

MACARIUS OF JERUSALEM
LETTER TO THE ARMENIANS, A.D. 335

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Macarius of Jerusalem
Letter to the Armenians, A.D. 335

Introduction, Text,
Translation and Commentary

Abraham Terian



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The *AVANT* Series, an undertaking of St Vladimir's Seminary and St Nersess Armenian Seminary, aims to bring to light the riches of the Armenian Christian tradition by providing annotated English translations of Armenian patristic, dogmatic, liturgical and other early religious literature with a view toward revealing the distinct witness of Armenian Christianity and its significance today.

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Acknowledgements

My interest in the *Letter to the Armenians* by Macarius of Jerusalem as the earliest document bearing on the history of the Armenian Church began some thirty years ago. When I proposed to read a paper on the subject at the Fifteenth International Congress on Historical Sciences convened in Bucharest on 10–17 August 1980, the late Prof. W. H. C. Frend of the University of Glasgow, organizer of the section on the Early Church, responded with assent to an abstract I had submitted: "I am delighted at your suggested participation and the Epistle to the Armenians seems to be exactly what we would like to have" (personal letter, 5 March 1979). The late Prof. M. V. Anastos of UCLA, with whom I corresponded on the form of this Letter, reassured me of the its overall conformity with early Byzantine epistolographic norms (personal letter, 9 September 1981).

I have had two other opportunities to present papers on the *Letter to the Armenians* since then, both in the summer of 1996: "Baptismal and Eucharistic Directives from Fourth-Century Byzantine Jerusalem," presented at the Second International Conference on the Christian Heritage of the Holy Land, convened at the Notre Dame Centre in Jerusalem, 2–6 July 1996, organized by the Stockholm School of Theology / Christian Heritage Research Centre, Jerusalem, and the Swedish Christian Study Centre, Jerusalem; and "The Letter of Macarius to the Armenians," presented at the Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes, meeting at the Catholic University in Leuven-la-Neuve, 4–7 September 1996, where I was invited by Profs. Bernard Coulie and Michael E. Stone, then President of AIEA, to deliver a major paper. Fortunately, Prof. Nina Garsoïan, who had recently retired from the Gevork M. Avedissian Chair for Armenian History and Civilization at Columbia University, was my respondent. I am indebted to her for raising several essential questions on the role of Jerusalem in Byzantine approaches to liturgical reform in the East. I was equally fortunate to have had conversations with Dom Anastase (Charles) Renoux, O.S.B., at the Jerusalem meeting; and with Prof. Robert W. Thomson, recently retired from the Calouste Gulbenkian Chair

for Armenian Studies at the University of Oxford, at the Leuven-la-Neuve meeting. Their affirming and encouraging remarks reassured me of the validity of my arguments for a fourth-century date of this document.

It was not easy to resurrect my incomplete project and to prepare it for publication after all these years. For this, my grateful thanks are due first and foremost to my colleague, the Very Rev. Dr. M. Daniel Findikyan, Dean of St. Nersess Armenian Seminary and Editor of the AVANT series, who kept reminding me of the significance of this document not only for the early history of Armenian Christianity but also for the early history of liturgical development. In appreciation, I therefore dedicate this work to him. I am very grateful also to my other colleagues at St. Nersess, Prof. Roberta R. Ervine and Prof. Edward G. Mathews, Jr., for reading the first two drafts and for making several necessary corrections. Prof. Robert W. Thomson, with whom I had shared a nearly complete draft of the Introduction, was very gracious with several suggestions to help readers with no knowledge of Armenian. I also wish to thank Mr. Theodore Bazil, the Director of St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, for his judicious handling of the AVANT series, and his associates at the esteemed Press, especially Mrs. Deborah Belonick, on whose editorial judgment I have always relied, Mr. Paul Kachur for his masterly formatting of the book, Dr. William Churchill for his careful proofreading, and Mrs. Amber (Schley) Iragui for her distinctive artist's touch.

Finally, I wish to thank my wife Sara who for more than forty years has cheerfully entertained the likes of Philo of Alexandria and Macarius of Jerusalem and countless Armenian Fathers and other mortals and divines.

A.T.

Transcription of Armenian

Based on the Library of Congress System

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Introduction

With Constantine's Edict of Milan in A.D. 313 the Christian Church acquired a legal standing in the Greco-Roman world. The dramatic increase in the number of people seeking entry into the Church after more than two centuries of persecution clearly had an immense impact on all facets of ecclesiastical life, but particularly in the areas of baptismal preparation and liturgical practices. Nowhere is this situation better attested than in Jerusalem, with the construction of impressive Constantinian edifices on the sacred sites under the charge of Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem (in office 314–335/6) and one of the foremost signatories at the Council of Nicæa (325), the composition of a complete cycle of *Baptismal Catecheses* by Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (in office 348–386/7), and the accounts by fourth-century pilgrims who detailed some of the city's liturgical life as they witnessed it.

The *Letter to the Armenians* by Macarius is another document of primary importance—albeit less known—from this early period. Its being relatively unknown is due to some untenable scholarship in the last century, surveyed below (especially with reference to N. Akinian), that wrongly relegated the Letter to the sixth century. Necessarily, therefore, much of the ensuing introduction is devoted to questions regarding authorship and date, the major issues discussed since the Letter was first brought to the attention of scholars early in the nineteenth century.¹

Once its rightful authorship has been reclaimed, the *Letter to the Armenians* falls chronologically between the Syriac *Didascalia Apostolorum*, an early third-century "Church Order" originally composed in Greek, and the Greek *Apostolic Constitutions*—a collection of such orders into which the *Didascalia* was embodied late in the fourth century. Both these documents that attempt to provide some systematic and general instruction on ecclesiastical matters are of unknown provenance in Syria, whereas the exact

¹"*Canones Macarii Hierosolymitani*," in A. Mai, ed., *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e vaticanis codicibus*, 10 vols. (Rome: Typis Vaticanis/Burlaeum, 1825–1838) 10/2:270–272 (albeit from a defective manuscript, lacking the prologue).

provenance and date of the *Letter to the Armenians* make it a faithful—albeit fairly small—companion to the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem. Rightly dated, the Letter is the earliest full-length document bearing on the theologically and liturgically inseparable and fundamental sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist in the East—especially on their old Syrian liturgical administration and its modification under the influence of Jerusalem in the early fourth century. It is also the earliest full-length document bearing on the history of Armenian Christianity in its formative years, addressed to Vrtanēs (in office 327–342),² elder son and second successor of Gregory the Illuminator, founder of the Armenian Church hierarchy.

The tangible beginnings of Christianity in Armenia are linked with the third-century missions of the East Syrian Church that made inroads through Edessa into southwestern Armenia and farther east into Persia.³ In Armenia the new faith flourished around Ashtishat in the district of Tarōn, due west of Lake Van. The impact of these early East Syrian missions is to be seen not only in the shared traditions in Armenian and Syriac liturgical sources but also in the Armenian appropriation of the entire Edessene Christian tradition as their own, considering Edessa an Armenian city and Abgar an Armenian king. No effort will be made to recount or synthesize that muddled history in this introduction, a history that was redacted in the middle of the fifth century by a proponent of the Caesarean, Greek-speaking mission into Lesser Armenia and into the Caucasus at the

²On the years of Vrtanēs in office, as also on those of Macarius, see the discussion on the sender and the recipient of the Letter, below, pp. 45–51.

³J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie des sassanides, 224–632* (Paris: Lecoq, 1904); E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Die Armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den Syrischen Kirchen bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, Neue Folge XI.4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904), pp. 1–8; R. W. Thomson, "Mission, Conversion, and Christianization: The Armenian Example," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/1989) 28–45; repr. in idem, *Studies in Armenian Literature and Christianity*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 451 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), ch. III. For a general survey of the Syrian influence on Armenian Christianity, see the forthcoming article by my colleague E. G. Mathews, Jr., "The Syrian Presence in the Early Armenian Church" (paper delivered at the University of Michigan Armenian Studies International Conference, "Where the Only-Begotten Descended: The Church of Armenia through the Ages," Ann Arbor, 1–4 April, 2004 [forthcoming]). Armenia in the late third and early fourth century was comprised of federated domains under the autonomously ruling satraps or *nakhharars* of certain hereditary houses, alongside the domains of the ruling Arsacids; see N. G. Garsoïan, "Armenia in the Fourth Century—An Attempt to Redefine the Concepts 'Armenia' and 'Loyalty,'" *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 8 (1971) 341–352; repr. in eadem, *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 218 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1985), ch. III.

turn of the fourth century. The mission was that of Gregory the Illuminator, and the redactor the pseudonymous Agathangelos whose *History of Armenia* is the only extant Armenian version on the mission of Gregory and the conversion of the Armenian people.⁴ In this version the indicators of the earlier Syriac-speaking missions have been erased, notably by removal of all references to the work of the Apostle Thaddaeus. Yet the Thaddean tradition survives in other versions within the Agathangelian Cycle.⁵ Moreover, among the liturgical remnants of the Syrian phase of Armenian Christianity traceable in the *History* of Agathangelos are rudiments of the East Syrian rite of baptism with its common order of anointing before baptism.⁶ While it is difficult to fully reconstruct the form of East Syrian and Armenian baptism in pre-Constantinian times or before the time of Gregory the Illuminator, it would be fair to assume—if not to conclude—that it was commensurate with the practice censured by Macarius. Otherwise, there would have been little or no need for the corrective measures propounded in the Letter, which allow us a glimpse into the nature of pre-Nicene Christianity in Armenia.⁷

⁴For the "received" Armenian text (*Aa*), see G. Tēr Mkrtch'ean and S. Kanayants', eds., *Agatangebay Patmuṣṣan Hayot'* (Tiflis: Martiroseants', 1909; repr. Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1980); Eng. trans. by R. W. Thomson, *Agathangelos. History of the Armenians* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1976).

⁵For the various versions of Agathangelos dependent on the extant Armenian version (*Aa*) and for others not dependent on it (*V*, including later *Vitae* of Saint Gregory that are dependent on both recensions), see Thomson's introduction to *Agathangelos*, pp. xii–xxviii, li–liii, lxxv–xcvii; idem, trans., *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*, rev. ed., AVANT: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition 1 (New Rochelle: St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2001), pp. 3–5; cf., among others, G. Winkler, "Our Present Knowledge of the History of Agathangelos and its Oriental Versions," *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 14 (1980) 125–141; eadem, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale: Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jahrhunderts*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 217 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1982); pp. 82–95; N. G. Garsoian, "The Iranian Substratum of the 'Agathangelos' Cycle," in N. G. Garsoian et al., eds., *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980). (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), pp. 151–174, esp. 165–166 n. 4.

⁶Such as attested in the Acts of Thomas, especially the cases in 10 (120–121, 132–133) and 13 (157–158); trans. A. F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, Supplement to Novum Testamentum 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1962); cf. Agathangelos, *History*, §§828–835, and Winkler's analysis of these passages (*Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 106–132); eadem, "The History of the Syriac Prebaptismal Anointing in the Light of the Earliest Armenian Sources," in *Symposium Syriacum 1976 célébré du 13 au 17 septembre 1976 au Centre Culturel "Les Fontaines" de Chantilly, France*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 205 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1978), pp. 317–324. For further East Syrian influences on Armenian liturgy, see below, n. 127.

