մարդոյն ի դրախտին լինելոյ, մի՛ զի ընդ անմահս էր վիճակեալ, եւ դարձեալ զի ոչ է ընդ արեգակամբ, որով իմանին ժամանակք: Բայց ըստ (դ) վիպաբանութեան Եւսեբեայ պարտիմք իմանալ, եթէ որչափ Քրիստոս յաշխարհի եկեաց՝ նոյնքան Ադամ ի դրախտին. եւ որչափ Տէրն ի խաչին՝ նա յետ մեղանացն յամեալ ի դրախտին. եւ յորում ժամու էջ Տէրն ի գերեզմանն՝ նա ընկեցաւ ի դրախտէն յերկիր: Իսկ գեղարդաւոր եւ աշտեաւոր սերովբէքն ընդ հեռանալն Ադամայ եւ նոքա վերացան: Եւ զհանդերձն մաշկեղէն ի յօդոյ արար Աստուած դաղմատացի, եւ բնակեցոյց զԱդամ յանդիման դրախտին, որպէս զյանցաւորսն հանեն յեկեղեցւոյ ի ժամ պատարագին, զի լացցեն զմեղս իւրեանց: Չայն միանգամ մեղաւ Ադամ Աստուծոյ, եւ զայլ ամենայն ժամանակս անմեղ յապաշխարութեան եկաց՝ որպէս Սողոմոն վկայէ:

On the following Friday the protoplasts transgressed and came out of paradise and fell on the island of Selan.¹⁷⁹ And alongside thorns growing because of the curse, flowers also grew for healing people. But the cherubic sword that guarded paradise is with that lightning that falls from heaven to the terror and fear of the impious. And the waters of warm springs are (heated) by the infernal fire which tortures the sinners in the end, and (the glory)¹⁸⁰ of the saints is from the upper heaven. The time of the man's being in paradise is something unknown, first, since he was appointed by lot (to be) with the immortal ones; and second, (since paradise) is not under the sun by which time is apprehended. But according to the fourth (Chapter of) Eusebius's narrative we should realize that Adam (lived) in paradise as long as Christ lived in the world; and after sinning he stayed in paradise as long as the Lord (stayed) on the cross; and at the hour when the Lord descended into the grave, he (i.e., Adam) was cast from paradise to the earth. And the Cherubim with pikes and lances, when Adam left, they also were removed.¹⁸¹ And God

179. I.e., Ceylon. This is a known medieval tradition; see Fabricius 1713, 30-31. Compare Marco Polo, *Travels* (Cologne: Könnemann, 1996), chapter 24.

180. Brosset 1869, 8 n. 4 observes that փառք ("glory") is missing from the printed edition.

181. This appears to be a reference to the Cherubim of Gen 3:24, and Mxit'ar has inferred that they were required for the period between the sin and the expulsion, for after the expulsion, there was not a danger of Adam eating from the tree of life. Their weapons are here anachronistic, but earlier in this passage, they are said to have swords with heavenly lightning.

made a leather garment sown together, a dalmatic, and lodged Adam opposite paradise, like sinners are taken out of the church during the liturgy, so that they might bemoan their sins. Only that one time Adam sinned before God, and he stayed the rest of his time sinless, in penitence, as Solomon testifies.¹⁸²

11 Քահանայք

11 Priests

- 4 Ադամ, Աբել, Ենոք, Նոյ . . .

Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah . . .

12 Մարգարէք

12 Prophets

- 5 Ադամ, Ենոք, Ենոք, Ղամէք . . .

Adam, Enosh, Enoch, Lamech . . .

Թագաւորք

Kings

- 6 Ադամ, Սէթ, Ենոք, Կայնան . . .

Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan . . .

13 Նախահարք Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի ի Ղուկասու աւետարանէն

13 The Ancestors of Jesus Christ from the Gospel according to Luke

- 7 Աստուած, Ադամ, Սէթ, Ենոք, Կայնան . . .

God, Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan . . .

- 8 24 Սկիզբն ժամանակաց ելքն Ադամայ եւ Եւայի ի դրախտէն, որք յետ եօթանասուն ամի սգալոյն իւրեանց՝ ապա անկան ի կարգս անասնոց եւ ծնան զԿային եւ զԿլիմայ քոյր նորա. եւ անտի՝ յետ երեսուն ամաց ծնան զԱբել եւ զԱբելուհի, քանզի Եւա երկուս երկուս ծնանէր, եւ ծնաւ

182. Perhaps referring to Wis 12:10.

հնգետասան ծնունդս: Ադամ փառաւորէր եւ պատուէր զԱստուած պատարագօք պատուականօք, զոր տեսէալ եւ ուսէալ զաւակացն զնոյնն առնէին . . .

24 The beginning of times¹⁸³ (is) the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden, who after their mourning for seventy years then fell into the rank of animals and gave birth to Cain and his sister Klimay; and then, after thirty years they gave birth to Abel and Abeluhi, for Eve bore in twos and she bore fifteen births. Adam glorified and honored God by honorable offerings, which his children, having seen and having learned, did the same . . .

- 9 25 Ադամ եւ Եւայ լեալ ամաց 230 ծնան զՍէթ՝ որդի մխիթարութեան:
25 Adam and Eve, being 230 years old, gave birth to Seth, son of consolation.¹⁸⁴

XAČ'ATUR KEČ'AREC'I C14

Text: Xač'atur Keč'afec'i, 9. Ի վերայ սուտ աստնաւորիս “9. On This Vain Life,” in Նոր ժողովածու, Միջնադարեան հայոց տաղեր եւ ոտանաւորներ *New Collection, Medieval Armenian Poems and Verses*, vol. 3, ed. K. Kostaneanc' (Tiflis: Yovhannēs Martiroseanc' Press 1896), 28–30.

- 1 28 Եկ օրինակ բերեմ զառաջին մարդիքն որ անցան,
Զինչ գործեցին, զայն տարան թէ բարի կենօք թէ մեղան.
Էհաս օր մահու նոցա, նա թողին զաշխարհս եւ անցան,
Ընդ շատ չարչարանքն ի ներս եւ միայն պատանք թէ տարան,
Թագաւորք այլ շատ կային յԱդամայ զարմից որ ծնան ...

Let me give as an example, the first humans that transgressed,
Whatever they did, they bore that, during virtuous or sinful life;
The day of their death came, behold, they left the world and passed away,
With many tortures inside, they took only the grave-cloths,
There were many kings, too, who were born from Adam's stock . . .

- 2 29 Ու կինն հանէ զմարդն ի փառաց նման Եւայի . . .
And the woman brings the man out of glory, like Eve . . .

183. Cf. Anonymous of Sebastia C15 (below) 118. The traditions in this passage occur in the Armenian Adam apocrypha: see Stone 1996a, 118 (names of the sisters of Cain and Abel); their birth is usually put at thirty years after the expulsion (*ibid.*, 144) and the number of births is usually thirty and not fifteen. Note here that the fall down to the rank of animals has to do with procreation and not with food, as is the case in the *Life of Adam and Eve*.

184. The common Armenian understanding of the name “Seth”; see part 1, chapter 3 §4.2.4.

10 Վասն կանանց

10 Concerning Women

- 3 30 Կանանց ա՛գգ լացէք զձեզ, դուք էք զէն ի սատանայէ,
Դըստեր էք այն մօրն ձեր. որ եհան զԱդամ ի դրախտէն:

Race of women, bewail over yourselves, you are the weapon of Satan,
You are the daughters of that mother of yours, who brought Adam out of the
Garden.

Text: L. Mkrtč'ean and A. Madoyan, Հայ միջնադարյան քնարերգություն
Medieval Armenian Poetry (Erevan: Nairi Press, 1996).

Xač'atur Keč'arec'i, Ի չորս տարերաց

From Four Elements

- 4 269–70 Ի չորս տարերաց երկրի
Հողեղէն մարդ հաստատեցայ,
Կենօքս իմ խաւար կացի,
Շատ լացի, շատ յորդորեցայ:

From four elements of earth,
I established earthen man,
By my life I was in darkness,
I wept greatly, I was greatly exhorted.

YOVHANNĒS T'ĬKURANC'I C14

Text: Yovhannēs T'Ĭkuranc'i, Տաղազիք *Poems*, ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1958).

Yovhannēs T'Ĭkuranc'i, Տաղեր *Poems*, ed. Ē. Pivazeian (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1960).

Translation: Translations of many poems may be found in James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T'Ĭkuranc'i and the Mediaeval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987). The translations here are my own.

Ա I Love Poem Pivazeian 119

- 1 2 Փառք ու պատիւ քո ստեղծողին,
Եդենական դրախտէն կու գաս ...

Glory and honor to your Creator,
You come from the Edenic Garden.

ԺԳ XIII Pivazean 154

Այլ տաղ խիստ աննման
Another Very Dissimilar Poem

- 2 12 Սիրուն չղիմանայ նախահայրն Ադամ,
Վանց սիրոյ ելաւ յեղեմ դրախտէն համ.
ԶԴաւթա գործն յիշեմ, ու քան զուռ դողամ,
Սողոմոնի սուգն ես այլ ի հետ լամ,
- 12 The forefather Adam does not withstand love,
He came out of the Garden of Eden because of love.
I remember David's deed, and I shake like a branch,
The mourning of Solomon, I weep as well.

ԺԵ XV Pivazean 161

Այլ բանք սիրոյ ի Յովհաննէսէ
Other Words of Love by Yovhannēs

- 3 53 Մէրն զԱդամ դրախտէն եհան,
Յերկիր ձրգեց 'ւ արար շիւար,
Եւ սատանի ըզնա մատնեաց,
Որ չարչարեաց ամ վեց հազար:
- 53 Love brought Adam forth from the Garden,
Cast him to the earth, confused.
And it betrayed him to Satan,
Who tormented (him) for 6,000 years.

ԺԵ XV Pivazean 164

- 4 1 Աստուած անսկիզբն եւ անսահման,
Անտանելի եւ անթարգման՝
Զգարունն արար հանց պատուական,
Նըման դրախտին եղեմական:
5 Ծառք եւ դրախտք կանաչեցան,
Մրգապայծառ զարդարեցան . . .
- 1 God, without beginning and boundless,
Inconceivable and inexplicable,
Made the spring so glorious,
Like the Garden of Eden.
5 Trees and gardens became green,
And were adorned with beautiful fruits . . . ,

Pivazean 167–68

- 5 66 Կու գայ խաղողըն գովական,
 Զի սայ եհան զմեզ ի դրախտէն,
 Յորժամ եկեր ըզնայ Ադամ:
 զփակեալ դուռն դրախտին
 70 Կրկին խաղողն եբաց մարդկան:
- 66 The praiseworthy grape comes,
 That drove us out of the Garden,
 When Adam ate it.
 The closed door of the Garden,
 70 The grape opened again for humanity.

Առաջին փոխանակ. Տաղ ի վերայ Մահուան
 Pivazean, 178

First Variant: Poem on Death

- 6 28 Բ Ի յԱդամայ մինչեւ այսօր շունչ կենդանի զոք չէ թողած,
 3 խրատու զըրոց, մեղաւորաց թ'ինչ կայ պահած: (էջ 28)
- II From Adam until today he did not leave any living being,
 By the counsel of Scripture, what is kept for sinners?¹⁸⁵

30 19 Երկրորդ փոխանակ. բան պիտանի.
 Second Variant: A Useful Word

- 8 29 Գ Բեր ու ձրգէ գահն ի մըտիդ, դու էլ գիտես ինչ կա պահած,
 յԱդամայ մինչեւ այսօր, շունչ կենդանի զոք չէ թողած: (էջ 29)
- Take and leave fear in your own mind, you also know what is kept,
 From Adam until today, it did not leave any living being.

185. There is no extract no. 7.

Յաւելուած (երկբայականք).

Supplement (dubia)

6. Ի վերայ անզգամ կանանց

Upon Senseless Women Pivazean 187

- 9 8.56 Բ Կինն ի յայլոց քաղցրախօս է,
 զԱդամ դրախտէն շուտ արտաքսէ.
 Կինըն սատանին ընկեր է.
 Աստուած փրկէ կնկան շառէ:

The woman is more sweet-speaking than others,
 II She alienates Adam quickly from the Garden,
 The woman is Satan's companion,
 God saves from woman's tumult.

9. Գանձեր Ganjs (Liturgical Poems)

Գանձ հինգ աւուր Հոգոյ Գալստեան *Ganj* for the Fifth Day of
 Pentecost Bogharian 69–71

- 10 Բ Որ ի ջուրս գոլով, ստեղծագործելով, ըզքեզ յայտնելով.
 զհրեշտակսն առնելով, դասիւ եւ կարգով, շնորհիւ բաշխելով.
 զերկիր ստեղծուածով, բուսով եւ տընկով, խոտով բանջարով.
 զերկինս երկնայնով, զարդարեալ գեղով, լուսնով 'ւ արեւով.
 զծովրս լընլով, լողական գեռնով, մեծամեծ կիտով.
 զաւդս օղականով, զարդարեալ շրքով, թռչուն հաւերով.
 զազանս անասնով, եւ չորքոտանով, սողունս առնելով.
 զԱդամ ստեղծելով, ի տիպ առնելով, քեզ նրման գոլով.
 յԱդամ փրչելով, զոր ստեղծեալ ձեռով, հոգով կենդանով.
 պարգելւս տալով, ճոխ ցուցանելով, երկրի տիրելով:

II He who is in the waters, creating, making you known,
 Making the angels, according to rank and order, granting grace,
 Fashioning the angels, distributing by class and order, grace,
 The earth with creatures with shoot and plant, with grass and vegetables,
 The heavens with the celestial, adorned with beauty, with moon and sun,
 Filling the sea with swimming creatures, with great whales,
 The air with the ether, magnificently ornamented, with birds,
 The beasts with animals, and quadrupeds, fashioning reptiles,
 Creating Adam, making him in Your form, being like You,
 Breathing into Adam, whom you created with your hand, with spirit of life,
 Giving gift, showing abundance, ruling the earth.

- 11 70 Գ Վեհ երեւելով, Ադամ իւր պատուով, գերազանց գոլով.
 իմաստ շնորհելով, քահանայելով, թագաւորելով.
 ի դրախտին դնելով, բազմախիտ ծառով, կանաչ տերեւով.
 զանազան պրտողով, անթառամ գունով, եւ անուշ հոտով.
 պատուիրան տալով, բազմացն ուտելով, միոյն չուտելով.
 զոր ոչ պահելով, մերկացաւ փութով, ծածկեալ թըզենով.
 զնոյն այսաւր գոլով, քո պայծառ լուսով, նոր զարդարելով:

Adam, appearing sublime with his honor, being very excellent,
 Being granted wisdom, becoming a priest, becoming a king,
 Being put in the Garden, with very leafy trees, with green leaves,
 With various fruit, with unfading color, and sweet fragrance,
 Being given a commandment, to eat of many, not to eat of one,
 Which he not keeping, was swiftly stripped, covering himself with fig leaves,
 Being the same today, with your shining light, newly adorning.

3. Գանձ խաչվերացի երկրորդ ատուր *Ganj* for the Second Day of the Raising of the Cross Bogharian 71–74

- 12 71–72 Ա Յայն եղեմական, դրախտին փափկութեան, ծառոյն
 գիտութեան.
 տընկոյն արիւնութեան, նախնոյն նորոգման, դու փայտ փըրկութեան.
 եղեր զենարան, եւ մեծ ճեմարան, բանին հայրական.
 աղբերաց հոսման, ի կողէն արեան, որ ի քեզ հեղան.
 դըժոխք պարտեցան, հիմանց քակտեցան, եւ դրախտըն բացան.
 խաւարըն լուծան, լուսով հաստեցան, եւ պայծառացան.
 մարդիկ զարացան, եւ արժանացան, դրախտին փափկութեան.
 երգեմք ընդ նոցայն, հոգւոց փրկութեան, նոր երգս արիւնութեան:
 Ընկալ զերկրորդագութիւն խաչիդ փրկական. աղաչեմք:

71–72 In that Edenic, Garden of delight, of the tree of knowledge,
 Of the plant of blessing, of renewal of the first one, you, wood of salvation,
 You became an altar, and a great academy of the Paternal Word,
 Of flowing of springs, of blood from the side, which flowed on you,
 Hell was conquered, its foundations destroyed, and the Garden opened.
 The darkness was undone; by light strengthened and shining,
 Men were made strong, and were worthy of the Garden of Delight.
 We sing with them of the salvation of souls, new songs of blessing,
 Receive worship of your saving Cross, we beseech.

YOVHAN ARČIŠEC'Ī C14

Text: Yovhan Arčīsec'ī, Մեկնութիւն ահաւոր խորհրդոյ սրբոյ պատարագին *Commentary on the Fearful Mystery of the Holy Liturgy* (Vałaršapat: Holy Ėjmiacin Press, 1860).

- 1 53 «Որ ի չգոյէ ի գոյ ածեր զամենայն արարածս. որ արարեր զմարդն ըստ պատկերի քում եւ նմանութեան. եւ ամենայն շնորհիւ քով զնա զարդարեցեր ... եւ ուսուցեր խնդրել զիմաստութիւն եւ զգօնութիւն:» Քանզի դրախտն ամենապատիկ ծառովք զիմաստութիւն առակէ. յոր եղաւ մարդն քննել զնա եւ պահել. զոր աստ խնդրել ասաց:

“You, that brought all the creatures from nonexistence to existence, You who made man according to your image and likeness, and adorned him with all your grace . . . and taught (him) to seek for wisdom and prudence.” For paradise with the trees of all kinds allegorically means wisdom, in which the man was put to examine it and to keep (it), which here is called “to seek for.”

- 2 98 «Իսկ ի վախճան աւուրցս այսոցիկ զբովանդակ իսկ զպարտեաց մերոց խզեալ դատակնիք»: Վասնզի կամեցաւ հայր զամենայն գիր պարտուցն մերոց պատառել:

“And at the end of these days having annihilated the condemnation for all our debts . . .” Because the Father wished to tear all the records of our debts.¹⁸⁶

YOVHAN OROTNEC'Ī C14

Text: Yovhan Orotneć'ī, Մեկնութիւն ստորոգութեանց Արիստոտելի *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories*, ed. V. Č'alojan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956).

- 1 136 Եւ տես ի յԱդամ, զի նախ ամենայն զգալիքն եղեն եւ յետոյ մարդն կազմեցաւ:

And see in (the case of) Adam; first all the sensible (creatures) appeared and then the man was formed.

186. This refers to the cheirograph tradition; see Col 2:14. Note the use of պատառել, typical of this tradition.

YOVHANNĒS ERZNAKAC'Ī CORCOREC'Ī C14

Text: Yovhannēs Erzszak'ī Corcorec'ī, Մեկնութիւն տասն խորանացն Աւետարանին *Commentary on the Ten Canon Tables*, in Nersēs Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն Սուրբ Աւետարանին որ ըստ Մատթեոսի արարեալ ի սրբոյն Ներսիսէ Շնորհալոյ մինչ ի համարն 17. հինգերորդ գլխոյն եւ անտի աւարտեալ յերանելոյն Յօհաննու Երզնկացոյ որ եւ կոչի Ծործորեցի *Commentary on the Holy Gospel of Matthew by St. Nersēs Šnorhali as far as the 17th verse of the fifth chapter, and thence completed by the blessed Yovhannēs of Erznka, who is called Corcorec'ī* (Constantinople: Abraham Aknec'ī Press, 1825), 55–15.

This is attributed to Yovhannēs Erzszak'ī Corcorec'ī by Thomson, but the same text is attributed to Nersēs Šnorhali in Nersēs Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն խորանացն Աւետարանին “Commentary on the Canon Tables of the Gospel,” ed. Y. K'iwrtēan *Bazmavēp* 131 (1973): 419–37, which corresponds to V. Lazaryan, Խորանների մեկնություններ *Commentary on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xac'enc', 1995), 44–60.

- 1 5 . . . Բարերարն զպատիւ բարեստոհմութեան սորա եւ զպատճառ կենդանութեան ոչ թաքոյց ի սմանէ՝ պատկեր ասելով զմարդ՝ Աստուծոյ. եւ զդրախտն բնակութիւն նմա. եւ զծառն կենաց առիթ անմահութեան նորա, տնկեալ ի ձեռաց Աստուծոյ. զի զյիշատակս զայս ի մտի ունելով, խնդրեսցէ զսկզբնատիպն երբեք եւ զկենաց կերակուրն, եւ զվայրն վայելչութեան. եւ զի դարձցի ի փառսն իւր սեփականս: Իսկ նա զայլ ոմն բանական շիջեալ ի փառաց ունելով առաջնորդ կորստեան կամակորութեան իւրոյ, որ բիրտ ճանապարհ մոլորութեան բանայր առաջի նորա. մինչեւ զնա թշնամի փրկութեան անձին իւրոյ՝ եւ հակառակ առաջին բարոյն գտեալ . . .

. . . The Benefactor did not hide from him the honor of his noble origin and the cause of his existence, calling the man image of God; and the Garden, a dwelling for him and the tree of life, the opportunity for his immortality, planted by God's hands, so that bearing this memory in mind, he would search for (his) prototype and for the food of life and for the place of delight, and so that he might return to his own proper glory. But he, taking hold of another rational being who had turned away from glory as a guide to his willful destruction, who opened before him myriad ways of aberration, until he found him to be an opponent of his own salvation and adversary of the primordial good. . . .

- 2 7–8 Առաջին խորանն՝ ուր ինքն՝ աստուածութիւնն ասի բազմեալ ի լոյսն անմատչելի: Իսկ երկրորդ եւ երրորդ խորանն՝ ուր միջին եւ վերջին քահանայութիւն անմարմնոցն ասի: Չորրորդ դրախտն . . .

Եւ խորանն չորրորդ՝ զդրախտն տպաւորէ. քանզի ի չորից սեանց

կայ՝ զգգալի տարերքս առակելով՝ որ ի չորից է խառնուած: Եւ է գոյն կապոյտ եւ սեաւ. քանզի անյայտացաւ Ադամայ եւ որդւոց նորա պայծառութիւն դրախտին, զոր եւ մաշկեայ պատմուճանն առակէր. դիմահար եղեալ փառացն Աստուծոյ, եւ դրախտին յորս վայելէր զառաջինն . . .

Եւ յայլ խորանքս մթառեսակ ինչ ձեւով՝ եւ խաչ ընդ աղօտ երեւեալ ի ներքոյ կամարացն՝ որ ցուցանէր զխորհուրդն Քրիստոսի, որ զայր ծածկապէս ի ժամանակսն առաջինս. վայր իջեալ յԱստուծոյ ի հրեշտակս՝ եւ ի նոցանէ յԱդամ եւ ի ծնունդս նորա խորհուրդ հանճարոյն:

The first arcade (is the one) where the Divinity himself is said to be seated in the unapproachable light. And the second and third arcades are where the middle and the lowly priesthood of incorporeal ones is said (to be depicted). The fourth (is) paradise; . . . and the fourth arcade reflects paradise, for it stands on four columns symbolizing the sensible elements, that is mixed of four. And its color is blue and black, because the brightness of the Garden disappeared from Adam and his sons, which the skin-coat also symbolized; (he) having opposed God's glory and the Garden that he enjoyed at first . . .

And the other arcades (are) in somewhat dark-looking manner, and a cross being seen obscurely under the arcs, which showed the mystery of Christ, who came secretly in the prior times—the mystery of wisdom, having come down from God to the angels, and from them to Adam and to his descendants.

- 3 281 Եւ դարձեալ՝ իժ գաւտանայ անուանէ, ըստ Դաւթի՝ ի վերայ իժի գնացես դու. արդ՝ սատանայի էք ասէ ծնունդք առաջին մարդասպանին, ըստ այնմ՝ թէ ի հօրէ սատանայէ էք, զի հայրն ձեր զառաջինն Ադամ եսպան. իսկ դուք զերկրորդս խորհիք սպանանել . . .

And besides, it calls Satan adder; according to David, "You shall tread upon the . . . adder."¹⁸⁷ Now it says: you are offspring of Satan, the first murderer,¹⁸⁸ according to "You are of your father the Devil,"¹⁸⁹ for your father killed the first Adam, and you intend to kill the second one . . .

- 4 316 Աստուած Ադամայ երիս շնորիս ետ, թագաւորութիւն՝ զի ասաց տիրեցէք ամենայնի, եւ քահանայութիւն զի անուանս եղ, եւ մարգարէութիւն՝ զի մարգարէացաւ վասն կնոջն. իսկ յետ յանցմանն կորուսին եւ զշնորհսն, ըստ այնմ՝ մի մնացէ հոգի իմ ի դոսա: Վասն

187. Ps 91:13 = Arm 90:13.

188. Cf. John 8:44.

189. John 8:44.

այնորիկ եղեւ Տէր մեր երկրորդ Ադամ, զի վերստին զշնորհսն զայս հեղցէ ի մարդիկ . . .

God gave Adam three gifts: kingdom, for he said, “Have dominion over everything”,¹⁹⁰ and priesthood, for he gave names; and prophecy, for he prophesied about the woman. But after the transgression they lost also those gifts, according to: “My spirit shall not remain in them.”¹⁹¹ For that reason our Lord became the second Adam in order to pour again these gifts upon humans . . .

- 5 398 Եւ տե՛ս՝ զի ո՛չ միայն յարարչութենէն վճռեալ հաստատէ, այլեւ ի հրամանէն. քանզի ոչ ասաց թէ՛ արար մի այր եւ մի կին միայն, այլեւ հրամայեաց միում առն ընդ միում կնոջն ամուսնանալ, զի թէ հնար էր զմին թողուլ եւ զմիւսն ընդ նորա ածել՝ յորժամ զմի այրն արար, ապա բազում կանայս առնէր, եւ այսպէս արարչական օրինակաւ զօրինադրութիւնն յայտ արար միում առն ընդ միում կնոջ բնակել հանապազ, եւ մի՛ երբեք քակել. քանզի ի միոյ արմատոյ այնպէս եղեն, որպէս ասացն թէ՛ որ արարն արու եւ էգ արար զնոսա՝ եւ ասէ . . .

And see that this is definitely confirmed not only by the creation but also by the command, because it did not say that (God) created only one man and one woman but also that He commanded the one man to marry the one woman. For if it were possible to leave one (woman) aside and to bring another one in her place, when he created the one man, then He would have made many wives. And thus by the example of the creation he made legislation evident: one man must always live with one woman and should never separate (from her), for they came into being in that way from one root, as (it) said that He who created, “male and female created He them” and it says . . .

Text: Yovhannēs Corcorec‘i, Համառօտ տեսութիւն քերականի *A Brief Review of Grammar*, ed. L. Xač‘erean (Glendale, Calif.: ALCO Printing, 1984).

- 6 112 Եւ արդ՝ վասնզի բնութեամբ մարդն առաջին մտաց եւ հանճարոյ ընդունակ ստեղծաւ եւ ընդ լինելութեանն ամբողջ եւ անսխալ բերէր յինքեան ընդ կազմութեան զգայարանացն եւ զբանին մասանցն որպիսութիւն: Իսկ ի կամակոր լինելն նորա լուծաւ պատիւ փառացն Ադամայ եւ կորոյս ընդ անմահութեանն եւ զբանին շնորհն, նոյնպէս եւ զայլ զործարանացն կատարեալ զարութիւն:

And now, because the first man was created by nature capable of thinking and reasoning,¹⁹² and during his creation wholly and faultlessly bore in himself, alongside the formation of senses, also the quality of the parts of

190. Gen 1:28.

191. Cf. Gen 6:3.

192. Literally: mind and genius.

speech. And when he was crafty, the honor of Adam's glory was dissolved, and he lost with immortality also the gift of speech, as well as the perfect power of other organs.

- 7 114 Արդ, եկեսցուք յառաջին գլուխն եւ ասացուք՝ ուստի՞ գտեալ եղեւ զիր, յորմէ՞ քերականութիւնս:

Որպէս ասացի, նախ՝ յԵնովսայ եւ յԵնովքայ սկսեալ եւ զայն գտեալ Արփաքսադայ, մնաց առ Եբեր որպէս լեզուն Ադամայ, որով վարժեցան քաղղեացիք, զոր ոմանք զաստրիս ասեն: Իսկ յետ այնորիկ անցեալ Իսրայէլ ընդ ծովն Կարմիր՝ եբրայեցիք կոչեցան, զի եբրայն «անցիք» լսի, մոռացան զեգիպտացին եւ առին զԵբերայն եւ կամ այլ իմն լեզու նոր, որպէս վկայէ Դաւիթ, «լեզու զոր ոչ գիտէր, լուաւ»:

Now let us come to the first chapter and say: whence writing was found, and by whom —grammar?

As I said, it was first started by Enosh and Enoch, and that was found by Arphaxad, it remained in Eber as Adam's language, by which the Chaldeans learned, whom some people call Assyrians (Syrians). And after that, Israel, having passed over the Red Sea, were called "Hebrews," for "ebray" means "pass." They forgot Egyptian and took (the language) of Eber or some other new language, as testifies David, "He heard (understood) a language that he knew not."¹⁹³

193. Cf. Ps 81:5 = Arm 80:6.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

MATENADARAN AMULET 116 C15

Text: *Matenadaran Amulet 116* in Y. E. Loeff, “*Four Texts from the Oldest Known Armenian Amulet Scroll: Matenadaran 116 (1428)*” (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 2002). Section 2, lines 44–66

- 1 Յայնժամ ասէն դէքն մէք հրէշտակք էաք յերկինս. եւ ոչ պահեցաք զպատուիրանս Աստուծոյ. այլ հպարտացաք եւ ոչ տուաք զփառս Աստուծոյ. բարկացաւ եւ պատառեաց զերկինս եւ ի վայր ել/50/ ից զմեզ մինչեւ յանդունդս. եւ էստեղծ Աստուած զԱդամ. եւ եղ ի դրախտին. եւ զմեր պատիւն ետ նմայ: եւ մէք նախանձեցաք ընդ պատուի նորա. եւ տուաք ուտել ի պտղոյն /55/ որ ոչ հրամայեաց նմայ չէ ուտել. եւ հանաք զնայ ի դրախտին. եւ զամենայն ծնունդ նորա խաբեցաք ի կռապաշտութիւն. ի պէսպէս մեղս: դասապետն մեր սատայել շինեաց /60/ ապարան. եւ անուանեաց դժոխք եւ զհոգին Ադամայ եւ զայլ սրբոց անդ ժողովեաց մինչեւ ցովանէս: Յայնժամ զթացօ արարածս իւր. եւ առաքեաց զորդին /65/ միածին. որ եկն եւ մարմնացաւ ի սուրբ կուսէն մարիամայ.

Then the demons said, “We used to be angels in heaven, and we did not keep the commandments of God, but we swelled with pride and did not give glory to God. He became angry and tore the heavens apart and cast us down /50/ as far as the abyss. And God created Adam, and put (him) in paradise, and He gave our honor to him. And we envied his honor, and we gave (him) to eat of the fruit /55/ which He ordered him not to eat, and we brought him out of paradise, and we deceived all his descendants to idol worship, to various sorts of sins. Our commander, Satayēl, built /60/ a palace and named it “Hell,” and he gathered there the soul of Adam and those of the other saints until John (the Baptist). Then He had compassion on his creatures and He sent his /65/ only-begotten Son, who came and was incarnated through the Holy Virgin Mary.

ANONYMOUS OF SEBASTIA C15

Text: Anonymous Author of Sebastia, Տարեգրություն *Chronicle*, in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ XIII-XVIII դդ *Minor Chronicles, XIII-XVIII Centuries*, vol. 2, ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956), 115–72.

- 1 118 'Յորժամ յանցաւոր եղեւ Ադամ պատուիրանացն Աստուծոյ հան զնայ Աստուած ի դրախտէն փափկութեան, իսկ Ադամ եւ Եւայ զամս Լ ողբացեալ եւ ապա մերձեցան առ միմեանս եւ ապա ծնան զԿայեն եւ զքուր ընդ նմայ Կլիմաս անուն: Եւ յետ Լ տարւոյ ծնաւ զԱբել եւ զԱբելուհի, քոյր նորա: Եւ յետ Լ ամի սպան Կայեն զԱբել եղբայր իւր . . . : Յետ ՃԼ ամի ելիցն ի դրախտի եղեւ որդի մխիթարութեան Ադամայ Սէթ: Եկաց այլ եւս Ադամ 2 ամ եւ մեռաւ. եւ է ամենայն ամբ նորայ ՋԼ:

When Adam transgressed God's commandments, God drove him out of the Garden of Delight, and Adam and Eve having lamented for 30 years then they drew near to one another and then they begat Cain and with him his sister, Klimas by name. And after 30 years he (Adam) begat Abel and his sister Abeluhi. And after 30 years Cain killed his brother Abel . . . 130 years after coming out of the Garden, Adam had a son of consolation, Seth.² Adam lived for 700 years more and died. And all his years are 930.

ARAK'EL SIWNEC'I C15

Text: Arak'el Siwnec'i, Դրախտագիրք *The Book of Paradise*, ed. N. Tēr Nersēsēan (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1956).

Translation: I translated Arak'el's Adam epic, the *Adamgirk'*, into English in a separate publication and, in the first part of this book that translation has been consulted. No reason was found to excerpt it here as well. See Stone 2007a.

բանք խրատականք
Admonitory Writings

- 1 61 Եւ այսպէս սկսանի բանս. զի ի դրախտ,
եւ ի քաղաք եւթն ազգ են յարարածս: Այսինքն.
10 ա. Նախ՝ դրախտն Ադամայ, որ էր քաղաք բնութեանս:
բ. Երկրորդ՝ դրախտ ասի գիրք Աստուածաշունչ, որ է քաղաք հոգոց:
. . .