⁷Some elements of the early East Syrian baptismal tradition survived periodic changes in Armenia. See Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 442–447. On the Greek or Byzantine influence since the fifth century, see Ch. Renoux, *Initiation chrétienne. I. Rituels arméniens du*

provenance and date of the *Letter to the Armenians* make it a faithful—albeit fairly small—companion to the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem. Rightly dated, the Letter is the earliest full-length document bearing on the theological and liturgically inseparable and fundamental sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist in the East—especially on their old Syrian liturgical administration and its modification under the influence of Jerusalem in the early fourth century. It is also the earliest full-length document bearing on the history of Armenian Christianity in its formative years, addressed to Vrtanes (in office 327–342),¹ elder son and second successor of Gregory the Illuminator, founder of the Armenian Church hierarchy.

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¹For the "received" Armenian text (*Ar*), see G. Ter-Mikheleian and S. Kazaryants, eds., *Agathangelos Patmadrac Hagos* (Tiflis: Martirosian, 1909; repr. Delmar, NY: Carcan Books, 1980). Eng. trans. by R. W. Thomson, *Agathangelos, History of the Armenians* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996).

²For the various versions of Agathangelos dependent on the extant Armenian version (*Ar*) and for others not dependent on it (*V*), including later *Paul of Saint Gregory* that are dependent on both recensions, see Thomson's introduction to Agathangelos, pp. ix–xxviii, 1–11, 110–111; idem, trans., *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*, rev. ed., *AVANT: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition* 1 (New Rochelle: St. Nersis Armenian Seminary, 2001), pp. 3–5, cf., among others, G. Winkler, "Our Present Knowledge of the History of Agathangelos and its Oriental Versions," *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 14 (1980): 129–41; eadem, *Die armenische Initiationsrituale: Entwicklungsgeschichte und liturgiegeschichtliche Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jahrhunderts*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 257 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1983), pp. 82–135; N. G. Garsoian, "The Iranian Substratum of the Agathangelos Cycle," in N. G. Garsoian et al., eds., *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1982) (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1983), pp. 197–214, esp. 198–206, n. 4.

³Such as attested in the Acts of Thomas, especially the cases in 10 (100–101, 112–113) and 13 (157–158) texts. A. F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas: Supplement to Novum Testamentum* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1966), cf. Agathangelos, *History*, §§80–85, and Winkler's analysis of these passages (*Die armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 106–112); eadem, "The History of the Syriac Prebaptismal Anointing in the Light of the Earliest Armenian Sources," in *Symposium Syriacum 1981 adhibi da 13 ad 17 septembris 1981 au Centre Culturel 'Le Penitencier' de Châtillon, France*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 253 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1978), pp. 317–324. For further East Syrian influences on Armenian liturgy, see below, n. 127.

⁴Some elements of the early East Syrian baptismal tradition survived periodic changes in Armenia. See Winkler, *Die armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 142–147. On the Greek or Byzantine influence since the fifth century, see C. Renoux, *Initiation chrétienne. I. Rituel arménien de*

¹On the years of Vrtanes in office, see also those of Macarius, see the discussion on the sender and the recipient of the Letter, below, pp. 43–51.

²J. Labrousse, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie des sassanides*, 214–432 (Paris: Lesclapart, 1904); E. Ter-Mikheleian, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den Syriaken Kirchen bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur, Neue Folge XL4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904), pp. 1–8; R. W. Thomson, "Mission, Conversion, and Christianization: The Armenian Example," *Harvard Theological Studies* 10/13 (1978/1981): 28–45; repr. in idem, *Studies in Armenian Literature and Christianity*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 451 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), ch. III. For a general survey of the Syrian influence on Armenian Christianity, see the forthcoming article by my colleague E. G. Matthews, Jr., "The Syrian Presence in the Early Armenian Church" (paper delivered at the University of Michigan Armenian Studies International Conference, "Where the Only-Begotten Descended: The Church of Armenia through the Ages," Ann Arbor, 1–4 April, 2004 [forthcoming]). Armenia in the late third and early fourth century was comprised of federated domains under the autonomy of ruling satraps or noblemen of certain hereditary houses, alongside the domains of the ruling Arsacids; see N. G. Garsoian, "Armenia in the Fourth Century—An Attempt to Re-evaluate the Concepts 'Armenia' and 'Loyalty,'" *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 8 (1978): 321–331; repr. in eadem, *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sassanians*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 268 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1983), ch. III.

Furthermore, the *Letter to the Armenians* serves as a preface to the early history of Armenian presence in Byzantine Jerusalem. This history often begins either with the dawn of monasticism in the Judean Desert in the fifth century⁸ or with the large-scale monastic developments in Jerusalem a century later, and the flow of pilgrims.⁹ The inscribed mosaic floors of sixth and seventh-century monasteries outside the Damascus Gate and on the Mount of Olives,¹⁰ including a more recent discovery near the former site,¹¹ are but minor remains of the once extensive Armenian monastic

baptême, Sources liturgiques 1 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997), pp. 36–38 (the quotation in n. 176 is actually from the *Letter of Macarius* and is identified as such by Anania of Shirak, the seventh-century sage quoted by Renoux; see further, on the text of the Letter, and Appendix I); idem, "Un bilan provisoire sur l'héritage grec du rite arménien," *Le Muséon* 116 (2003) 53–69; and B. D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From the New Testament to the Council of Trent*, Liturgy, Worship and Society (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 100–104.

⁸On Euthymius, the Armenian co-founder of monasticism in the Judean Desert, see Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Leben des Euthymius*, E. Schwartz, ed., *Texte und Untersuchungen* 49.2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1939); Eng. trans. by R. M. Price, *Cyril of Scythopolis: Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, Cistercian Studies Series 114 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1991); Y. E. Meimaris, *The Monastery of Saint Euthymios the Great at Khan el-Abmar, in the Wilderness of Judea: Rescue Excavations and Basic Protection Measures, 1976–1979. Preliminary Report* (Athens: Kentron Hellēnikēs kai Rōmaikēs Archaiotōtos Ethnikon Hydryma Ereunōn, 1989); Y. Hirschfeld, "Euthymius and His Monastery in the Judean Desert," *Liber Annuus* 43 (1993) 339–371.

⁹For brief overviews of Armenian pilgrimage to the Holy Land, see M. E. Stone, *Armenian Inscriptions from the Sinai*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 6 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 25–52; idem, "An Armenian Pilgrim to the Holy Land in the Early Byzantine Era," *Bani Spasavor: Essays in Honour of Archbishop Norayr Bogharian* / *Revue des études arméniennes* 18.1 (1984) 173–178. Equally noteworthy are Stone's epigraphic studies: "Epigraphica Armeniaca Hierosolymitana Part 1," *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 1 (1980) 51–68; "Epigraphica Armeniaca Hierosolymitana Part 2," *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 2 (1981) 71–81; "Armenian Inscriptions of the Fifth Century from Nazareth," *Revue des études arméniennes* 22 (1990–1991) 315–332; and "The Oldest Armenian Pilgrim Inscription from Jerusalem," *Sion: Bogharian Memorial* 71 (1997) 340–350.

¹⁰For an illustrated description of these floors, see B. Narkiss, "The Armenian Treasures of Jerusalem," in Narkiss et al., eds., *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem* (New Rochelle: Caratzas, 1979), pp. 21–28. J. Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land: An Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 106, has this to say about the one in the Damascus Gate vicinity: "this mosaic floor is perhaps the most beautiful in the whole country." For a fine study on the dominant motif of birds, see H. Evans, "Nonclassical Sources for the Armenian Mosaic Near the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem," in N. G. Garsoïan et al., eds., *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980) (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), pp. 217–222.

¹¹Additional discoveries in more recent years have revealed the vastness of the site north of the Damascus gate; see M. E. Stone, "The New Armenian Inscriptions from Jerusalem," in N. Awde, ed., *Armenian Perspectives: 10th Anniversary Conference of the Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997), pp. 263–268; idem, "A Reassessment of the Bird and Eustathius Mosaics," in M. E. Stone et al., eds., *Armenians in Jerusalem and the*

establishment in the Holy City. Seldom, however, does the discussion begin with the literary and the liturgical evidence whereby Jerusalem is seen as the source of authoritative teaching for the fledgling church in Armenia.¹² Illustrative of Jerusalem's liturgical influence is the Armenian *Lectionary*, the *Chashots*, translated shortly after 417 from the Greek *Typicon* of Jerusalem following the Julian calendar.¹³ The Armenian version thus preserves the order of the stationary liturgy in and around Jerusalem as attested in the travel diary of the Spanish pilgrim Egeria, especially in her description of the services at the major feasts in 384—the vigils of Epiphany and Easter in particular.¹⁴ Armenian tradition upholds the *Lectionary* as having been received on the authority of James “the brother of the Lord” and first bishop of Jerusalem, and promoted with other Apostolic traditions by his fourth-century heir, Cyril of Jerusalem. This tradition was transmitted with near-canonical sacredness, in keeping with the Isaianic saying about the going forth of the Word of the Lord “from Jerusalem” (Is 2:3). Works originating from Jerusalem thus became primary sources when rebutting the observance of feast days conflicting with the received tradition,¹⁵ as also when engaging in Christological controversies.¹⁶

Holy Land, Hebrew University Armenian Studies 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), pp. 203–219; cf. eadem with D. Amit, “The New Armenian Inscriptions from Jerusalem,” *Cathedra* 83 (1997) 27–44 (in Hebrew).

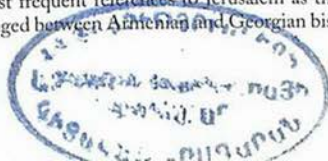
¹²For a history, see Ch. Renoux, “Liturgie arménienne et liturgie hiérosolymitaine,” in A. M. Triacca, ed., *Liturgie de l'Église particulière et liturgie de l'Église universelle*, Conférences Saint-Serge, XXII^e Semaine d'études liturgique, Bibliotheca «Ephemerides Liturgicae» «Subsidia» 7 (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1976), pp. 265–288; R. W. Thomson, “Jerusalem and Armenia,” in International Conference on Patristic Studies (9th: 1983, Oxford, England), E. A. Livingstone, ed., *Studia Patristica: Papers of the Ninth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford 1983*, vol. 18.1: *Historica, Theologica, Gnostica, Biblica* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1985), pp. 77–91; repr. in idem, *Studies in Armenian Literature and Christianity*, ch. V.

¹³The last saint it commemorates is the successor of Cyril, John II (d. 417). See A. (Ch.) Renoux, “Un manuscrit du vieux lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem (Cod. Jerus. arm. 121),” *Le Muséon* 74 (1961) 361–385; 75 (1962) 385–398; idem, *Le Codex arménien Jérusalem 121. I. Introduction*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 35.1 (no. 163) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969); II. *Édition comparée du texte*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 36.2 (no. 168) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971); cf. idem, *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie: le Časoč. I. Introduction et liste des manuscrits*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 44.4 (no. 200) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), esp. pp. 466–473, on the development of the Jerusalem textual tradition; II. *Édition synoptique des plus anciens témoins*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 48.2 (no. 214) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); III. *Le plus ancien Časoč cilicien, le Èrevan 832*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 49.5 (no. 221) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004). See also J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 3rd ed. with corrections (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 2002), pp. 175–194, on “The Old Armenian Lectionary.”

¹⁴Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, *passim*.

¹⁵See the Appendices in this volume.

¹⁶As Thomson observes, “By far the most frequent references to Jerusalem as the source of orthodoxy come in the correspondence exchanged between Armenian and Georgian bishops at the



The Letter in documentary collections and elsewhere

The *Letter to the Armenians* survives in two ancient documentary collections of the Armenian Church: (1) the epistolary known as *Girk' Tghbtots'* or *Book of Letters*, a corpus of ecclesiastical correspondence first compiled during the Catholicosate of Komitas of Aghts'k (in office 615–628) and subsequently arranged by the Cilician scholar Tovma of Hromklay in 1298;¹⁷ and (2) the Armenian *Liber Canonum*, the collected codes of canon law known as the *Kanonagirk'*, compiled during the Catholicosate of Yovhannēs of Ōdzun (in office 717–728) after some earlier attempts and sealed by the end of the fourteenth century after acquiring its current shape in the eleventh.¹⁸ The various injunctions contained in the Letter were enumerated in the form of ecclesiastical canons when the document was incorporated into the *Kanonagirk'* collection in the eleventh century. The document suffered further tampering and some abridgement in the process (more on this below, in the discussion on the text). Although the extrapolation of excerpts from the writings of church Fathers for inclusion in canonical collections is commonplace, and Armenians must have known numerous such examples from Byzantine canon law as well as their own, seldom is a writing introduced

beginning of the seventh century" ("Jerusalem and Armenia," p. 83). For a translation of some of this correspondence, see N. G. Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne et le Grand Schisme d'Orient*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 574; *Subsidia* 100 (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), pp. 516–583.

¹⁷Y. Izmireants', ed., *Girk' Tghbtots'* (Book of Letters), Sahak Mesropean Matenadaran 5 (Tiflis: Rotineants' and Sharadzē, 1901), pp. 407–412. In the revised edition by N. Pogharian (Bogharian), where the contents of the epistolary are arranged chronologically, the Letter is placed at the beginning (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), pp. 1–9. Movsēs Bishop of Ts'urtaw (ca. 560–ca. 615) was probably instrumental in preparing the initial compilation, having contributed several of his own letters written during the turbulent years culminating with the separation of the Georgian Church from the Armenian on account of Chalcedon. The Letter of Macarius was not part of the initial compilation, but of the final. For an introduction, see A. B. Schmidt, "Das armenische 'Buch der Briefe'. Seine Bedeutung als quellenkundliche Sammlung für die christologischen Streitigkeiten in Armenien im 6/7 Jh.," in H. C. Brennecke et al., eds., *Logos. Festschrift für Luise Abramowski zum 8. Juli 1993*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 67 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1993), pp. 511–533.

¹⁸V. Hakobyan, ed., *Kanonagirk' Hayots'* (Canon Law of the Armenians), 2 vols. (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1964–1971) 2:216–229. For an introductory article based on Hakobyan's exhaustive introduction, see M. E. Shirinian and G. Muradian, "The Armenian Collection of the Ecclesiastical Canons," *Khristianskii Vostok* 1/7 (1999) 124–154. A. Mardirossian has recently shown that there were two earlier compilations, one from the time of the Council of Shahapivan (444) and the other by Yovhan of Mayragom (ca. 600); *Le livre des canons arméniens (Kanonagirk' Hayot') de Yovhannēs Awjined'i. Église, droit et société en Arménie du IV^e au VIII^e siècle*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 606; *Subsidia* 116 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), pp. 501–625.

into these collections with its relatively long prologue. The preserved prologue gives one more reason to believe that not much of the original *Letter to the Armenians* was lost in the process. The few noticeable tamperings, including one major and two minor deletions, were no doubt motivated by reason of evolving liturgical practices and certain theological dictates.

The incorporation of the Letter into the *Kanonagirk* must have taken place prior to its inclusion in the *Girk Tghbts* by Tovma in the thirteenth century. The latter, recognizing the literary form of the document as a letter and not a church order, added it anachronistically to the epistolary collection and without stripping away the canonical outline the text had acquired. Thus enumerated, yet without losing much of its epistolary form, the "canonical" Letter became part of the *Girk Tghbts*. The reason for the exclusion of the Letter from the initial compilations of the *Girk Tghbts* and the *Kanonagirk* becomes clearer once the grounds for tampering are recognized.

Fortunately, there exists a lengthy quotation from the *Letter to the Armenians* prior to its incorporation into the *Kanonagirk*. The quotation is found in a discourse by the seventh-century sage Anania of Shirak (d. ca. 690), titled "On the Epiphany of Our Lord and Savior" (see Appendix I).¹⁹ The same quotation—with an omission resulting from *homoioteleuton*—appears in a similar discourse titled "On the Feast of Christ's Birth" and attributed to Anania of Sanahin (or of Haghbat, d. ca. 1070). The latter discourse is but a corrupt version of the former, wrongly claimed for Anania of Sanahin as a result of an editorial confusion that could be traced to a thirteenth-century compilation of his discourses.²⁰ The later textual

¹⁹Text in A. G. Abrahamyan, ed., *Anania Shirakats'u Matenagrutyun* (The Writings of Anania of Shirak) (Yerevan: Matenadaran, 1944), pp. 283–291, esp. 283–284.

²⁰The compilation survives in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscripts, with the discourse "On the Feast of Christ's Birth" added to *Ananiayi vardapeti hayots' ban hakacharudean enddem Erkanakats', zor greats' brahamaw tearn Petrosi hayots' veraditogbi* (A Refutation of the Diophysites by the Armenian Vardapet Anania, Which He Wrote upon the Request of Lord Petros the Overseer of the Armenians). The commissioning heirarch is Catholicos Petros Gatardz (in office 1019–1059), yet the refutation is dedicated to his successor, Catholicos Khach'ik of Ani (in office 1058/9–1065). For the manuscripts (Mashtots' Matenadaran nos. 436, 567 [especially], 2751, 6453) see "Anania Sanahnets'i kam Haghbatats'i" in H. S. Anasyan, *Haykakan Matenagitut'yun* (Armenian Bibliology), 3 vols. (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1959–2004) 1:775–786, esp. 777–782. For the text of the discourse "On the Feast of Christ's Birth," see H. Kyoseyan, ed., *Anania Sanahnets'i*, Mashtots'yan Matenadaran: Astuatsabanakan bnagrner / usumnasirutyunner 1 (Ejmiatsin: Mother See Press, 2000), pp. 302–313 (see also pp. 8–11, for a review of the issues; cf. p. 378 n. 77).

history of the discourse in question need not concern us here; however, the implications of the lengthy excerpt for the text of the Letter—before it acquired its present canonical form—will be discussed below, in the textual considerations.

As for the extant texts of the Letter, they are identical in both the *Girk' Tghbōts'* and the *Kanonagirk'* collections. Early and gradual scribal corrections of one text with the other are to be ruled out, for no evidence of such development is found in the existing manuscripts: the few of the *Girk' Tghbōts'* and the many more of the *Kanonagirk'*.²¹ Throughout this study I follow both the text and the line enumeration of the Letter as found in Hakobyan's nearly critical yet mostly diplomatic edition of the *Kanonagirk'*, where he establishes the text of Macarius' *Letter to the Armenians* on the basis of the two best representatives among the scores of *Kanonagirk'* manuscripts which contain the Letter, and without completely ignoring those of the *Girk' Tghbōts'*.²² To be sure, the document is not devoid of textual problems; a couple of discernible instances (at 222.7–223.1 and 227.7–10) are discussed further, below. Hakobyan's avoiding conjectural emendation is indeed commendable.

The Armenian text of the Letter is found in two other publications.²³ It was translated into Latin by Ancharakian early in the nineteenth century,²⁴ and into English by Conybeare later in that century.²⁵ However, it

²¹N. Akinian, *Tugh' Makaray B. Erusaghēmi Hayrapeti ar' Vrtanēs Episkoposapet Siwneats' yaghags kargats' ekeghets' woy* (The Letter of Macarius II, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to Vrtanēs, Chief-bishop of Siwnik, on the Ordinances of the Church), Azgayin Matenadaran 128 (Vienna: Mkhitarean Tparan, 1930), p. 91 (published concurrently in *Handes Amorya* 44 [1930] 509–578; German abstract, cols. 631–635), and Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk'*, 1:xxx, xl–xli; 2:382 (the latter page lists the manuscripts of the *Girk' Tghbōts'*). On the oldest *Kanonagirk'* manuscript containing the Letter, Mashtots' Matenadaran 6409, dated thirteenth century, see *ibid.*, 1:xi.

²²Hakobyan dwells on Matenadaran manuscripts 648 (especially) and 3562, among others, when considering the text of the Letter. He rightly considers the text of the Letter in manuscripts of the *Girk' Tghbōts'* as secondary or derivative (*Kanonagirk'*, 2:382).

²³In N. Melik-Tangian, ed., *Hayots' Ekeghets'akan irawunkē* (The Armenian Church Orders), 2 vols. (Shushi: B. Tēr-Sahakeants', 1903–1905) 1:497–503; and in Akinian, *Tugh' Makaray B.*, pp. 111–126.

²⁴"*Canones Macarii Hierosolymitani*," in Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, 10/2:270–272. The translation is from a defective manuscript, lacking the prologue. For the rest of the contents of this volume, see Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk'*, 1:xxvi, n. 4, where he inadvertently omits the Letter of Macarius I.

²⁵F. C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth: A Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1898), "Appendix IX: Macarius' Epistle to the Armenians," pp. 178–186; esp. 180–185. The appendix is reprinted in Conybeare's collected reviews and articles, *The Armenian Church: Heritage and Identity* (New York: St. Vartan Press, 2004), pp. 470–475, 480–481 nn. 102–131.

was not until Conybeare's translation in an appendix to *The Key of Truth* that the Letter was brought to broader scholarly attention. He wrongly believed that the correspondence was somehow related to the baptismal practices of the Paulician movement in fourth-century Armenia. Nonetheless, convinced about its fourth-century date, he went on to affirm its ascription to Macarius I of Jerusalem (giving his years in office as 311/2–335) and to declare it "the earliest document we possess bearing on the history of the Armenian Church."²⁶ This was enough to invite an outright rejection by Akinian of the traditional authorship of the Letter and its date. He offhandedly ascribed it to Macarius II of Jerusalem (in office 552, 563–575) and identified the recipient as Vrtanēs Bishop of Siwnik,²⁷ and twenty years later he published his arguments for a sixth-century date, along with the text.²⁸

Akinian's remarks on the authorship and date of the Letter did not go unnoticed by Armenian scholars, both before and after the publication of his book. Hats'uni took issue with him repeatedly, persuasively nullifying all the arguments posited for sixth-century authorship and date.²⁹ He first wrote a short critique of Akinian's initial disputation, arguing that there is no good reason to doubt the traditional authorship and date. A year later Akinian published his ill-conceived monograph and briefly took Hats'uni to task, inviting attention to earlier remarks by Alishan and Dashian, both of whom had observed that the document deserves careful study because of its antiquity.³⁰ Akinian interprets these remarks as questioning the traditional date and authorship of the document, when neither of the distinguished Mekhitharist scholars does so. As expected, Hats'uni became the first critical reviewer of Akinian's monograph, insisting that the author had

²⁶Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, p. 178. On the early patriarchs of Jerusalem, see G. Fedalto, "Liste vescovi del patriarcato di Gerusalemme I. Gerusalemme e Palestina prima," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 49 (1983) 5–41.