1. Cf. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 24 and notes there. Observe here that the period before the birth of Cain is the usual thirty years.

2. See part 1, chapter 3 §4.2.4.

20 Է. Հինգերորդ՝ գերեզմանն ասի քաղաք,
[զ]որ յԱդամայ հետէ քաղէ զամենեսէան,
Էւ ժողովէ առ ինքն մինչեւ ի կատարած աշխարհի:

61 And my writing commences in the following way: for by “Garden”
and by “city” are seven kinds of creations (designated), namely,

1. First, Adam’s Garden, which was this city of this nature.
2. Second, the Bible, which is the city of souls, is called Garden. . . .
5. Fifth, the grave is called city,
which plucks off everybody from Adam on
and gathers (them) in itself until the end of the world.

- 2 67 Դրախտն Ադամայ մեզ չէր օգուտ,
այլ դուրս արար զմեզ.
Վասն այն նոր դրախտ տնկեաց Աստուած,
55 որ դու վայելես քեզ:

Adam’s Garden did not benefit us,
But rather it expelled us,
For that reason God planted a new Garden,
55 so that you could delight yourself.

- 3 69–70 Այն որ չարեաց տայ գիտութիւն՝
95 մահ կու բերէ ձեզ:
Ձպատուէրն զայն զոր Ադամաւ
տէր պատուիրեաց մեզ՝
Ունի խորհուրդ ազգի ազգի,
շահ էւ օգուտ մեզ:
100 / Յամէն ծառոց, ասէ կերէք
հրաման տուի ձեզ.
Միայն զայն մինն մի՛ ուտէք
որ մահ կու տայ ձեզ:
Այս բանս մեծ խորհուրդ ունի.
105 պարտ է քննել մեզ.
Թէ մի զամէն բարի թողուք
ու չարն պահէք ձեզ:
Ձամէն բարի բանք պահեցէք,
[զ]որ է յօգուտ ձեզ . . .

That which gives the knowledge of evil,
95 Brings you death,
That commandment that the Lord
Commanded us through Adam,
Has various sorts of mysteries,
Advantageous and helpful for us.
100 “Of all the trees,” he said, “eat!

I have commanded you.
 Do not eat only that one,
 Which brings you death.”
 These words contain great mystery,
 105 We must study (it):
 That you should not abandon every good.³
 And keep evil for yourself,
 Keep all good things,
 Which are helpful for you. . . .

Text: Arak'el Siwnec'i, Տաղեր *Poems*, in: Հայ աշուղներ *Armenian Troubadours (Aşuls)*, vol. 1, part 1, ed. T. Palean (Smyrna: Mamurean Press, 1911), 190–253.

Գ տաղ Poem III

- 4 196 Տեսէք զԱդամ հայր մեր նախնին,
 Որ չի լրսեց պատուիրանին,
 Վեց հազար ամ չարչարեցին,
 Սոյնպէս եւ դուք, ով լալագին:
- See Adam, our forefather,
 Who did not obey the command,
 (They) tortured him for six thousand years,
 Likewise you too, O mournful ones.
- 5 206 Ադամ միով պտղով յանցեաւ,
 Վեց հազար ամ չարչարեցաւ . . .
- Adam transgressed by one fruit,
 He was tortured for six thousand years . . .

Text: Arak'el Siwnec'i, Յաղագս քերականութեան համառատ լուծմունք *Brief Commentary on Grammar*, ed. L. Xač'erean (Los Angeles: L. K. Khacheryan, 1982).

- 6 69–70 Եւ յետ վաղափուլ ամբարտակին, յորժամ բաժանեցան լեզուքն, / մնաց գիրն առ Եբեր, որպէս եւ լեզուն Ադամայ: Իսկ յորժամ անցին ընդ ծովն Կարմիր, յայնժամ կոչեցան եբրայեցիք, զի Եբերայն «անցիկ» լսի . . .

And after the early-destroyed tower, when the languages were separated, writing remained with Eber, as well as Adam's language. And when they

3. Or: the old-good things.

crossed the Red Sea, then they were called Hebrews, for Hebrew⁴ means “passing”

Text: Arak'el Siwnec'i, Լուծմունք Յադագս Սահմանացս Դաւթի Անյաղթ Փիլիսոփայի “Commentary on the Definitions of the Invincible Philosopher,” in Գիրք սահմանաց Դաւթի Անյաղթ Փիլիսոփայի *The Book of the Definitions of David, the Invincible Philosopher* (Madras: Šmavonean Press, 1797), 145–658

- 7 156 Իսկ թէ վասն է՞ր մարդիկ ի խնդիր ելին իմաստասիրութեան, եւ բազում աշխատութեամբ գտին . . . Նախ զի յետ ելիցն ի դրախտէն, ամենեւիմբ յանբանութիւն եարկ սատանայ զբնութիւնս. մինչեւ յիմարեալ պաշտէին զօձ եւ զկարիճ:

But why did people set out in search of philosophy and find it with great efforts? . . . First, because after coming out of the Garden, Satan cast their nature into absolute irrationality, till, becoming foolish, (they) worshiped the serpent and the scorpion.

- 8 245–46 որպէս արարիչն սահման եղ Ադամայ զկենաց պատուիրանն, զի որքան պահէր կենդանի մնայր, եւ յորժամ ոչ կարաց / պահել մեռաւ. այսպէս եւ սահմանս կենդանութեամբ եւ բանականութեամբ բաղկացուցանէ զմարդ. եւ որքան ունին զբան կենդանի մնան, եւ յորժամ սպառի խօսք բանիցն քաղուի շունչ կենդանութեան յայնժամ մեռանի . . . որպէս արարիչն ընդ դնել պատուիրանին զուշակեաց թէ մեռանելոց է մարդն, ասելով թէ յորում աւուր ուտիցես ի պտղոյն մահու մեռանիցիս. այսպէս եւ սահմանն առնէ զի ընդ սահմաննէն ասէ՝ կենդանի, բանաւոր, մահկանացու . . .

Just as the Creator set the commandment of life as a limit for Adam—that as long as he observed (it), he remained alive, and when he could not observe (it), he died—likewise, according to this definition,⁵ he constitutes man through life and reason, and as long as they have reason, they remain alive, and when the discourse of reason is exhausted, the breath of life is gathered up; then (man) dies. . . . As the Creator, when giving the command, predicted that the man will die, saying, “on the day on which you eat of the fruit you shall surely die”⁶ thus the definition does (the same), for, when defining, it says: living, reasonable mortal . . .

4. Literally: Eberayn.

5. մարդ կենդանի բանաւոր մահկանացու՝ մտաց եւ հանճարոյ ընդունակ “Man is a reasonable mortal animal, endowed with mind and reason”; see p. 243 of *The Book of Definitions*.

6. Gen 2:17.

- 9 263... Այլև ստեղծումն Ադամայ ասէ, արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում, այսինքն, մի ասէ զմարդն, իսկ արասցուք եւ մերումն զերեք դէմքն ցուցանէ:

. . . And (of) Adam's creation he says, "Let us make man according to our image," that is, he says "man" to be one, but "let us make" and "in our" show three persons.⁷

- 10 307 . . . Մարդ պատկեր Աստուծոյ ստեղծաւ, որ է անմեղ բնութիւնս . . .

. . . Man was created as the image of God, which is this sinless nature . . .

- 11 321–22 . . . Աստուած վեց արարչական զօրութիւն եցոյց յանձնէ իւրմէ: Նախ՝ զի կամքն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է. ըստ այնմ, թէ զամենայն զոր ինչ կամեցաւ եւ արար: Երկրորդ՝ զի խօսքն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է. ըստ այնմ որ ասաց Աստուած. եղիցի լոյս եւ եղէն, եւ ասաց Աստուած. բաժանեցին ջուրքդ որ ի վերոյ յերկնից եւ այլն եւ եղէ այնպէս, վասն որոյ ասէ մարգարէն՝ ասաց եւ եղէն, հրամայեաց եւ հաստատեցան: Երրորդ՝ զի ձեռն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է, ըստ այնմ՝ թէ / ձեռք քո արարին. եւ թէ էառ Տէր Աստուած հող յերկրէ՝ եւ արար զմարդն: Դարձեալ ասէ՝ ի սկզբանէ Տէր զերկիր հաստատեաց: Չորրորդ՝ զի եւ մատունքն Աստուծոյ արարիչ են, վասն որոյ ասէ տեսի յերկինս՝ զգործս մատանց քոց, զլուսին եւ զաստեղս դու արարեր: Հինգերորդ՝ զի եւ շունչն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է, ըստ այնմ փչեաց յԱդամ շունչ կենդանի. եւ եղէ մարդն հոգի կենդանի. եւ արարչագործեաց ի նմա զքահանայութիւն, զմարգարէութիւն, եւ զթագաւորութիւն, եւ այնչափ կարողացոյց զնա, մինչեւ կարողացաւ զԱստուած ծնանիլ մերով բնութեամբս: Վեցերորդ՝ զի բանն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է, ըստ այնմ՝ թէ բանիւ Տեառն երկիրք հաստատեցան. եւ նոյն բանն նախախնամէ զարարածս միշտ . . .

. . . God demonstrated six creative powers through His own self. First, because God's will is creative, according to that,⁸ that everything which he wished, he did. Second, because God's speech is creative according to that which God said, "Let there be light and there was"⁹ and God said, "Let the waters above the heavens be separated . . . and it was so."¹⁰ Because of that the prophet says, "He spoke and it came to be; he commanded and it was established."¹¹ Third, because God's hand is creative, according to, "your

7. I.e., the plurals of the verb and the possessive adjective indicate the plurality of persons of the Trinity.

8. I.e., as is evident from the fact.

9. Gen 1:3.

10. Gen 1:7.

11. Ps 33:9 = Arm 32:9. "Come to be" and "was established" are in the plural.

hands have made”¹² and “the Lord God took dust from the ground and He made the man.”¹³ Besides, it says, “In the beginning the Lord established the earth.”¹⁴ Fourth, because God’s fingers are creative, because of which it says, “I saw in the heavens, the works of your fingers, the moon and the stars you made.”¹⁵ Fifth, because God’s breath, too, is creative, according to that, “He breathed into Adam a breath of life, and the man became a living soul,”¹⁶ and he created in him priesthood, prophecy and royalty and made him so mighty that he could bring forth God¹⁷ with our nature. Sixth, because God’s Word is creative, according to, “By the word of the Lord the heavens were established,”¹⁸ and the same Word always takes providential care of the creatures . . .

- 12 341–44 Հարց. Ի՞նչ գանազանի գիտութիւն իմաստասիրացն ի գիտութեանցն Ադամայ:

Պիւ. Եւ երկրոտասան կերպիւ գանազանին ի միմեանց, զի թէպէտ որ իսիստ ջանայ իմաստա/սէրն, ոչ կարէ յայն ժամանէլ, զոր յառաջ քան զմեղանչելն ունէր մարդն զիմաստասիրութիւնն: Նախ զի Ադամ բնութեամբ ունէր զիմաստասիրութիւնն. այսինքն զի պատկեր է Աստուծոյ, եւ զոր ինչ կերպացեալ գոյր յԱստուած, նա բնութեամբ ունէր. այսպէս եւ զիմաստասիրութիւնն, իսկ մեք ստացմամբ ունինք. Երկրորդ զի նա անաշխատ ունէր, իսկ մեք բազում աշխատութեամբ: Երրորդ զի նա բոլորովին ունէր, իսկ մեք մասամբք. զի մասն մասն ժողովելով վստահանամք: Չորրորդ զի նա զամենայն գիտէր, զիմանալիսն եւ զգալիս, իսկ մեք զգալիս միայն, իսկ թէեւ իմաստասէրքն վասն իմանալեացն ասացին ինչ, միայն իմացան զգոյն նոցա. իսկ զորպիսութիւն կերպարանացն ոչ գիտացին, զոր գիտէր Ադամ:

Question: By what is the knowledge of philosophers differentiated from Adam’s knowledge?¹⁹

Answer: They differ from one another in twelve aspects, for even if a philosopher makes great efforts, he cannot reach that wisdom which the man had before sinning. First, because Adam had wisdom by nature, that is, because he is God’s image, and whatever was formed, existed in God, he had (it) by nature—thus also philosophy, whereas we have it through acquisition.

12. Ps 119:73 = Arm 118:73.

13. Gen 2:7.

14. Gen 1:1.

15. Ps 8:3 = Arm 8:4.

16. Gen 2:7.

17. I.e., Christ.

18. Ps 33:6 = Arm 32:6

19. Literally, “knowledge’s.”

Second, he had it without effort, whereas we have it thanks to many efforts. Third, he had it wholly, whereas we (have it) partly, for we acquire certainty through gathering it part by part. Fourth, because he knew everything, the intelligible and sensible things, but we only the sensible. But though philosophers have said something about the intelligible things, they only apprehended their existence but they did not know the quality of their forms, which Adam knew.

- 13 Հինգերորդ՝ զի Ադամ դեմ յանդիման տեսութեամբ գիտէր, զի աչօք տեսանէր եւ ականջօք լսէր. իսկ մեք իմացմամբ միայն, եւ ոչ տեսութեամբ: Վեցերորդ զի նա անմեղութեամբ ունէր զգիտութիւն, իսկ մեք աղտեղութեամբ, այսինքն նա որպէս մաքուր հայելի էր անմեղութեամբ, յորս երեւէր պատկերն Աստուծոյ. իսկ մեք ժանկոտեալ մեղօք, եւ նա որպէս պայծառ աչս ունելով տեսանէր զամենայն. իսկ մեր աչս որպէս լցեալ փոշով մեղաց, ոչ ինչ կարենք տեսանել, վասն որոյ ասէ յերզսն՝ թագաւոր սիրելի թէպէտ եւ ծածկեցաք ի տեսլենէ նորա՝ աչք մեր յիսնաւորք. այսինքն զի / Ադամ յիսուն այսչափ տեսանէր աչօք, քան զայն զոր մեք տեսանեմք մտօք, եւ իմանամք: Եօթներորդ զի նա անմահ գոյով յերկար կենօք յերկարաձիգ միտս ունելով, վասն որոյ յերկար իմանայր զամենայն. իսկ մեք մահկանացուք գոյով եւ կարճօրեայ, վասն որոյ կարճամիտ գոյով՝ եւ կարճաճօտ իմանամք զբանն. այսինքն զմի ծայր բանին իմանամք, եւ զմիւսն ոչ տեսանեմք զայն որ հեռագոյն է ի մէնջ:

Fifth, Adam knew through direct vision, for he saw with eyes and heard with ears, and we know only through apprehension and not through vision. Sixth, because he had the knowledge sinlessly, and we have it impurely: that is, he was like a clean mirror through his sinlessness, in which God's image was visible, while we are corroded²⁰ by sin, and he saw everything, having clear eyes, and our eyes, (being) as if full of the dust of sin, we can see nothing. Concerning this it says in the Song (of Songs): "Beloved king, although we were concealed from his vision, we have fifty eyes."²¹ That is, Adam saw with his eyes fifty times what we see with our mind and apprehend. Seventh, because he, being immortal and thanks to long life having long-lasting mind, due to which he apprehended everything at length, while we, being mortal and having short life, due to that are short-witted and apprehend the matter shortly, that is, we know one end of the matter and do not see the other, that which is further from us.

- 14 Ութերորդ՝ զի նա անմոռանալի գիտէր, իսկ մեք մինչ զյետինն

20. He continues the image of the mirror, which was made of polished metal, here corroded.

21. This final passage of the Armenian text of Song of Songs is absent from the Hebrew (A.T.)

ուսանիմք, զառաջինն մոռանամք: Իններորդ՝ զի նա միահամուռ եւ միանգամայն գիտէր զամենայն, իսկ մեք երբեմն զայս ինչ գիտեմք եւ երբեմն զայն ինչ . . . Տասներորդ՝ զի լոյս բանականութեանն ի նա պայծառացեալ էր եւ փայլէր, որով տեսանէր զամենայն, իսկ մեք որպէս պատրոյկ առկայծեալ զովով շիջեալ ունելով զբոց լուսոյն ոչ ինչ կարեմք նշմարել: Մետասաներորդ զի նա անընդմիջաբար տեսանէր, իսկ մեք միջնորդաւ զգալեօքս տեսանեմք եւ գիտեմք զիմանալիսն: Երկոտասաներորդ՝ զի մեք զբանականն օտարացուցաք, որպէս եւ ասէ լուծմունքն, եւ զօտարախտ եւ զտգիտութիւնն բնական արարաք. իսկ նա / օտար ինչ ոչ գոյր, եւ զբնական պայծառութիւն ունէր զմանութիւն, եւ զպատկերակցութիւն Աստուծոյ: Եւ վասն այս երկոտասան պատճառաց՝ իմաստասիրաց գիտութիւնն, որպէս կայծ մի էր առ արեգակնափայլ տեսութիւնն Ադամայ:

Eighth, because he knew without forgetting, but we forget the earlier thing while we learn the later thing. Ninth, because he knew everything at once and all together, while we sometimes know this thing and sometimes that. . . . Tenth, because the light of reason was bright in him and shone, by which he saw everything, and we, being like a sparking wick, having the flame of light extinguished, can notice nothing. Eleventh, because he saw immediately, while we see and know the intelligible things by intermediary of our senses. Twelfth, because we alienated reason, as the commentary says, and made the disease of alienation and ignorance natural, whereas he was not / an alien thing and had natural splendor, the likeness and shared image of God. And for these twelve reasons the knowledge of the philosophers was like one spark in comparison with Adam's vision shining like the sun.

- 15 349 . . . Երեք օրէնքն, զոր Աստուած եղ Ադամայ՝ թէ յամենայն ծառոց կեր, բայց ի ծառոյն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. այսինքն այն չար գիտութիւնն որ քեզ բարի թուի՝ ցայն մի մերձենայր, եւ այս հուպ կատարումն է. զի հուպ ընդ հուպ որ քան պահէր զպատուիրանն կենդանի էր, եւ փառազարդեալ. եւ յորժամ անցեաւ հուպ ընդ հուպ պատճեցաւ եւ մերկացաւ, ի դրախտէն անկաւ. եւ բնութեամբ մահկանացու եղև:

. . . The three rules that God established for Adam: eat of every tree except the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; that is, that evil knowledge that seems good to you, do not approach it. And this is immediate perfection, for as long as he immediately observed the commandment, he was alive and adorned with glory, and when he transgressed, he was immediately punished and was stripped,²² fell from paradise and became mortal by nature.

- 16 369 . . . (Մարդ) անմեղ ստեղծաւ, եւ անապական, եւ անբիծ հոգւով,

22. I.e., of glory.

եւ անարատ մարմնով, եւ պատկեր Աստուծոյ, եւ խոհեմ, եւ արի, եւ ողջախոհ, եւ ազատականութիւն, եւ մեծահոգեղութիւն . . .

. . . (The man) was created sinless and incorruptible and with unstained soul, and with immaculate body, and the image of God, and prudent and brave and judicious and (with) liberty and magnanimity. . .

- 17 402–3 Արդ՝ որպէս արհեստաւորն, նախ զհուպ կատարումն իրին նկատէ ի միտս իւր, եւ ապա յետոյ առեալ զենթակայն գործէ ըստ նախատեսութեանն, այսպէս եւ արարիչն ընդ մեզ արար զի գոյր հուպ Աստուծոյ տեսութեանն կատարումն մեր, նախ քան զստեղծումն մեր. ըստ այնմ՝ թէ ընտրեաց զմեզ յառաջ քան զլինին աշխարհի, լինիլ մեզ անարատս առաջի նորա: Երկրորդ հուպ կատարումն նախ քան զստեղծումն. զի նախ ասաց Աստուած. արասցուք մարդ ըստ / պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան, եւ ապա ստեղծ: Երրորդ զի ստեղծանելն զարարողութիւն պատկերակցութեանն արար, եւ ըստ նմանութեան, եւ ապա ենթակայ իրն հետեւանք եղեւ նմա: Չորրորդ զի ամենայն արարողութիւնքն հուպ կատարումն էր. զի գոր ինչ արար պատկերակցութիւն էր. այսինքն հոգի՝ միտք եւ մարմին, նմանիլ երից միութեանն, եւ ոչ գոյր աւելորդ ենթակայ ինչ անդ: Հինգերորդ զի հուպ ստեղծմանն, այլ հուպ կատարումն արար. այսինքն զի ասաց՝ արար Աստուած զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր, ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա: Վեցերորդ զի երեք հուպ կատարումն ընդ ստեղծմանն եղեւ Ադամայ. զի նախ որպէս պահարան եղ նմա զհուպ կատարումն, որ ասաց արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան, եւ երկրորդ զի արար զնա հուպ ըստ պատկերի նմանութեան իւրոյ, եւ երրորդ արար զնա հուպ զի յետ կատարմանն եւ ստեղծմանն հուպ կատարումն եղ նմա որպէս պահարան ասելով՝ արար Աստուած զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր. ըստ պատկերի իւրում արար զնա: Եօթներորդ զի դարձեալ ըստ ստեղծմանն արար այլ հուպ կատարումն. զի փչեաց ի նա շունչ կենդանի. եւ այս է առաւել հուպ կատարումն. զի մի շունչ է յերկոսեանն. այսինքն յԱստուած եւ յԱդամ, եւ մի շունչն որպէս շաղկապ եղեւ երկուցն եւ այս էր հուպ կատարումն, որ հուպ շունչ եղեւ յերկոսեանն: Ութերորդ հուպ կատարումն, որ հուպ ի կատարեալ կողիցն Ադամայ առաւ, եւ հուպ նմին օգնական կատարեաց նմին: Իններորդ հուպ կատարումն, եղ նմա զկատարիչ կենաց պատուիրանին: Տասներորդ հուպ, զի ինքն անճառ Աստուածութեամբն իւրով հուպ միացաւ ի բնութիւնս մեր, եւ Աստուածացոյց զըստ նմանութեան պատկերին իւր: Մետասաներորդ ետ նմա զդրախտն փափկութեան, առաւել հուպ կատարումն . . .

Now as an artisan first considers in his mind the immediate perfection of an object, and then, subsequently, taking the subject, makes it according to his advance vision, so also did the Creator deal with us; for before our creation, the perfection of the vision of us was immediate to God, according to: “He

chose us . . . before the coming into being of the world to be immaculate before him.”²³ Second, the immediate perfection (was) before the creation. For first God said, “Let us make humankind according to our image / and according to our likeness,”²⁴ and then He created. Third, the creation caused the formation of shared image, according to likeness, and then the object was its result. Fourth, every formation was an immediate perfection, for whatever he made was shared image, that is, soul, mind, and body, imitating the unity of the three, and there was no superfluous object there. Fifth, because immediate to creation, he made another immediate perfection, just as he said, “God created man in his image, according to the image of God he made him.”²⁵ Sixth, because there were three immediate perfections with Adam’s creation; for first he set the immediate perfection as a guardian for him, saying, “Let us make man according to our image and according to (our) likeness”; and second, because he made him immediate according to the image of his own likeness; and third, he made him immediate, for after the perfection and the creation, he set the immediate perfection for him as a guardian, saying, “God made man in his image, according to His image He created him.”²⁶ Seventh, because, again, according to the creation he made another immediate perfection, for he breathed into him the spirit (breath) of life. And this is the more immediate perfection, for there is one spirit in the two of them, that is, in God and in Adam, and the one spirit was like a bond for the two of them, and this was the immediate perfection that an immediate spirit was in the two of them. Eighth, the immediate perfection, for she was immediately taken from the perfect rib of Adam and immediate to him, He perfected a helpmate for him. Ninth, immediate perfection; he set for him the perfecter of the commandment of life. Tenth, immediate because He Himself through his ineffable Divinity was immediately united in our nature and made God that which was according to the likeness of His image. Eleventh, he gave him the Garden of Delight, a more immediate perfection . . .

- 18 458 Բան. Քանզի սահմանէ զիմաստասիրին նմանութիւն Աստուծոյ ըստ կարողութեան մարդկան 74 21:

Նախ՝ զի ունի մարդս կարողութիւն նմանիլ Աստուծոյ. այսինքն՝ զի ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ ստեղծեալ է, եւ ըստ պատկերակցութեան կարող է նմանիլ նախառաքին: Երկրորդ՝ զի ասաց Աստուած, արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի եւ ըստ նմանութեան մերում. արդ զայս նմանութիւնս որ նախ ունէր, կարող է որ վերստին ստանայ:

23. Eph 1:4.

24. Gen 1:26.

25. Gen 1:26.

26. Gen 1:26.

Երրորդ՝ զի ասէ ըստ կարողութեան մարդկան, զի ի փչմանէն Աստուծոյ կարողացաւ մարդն լինիլ նման Աստուծոյ, զի մի շունչ եղել յերկոսեանն. այսինքն յԱստուած եւ յԱդամ:

Subject: For (David) defines the philosopher's likeness to God according to human ability.

Commentary: First, because this man has the ability to be like God, that is, he was created according to the image of God, he (can) also be like the prototype according to the sharing of image. Second, because God said, "Let us make man according to (our) image and according to our likeness," now he can obtain again this likeness that he had first. Third, that he says, "according to human ability," for due to God's insufflation the man could become like God, for there was one breath in the two of them, that is, in God and in Adam.

- 19 489–91 82.4 Հց. Վասն էր ասէ՝ զչորս առաքինութիւնն մակստացական, այսինքն՝ զխոհեմութիւնն, զարիութիւնն, զողջախոհութիւնն, եւ զարդարութիւնն.

Պիւ. Վասն տասն պատճառի . . . /491/ Հինգերորդ՝ մակստացական, զի նախ ի դրախտին բնական ունեաք զայնոսիկ, եւ յետոյ բարձեալ յետ մեղանչելոյն. այսինքն՝ զի նախ խոհեմութեամբ պատուէր զպատուիրանն, եւ արիութեամբ պահէր զօրէնսն, եւ ողջախոհ մտօք պահէր, եւ արդարութեամբ կայր ի կամս Աստուծոյ. իսկ յուտել պտղոյն յիմարեցաւ ի խոհեմութեանցն, զի ոգիք ըմբռնեալք ի մեղս մտաց եւս անկանին. եւ ծուլացաւ ի պատուիրանապահութենէն փոխանակ արիութեանն, եւ բղջախոհ եղել որկորամոլութեամբն, եւ անիրաւեցաւ առ Աստուած, կոխելով զիրամանս Աստուծոյ . . .

Question: Why does he call the four virtues newly acquired; namely, prudence, courage, judiciousness, and justice.

Answer: For ten reasons . . . Fifth, newly acquired, because first we had them in paradise by nature, and then, after the sinning, they were taken away; that is to say, in the beginning he prudently respected the commandment and courageously observed the law, and observed it with judicious thoughts and justly stayed in God's will. However, in eating the fruit he became foolish (being deprived) of prudence, for captured souls also fall into the sin of mind; and he was too lazy to observe the commandment instead of courage, and became lascivious²⁷ with gluttony and acted unjustly toward God and trampled upon God's commandment.

- 20 525–30 Հարց – Արդ՝ ասէ Դաւիթ զսահմանս իմաստասիրութեանն՝

27. Word play of բղջախոհ and ողջախոհ.

զայն որ առաւելութենէ է, թէ իմաստասիրութիւն է արհեստ արհեստից եւ մակացութիւն մակացութեանց . . . /526/

Պիւ. Արդ՝ առաջին արարչութիւնն Աստուծոյ արհեստ էր. իսկ երկրորդ՝ արարչութիւնս արհեստ արհեստից . . . Չորրորդ՝ զի մարդ ստեղծաւ ըստ պատկերին, եւ ըստ նմանութեանն. այնպէս՝ որպէս պատկերն յորմն հանեալ է մարդոյն նմանութիւն, եւ այն գործ արհեստի է. իսկ այս արհեստից արհեստ, որ ինքն Աստուած եղել բնութիւն մարդոյ. այսինքն՝ նախատիպն պատկեր եղել: Հինգերորդ՝ այն արհեստ էր, որ առեալ զկան մարդ ստեղծեաց. իսկ այս արհեստից արհեստ որ /527/ անմարմին Աստուածութիւնն՝ ստեղծագործեցաւ մարդ: Վեցերորդ՝ զի այն անշունչ եւ անկենդան եւ անբան հողոյ. իսկ այս ի շնչաւոր եւ ի կենդանի մօրէ բանաւորէ: Եօթներորդ՝ զի անդ արարիչն արար նիւթոյ մարդն. իսկ աստ արարածն յանդական նիւթոյ արար զարարիչն: Ութերորդ՝ զի անդ նախատիպն արար իւր նման. իսկ աստ պատկերն զնախատիպն արար իւր նման: Իններորդ՝ զի անդ առանց մայր ի հօրէ կին ծնաւ. իսկ աստ առանց հայր ի մօրէ այր ծնաւ: Տասներորդ՝ զի անդ առանց մերձաւորութեան ծնաւ կին ի մարդոյ, իսկ աստ առանց մերձաւորութեան մարդ ի կնոջէ: Մետասաներորդ՝ զի անդ փշեաց Ադամ շունչ կենդանի. իսկ աստ փշօն բնակեցաւ ի կոյսն: Երկոսասաներորդ՝ զի նա զփշումն կորոյս ունկնդրութեամբ օձին. իսկ աստ փշօն կենդանակերպեցաւ ի կոյսն՝ ունկնդրութեամբ հրեշտակին: Երեքոսասաներորդ՝ զի անդ կինն մերձաւորութեամբ առն յղացաւ, իսկ աստ կոյսն՝ հոգւով սրբով յղացաւ . . .

Question: Now David says this definition of philosophy, which is based on priority,²⁸ that philosophy is the art of arts and the science of sciences.²⁹

Answer: Now, God's first creation was the art, while the second creation (was) the art of arts . . .

Fourth, because man was created according to the image and according to likeness, like a picture on a wall depicts a man's likeness, and that is a work of art; and this (is) the art of arts, that God himself became a human nature, to be specific, the prototype became image. Fifth, that was art, when taking clay he created man, and this is the art of arts, when incorporeal Divinity was created as man. Sixth, because that (was) of inanimate and lifeless and nonrational dust, and this (is) from an animate and living rational mother. Seventh, because there the Creator made the man of matter, and here the creature made the Creator from uncreated matter. Eighth, because there the prototype made (the image) like himself, and here the image made the proto-

28. Kendall and Thomson 1983, 101.

29. Kendall and Thomson 1983, 51. See also Stone and Shirinian 2000, §3.1.5 and Introduction, 26–27.

type like himself. Ninth, because there a woman was born without a mother, from a father, and here a man was born without a father, from a mother. Tenth, because there woman was born from a man without intercourse, and here a man (was born) from a woman without intercourse. Eleventh, because there Adam breathed the breath of life, and here He who breathed, dwelt in the Virgin. Twelfth, because he lost the breath by attending to the serpent, and here He who breathed became incarnate in the Virgin by attending to the angel. Thirteenth, because there the woman became pregnant through the intercourse with the man, and here the Virgin became pregnant through the Holy Spirit. . . .

- 21 528 . . . Քսաներորդ՝ զի այն որպէս արհեստ էր զի ամենեքեան այն արհեստին ծնանին. իսկ այս արհեստից արհեստ, որ անման էր եւ անօրինակ: Քսանեմիերորդ՝ զի անդ յետ լինելոյն, օձն եւ դէն առնէին եկաւորութիւն եւ խօսակցութիւն ընդ նորա, եւ միմեանց հաւանութիւն. իսկ աստ հրեշտակաց եւ Աստուածութեանն եկաւորութիւն առ կոյսն, եւ խօսակցութիւն եւ հաւանութիւն կամաց: Քսաներկուերորդ՝ զի անդ յետ լինելոյն անարգութիւն վերանայր յԱստուծոյ՝ ի կոխել պատուիրանին, եւ խռովութիւն երկրի, եւ բարկութիւն Աստուծոյ ընդ մարդկան. իսկ աստ փառք ի բարձունս Աստուծոյ /529/ վերանայր, եւ յերկիր խաղաղութիւն. եւ ի մարդիկ հաճութիւն: Քսաներեքերորդ՝ զի անդ մեղք եւ կռապաշտութիւն եւ զանազան չարք յաշխարհ մտին. իսկ աստ արդարութիւն եւ կոռց խորտակումն, եւ պէսպէս սրբութիւն կուսանաց, եւ ճգնաւորաց, եւ մարտիրոսաց, եւ քահանայից, եւ ապաշխարողաց: Քսանչորսերորդ՝ զի անդ մահ, եւ դժոխք, եւ չարչարանք. իսկ աստ կեանք, ազատութիւն, եւ բացումն դրան արքայութեան:

Twentieth, because that was like an art, for all are born by means of that art, and this is the art of arts, being incomparable and unparalleled. Twenty-first, because there after coming into existence, the serpent and the Devil accomplished the arrival and conversation with her, and were in agreement with one another, whereas here (was) the arrival of angels and the Divinity to the Virgin, and conversation and agreement of wills. Twenty-second, because there after creation, offense against God rose up to trample the commandment, and (there was) confusion on the earth and God's anger against men, and here glory ascended to God's heights and (there was) peace on the earth and pleasure for men. Twenty-third, because there sin and idolatry and various evils entered the world, and here (there is) justice and destruction of idols and various (expressions of) the chastity of virgins and ascetics and martyrs and priests and penitents. Twenty-fourth, because there (were) death and hell and tortures, and here (there are) life, liberty, and opening of the door of the kingdom.