²⁷N. Akinian, *Kiwriion Katoghikos Vrats': Patmut'ewn hay-vrakan yaraberuteants' eotnerord daru mej* (Catholicos Kiwriion of Georgia: History of Armenian-Georgian Relations in the Seventh Century), Azgayin Matenadaran 60 (Vienna: Mkhitarcan Tparan, 1910), p. 98 n. 2. The monograph was published concurrently in *Handes Amsorya* 22 (1908) 166–72, 202–4, 334–9; 23 (1909) 14–21, 76–81, 103–6, 141–8, 176–81, 193–7, 257–67, 327–32; see esp. 22 (1908) 171.

²⁸Idem, *Tugh't Makaray B.*, esp. pp. 23–51.

²⁹V. Hats'uni, "Tugh't Makaray Erusaghemats'woy ar S. Vrtanēs" (The Letter of Macarius of Jerusalem to St. Vrtanēs), *Bazmavep* 86 (1929) 260–264; idem, "Ar Vrtanēs tgh'in heghinakē Makar arajin (sic) ē, och' erkrordē" (The Author of the Letter to Vrtanēs is Macarius the First, Not the Second), *Bazmavep* 88 (1931) 14–20, 61–72.

³⁰Akinian, *Tugh't Makaray B.*, pp. 21–22.

not proven his point.³¹ Hats'uni was followed by Hakobyan in refuting Akinian convincingly.³²

Except for passing references to the Letter in subsequent years, nothing has been written exclusively about it. It is now high time to put Akinian's views to rest and to reintroduce the document to contemporary scholars who may readily find in it more than Conybeare came to appreciate as the earliest document bearing on the history of the Armenian Church. The Letter has no less bearing on the early history of liturgical development, where it rightly belongs with those few texts of the first four centuries and before the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, which were preached just over a decade later. Indeed, the form of the initiation rituals recommended by Macarius reflects the Jerusalem tradition of Cyril's time, and the censured Armenian practices reflect those of the early Syrian Church that came under Byzantine scrutiny. Given Conybeare's interest in early Christian liturgy and the liturgy of the Armenian Church in particular,³³ it is rather unfortunate that he failed to recognize the liturgical significance of the document and its early place in the history of such praxis. His focus on Paulician or Adoptionist theology and practices in the early Armenian Church seems to have made him inattentive to the real significance of the document's contents. Moreover, since in his prologue the author speaks of a delegation of Armenian priests visiting Jerusalem and alludes—however briefly—to their witnessing the orderly baptismal services in the Holy City, a rightful niche for the document could be claimed among the early pilgrim-texts of the fourth century, for our text is contemporaneous with the earliest of these accounts, that of the anonymous pilgrim of Bordeaux, from A.D. 333.³⁴

Although Conybeare was generally wrong in reading Paulicianism in the Letter, he was right in his affirmation of the date of the document written in the lofty Byzantine style of the period: "The style throughout betokens an original written in the florid and verbose Greek of the fourth century."³⁵ Obviously, he did not question the assumed identity either of

³¹Hats'uni, "A' Vrtanēs ighfin heghinakē," pp. 14–20, 61–72.

³²Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk' Hayots'*, 2: lxxvii–xcviii.

³³F. C. Conybeare and A. J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1905; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2004).

³⁴P. Geyer and O. Cuntz, eds., *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965).

³⁵Idem, *The Key of Truth*, p. 179.

the sender or of the recipient. Still, it is necessary to underscore the internal evidence for a fourth-century date, to confirm the historicity of the contents of the Letter vis-à-vis fourth-century liturgical practices, and to establish its authenticity and authorship, the identity of the sender and that of the recipient. These tasks are all the more essential in view of Akinian's sweeping objections, to which I shall respond methodically after a critical review of Conybeare's work.

Synopsis of the Letter

The Letter begins with a prologue in three clearly defined paragraphs: 1. An acknowledgement by Macarius, Archbishop of Jerusalem, of an Armenian petition delivered in writing by a delegation of priests visiting the Holy City and appearing before a gathering of bishops (216.1–218.11); 2. The priests' own report about baptismal and hierarchic irregularities in Armenia vis-à-vis what they witnessed in Jerusalem (218.12–219.11); and 3. A general reaction and response by Macarius and the gathered bishops, addressed to Chief-bishop Vrtānēs and to the body of bishops and priests of Armenia (219.12–221.3), before addressing eight specific concerns having to do with the form of administering the two fundamental sacraments of the Church: baptism and the Eucharist (221.4–228.10), which together constitute the initiation rite.

The subject matters, introduced in a couple of lines (221.4–6) and then by way of eight questions and answers—four on each of the two sacraments, deal with (i) the issue of deacons baptizing (221.7–222.3), (ii) [the festal seasons for baptism and their attendant meaning] and the proper place and form of the ritual (222.4–224.3), (iii) the hierarchic standing of the ministrants of the ritual (224.4–225.2), and (iv) of those sanctifying the oil of anointing (225.3–226.4); (v) approaching the Eucharist (226.5–12), (vi) the confessional character of the sacrament (227.1–6), (vii) the Eucharistic bread [and wine] and the ministrants of the sacrament (227.7–228.2), and (viii) the proper place of the ministrants vis-à-vis lay worshippers, and the loci of the table and the baptistery (228.3–10). Some deletions resulting from changes in later praxis, as also from theologically motivated tampering, are detectable: the deletion of an entire passage on the festal seasons for baptism and their attendant meaning (at 223.1), and

minor though significant omissions to gloss over the issue of the mixed cup of the Eucharist (at 227.9 and 10).

These are followed by an epilogue: a concluding paragraph indicating concern about Arian activities fomented by a certain Torg, the schismatic Bishop of Basean and Bagrewand (228.11–229.10), and salutation (229.11).

Evidence for a Greek original

Conybeare observes that the original document was composed in Greek; however, he does not refer to specific indicators to substantiate his observation other than inviting attention to the typical Byzantine verbosity of the Letter. It remains to demonstrate, therefore, that Greek was the original language of the document, translated into Armenian conceivably not long after the invention of the Armenian alphabet in A.D. 406.

The translator's perplexing choice of synonyms is noteworthy. He uses the word *կարգ* (*karg*) repeatedly and in a variety of meanings: in the sense of "ordinance" or "injunction," instead of *կանոն* (*kanon*, for Gk. *kanōn*), a word hardly used here—except in the compound *կանոնադրութիւն* (*kanonadrut'wn*, lit., "laying down of canons," 217.1; 218.9; 225.7; and in the heading; cf. *դրութիւն կարգաց* [*drut'wn kargats*], 218.11; *եղեալ կարգ* [*edeal karg*], 223.12 and 225.3–4; and *եղեալ սահման* [*edeal sahman*], 224.1 and 226.3). He employs the same word (*karg*) in the sense of ecclesiastical "order" or "rank" (224.4; 225.4),³⁶ just as he employs the words *դաս* (*das*, in 224.2) and *աշտիճան* (*ashtichan*, older form of *astichan*, in 228.7, to render Gk. *taxis*). He has the same word (*karg*) for "compartment," "partition," or "room" within the sanctuary (228.4 and 9), instead of using the more appropriate term *տուն* (*tun*; for Gk. *oikos*—as he does in the same context, line 6). Moreover, in this last instance there seems to be some confusion in the instrumental rendering *ստան* (*tamb*) of what may have been a locative in the original (Gk. *oikō*). Armenian has distinct locative and instrumental cases; these, however, are indistinguishable in Greek when used without a preposition, where the case is determined simply by context. Had the document been composed in Armenian, one would have found *ստանս* / *ի նստին*

³⁶Conybeare rightly notes that *karg* in line 224.4 should be translated as "order" and not as "ordinance," as elsewhere in the document (*ibid.*, p. 183, n. 2); so also at 225.4, where he correctly translates the word as "position."

տան (*ar na' i nmin tan*, "next to it, in the same compartment") instead of the extremely awkward and odd *տն նմին տամբ* (*ar nmin tamb*).

Other, similar indicators are to be seen in the renditions *կաթողիկէ եկեղեցի*, twice (*katoghikē ekeghets'i*, 217.2; 220.3), and once *ընդհանրական եկեղեցի* (*ēndhanrakan ekeghets'i*, 221.3–4)—the former transliterated and the latter translated, both meaning "Universal Church." Similarly, *եպիսկոպոս* (*episkopos*, "bishop"), a Greek word that had acquired currency in Armenian and is used twelve times here (218.2; 219.4, 14; 220.1, 7; 221.9; 225.5, 10, 13; 226.2; 229.3, 5), appears in a translated form in 224.5, *վերապետաւոր* (*veratesuch'k*, for Gk. *episkopoi*). So also the cognate *արքեպիսկոպոս* (*arkepiskopos/archiepiskopos*, "archbishop"), which is used four times: twice in the self-designation of Macarius (219.13; 225.6), once generically (225.12), and once with reference to the schismatic, self-proclaimed Arian "archbishop" Torg (229.5). It appears twice in a partially translated form, *եպիսկոպոսապետ* (*episkoposapet*, "chief bishop," note the transposition of the compound): once in a direct reference to Vrtanēs (219.15) and once indirectly, as an allusion to the holder of the same patriarchal office (225.11). The term *episkoposapet* is "usually used interchangeably with *bayrapet* ("patriarch") and *kahanayapet* ("chief priest" or "high priest") to distinguish the Armenian primates of the Gregorid house—to whom it is exclusively reserved—from the patriarchs of other families."³⁷ The distinction between *arkepiskopos* and *episkoposapet* is therefore deliberate on the part of the translator, since the original language could not have had these distinctions—both being *archiepiskopos* in Greek. However, in the following line (225.12), where one would expect the recurrence of the word *episkoposapet* in the same context, the word *arkepiskopos* is used, a likely blunder by the translator rather than a scribal error in the hyparchetype of the existing manuscripts. Also the word *քահանայ* (*kahanay*, "priest"; Gk. *hiereus*) appears six times in conjunction with the word "bishop" (219.4; 220.1; 221.9–10; 225.5, 10; 226.2), and once, where one would expect the same

³⁷N. G. Garsoian, trans., *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand* (Buzandaran Patmut'wnk'), Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 8 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 523 (q.v. "Episkosapet"). Whereas there are several *archiepiskopoi*, there is but one *episkoposapet*. This early title traditionally reserved for the head of the Armenian Church is found also in the diptychs (*yishatakut'wnk*) of the Divine Liturgy; see T. Nerisoyan, trans., *Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church*, rev. 5th ed. (London: Saint Sarkis Church, 1984), p. 84. For a discussion, see R. W. Thomson, trans., *The History of Lazar Parpeci*, Scholars Press Occasional Papers and Proceedings: Columbia University Program in Armenian Studies / S. D. Festian Academic Publications 4 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), pp. 272–274.

word in such conjunction, the word *երէց* (*erēts*, "presbyter"; Gk. *presbyteros*) is used (220.8; cf. line 10, where one would expect the word "bishop" with the word "priest," the periphrastic "leader of the church" is used). These are among the most common inconsistencies one finds in translated ecclesiastical texts.

Less significant—though not altogether negligible—is the interchangeable use of such words as *խորհուրդ* (*khorburd*, "mystery," 220.2; 221.7; 226.6; 227.1, 2, 4; 228.3) and *սրբութիւն* (*srbutiwn*, "sacrament," 226.1; 227.7) when referring to the rite; and the similar use of *առնել* (*arnel*, "to do," 221.7, 11; cf. 222.7) and *կատարել* (*katarel*, "to perform," 220.2; 222.10; 225.10; 227.1, 3) when referring to the administration of the rite. Note also the infinitives *մկրտել* (*mkrtel*, "to baptize," 220.8, 221.14, 222.10) and *մկրտութիւն առնել* (*mkertutiwn arnel*, "to do baptism," 221.7) and *կատարել զմկրտութիւնն* (*katarel zmkertutiwnn*, "to perform the baptism," 222.10); and the third-person plural verbs *մկրտեն* (*mkrten*, "they baptize," 219.3) and *մկրտութիւն առնեն* (*mkertutiwn arnen*, "they do baptism," 219.4). Note also the interchangeable use of the words *ձէթ* (*dzet*, "olive oil," twice, 219.5) and *իւղ* (*iugh*, "oil," 223.11; 225.11; 226.1; both words rendering Gk. *elaion*). Likewise the use of the adjectives *կենարար* (*kenarar*, "life-giving," for baptism, 218.12; for Christ, 224.12) and *կենդանարար* (*kendamarar*, "life-giving," for the Eucharist, 226.5). A similar interchangeability is found in the quotation excerpted by Anania of Shirak (note the same adjectives there: *կենարար* [*kenarar*], for the Passion, 284.13; for the Spirit, line 34; *կենդանարար* [*kendamarar*], also for the Spirit, line 14; and *կենսաբեր* [*kensaber*, "life-bringing"], for the Resurrection, line 25. All three words render Gk. *zōopoios*, *-on*. A scribal error or two may be suspected in the above examples).

Among other indicators of a Greek original are the references to Armenia as a land in the East (217.14; 219.1, 15), as is customary among Greek authors when referring to the Armenian highlands in relation to the Roman Empire and its successor, Byzantium; whereas early Armenian authors consistently refer to their land as being in the North, or the northern land, and to the Armenian people as northern people, living among other nations inhabiting the North—either in relation to Iran or in relation to the Taurus mountains.³⁸

³⁸See Koriwn, *Life of Mashtots*, 16 (64.21); Agathangelos, *History*, §§175, 741–742; Khorenats'i, *History*, 1.10, 17, 3.68.

Clearly, the epistle is not a piece of Armenian composition. Had it been composed in Armenian, one would not have found such limited and at times poorly chosen vocabulary with the kind of translational inconsistencies and mistakes as those pointed out above—blunders that are apt to emerge in the course of careless translation. The original language of the document must have been Greek, as the transliterations and certain syntactical peculiarities likewise indicate. The document was translated poorly into Armenian probably before the middle of the fifth century; i.e., before the Council of Chalcedon (451), for the text shows post-Chalcedonian tampering—to be discussed in the textual considerations.

Survey of scholarship on the Letter

Aside from Mai's scant notes to a Latin translation from a very deficient text, Conybeare's mostly misguided ramblings about the intended readers, Akinian's poorly chosen and unconvincingly defended hypothesis regarding the date and authorship, Hats'uni's perceptive responses to Akinian, and Hakobyan's assessment of Akinian's views alongside Hats'uni's criticism—with whom Hakobyan agrees completely against Akinian—there is no thorough study of Macarius' *Letter to the Armenians*. Thus my brief survey of the scholarly literature will dwell primarily on Conybeare's misappropriation of the document as a Paulician text and on Akinian's misdating of the Letter as a sixth-century document. I shall conclude with the brief yet meritorious observations of more recent scholars familiar with the document.

Conybeare's observations

Conybeare had no qualms about the fourth-century date of the Letter, accepting the traditional identity of the sender and that of the recipient unquestioningly. According to him "The synchronisms are correct."³⁹

Macarius became Patriarch (*sic*) of Jerusalem in 311 or 312. He attended the Council of Nice (*sic*) in 325 (Soz. i. 17; Theod. *H.E.* i. 15). Sozomen places his death between 331 and 335. The Epistle to the Armenians must there-

³⁹Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, p. 178.

fore have been written between 325 and 335, and is the earliest document we possess bearing on the history of the Armenian Church.⁴⁰

He considered the underlying "florid and verbose Greek of the fourth century" as sufficient indicator of a Greek original and rightly dismissed all doubts about the text being a later forgery.⁴¹ Consequently, he declared the Letter to be the oldest account of the Armenian Church and the first testimony to the Paulician heresy in the local churches.

Because of his focus on Paulicianism, however, Conybeare was quite selective in his observations. He underscored baptism by deacons as the only irregular practice mentioned in the Letter that was not insisted upon by Paulicians of possibly a later age.⁴² He ignored the allusion by Macarius to child baptism among the practices of the recipients, a practice not followed by the Paulicians, who reserved the rite for adults only. Similarly, he misunderstood the remarks about deferral of baptism among the recipients as referring to adulthood instead of to special feast-days.⁴³ Moreover, he loosely equated Arians, who are mentioned in the Letter, with Adoptionists and Paulicians, who are not mentioned.⁴⁴ Furthermore, given his equally profound interest in the liturgy of the Armenian Church, it is rather surprising that he failed to recognize the liturgical significance of the document, especially its place in the development of the primary sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist in the early church—whether in Jerusalem or in Armenia.

Much to his credit, Conybeare made some perceptive observations regarding the text. He was first to locate an excerpt from the Letter of Macarius in the discourse by Anania of Shirak on the proper day of observing the Nativity/Epiphany, on January 6.⁴⁵ As noted above, and more so

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 179.

⁴²Ibid., p. 181, n. 3.

⁴³So also N. G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy: A Study of the Origin and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire*, Publications in Near and Middle East Studies, Series A, 6 (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1967), p. 230, following Conybeare.

⁴⁴Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, p. 184, n. 1.

⁴⁵For a translation of the excerpt, see *ibid.*, pp. 185–186. Conybeare went on to publish separately Anania's discourse on the Epiphany: "The Discourse of Ananias, Called the Counter upon the Epiphany of our Lord and Saviour," *The Expositor*, 5th series, 4 (1896) 321–337 (repr. in *idem*, *The Armenian Church*, pp. 776–783). There is considerable inconsistency in the two translations. Conybeare then published another of Anania's calendrical discourses: "Ananias of Shirak: II. Tract

below, the excerpt is a precious witness to the text of the Letter in the seventh century—prior to its incorporation into the *Kanonagirk* and the *Girk Tghots*.

Akinian's hypotheses

Akinian's initial and final arguments are reflected in the title he gave to his study of Macarius' *Letter to the Armenians*, ascribing it to Patriarch Macarius II of Jerusalem (in office 552, 563–575) and identifying the recipient as Archbishop Vrtanēs of Siwnik.⁴⁶ By his own account in the preface, he arrived at this sixth-century date in the course of his earlier research on the split of the Armenian and Georgian churches in 608, under Patriarch Kiwrion of Georgia;⁴⁷ however, for lack of time to pursue the subject then, he deferred his fuller study of the Letter of Macarius to a later time, when he would be able to devote himself to a larger project on the sixth through seventh-century ecclesial relations between Jerusalem and Armenia.⁴⁸ Akinian—a deconstructionist of a sort—would have done better had he withheld his judgment on the date of this Letter until he had completed his projected study. It seems to me that he made himself vulnerable to the charge of jumping to conclusions prematurely, looking for evidence afterwards to substantiate his earlier assertions (and the evidence was not there).

on Easter," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 6 (1897) 574–584 (repr. in idem, *The Armenian Church*, pp. 804–811). The latter article was preceded by a translation of Anania's autobiography, which survives in two recensions, one shorter than the other. The shorter recension was first published by K. P[atkanean], *Ananiayi Shirakunwoy mnats'ordk banits* (The Rest of the Works of A.S.) (St. Petersburg: Kayserakan Chemaran Gitutants', 1877), pp. 1–4, then by Gh. Alishan, *Hayapatum* (Armenian History) (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1901), pp. 232–233. Conybeare's translation is of this shorter recension, "Ananias of Shirak: I. His Autobiography," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 6 (1897) 572–574 (repr. in idem, *The Armenian Church*, pp. 803–804). The preferred longer version was first published by Y. Dashian (Tashean), *Ts'us'ak hayeren dzetagrats* (Katalog der armenischen Handschriften) (Vienna: Mkhitarcan Tparan, 1891), pp. 174–176, then by Abrahamyan, *Anania Shirakats'u Matenagrutyun*, pp. 206–209, and is available in a French translation by H. Bérbérian, "Autobiographie d'Anania Shirakaci," *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 1 (1964) 189–194; cf. P. Lemerle, "Note sur les données historiques de l'Autobiographie d'Anania de Shirak," *ibid.*, 195–202. Further bibliography in Anasyan, *Haykakan matenagitutun*, 1:731–774. As for the text of the two discourses, *Char i Haytnut'wonn Tiarn* (Discourse on the Lord's Epiphany) and *Char i Zatikn Tiarn* (Discourse on the Lord's Easter), see Abrahamyan, *Anania Shirakats'u Matenagrutyun*, pp. 283–291 and 292–299.

⁴⁶Akinian, *Tugh' Makaray B.*, esp. pp. 48–51.

⁴⁷Idem, *Kiwrion Katoghikos Vrats*, p. 98 n. 2.

⁴⁸Idem, *Tugh' Makaray B.*, p. 7.