- 22 Քսանհինգերորդ՝ զի անդ ծառ մահու, եւ պտուղ մահաբեր. իսկ աստ

ծառ կենաց կոյսն, եւ պտուղն անմահ Քրիստոս, եւ կենսատու մարմին նորա յեկեղեցի: Քսանվեցերորդ՝ զի անդ փակեցաւ դուռն դրախտին, եւ սերովքէք պահէին բոցեղէն սրով զճանապարհ ծառոյն կենաց. իսկ աստ նոյն հրեշտակք աղաղակեն առ վերինսն, համբարձէք իշխանք զդրունս ձեր, ի վեր համբարձէք դրունս: Քսանեօթներորդ անդ ասացաւ՝ մի մնացէ հոգի իմ ի դոսա, վասն լինելոյ դոցա մարմին. իսկ աստ ասէ՝ հեղից յոգւոյ իմմէ ի վերայ ամենայն մարմնոյ եւ մարգարէացին:

Քսանութերորդ՝ անդ ասացաւ, անիծեալ լիցի երկիր ի զործս եւ այլն. իսկ աստ ի զաւակի քում օրհնեսցին ամենայն ազգք: Քսանիններորդ անդ ասացաւ տրտմութեամբ ծնցիս որդի եւ այլն. իսկ աստ ահա կոյսն յղացի /530/ եւ ծնցի որդի եւ այլն: Երեսներորդ զի անդ ասացաւ, յորում աւուր ուտիցէք ի նմանէ մահու մեռանիցիք. իսկ աստ՝ որ ուտէ զմարմին իմ կեցցէ յաւիտեան, եւ ես յարուցից զնա յաւուրն յետնում. եւ այլ այսպիսիք: Վասն որոյ առաջին արարչութիւնն արհեստ էր: Իսկ երկրորդ արարչութիւնս արհեստ արհեստից:

Twenty-fifth, because there, there (were) a tree of death and mortal fruit, while here, a tree of life, the Virgin, and the immortal fruit, Christ, and his life-giving body, the Church. Twenty-sixth, because there the door of the Garden was closed, and the Seraphim were guarding with a flaming sword the way to the tree of life, and here the same angels shout to the celestial: “Lift up your heads, O rulers! your gate and lift up the gates on high!”³⁰ Twenty-seventh, there it was said: “Let my spirit not abide in them on account of their being flesh,”³¹ while here it says: “I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh; and they shall prophesy.”³² Twenty-eighth, there it was said, “Cursed be the ground; in the labor etc.,”³³ while here, “in your offspring shall all the nations of the world be blessed.”³⁴ Twenty-ninth, there it was said, “In pain shall you bring forth children,” etc., while here “A virgin shall conceive and bear a son” etc.³⁵ Thirtieth, because there it was said, “on the day that you eat of it you shall surely die,”³⁶ while here—“He who eats my body shall live for ever and I will raise him up on the last day.”³⁷ And other instances like these. That is why the first creation was the art, while this second creation (was) the art of arts.

30. Pss 24:7, 9 = Arm 23:7, 9.

31. Gen 6:3.

32. Joel 2:28.

33. Gen 3:17.

34. Gen 22:18, cf. Acts 3:25: “And in your descendants all the families of the earth shall be blessed.”

35. Isa 7:14, cf. Matt 1:23.

36. Gen 2:17.

37. John 6:54.

- 23 557 . . . Քսան եւ երկու կերպիւ տարակուսք զոն յաշխարհի . . .

Երկրորդ՝ տարակուսութիւն դիպեցաւ Ադամայ եւ կնոջ նորա. զի կարծելով թէ ընդ ուտել պտղոյն՝ աստուածանան, եւ յերկինս թռիցեն. եւ յանկարծակի հակառակն եղեւ, զի զոր ունէինն՝ զայն եւս կորուսին. եւ այսքան պատժոց դիպեցան:

. . . Doubts exist in the world in twenty-two ways . . .

Second, doubt occurred to Adam and his wife, for they thought that with eating the fruit they (would) become gods and would fly to heaven; and suddenly the opposite happened, for they also lost what they had and encountered so many punishments.

MATT'ĒOS *VARDAPET* C15

Text: Matt'ēos *vardapet*, Ներբողեան ողբերգաբար ի թաղումն երջանիկ րաբունապետին Գրիգորի “Mournful Encomium on the Burial of the Blessed Rabunapet Gregory,” in Գիրք ութն խորհրդոց մեղաց. Եւագրեայ և հաւաքեցեալ ի վի՝ յոգնաջան երկամբ Մատթէոսի վարդապետի *Evagrius' Book on Eight Mysteries of Sin Collected through the Laborious Efforts of Matt'ēos vardapet* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Astuacadrean, 1750), 148–90.

- 1 153 . . . Արժան է լալ ընդ լացողսն վասն հինգ պատճառի: Նախ՝ զի իմացուք զպակասութիւն բնութեանս, որ մեղօքն Ադամայ զպատուհաս զայս եբեր ի վերայ մեր:

. . . One should weep with the weepers for five reasons. First, so that we may learn the imperfection of this nature of ours, due to Adam's sin, brought this punishment upon us.

- 2 157 Իսկ դու ի մարմնական եւ յաղցաւոր կեանս գոլով՝ արմատ ունելով զփտեալն Ադամ եւ ծնեալ յախտից՝ յետոյ ժամանեցար մաքրութեան գերագոյն գտեալ:

And you, being in corporeal and miserable life, having Adam as root, rotten and born of vices, later arrived, having found supreme purity.

- 3 158–59 Այլեւ զարմանայ Ադամ. քանզի ձեռնասուն զաւակ գոլով Աստուծոյ, եւ յանճառ փառսն եղեալ, եւ պատուով շքացուցեալ, ոչ կարաց օր մի ի պատուիրանն Աստուծոյ մնալ: Իսկ ի քեզ տեսեալ ամենայնիւ զհակառակն եւ համբերօղ եւ պահօղ: Եւ ի կատարման պատուիրանացն որպէս նա ոչ պահելովն ել, եւ դու պահելովն մտեր: Նա զրկեցաւ զառաջինն, եւ դու կոխեցեր զթոյնս վիշապին: Նա կողին յաբեցաւ, եւ դու գնա արհամարհեցեր: Նա զսերն Աստուծոյ փոխանակեաց / ընդ կնոջ, եւ դու զաշխարհիս ընդ Աստուծոյ: Նա վասն միոյ պտղոյ ել, եւ դու միով դաւանութեամբ մտեր:

And also Adam is surprised, for being God's child, nourished by his hand, and having been set in ineffable glory and glorified with honor, he could not observe God's commandment for one day, whereas, having seen in you absolutely the opposite, (that you are) both patient and observing. And in accomplishing the commandments, while he came forth³⁸ for not observing, you observed and entered. He was deprived the first and you trampled on the dragon's poison. He was deceived by the rib, and you ignored it. He changed God's love for the woman, and you (changed the love) of this world for God. He came out because of one fruit, and you entered with one confession of faith.

ՄԿՐՏԻՇ՝ ՆԱԼԱՏ՝ C15

Text: Մկրտիչ Նախաշ *Mkrtiç Nalaš*, ed. E. Xondkaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1965).

101 Տաղ հարսանեաց եւ ուրախութեան մարդկան Poem of Wedding and Human Joy

- 1 1 Նախ օրհնենք զԱստուածութիւն,
Որ ստեղծ զհրէշտակս ի լուսոյն,
ԶԱդամ արար ի հողոյ,
Եւ զկինն իւր ի կողոյ:

1 First we bless the Divinity,
That created the angels from light,
Made Adam from dust,
And his wife from a rib.

Խրատական բաներս ազահութեան եւ անընչութեան ի Նաղաշ Վարդապետէ ասացեալ Didactic Writings on Avarice and Poverty pronounced by Nalaš *vardapet*

- 2 114 4 Ի սկզբանէ մինչ ի վախճան ամէն չարիք որ գործեցան,
Ազահութիւն եղեւ պատճառ, որ ի բարեացն գրկեցան.
Հայեաց եւ տես զնախնին Ադամ, որ ի դրախտին յադինական,
Աստուածային կերպարանօք պայծառանայր յարեւ նման,
Ազահութիւն եղեւ պատճառ, որ ցանկացաւ Աստուածութեան,
Վասն այն էանց զպատուիրանաւն եւ մերկացաւ զպատմութեան:

38. I.e., from the Garden.

4 From the beginning to the end all evils that were done
 Were caused by avarice,³⁹ that they were deprived of the good things.⁴⁰
 Look and see the forefather Adam, who in the Garden of Eden
 Was shining with divine image, like the sun,
 Avarice was the reason that he desired divinity,
 For that he transgressed the commandment and was stripped of the garment.⁴¹

14 Նաղաշի ասացեալ է վասն դարիպացն On Strangers by Nalāš

- 3 168 Աստուծոյ մարդասիրին փառք յաւիտեան,
 Որ ստեղծեր է զարարածս զանազան,
 Արեւելք, հիւսիս, հարաւ, արեւմտեան
 Սարդն ի վերայ է թագաւոր եւ աննման:

Eternal glory to (you), philanthropic God
 Who have created various created things,
 East, North, South, West,
 Man is king over (all) and incomparable.

YAKOB ŁRIMEC'Ī C15

Text: Yakob Łrimec'Ī, Տոմարագիտական աշխատութիւններ *Works on the Calendar*, ed. A. Ėynat'yan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987).

Մեկնութիւն տումարի Commentary on the Calendar

- 1 203–5 Զի որպէս արար Աստուած եւ սահմանեաց ի չորեքսին Զատիկսն, զնոյն եւ մէք ըստ օրինակին նորա արացոյք: Եւ նախ զարարչութեան Զատիկն, զոր արար Աստուած Ադամայ եւ ամենայն զգալի արարածոցս յետ յերկուց աւուրց հասարակաւորութեան, զի ի հասարակածին եստեղծ Աստուած զԱրեգակն եւ զԼուսին, որ ըստ երբայեցոց էր յաւելեաց ի չորս եւ ըստ հռոմայեցոց մարտի ի քսան, յաւուր չորեքշաբթոյ: Իսկ յաւուր ուրբաթու, յորում արար զմարդն եւ զգեցոյց զնա հանդերձս Զատիկի զեռակի պարգեւս՝ զքահանայութեան, զմարգարէութեան եւ զթագաւորութեան ի հոգին /եւ զփեսայն նազելի չքնաղագեղ կուսիւ, զոր հարսնացոյց Ադամայ օրիորդն վայրի, զարդարեալ պաճուճեաց զնոսա ի մարմին վայելուչ ի հանդերձս յոսկեհուոս լուսեղէն զգեստին եւ ետ նոցա յուրախութիւն Զատիկի

39. Literally: avarice was the reason.

40. This is a technical term for paradisiacal or eschatological benefits.

41. I.e., of light.

գերկինս իւր յուսաւորօքն եւ գորախտն իւր իմանալի տնկօքն եւ զօդդ իւր երաժշտական թռչնօքն եւ գերկիրս իւր զանազան տեսակացն կենդանեօքն եւ զջուրս ծովուց իւր ամենափարթամ լեզակօքն (v. 1. լողօքն, լողականօքն), զի մի ինչ պակաս գտանիցի յուրախութեանցն նորն Ադամայ ի նորագոյն արարածոցն, ի նոր արաչագործութիւնս Աստուծոյ ի նորոգումն Զատկին:

Because, as God made and defined four Easters, let us do the same after his example. And first, the Easter of creation, which God made for Adam and all sensible creatures two days after the equinox; for God created the sun and the moon on the equinox, which was one of the four epagomenal days according to the Hebrews, and according to the Romans—on the twentieth of March, on Wednesday. While on Friday, on which (day) he made the man and decked him out in the clothing of Easter, the threefold gifts of priesthood, of prophecy, and of royalty for the soul, and the bridegroom with the gracious virgin of wonderful beauty, the wild maiden, whom he made Adam's bride, and adorning decorated them in the fitting body in the clothing laced with gold, with a luminous garment, and gave them, for the joy of Easter, heaven with its luminaries and the Garden with its intelligible trees, and the air with its musical birds, and the earth with its various kinds of living things, and the waters of the seas with their abundant fish. Thus there would be found no lack in the joys of the new Adam, in the newly created things, in the new creations of God, for the renovation of Easter.

- 2 Եւ ապա արար Զատիկ նոցա ըստ քառից նշանակութեան, նախ զի յետ հասարակաւորութեան արար, երկրորդ զի զԱրեգակն ի Խոյն եդ, որ սկիզբն եւ առաջին է կենդանակերպիցն, երրորդ զի ի նիսան ամիսն արար, որ սկիզբն է ամսոց ի յամիսս տարւոյն եւ յառաջնումն աւուրն, չորրորդ զի Լուսինն ի լրման էր եւ բատր եւ բոլոր, լրացեալ քանակին չափու յուսովն զարդու, զոր յառաջիկայդ ուսուցուր: Բայց զիտել պարտ է, զի ոչ էադ դրութիւն յԱստուծոյ առ Ադամ տումարական արիեստս Զատկաց՝ առնել զայսմ (v.l. զայս) կեանս իւր եւ ինքն եւ որդիք իւր: Եւ այս վասն երից պատճառաց. նախ ի կողմանէ Աստուծոյ, երկրորդ ի կողմանէ մարդոյն, երրորդ ի կողմանէ Զատկին:

And then he made for them Easter according to four meanings. First, because he made (it) after the equinox; second, because he put the sun in Aries, which is the beginning and the first (sign) of the Zodiac; third, because he made (it) in the month Nisan—which is the beginning of the months among the months of the year⁴²—and on the first day; fourth, because the moon was full and round, filled by the necessary quantity of light, its adornment, which we shall learn later. But one should know that this calendrical art of Easters

42. Exod 12:2.

was not established by God for Adam, to apply in this life, both he and his offspring. And this was done for three reasons. First, on God's part; second, on man's part; third, on the part of Easter.

- 3 Եւ նախ ի կողմանէ Աստուծոյ, զի Աստուած ետ նմա զմշտնօրէնաւոր Ջատիկն, զի ուրախութեան զրաւ ոչ լիցի, զոր այժմ ունին հրեշտակք եւ ի կատարածին արդարքն, զայն ընդ առնուն եւ իսկոյն կորոյս, վասն որոյ ոչ կամեցաւ տալ զԺամանակաւորս Ջատիկ: Երկրորդ, զի Ադամ ոչ ուրախացոյց զԱստուած յառաջին Ջատիկն իւր ստունկ անելով պատուիրանին, այսպէս եւ ոչ կամեցաւ Աստուած ուրախանալ նմա պարգեւելով երկրորդ Ջատիկն: Երրորդ, զի յորժամ դատապարտեաց մահու եւ ծառայութեան, այլ ոչ էր հնար տալ Ջատիկ առանց ազատութեան: Չորրորդ, իբրեւ ետես Աստուած, եթէ կորուստ մշտնօրէնաւոր Ջատիկն Ադամայ ի դրախտին ի սատանայէ եղեւ, զի վասն անկման նորա՝ սուտ խաբէութեամբ ձգէր զնա ի ցանկութիւնս աստուածանալոյն, կամեցաւ Աստուած զընդ դիմակն սատանայի առնել, ճշմարտիւ աստուածացուցանել զմարդն եւ տալ Ադամայ զերկնային Ջատիկն եւս բարձրագոյն: Վասն այն ոչ կամեցաւ տալ Աստուած սուղ դրութեամբ զաստ ի Ջատիկս Ադամայ, որ էր նուաստագոյն: Երկրորդ, ի կողմանէն Ադամայ, քանզի սաստիկ եղեւ հարուած անկմանն Ադամայ եւ սուղ / յախտենական, զի ոչ էր յանձն առնելոց զուրախութիւն Ջատկաց, որ այնքան բազմապատիկ պարգեւեաց, կորստեանն պատահեցաւ:

And first, on God's part, as God gave him the eternal Easter so that he would not be deprived of joy, which the angels have now and the just at the end, this which he lost right after receiving (it). That is why (God) did not want to give this temporary Easter. Second, because Adam did not gladden God, disobeying the commandment during the first Easter, so God did not want to gladden (him), by granting him the second Easter. Third, because when he condemned him to death and servitude, it was no more possible to give Easter without freedom. Fourth, when God saw that Adam lost eternal Easter⁴³ in paradise because of Satan—for (Satan), in order to make him fall, attracted him by false deceit to the desire of becoming god—God wished to do the opposite against Satan, to make the man really god and to give Adam the even higher celestial Easter. For this reason, God did not want to give the temporary Easter in a straitened condition to Adam who was inferior. Second, on Adam's part, because the blow of Adam's fall was terrible and the eternal mourning, for he was not going to receive the joy of Easters, which (God) had granted so wondrously, (but) encountered death.

- 4 Նախ զի ի տեսութենէն Աստուծոյ զրկեցաւ, զի այլ ոչ եւս յաւել տեսանել զերեսս Աստուծոյ եւ ոչ խօսել ընդ նմա, երկրորդ ի լուսաւոր

43. Literally: Adam's loss of eternal Easter happened.

պատմութեան, զի յորժամ կերան ի պտղոյն առ ժամայն մերկացան ի լուսեղէն զարդուն, երրորդ ի անաշխատ կենացն, զի ի քիրտն երեսացն հրամայեցաւ վաստակել զհացն, չորրորդ ի վայելչութենէ գեղեցկութեան դրախտին, զի արտաքսեաց եւ բնակեցոյց ընդդէմ դրախտին, հինգերորդ զի կորոյս զթագաւորութիւն, զմարգարէութիւն, վեցերորդ զանծերանալի հասակն եւ զանմահութիւնն: Երրորդ ի կողմանէ Զատիկին, նախ զի Զատիկն ազատութիւն է, եւ նա կորոյս զազատութիւն թագաւորութեան եւ եղեւ ծառայ մեղացն, զի «որ առնէ զմեղս, ծառայ է մեղաց» (Յովհ. Ը. 34) ասէ Տէր, եւ ուրախութիւն Զատիկի ոչ կարէ ուրախացուցանել զտրտութիւն ծառայի, թէեւ բարութեան իցէ, երկրորդ զի դատապարտեցաւ ի ծառայութիւն մահու, դառնալ ի հող եւ բանտիլ մարմնով ի գերեզման, երրորդ զի հոգով իջաւ ի բանտ դժոխոց եւ մատնեցաւ ի գերութիւն սատանայի, չորրորդ զի Զատիկն ուրախութիւն լի, եւ նմա ասացաւ «տրտութեամբ եւ ցաւօք ծնցես որդիս», զի մինչեւ յօր մահու ի տրտմութենէ, ի ցաւոց եւ ի արտասուաց ոչ դադարեաց:

First, since he was deprived of the vision of God, for he no longer saw God's face nor spoke with him; second, (since he was deprived) of the luminous clothing, for when they ate of the fruit, they immediately were stripped of the luminous adornment; third, of untroubled life, for he was commanded to earn his bread by the sweat of his face; fourth, of the splendor of the beauty of the Garden, for He drove (them) out and lodged (them) opposite the Garden; fifth, because he lost the royalty (and) prophecy; sixth, the unageing age and immortality. Third, on the part of Easter; first, because Easter is freedom, and he lost the freedom of royalty and became a slave to sins, for "everyone who commits sin is a slave to sin"⁴⁴ the Lord says; and the joy of Easter cannot gladden the sadness of a slave, although it is of goodness; second, because he was condemned to the servitude to death, to return to dust and to be imprisoned by body in a grave; third, because he descended with (his) soul to the prison of hell and was delivered into Satan's captivity; fourth, because Easter means joy, and she was told, "in suffering and pain you shall bring forth children," for until the day of (her) death she did not cease from sorrow, pain, and tears.

- 5 221–22 Գիտելի է, զի երեք են սկիզբն արարչութեան աւուրցն, առաջին օրն սկիզբն է արարչութեան, եւ չորրորդ օրն՝ սկիզբն Արեգականն եւ Լուսնի ընթացութեան, իսկ վեցերորդ օրն՝ սկիզբն արարչութեան Զատիկի եւ տարեմտի, ամաց եւ ժամանակաց եւ դարուց կատարման: Զի եւ նմին աւուր մարդն ստեղծաւ, եւ Արեգ/գակն ի Խոյն եմուտ, եւ տարին զսկիզբն ի վեցերորդ աւուրս էառ, որ օր առաջին էր երբայեցւոցն նիսան ամսոյ, եւ առաջին ամիս սա է յամիսս տարւոյ:

44. John 8:34.

Եւ զայս ցուցցուք հինգ կերպիւ: Առաջին, զի մարդն էր թուող ամաց եւ ժամանակաց եւ յառաջին աւուրսն ոչ էր ստեղծեալ: Այլ յորժամ եստեղծ զթուողն ժամանակաց ի վեցերորդ աւուրն, ապա եղ զԱրեգակն ի Խոյն, եւ զարարչութեան Ջատիկն արար ի նիսանի Ա. եւ զմէկն նիսանայ արար տարեգլուխ եւ սկիզբն տարւոյն, զի անտի թուեսցէ զհամար որքանութեան ժամանակաց:

One should know that three of the days of creation were a beginning; the first day (was) the beginning of the creation, and the fourth day was the beginning of the orbiting of the sun and the moon, while the sixth day (was) the beginning of the creation of Easter and the new year, of the completion of years and times and ages. For on the same day man was created, and the sun entered Aries, and the year commenced on the sixth day, which was the first day of the month Nisan of the Hebrews, and this is the first month among the months of the year.⁴⁵ And we shall demonstrate this in five ways. First, the man was the enumerator of the years and times, and on the first day he was not created. But when He created the enumerator of time on the sixth day, then he put the sun in Aries, and established Easter of the creation on Nisan 1, and established the first of Nisan as the New Year day and the beginning of the year, in order that he might count thence the number of the quantity of times.

- 6 251 . . . Նախ արարչութեան պահքն բնական եղև ամենայն կենդանեաց մինչ զի յետ Զ. աւուր ստեղծաւ մարդն եւ ապա լուծաւ պահքն կենդանեաց: Զի կենդանիքն, որ յառաջագոյն ստեղծան, քան զմարդն, անսուաղ կեցան մինչ ի լինելութիւն մարդոյն: Եւ յորժամ հրամայեաց Աստուած Ադամայ թէ «ամենայն պտուղք եւ սերմանիք ձեզ լիցի ի կերակուր եւ ամենայն զազանաց եւ ամենայն սողնոց», եւ ապա սկսան կերակրիլ կենդանիք: Երկրորդ զի յորժամ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն, Ե. օր սուգ պահեաց անսուաղ մնալով մահու, մինչ յետոյ զթացաւ Տէրն եւ հրամայեաց հրեշտակի միոյ մխիթարել զնա եւ խոստացաւ զառաքումն Միածնին ի փրկութիւն նորա եւ հրամայեաց ուտել ի պտղոյ վայրեացն: . . .

First there was (the) natural fast of the creation for all animals, until after six days man was created, and then the fast of the animals was broken. For the animals that were created before the man, lived without food until the man's coming into being. And when God commanded Adam, "let every fruit and seed be food for you and for every beast and to everything that creeps,"⁴⁶ then all the animals began to eat. Second, because when Adam came out of paradise, he mourned fasting for five days, waiting for death, until the Lord pitied (him) and commanded an angel to console him and promised the sending of the Only-Begotten for his salvation, and commanded him to eat wild fruit(s).

45. Exod 12:2.

46. Cf. Gen 1:29-30.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

AWETIK՝ MAHTESI C16–17

Text: Awetik՝ Mahtesi, “Poems,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th cc.)*, vol. 2, ed. H. Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 34–46.

- 1 43 Պարտ է խոնարհութեամբ կենալ,
Նմանիլ սրբոցն ամենի:

One should live with humility,
Be in everything like saints,

- 2 Քան զԱդամ՝ ձեռագործ Աստուծոյ,
Որ չեկաց նա պատուիրանի,
Արտաքսեցաւ ի դրախտէն,
Անիծից եղև արժանի:

(And) not (like) Adam made by God’s hands,
Who did not obey the command,
Was expelled from the Garden,
Became worthy of curse.

AZARIA ԶՆԱԿԻՆԻ C16

Text: Azaria Զնակինի, “Poems,” in K. Kostaneanc՝, Նոր ժողովածու, Միջնադարեան հայոց տաղեր եւ ոտանավորներ *New Collection: Medieval Armenian Poems and Verses*, vol. 4 (Tiflis: Yovhannēs Martiroseanc՝ Press, 1903), 29–31.

Տաղ Ադամայ մերկանալ Poem on Adam being Stripped¹

- 1 32–34 Ադամ նստել դուռն դրախտին,
Լայր եւ ձայներ ողորմագին.

1. Another variant of this poem is attributed to Yovhannēs Erznkac՝i Pluz: see Yovhannēs

Այ սերովբէք, այ քերովբէք,
Որ ի դրախտդ մտանէք:

Adam, sitting at the door of the Garden,
Was weeping and crying pitifully:
O Seraphim, O Cherubim,
You who enter the Garden!

- 2 Ձաստուածութիւն աղաչեցէ՛ք,
Ձայս մեղաւորս հաշտեցուցէք.
Երէկ էի մէջն դրախտին
Լուսով ծածկեալ աստուածային:

Implore the Divinity,
Reconcile me, the sinful one, (with Him),
Yesterday I was in the Garden,
Covered with divine light.

- 3 Այն թագաւորն էի դրախտին
Նման հզօր պատուիրանին.
/ Վասն Եւայի իմ կողակցին,
Որ խալտեցաւ խաբմամբ օձին,
Ձիմ գեղեցիկ զարդերքս առին,
Ձիս անողորմ մերկացուցին:

I was the king of that Garden,
Like the powerful commandment;
Because of my wife Eve
Who erred, through the deceit of the serpent,
They took away my nice adornments,
Mercilessly made me naked.

- 4 Յուսկայ² ու մերկ եմ ես հիմայ,
Եւայ նստել ու խիստ կուլայ.
Յէր չի ընկնիլ ոտքն նորայ,
Լալով ասել թէ Տէր մեղա յ:

Behold, I am hopeless and naked now,
Eve is sitting and crying bitterly,
Why does she not fall at His feet
To say crying, “O Lord, I have sinned”?

Erznkac'i Pluz 1958, 228–36. Bardakjian (2000, 300) accepts the attribution to Azaria but reports the alternative view as well.

2. Following Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 1958, 229.

- 5 Ի յայս մէկ տարպաս ես խալտեցայ,
 Բանիւ կնոջն խաբեցայ,
 Ի կողէս կին ստեղծեր զնա.
 Պտղոյն երես եւ ինձ, կերայ:

I erred only this one time;
 I was deceived by the woman's speech;
 You created her, a woman from my rib;
 She gave of the fruit also to me, I ate.

- 6 Տէր անիծեաց զօձն եւ զԵւայ,
 Ես ալ ի մէջն դրեցայ.
 Երբ զոտնաձայնն Տէառն լուայ
 Գալոյ ի դրախտն, ես արշեցայ:

The Lord cursed the serpent and Eve;
 I, too, was involved;
 When I heard the Lord's footsteps
 Coming to the Garden, I was astonished.

- 7 Տերէլ թզենոյ առեալ սփածայ,
 Ի մէջ ծառոցն անկեալ թազեայ.
 Եկն եւ ձայներ. Աղա՛ւ, ուր ես.
 Ես ձայն տուի, թէ մերկ եմ ես:

Taking a leaf of a fig-tree, I put it on;
 I hid myself²³ among the trees;
 He came and called, "Adam, where are you?"
 I called that I am naked.

- 8 Ամ ո՞վ ասաց թէ մերկ էք.
 Կամ ո՞վ խաբեց, ինձ պատմեցէք.
 Յուստի պատուէր տուի մի ուտէք:

"Now who said that you are naked?
 Or who deceived you? Tell me.
 Where is the commandment that I gave, 'Do not eat'?"

- 9 Էր չի ասել թէ Տէր մեղայ,
 Դու ես Աստուած, ինձ ողորմեա՛ւ.
 Քանց թէ պատճառ դրի զԵւայ,
 Անանց բարեացն թափեցայ:

Why did I not say, "Lord I have sinned,
 You are God, have mercy on me"?

3. Literally: falling, I hid.

Inasmuch as I made Eve the cause,
I was deprived of eternal good!

- 10 Այ՛ սերովբէք, ա՛յ քերովբէք
Այդ որ ի դրախտդ մտանէք,
Երբ որ ի դրախտդ մտանէք,
Դրախտին դուռն մի՛ փակէք:
Զիս իր դիմաց կանգնեցուցէք,
Պահ մի հայիմ լոկ, դարձուցէք:
Օ՛խ կույիշեն գձեզ, ծաղկու՛նք,
Քաղցրաբարբառ, անմահ զուարթունք,
Օ՛խ կույիշեն գձեզ թռչունք.
Անուշահամ աղբերակունք.
Օ՛խ կույիշեն գձեզ ձկու՛նք.
Եզի՛նք, գառու՛նք եւ անասու՛նք,
Որ կայք ի դրախտդ աստուածատունկ
Յերկրի ընտրեալ ազգի ակունք,
Որ զդրախտդ վայելէք,
Ձեր թագաւորն եկէք, լացէք:

O Seraphim, O Cherubim,
You that enter this Garden!
When you enter the Garden,
Do not close the door of the Garden!
Put me in front of it,
Let me just have a look for a second, (then) return (me here).
Ah, I remember you, flowers,
Sweetly-speaking, immortal Watchers.
Ah, I remember you, birds,
Sweet-tasting springs.
Ah, I remember you, fish,
Oxen, lambs, and animals,
That are in that God-planted Garden,
Choice springs of the earth,
That enjoy the Garden!
Come and bewail your king!

GRIGORIS ALT'AMARC'I C16

Text: Grigoris Alt'amarci, "Poems," in Mayis Avdalbegyan, Գրիգորիս Աղթամարցի, XVI դ., Ուսումնասիրություն, քննական բնագրեր եւ ծանոթություններ *Grigoris Alt'amarci, XVI Century: Study, Critical Texts and Commentary* (Erevan: Sovetakan Grof, 1963).

Ի Գրիգորիս Աղթամարցւոյ արարեալ ոտանաւոր զվարս
Մարինոսի ճգնաւորին

Poem on the Life of the Hermit Marinos by Grigoris Alt‘amarc‘i

- 1 107–8 Անծին անըսկիզբն է հայրն երկնային,
Որդոյ պատճառ ծնընդեան անժամանակին.
Բըխումն անքրննաբար, ճըշմարիտ հոգին
Ի կերպն իւր ըստեղծեաց զԱդամն առաջին:
5 Փառօք զնա զարդարեաց եւ եղ ի դրախտին,
Պատուէր երես նմա եւ կընօջն նորին՝
Յամենայնէ ուտել պատուիրեաց նոցին,
Բաց ի ծառոյն միոյ բարոյ եւ չարին:
Յորժամ անցաւ Ադամ զպատուէրն արարչին
10 Եւ զմահաբեր պըտուղըն ճաշակեցին,
Եւ մերկ եւ խայտառակ զինքեանքս տեսին
Յանապական լուսոյն, որ զգեցեալ էին:
Մահու գըրաւեցան, զի զպատուէրն անցին,
Ի տրտմութեան հովիտըս նոքա մըտին,
15 Եւ քրտամբք երեսաց ըզհրամանն առին
Վաստակել զերկիր եւ ուտել զբերս նորին:

1 The heavenly Father is unbegotten, without beginning,
The cause of the timeless birth of the Son;
Inscrutable emanation, the true Spirit
In his form He created the first Adam.
5 He adorned him with glory and put (him) in the Garden,
He gave him and his wife a commandment,
He commanded them to eat of every one,
Except of the one tree of good and evil.
When Adam transgressed the commandment of the Creator,
10 And they ate the mortal fruit,
They saw themselves stripped and shameful
Of the incorruptible light in which they were clothed.
They were captured by death, for they transgressed the commandment,
They entered the valley of sorrow
15 And received a commandment to till the ground
And to eat of its fruits by the sweat of (their) face.

6. Գանձ Ուորնկարու սուրբ նշանին
Ganj on the Holy Cross of Urnēkar

- 2 143–44 Հոգին Աստուած է միշտ կենդանի,
Անհատաբար ի հօրէ բըխի.