His opening criticism has to do with the years in office of Vrtanēs (usually 333–341), the elder son and second successor of Gregory the Illuminator as head of the Armenian Church, as given by Ormanian.⁴⁹ Ormanian determined the first year of Vrtanēs in office on the basis of the Letter of Macarius I, whose death is placed—wrongly it seems—in 333 in nearly all church-history dictionaries of the last two centuries.⁵⁰ Ormanian correlated the first year of Vrtanēs in office with the last year of Macarius I in office, thus allowing an overlapping year to accommodate the Letter. To be sure, Ormanian is wrong in the years he has for Vrtanēs (see discussion below, on the identity of the recipient) just as others are usually wrong in determining the last year of Macarius I in office. As we shall see in the discussion on the identity of the sender, he was still in office in the fall of 335. But Akinian has no burden to determine either the last year of Macarius I in office or the first year of Vrtanēs in office; for the latter he is content to cite the far-fetched year (339) suggested by Ch'amch'ian.⁵¹ Akinian simply wants to argue against Ormanian, a former Viennese Mekhitharist (of the same Armenian Catholic order to which Akinian belonged) who abandoned Catholicism to embrace the traditional Armenian Church, eventually becoming Patriarch of Constantinople (in office 1896–1908, d. 1918). Akinian singles out Ormanian in his opening criticism even though the latter is but one of several Armenian scholars (named below) who accepted unquestioningly the fourth-century date of the document.⁵²

Akinian erroneously assimilates two differing testimonies by medieval Armenian authors who refer to correspondence that bears the name of Macarius of Jerusalem (pp. 15–17; cf. pp. 89–91 for later testimonies dependent on the first). The first is by Anania of Sanahin, whose discourse "On the Feast of Christ's Birth," appropriated from that of Anania of Shirak (see Appendix I), contains a long excerpt from the Letter in question—from Macarius of Jerusalem who was present at the Council of Nicaea—that has to do with the ritual of baptism. The second testimony is by

⁴⁹M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum* (National History), 3 vols. (Constantinople: Tēr-Nersēsian and Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1912–1927; repr. Beirut: Sevan, 1959–1961) 1:126–127 (§89).

⁵⁰On the years of Macarius in office and the assumed year of his death (333), see below ("I, Macarius . . .") and nn. 84, 95.

⁵¹Ch'amch'ian, *Armenian History*, 1:421 (Akinian, p. 14).

⁵²Among them were several Venetian Mekhitharists, such as Hats'uni, whom Akinian criticizes in particular for having written against his proposition of the date of the Letter (pp. 24–25; Hats'uni's essays are reviewed further below).

Stepanos Ōrbēlean (d. 1304), who alludes to a post-Chalcedonian letter that mentions Macarius II of Jerusalem (in office 552, 563–575) and that has to do with the celebration of Nativity/Epiphany on January 6. Despite their obvious differences, Akinian treats the sources cited by the two medieval authors as one and the same, from the sixth century. He fails to realize that Ōrbēlean's allusion is to a letter written and sent from Jerusalem in ca. 560 by Grigor Bishop of the Artsrunis to the faithful in southwestern Armenia and which mentions Macarius II and the resistance in Jerusalem to the imperial attempt to alter the feast-day of the Nativity/Epiphany and consequently that of the Presentation of the Lord.⁵³ Akinian was unfamiliar with this document, which was only published by Pogharian in the middle of the last century (see Appendix II).⁵⁴ He goes on to criticize a number of scholars who unambiguously hold to the fourth-century date of the Letter of Macarius (Paṙapazian, Ancharakian, Mai, Mkhitarants', Tēr-Yovhannēsian, Melik-Ġangian, Tēr-Mkrtch'ian, Ormanian, Conybeare, and Hats'uni), accusing them of being uncritically influenced by Ch'amch'ian (pp. 17–21). He then names scholars who either did not consider the Letter in their respective surveys of the early history of the Armenian Church or simply withheld judgment about its date (pp. 21–23).⁵⁵

⁵³In the letter Grigor discusses an attempt during the reign of Emperor Justinian I (527–565) to move the date of the feast of the Presentation of the Lord to February 2, the fortieth day from December 25, an attempt resisted by Macarius II, just as it had been resisted by his predecessor, Eustochios (in office 552–563). The Jerusalem tradition was to observe the Presentation of the Lord to the Temple on February 14, the fortieth day from January 6. For a survey of the Armenian sources dealing with the date of the Epiphany and subsequent feast-days that depend on it, see Ch. Renoux, "L'Annonciation du rite arménien et l'Épiphanie," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 71 (2005) 315–342.

⁵⁴N. Pogharian (Bogharian), "Ġugh't y'Erusagheme i Hays vasn Teānēndarajin" (Letter from Jerusalem to the Armenians Regarding the Feast of the Presentation of the Lord), *Sion* 38 (1964) 33–36. The authenticity of the letter is attested by Stepanos Bishop of Siwnik (d. 735) who paraphrases it in a letter in which he responds to an anonymous bishop of Antioch; for the text of his letter, see idem, *Girk'Ġghots*, pp. 494–514 (esp. p. 500; cf. pp. 323–334 of the Tiflis edition). K. Tēr-Mkrtch'ean (Tēr-Mkrtch'ian), ed., *Knik' Haratoy* (Seal of Faith) (Ejmiatsin: Mother See Press, 1914; repr. Antelias: The Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1998), pp. ciii–civ, questions the attribution of the letter to Stepanos.

⁵⁵Among the former, silent group he names [H.] Gelzer, [S.] Weber, [F.] Tournèize, [A.] Harnack, [O.] Bardenhewer et al., as though they were familiar with the Letter. Akinian refers to Mai again, inviting attention to his suspecting some tampering at 227.7–10 (*Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, 10/2:272 n. 1). He generalizes Mai's questioning a specific passage to questioning the whole (p. 21), obscuring the fact that in vol. 10/2 Mai arranges the Armenian codes of canon law chronologically, placing the Letter of Macarius immediately after the canons attributed to Gregory the Illuminator (pp. 269–270).

Akinian then gives seven reasons why he thinks the *Letter to the Armenians* cannot be from the fourth century (pp. 23–45). Here are his reasons in summary form, with my brief objections following each of his arguments:

1. The canons forbidding deacons to baptize and to celebrate the Eucharist (221.7–222.3; 228.1–2) depend on the *Apostolic Constitutions* (called *Araḳelots' Sahmanadrut'wonn* or *Sahmanadrut'wonn Araḳelots'* by Akinian, who points to Canons III.15–16; VII.22; VIII.46), to which Macarius alludes with the words “from the accounts of the Apostles” (*yaṛaḳelots'n patmufēants'*, 225.8).

The supposed allusion to the *Apostolic Constitutions* is tortuously forced by Akinian. Nowhere is this work referred to as *patmuf'wonn* (“accounts” or “histories”).⁵⁶ Moreover, the references he gives fall short of convincing, for their injunctions are anticipated in earlier writings. Although the collection known as the *Apostolic Constitutions* dates from the second half of the fourth century, its constituent parts have a much earlier history of ecclesiastical canons, including the *Didache*, the *Didascalia*, and various admonitory and liturgical traditions. Macarius is most likely alluding to such ante-Nicene Apostolic traditions in general, including those found in the Syriac *Teaching of the Apostles* and in the various Apostolic “Acts,” and not to the *Apostolic Constitutions* as a written document. The following two lines of the Letter, uninterpreted by Akinian, are as indicative as the line to which he draws attention: “as we learned from the spiritual Fathers, from the disciples of the holy Apostles” (224.2–3). Perhaps deliberately, Akinian ignores all the earlier sources that already restricted deacons in their roles to baptize and to celebrate the Eucharist: the *Didache*, Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, the *Didascalia*, the *Canons of Nicaea*, and the other Apostolic traditions that are grouped under the shadowy name of Hippolytus. Yet he does cite Canon 77 of the Council of Elvira (ca. 309; though many of its 81 canons may be the product of several Iberian councils from later in the century), which allows deacons to baptize with the consent of the bishop. The canon to which he refers is comparable to some general admonitions in Book II of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which order that the deacon must not do anything (iv.31) or make any distribution without the

⁵⁶He might have had a point had the text had *Kanonk Araḳelakan*; but even then, the designation would be for any of the received church orders with Apostolic authority, requiring further identification by the document's contents, etc.

consent of the bishop (iv.32),⁵⁷ or that he should assist the bishop in weighty matters and order the smaller matters himself (v.4). By the end of the fourth century deacons were already prevented from carrying out their traditional liturgical functions, including preaching. Thus, the issues raised by the author of the Letter would be anachronistic after the fourth century. The restrictions belong to a period when deacons were being prevented from baptizing and celebrating the Eucharist, a historical factor skirted by Akinian (for more, on deacons celebrating the Eucharist, see my response to his sixth argument).

2. There were no baptisteries in early Armenian churches (222.6–7) before the time of Catholicos Yovhannēs of Ȫdzun (in office 717–728).

Akinian probably had Canons 13 and 14 of Yovhannēs of Ȫdzun in mind, which mandate the use of built baptisteries (*Kanonagirk*, 1:521); but Canon 2 of Sahak the Parthian has a similar mandate (*ibid.*, 1:368).⁵⁸ Akinian's assertion, however, is absurd—given his arguments for a sixth-century date. He seems to be stretching the period of the unavailability of built baptisteries in Armenia to such a late date so as to accommodate his dating of the Letter. Furthermore, he does not take any of the archaeological evidence into account. Some early remains of built baptisteries, however rare, are found at several sites in Armenia: from the fourth century, the ruins of the square baptistery at Oghjaberđ; from the fifth, the cruciform and domed Surb Astuatsatsin at Tsřiviz and Surb Khach' in Tayk; from the sixth, the externally octagonal and internally cruciform Surb Kiraki at Arzni; from the seventh, the in-ground, circular baptistery excavated at Zuar'nots', among others.⁵⁹ The scarcity of baptisteries and fonts

⁵⁷So also Canon 37 of the *Apostolic Canons* traditionally attributed to Clement of Rome, a collection titled *Erkrord Atakelakan kanonis glukhl DzE* (Second Series of Apostolic Canons, 85 Chapters) in the *Kanonagirk* (1:67–100; esp. 85).

⁵⁸Elsewhere, Akinian argues for an early seventh-century date for the canons transmitted in the name of Sahak the Parthian: *Knnutiwn S. Sahaki veragruts kannnonneru ew bayots' egeghets'akan tarin Ē daru skizbt* (An Examination of the Canons Ascribed to St. Sahak and the Armenian Ecclesiastical Year in the Early VIth Century) (Vienna: Mkhitarian Tparan, 1950) 1–72 (from *Handes Amorya* 60 [1946] 48–70; 61 [1947] 1–25). *Inter alia*, he ignores their sequential relation to the canons of the Council of Shahapivan (A.D. 444). Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk*, 1:xxi–xxii, argues with some reservation for a fifth-century date for this collection of 55 canons, maintaining that while many reflect ancient traditions, some are no longer in their original form. For the text, see *ibid.*, pp. 363–421, and notes at pp. 623–626. With good reason, Mardirossian ascribes these canons to Yovhan of Mayragom or Mayravank (flourished at the turn of the seventh century); *Le livre des canons arméniens*, pp. 582–588.

⁵⁹See A. Zaryan, "Mkraran" (Baptistery), in V. H. Hambardzumyan et al., eds., *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran* (Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia), 12 vols. (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of

from this early period is explicable by the fact that portable vessels were used—as the Letter indicates.⁶⁰ This was a widespread custom in the churches of Armenia and northern Syria, where built baptisteries are equally rare.⁶¹

3. The admonition to baptize on days other than the three festal occasions (223.2) is from the *Canons of the Council of Laodicea* (Canons 45–48).