15 Բանիւ ստեղծեաց զբանակքն անմահի.
 Զգունդքն հրեշտակացն ի հրեղէն արփի:
 Ստեղծեաց ըզմարդն ըստ իւր պատկերի
 Եւ զարդարեաց շնորհօքն եօթնարփի.
 Յեղեմական դրրախտըն փոխի,
 20 Արքայօրէն ի գահոյս բազմի:
 Պատուէր առին վասն մի պըտղի,
 Չի ճաշակել առանց հրամանի.
 Չարեաց գիտակն ի յօձըն բունի.
 Եւ ընդ նախահօրըն մեր նա խօսի:
 25 Թ' ով ճաշակէ յայն ծառոյն պըտղի,
 Արքայօրէն նա Աստուած լինի,
 Եւ ճանաչել ըզչարն ու զբարի,
 Նըման լինել ձեր ըստ ածողի:
 Եւ խաբեցաւ կինն ողորմելի,
 30 Գեղով պըտղոյն աչաց հաճելի.
 Կերաւ Ադամ ձեռօքն Եւայի
 Եւ յեղեմական դրախտէն հալածի:
 Երկըրպագեմք խաչին Քրիստոսի
 Ազատարար համայնից ազգի:
 35 Նամիցըս Տէր նախնոյն արարող
 Նա բարկացաւ, ասաց. Դարձ ի հող,
 Քանգի չեղեր, ասէ, դու կարող
 Կալ հսկառակ եւ չարին յաղթող:
 Տառապանօք տանջիք զերդ ըզգող,
 40 Դրախտին եղեալ հրեշտակ պահեցող,
 Եւ սերոբէք սուսերօք շրջող
 Եւ հողեղէն բնութիւնս մեր կիզող:
 Ի յուրբաթու վեց ժամըն կերան,
 Ըջմահաբեր պըտուղըն անպիտան.
 45 Եւ վեց ժամուն վեցհազար անցան,
 Տառապանօք նոցա տանջեցան:

God the Spirit is always living,
 It continuously emanates from the Father;
 15 He created by the Word the immortal armies,
 The troops of the angels in the fiery heaven.⁴
 He created the man according to his image
 And adorned him with the graces of the seven heavens;
 He is transferred to the Garden of Eden;
 20 He sits on the throne like a king.
 They received a commandment concerning one fruit,

4. Or: ether.

Not to eat without a command;
 The one experienced in evil nests in the serpent
 And speaks with our ancestor.
 25 That one who eats of the fruit of that tree,
 He will become god like a king,
 And he will know evil and good;
 He will be like your creator.⁵
 And the miserable woman was deceived
 30 By the beauty of the fruit pleasant to the eye;
 Adam ate at Eve's hands,
 And was driven from the Garden of Eden.
 We worship Christ's cross,
 The liberator of all nations.
 35 The Lord of hosts, the ancestor's Creator
 Grew angry (and) said: "Return to dust!
 For you were not," He says, "able
 To oppose and defeat evil.
 You will suffer punishment like the thief."⁶
 40 He put an angel guarding the Garden
 And Seraphim with turning swords
 Burning⁷ our earthly nature.
 They ate on Friday at six o'clock,
 The mortal worthless fruit.
 45 And for those six hours, they passed six thousand years;
 They were punished with troubles.

14 Ըստ անուան երգողին ի Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսէ
 Poem on the Holy Mother of God by Grigoris Kat'olikos

- 3 175–76 Գրեալ մակագիծ կըտակ,
 Սափոր մանանին ունակ,
 Բըխեալ յԵդէմայ վտակ,
 Տաճար լուսոյ մայր սուրբ կոյս:
 Նաբունոյն Եդէմ ծաղկած,
 Մեզ պատճառ եղեր կենաց . . .
 Ուրախ եղեւ մայրն Եւայ
 Անմարմինըն մարմնանայ . . .
 Նախացիր, Ադամ, հայր մեր,
 Փըտեալ հընացեալ դու ծեր,

5. Based on the popular etymology of Astuac "God"; see *NBHL*, s.v.

6. At the crucifixion.

7. Literally: and burners.

Քեզ նոր նորոգող եկեր,
Տաճար լուսոյ մայր սուրբ կոյս:

Written inscribed testament,
Urn containing manna,
Stream springing forth from Eden,
Temple of light, mother Holy Virgin!
Blossoming Eden of the Master!
You were the cause of life for us . . .
Mother Eve rejoiced—
The incorporeal one is incarnated . . .
Rejoice, Adam, our father,
You, rotten, worn out old man!
Your new renewer came,
The temple of light, mother Holy Virgin.

16 Ի Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսէ Աղթամարցոյ ըստ անուան
երգողին

By the Kat'olikos Grigoris Aht'amarci, According to the Name of
the Poet

- 4 180 Գովեմ զքեզ մարմնով հրեշտակ,
Բարի արմատ՝ սուրբ յիշատակ,
Յորթոյն կենաց տունկ բարունակ,
Ի գնացըս ջուրց հոգւոյն վըտակ . . .
- I praise you, incarnate angel,
Good root, holy memory,
Branch of the vine plant of life,
Stream of the Spirit in the flow of waters . . .

- 5 Գունով ես դու պըտուղ բարի,
Ծառ քո ի դրախտն որ յԱդենի,
Ադենն է մերս եկեղեցի,
Որ ի հոգւոյն առոգանի:
- By color you are a good fruit,
Your tree is in the Garden, which is in Eden,
Eden is our church
Which is watered by the Spirit.

17 Նորին Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսի ասացեալ
Love Poem by the Kat'olikos Grigoris

- 6 182 Դու ես յԱդինայ դրախտէն,
Զոր տընկեալ աջըն անեղական,
Կենաց ծառ ծաղկեալ ես դու.
Վարսաւոր սրովբէն պահապան . . .

You are from the Garden of Eden,
Which the increate right hand planted,
You are a blossoming tree of life,
The long-haired Seraph is the guardian . . .

- 7 183 Դըրախտ ես ծաղկածաւալ,
Վայելուչ փրթթեալ բուրաստան,
Կարմիր վարդ կանաչ թըփով,
Համասփիւռ եւ մուրտ եւ շուշան:
Ի յեզր Փիսոն գետոյն
Բուսանիս հիրիկ աննման,
Դեւքըն սասանին ի քէն
Եւ լինին յոյժ հալածական:

You are that Garden covered with flowers,
Beautiful, blossoming garden,
With green bushes of red roses,
Campions and myrtle-trees and lilies!
You grow on the bank of the river Pison,
You, incomparable iris;
Demons are terrified by you,
And are powerfully driven away.

20 Նորին Գրիգորիսի ասացեալ
Love Poem by Grigoris

- 8 192 Դու դրախտ Եդեմայ տընկեալ յանեղէն,
Ի յելս արեւու տեղիք լուսեղէն,
Ծառօք ու ծաղկօք պըտողովք շողեղէն,
Զոր շրջափակեալ պահէ սերովբէն:
Որպէս նախաստեղծըն գեղաղէշ ես,
Տիպ եւ գաղափար Աստուծոյ ես . . .

You, Garden of Eden planted by the increate One,
Luminous place to the east,
With trees and flowers and shining fruits,

Which, having encircled, the Seraph guards.
 You are pretty like the first-created one,
 You are the type and image of God . . .

- 9 193 Վըտակ Եդենայ եւ գետ Յորդանան,
 Սելովմայ աղբիւր եւ ջուր եւ յուզման . . .

(You are) the stream of Eden and the river Jordan,
 The spring of Siloam and sought-for water . . .

23 Աղթամարցի Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսէ ասացեալ (Poem) by the Kat'olikos Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i

- 10 215 Թէ տեսանեմ ըզքեզ կրկին,
 Լուսաւորի միտքս իմ մթին,
 Եւ տամ համբոյր շրթանց քոյին,
 Նա վերանամ եւ ի յԱդին:

If I see you again,
 My dark mind is illuminated,
 And I give a kiss to your lips,
 Indeed I ascend to Eden.

KARAPET BALIŞEC'I C16

Text: N. Aginean (Akinian), “Կարապետ Վ. Բաղիշեցի (1475–1550) Karapet vardapet Balişec'i (1475–1550),” *Handes Amsorea* 51 (June–August 1937): 318–43.

1. Տաղ արարածոց Poem on the Creation

- 1 328 Եկայք Ադամայ որդիք,
 արարածք ամէն միաբան,
 Օրինենք զարարիչն Աստուած,
 որ ստեղծեաց զեակս ամենայն.
 Որ ինքն է անեղ բնութիւնն,
 սուրբ Երրորդութիւն միական,
 Ջարդարեաց իմաստութեամբ
 զբոլոր բնութիւնս ամենայն.
 Ստեղծեաց զԱդամ նախնին
 թագաւոր՝ եւ եղ պատուիրան,
 Թէ յամէն ծառոց դու կեր,

Ն ի պտղոյն չունիս հրրաման:
 Օձն էր կորրստեան պատճառ,
 բանսարկուն էր առիթ մահուան.
 Խաբեցին ըզձեռագործն
 եւ արին մահու գրաւական:

Come, Adam's sons,
 All creatures, together,
 Let us bless God the Creator
 Who has created all beings,
 He who himself is the increate nature,
 The united Holy Trinity;
 He adorned with wisdom
 The whole nature around.
 He created the forefather Adam
 As king, and gave a commandment:
 Eat of all trees
 But (you are) commanded not to have of the fruit.
 The serpent was the cause of perdition,
 The Devil was the reason for death.
 They deceived the one made by hand,
 And made them⁸ the captives of death.

“Karapet Bališec‘i,”⁹ Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 17–36.

2 Գանձ Գրիգորի Աստուածաբանի *Ganj* on Gregory the Theologian

- 2 24 Կենդանաբար Որդիդ միածին
 ՚Ի արարչակից բանըդ աստուածային,
 Վասն Ադամայ քո նախաստեղծին,
 Որ մերկացաւ զփառսն առաջին:
 You Only-Begotten, life-giving Son,
 And you divine Word, partner in creation,
 (This is) about your first-created Adam,
 Who was stripped of the primordial glory.

8. I.e., humans.

9. There is no title but the author's name at the top of each section in this two-volume work.

- 3 5 Ըստ յանցանաց քո պատւիրանին,
Ունկընդրութեան բանից բանսարկունին,
Կերան զպտուղն, որ ի մէջ դրախտին
Եւ մերկացան զփառս աստուածային:

According to the transgression of your command,
Attending to the Devil's words,
They ate the fruit that was in the midst of the Garden,
And were stripped of the divine glory.

- 4 Թողին ի բաց զքո տնկած այգին
10 'Ի արտաքսեցան ըստ քո հրամանին,
Դրախտէն ելան ինքն եւ կին նորին
'Ի աշխատանօք երկիր կոծէին:

10 They left the Garden¹⁰ planted by you
And were expelled according to your command;
They came out of paradise, he and his wife,
And mourned, tilling the ground.

LAZAR SEBASTAC'I C16

Text: Lazar Sebastac'i, Ղազար Սեբաստացու տաղերը "Poems," ed. A. Ter-Step'anyan, *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* 33.3 (1977): 195–204.

- 1 Վասն սիրոյ եւ ուրախութեան On Love and Joy

203 Մեր Տէրն է բազմեր ի բարձր աթոռին,
Աջովն յօրիներ զպատկերն քոյին,
Քեզի է նման դրախտն եդեմային,
Երբ որ զարդարիս նման Եւային . . .

Our Lord is seated on the high throne,
With his right hand (he) has created your image,
The Garden of Eden is like you,
When you adorn yourself like Eve . . .

MINAS T'OXAT'EC'I C16

Text: Minas T'oxat'ec'i, Տաղ ի վերայ մահուան "Poem on Death," in N. Aginean (Akinean), Հինգ պանդուխտ տաղասացներ *Five Sojourning Poets* (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1921), 113–14.

10. Literally: vineyard.

4 Տաղ ի վերայ մահուան Poem on Death

- 1 114 Մեռաւ նախահայրն Ադամ,
ու ծնեալքն ամէն ի նմանէ,
Հող էր եւ ի հող դարձաւ,
գոր եւ Տէրն էառ ի յերկրէ:
- The forefather Adam died,
And all that were born from him,
He was dust and returned to dust,
Whom the Lord had taken from the earth.

NAHAPET K'UČ'AK VANEČ'I C16

Text: K'uč'ak Vanec'i, *Poems*, in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1986), 56–69.

Գովասանք Աստուածածնին Praise of the Mother of God

- 1 58–59 Դրախտն Ադամայ չէր ի քեզ նման,
Բնակողք դրախտին յօձէն խաբեցան,
Խաբողքն Եւայի քեզ ոչ մերձեցան,
Մեղա յ քեզ, մեղա յ, կոյս անապական:
- Adam's Garden was not like you,
The inhabitants of the Garden were deceived by the serpent;
Those who deceived Eve did not approach you,
I have sinned against you, I have sinned, O uncorrupt Virgin!

SARKAWAG BERDAKAC'I C16

Text: Sarkawag Berdakac'i, "Poems," Նոր ժողովածու *New Collection*, ed. K. Kostaneanc', vol. 3 (Tiflis: Yovhannēs Martiroseanc' Press, 1896), 67–69.

18 Գովասանութիւն խաղաղոյ, բաժակի եւ այլ վասն ուրախութեան Praise of Grapes, the Cup and concerning Other Joy

- 1 67 Դու ի դրախտէն մեզ արմաղան
Ի յԱրարչէն պարգեւեցար

Հոտով անուշ, գինով յիմար
Մարդիքս սիրովն որ յագենայր:

You granted us a gift
From the Creator, from the Garden,
The one with sweet smell, wild wine,
We, humans, whom you satiated with love.

SIMĒON APARANC'Ī C16

Text: Simēon Aparanc'ī, Վիպասանութիւն սակս Պահլաւունեացն զարմի եւ Մամիկոնեանցն սեռի *Epic on the Pahlavuni House and Mamikonean Family* (Vaġaršapat: Holy Ējmiacin Press, 1870).

- 1 1–2 Ի սկզբանէ Բանըն բարձրեալ,
Ի յոչէից ըզգոյս հաստատեալ.
Նախ ըզհրեշտակս ներգործեալ,
Լոյս ի լուսոյ ստեղծուած սկսեալ.
Երկրորդ զգալիքս կառուցեալ,
Տարերց քառից մի շաղկապեալ.
Ի սոցանէ զմարդ արարեալ,
Իւրով շնչով շնորհազարդեալ:

In the beginning the Most High Word
Established existent things from nothing:
First, making the angels,
Beginning, light created from light,
Second, building the sensible things,
Combining the four elements into one,
Making man from these,
Adorning him with the grace of His own breath.

- 2 Ըզնիւթն ի յաղբիւսացն առեալ,
Աննիւթ գանձին անօթ կազմեալ.
Անմահական թագիւ պըճնեալ,
Տէր եւ իշխան անուանադրեալ:

Taking the substance from garbage,¹¹
Forming a vessel for the immaterial treasure,
Adorning (him) with the crown of immortality,
Calling him lord and master.

11. Or: filth.

- 3 Յայնժամ մարդոյն թագաւորեալ,
 Յանեղաշէն աթոռ նըստեալ,
 Թէպէտ փութով ի վայր անկեալ,
 Եւ անբանից հաւասարեալ:
- Then the man having become king,
 Seated on the throne made by Increate,
 Although soon having fallen down
 And having become equal to dumb animals.
- 4 Բայց յանուանէն ոչ մերկացեալ,
 Ըստ Աստուծոյ վրճիռ հատեալ,
 Մինչեւ որդւոցըն բազմացեալ,
 Եւ արքայից գահ հաստատեալ:
- But he was not stripped of the name,
 As was decreed by God,
 Until his descendants multiplied
 And settled themselves on the royal throne.

T'ADĒOS T'OXAT'EC'I C16

Text: T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i, Միջնադարյան տաղասաց Թաթոս Թոխաթեցի "Medieval Poems. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i," ed. H. M. Poturian *Bazmavēp* 68 (May–June 1910): 207–8; (July 1910) 273–82.

Տաղ վասն տնօրէնութեան Քրիստոսի
 Poem on the Dispensation of Christ

- 1 276 Հազար կենդանակերպ Աստուած ստեղծել է,
 զԱմենըն Ադամայ հնազանդ արել է,
 Ըգդրախտն լուսափայլ նըմա շնորհել է,
 Եօթնապատիկ փառօք զնա զարդարել է:
- God created a thousand kinds of animals,
 He subjected (them) all to Adam,
 Granted him the luminous Garden,
 Adorned him with sevenfold glory.
- 2 Չունէր իւր օգնական, սըրտիկն ի սուգ էր,
 Որ զիւրն սըրտին խորհուրդըն նըմա պատմէր.
 Քաշեց կող մի կողէն ստեղծեց Եւայէ,
 Եղև իւր օգնական զիրար ժառանգէ:

His heart was in mourning, he had no helper,
To whom he could tell the secrets¹² of his heart,
(God) drew out a rib, created Eve from the rib,
She became his helper, they inherited each other.

- 3 Սատանան հրնարուք զԱդամ խաբել է,
Զօձըն պատճառ արեր 'նդ Եւայ խօսել է,
Զմահկանացու պըտուղն ուտեցուցել է,
Կերեր 'լ ի յԱստուծոյ աչացն ելեր է:

Satan deceived Adam by a trick,
He made the serpent a means, it spoke with Eve;
He fed (them) the mortal fruit,
He ate and went forth from God's presence.¹³

- 4 Աստուածութիւնն Ադամայ բարկացել է,
Զինչ որ նորա տըւերն դարձեալ առել է.
Անիծեր 'լ ի դրախտէն ի դուրս արել է,
Սատանայի ձեռնն գերի մատներ է:

The Divinity became angry with Adam,
Took back what he had given to him,
Cursed (him) and drove (him) out of the Garden,
Gave him captive into Satan's hands.

- 5 Յանդիման դըրախտին հինգ օր լացել է,
Լացեր որ արտասուքն արին դարձել է.
Աստուծութիւն Ադամայ խըղճացել է,
Որ վեց հազար տարի պայման դրել է:

(Adam) wept for five days in front of the Garden,
He wept till his tears turned into blood.
The Divinity pitied Adam
And made an agreement for six thousand years.

YOVASAP' SEBASTAC'I C16

Text: Yovasap' Sebastac'i, Բանաստեղծություններ *Poems*, ed. V. P. Gevorgyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1964).

12. Or: thoughts.

13. Literally: eyes.

No. 23

- 1 132 Աշխարհիս սահմանն է հանց.
 Ադամայ է Տէր պատուիրել.
 «Երբ չլռեցիր բարուն,
 Պարտ է քեզ քրտամբք չարչարել
 125 Հող էիր եւ հող դարձցիս,
 Զի չարին բանին լսեցեր.
 Յետ վեց աւուրն մարմնանամ,
 Եւ առնեմ զքեզ գեր ի վեր»:
- The order¹⁴ of the world is thus:
 The Lord has commanded Adam:
 “As you did not obey the good,
 You must suffer with sweat.
 125 You were dust and you shall return to dust,
 For you listened to the words of the Evil One.
 In six days¹⁵ I shall be incarnated
 And shall take you up on high.”

No. 32

- 2 173 Մարտի քսաներկուսն հասարակ է,
 Տիւ եւ գիշեր հաւասար երկոտասան ժամ է,
 15 Ստէ արեւն ի Խոյն նիսան ամիս է,
 Ասեն, թէ Ադամայ ըստեղծման արն է:
- The twenty-second of March is the equinox,
 Day and night are twelve equal hours,
 15 The sun enters Aries; it is the month Nisan,
 They say that it is the day of Adam's creation.

YOVHANNĒS A C16

Text: Yovhannēs A, Թիւն հազար քսան և ութին “In the Year 1028,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1986), 325–27.

14. Or: border, division.

15. Six world days, that is six millennia or six thousand years.

The poem is dedicated to a disaster that took place in 1028 of the Armenian Era (= 1579)

- 1 325 Արար Աստուած մարդն իւր նման,
Ի պատկեր իւր տիրական,
Թէ որ չպահեն պատուիրան,
Այսպէս փորձանքս դիպանան:

God made the man like himself,
In His lordly image;
If people do not observe the command,
They encounter such disasters.

ZAK'ARIA GNUNEAC' C16

Text: Zak'aria Gnuneac', "Տաղերի Քոթմեր," ed. N. Aginean (Akinian), *Handes Amsorea* 20 (1909): 279–88.

9 Տաղ ի սուրբ կոյս Մարիամ Poem on the Holy Virgin Mary

- 1 286 Զքեզ նախ Ադամ գուշակեաց,
Յորժամ կնոջն «կեանս» ասաց,
25 Թէ յԵւայի դրստերաց
Կոյս ծնանի լոյս ազգաց:

First Adam foresaw you,
When he called his wife "life,"
25 (Saying) that of Eve's daughters
A virgin will be born, a light for peoples.

- 2 287 Պարտեալ Եւայն ի յօձէն
Պարտակեցաւ ի թրփէն
105 Անկաւ ի բարձր դրախտէն,
Դու դարձուցեր նոր անդրէն:

Eve was overcome by the serpent,
Hid herself behind the bush,
105 Fell down from the high Garden,¹⁶
You returned her straightway.

16. The idea of paradise on high mountain has been mentioned above; see Seventh Century, n. 2.

Կաֆայք ի պատմութիւնն մեծին Աղեքսանդրին
Kafas on the History of Alexander the Great

- 3 10 343 Աւան էր կորրստեան պատճառ
 որ եհան զԱդամն ի դրախտէն.
 Հանց Նեգտանիբոս արար՝
 զկինն եհան ի Փիլիպոսէն:¹⁷

The serpent was the cause of perdition,
 That brought Adam out of the Garden,
 Nectanebo acted in this way,
 He took away the wife of Philip.

- 4 10 343–44 (Զ)աւանն շատ զըրոյց գիտեմ,
 բայց չկարեմ զըրել հաւատով.
 Աւան է իմաստուն իսելաւք,
 հրամայեաց Տէրն կենարար.
 Աւան է վիշապի ծընունդ
 Սողոմոն գրեաց զնայ հանճար,
 Աւան որ ի ձուէտ ելաւ,
 նա կոխէ զերկիր հաւասար:
 Բսկ նախանձ գտակ չարին
 զաւան արար իւրըն բնակարան.
 15 Պատրեաց նա զնախամայրն՝
 ճաշակմամբ պտղոյն զպատուիրան.
 Ադամ ձեռաւքն Եւայի
 'ւ ի յանճառ լուսոյն զըրկեցան.
 Տէրն եկեալ ձայներ ուր ես
 նա լալով ասէր թէ մերկ կամ.
 Թագեան թզենեաւ սփածան
 'ւ ի նոյն ժամն ի դրախտէն ելան.
 Անմահ մնալոց էին,
 բաց անկան եւ աղտեղեցան:
 20 Մեռան ի դժոխքն իջան
 զ. հազար ամ արգիլեցան.
 / Բանդեալ խաւար զընդանաւ
 չարաչար նոքա տանջեցան:
 Մինչ էջ նայ մարմին էառ
 ծոցածին բանըն հայրական.
 Կամաւ Հաւր - սուրբ Հոգւոյն
 սիրով ել ի փայտըն մահուան.
 Զսատանայ խաչիւ կապեաց

17. Cf. Simonyan 1989, 82.

Եւ ընկճեաց զիշխանն մահուան.
 25 Առեալ զսիրասունդ Ադամ՝
 Ճոխ փարթամ ի յերկինս եհան . . .
 Խնդայ նախահայրն Ադամ . . .¹⁸

I know many stories about the serpent,
 But I cannot write (them) faithfully.
 The serpent has a wise mind;
 The life-giving Lord commanded (it).
 The serpent is a descendant of the dragon (višap),
 Solomon wrote about it wisely;
 When the serpent comes out of the egg,
 It treads on the ground equally.¹⁹
 But envy, the author of evil,
 Made the serpent its dwelling;
 15 It deceived the foremother,
 By eating the fruit (she infringed) the commandment.
 Adam (was deceived) through Eve,
 And they were deprived of the ineffable light.
 The Lord, having come, called out, "Where are you?"
 He said weeping that "I am naked."
 They hid and covered themselves with fig-leaves
 And went out of the Garden at that very hour.
 They were to stay immortal,
 But they fell and were befouled.
 20 They died; they descended to hell;
 They were imprisoned for six thousand years.
 Confined in the dark dungeon,
 They were cruelly tortured
 Until He descended and became incarnate,
 The Word born in the paternal bosom.
 By the will of the Father (and) the Holy Spirit,
 He willingly ascended the mortal wood;
 He bound Satan by the Cross.
 And overcame the prince of death.
 25 Taking his lovingly nurtured Adam,
 Grand and powerful, he took to heaven. . . .
 The forefather Adam rejoices . . .

18. Cf. Simonyan 1989, 83–84.

19. I.e., with man.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

ANONYMOUS AUTHOR 8 C17

Text: Anonymous Author 8, “Poems,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 644–45.

Պատմութիւն պիղծ թութունին History of Impure Tobacco

- 1 644–45 Օձն խաբեաց զԵւայ, զԱդամ,
Պատճառ եղև չար բանսարկուն:

The serpent deceived Eve, Adam,
The evil Devil was the cause.

- 2 Ջպատուէր Տեառն ոչ պահեցին,
50 Խաբեալ կերան դրախտի պտղոյն,
Յուտելն իսկոյն փռշմանեցին
Եւ մերկացան անճառ լուտոյն:

They did not observe God's command,
50 Being deceived they ate of the fruit of the Garden;
While eating they immediately regretted
And were stripped of the ineffable light.

- 3 Տեսին զի մերկացեալ էին,
Պատատեցան ընդ թօգենոյն,
55 Տէրն ձայնեաց Ուր եւ Ադամ,
Փախեալ թաքեաւ ի յամօթոյն:

They saw that they were stripped,
They hid themselves behind the fig-tree.
55 The Lord called, “Adam, where are you?”
Having fled, he hid from shame.

- 4 Ասէ՛ Ջպատուէրն չպահեցիր,
Արի եւ ել, այդ չէ քեզ տուն,

Ասէն, թէ՛ Օձն խաբէաց գմեզ,
60 Յուցեալ ձեռքն զծառն պտղոյն:

(God) says: “You did not observe the command,
Arise and go forth, that is not your house.”
They say: “The serpent deceived us,”
60 Showing with (their) hands the fruit of the tree.¹

- 5 Մեր Տէրն զայն օձն անիծեաց
Թէն թափաւ, եղև սողուն,
Դիւանքն զայն թէն ժողվեցին,
Տարան յանդունդս առ բանսարկուն:

Our Lord cursed that serpent.
Its wings fell off; it became a reptile.
The demons collected those wings,
Took them to the abyss, to the Devil.

- 6 Ասէն՝ Գտաք դեղ կորստեան
Ապականիչ մարդկան հոգւոյն,
Յանէս Յամբես դրախտ կասեն,
Անդ տնկեցին, եղև թուրթուն ...

They said: “We have found the drug of perdition,
Corrupter of the human soul.”
(J)annes and (J)ambres say² there is a garden,
They planted them there, it became tobacco . . .

ANONYMOUS OF LIVORNO C17

Text: Anonymous of Livorno, Ժամանակագրութիւն “Chronography,” in Մանր Ժամանակագրութիւններ *Minor Chronicles*, vol. 1, ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1951), 262–80.

- 1 272 Արդ՝ աշխարհ զսկիզբն էառ ըստ Եբրայեցոց ի մարտի ամսոյ, յաւուր կիրակէի: Եւ ի յիսկզբանէ աշխարհի մինչեւ ցայժմ, որ է թին մարդեղութեան փրկչին 1683, են ամբ 6884: Յառաջ քան զմարդեղութիւն բանին Աստուծոյ էին ամբ 5200: Արդ՝ առաջին դարն զիսկիզբն առնու ի ստեղծմանէ Ադամայ եւ տեւէ մինչեւ ի ջրհեղեղն. ներ այսքան Ժամանակի ոչ տեղեաց անձրեւ ի վերայ երկրի եւ ոչ կերաւ միս, եւ տեւեաց զամս 2242:

1. Or: showing with its hands.

2. These are the apocryphal names of the Egyptian magicians referred to in Exodus.

Now according to the Hebrews, the world came into being in the month of March, on Sunday. And from the beginning of the world till now, that is, the 1683rd year of the Savior's incarnation, there are 6,884 years. Before the incarnation of God the Word there were 5,200 years. Now the first age begins from Adam's creation and lasts until the Flood. In the course of this time it did not rain upon the earth and meat was not eaten, and this lasted for 2,242 years.

ARAK'EL DAVIRZEC'I C17

Text: Arak'el Davirzec'i, *Գիրք Պատմութեանց Book of Histories*, ed. L. A. Xanlaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1990).

- 1 135 Բայց այրն սատանաբնակ՝ որպէս զօձն Եւայի՝ հակեալ դարձոյց զմիտս Լաւասափին զնալ առ շահն:

14–16 But Satanic man, like Eve's serpent, having inclined, turned the mind of Lawasap' to go to the Shah . . .

- 2 467 Սա այս խնդրեաց ի Ստեփաննոսէ Տարօնեցոյ զբանն բազմավէպ պատմութեան, որ եւ արար. սկսեալ ի նախահայրն Ադամայ, յորժամ ել նա արտաքս ի վայրեն վայելչութեան, երեք հատոր. եւ հասոյց մինչ ի ՆՕԲ ամ / թուականիս՝ յորում ամի վախճանեցաւ Գիրգոր Նարեկացի այրն աքանչելի:

29–68 2 He sought this historical discourse with many tales from Step'anos of Tarōn, which he then made. Beginning from the forefather Adam, when he went forth from the place of delight, three volumes; and he brought it up to the year 452 of our era, in which year the wonderful man Grigor of Narek died.³

DAWIT' SALAJORC'I C17

Text: “Davit' Salajorc'i,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 350–90.

The second and fourth lines of each stanza are in Turkish; the editor's Modern Armenian translation is in brackets. The English here reflects the Armenian.

3. Textual observation from n. 455 in the edition, pp. 534–35: “ՕԶ, 56 the chapter in which this reference appears, is a compilation of earlier *Minor Chronicles* and they correspond to those which can be found in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ *Minor Chronicles* – Vol. 1, V. Hakobyan, ed. (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1951, 1956).”

- 1 372–380 Հայր արարիչ, Տէր կենդանի,
 Հարտէ մեմուռ սին, վար դարար,
 (Որտեղ գործ ես դու ձեռնարկում,)
 Սերոբէքն ու քերոբէքն
 Ալ պաղլամիշլար մուղարար:
 (Միշտ պատրաստ են գտնվում:)

Father Creator, living Lord,
 Wherever you undertake a work,
 The Seraphim and Cherubim
 Are always found ready.

- 2 5 Ինն դաս շուրջն են պարել,
 Տօխուզ ֆարտա նախշ ու նիկար,
 (Իննապատիկ զարդ ու նկար)
 Ստեղծեցեր չորեքկերպեան,
 Սէն ուստատ ու սար ու սարտար:
 (Դու վարպետ ես, գլուխ ու տեր:)

Nine classes dance around,⁴
 Ninefold adornment and ornament.
 You created the four-formed ones,
 You are craftsman, chief, and lord.

- 3 Եզն ու արծիւ, մարդն ու առեւուծն,
 10 Դորդ դուշմանուն էթուն ուեար,
 (Չորս ոսոխներիդ հնազանդեցրիր:)
 Սօքա են աթոռիդ ոտվին,
 Հար պիրիսի պիր ասլանլար
 (Ամեն մեկը մի առյուծ է:)

Ox and eagle, man and lion,
 10 You subdued your four enemies;
 These are the feet of your throne;
 Each is a lion.

- 4 Գիշեր ցօրեկ փառաբանին,
 Յեա սուպիան ալաիի էքպար,
 (Օրհնյալ ես մեծդ աստված:)
 15 Ստեղծեցեր յերկինք, գետին,
 Մաղրպ, մաշրուպ, դպլա, շմար:
 (Արեւմուտք, արեւելք, հարավ, հյուսիս:)

They glorify you day and night;
 You are blessed, O great God;

4. I.e., of angels.

15 You created the heavens, the earth,
West, east, south, north.

- 5 Ստեղծեցեր ծաղկունք հազար,
Հար պիրիսի ձիր յըռանկտա,
(Ամեն մեկը մի գույնի):
373 Ստեղծեցեր ծով ու ցամաք,
20 Սուի առշա շաքտուն քեմար
(Դեպի երկինք կապեցիր կամար):

You created a thousand flowers,
Each one of different color;
You created the sea and the dry land;
20 You made⁵ an arch toward the heavens.

- 6 Երկինք աստղով զարդարեցեր,
Չալտըն Զօհալ, Զօհրայ ուրեքար,
(Կերտեցիր երեւակ եւ արուսյակ),
Խաւարն աշխարհէս հերքեցեր,
Շօլայ վերտուն, շամս ու դամար
(Լոյս տվիր, արեւ ու լուսին):

You adorned the heavens with stars;
You created Saturn and Venus;
You removed darkness from this world;
You gave light, sun and moon.

- 7 25 Եօթն օր ստեղծուածք արիր,
Ահլի ուրֆան, ուստայ մեմար
(Գաղտնյաց գիտակ, վարպետ ճարտար),
Առաջի սկիզբն որ արարիր,
Ղատիմ տունեա զեհտուն պազար
(Հին աշխարհը զարդարեցիր):

You made the creatures in seven days,
Connoisseur of secrets, skillful craftsman;
You who made the first beginning,
You adorned the old world.

- 8 Արարչութեան սկիզբն արիր,
30 Թուրլութուրլու յետի հուար,
(Ազգի-ազգի յոթ պարունակ),
Լուսն ու մութն ու ամպն ու անձրեւ,
Կէճայ կունտուզ ու մուճ ու չար
(Գիշեր, ցերեկ, ալիք, անձավ):

5. Literally: you bound.

At the beginning of the creation you made
 30 Seven different sorts of spheres,
 Light and darkness and clouds and rain,
 Night, day, waves, cave.

- 9 Երկուշաբթի բաժանեցեր,
 Պիր պիրնտան սաֆ-սաֆ դարար
 (Մեկը մյուսից, շաբբ-շաբբ հաստատ),
 35 Երեքշաբթի բուս ու բանձար,
 Ջամլայ չիչակ, հայվա ու նար
 (Ծաղկունք բոլոր, սերկելիլ եւ նուն):

On Monday you divided
 One from the other, firmly in rows,
 35 On Tuesday, plants and grass,
 All flowers, the quince and pomegranate.

- 10 Չորեքշաբթի՝ գազանք անասունք,
 Տաղարտայ կեզան ճանավար
 (Լեռներում թափառող գազան),
 374 Հինգշաբթի՝ կետք, թռչունք, սողունք,
 40 Քի յուզ ուստնայ կիտարլար
 (Որ սողում են երեսն ի վայր):

On Wednesday—beasts, cattle,
 Animals wandering in the mountains,
 On Thursday, whales, birds, reptiles
 40 That creep with their face down.

- 11 Ուրբաթ Ադամ ստեղծեցեր
 Մայասին էթուն դորա կուհար
 (Շաղախն արիր քառանյութ),
 Հրամանք արիր առողջացաւ,
 Աջտի կօզի, օլտի օհար
 (Բացեց աչքը, դարձավ կատարյալ):

On Friday you created Adam,
 You made him of mud of four substances.
 You commanded, he became healthy,
 He opened his eyes, became perfect.

- 12 45 Շաբաթ մեջ դրախտայ դրիր,
 Քի մուլք սանայ վերտում թիմար,
 (Որ կալվածք տվի քեզ վիճակ),
 Ասիր Ադամ, յէր ես նստել,
 Վար ճանաղայ էլայ նազար
 (Վեր, դրախտին մտիկ արա):

On Saturday you put him in the Garden,
That you gave him as possession, a portion.
You said: "Adam, why are you sitting?
Stand up, look at the Garden."

- 13 Ելաւ ոտք մի առաջ գնաց,
50 Ղօխու ալտի մուշք ու ամպար
(Մուշկ ու համպարի հոտ առան),
Զօրս լուսեղէն գետն տեսաւ,
Ախարիտու ապու քեաֆսար
(Հոսում էր անմահական ջուր):

He went forth, took a step,
50 Musk and amber gave off fragrance,
He saw four luminous rivers,
Immortal water was flowing.

- 14 Փիսոն, Գեհոն, Տիգրիս, Եփրատ,
Տօրտուն դումի տայ քեահրուպար
(Զորսի ավազն էլ սաթ),
55 Անմահութեան հոտն որ առաւ,
Օլտի սարխօշ ու պէխապար
(Արբեց, դարձաւ անտեղյակ):

Pison, Gehon, Tigris, Euphrates,
The sand of all the four was amber.
When he smelled the immortality,
He became drunk and unaware.

- 15 Թմրութիւնն վերան անկաւ,
Մախմուր օլտի, տուշտի խումար
(Նվազեց, ուշքը գնաց):
Տէրն կրկին քննում արաւ,
60 Քի նայ յեափամ պունաուեր
(Թէ ի՞նչ անեմ սրա համար):

The deep sleep fell upon him,
He became weak, unconscious.
The Lord examined once again:
"What should I do for him?"

- 16 ՅԱդամայ ձախ կողէն առաւ,
Յեափտի Հաւայ տաթ տիտար,
(Ստեղծեց Եվային քաղցրահայացք),
Յօրժամ զարդեաւ, բօլորն աշեր,
Կօրտի հուրի պիր մալաք յեար
(Տեսաւ գեղանի մի հրեշտակ):

He took of Adam's left rib,
Created sweet-looking Eve;
When he woke up, he looked around;
He saw a beautiful angel.

- 17 65 Հագել բեհեզ ու ծիրանի,
Ճումլասի նուր, ալթուն զնար
(Բոլորը լույս, ոսկեհուռ գոտի),
Շող կուտար ի մէջ լուսին,
Ղաթի կեօզալ, թառ մօտապար
(Հույժ գեղեցիկ, թարմ պատվական):

Clad in fine linen and purple,
All shining; a gold-woven belt,
She was beaming in the midst of light,
(Like) very beautiful, fresh, glorious muslin.

- 18 Առաջի հրաշքն տեսանի,
Իքսիստայ օլտի գահար
70 (Երկրորդն էլ հայտնվեց,)
Տէրն Ադամայ խաթերն համար,
Քունտայ պիր քեազ կեալուր կօրար
(Օրը մի անգամ գալիս էր դիտում):

The first miracle is seen,
The second too appeared;
God for Adam's sake,
Once a day came and watched.

- 19 Լուսեղէն ծաղկունք ցուցեր ետ,
Նիճայ քի տուն անուր պահրար
(Ինչպես որ զարդարել էր ամեն ինչ):
75 Ասաց՝ Ադամ, ամեն ի քեզ,
Յամեայ շօլ պիրդան, տուր զարար
(Մի՛ կեր այս մեկից, վնասակար է):

He showed luminous flowers,
As he had decorated everything;
75 He said: "Adam, all is for you,
Do not eat of this one, it is pernicious.

- 20 Սախէն խօսքս չմոռանաս,
Զէրայ սայան դարագուր մար,
(Որովհետեւ յխակալ է օձը,)
Ան անիծած պեղծ սատանան
Կեօր, նակեահտայ տուրուր տիկլար
(Տես, անպատեհ կանգնել դիտում է):

Do not forget my words at all,
Because the serpent is vengeful.
80 That cursed impure Satan,
Look, he stands and looks indecorously.

- 21 376 Գնաց մտաւ օձին բերան,
Տէտի՛ Հաւայ, նօլտուն շուար
(Ասաց՝ Եվա, ինչո՞ւ շվարեցիր),
Ե՛լ ու կանկնէ, ան պտղէն կեր,
Քի տաթիլտուր նէճայ շաքար
(Որ համեղ է ինչպէս շաքար:)

He went, entered the serpent's mouth,
He said: "Eve, why are you amazed?
Get up, stand, eat of that fruit,
Which is as delicious as sugar."

- 22 85 Ասաց՝ Աստուծոյ հրաման չկայ,
Օնի յեանտուր կոնսահքար
(Այն ստողը հանցավոր է,)
Ինչ մարդ որ ան պտղէն ուտէ,
Տահայ օլմագ ուան պիր ճար
(Ել չի լինի նրան ոչ մի հնար:)

She said: "There is no command of God's,
One who disobeys is a transgressor,
Whoever eats of that fruit,
Will have no remedy any more."

- 23 Մեւ սատանէն հոն խօսեցաւ.
Քի ինանմայ կիլ, յեալտայտուրլար
(Մի հավատա, խաբում են քեզ,
Ասաց՝ Մէֆիլ, քեզ կու խաբեն,
Հար քիմ յեյեայ, օլուր հուդքար
(Ով որ կուտի, կիմաստնանա:)

The black Satan spoke there,
"Do not believe, they are deceiving you,"
He said, "Miserable, they deceive you,
One who eats will become wise."

- 24 Եւայ շուտով յօժարեցաւ,
Պիր սահաթ չաքտի ընդլըզար
(Մեկ ժամ կարոտով սպասեց,
95 Ելան ու ան պտղէն կերան,
Իքիսնտայ օլտի օ քեար
(Երկուսի վրա էլ այն ներգործեց:)

Soon Eve agreed,
 She waited for an hour eagerly;
 95 They went and ate of that fruit,
 It affected both of them.

- 25 Ադամ լուսոյն ի մերկ մնաց,
 Տէտի՛ Պու նա խապար
 (Ասաց՝ Այս ի՞նչ բան է),
 Ասաց Խափվայ, պտղէն կերայ,
 Շէհտանայ վերտում ըրխար
 100 (Կամքս տվի սատանային):

Adam remained stripped of light;
 He said: "What matter is this?
 He said, "I was deceived, I ate of the fruit,
 I gave my will to Satan."

- 26 377 Փախան ու թզենին ելան,
 Իքիսինտայ դալտի նաջար
 (Երկուսն էլ մնացին անճար):
 Տէրն եկաւ կանչեաց՝ Ադամ,
 Տէտիլ պէխան հօգումար
 (Ասաց՝ Հրամայիր, Տէր):

They fled and climbed the fig-tree,
 Both remained destitute;
 The Lord came and called "Adam,"
 He said, "Command, Lord."

- 27 105 Ասաց՝ Յէ՛ր ես յեկեր թզենիդ,
 Տէտի՛ Հաւայ դլտուրտի զար
 (Ասաց՝ Եվան հեծեծում էր),
 Ասաց Եւ յէր խափուեցար,
 Տէտի Պէնի յեալտադի մար
 (Ասաց՝ Օձն ինձ խաբեց):

He said, "Why have you climbed that fig-tree?"
 (Adam) said, "Eve was lamenting."
 He said, "And why were you deceived?"
 (Eve) said, "The serpent deceived me."

- 28 Ասաց՝ Միթե մեղայ գոչեն,
 110 Յագուխտուր, էթմէիմ զարար
 (Խեղճ են, վնաս չպատճառեմ):
 Կապվեցան ու մեղայ չասին,
 Շէհտան աթնայ պինտիլար
 (Սատանայի ձին նստեցին):

(God) said: “Do they shout, ‘I have sinned?’
 (If) they are miserable, I will not hurt them.”⁶
 They were bound and did not say, “I have sinned”;
 They mounted Satan’s horse.

- 29 Տէրն անիծեց, ասաց՝ Ադամ,
 Օլմիասին պէտար պէտար,
 (Թափառականն դառնաս դու,) 115
 Աշխատիս ու քրտինք ուտես,
 Արդսուն տարտուն, օլսուն հազար
 (Աճի ցավդ, դառնա հազար:)

The Lord cursed, said: “Adam,
 You will become a wanderer,
 You will labor and eat sweat,
 Your pain will increase, become a thousand-fold.”

- 30 Եւայ որ անիծեց, ասաց՝
 Մէնտէն տօղնայ պիր զահրումար
 (Քեզնից ծնվածն անիծվի,)
 Ելնէ զիր եղբայրն սպանէ,
 120 Մուսուրմաճայ դապիլ տերլար
 (Թուրքերեն օրինակ են ասում:)

When he cursed Eve he said:
 “The one born from you will be cursed;
 He will rebel and kill his brother,”
 In Turkish they say, “(He was) an example.”

- 31 Դարձաւ օձն որ անիծեց, ասաց՝
 Ուրեան օլասին պէ, քաւար
 (Մերկանաս դու, անհավատ:)
 Օձն թռչուն էր չորսոտանի
 Ուչարիտի դօլ մուսաւար
 (Թռչում էր ճիվաղատիպ:)

He turned to the serpent whom he cursed, said:
 “You will be stripped, unbeliever.”
 The serpent was a four-footed bird;⁷
 He flew like a demon (monster).

- 32 125 Թեւերն ու ոտվին թափեցան,
 Տուշիպ յուզ ուստին կիտարլար
 (Ընկավ, երեսն ի վայր սողաց,)

6. I.e., If they confess their sin, I will not hurt them.

7. In a manuscript of the *Physiologus*, the four-footed bird is drawn in the margin.

Այնկից ի վեր դարագեցաւ,
Ատամօղլի կօրանտը, սանճար
(Ադամորդի երեւա, կխայթի:)

His wings and feet fell away;
He fell down and crept face down;
From that time he nourished hate;
Seeing a son of Adam, he bites.

- 33 130 Սոքայ քշեցիր դրախտայ,
Զիհանամայ տուշտիլար
(Դժոխքն ընկան:)

You expelled them from the Garden;
They fell into hell.

- 34 Երբ դրախտայ աշխարհս ընկան,
Դունիամ խարապայ կօրտիլար
(Աշխարհս ավերակ տեսան,)
135 Զարհուրեցան քաջանց ազգէն,
Ղաֆլաթ պաստի, թալաստիլար
(Աչքները ծանրացան, շտապեցին:)

When they fell from the Garden into this world,
They saw this world ruined,
135 They were frightened of the race of demons;⁸
Their eyes became heavy, they hurried.

- 35 Ալվի Տէրն ողորմեցաւ,
Իքի մալայէք յենտիլար
(Երկու հրեշտակներ իջան,)
Եկաւ սոքայ մխիթարեց,
Զօխ շուքուր վերտիլար
140 (Շատ փառք, ասացին):

Again the Lord had mercy;
Two angels descended.
He came and consoled them;
140 "Great glory!" they said.

- 36 379 Ելան էրին շինակութին,
Պէգաթիլար չարսու պաղար
(Զորս բոլորը զարդարեցին,)
Ամուսնութեան մեղաց համար,
Էյլատիլար դաւ ու դարար

8. Or: heroes.

(Հաստատեցին ուխտ ու պայման:)

They went forth, they established a dwelling-place;
They adorned it on all four sides.
For the sin of marriage,
They established an agreement and a contract.

- 37 145 Երեսուն տարուն մի անգամ
Եվայիլան օլտի հուճար
(Եվայի հետ առագաստ մտավ,)
Մէկ փորն երկուս բերէր,
Պիրի հուրմայ, պիրի ասրար
(Մէկը գոռոցով, մյուսը թաքուն):

Once in a thirty years,
He entered the bed with Eve.
One pregnancy brought forth two,
One with shouts, the other concealed.⁹

- 38 Առաջ ծնաւ Կայէն որդին,
Ղալպիլան շէտանայ ուրեար
150 (Սրտով սատանային հար եւ նման,)
Յետոյ ծնաւ Աբէլ որդին,
Սղիսի տուրուտ, հախայ ու յեար
(Խոսքը ուղիղ, աստծո նման):

First she bore her son Cain,
150 With his heart close to and like Satan.
Then she bore her son Abel,
Speaking directly, like God.

- 39 Եօթն պորտն համարեցան,
Պիրի պիրինայ վերտիլար
(Մէկը մյուսին տվին,)
155 Ամէնը յԱդամայ զարմէն,
Տալմայ-տալմայ կօլ օլտիվար
(Կաթիլ-կաթիլ շատացան:)
Աճեցին ու աշխարհ լցին,
Դորդ քեօշայ տունիամ տօլտիլար
(Երկրի չորս ծագերը լցրին):

Seven generations¹⁰ were reckoned;
One gave (birth) to the other.
155 All of Adam's offspring,

9. I.e., the one known, the other not mentioned (in the Bible).

10. պորտն, literally: navels, bellies.

They multiplied drop by drop.
 They increased and filled the world;
 They filled the four corners of the earth.

- 40 Իննհարիւր տարի Ադամ,
 160 Եվայիւան սաղ կալտիլար
 (Եվայի հետ ողջ մնացին:)

For nine hundred years Adam
 160 With Eve stayed alive.

- 41 Յորժամ օրն թամամեցաւ,
 Ճանայ կեալտի ճէպրայիլլար
 (Չանձրացան հոգեառները,)
 379 Քառասուն օր հոգեվարք կեցան,
 Ճան ճիմագ, հասրադին տիլար
 (Հոգին չի ելնում, կարոտն է տենչում:)
 165 Գնացէք ան ճղքէն բերէք,
 Քիմինիքի աւալին յետիլար
 (Որից առաջինն էի կերել:)

When the day came,
 The takers of the soul got tired;
 For forty days they were in pains;¹¹
 The soul does not go forth, the desire¹² is intense:
 “Go and bring of the branch,
 Of which I ate first.”

- 42 Հրեշտակնին շուտով հասուցին,
 Այբտայ օխայ տէտիլար
 (Ամաչելով օխայ ասացին,)
 Ապա հոգին մարմնոյն ելաւ,
 170 Ինս ու ջինս ու դէւ կեէլտիլար
 (Արարածք եկան, դէւեր եկան):

They quickly brought it from the angel;
 Ashamedly they said alas!
 170 Then the soul came out of the body.
 Creatures came; demons came;

- 43 Հետ հրեշտակաց ճարմուք արին,
 Թէ ո՞ր տանիք մեր կամարարն,
 Ձեռագիրն առաջ բերին,

11. See *Adam Fragment* 2, 2–3, which depends directly on the same tradition (Stone 1982, 10–11).

12. Or: need.

Ըշտայ սիճիլ հուճաթ, դաւթար
(Արձանագրություն, վճիռ, մատյան):

They argued with the angels:
“Where do you take our servant?”
They brought forward the cheirograph,
Inscription, decision, register.

- 44 175 Առան տարան դժոխքն ի վար,
Բանտ ու զնտանայ դոյտիլար
(Բանտ ու կապանքի մեջ դրին,)
Մարտիրոսք կուսանօք ճգնաւորք,
Տունյետայ ճան պէսլայտիլար
(Աշխարհում հոգին սնուցին):

175 They took them to hell below,
Put them in prison and chains;
Martyrs, virgins, and ascetics,
Fed their souls in the world.

.....

- 45 381 Մեռան դժոխք գնացին,
Ճանաթայ յեր պուլմատիլար
(Արքայության մեջ տեղ չգտան,)
185 Նոյ նահապետն ու իր որդիքն,
Ղատիմ հախայ գրու պիտիլար
(Անսկիզբն աստծո զորությունն իմացան) . . .

They died and went to hell;
They did not find a place in the kingdom.
185 Patriarch Noah and his sons,
Learned the power of uncreated God . . .

DAWIT' BALIŠEC' I C17

Text: Davit' Bališec'i, Ժամանակագրութիւն “Chronography,” in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ *Minor Chronicles*, vol. 2, ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956), 287–378.

- 1 298 Ո. (600) Մեմ ճ ամաց ծնաւ զԱրփաքսաթ. սա ժառանգեաց
զոսկերս նախահօրն Ադամայ եւ Եւայի: Զսա յոյժ սիրէր հայր իւր Նոյ:
600: Shem at the age of 100 begat Arpachshad; he inherited the bones of the
forefather Adam and of Eve. His father Noah loved him very much.

- 2 465 ՆԿԵ Արփաքսաթ ՃԼԵ ամաց ծնաւ. սա ամփոփեաց զոսկերսն
նախահօր ի Գողգոթայ եւ Քելեղէիւմ ի վիճակն իւրեանց:

Arpachshad begat at the age of 135. He assembled the forefather's bones on the Golgotha and Eve's in Bethlehem, in their allotted places.

EP' REM LAP' ANC' I C17

Ep' rem Lap' anc' i, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 542–72.

6 Տաղաչափեալ շարադրի (1691).

Written in Verse

- 1 551 Նախկին զաշխարհս, որ չէ եղեր՝
Եւ Բանն Աստուած զայս հաստատեր՝
Երկինք՝ ՚ւ երկիր, տիւ եւ գիշեր
Եւ չորս տարերքս է արարեր:
Իսկ զազգս մարդկան հողոյ ստեղծեր,
Պէս-պէս շնորհք պարգեւք տուեր . . .

When this primordial world did not exist,
God the Word established it;
The heavens and the earth, day and night,
And the four elements he made.
And he created the human race from dust,
Granted them various graces . . .

Յիշատակարաններ ընդդէմ երկաբնակաց.

Against the Dyophysites (written before 1701)

- 2 567 Երեք անձինք եւ մի բնութեան
Միասնական աստուածութեան:
Որով ստեղծեալ էակքս համայն:
10 Երկինք՝ ՚ւ երկիր, ծովք ամենայն:
Բարին եղեւ յոյժ պատուական,
Չարն եկամուտ է դիւական:
Յայնժամ այժմուս յանկարծական,
Չարեացն գալ իբրեւ զյորձան:
15 Զոր օրինակ զԱդամ, զԵւան,
Որք ի յօձէն փոյթ խափուեցան:

Տէրն անիծեաց բանասրկուն այն,
Առ ի գնալ լանջաց վերան:

Three Persons and one by nature
Of the united divinity,
By whom all beings were created,
The heavens, the earth, all the seas;
The good was very glorious,
Evil is demonic, from outside.
Then, all of a sudden,
Evil comes like a flood.
Just as Adam, Eve,
Who were quickly deceived by the serpent.
The Lord cursed that Devil,
To go upon his breast.

GRIGOR DARANALC'Ī C17

Text: Grigor Daranalc'ī, *Ժամանակագրութիւն Chronography*, ed. M. V. Nšanecan (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1915).

- 1 308 Քրիստոս Աստուածն մեր աղբիւրն շնորհաց չարչարանօք խաչին եւ մահուամբն ազատեաց յանիծիցն Ադամայ եւ յանիծից օրինացն Մովսիսի:

Christ our God, by the suffering on the cross and by death, liberated the source of grace from the curse of Adam and from the curse of the Law of Moses.

- 2 414 . . . յետ անկմանն ի վայր ի կայանից, (սատանայ) ոչ դադարեաց ի չար սերմանելոյն, այլ ի դրախտին ի մէջ Ադամայ եւ Եւայի էարկ զիր հպարտութեան ախտից սերմանսն, որով ինքն աստուածանալ կամեցաւ: Եւ յետ այնորիկ ի մէջ ծննդոց նորա՝ Աբելի միջումն եւ Կայենին . . .

. . . After falling down from (his) station, (Satan) did not cease sowing evil, but in the Garden he cast the seeds of the disease of his pride into Adam and Eve, by which he wanted to become God. And afterwards, into their descendants,¹³ into Abel and Cain.

13. Literally: his.

NAZARET' A C17

Text: Nazaret' A, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 523–626.

Տաղ ի վերայ բլբուլի
Poem on the Nightingale

- 1 521 Առաջ Եւան, որ ստեղծեց Ադամայ, Ադամայ,
Չար թշնամին իւրեան դանն էր Ադամայ, Ադամայ . . .

First Eve, whom He created from Adam, Adam,
His evil enemy was the rib of Adam, Adam . . .

NERSĒS ANJNAPATC'Ī C17

Text: Nersēs Anjnapatc'ī, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 54–70.

2 Բան խրատու
Didactic Poem

- 1 57 Եւ ի լրման բնաւից կատար՝
Ջմարդն Ադամ բազմահանճար,
Օրհնեաց՝ աճիլ, լնուլ զաշխարհ,
Գործել բարի, մնալ արդար:

And in the end, the summit of all,
The man Adam endowed with much wisdom;
He blessed (him) to multiply, to fill the world,
To do good, to remain just.

SIMĒON KAFAC'Ī C17

Text: "Simēon Kafac'ī," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 185–208.

1 Առ սուրբ Աստուածածին To the Holy Mother of God

- 1 185 . . . Ադամայ նախնոյ զերկունսն լուծեալ,
20 Քեւ կոյս առիթ զոր եւ զքեզ կեանս կոչեալ:
. . . Releasing the pains of the ancestor Adam,
20 Through you, a virgin, there was reason to call you, too, life.
- 2 Էական լուսոյն Եւայ սքանչելի,
Բազմաչեայ քրովբէից անահ հայելի . . .
Marvelous Eve of essential light,
Fearless mirror of many-eyed Cherubim . . .
- 3 186 . . . Եւ քեւ սրովբէափակ դուռն Եդեմայ
Բացաւ տարագրեալ որդոնց Ադամայ:
186 And through you the door of Eden closed by the Seraphim
Was opened for us, the expelled sons of Adam.

STEP'ANOS KELEC'I C17¹⁴

Text: Step'anos Kelec'i, Ոտանաւոր վասն կանանց խաբէութեան, ամենայն մարդոց օգուտ “Poem on Women’s Deceit, for All Men’s Good,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 371–74.

Ոտանաւոր վասն կանանց խաբէութեան, ամենայն մարդոց օգուտ Poem on Women’s Deceit, for All Men’s Good

- 1 372 Յորժամ տեսանես զկինն
ցեղուցեղ զեղով զարդարած,
Հաշուեա, թ' ան օձն է, եղբայր,
որ զԵւայ 'ւ Ադամ նա խաբեաց:
Ասաց, թէ՛ Ուտէք զպտուղն
եւ լինիք որպէս զԱստուած:
Կերան, խայտառակ եղան
այր ու կին, երկունս ի հիտրաց:
When you see a woman
Variously adorned beautifully,

14. See Ačařyan 1977, 4:676: “Step'anos no. 682: he wrote a poem copied in 1671.”

Consider that she is the serpent, brother,
 Who deceived Eve and Adam.
 He said, "Eat the fruit,
 And you will be like God."
 They ate and were shamed,
 The man and the woman, both together.

XAČ'ATUR XASPĒK KAFAC'I C17

Text: Xač'atur Xaspēk Kafac'i, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 128–52.

a. 1643

2 Չափածոյ յիշատակարան Colophon in Verse

- 1 138 Արդ լարուք, որ ըստ կարգի
 Շարայարեալ ի յայս տառի,
 15 Կերտեալ մեծին տէր Ներսէսի,
 Հայաստանեաց հայրապետի:

Now let us listen to what, in order,
 I strung together in this writing
 15 Created by the great lord Nersēs,
 Patriarch of Armenia,

- 2 Սկսեալ նախնոյն, որ առաջի
 Մաղթանս առ Տէր իւր պաղատի,
 Թէպէտ միջնորդ յիւր աղէտի
 20 Եղեալ զԱդամ հայր մեր նախնի:

Beginning with the forefather who first
 Addressed prayers to his Lord,
 Although he considered Adam, our forefather
 20 To be the mediator of his misfortune.

YAKOB KESARAC'I C17

Text: Yakob Kesarac'i, Գովեստ ի սուրբ քաղաքն Երուսաղէմ "Praise of the Holy City of Jerusalem," ed. N. Aginean (Akinian), *Handes Amsorea* 23 (December 1909): 371–74.

- 1 373 3 Աստ եղև հոգւոց փրկութիւն մարդկան
Որ ի խաչ էլաւ Տէրն ի Գողգոթայն
35 Յանցանքն Ադամայ Եւայի թողան . . .

Here was the salvation of human souls,
When the Lord ascended the cross at Golgotha,
35 The sin of Adam and Eve was forgiven . . .

YAKOB T'OXATEC'I C17

Text: Yakob T'oxat'ec'i, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 531–68.

3 Վասն սիրոյն Աստուծոյ եւ սրբոց նորա On the Love of God and His Saints

- 1 541–42 Եւ չորքոտանիք բազումք
եւ վայրի էրէք եւ գազան,
Եւ ազգի-ազգի վիշապք
եւ սողունք, որ ի սմա զեռան,
15 Ետես արարիչն Աստուած
եւ ահա բարի ամենայն,
Վասն որոյ օրհնեաց զնոսա
'ւ աճելոյ ետուր հրաման:

And many quadrupeds,
and wild animals and beasts,
And various kinds of snakes (dragons)
and reptiles that creep in it;¹⁵
God the Creator saw,
and behold, all were good,
That is why he blessed them
and commanded (them) to multiply.

- 2 Եւ ընդ յԱրեւելս տնկեաց
դրախտն յեդեմական,
Իբր զգահոյս արքայի
պաճուճեալ փառօք փափկութեան,
Երկնի եւ երկրի զարդերք

15. I.e., this world.

կատարեալ եղեն ի լրման,
 20 Արդ պիտոյ է վայելուչ
 թագաւոր սմա եւ իշխան:

He planted in the East
 the Garden of Eden,
 Like a king's throne
 embellishing it with the glory of delight;
 The adornments of the heavens and the earth
 were completely finished;¹⁶
 20 Now is needed a proper king
 and ruler over it.

- 3 Ապա Հայրն երկնաւոր
 ընդ Որդւոյ եւ Հոգւոյ ասաց բան.
 Արասցուք մարդ բանաւոր
 ըստ կերպի մեր նմանութեան,
 Իշխեսցէ ձկանց ծովու
 եւ թռչնոց երկնից բազմութեան
 Եւ բոլոր տիեզերաց
 սողնոց եւ զեռնոց զինչ որ կան:

Then the celestial Father
 said a word to the Son and the Spirit;¹⁷
 Let us make a rational man,
 according to the form of our likeness;
 Let him rule over the fish of the sea,
 and the multitude of the birds of the sky,
 And all the universe,
 reptiles and creeping things, whatever there are.

- 4 25 Եւ առեալ հող ի յերկրէ
 կերպացոյց ըստ կերպին նման,
 Եւ փչեաց շունչ ի նմա
 եւ շնորհեաց հոգի բանական,
 Եօթնարփեան շնորհօք լցոյց
 եւ եղ ի դրախտին փափկութեան,
 Գործել անդ զգործ Աստուծոյ
 եւ պահել նորին պատուիրան:

And taking dust from the ground,
 he shaped it according to the likeness of (his) form,
 And breathed breath into him,

16. Gen 2:1: see the LXX and the Armenian Bible.

17. Cf. *Teaching of St. Gregory* §260.

and granted a rational soul.
 Filled (him) with graces of seven heavens,
 and put (him) in the Garden of delight.
 To work to (till) there God's work
 and to keep his commandment.

- 5 Իսկ նա ի դրախտէն ելեալ
 պատրանօք բանսարկուն խաբման,
 30 Ի ներքոյ մահու անկեալ,
 զբաւեաց զբնութիւնս ամենայն,
 Կեցեալ եղկելի կենօք
 ի յերկրի յոյժ թշուառական,
 Մինչ հոգին էջ ի դժոխս
 եւ մարմինն եղաւ գերեզման:

But he, coming out of the Garden
 by the tricky deceit of the Devil,
 30 Having fallen under death,
 possessed the whole nature.
 He lived¹⁸ a lamentable life,
 very miserable on the earth,
 Until his soul descended to hell,
 and his body was put in the grave.

Յիշատակարան շարադրողի սաղմոսիս Colophon by the Author of this Psalm

- 6 563 Յետ Ադամայ ելանելոյն ի փափկութեան,
 Որդիք նորա ընդ անասունս աստ բնակեցան,
 Ծնան զաւակս ի վերայ երկրի եւ բազմացան
 Եւ յԱրարչէն իրենանց նոքա մոլորեցան:

After Adam's coming out of Delight,¹⁹
 His offspring dwelt here with animals.
 They bore children on the earth and multiplied,
 And they went astray from their Creator.

Yakob T'oxat'ec'i, Տաղ վասն կենաց մարդկան "Poem on Human Life," *Bazmavēp* 23.6 (1865): 208–11.

- 7 208 Աստուած ըստեղծեաց ըզմարդն ի հողէն,

18. Literally: "having lived."

19. I.e., the Garden of Delight. It is in the genitive case because of rhyming constraints.

Օրհնելով օրհնեաց զաճումըն նոցին.
Աճեալ բազմացան եւ զերկիր լըցին.
Տեւէ եւ մընայ՝ մինչ յօրըն վերջին . . .

God created man from dust,
Blessing, He blessed their multiplication,
Having multiplied, they increased and filled the earth,
(Man) will endure and remain until the last day . . .

- 8 209 Լեալ երեսնամեայ՝ կատարեալ մարդ են՝
Զհասակ Ադամայ ի յանձին բերեն . . .

Being thirty years old, they are perfect humans,
They bear Adam's age in themselves . . .

- 9 211 Փառք տամք Աստուծոյ մեք ամենեքեան,
Օրհնեալ է անունն անբաւ յաւիտեան,
Արար զմեր նախնին պատկերին նրման
Դարձեալ նորոգեաց եւս պայծառ քան զայն:

We all glorify God;
His infinite name is blessed forever;
He made our ancestor like his image;
Again he renewed (him making him) more shining than that one.

YOVASAP' ERZNAKAC'I C17

Text: Yovasap' Erzszakac'i, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)*, vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987) 397–403.²⁰

1 Տաղ վասն կանանց Poem on Women

397 Ով անզգամ կնոջ դիպեր,
Քան զԵւայ Ադամ խաբեր . . .

397 He who has met a wicked woman
Is deceived more than²¹ Adam by Eve . . .

20. Yovasap' is not mentioned by Bogharian (1971), by *ANB*, or by Bardakjian (2000).

21. Or: like.

YOVHANNĒS ǦULAYEC' I C17

Text: Yovhannēs Ǧulayec' i, Գիրք որ կոչի սրբազնագործութիւն *Book Called Sanctification* (Madras: Yovsep' Step'anosean Press, 1812).

- 1 78 Նախ սրտին զղջանալ զի զղջումն սրտին է, յորմէ ելանեն ամենայն չարիք . . . եւ վասն այնորիկ պարտ է փոյթ ընդ փոյթ, զղջմամբ արմատաքի խլել զի մի արմատացեալ աճեացի եւ զօրացի, վասն այսորիկ ասաց Աստուած ցԱդամ, դու ըսպասեսցես նորա գլխոյն, զի գլուխ է յիշումն մեղաց, որ ի սիրտն ձգէ սատանայ . . .

First (one should) repent in his heart, for repentance belongs to the heart, whence all evils proceed. . . . And for that reason (evil) must be quickly eradicated by repentance, lest, having taken root, it increases and becomes powerful. That is why God said to Adam: “you will strike (lie in wait for) his head,”²² for the head is the remembering of the sin that Satan draws into the heart . . .

- 2 94 Զի աչք ձեր տեսանեն, զբանն մարմին եղեալ, եւ ականջք ձեր լսեն զբաւութիւն, եւ զթողութիւն մեղաց. քանզի մինչեւ ցայժմ ոչ որ լուաւ թողութիւն մեղաց, զոր ի ճաշակմանէն Ադամայ մակրդեալ եւ մաճեալ էր ընդ բնութիւնս, այլ այժմն երանեցան, տեսանողքն, եւ լսողքն . . .

Because your eyes see the incarnate Word, and your ears hear the expiation and forgiveness of sins; because until now nobody has heard about forgiveness of the sin that curdled and stuck to our nature owing to Adam's eating. Whereas now those who see and hear have been blessed . . .

- 3 105 . . . այնուհետեւ կամեցաւ Տէր սրբել զնա ի վիրաց անտի, որ յաղագս մեղացն եւ անօրէնութեանցն Ադամայ կրեաց. այսինքն բանն Աստուած ի մարմինն իւր . . .

. . . Thenceforth the Lord wished to clean him of the wounds that he suffered for Adam's sin and impiety; that is God the Word in his body . . .