The fragment with original content from the Letter of Macarius, preserved in a seventh-century discourse by Anania of Shirak—the authenticity of which Akinian later acknowledges (pp. 81–82)—promotes baptism on the three festal occasions only: Nativity/Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost. This was the Jerusalem tradition at the time (see below, p. 52, and the Commentary, on Frag. 284.5–39). Yet for no reason other than deliberate misrepresentation of the text to support his predetermined date, Akinian chooses to dwell on the canonically redacted version of the Letter that does away with the three seasons for baptism and much of the meaning of the rite. As for the problem of the date of the Council of Laodicea, it need not be discussed in detail here. While some hold that it was a pre-Nicene council of ca. 314, others place it after First Constantinople (381). Most scholars place it between Serdica and First Constantinople, i.e., between 343 and 381.⁶²

4. The tradition of post-baptismal anointing (223.11–12) also postdates the *Canons of the Council of Laodicea* (Canon 48).

Sciences, 1974–1986) 7:641; abridged in H. Ayvazyan et al., eds., *Kristonya Hayastan, Hanragitaran* (Christian Armenia: Encyclopedia), (Yerevan: Haykakan Hanragitarani Gikhsavor Khmbagrut'yun, 2002), pp. 744–745.

⁶⁰On discoveries of ancient portable baptisteries, such as at the fifth-century Yeghvard church, see T. Toramanyan (Thoramanyan), *Nisut'er haykakan chartarapetut'yan patmut'yan* (Topics Pertaining to the History of Armenian Architecture), K. Ghafadaryan, ed., 2 vols. (Yerevan: ARMFAN / Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1942–1948) 2:157.

⁶¹Cf. A. Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens: plans, notices et bibliographie* (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1962); and Sh. Ter-Gevorgyan (Ch. Der-Kévorkian), *Hayastani ev Siriyai vaghkris-toneakan chartarapetut'yan atnch'ut'yunneré* (Affinités de l'architecture paléochrétienne d'Arménie et de Syrie) (Yerevan: Arm. Acad. of Sciences "Gitut'yun" Hratarakch'ut'yun, 2000) (French summary).

⁶²A. Boudinon, who argues for the later date, maintains that the so-called "Canons of Laodicea" are actually a collection of canons of uncertain origin, issued by earlier fourth-century councils, among them that of Nicaea and an otherwise unknown Council of Laodicea (the first 19 canons have a different formulaic beginning than the rest); "Note sur le concile de Laodicée," in *Congrès scientifique international des catholiques tenu à Paris du 8 au 13 avril 1888*, 2 vols. (Paris: Congrès scientifique international des catholiques, 1888–1889) 2:420–447; cf. A. Favre, *Naissance d'une hiérarchie: les premiers étapes du cursus cléricale, Théologie historique* 40 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977), pp. 228–229; and J. Gaudemet, *Les sources du droit de l'église en Occident du II^e au VII^e siècle, Initiations au christianisme ancien* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf / SNRS, 1983), p. 75 n. 1.

The preceding remarks on the uncertain date of the Council of Laodicea should suffice. More importantly, however, post-baptismal anointing is attested in the *Mystagogical Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem (3.1-7) and other, near contemporary sources.⁶³

5. Four kinds of sanctified oil are presupposed by Macarius, including the oil for anointing the dead (226.1). The earliest mention of the practice of anointing the dead is in *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (556D), a work which dates from ca. 500.

There are two kinds of anointing oil presupposed by Macarius: one sanctified by the "chief-Bishop" or "archbishop" and used for post-baptismal anointing, and another kind blessed by either "priests or bishops" individually and used "for the dead and the sick and for those to be baptized." Thus, there are not four kinds of sanctified oil but four uses of the two kinds, combined. What is more, Akinian ignores the fact that the Pseudo-Dionysian passage on the anointing of the dead presupposes a history of the rite, interpreted in relationship to anointing at baptism (565A). His hasty and outright rejection of the fourth-century date of the Letter makes him reject the possibility that the Letter, though silent about the form, is our earliest documentary witness to the rite of anointing the dead in the Early Church (further discussion can be found in the Commentary).

6. The injunction to offer warm bread for the Eucharistic sacrifice (227.8) is from the *Apostolic Canons*.

This is the only fair point of the seven arguments by Akinian. Even though he gives no specific reference, he must have had Canons 2 and 31 of *Kanonk Arakelakank* in mind (*Kanonagirk*, 1:28, 46; cf. Canon 27 of the Syriac *Teaching of the Apostles*, of which the Armenian *Apostolic Canons* is a translation with significant variants).⁶⁴ Pratten makes the following observation on the antiquity of the Syriac text, in the first note to his translation:

⁶³Cf. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 165-175.

⁶⁴The full Armenian title is *Sahmank ew kanonk zor edin ashakertkn Kristosi ekeghets'woy srboy yet veranaley Tearn* (Rules and Canons which the Disciples of Christ Appointed for the Holy Church after the Lord's Ascension). Among the variants, note especially the six additional canons in Armenian (4, derived from 3; 11, derived from 10; 13; 25; 32 and 33) and the rearrangement of canons 10-27 (Arm. 2a is an additional derivation from Syr. 27). Cf. Hakobyan's notes, *Kanonagirk*, 1:541-549, and the critical work of Y. Dashian (Tashean), *Vardapetut'wn Arakelots' anawerakan kanonats' mateanē* . . . (The Non-canonical Canon-book of the *Teaching of the Apostles* . . .), Azgayin Matenadaran 20 (Vienna: Mkhitarcan Tparan, 1896). A version of this work was known in fourth-century Armenia, before it was translated a century later (*Buzandaran*, 4.4).

"It seems to me that this and the Bryennios fragment [i.e., the *Didache*] are alike relics of some original older than both. To that [i.e., to the *Didache*] of vol. vii. (p. 377 [ANF]) and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, so called, this is a natural preface."⁶⁵ Not that scholars today would agree with Pratten in dating this text with the *Didache* (ca. A.D. 150), but there can be no doubt about its early derivation. More should be said here about this first document in the *Kanonagirk*. Although the Syriac (Canon 5) and the Armenian (Canon 6) validate the office of the deacon, the Syriac text is altogether silent about the role of deacons (note especially Canon 27). The Armenian text (Canon 31) specifies one role only: the deacons' transferring the Eucharistic gifts to the altar, and this appears to be aimed at preventing them from a greater role they once had. Moreover, there is nothing in these texts about baptism. All this suggests that the document, the first in the *Kanonagirk*, like its Syriac counterpart, sees nothing wrong with deacons baptizing; and the Syriac sees nothing wrong with deacons celebrating the Eucharist either. This was the early Armenian tradition (following early Syrian practice) now being censured by Macarius (see also above, my response to Akinian's first argument).

7. Two words in particular (*erknarworats'n dasuts*; lit., "those of the heavenly ranks," 224.2) point to *The Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite (cf. the fifth argument, above).

Overlooking the contextual meaning of the two words in question, Akinian is quick to see the Pseudo-Dionysian concept of heavenly or celestial hierarchy in *erknarworats'n dasuts* ("those of the heavenly ranks"), assuming an analogous relationship between the celestial and the ecclesiastical hierarchies in Pseudo-Dionysius.⁶⁶ The contextual meaning of these two words has to be highlighted: "And the established ordinances of the holy Church are thus regulated in every detail, without transgression of any rule established and underscored by *those of the heavenly ranks*, as we learned from the spiritual Fathers, from the disciples of the holy Apostles" (223.12-224.3). What follows the italicized words is crucial; it not only indi-

⁶⁵ B. P. Pratten, trans., "Ancient Syriac Documents: *The Teaching of the Apostles*," in ANF (8:667 n. 1).

⁶⁶ But see the opening chapter of *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, where the pseudonymous author explains how the latter differs from the celestial or heavenly hierarchy. The Pseudo-Dionysian concept of celestial hierarchy is quite remote; and even there, the notion of angelic powers, over whom Christ reigns supreme, is anticipated in Paul's letters (e.g., Eph 4:10; 6:12; cf. Rom 8:38), even the concept of a series of heavens, as in the inter-Testamental literature (cf. 2Cor 12:2-4).

cates a plurality of sources but also leads appositively to identifying "those of the heavenly ranks" with the Apostolic Fathers.

Suffice it to say that Akinian's arguments against the fourth-century date of the Letter are utterly trifling. It remains to show that his arguments for a sixth-century date are equally unconvincing—indeed outlandish.

To argue for a later date and authorship, Akinian begins with a resumé of the two terms of Macarius II in office (552, 563–575).⁶⁷ He places the arrival of the Armenian delegation at Jerusalem in 563/564, in the interim between the removal of Eustochius and the reinstatement of Macarius II. But Akinian is at a loss to create a gathering of bishops at that time; such a gathering is said to have taken place early in 564, on the occasion of the reinstatement of Macarius II, at which the Patriarch purportedly renounced Origenism (pp. 45–47). That Macarius II wrote a letter "to the Armenians" is (supposedly) mentioned in a letter by his successor, Patriarch John IV (in office 574–594), to Abas, Catholicos of the Caucasian Albanians (in office 552–596).⁶⁸ To make his point Akinian brings in two quotations, which are translated here, the first from the prologue and the second from the epilogue:

The God-fearing Tūmas, the blessed monk from the monastery of Panta, who—as was his custom before our succession to the Holy See of James the brother of the Lord—had carried document(s) on faith and church orders (from here) and had brought the twofold decrees of the council that was held without Christ in Armenia, contrary to the Holy Church. . . .

But we have heard about your beatitude that you are a willing (partner) for good and that you received the two letters, from Macarius and Eustochios, sent with the pious and diligent Tūmas, who does not lack in any honor and greatness among you but only (in wishing) the salvation of your soul. He thus entreated me to write, following the example of those who held the See of the Apostle James before us.

⁶⁷On the death of Patriarch Peter, Macarius II was elected as successor in October 552. Because of his presumed Origenist views, Justinian would not confirm his first election, favoring Eustochios at the Second Council of Constantinople (553), at which Origenism was condemned. Following some uneasy years, Eustochios was removed from office and Macarius restored (563–575).

⁶⁸Arm. text in K. Tēr-Mkrtch'ean, "Erusaghēmi Yovhannēs episkoposi tughtë," *Ararat* 29 (1896) 214–215, 252–256; trans. A. Vardanian, "Des Johannes von Jerusalem Brief an den albanischen Katholikos Abas," *Oriens Christianus*, n.s. 2 (1912) 64–79.