- 4 108 . . . այժմ աստ իջանէ նոյն հոգին Աստուած զի արացել զայս խորիւորդ կատարեալ Քրիստոս, առ ի յաւետարանել աղքատաց, այսինքն բնութիւնս Ադամայ, որ յամենայնի աղքատացաւ ճաշակմամբն ի դրախտին . . . Աստ տեսանի ամենայն կուրաց զթողութիւն, եւ գտեսութիւն . . . զի բնութիւն է ագռաւուց, որ կամի զկենդանիս հեղձուցանել, եւ կերակուր ինքեան առնել, ջանայ զաչսն փորել, եւ խաւարեցուցանել եւ ապա զահալիժել, եւ ուտել. այսպէս

22. Gen 3:15.

արար եւ սատանայ, որ կուրացոյց զբնութիւնս Ադամայ, եւ արար կերակուր ինքեան.

. . . Now the same Spirit, God descends here, so that Christ will fulfill this perfect mystery, to preach the Gospel to the poor, that is, (to) Adam's nature that became impoverished of everything by eating in the Garden. . . . Here one can see the forgiveness of all the blind and their vision. . . . For it is characteristic of the crows; it wants animals to be suffocated, so that it may make food for itself; (so) it tries to peck out the eyes and blind them, and then to cast them (down a cliff) and eat (them). Satan, too, acted in this way; who blinded Adam's nature and made it him food for himself.

- 5 109 . . . Քրիստոս բազմեալ ի վերայ սրբոյ սեղանոյ . . . եւ ձայն քաղցր արձակելս, եկայք, կերէք զմարմին իմ . . . Զի սա ոչ է այնպիսի կերակուր, որք կերին յանապատին, ի ձեռն Մովսէսի, եւ մեռան, եւ կամ Ադամաւ, եւ Եւայիւ, եւ մեռան. երկրորդաւ մահուամբ. այլ որ ուտէ ի սմանէ կեցցէ յաւիտեան:

. . . Christ sitting at the holy table . . . and saying in a sweet voice: "Take, eat; this is my body"²³ . . . For this is not that kind of food that they ate in the desert through Moses and died, or by means of Adam and Eve and they died; and they died the second death; whereas one who eats of this, lives forever.

- 6 117 . . . Նախնիւ ճաշակմամբ մահ, եւ երկրորդիւ ճաշակմամբս կենդանութիւն . . . առաջնոյն, Ադամայ տարագրութիւն ամենայն փառաց, եւ երկրորդիւս Ադամաւ, ճաշակմամբ, վերըստին ըստացումն լուսեղէն պատմուճանին . . . Առաջնոյն Ադամաւ ճաշակմամբն, տաղաւար սատանայի եւ բնակարան այսոց չարաց, ըստ այնմ խեղդէր զնա այս չար ի Տեառնէ, եւ թէ վերացաւ հոգին ի Սաւուղայ. զի Սաւուղ նշանակէր զառաջինն Ադամ, իսկ Դաւիթ զերկրորդն Ադամ:

. . . Through the first eating (there was) death and through the second eating, life. . . . The first (led to) the proscription of Adam from all the glory, and the new reception of the luminous clothing through eating the second Adam. . . . Owing to the eating by the first Adam, Satan's hut and the dwelling of evil spirits, according to: "an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him" and "the spirit departed from Saul,"²⁴ for Saul symbolized the first Adam and David the second Adam.

- 7 118 Որք ջուր ի կիր առնուն սխալին, այլ զինի միայն պարտ է ի կիր առնուլ Those Who Use Water Are Mistaken, Only Wine Shall Be Used.

Նոյնպէս եւ զինի ուրախ առնէ ասաց: Զի բնութեամբ է եւ այս եւս,

23. Matt 26:26.

24. 1 Sam 16:14 = Arm 1 Kgdms 16:14.

զի որք ըմպեն, ուրախ լինին, բերկրին եւ զուարճանան. բառնի տրտմութիւն, տարագրի տխրութիւն, մոռանայ զցաւս. զի այսոքիկ ամենեքեան ըմբռնեցին զմարդկայինս բնութիւն ճաշակմամբն Ադամայ ի պտղոյն Ադինայ . . .

Also wine makes cheerful, it said.²⁵ For this is also according to nature, for those who drink become cheerful, rejoice, and are delighted; sorrow is removed, sadness is proscribed; they forget the pains. For all these (feelings) captured the human nature due to Adam's eating of the fruit of Eden . . .

- 8 120 Բայց կերեալն, եւ ճաշակեալն միանայ ընդ մարմնոյ եւ ընդ արեանն, մահացուցիչն մահացուցանէ, որպէս Ադամայն եւ Եւային, նոյնպէս եւ այլ մահադեղքն, եւ կեցուցիչն կեցուցանէ, որպէս այս ճաշակումս . . .

But that which is consumed and eaten joins the body and the blood; that bringer of death, causes death, like to Adam and Eve, in the same way as other deadly potions; and that which is vivifying, vivifies, like this eating . . .

- 9 146–47 . . . արեգակս այս, որ էր Բէեղ/զեբուղ, մարտեաւ ընդ Ադամայ, խորշակաւն իւրով, եւ ցամաքեցոյց, եւ չորացոյց զնա, եւ էարկ ի հուրն անշէջ . . . Իսկ յետ Ադամայ որ գլուխն ընդ գլխոյն մարտեաւ, եւ զօսացոյց, ապա լուսինն, որք են հազարապետք, եւ հարիւրապետք իշխանին, առին լոյս, այսինքն իշխանութիւն ի նմանէ ի վերա որդուցն Ադամայ . . . Զի Ադամաւ պայծառացաւ յորժամ յաղթեաց, եւ Քրիստոսիւ խաւարեցաւ, յորժամ յաղթահարեցաւ:

. . . This sun, which was Bēelzebul, fought against Adam with its heat and dried him up and made him arid and cast him into inextinguishable fire.²⁶ . . . And after Adam, with whom he fought head to head and dried him up, then the Moon, those who are the prince's chiliarchs and centurions, received from him light, that is, power, over Adam's descendants. . . . For (Bēelzebul) became luminous through Adam, when he defeated him, and was darkened by Christ, when he²⁷ was defeated.

- 10 148 . . . սատանայ յար եւ յաւէժ, յառնէ ի վերայ խաղաղութեան, որպէս ի վերայ Ադամայ ի դրախտին . . .

Satan always and eternally rebels against peace, as against Adam in the Garden . . .

- 11 167–68 Բնութիւն է օձին, յորժամ գլուխն մուծանէ ի ծակ ինչ, ընդ նմին եւ զամենայն անդամսն: Նոյնպէս եւ սատանայ, յորժամ

25. Ps 104:15.

26. See Isa 66:24.

27. I.e., Beelzebub.

կամիցի գոք ծառայեցուցանել զլուխ իւր մուծանէ ի յոգի նորա, որ է հպարտութիւնն, որով եւ ինքն մահացու, փորձ առեալ նովաւ, եւ նովիմբ ի կարթ փորձութեանն իւրոյ էարկ զԱդամ, եւ զԵւայ, որով եւ ծառայեցոյցն, յորժամ ասացն, բանայցեն աչք ձեր, եւ լինիջիք իբրեւ զԱստուածս, վասն որոյ այսմ թիւրագոյն, գերազանցութեանս ցանկացեալ կերին, ի պտղոյն, զի եմուտ ի հոգիս նոցա, զլուխ օձին հպարտութիւնն. եւ կինն յառաջեաց եւ նախկնագոյն պատրաստեաց, օթեւան եւ տեղի, զլիտյս այսորիկ. զի ինքն նախ լինիցի Աստուած, եւ տիրեսցէ առն իւրոյ աստուածաբարս. եւ իշխեսցէ իբրեւ զլուխ, ոտն, զլիտյն: Եւ իբրեւ գործով կատարեցաւ, եւ զլուխ օձին, այսինքն հպարտութիւնն, եմուտ ի հոգիս նոցա, ընդ նմին մտին եւ ամենայն անդամքն, այսինքն ամենայն մեղք: Երկրորդ բնութիւն է օձին, զի ամենայն թոյնք մահացուցիչք, բովանդակեալ ունի ի զլուխն, եւ յորժամ զլուխն տեղի էառ, թոյնքն ամենայն մահացուցիչք անդէն բովանդակեալ մտանեն ընդ զլիտյն: Այսպէս եւ մարդ յորժամ տեղի տայցէ զլիտյն, այսինքն հպարտութեանն, մտանեն ընդ նմա, ամենայն մահացուցիչք մեղք, եւ անօրէնութիւնք. վասն այնորիկ պատուիրեաց Տէր Ադամայ, նախաստեղծին, դու ըսպասեսցէս նորա զլիտյն, այսինքն հպարտութեանն, զի մի մտցէ ի հոգիդ, վասն զի նա էառ սկիզբն ամենայն ի կորուստ: Զի ի քերովբէից դասուցն ըսկսաւ, որ է առաջին կարգ, երկնաւորացն ստեղծուածոց, մինչ ի վախճան ստեղծուածոց, որ էր մարդն, յանհասանելի բարձրութեանցն եւ փառացն զամենեսեան ի վայր թափեաց:

It is the nature of the serpent, when it inserts its head into a hole, with it, (it inserts) also all its members. Likewise Satan, when he wants to enslave somebody, inserts his head, that is, pride, into his soul; thus it made a mortal experiment with it and through the same, caught Adam and Eve on the hook of its temptation. Thus it enslaved (them) when it said: “your eyes will be opened, and you will be like gods.”²⁸ Because of this, desiring this most erroneous excellence, they ate of the fruit, for the head of the serpent, pride, entered their souls. And the woman hurried ahead and readied the first lodging and place for this head, so that she would first become a god and rule over her husband like God, and have authority like a head, (like) the head over the feet. And when the affair was done, and the serpent’s head, that is, pride, entered their souls, with it all its members, namely, all the sins, also entered. The second nature of the serpent is: it contains in its head all mortal poisons, and when the head took its place, all mortal poisons contained there entered with the head. Likewise man, when he gives place to the head, that is, to pride, all mortal sins and lawlessnesses enter with it. For that reason, the Lord commanded the first-created Adam, “You will wait for his head,”²⁹

28. Gen 3:5.

29. Gen 3:15.

that is, the pride, so that it would not enter your soul, for it provokes everything to perdition. For he began with the ranks of the Cherubim, which is the first rank of the celestial creation, up to the last of creatures, which was man; he cast them all down from inconceivable heights and glory.

- 12 183 Սոյնպէս եւ նախաստեղծքն, յորժամ բանսարկուն խաբանօր պատրեաց ոչ հայեցան յինքեանս եւ յարարածական բնութիւնս իւրեանց, այլ կամեցան աստուածանալ, վասն որոյ եւ ի գերագունէն կործանեալք խաւարեցան:

Likewise also the first-created ones; when the Devil fraudulently deceived (them), they did not consider themselves and their created nature, but wished to become gods, on account of which, overthrown by the Most Superior One, they were blinded.

- 13 205 . . . ասաց մարգարէն ի դիմաց Ադամայ, «եղէ ես որպէս տիկ ի պարզի» (Սաղ. ԶԺԸ. 83), լցեալ հողմով հպարտութեան, յորժամ պարտեցայ ի բանսարկունէն, ամբարտաւանութեամբ Աստուածանալոյն, եւ իբրեւ հարցայ յԱստուծոյ, վաղվաղակի պատառեցայ ընդ հարկանելն:

The prophet said about Adam: "I have become like a wineskin in the frost,"³⁰ filled up with the wind of pride, when I was defeated by the Devil through the arrogance of becoming god; and when I was asked by God, I was immediately rent under the beating.

- 14 288 Նախնոյն Ադամայ շնորհեցաւ զանազան շնորհս հոգւոյն, եւ զայն կորոյս ամբարտաւանութեամբն, եւ հպարտութեամբն. իսկ նորոյս Ադամայ յաղագս կատարեալ խոնարհութեանն, շնորհեցաւ, ոչ զանազան շնորհս հոգւոյն, այլ նոյն ինքն անձնաւորութիւն հոգւոյն:

The ancestor Adam was granted various graces of the Spirit and he lost those through arrogance and pride, while the new Adam on account of his perfect humility was granted not the various graces of the Spirit but the person of the Spirit himself.

- 15 317–18 Արդ եթէ ազատութիւնս նորովս եղեւ զանկուածով, ապա պարտ է մեզ զի զհինն ի բաց, ի տար անդր ձգեսցուք. զի երկակի ներհակքն, անհնարին է համանգամայն, ի միասին գետեղիլ, զի հին զանկուածն որ էր Ադամայն, ամբարտաւանութեամբ եւ հպարտութեամբ էր խմորեալ, ի խայթմանէ օձին, ուստի ամենայն ուռուցմունք եւ փքացմունք յառաջեալք լինէին. քանզի բնութեամբ է զորս եւ խայթէ անիծեալն օձ, այնքան ուռի, մինչ զի իբրեւ զտիկ պարզի . . .

30. Ps 119:83 = Arm 118:83.

Now since liberty was in the new dough, we have to cast the old one out far away, for two opposite things cannot be placed together, for the old dough that was Adam's was fermented by arrogance and pride, through the serpent's bite, from which all kinds of swelling and inflation arose. Because it is in accordance with nature that those whom the cursed serpent bites swell to the extent that they become like a "wine skin of frost."³¹

- 16 337 . . . հպարտութիւնն, զիրէշտակս ի բարձրութենէ ընկեց, զԱդամ զրկեաց . . .

Pride cast the angels from the height, defrauded Adam . . .

- 17 353 Զի որպէս սովորութիւն է մեռեալն. արտաքս տանել ի տանէ, զի մի զազրագոյն հոտն նորա, վնասեցէ ումեք, այսպէս արար եւ Աստուած եւ ընդ մեռելոյն Ադամայ, հանեալ արձակեաց զմեռեալ դին, ի տանէ իւրմէ յանմահութենէ, զի թաղիցի ի հողն ուստի առաւ: Արդ եթէ նախաստեղծն ի հարմանէ իժին յայնմանէ, ամենասուրբ երրորդութիւնն ոչ կարաց զնա բժշկել . . .

As it is the custom to take the dead (man) out of the house, so that his foul smell would not hurt anybody, likewise God treated the dead Adam; expelling, he cast the dead corpse from his house, from immortality, to be buried in the ground whence it was taken. Now if the all-Holy Trinity could not cure the first-created (man) from the strike of that viper . . .

- 18 366 Նախկինն մարդ, ոչ ունէր ըզկատարեալ անձնաւորութիւն հոգւոյն, այլ զամենայն զշնորհս նորա, զեօթնարփեանն, եւ զերկոտասանն. եւ զայն կորոյս պտղոյն ճաշակմամբն:

The first man did not have the perfect person of the Spirit, but all his gifts, the seven spheres of seven lights and the twelve.³² And he lost them through eating the fruit.

- 19 386 . . . այսինքն զլուսեղէն պատմուճանդ, զոր մերկացար ի փառակենցաղ դրախտին, եւ երթ ի տունն յորմէ եղեր. քանզի անդամալուծն նշանակէր զԱդամ, մահիճն, զլուսեղէն պատմուճանն, եւ տունն զդրախտն: . . .

. . . that is your luminous clothing of which you were stripped in the Garden of glorious life, "and go to your home," from which you came. For the paralytic symbolized Adam; the bed, the luminous clothing; and the home, the Garden.

- 20 387 . . . սա դուստր Աբրահամու էր. Աբրահամ նշանակէր զհայր Աստուած, իսկ դուստր նորա զԵւա. որպէս անդամալուծն Ադամ, եւ

31. Cf. *ibid.*

32. I.e., constellations.

երկոքեանն արձակեցան, եւ ի փառսն հրաւիրեցան . . . Նոյնպէս եւ զՂազարոս, ի մեռելութենէ ի կենդանութիւն հրաւիրեաց. զոր նա ի կենդանութենէ ի մեռելութիւն, ըստ այնմ նախանձու բանսարկուին եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ. քանզի եւ սա նշանակէր զԱդամ, զոր սատանայ ջամբելով զպտուղն, մահացուցիչ եսպան, ըստ այնմ յաւուր յորում ուտիցիս մահու մեռանիցիս, եւ Քրիստոս զսա կոչեաց ի մահուանէ ի կեանս, ըստ այնմ ել մեռեալն ոտիւքն կապելովք, եւ ձեռքն երիզապնդօք, եւ երեսօքն վարշամակապատօք. եւ ասաց լուծէք զդա եւ թողէք երթալ. զի գերեզմանն նշանակէր, զդժոխս, Ղազարոս զԱդամ, ձեռսն եւ զոտսն կապեալ, զմեղքն, եւ անօրէնութիւն, վարշամակն երեսացն, զտգիտութիւնն, եւ զանխմաստութիւնն . . .

. . . This was Abraham's daughter.³³ Abraham symbolized God the Father, and his daughter, Eve; as the paralytic (symbolized) Adam, and both were released and invited to the glory. . . . Likewise he invited Lazarus from death to life, whom that one (had invited) from life to death according to: "Through the Devil's envy death entered the world."³⁴ Because he³⁵ also symbolized Adam, whom the Devil, having fed the mortal fruit, killed according to: "In the day that you eat you shall surely die."³⁶ And Christ called him from death to life according to: "The dead man came out, his hands and feet bound with strips of cloth, and his face wrapped in a cloth." And (Jesus) said, "Unbind him, and let him go."³⁷ For the grave symbolized hell, Lazarus—Adam, the "hands and feet bound"—the sin and lawlessness, the cloth of the face—ignorance and senselessness . . .

- 21 398 Նախկին օձին զբարս ի քեզ (Յուդայի) ցուցանելով, զի որպէս նա առ հինն Ադամ, մատեաւ ի համբոյր, որ յորժամ եղեն մահացաւ, նոյնպէս եւ դու առ երկրորդս Ադամ, որ համբուրելովդ կամիս ըսպանանել զիս:

Manifesting in you (Judas) the character of the first serpent, for as he approached the old Adam for kiss, and when it happened he died, likewise (do) you to the second Adam, for you wish to kill me with your kiss.

Text: Yovhannēs Jūlayec'ī, Գիրք պատմութեան. Վիճաբանութիւն առ Շահ Սլէմանն Պարսից *Book of History. Dispute with the Persian Shah Suleyman* (Calcutta: Yovsēp' Step'anosean Press, 1797).

- 22 116 . . . ամենայն աստուածապաշտք ընդունին Աստուծոյ Ադամ ի

33. Luke 13:16.

34. Wis 2:24.

35. I.e., Lazarus.

36. Gen 2:17.

37. John 11:44

դրախտէն արտաքսեցաւ, վասն այնորիկ էր որ հրամանն Աստուծոյ ընկեց, որպէս եւ բացատրութիւնն աստուածաշնչոյն է՝ եւ այլ զիրս պատմագրաց մարգարէից եւ ապա ի ձեռն սատանայի անկաւ եւ ի դժոխս տեղակալ եղեւ:

... All pious accept that Adam was expelled from the Garden by God; this was because he cast off God's command according to the explanation in the Bible and other books of historiographer prophets, and then he fell into Satan's hands and he became a place-holder in hell.

- 23 122 . . . ըստ խելաց արմատն մարդկան թարց կարծեաց Ադամ էր եւ նա դառնացաւ վասն ճաշակման պտղոյն եւ ամենայն ազգ մարդկան նոյնպէս դառնացան:

... Reasonably, the root of mankind undoubtedly was Adam, and he was embittered on account of eating the fruit, and the whole human race was embittered in the same way.

- 24 124 Ադամ սխալեցաւ որ հրամանն Աստուծոյ ոչ լուաւ եւ զոր ինչ հրամայական եւ հարժականն,³⁸ ասացեալ գործով ոչ կատարեաց եւ ըստ հարմնաց³⁹ բարբառոյն Աստուծոյ եւ բացատրութիւն մարգարէից զոր գրեալ է նա հրամանան Աստուծոյ հանեալ եղեւ ի դրախտէն եւ ըստ բացատրութեան մարգարէից անկաւ ի ձեռն սատանայի եւ էջ ի դժոխս եւ այսպէս եղեւ ընդ ամենայն ծնունդս նորա ապա հարկաւորեցաւ զի ոմն լիցի որ զնոսա ազատեսցէ:

Adam erred because of not listening to God's command, and he did not carry out in practice whatever commanding and forbidding was pronounced. And according to the commandments of God's speech and of the prophets' explanation that he had written, at God's command he was expelled from the Garden. And, according to the prophets' explanation, he fell into Satan's hands and descended to hell, and this happened to all his generations. Then it was necessary that there be someone to release them.

38. Apparently corrupt for հրաժարական.

39. Apparently corrupt for հրամանաց.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

XAC'ATUR JÜLAYEC'I C18

Պատմութիւն պարսից (ԺԸ դար) *History of Persia (18th c.)*, ed. B. Aławeleanç' (Vałaršapat: Holy Ėjmiacin Press, 1905).

(the four dynasties who reigned before the Arabs are listed . . . the first was called Daduians Դադուինեաց)

- 1 23 Եւ ի միջի յորոց՝ թագաւոր ոմն կոչէին Զօակթաղի, որոյ մականուն տային Աժադահակ, ասէին թէ՝ սա միայն Ռ ամ թագաւորեաց: Ո՛վ մեծի եւ անըմբռնելի յիմարութեանս. Ադամ նախաստեղծն ո՛չ եկաց մնաց անդր քան զհազար ամն . . .

And among them there was a king called Zoakt'ahi, to whom they gave the epithet Aždahak. It was said that only he ruled for 1000 years. Oh great and incomprehensible stupidity! The first-created Adam did not stay there for more than a thousand years . . .

- 2 136–38 (Shah Abas loved stories . . . զքննութիւնս հաւատոյ . . . etc.):

Իսկ ի միում ատուր, որք ժողովեալք էին մեծամեծք դրանն առաջեւ նորա, եւ խօսէին վասն ճշմարտութեան հաւատոյ. եւ ապա խօսիլ սկսան ի վերայ բարբառոց քաղցրութեան եւ փարթաւմութեան, եւ տարակուսեալք հարցանէին առ միմեանս թէ՝ Արդե՞օք որ լեզուն իցէ լեզու եւ բարբառ առաջին, որ տուաւ յԱստուծոյ Ադամայ: Առ որոյ ոմանք ասացին Եբրայեցոց լեզուն զոլ առաջին, ոմանք քաղդէացոցն, իսկ ոմանք այս եւ այն ազգի բարբառ ասացին. եւ ապացուցութեամբ ոչ ոք ի յորոց կարաց արտալածեալ բացայայտել զտարակուսութիւնն:

Then the king ordered to put newborn children of different nationalities in an empty house, only letting their mothers to feed them in silence, and whatever language they speak, it will be regarded as the first language given by God to Adam. When the time arrived, they spoke a barbaric language (խեցբեկագոյն եւ կորճաբար զբարբառ խժական), and no one spoke his native language, and nobody could understand them . . . finally they were given to their mothers and learned their languages.

(Shah Abas loved stories . . . examination of faith . . . etc.):

And one day, magnates assembled in front of his door and spoke about the truth of faith. And then they began to speak about the sweetness and richness of languages, and having doubts they asked each other which language was the first language and speech that was given by God to Adam. Concerning which some said that the language of the Hebrews was the first; some, (the language of) the Chaldeans; and others named the language of this or that people; and no one of them could evidently do away with the doubts.

3 196 (*vardapet* Yōhannēs explains the Christian doctrine to King Suleyman)

Ասէ՛ յերկինս խոռվութիւն անկա՛ յորժամ սատանայ մարտեաւ ընդ Աստուծոյ, յորժամ ասաց՝ ելից Բարձրացայց, եւ եղից զաթոռ իմ յամպ, եւ եղեց նման Բարձրելոյն. յայնժամ ահեղ թնդմամբ՝ որոտաց Տէր յերկնից յաճախեաց զփայլատակունս իւր, եւ խռովեցոյց զնոսա, եւ առաքեաց զնետս իւր եւ ցրուեաց զնոսա. յայնժամ անկան յերկնից ի Բարձանց՝ ի խորս անդնդոց, եւ յանկանիլն՝ ձգեաց զտուտն իւր, եւ քարշեաց զերրորդ մասն աստեղաց, այսինքն՝ հրեշտակաց՝ որք ընդ նմա անկան յերկնից ի Բարձանց, յերկինս այսպիսի խոռվութիւն անկաւ: Իսկ յերկիր, պտղոյն ճաշակմանն Ադամայ եղեւ թշնամութիւն եւ խռովութիւն, յորժամ Ադամ զպատուիրանն Աստուծոյ եթող, եւ զպատուիրանս թշնամոյն Աստուծոյ պահեաց. եւ ընկալաւ, մինչ զի արտաքսեցաւ ի փառակենցաղ դրախտէն. եւ այսպէս Բազմանայր օր եւ աւուր մեղքն, յանցանքն, եւ անօրէնութիւնքն, մինչ զի ջրհեղեղաւ կորոյս զամենեւեան . . .

He says: there was trouble in heaven, when Satan fought against God, when he said: let me ascend and put the throne in the clouds and be like the Most High.¹ Then the Lord thundered with terrible sound from heaven, increased his lightning and disturbed them, and shot his arrows and scattered them. Then they fell from the high heaven into the depth of the abyss, and while falling he stretched his tail and dragged the third part of the stars, that is, the angels who fell with him from the high heaven; such a trouble happened in heaven.² But on the earth Adam's eating of the fruit caused enmity and trouble, when Adam left God's command and observed the command of God's enemy, and accepted (it) until he was expelled from the glorious, living Garden. And so day after day sin, transgression, and iniquity multiplied until God killed everybody by the Flood . . .

1. Isa 14:13–14

2. See Aune 1998, 685–86, on the source of this, in Rev 12:4.

- 4 197 . . . այսպէս արմատն ամենայն մարդկայինս բնութեան, որ Ադամ էր, դառնացաւ ճաշակմամբ պտղոյն, եւ զոր ինչ ի նմանէ յառաջ եկն՝ ամենայն նոյնպէս դառն էր, եւ ոչ ոք էր որ առնէր զքաղցրութիւն:

. . . So the root of all human nature, that was Adam, became bitter because of eating the fruit, and everything that proceeded from him was bitter, too, and there was nobody to make sweetness.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS QUOTED

In this list, I have given basic details about each author. The information has been drawn mainly from the works of Archbishop Norayr Bogharian and Robert W. Thomson for the ancient and medieval periods and of Kevork B. Bardakjian for the period from 1500 on.¹ These sources list further bibliography. In addition, the references to the writings mentioned are given in part 2 of the book.

Norayr Bogharian, Archbishop, Հայ Գրողներ. Ե-ԺԷ դար *Armenian Writers (Ninth to Seventeenth Centuries)* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1971).

Robert W. Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD*. (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).

Kevork B. Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature 1500–1920* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000).

Abusayid C12

A Syrian scholar who lived in the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia (Thomson, 90).

Agat'angelos, C5

Apparently the pen name of a fifth-century author of *History of the Armenians*, which relates the story of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity. Many versions of this work exist (Thomson, 91).

Agat'angelos, *Teaching of St. Gregory* C5

An extensive theological treatise embedded in *History of the Armenians*, attributed to Agat'angelos.

Amulet C15

The oldest amulet roll found in the collection of the Matenadaran in Erevan.

Anania Mokac'i Kat'olikos C10

He was born in the early tenth century and elected Kat'olikos in 941. He died in 965. Only four epistles by him have survived (Bogharian, 144–46; Thomson 96).

Anania Narekac'i C10

Tenth-century scholar at the Monastery of Narek, by Lake Van. He is known for his opposition to the Tondrakian heretics. Relatively sparse literary remains survive.

1. In this list, they are referred to as Bogharian, Thomson, and Bardakjian, respectively.

Anania Sanahnec'i C11

Dated to 1000?–1070? (Bogharian, 185), he lived at a time when the Monastery of Narek was flourishing (Bogharian, 184–87; Thomson, 96–97).

Anania Širakac'i, C7.

An early Armenian scholar famous for his mathematical, calendrical, and secular studies. He studied in Armenia and then pursued mathematics in Trebizond, where he remained for eight years, apparently the student of Tychikos, a well-known Greek expert. Thomson suggests that he was born ca. 600 and died ca. 670, while Bogharian suggests 615?–690?.² His father was called Yovhannēs Širakayin. At the request of Kat'olikos Anastasius (662–667), he commenced establishing a fixed calendar for use by the Armenians, but the work remained incomplete due to Anastasius's death. Anania was the author of mathematical and astronomical works, a chronicle and some theological works. The *Geography* traditionally ascribed to Movsēs Xorenac'i (q.v.) has also been ascribed to him (Bogharian, 89–94; Thomson, 97).

Anania vardapet C5

H. Anasyan gathered under this name a number of homilies of unclear authorship.³ In his introduction to Anania's work in *MH* 5th century, 1141–44, Yakob Keosēyan proposes, on the basis of a process of elimination, of its use by later sources, and also of stylistic features, that the work excerpted here comes from the middle of the fifth century.

Anonymous Author 8 C17

Anonymous poet.

Anonymous of Livorno C17

Anonymous chronicler.

Anonymous of Sebastia C15

Anonymous chronicler.

Aṙak'el Daviržec'i C17

He was born around 1600 and died in 1670 in Tabriz. He was a monk in Ējmiacin and traveled extensively both as a Catholicos emissary and to gather material for his *History*, which was written at the request of Kat'olikos Philippos in 1651 and finished around 1662. It covers the period 1602–1662 (Bardakjian, 68–69; Bogharian, 528–30). It was printed in Amsterdam in 1669 by Oskan Erevanc'i, who made some changes to Daviržec'i's original.

Aṙak'el Siwnec'i C15

Aṙak'el Siwnec'i (ca. 1356–ca. 1422) was a poet, thinker, and writer. He was son

2. According to Samuēl of Ani, he was still active in 709, but this seems unreliable; see Bogharian, 89–90.

3. See Anasyan 1959, 786–87.

of Dawit' and Melik' and nephew of Grigor Tat'ewac'i. In the early fifteenth century he was bishop of Siwnik' and also abbot of the Monastery of Tat'ew. He was a fruitful author, his best known works including the *Adamgirk'* (*Book of Adam*), a long poetic retelling of the story of Adam and Eve in about 6,000 lines; a *Commentary on the Definitions of Dawit'*; and other poetic, hymnic, and grammatical writings (Bogharian, 409–13; Thomson, 101–3).

Artawazd Mazazuni C10

A tenth-century author known from the *Book of Knowledge and Belief*, edited by Artasēs Mat'evosyan.⁴ He composed his "Solutiones" by order of Prince Atom Anjewac'i.⁵

At'anas Taronac'i, C6

He was the author of a *Chronicle* down to 584 C.E. (Thomson, 103).⁶

Awetik' Mahtesi C16-17

A poet mentioned in the 16th–17th centuries.

Azaria Ĵulayec'i C16

Azaria of Julfa the poet, as distinct from his namesake, who was Kat'olikos of Sis between 1534 and 1601, lived between ca. 1570–1628. He was born in Sasun but details of his early life are unknown. He studied later with Grigor of Caesaria, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the years 1603–4 and 1609–12. He died at sea in 1628, en route to Egypt, and was buried at Tripoli. His writings include scholarly, poetic and calendrical works (Bogharian 493–96; Bardakjian, 38, 300).

Barsel Maškeronc'i C14

He lived 1280–1345 and was the author of a commentary on Mark of which fragments have survived (Thomson, 104; Bogharian, 377–78).

Dawit' Bališec'i C17

Dawit' was born in Bałēš (Bitlis). The date of his birth is unknown, but he died in 1673. He is known for his *Chronicle* and for manuscripts he had copied. He was a celibate priest and subsequently abbot of the Monastery of Xndrakatar (Bardakjian, 330).

Dawit' Ganjakec'i C12

The author of a guidebook for priests that played a role in later Armenian canon law, he died in 1140 (Bogharian, 215–17; Thomson, 111).

Dawit' Hark'ac'i C7

Dawit' was apparently born at the beginning of the seventh century in the village of Heret' or Heret in the region of Hark'. Thus, he is sometimes called Hark'ec'i

4. See note under the excerpt of his work above.

5. On Atom, see Ačarıyan 1977, "Atom 7." He dates from the tenth century.

6. See Mat'evosyan 1989, 220–34.

and sometimes Heretac'i. He was in Constantinople as a young man and was a student of Deacon Theodoret, a famous rhetor. He was a deacon of Patriarch Paul of Constantinople (635–654). Dawit' was particularly well educated in philosophical and theological studies, and his works exhibit the influence of Philo. His language and style are hellenizing (Bogharian, 86–87).

Dawit' Salajorc'i C17

Originating from the village of Salajor in Erzerum, he was probably born about 1630 and apparently died before the earthquake of 1718, which he does not mention. He was a poet of verve and sensitivity (Bardakjian, 55–57, 330–31).

Dawit' the Invincible C7

This renowned but obscure philosopher is discussed in many sources. Zuckerman stresses the close links with Olympiodorus of Alexandria and Elias (late sixth–seventh centuries).⁷ Four works on philosophy in Armenian versions are attributed to Dawit'. Thomson states that these were written in Greek by a pupil of the sixth century Neoplatonic philosopher Olympiodorus, active in Alexandria. Later Armenian tradition makes Dawit' a pupil of Maštoc', and he supposedly studied in Constantinople, Alexandria, and Athens and victoriously upheld the Christian faith. Various theological works are also ascribed to him (Thomson, 107; Bogharian, 73–76).

Elišē, C5

Elišē was born early in the fifth century, but other details of his life remain unclear. He is best known as the author of the *History of Vardan*, which describes the famous Battle of Avarayr against the Sassanians in 451 C.E. Traditions about his life are varied. He is also the reputed author of a number of homilies, some of which are excerpted above (Bogharian, 24–27; Thomson, 112–16).

Eprēm Łap'anc'i C17

A poet active in the seventeenth century. He was a *vardapet*.

Ephrem, *Exposition of the Gospel*, C5

This work by Ephrem Syrus was early translated into Armenian. It is included here because of its influence on Armenian literature from its inception.

Esayi Nč'ec'i C14

He lived ca. 1255–1338; he was abbot of the renowned Monastery of Glajor and is known for grammatical works and commentaries on biblical books. He served at Glajor for half a century and educated many students (Bogharian, 364–67; Thomson, 117).

Eznik Kolbac'i, C5

Eznik was a disciple of Maštoc' (inventor of the Armenian alphabet), born in the village of Kolb. Koriwn, Maštoc's biographer describes Eznik's travels to

7. See Zuckerman 2001, 425–48.

Edessa and Constantinople. Elišē and Łazar report that a Bishop Eznik of Bagrevand attended a synod at Artašat in 450, but earlier Armenian sources preserve no further details about him. His most famous work is a treatise on the origin and nature of evil, commonly known as “Refutation of the Sects” or “Heresies” but more recently as “De Deo.” Also extant is part of a letter Eznik sent to Maštoc’. Various homilies are attributed to an Eznik or Eznak in later Armenian tradition (Bogharian, 18–20; Thomson, 117–21).

Frik C13

A poet known as Frik (not an Armenian name and perhaps deriving from Frederick) lived in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries C.E. The exact dates of his birth and death remain unknown, but a period of ca. 1230–1315 seems plausible in light of historical and biographical information in some of his poems. Bogharian thinks that he might have originated from western Armenia, while Thomson talks of Siwnik’. Frik is the first known poet to have written completely in Middle Armenian. His opus comprises more than fifty poems (Bogharian, 338–42; Thomson, 121–22).

Gēorg Lořec’i C11

He was born in Lori, but worked and died in Cilicia, where he was close to Kat’olikos Grigor Vkasasēr (Martyrophile). He was a theologian, and an epistle by him is preserved in *Girk’ T’lt’oc’* (Bogharian, 191–93 and Thomson, 123).

Girk’ T’lt’oc’ C5

This work, also called *Book of Letters* is a collection of correspondence between Armenian ecclesiastical figures and Syriac, Greek, and Georgian ecclesiastics. The contents date from the fifth to the thirteenth century (Thomson, 104–5).

Grigor Aknerc’i C13

Grigor was the author of *History of the Nation of Archers*, about Armenian–Mongol relations until 1271 (Thomson, 124–25).

Grigor Daranalc’i C17

Born in Kamax, he lived from 1576 to 1643, the latter years near the centers of Ottoman power. His history was a chronicle started in 1634 and concluded in 1640. He describes the intense political and national affairs of the day. This chronicle is preceded by an account of events from 1595 to 1634. His book is a remarkable source for Armenian history in the Ottoman Empire (Bardakjian, 67–68; Bogharian, 516–20).

Grigor Magistros C10

Grigor (ca. 990–1059) was a member of the distinguished Pahlavuni family, son of Prince Vasak (d. 1021). Grigor played a considerable political role, receiving the title “Magistros” as the Byzantine governor of Mesopotamia, appointed by Constantine Monomachos, after the fall of Ani in 1044. He was a learned man

and translator, and a writer with great interest in Greek and Christian thought (Bogharian, 180–82; Thomson, 127–28).

Grigor Narekac'i C10

Grigor, monk of Narek (945–1010), is Armenia's most famous poet. He was educated under Anania Narekac'i in the Monastery of Narek. His book of mystical poetry, named the *Book of Lamentation* or just "The Narek," has been a focus of Armenian spirituality. He also wrote commentaries and hymns as well as homilies (Bogharian, 157–61; Thomson, 128–33).

Grigor Pahlavuni C12

Grigor lived ca. 1093–1166. He was educated in Karmir Monastery and was Kat'olikos between 1113 and 1166. He wrote hymns and sacred poetry (Bogharian, 226–27; Thomson, 133).

Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14

The abbot of the Monastery of T'atew, Grigor lived between ca. 1344 and 1409. His teacher was Yovan Orotneac'i. His most famous work is *Book of Questions*, which is part of his strong defense of the Armenian Apostolic Church against the Unitors. He also wrote commentaries and homilies (Bogharian, 396–400; Thomson, 134–35).

Grigor Tlay C12

Grigor IV Tlay (the Child) (ca. 1133–1193) was Kat'olikos between 1173 and 1193. The nephew of St. Nersēs Šnorhali, Grigor was a poet who wrote religious poems. He tried to foster relations between the Armenian and Greek Churches, and with the Pope (Bogharian, 250–52; Thomson, 136).

Grigor Vkayasēr C11-12

He was the son of Grigor Magistros and was noted for his interest in hagiography and in reforming the monastic life in Armenia. He lived from ca. 1025 to 1105. Leaving most of his administrative duties to a coadjutor, he traveled in Palestine, Egypt, and other monastic centers, translating many saints' lives into Armenian (Bogharian, 194–99; Thomson, 136).

Grigor Xlat'ec'i or Cerenc' C14

Grigor of Xlat' (ca. 1350–1425) was a religious poet and the editor of one of the recensions of the Armenian *Synaxarion* (*Yaysmawurk'*). He was a student of Yovhannēs Orotneac'i (Bogharian, 414–17; Thomson, 136–37).

Grigoris Alt'amarac'i C16

He lived ca. 1480–1544 and was from a distinguished family. In 1510 he became Kat'olikos of Alt'amar. Famous as a poet, he was also known as a painter of miniatures (Bogharian, 445–49).

Grigoris Aršaruni C7

A theologian of mid-seventh to early eighth century, probably dating from ca.

650–ca. 729, Grigoris is the author of a long-winded and repetitive *Commentary on the Lectionary*. To him is also ascribed a commentary on the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, but the ascription is doubtful (Bogharian, 103–5; Thomson, 138).

Hamam Arewelc'i C9

His dates are ca. 825–ca. 890. He exhibits considerable learning in his exegetical and grammatical writings (Bogharian, 128–29; Thomson, 139).

Ignatius vardapet C12

Twelfth-century theologian (Thomson, 140).

Karapet Bališec'i C16

He lived from ca. 1450 to ca. 1514. He was a copyist as well as a writer of hymns and homilies (Bogharian, 442–44; Thomson, 140; Bardakjian, 33–35, 391–92).

K'erovbē vardapet, C 9

He was the author of exegetical works.

Kirakos Erznkac'i C14

He lived ca. 1280–1355 and was an educator and author active in monasteries in the region of Erznka (Bogharian, 382–84; Thomson, 141).

Kirakos Ganjakec'i C13

He lived 1200–1271 (Bogharian gives his dates as 1203–1272 [pp. 304–5]). A historian with particularly valuable information on the Mongols, he was taken captive by the Tatars in 1236. He was subsequently returned to Armenia, and he moved to Cilicia, where he died (Bogharian, 304–6; Thomson, 141–42).

Komitas Kat'olikos, C6

His dates are ca. 560–628. He was Grand Sacristan of St. Hripsimē church. Earlier he was bishop of Tarōn and of the Mamikonians and was elected Kat'olikos in 615. He wrote letters preserved in *Girk' T'it'oc'*, a letter in Sebēos's *History*, and the *Šarakans* of the Canons of the holy Hripsimeans in the *Hymnal* in thirty-six stanzas (Bogharian, 64–66; Thomson, 142).⁸

Kostandin Erznkac'i C14

This monk and poet from Erznka lived ca. 1250–1336 (Bogharian, 373–76; Thomson, 145–46).

Lazar P'arpec'i, C5

His dates are approximately 437–500, and he wrote a significant history, covering the fifth century. He was raised with the Mamikonean family, and his work is dedicated to Vahan Mamikonean (Bogharian, 34–36; Thomson, 146–49).

8. Note that his inscription is found in the Church of S. Hrip'simē dated 618 and that Sebēos cites a long epistle by him (Bogharian, 64–66).

Lazar Sebastac'i C16

He was a priest and the author of love poetry (Bardakjian, 41–42, 399–400).

Lewond, C8

He was the only eighth-century historian, writing ca. 790. His work describes the period of 632–788, when Armenia was under Muslim control. He used Sebēos as his source for the beginning, but the rest draws on contemporary sources and eyewitnesses. No biographical details are known, but he was apparently a cleric with close connection with the Bagratunis. According to its colophon, the *History* was written at the command of Shapuh Bagratuni. Lewond strives to present Bagratunis in a favorable light (Bogharian, 119–21; Thomson, 149).

Mambrē, C5

He was a fifth-century theologian and author of homilies of uncertain dates, perhaps about 400–460. He is associated in Armenian tradition with Movsēs Xorenac'i (Bogharian, 21–23; Thomson, 150).

Matt'ēos vardapet C15

Matt'ēos was an author of commentaries and sermons (Bogharian, 402–5; Thomson, 152).

Minas T'oxat'ec'i C16

He was born in T'oxat' in 1508 and died around 1575. He was a copyist, illuminator, and binder of manuscripts. He emigrated to Lvov in Poland, where he served as secretary of the Armenian court (Bogharian, 464–66; Bardakjian, 39–40, 424).

Mkrtič' Nalaš C15

He was a poet, living in the fifteenth century (ca. 1400–ca. 1469). A highly respected ecclesiastic, he was a gifted illuminator and also had skills as an architect (Bogharian, 434–38; Thomson, 153).

Movsēs Kalankatuac'i or Dasxuranc'i C10

Movsēs lived in the tenth century. He was apparently an Albanian and is known for his *History of the Caucasian Albanians* (Bogharian, 171–73; Thomson, 153–55).

Movsēs K'ert'olahayr, C6?

He was a seventh-century scholar (ca. 470–ca. 530) and bishop of Siwnik'. He was learned in theology, Scripture, and history and composed homilies and a text on grammar (Bogharian, 55–58; Thomson, 156).

Movsēs Xorenac'i, C9

The most famous Armenian historian, he claimed to write in the fifth century using older sources. It is clear that he had access to many ancient sources. The date of this author has been fiercely debated, the dates proposed being between the fifth and the ninth century (Bogharian, 14–17; Thomson, 156–68).

Mxit'ar Anec'i C12

Mxit'ar Anec'i was a chronicler, apparently from Ani (Thomson, 169).

Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14

This scholar and chronicler was abbot of the Monastery of Ayrivank' (also known as Gelard). His chronicle extends down to 1328 (Thomson, 169). He lived, apparently, between 1222 and ca. 1290 (Bogharian, 313–15; Thomson, 169–70).

Mxit'ar Goš C12

He was born in Ganjak ca. 1140. At a certain point he studied in Cilicia and subsequently returned to Armenia, where he built the monastery of Nor Getik in 1195. He died there in 1213 (Bogharian, 260–64; Thomson, 170–73).

Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i C16

He is dated ca. 1510–1592, but little is known of him (Bogharian, 467–76; Bardakjian, 428–30).

Nazaret' A C17

He was a poet who lived in the seventeenth century.

Nersēs Anjnapatc'i C17

A seventeenth-century poet.

Nersēs Lambronac'i C12

He was the author of an extensive and varied literary corpus that included biblical commentaries, homilies, hymns, and translations from Greek and Latin. He was archbishop of Tarsus and was active in both political and ecclesiastical affairs. He lived from 1153 to 1198 and died at the age of forty-six (Bogharian, 253–59; Thomson, 175–78).

Nersēs Šnorhali C12

He lived from 1102 to 1173 and became Kat'olikos in 1166. He was of the Pahlavuni family. He is best known for his religious poetry, but he also composed hymns, *šarakans*, commentaries, and other works. He corresponded with Greek authorities on the differences between the churches (Thomson, 178–84).

P'awstos Buzand, C5

To this mysterious figure is ascribed a history of Armenia that covers the period from 330 to 387. "Buzand" remains unknown, and it has been suggested that the designation is derived from the work's title *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnek'*, epic tales (Thomson, 185–88).

P'ilon Tirakac'i, C7

P'ilon translated the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates in the year 696/697. A chronicle is also attributed to him.

Pawlos Taronac'i C12

There are few biographical details known. His dates are ca. 1050–1123. He was particularly interested in theological and liturgical studies (Bogharian, 207–8).

Pseudo-Basil, C6

See the notes on the excerpts from “Pseudo-Basil” above.

Sahak Jorap'orec'i, C7

He was born ca. 635 in the village of Ark'unašēn in the region of Jorap'or. He was Kat'olikos from 677 until his death in 703. He was the author of homilies and hymns and also wrote canons, *šarakans*, and a homily included in the printing of Yovhan Ōjnec'i's works (Venice, 1834) 185–93. The homily and *šarakans* are in Hellenizing language and grammatical style (Bogharian, 95–97; Thomson, 190).

Sahak Mřut C9

Ninth-century theologian (Bogharian, 125–27; Thomson, 190–91).

Samuel Anec'i C12

He lived ca. 1100–ca. 1180. He seems to have been particularly expert in calendrical matters, on which he wrote a commentary. He composed a chronicle from creation down to 1176, using Eusebius and Xorenac'i as his sources for the ancient period (Bogharian, 240–42).

Samuēl Kamrġajorec'i, C 10

Samuel lived ca. 940–ca. 1010. Abbot of the Monastery of Kamrġajor, he was particularly learned in Scripture, music, calendrical matters, and theology (Bogharian, 162–64; Thomson, 191).

Sargis Šnorhali C12

Sargis was educated at Karmir Vank' and lived ca. 1100–ca. 1167. Attracted to the ascetic life, he lived in the Sew Leř region. He wrote a commentary on the Catholic Epistles. His style is wordy (Bogharian, 228–320; Thomson, 192–93).

Sarkawag Berdakac'i C16

A poet of the sixteenth century, from whom only a single poem on wine as earthly and as a heavenly symbol survives (Bardakjian, 41, 487).

Simēon Aljnec'i, C 10

He was a tenth-century homilist and theologian.

Simēon Aparanc'i C16

Simēon was born ca. 1550 in the village of Aparank' and died in 1615. He was ordained *vardapet* before 1585. He wrote poetry and narratives, some poetic, with strong patriotic sentiment (Bogharian, 482–83; Bardakjian, 42–43, 502–3).

Simēon Kafac'i C17

Simēon was a seventeenth-century poet.

Step'anos Kelec'i C17

He was a seventeenth-century poet.

Step'anos Ōrbelean C13

He was born ca. 1260 and died in 1304. Step'anos was the son of Tarsayič Ōrbelean, ruler of Siwnik'. He became a celibate priest in 1280 and was ordained bishop in 1286. He wrote a history of Siwnik' province and other works (Bogharian, 330–33; Thomson, 200–201).

Step'anos Siwnec'i, C8

Step'anos Siwnec'i was born ca. 680 and died in 735. To enrich his education he went to Athens (ca. 710) and Constantinople (ca. 712), where in the years 715–718 he translated the pseudo-Dionysian corpus into Armenian as well as works by Nemesius and Gregory of Nyssa. He returned to Armenia in about 728. He became bishop of Siwnik' and was a scholar and translator (Bogharian, 112–15; Thomson, 201–2).

Step'anos Tarōnec'i. (Asolik) C10

He was a historian who lived in the early tenth century. In part 1.1 of his history he enumerates his sources; the third part deals with contemporary events. Bogharian suggests that he lived between ca. 935 and ca. 1015 (Bogharian, 167–69; Thomson, 202–3).

Tačat vardapet, C 10

He was the author of an elenchic text in the tenth century.

T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16

His exact dates are uncertain, but he lived from ca. 1540 to 1602. He wrote both in Armenian and in Armeno-Turkish (Bogharian, 480–481; Bardakjian, 40–41, 521).

T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor C7

He lived approximately 600–675. He was the nephew of Komitas Kat'olikos (628) and Ezr Kat'olikos (rhetor) 641. He was nicknamed “sackcloth wearer” because of his ascetic disciplines. He was an important figure with considerable influence by whom three homilies survive (Bogharian, 83–85; Thomson, 203).

T'ēop'ilos C9

He was a ninth-century writer who composed discourses on biblical events of liturgical weight.

Timot'ēos vardapet C10

An author of homilies (Thomson, 203).

Tiranun vardapet C10

Theological writer (Thomson, 204).

T'ovma Arcruni C9

He lived from ca. 840 to ca. 906. We have almost no biographical information about him except that his history reaches the early tenth century, and a Continuator carries it down to the thirteenth century (Bogharian, 134–37; Thomson, 204).

Uxtanēs C10

This historian, dated by Bogharian to 940?–1000?, preserves sources on the rupture of the Armenian and Georgian churches in the seventh century (Bogharian, 154–56; Thomson, 208).

Vahram Rabuni C13

A chronicler, philosopher, and exegete of the thirteenth century who worked in Cilicia; he was court scribe of King Leo II (1270–1289) (Bogharian, 316–19; Thomson, 209).

Vanakan vardapet C13

Vanakan *vardapet* (1181–1251) lived in Ganjak during the Mongol invasions at the Monastery of Xoranašat. He represented the northern intellectual tradition, and his student Vardan Arewelc'i (1200?–1271) carried his ideas to Cilicia as well (Bogharian, 290–93).

Vardan Arewelc'i C13

He lived ca. 1200–1271. He went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1240, but little is known of his life before that. On the way back to Armenia he stopped in Cilicia until 1246. Afterwards, he returned to Armenia, where he eventually died in 1271 in Xor Virap. His surviving writings are numerous, including a famous history and geography (Bogharian, 294–300; Thomson, 210–12).

Vardan Aygekc'i C13

Originating near Aleppo, he was educated in Cilicia. He was known as a preacher and a prolific writer. He lived from 1170 to 1235. He was known as the author of fables, and the important catena *Root of Faith* is ascribed to him (Bogharian, 276–81; Thomson, 212–13).

Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol C7

He lived ca. 550–ca. 620. He was born near Dvin, where he was educated. He was ordained and later served as *locum tenens* for the Kat'olikos of Armenia (604–7). About ten of his letters on ecclesiastical issues survive. He had a particular interest in grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, and there is considerable Hellenizing influence on his language (Bogharian, 55–58; Thomson, 213).

Xač'atur Ĵulayec'i C18

Few details are known of his life, except that he was born in New Julfa. He wrote a *History of Persia*, including much information on Armenians, especially after the resettlement in New Julfa (Bardakjian, 89–90, 360).

Xač'atur Keč'aṛec'i C14

Xač'atur was a poet and teacher who edited anew the Alexander Romance in Armenian with the addition of word lists and explanatory notes (*kafas*). He lived from 1260 to 1331. He chiefly composed *Ganjs* and religious poems (*tals*) (Bogharian, 356–59; Thomson, 214).

Xač'atur Xaspēk Kafac'i C17

He was a proficient copyist and illuminator born in Kaffa and a poet in both the religious and secular realms (Bardakjian, 55, 359).

Xosrovik T'argmanič', C8

His dates are approximately 670–730. Few biographical details are known, but judging from his writings he was a younger contemporary of Yovhan Ōjniec'i. They worked together at the Council of Manzakert (726). He was a strong defender of Armenian orthodoxy. He composed polemical works in the Hellenizing style (Bogharian, 106–8; Thomson, 216).

Xosrow Anjewac'i C10

He lived approximately from 900 to 963. Little is known of his early life. He was married, and after the death of his wife in the 940s he was ordained bishop of Anjewik'. He was later excommunicated for his views (Bogharian, 141–43; Thomson, 215–16).

Յաճախապատուժ Ճառք Dogmatic Homilies C5

“A collection of homilies sometimes ascribed to Gregory the Illuminator or to Maštoc'” (Thomson, 216). The work is thus traditionally attributed to the fifth century or earlier (Thomson, 216–17).

Yakob Cpatec'i C10

This theologian lived in the tenth century and wrote a work against Xosrow Ajewac'i.

Yakob Kesarac'i C17

A poet who wrote on religious themes.

Yakob Lrimec'i C15

This learned and literary scholar lived ca. 1350–1426. He died in the city of Arckē, leaving a substantial literary heritage, including calendrical works (Bogharian, 419–22; Thomson, 217).

Yakob T'oxatc'i C17

His dates were 1573–ca. 1667. In 1602, he went to Zamość in Poland, where he served as priest until his death. He learned Polish and Latin and copied liturgical manuscripts. He wrote poetry, homilies, and other works and was also a translator (Bogharian, 524–26; Bardakjian, 53–54, 565).

Yohan K'ahana C13

He was a chronicler of the thirteenth century.

Yovasap' Erznkac'i C17

A seventeenth-century poet.

Yovasap' Sebastac'i C16

He was born in 1510 approximately and was a poet and scribe. He was a married deacon and composed love poetry and also meditative religious poems. He was influenced by Nersēs Šnorhali and also Grigor Narekac'i, and he also wrote historical poetry. His death may be placed about 1564 (Bogharian, 453–56; Bardakjian, 35–38, 567).

Yovhan Arčışec'i C14

The approximate dates of his lifetime are 1260–1330, though neither is certain. He was a student of Esayi Nč'ec'i. He was called “lentil eater” because of the long ascetic discipline that he undertook. He wrote a commentary on the Liturgy (Bogharian, 354–55; Thomson, 228).

Yovhan Mamikonean C7

He was a historian supposedly of the seventh century, but scholars say that his writing is later. His history is closely connected with that of Zenob Glak. According to Bogharian (299–310), his work contains two parts: (a) a translation of the history of Zenob Glak from Syriac and (b) a continuation History of Tarōn (Bogharian, 71–76; Thomson, 223).

Yovhan Ōjnec'i, C 8

Yovhan is noted for his writings against the Paulicians and other heretics, and for his compilation of canon law. He was born in the village of Ōjun in the region of Lori. His main teacher was T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor (675?), particularly in the fields of Scripture, philosophy, grammar, and rhetoric. Yovhan was widely learned and given the sobriquet “the philosopher.” Serving as Kat'olikos in the years 717–728, he convened the Councils of Dvin (720) and Manazkert (726). The site of his tomb is venerated up to the present in the village of Artu, to the east of ancient Ōjun (Bogharian, 98–102; Thomson, 218).

Yovhan Orotnec'i C14

Yovhan was born in 1315, the son of Ivanē Ōrbelean. He was educated at Glajor under Esayi Nč'ec'i and others. His writings were religious, exegetical, and philosophical in character, and he had numerous distinguished students. He died in 1387 (Bogharian, 391–95; Thomson, 226).

Yovhannēs Gařnec'i C13

He lived from ca. 1180 to ca. 1245. At a young age he became a celibate priest and joined the order of Ayrivank'. He was known as a charismatic healer through laying his hands on the afflicted. He traveled extensively preaching, healing, and evangelizing. His writings were theological in character, and he also wrote homilies (Bogharian, 285–89; Thomson, 223).

Yovhannēs A C16

A sixteenth-century poet.

Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i C10

He lived ca. 850–929. He was knowledgeable in Scripture, Armenian literature, and rhetoric. He held the office of Kat'olikos from 898 to 929. The history that he wrote extends from Noah up to the first quarter of the tenth century and so deals with the Bagratids (Bogharian, 138–40; Thomson, 219–20).

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14

He lived approximately between 1260 and 1335 and received his education in Glajor. He wrote commentaries (including completing Nersēs Šnorhali's commentary on Matthew). He also wrote grammatical works. In attributions he is often confused with Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz (Bogharian, 360–63; Thomson, 220–21).

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13

He was born about 1240 and died in Erznka in 1293. He studied with Vardan Arewelc'i, among others. He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and, on his return trip, taught grammar in the Catholicosal school in Hromkla. He was known as a learned and cultivated figure in the thirteenth century, and particularly as a poet and author (Bogharian, 320–23; Thomson, 221–23).

Yovhannēs Garnec'i C13

He was a theologian and author of homilies and hymns, member of the order of Ayrvank'. He made pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1222–1223. Afterward he went to Hromkla (Bogharian 285–88; Thomson 223).

Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12

He was born in Arc'ax in the middle of the eleventh century, and his life span is put at ca. 1050–1129. He was a very learned man, excelling in calendrical, philosophical, theological, and poetic skills. His style was academic rather than popular. His main arena of activity was the Monastery of Hałbat, where he died in 1129 (Bogharian, 210–14; Thomson, 226–28).

Yovhannēs Ĵulayec'i C17

Yovhannēs was born in New Julfa in 1643. He was ordained as a celibate priest in 1669 and died in 1715. He knew Arabic and Persian, which comes to light in some of his works. He was chiefly devoted to theological and philosophical themes. (Bardakjian, 567–68).

Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos, C8

A theological writer of the seventh-eighth centuries, Yovhannēs was the author of homilies on the cross and the church (Thomson, 223).

Yovhannēs Mandakuni, C5

He lived between 420 and 490 and was Kat'olikos between 478 and 490. Numerous homilies are ascribed to him, but the attribution is uncertain. Certain of these homilies seem to have been written by Yovhannēs Mayraṇec'i or Mayragomec'i (Bogharian, 30–33; Thomson, 224–25).

Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14

Yovhannēs lived around 1450–1535. He served as Kat'olikos of Sis (Cilicia) during 1496 and 1535. He was a distinguished poet (Bogharian, 385–90; Thomson, 228).

Zak'aria Kat'olikos, C9

He was born in Kotayk' at the beginning of the ninth century and served as Kat'olikos from 855 to his death in 876. We have his correspondence with Patriarch Photius of Byzantium concerning the pressure toward union with the Greeks (864–867). Zak'aria's literary output was around twenty-five sermons and homilies, especially for the feasts, in ornate style (Bogharian, 122–24; Thomson, 230).

Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16

His dates are approximately 1500–1576. He was bishop of the province of Gnunik' and before that, he was abbot of Lim *anapat*. He studied in Ałt'amar. By 1544 we find him in Constantinople. Bogharian (460–61) lists manuscripts copied in his hand. In his poetry, he favored the theme of the Nightingale and the Rose, to which he devoted three poems. He was greatly influenced by the poetry of Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i. He also composed *kafas* to the Alexander Romance (Bogharian, 460–63; Bardakjian, 32–33, 573).

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INDEX OF SELECTED SUBJECTS AND PROPER NAMES

The index includes selected subjects of Part 1 of the book and proper and place names from throughout. Subjects that are specified in the section and sub-section titles are not included. The occurrences of the names of Adam, Eve and Christ are not included, nor are the excerpts of Part 2. General mentions of writings are included here, but reference to specific verses or sections are included in the Index of Ancient Sources.

Part 1 of the book, in fact, serves as a subject index to Part 2.

- Abel, 143, 235, 236, 248, 249, 272, 276,
287, 290, 397, 398, 417, 473, 480,
481, 548, 592, 593, 606, 659, 663
- Abeluhi, 480, 593, 606
- Abraham, 164, 239, 287, 331, 347, 395,
676
- Abrahamyan, A., 41, 60, 192, 289
- Abydenus, 371
- Ačariyan, H., 665
- Acts of Thomas*, 180
- Adam
 - angelic, 16
 - above angels, 136
 - becomes wanderer, 170
 - composition of name, 13
 - crown of, 52
 - glory of, 132, 134
 - language of, 159
 - natural wisdom of, 142
 - new, xx
 - old, 109–11, 114
 - potential immortality of, 27, 90
 - prophetic spirit of, 46, 92, 135
 - royal attributes, 55, 56, 93, 98, 141,
161, 162
 - seven graces of, 68, 135, 157, 158
 - seven punishments of, 149
 - spiritual nature of, 67
 - splendor of, 56
 - state of, 56, 73
 - stories, role of, xx
 - texts, unpublished, xix
 - tripartite, 130
 - wept outside the Garden, 123, 173
 - wisdom of, 14–15, 93, 98, 102, 116,
142
- Adam apocrypha, 84
- Adam Fragment 1*, 58
- Adam octopartitus*, 13
- Adam and Eve
 - bones of, 175
 - intercourse every thirty years, 162
 - lament of, 173
- Adam, Eve and the Incarnation*, xx 119,
204
- Adler, W., 36, 85, 88, 312
- ageing, old, 109–11, 114, 151
- Agat'angelos, 12, 14
- Alexandre, Monique, 14, 24, 31, 35, 76,
182, 184
- Alexandria, 103, 438
- Ališan, L., 188
- allegory, 24, 54
- Alovros, 371
- Amar, J., 52, 405
- Amnon, 395
- anagram, 13
- Ananyan, Fr. Shahe, 357
- Anderson, Gary A., 13, 16, 22, 25, 36, 47,
54, 86, 141, 187, 193, 194, 197,
200, 203, 230
- angelification, 14

- angels, 84
 classes of, 137–38
 fallen, 47
 free will of, 16–17
 glory of, 166
 nine classes of, 94, 137, 160
 praise of, 17
 rational nature of, 48
 ten ranks of, 137
Anonymous Chronicle, 402
Anonymous Chronography, 494
 Anonymous of Sebastia, 593
 anthropomorphism, 20
 apocryphal elements, xx
 Arabic, 135, 543
 Arabs, 299
 Aṛājawor fast, 84, 87, 96, 123, 124, 173
 Aṛak'el Siwnec'i, *Book of Paradise*, 140
 Aramian, Fr. Mesrop, xi
 Aries, constellation, 623, 626, 643
 Aristotle, 479
 Armenia, 278
 Armenian *Infancy Gospel*, 36
 Armenians, 356
 Arpachshad (Arphaxad), 175, 603, 661
 Artawazd Mazazuni, 367, 390
 Artemon, 386, 407
Ascension of Isaiah, 17
 astrological ideas, 158
 Atlantic Ocean, 478
 Atom Anjewac'i, prince, 367
 Augustine, 81
 Aune, D., 680
 autonomous will. *See* free will
 Avdoyan, L., 308
 Aždahak, 679
- Babylon, 303
 Balaam, 395
 Bardakjian, Kevork, xxii 184, 202, 670
 Bartimeus, 344
 Bazu, 104, 125, 178, 492
 Beelzebub, 164, 175, 177, 188
 Bēelzebul, 673
 Behemoth, 479
 Belial, 104, 124, 177, 178, 197, 467
 Benjamin, tribe of, 60
- Berthold, H., 81
 Berossus, 371
 Best, E.C., 80
 Bethany, 274–76
 Betharabē, 276
 Bethlehem, 175, 662
 grotto in, 126
 Bezold, C., 12, 13, 194
Biblical Paraphrases, 402
 bird
 four-footed, 169
 from waters, 86
 birth, uncleanness after, 36
 black, 145, 165, 179, 196. *See also*
 darkness
 black face, 116
 Blanchard, M.J., 33
 Bogharian, N., 670
Book of Jannes and Jambres, 170
Book of Letters, 293, 329, 386
Book of the Formation of Man, 573
 branch, bringing of, 173–74
 Brock, S.P., 15, 21, 22, 31, 32, 34, 52, 184
- Cain, 25, 180, 204, 248, 249, 272, 276,
 285, 288, 397, 398, 469, 480, 481,
 593, 606, 659, 663
 Cainan, 237
 Č'amč'ean, M., 289
 calendar
 Armenian, 41
 interest in, 40, 87, 88
 Cappadocians, 371
catenae, xx
Cave of Treasures, 12, 13, 22, 194, 294
 Ceylon, 154
 Chaldean, Chaldeans, 135, 159, 371, 543,
 603, 680
 Charlesworth, James H., 13, 35, 202
 cheese, 28
 cheirograph, 15, 39, 73, 79–81, 84, 100,
 174
Cheirograph of Adam, xx
 Cherinus, island, 478
 cherub. *See* seraph
 chiliastic speculation, 35, 120, 152, 172,
 173

- clay, 12–13
- Cleaves, F.W., 469
- Clement of Alexandria, 14
- Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, 12
- constellations, 170
- contract of Adam with Satan, xx
- Cowe, S.P., 85
- creation
 - for humans, 89
 - by speech / word, 94, 95, 130
- creator, naming of, 20
- crows, 164, 180
- curse, 146
- Cyril of Alexandria, 393
- Cyrus, 304

- darkness, 105, 112–14, 118, 119, 179, 200, 201
 - outer, 71
 - Satan called, 179
 - from serpent's mouth, 105, 125, 180
- Dates*, 402
- David, 44, 173, 287, 351, 427, 549, 595, 601, 603, 672
- Day Star, fall of, 193, 197
- de Jonge, Marinus, xix 205
- Dead Sea, 298
- death and loss of the spirit, 115
- December, 445
- demons, 33, 108, 119, 125, 145, 164, 169, 173, 174, 179, 196, 207
 - and angels argue, 174
 - black, 180
 - as crows, 180
 - jealous, 108
 - worshipped, 119, 120
- demythologization, 194
- Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, 357
- Deuteronomy, 388
- divine name, 65
- Diocletian, 304
- Dominicans, 127
- Donabédian, P., 86
- Dörries, H., 81
- dragon
 - ancestor of serpent, 191, 199
 - is Satan, 189
 - dragon-serpent, 188–91
 - drunkenness, ecstasy, 158, 162
 - Duchesne-Guillemain, J., 50
 - dust, 13

 - Eber, 135, 543, 603, 608
 - Eden, *passim*
 - on mountain, 15, 51, 52
 - river / stream of, 51, 161
 - wall of, 100, 108
 - watering of, 143
 - Edessa, 99, 103, 441, 493
 - Egan, G.A., xi
 - Egypt, 393
 - elements, four, 13, 30, 42, 43, 100, 129, 132, 156, 157
 - Elijah, 244, 349
 - Elišē, 312
 - Commentary on Genesis*, 23, 35
 - Commentary on Joshua and Judges*, 24, 29
 - vardapet, 11
 - Homily on the Baptism*, 192
 - Elisha, 349, 367
 - Emmanuel, 319, 516
 - Enoch, 14, 143, 214, 215, 244, 237, 238, 398, 521, 592, 603
 - Enoch, angelification of, 22
 - Enos (Enosh), 143, 237, 300, 482, 521, 603
 - Ephrem Syrus, xx 11, 52, 81
 - Commentary on Genesis* §1, 1.8, 405
 - Epicureans, 371
 - Ervine, R.R., 35, 88, 199, 369
 - Esau, 288
 - Esbroeck, M. van, 77
 - Eshel, E., 183
 - Ethiopian, 179
 - Ethiopians, 371
 - Euphrates, river, 493, 653
 - Eusebius of Caesarea, 460, 470
 - Eusebius of Emesa, xx 11, 12, 40
 - evangelists, symbols of, 128
 - Eve
 - burial of, 60
 - created on Wednesday, 41
 - relationship to serpent, 209

- Eve and the Virgin, 83, 104, 163
 Ezekiel, 331
 Eznik, 11
- Fabricius, J., 94, 154
 fall, 15
 fallen angels, punishment of, 199
 fast, 18, 28, 30, 54, 55, 84, 96, 123, 133
 Fiensy, D.A., 13
 fig tree, 23, 24
 fighting, language of, 60
 flood
 of fire, 29
 Noah's, 29
 Forsyth, N., 178
 Fraade, S., 74
 fragrance, 161
 free will, 16–20, 49, 50, 93, 95, 109, 111, 141, 199
 freeing, language of, 69, 195, 206
 Friday, important events on, 12, 41, 67, 76, 131, 173
 Friedlander, G., 47, 182
- Gabriel, 197, 347
 Gamaliel, 329
 Garden. *See* Eden
 Garrett, S., 193
 Garsoïan, Nina G., 19, 20, 207, 278–80
 Gaster, T., 179
 Gaylord, H., 194, 202
 Gehenna, 271
 Gehon, river, 653
 Genesis, 425
 George Syncellus, 312
 Gibeonites, 242
 gifts, seven / twelve, 68, 151, 170
 Ginzberg, Louis, 24, 29, 382, 530
 glory, 30–32, 50, 51, 72, 137, 152
 Satan envious of, 206, 207
 God
 image of, 20
 naming of, 20, 102
 Golgotha, 82, 126, 175, 301, 437, 662, 667
 grace, seven lights of, 92, 157, 158
 Greeks, 371
- Greene, D., 186
 Greenspahn, F.E., 193
 Gregory of Nyssa, St., 532, 540, 572
 Gregory, St. *See* Grigor Lusaworič'
 Grigor Lusaworič', 278, 582
 Grigor Magistros, *To Manuč'ē*, 187
 Grigor Narekac'i, 340, 375, 582, 649
 Grigor Tat'ewac'i, 127, 558
 Grosdidier de Matons, J., 81
 Grypeou, Emmanouela, 12, 35, 60, 76, 82, 106, 182, 198
- Hakobyan, V., 288, 494
 Ham, 288
 Hannah, 158
 Harl, M., 14
 Hartman, Lars, 17
 Hebrew, 94, 159, 258, 275, 468, 609
 Hebrew text, 481
 Hebrews, 299, 393, 445, 476, 533, 603, 609, 623, 626, 649, 679
 Hebron, 125
 identified with Shechem, 60
 hell, 64, 167, 168
 iconography of, 180
 made by Satan, 168
 Satan's kingdom in, 179, 195
Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers, 13
 Henze, M., 52
 heretics, 108
 Hillel, Vered, xi
 Hippolytus, *Chronicle*, 402
History of Alexander, 165, 184, 191
History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve, 197
 Hollander, H., 205
 Hrip'simē, St., 290
Hypomnesticon of Josephus, 402
- Ibrahim, Emir, 44, 67
 illness, 119
 image, 15, 99
 immortality, 14
 impression, 26
Infancy Gospel, 36
 Irenaeus, 80
 Isaac, 287, 329

- Isaiah, 249
 Israel, 47, 304, 393
 Israel Research Foundation, xi

 Jacob, 287
 Jambres, 648
 James, M.R., 36, 180
 Jannes, 648
 Jannes and Jambres, 170
 Japheth, 402, 416
 Jared, 143, 521
 Jechonia, 303
 Jericho, 242, 420
 Jerusalem, 249, 304, 420, 484, 528
 heavenly, 425
 Jesus, 469
 Jews, 108, 298, 329, 404, 484
 knowledge about, 45
 John, 348
 John, evangelist, 386, 407, 446
 John the Baptist, 605
 John Chrysostom, xx
 Job, 238, 387
 Jordan, river, 298, 366–68, 430, 636
 Joseph, 44
 Joshua, 242
Jubilees, 22, 36
 Judah, 249
 Judas, 394, 677

 Kahel (Cain), 235, 236
 Kaestli, J.-D., 37
 Kazazian, H., 201
 Kelley, F., 186
 Kenan, 143, 592
 Klima(s), 480, 593, 606
 Klostermann, E., 81
 Kroeger, M., 81
 Kulik, A., 202
 K'yoškeryan, A., 375

 Laban the Aramean, 394
L.A.E., 73, 593
 Lamech, 143, 521
 Latin *L.A.E.*, 194, 206
 Lawasap', 649
 Layton, B., 186

 Lazarus, 49, 274, 275, 278, 349, 677
 leather garments, 117, 150
 Lent, eating of cheese, 28
 Leviathan, 478
 Levites, 44
 Lewy, Hans, 158
Life of Adam, 36, 312
 light, 112–13
 after Fall, 79
 stripped of, 116, 117, 150
 Light, Sons of, 96
 Lint, Theo M. van, xi 200
 Lipscomb, W.L., 85, 89, 124, 178, 201
 Liturgy of St. Basil, 15
 Loeff, Yoav, xi 179, 402
 Lord Sabaoth, 239
 Lucifer, 64, 71, 188, 193, 200, 210, 344,
 374
 Lupieri, E., 180
 lyre, 61, 184

 Macedonians, 299, 476
 Machpelah, cave of, 60
 Eve buried in, 125
 Magi, 80
 Mahalalel (Mahaliel), 143, 237, 289, 423,
 521
 Mahmet, 347
 Malan, S., 12
 man, composition of, 14
 Mandeian, 180
 Mark, evangelist, 439
 Marr, N., 490
 Mary, Virgin, 358, 424, 430, 433, 532,
 541, 574, 605
 materials, four. *See* elements, four
 Mathousala, 237
 Mathews, E.G., 34, 52, 405
 Mathews, T.F., 11
 McLeod, F.G., 81
 Megas, George, 13, 73
 Melchizedek, 40, 82, 490
 Mesopotamia, 99, 493
 Methusaleh (Mathousala), 143, 237, 521
 Michael, angel, 174, 197, 347
 Minoff, S., 186
 Mohammed, 423

- Moise, Yael, xi
Moncó, Beatriz, 80
Months of the Hebrews, 41
months, names of, 88
Moses, 174, 239, 244, 276, 287, 304, 346,
351, 371, 372, 401, 404–6, 425,
446, 495, 508, 549, 663, 672
Mount of Olives, 82
Movsēs Xorenac'i, 11
mud, 155, 157
Murad, F., 259
Muradyan, Gohar, xi
Murdoch, B.O., 186
Murray, R., 52, 480
Muslim, 573
- name, divine, 204
naming, 39, 57, 84
Narsai, 81
Nay, city, 274
Nazareth, 430
Nectanebo, 645
Nersēs, 666
Nersēs, Catholicos, 278
new Adam, 49, 75, 99, 110, 111
Nisan, 393, 445, 623, 626, 643
Noah, 143, 244, 248, 285, 287, 347, 371,
390, 521, 592, 661
- Olympiodorus, 346
Onomastica Sacra, 12
Origen, 382
Orlov, A., 91, 193, 194, 202
Örmanean, M., 289
Outtier, Bernard, xi
- Palaea* traditions, 85
Paradise. *See* Eden
Paramelle, J., 85
Penitence of Adam, xix 73, 197
Pereq Šīrah, 17
Persians, 371
Petit, F., 34, 40
Petrosyan, Eznik, xx 84
Pharaoh, 44
Philo, 21
Philo of Alexandria, 355, 395
Physiologus, 169, 657
- Pietersma, A., 170
Pilate, 474
Pison, river, 635, 653
Plato, 21, 371
Timaeus, 344, 371
plaint, of Adam, 84
polemics, 42, 43
Polycarp, St., 446
possession, 106, 185
by Satan, 183
Pseudo-Basil, 76
Pseudo-Dionysius, *Heavenly Hierarchy*,
94
Pseudo-Ezekiel, 184
Pseudo-Macarius, 81, 95
- Question*, 88
Questions of Ezra, 174
Quinn, E.C., 173
- Rahab, 242
raven, Noah's, 180. *See also* crows
Rebecca, 185
Reed, A. Y., 47
repentance, 74
Repentance of Adam and Eve, 85
Riley, G.J., 183
rivers, four luminous, 161. *See also* Eden,
river of
Romans, 623
Romanus Melodus, 81
Rome, 103, 438
Root of Faith, 178
Runia, David Th., 21
Russell, J.B., 177, 190
Russell, James R., xi 50, 188
- Sadayel, Sadayēl, Sadael, 177, 178, 197,
201, 202, 499, 509, 605. *See also*
Satan
Saltair na Rann, 186
Samson, 243
Sarah, 329
Satan, *passim*
as anti-God, 66, 72
black, 179
like crow, 164
curse of, 62, 169, 190

- deceit of, 203, 207–9
 envy of, 27, 65, 197, 203–7
 fall of, 63, 64, 106, 107, 145, 146, 166,
 189, 193, 196, 198, 200, 201, 206,
 207
 identified with serpent, 182, 200
 imprisons / captures, 44, 47, 119, 120,
 195
 names of, 177
 one of highest angels, 194
 prince, 25, 26, 198
 rebel, 106, 194
 rebellion of, 17, 195, 198, 201
 role in the Fall, 177
 ruler of this world, 120
višap-dragon, 199
See also Sadayel
 Satanel, Satanil, 201, 202
 fall of, 201, 202
 Satran, David, 184
 Saul, 108, 173, 484, 672
 Scholia, 393
 Schwartz, H., 186
The Seal of Faith, 290
 Sedek, 44, 91
 Selan. *See* Ceylon
 senses, five, 59, 60, 73, 104, 123, 185
 Seraph(s), 101
 long haired, 160
 serpent
 bronze, 69
 crushing head of, 191, 192
 outside Eden, 59
 history of, 165, 191
 intelligent, 210
 Satan nests in, 61, 184
 Satan's arms and legs, 182
 Satan's instrument, 184
 Satan's mount, 182
 sexual language about, 185
 venomous, 189
 wiliness of, 209
 wisdom of, 14
 serpent's mouth, Satan enters, 183
 Seth, 142, 236, 273, 287, 289, 300, 399,
 417, 423, 482, 521, 548, 577, 592,
 593, 606
 son of consolation, 119
 seven gifts, 170
 seven lights of grace, 13, 92
 Seventy (LXX), 481, 482, 495
 seventy and seventy-two, 73
 seventy blows, 73
 Shechem, 60
 Shem, 175, 661
Signs of the Judgement, 29
 signs, apocalyptic, 29
 Siloam, 636
 Simonyan, H., 184
 sin, original, 148
 six thousand years, 120, 151, 168, 173,
 174
 sleep, ecstasy, 158, 162
 Solomon, 165, 304, 307, 592, 595, 646
 spirit, 13, 18, 19
 Spurling, Helen, 12, 35, 60, 76, 82, 106,
 182, 198
 St. Ejmiacin Chapel, 52
 St. James, Cathedral of, 52
 Step'anos of Tarōn, 649
 Stephen, 239, 330
 Stichel, R., 202
 Stökl, D., 402
 Stone, Michael E., *passim*
 Stone, Nira, 51
 stripped, Satan, 169
 stripping, 71, 72, 104, 115, 150, 151
 Syriac, 94, 258
 Syrians, 603

 Tačat *vardapet*, 367
 Tamar, 395
 Tarsus, 83
 Tayec'i, E., 36
 Tebet, month, 445
 Ter Step'anyan, Armen, xx
Testament of Adam, 17
Testament of the Protoplasts, 36
 Theophilus of Alexandria, 357
 thirty years, 91, 156
 thirty, significance of, 44, 45, 90, 91, 162
 Thomson, Robert, xi xii xx xxi 16, 19,
 24, 64
 three men, 52

- Tiberius, emperor, 304
 Tigris, river, 493, 653
 tobacco, 169, 170
 Tobin, T., 21
 Topchyan, Aram, xi 345
 Tree of Knowledge, 44
 Tree of Life, 44
Tree of Sabek, 126
 Tromp, J., 70, 86, 197
 Tuffin, P., 36, 88, 312
 Turkish, 657
Twelve Gifts Lost by Adam, 68, 135
 twenty two / twenty-four, alternation of, 85, 95
 typology, 12, 36, 41, 75, 77–79, 83, 87, 99, 104, 111, 117, 121, 122, 127, 128, 131, 163, 172, 194

 VanderKam, J., 14, 110
 Vardan Arewelc'i, *Commentary on Psalms*, 209
 Vardan Aygekc'i, xx 490
 Varazvaŋan, 273
 Vassiliev, A., 85
 ventriloquist, 183
 Virgin, 312
 cult of, 39, 59, 144
 See Mary, Virgin
višap dragon, 183, 188

 war
 between God and Satan, 166
 language of, 24, 60, 192

 Watchers, 17, 630
 Wednesday, 59
 Werline, Rob, xi
 Winston, David, 26, 203, 204
 Wintermute, O., 35
 wisdom, 15, 185
 Wright, Benjamin G., 184

 Xaç'atur Keč'aŋec'i, 13

 Yacoubian, Narineh, xi
 Yared, 237
 Young, R.D., 33
 Yovasap' Erzncac'i, 670
 Yovhan Sarkawag, 494
 Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz, 26, 627, 628
 Yovhannēs Gaŋnec'i, 15
 Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i, 26
 Yovsēp'ianc', S., 85

 Zak'arean, Abp. Norvan, 357
 Zarbhanalean, G., xx
 Zeyt'unyan, A., 33, 558
 Zoakt'ali, 679
 Zoroaster, 371

Armenian words
 ազատել, 195
 բանասարկու, 198
 կաւ, 13, 42, 293
 մերկ, 31, 116, 117
 պատաստեն, 60

INDEX OF ANCIENT SOURCES

This index does not include references to authors excerpted in Part 2.

Bible		1:28–30	49
		1:29	70, 221
OLD TESTAMENT (Masoretic order)		1:29–30	626
		1:30	93, 246, 448
Genesis		2:1	217, 290, 668
1–3	xix 187	2:1–2	407
1:1	218, 405, 611	2:2	568
1:2	218, 428	2:3	394
1:3	218, 405, 406, 561,	2:7	4, 12, 18, 19, 40, 42,
	610		43, 46, 48, 86, 89, 94,
1:4	219		139, 157, 217, 225,
1:5	274		269, 271, 611
1:6–8	406	2:8	21, 50, 52, 352, 569,
1:7	218, 610		580
1:8	406	2:8–9	569
1:16	129, 406	2:9	21
1:17	325	2:10	51, 339
1:18	217	2:15	229, 268, 353, 375,
1:19	406		566
1:20	313	2:15–16	21
1:20–21	86, 219	2:16	52, 335
1:23	406	2:16–17	552
1:24–2:1	87, 219	2:17	35, 54, 76, 101, 214,
1:26	14, 41, 43, 46, 86, 89,		224, 229, 262, 263,
	97, 130, 139, 220,		314, 335, 394, 544,
	227, 269, 271, 448,		560, 609, 619, 677
	464, 524, 615	2:18	228, 574
1:26–27	19, 48	2:19	221, 226, 246, 247,
1:26–28	98		377, 392
1:26–29	98, 475	2:20	335, 553
1:26–31	40	2:21	55, 335, 575, 578
1:27	132, 216, 221, 225,	2:21–22	228
	239, 393	2:21–23	143
1:27–28	98	2:22	574, 579
1:28	33, 50, 93, 141, 161,	2:23	135, 143, 377, 393,
	215, 235, 238, 246,		536, 553
	279, 399, 448, 449,	2:23–24	228
	531, 602	2:24	22, 100

Genesis (<i>continued</i>)		3:22	54, 119, 233, 453, 527,
3	216		538
3:1	14, 209, 265	3:23–24	234, 355
3:1–6	207	3:24	64, 195, 490
3:3	101, 328	4:1–2	235
3:4–5	262, 263	4:25	236
3:5	62, 189, 196, 204,	4:26	74, 300
	230, 340, 448, 553,	5:1	269, 271, 274
	674	5:1–4	237
3:6	100, 192, 303, 540, 553	5:5	198
3:6–8	58	5:22	215
3:7	24, 54, 116, 143,	5:24	215, 238
	150, 540	6	27
3:8	20, 34, 120, 231,	6:1	236
	354, 455	6:2	240
3:8–9	262	6:3	602, 619
3:8–10	266	9:2	448
3:9	74, 293, 300, 345,	18:3	292
	494, 555	18:27	566
3:9–10	232	22:18	619
3:10	31, 32, 122, 555	23:8	60
3:11	71, 214, 232, 538, 555	30:32–43	394
3:12	109, 118, 122, 327,	41:46	44
	354, 447, 482, 539,	49:3	60
	555	2:8 Arm	99
3:13	121		
3:13–19	118	Exodus	
3:14	62, 146, 365, 558	6:3	20
3:14–15	183, 199	7:9, 10, 12	188
3:14–19	69, 70, 190	10:4	409
3:14–20	415	11:1	73
3:15	70, 147, 190, 558,	12:2	623, 626
	671, 674	12:13	73
3:15–16	395	15:2	217
3:16	261, 314, 365, 451,	33:5	73
	553, 559, 560, 562		
3:17	70, 115, 560, 619	Leviticus	
3:17–18	29, 240	12:4–5	247
3:17–19	32, 54, 234, 333, 345,	12:2, 5	36
	426	18:5	239
3:18	365, 538, 560, 563		
3:19	30, 68, 115, 147, 232,	Numbers	
	261, 317, 476, 484,	4:3	44
	495, 538, 560	4:23	44
3:20	56–58, 70, 163, 311,	4:30	44
	547, 562, 575	21:7–8	199
3:21	70	22:29–32	395

Deuteronomy		22:1 = Arm 21:2	419
5:20	409	24:7 = Arm 23:7	621
7:9	409	24:9 = Arm 23:9	621
13:33	330	30:11 = Arm 29:12	482
28:64	233	33:6 = Arm 32:6	94, 611
29:17	233	33:9 = Arm 32:9	95, 610
32:7	120, 237	34:1 = Arm 33:2	483
32:17	66	35:13 = Arm 34:13	483
		37:11 = Arm 38:21	483
Joshua	395	48:13 = MT 49:12 but MT differs	344
		49:12 = Arm 48:13	538
1 Samuel 16:14 = Arm 1 Kingdoms		49:20 = Arm 48:21	333, 355,
16:14	672		484, 553
		51:5 = Arm 50:7	484
2 Samuel		60:1 = Arm 59:3	484
5:4	44	63:1 = Arm 62:2	368, 390
		73 = Arm 74	192
2 Kings		73:13–14 = Arm 73:11–12	81, 183, 191,
13:6–16	395		192
		74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14	368, 485
2 Chronicles		81:5 = Arm 80:6	603
36:16	240	82:7 = Arm 81:7	193, 198, 265
		83:16 = Arm 82:17	234
Nehemiah		90:4 = Arm 89:4	35, 75, 247, 352
1:5	409	91:13 = Arm 90:13	182, 183, 209,
9:1–3	87		485, 601
9:17	262	104:2 = Arm 103:2	219, 279
		104:4 = Arm 103:4	96, 138,
Job			460, 462
19:8	116	104:4–5 = Arm 103:4–5	428
19:8–9	116	104:15	673
26:12(13)	188	106:37 = Arm 105:37	66, 120
40:2–3	239	107:11 = Arm 106:11	485
40:23–24	192, 368	107:12 = Arm 106:12	486
42:5	238	115:5–7 = Arm 113:13–15	233
		119:1 = Arm 118:1	549
Psalms		119:49 = Arm 118:49	477
7:9 = Arm 7:10	230	119:73 = Arm 118:73	611
8:3 = Arm 8:4	611	119:83 = Arm 118:83	675
8:4–5 = Arm 8:5–6	16, 46	135:2 = Arm 134:1	550
8:5 = Arm 8:6	137, 222, 545, 546	137:7–8 = Arm 138:7–8	231
8:5–6 = Arm 8:6–7	50, 349, 351,	141:4 = Arm 140:4	558
	353, 482	143:7 = Arm 142:3	487
8:5–9 = Arm 8:6–10	50	149:8	490
8:6 = Arm 8:7	216		
8:6–7 = Arm 8:7–8	553	Proverbs	
10:14 = Arm 9:14	486	17:28	580

Proverbs (<i>continued</i>)		Daniel	
18:12	63, 200	9:41	409
25:25	368	10:13, 20, 21	47
30:21	552, 553		
		Hosea	
Song of Songs		6:5	241
2:3	143, 528	13:14	323
4:1	369		
7:9	378	Joel	
8:5	143, 528	2:28	619
		3:1	29
Isaiah		Amos	
5:1–3	249	3:12	475
5:1–4	249		
7:14	619	Malachi	
11:12–14	193	4:2	323
14:11	199		
14:12	63, 64, 200, 344, 585	NEW TESTAMENT	
14:12–13	107	Matthew	
14:13–14	61, 64, 188, 200, 202, 680	1:23	619
		3:17	538
14:14	188	6:20	213, 488
27:1	188, 259	7:2	488
30:15	235	7:13	303
40:12	223	7:14	303
40:22	383	8:12	71, 323, 489
57:1–3	266	9:2	266
66:1	462	10:25	178
66:24	673	12:24	178
		12:27	178
		13:44	213
Jeremiah		19:5–6	228
2:19	234	22:11–13	489
3:9	233	22:13	71, 323, 489
8:13	528	24:1–30	29
10:11–13	234	25:23	353
20:21	230	25:29	214
23:23–24	231	25:30	71, 323, 488
51:34	216	25:45	77
		26:14	291
Ezekiel		26:26	672
1	590	27:33	383
1:6	586	27:45–50	77
20:32	233	27:46	419
28:2	198	27:50	338
28:12–15	199		

Mark		Acts	
9:7	74, 203	3:25	619
10:7–8	228	7:2	239
10:46	344	8:2	330
12:30	330	19:19	266
13:14–24	29		
14:24	419	Romans	
14:38	291	5:12	15
15:25	77, 78	5:14	68, 239
15:33–38	77	6:18	240
15:34	397, 419	6:22	240
15:41	88	6:23	30
		10:5	239
Luke			
1:28	483	1 Corinthians	
1:42	313	2:9	215
2:22	36	3:2	256
10:1	193	10:20	120
10:18	26, 199, 264	11:7	225
10:30	419	12:2	233
12:33–34	488	15:21	240
13:6	677	15:22	425
15:8	420	15:54	240
15:20	422		
16:8	96, 422, 428	2 Corinthians	
18:12	552	4:4	188
23:43	199, 422, 521	6:15	178
23:44	77		
23:44–46	77	Galatians	
23:46	292	3:12	239
John		Ephesians	
1:14	546	1:4	615
5:14	266	5:32	579
6:40	227	6:6	216
6:54	619		
8:28	339	Colossians	
8:34	625	1:15–16	567
8:44	601	2:14	39, 80, 81, 124, 125, 320, 350, 368, 384, 390, 492, 562, 599
10:34	264		
11:44	677	2:16	422
14:6	562		
14:15	409	1 Thessalonians	
14:21	409	2:19	216
14:30	188		
17:3	227		
17:22a	330	1 Timothy	
19:27	292	2:14	46, 60, 367, 377

1 John		20:1	488
3:12	180	20:2	198, 259
5:3	409		
Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha			
Hebrews			
1:3	226	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>	
2:7	16, 222, 546	31:3	195
2:8	546		
2:9	16	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>	
7:3	40	20:5	24
11:36	240	40:6	382
James			
1:15	580	Baruch	
1:21	447	4:7	66, 120
3:7	93, 448	<i>3 Baruch</i>	
		4:7–15	201
1 Peter		4:8	26, 204
5:8	254	4:17	202
2 Peter			
3:6	29, 240	Ben Sira	
		49:6	50,
		49:16	32, 200
1 John		<i>1 Enoch</i>	
5:2	409	1:4	47
Jude			
9	174	2–5	17
		10:4–7	63
		10:11–14	199
		14:5	199
Revelation		19:1; 99:7	120
2:10	198, 259	20:10	199
9:1	488		
9:4	202	1 Esdras	
9:20	66	5:53	87
12	188, 189		
12:4	166, 188, 680	2 Maccabees	
12:7	188	6:21	216
12:7–9	188, 259		
12:9	166, 188, 190,	<i>2 Enoch</i>	
	199, 208	30:13	13
12:11	188	31:3–6	26, 204
12:12	198	71	40
12:13	188	71:35	382
12:16	188		
12:17	188	<i>4 Ezra</i>	
12:19	190	3:5	12
19:12	259		

3:10	68	12:1–16:3	61
5:36	223	12:1–17:3	63, 64, 107, 145
7:39–42	140	12–16	193
7:92	192	12–17	27, 206
7:97	116	14:3	95
7:118	15	14:3–15:1	193
7:125	116	24:5	45
7:127	192	31(6):4–32(7)	32
8:7	12	34.8.2	73
8:38	323	37(10)	32
8:44	12	37(10):1–39(12):3	70
10:25	116	37(10):3	24, 32, 192
10:44	89	40(13)–44(14)	173
		42–43	79
<i>Greek Apocalypse of Ezra</i>		42(13):3c	110
4:33	110	[44](15):2, and [44](17):1	414
		[44](16):1–4	206
<i>Jubilees</i>		[44](16):3	27, 187, 197, 230
2:15	533	[44](16):4b	184
2:16	85	[44](17):1	16, 59
3:9	35, 88	[44](17):1–[44](19):3	103
3:9–10	312	[44](18):6	59
3:10–11	35	[44](20):1	32
4:23	14	[44](20):4	24
23:8–17	110	[44](22):3	121
23:25	110	[44](23):2	32
		[44](23):3	32
4QpsDan ^a ar		[44](24):2–3	54
(4Q243, frg. 13 = 4Q244 frg. 12)		45(33)	539
	120	[47](37):1, – [47](38):3	175
		48(42):2	539
<i>Life of Adam and Eve (L.A.E.)</i>		48(40):3	539
3:1	54		
15:3	25, 26, 32		
[48](40):2–5	91	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>	
		7:5	205
<i>Latin L.A.E.</i>			
12:1	204	<i>Testament of Adam</i>	
13:1	47	frg. 2.3	205
15:3	64, 197, 200		
34	73	Wisdom	
		1:12	323
<i>Penitence of Adam</i>		1:13	263
chaps. 2–4	170	2:23	225
chap. 4	167	2:23–24	263
11:3	24	2:24	26, 30, 65, 107, 203,
11:4	192		216, 230, 256, 272,
12:1	200, 203		677

Wisdom (<i>continued</i>)		1.10.2	129, 130
12:10	592	1.10.7	129, 130
14:21	233	1.22.25–27	129
		1.22.31–32	129
Armenian Sources		2.1	130
		2.1.1	134
<i>3 Corinthians</i>		2.1.22–23	136
11	206, 231	2.3.7–18	134
16–17	193	2.3.49–51	134
		2.4.9	132
<i>4 Ezra Arm</i>		2.4.21–22	132
5:36D	223	3.1	130, 134
		3.3.23	129, 130
<i>Abel and Other Pieces</i>		3.3.5	132
3.4	29, 180,		
4.3–4	530	<i>Book of Adam</i>	
		15:1	26, 204
<i>Abel and Cain</i>		17.1–2	16
52–59	91		
		<i>Book of Lamentation</i> by Grigor Narekac'i	
<i>Abel and Cain, 2nd recension</i>		4.2.35	178
27	180	21.2.2	178
		28.8.17	178
<i>Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation</i>		46.3	43, 48
2	183	46.3–4	69
20	36	64.4.2	178
32–33	65	80.1	83
49	192		
		<i>Cain and Abel</i>	
<i>Adam Fragment 1</i>		1	124
9	290		
		David the Invincible,	
<i>Adam Fragment 2</i>		<i>The Book of Definitions</i>	609
2–3	660		
		<i>Death of Adam</i>	
<i>Adam Story 1</i>		1	204
14	64	7	119
<i>Adam Story 2</i>		Elišē, <i>Commentary on Joshua</i>	
	12, 76, 77	<i>and Judges</i>	
3	88	3:10	185, 192
<i>Adamgirk' by Aṙak'el Siwnec'i</i>		Genesis Arm	
1.1.8	130	2:1	217
1.1.9	130		
1.1.11	136	<i>History of Adam and His Grandsons</i>	
1.1.17	136	1	44

<i>History of Adam, His Sons and Grandsons</i>		<i>Teaching of St. Gregory</i>	
5	289	260	668
<i>History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve</i>		<i>Transgression of Adam and Eve</i>	
1–4	25	10–12	26, 203
2	178, 201	46–47	124
<i>History of the Forefathers</i>		<i>Tree of Sabek</i>	
4–5	205	2	44, 91
17	34		
25	180		
32	42	Other Ancient Sources	
40–41	29	<i>'Abot R. Nathan A</i>	
41	530	1	65
Job Arm		<i>Acts of Pilate Latin A</i>	
38:19a	525	12	402
<i>Memorial of the Forefathers</i>		<i>Augustine, Against Julian</i>	
23	60	1.6.26	81
<i>Nersēs Šnorhali, Poem on Good Friday</i>		<i>b. 'Erubin</i>	
87,27–28, 92.27–28	431	3a	60
<i>On the Fall of Adam</i>		5b	60
3	51	<i>b. Baba Batra</i>	
Proverbs Arm		58a	60
16:3	566	<i>Barnabas</i>	
<i>Questions of Ezra</i>		4:10	179
A 3	71	<i>Book of Adam and Eve</i>	
A 7–10	69	8:2 = 34:2	290
B 5–6	69		
B 6, 12–13	64	<i>Cosmas Indicopleustes</i>	
<i>Repentance of Adam and Eve</i>		2.153	76
1–10	124		
11–24	123	<i>Cyril of Alexandria</i>	
27	123	<i>C. Julianum</i>	
96	12	3	24, 182
Song Arm	612	<i>Ephrem Syrus</i>	
<i>Story of Father Abraham</i>		1.24	81
13–16	52	36:17	81
A 25	52	48.9	81

Ephrem, <i>Armenian Commentary on Genesis</i>		Irenaeus, <i>Adversus haereses</i>	
29:14	34	3	31
		3.23.5	32,
		5.23.2	76
Ephrem, <i>Commentary on Genesis</i>			
2.6.4	52	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i>	
2:10	23	1.8	95
2:24	34		
		Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i>	
Ephrem, <i>Hymns on Paradise</i>		1.70–71	29, 530
1.4–5	52		
2:7	31	<i>m. Abot</i>	
3:14	31	2:1	28
6:10	32		
7:5	32	<i>m. Roš Haššanah</i>	
7:12	32	1:1	88
8:2	184		
11	20	Narsai, <i>Homily II Epiphany</i>	81
Epiphanius		Narsai, <i>Homily IV Resurrection</i>	81
40.5.3	186		
		Ona	
<i>Ethics of the Fathers. See Mishnah Abot</i>		1.11	12
		I iv.1	42
Eusebius, <i>Chronicle</i>		IV.1	42
4	591	V.27	42
Eusebius of Emesa,		<i>Palaea</i>	
<i>Commentary on Genesis</i>		3.12–13	85
1.32	34		
17	12	Philo, <i>De opificio mundi</i>	
		52	113
<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>			
14:8	382	Philo, <i>De ebrietate</i>	
15:7	24	145–148	158
58:8	60		
74:17	47	Philo, <i>De fuga et inventione</i>	
75:10	47	51	185
<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>		Philo, <i>Quaestiones in Genesin</i>	
15:6	47	1:68	34
George Syncellus		<i>Pirqe R. Eliezer</i>	
5	36	4	47, 60
		13	182
Irenaeus, <i>Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching</i>		Pseudo-Basil	
16	184	1	66

Pseudo-Macarius, <i>Homily</i>		<i>y. Sanhedrin</i>	
10, 11	81	1.18d	382
53	81		
		<i>y. Nazir</i>	
<i>Right Ginza</i>		7.2	382
18	180		
		<i>y. Nedarim</i>	
<i>t. Šabbat</i>		6.39d–40a	382
15(16): 7	35		
		<i>y. Pesahim</i>	
Theodoret, <i>Quaestiones in Genesin</i>		9.36c	382
c. 3, q. 32	184		
		<i>y. Soṭah</i>	
Theophilus, <i>Ad Auctolycum</i>		5.20b	382
2.28	184		
2.29	26		