It is sufficiently clear that the two letters (from Patriarchs Macarius and Eustochios) alluded to in the letter of Patriarch John IV to Catholicos Abas of the Caucasian Albanians *were sent not to the Armenians but to the Caucasian Albanians*. Moreover, Akinian is silent about the real intent of the letter of Patriarch John IV. It was to win Abas over to the Chalcedonian fold and to persuade the Caucasian Albanians to throw the heretical Armenians out of monasteries in their country as was certainly being done in Jerusalem. The council which was held in Armenia and which was considered illicit by the author of the letter is none other than the Second Council of Dwin, held in 553/4. It was convened by Catholicos Nersēs II of Bagrewand (in office 548–557). There the Armenians, together with the Georgians and the Caucasian Albanians, again condemned the Nestorians;⁶⁹ and the Armenians went on to adopt canonical and calendral reforms (now that the Byzantine Easter tables, drawn in 353 for two-hundred years, had expired) and began to use a new calendar, counting their years from A.D. 551.⁷⁰

In his two quotations from the letter of John IV to Abas, Akinian seems to have exhausted his weightiest evidence for the sixth-century date of the

⁶⁹The eventual Armenian rejection of the Council of Chalcedon (451), particularly the doctrine of two natures in Christ, was based on the Armenians' discerning in it some tacit Nestorianism: a heresy already condemned at the Council of Ephesus (431) on account of Nestorius' refusal to acknowledge the Virgin Mary as Theotokos (Bearer of God). Armenians, who did not participate in the Council because of their embroilment in a decisive war with the Persians that year, grew more suspicious of its acts with the passing of time. The earliest evidence for the rejection is found in the second of two official letters by Catholicos Babgēn of Otms (in office 490–516), addressed to the Orthodox bishops in Persia, from where there were reports of Nestorian triumphalism because of Chalcedon ("Tughēk Hayots' i Pars, at Ughghapats" [Letters to the Armenians in Persia—to the Orthodox], in Pogharian, *Girk' Tghblots'*, pp. 147–162; cf. pp. 41–47 of the Tiflis edition). The rejection grew stronger at the first Council of Dwin, convened in 506 by the same Catholicos, where the Armenians along with the Georgians and the Caucasian Albanians favored the injunction of the *Henotikon*, an edict promulgated in 482 by the Emperor Zeno (reigned 474–91) and aimed at repairing the religious rupture created by the controversial council. The participants dwelt upon the anti-Chalcedonian intent of the edict, which compromised the authority of Chalcedon in favor of Nicaea. The rift grew wider at the second Council of Dwin, convened on Palm Sunday in 554 by Catholicos Nersēs II of Bagrewand. See especially the second of his three encyclicals in Pogharian, *Girk' Tghblots'*, pp. 199–203; cf. pp. 72–75 in the Tiflis edition. For more, see the next note and Garsoïan, *L'Eglise arménienne et le Grand Schisme d'Orient*, *passim*.

⁷⁰On the two-year discrepancy resulting from conflicting calendrical systems used until then (the Alexandrian on the lower end and the Byzantine on the higher), see É. Dulaurier, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne, technique et historique* (Paris: Impr. impériale, 1859; repr. Boston: Adamant Media/Elibron Classics, 2006). The Armenian action may thus be seen as a rejection of the Byzantine system.

Letter under consideration (pp. 47–48). He then turns his attention to the identity of Vrtanēs, the recipient of the Letter. For him Vrtanēs is none other than the sixth-century bishop of Siwnik (562–584), mentioned in Stepanos Ōrbēlean's list of the hierarchs of Siwnik as successor to Bishop Petros. The ensuing survey of the history of Siwnik in the second half of the sixth century and of those with whom Vrtanēs was (or could have been) in contact has no bearing on the Letter, and it need not be summed up here (pp. 48–69). Akinian has no explanation as to why this Vrtanēs would be addressed as *episkoposapet* in the Letter ("chief-bishop"), a title reserved—as previously stated—for the successors of Gregory the Illuminator, a fact acknowledged earlier by Akinian (p. 15) who nonetheless uses the term in the title of his book with reference to Vrtanēs of Siwnik. Hard as he tries to find some supporting evidence, the best Akinian can come up with is a letter by Catholicos Yovhannēs II of Gabegheank (in office 557–574) addressed to this Vrtanēs, and that simply with the title "bishop" (p. 68).⁷¹

Two more problems are left for Akinian to solve in his own way: the identity of Torg, the Arian bishop of Basean and Bagrewand who is reprimanded in the epilogue for insubordination, and the issue of Arians in the sixth century. Akinian emends the name Torg to Tirik, a bishop of Bagrewand mentioned in two encyclicals of Catholicos Nersēs II of Bagrewand (in office 548–557), but which also mention another bishop of Basean by the name of Grigor.⁷² This, of course, is indicative of a later time, when the once single bishopric was divided into two jurisdictions. As for Arians in the sixth century, Akinian is compelled to resurrect them from the fourth, with anachronistic digressions (pp. 69–81), even venturing to read the underlying Greek name as "heresy" (*hairetikos* or *hairetiōtēs*) or as a substitution for "Nestorians" (p. 78). The rest of Akinian's book is devoted to textual observations (pp. 81–110) followed by a critical text of the Letter (pp. 111–126).

Although one appreciates Akinian's overly critical methodology and his substantial contributions to Armenian Studies elsewhere in his publications,

⁷¹For the letter to Vrtanēs Bishop of Siwnik, "Tugt' zor Tēr Yovhannēs Hayots' Katoghikos ew ayl episkoposk at Siwneats' episkoposn ew ar tern ararin" (A Letter Sent by Lord Yovhannēs, Catholicos of the Armenians, and Other Bishops to the Bishop and to the Lord of Siwnik), see Pogharian, *Girk' Tghlōts'*, pp. 206–209 (pp. 78–80 in the Tiflis edition).

⁷²For the encyclicals: "Tearn Nersēs Hayots' Katoghikos tugt' meghadrutean at episkoposuns" (A Letter of Chastisement from Catholicos Nersēs of the Armenians to the Bishops), and "Ukht Miabanutean . . ." (Concordat . . .), see Pogharian, *Girk' Tghlōts'*, pp. 196–198 and 199–203 (esp. pp. 196 and 201; pp. 70 and 73 in the Tiflis edition).

at this juncture he is in serious error and his pursuit is highly questionable. Except for his substantive textual criticism—with implications for the formation of the *Kanonagirk*—he makes no real contribution in his study of this document. His book achieves little more than to draw attention to two contemporaries in the sixth century with the same first names as those of the sender and of the recipient named in the Letter. He totally ignores the substantial internal evidence for an earlier date—even when confronted with it, for that evidence is overwhelmingly against his hastily declared, earlier position that cannot be defended. What he does not ignore he simply twists in favor of his premise for the later date.

Hats'uni's criticism of Akinian

It should be remembered that Akinian had predetermined the date and authorship of the Letter in 1908/1910, leading Hats'uni in 1929 to criticize the premature and erroneous dating and attribution. No sooner had Akinian published his book in 1930, in part as a response to Hats'uni's criticism, than Hats'uni published his second critique of the contrived sixth-century date and author/recipient.

In his earlier article Hats'uni points out three major oversights by Akinian.⁷³ First, the titles used for the sender (*arkepiskopos*) and the recipient (*episkoposapet*) are the proper ones for Macarius I and the Gregorid Vrtanēs, and improper for the supposed sender Patriarch Macarius II and recipient Vrtanēs Bishop of Siwnik in the sixth century. Second, the association of Torg Bishop of Basean and Bagrewand with the Arians would be anachronistic in the sixth century. Moreover, these districts had their separate bishops at that later time. Third, the author knew of the Council of Nicaea only—just as he knew of no other heresy but Arianism. In his later article Hats'uni takes issue with Akinian's "unscholarly" *modus operandi* and outrageous twists in the book.⁷⁴ He shows how the "unscholarlike" author distorts his sources so as to arrive at his predetermined conclusions, beginning with sources that show the demotion of deacons already in the fourth century. Hats'uni goes on to enumerate twenty-two instances where Akinian is guilty of deliberate distortions.

⁷³Hats'uni, "Tught Makaray Erusaghemats'woy," p. 260.

⁷⁴Hats'uni, "Ar Vrtanēs tghin heghinakē," pp. 14–20, 61–72 (the references he gives are to *Handes Amorya* 44 [1930] 509–578, 632–635, where Akinian's book was concurrently published).

Hats'uni's criticism of Akinian is seconded, at times with greater thoroughness, by Hakobyan in his introduction to the second volume of the *Kanonagirk*.⁷⁵ He concludes that Akinian's twisted efforts to prove that the Letter belongs to the sixth century "are in vain." While Hats'uni is willing to grant Akinian the benefit of the doubt in all text-critical matters, not so Hakobyan, as we shall see in our consideration of the text.

Also following in the footsteps of Hats'uni, but without rehearsing his arguments against Akinian, are two studies by Armenian clerics on the rite of anointing the sick in the Armenian Church.⁷⁶ The authors underscore the fourth-century date of the Letter as they assign it to the formative years of liturgical developments in the Armenian Church, treating it as their earliest source.

Passing observations in more recent scholarship

Below are some passing observations made regarding Macarius' *Letter to the Armenians* by scholars in the second half of the twentieth century. These are given chronologically.

While acknowledging Akinian's objections without specifying them, Garsoïan favors the fourth-century date of the document as promulgated by Conybeare. She observes:

The entire literature of Armenia up to the fifth century was written in either Greek or Syriac. From this early period one work is of particular interest, the *Letter* sent to the Armenian Apostolic Church ca. 331–335 by the Patriarch (*sic*) of Jerusalem, Macarius. While not specifically concerned with heresy, this letter, which Conybeare considered authentic despite some doubts on the subject, gives us valuable information on some of the important characteristics of the newly founded Armenian Apostolic Church.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk*, 2:lxvii–xcviii.

⁷⁶ S. Aramian, "Hiwandats' ôtsman khorhurdë Hay Ekeghets'woy mēj" (The Rite of Anointing the Sick in the Armenian Church), *Bazmavep* 97 (1939) 8–13, 202–213; 98 (1940) 33–38, 94–97; B. Gulumian (Kiwliwmian), "Hiwandats' ôtsümë Hayastaneayts' Aṛakelakan Ekeghets'woy mēj" (The Anointing of the Sick in the Armenian Apostolic Church), *Hasik*, n.s. 10 (2002–2006) 185–217.

⁷⁷ Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy*, pp. 81–82.

In her penultimate paragraph of the chapter "Origin and Nature of Paulicianism" she seems to have been swayed by some of Conybeare's observations on the Paulician significance of the Letter:

[It] reveals that the Armenian Apostolic church in the fourth century had the following traits, characteristic of the Paulicians at a later date: Baptism was delayed and not given to infants, as was done subsequently. No font was used, but rather any vessel that came to hand. Finally, "... in virtue of the laying on of hands, the clergy are regarded as all of one rank and do not subordinate themselves to superiors."⁷⁸

As noted earlier, Conybeare's contention regarding the Paulician significance of the document has to be rejected; the Letter has no implications for the Paulician heresy even of a later date. The deferral of baptism was not for adulthood but for special feast-days, and the absence of baptisteries and the insubordination to hierarchical hegemony were not peculiarly Paulician traits in Early Christianity.

Thomson, on the other hand, after drawing attention to the problem of the Letter's chronological place in the *Book of Letters* (the *Girk' Tghlots'*), makes his acceptance of the fourth-century date contingent upon the integrity of the text. He would allow the pre-Chalcedonian date of the Letter to stand, should the text show any post-Chalcedonian tampering.

I am not competent to pass judgement on the authenticity of the baptismal ritual. But if the letter supports the Armenian tradition of unmixed wine at communion, one wonders if it is not a tendentious forgery rather than a lost Greek text which has been tampered with. In that case its ascription to the first Macarius and the identification of Vrtanēs with the son of Gregory the Illuminator would be perfectly appropriate.⁷⁹

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 230 (citing p. 408 of the Tiflis edition of *Girk' Tghlots'*).

⁷⁹Thomson, "Jerusalem and Armenia," pp. 77-91, esp. 83. Thomson's meritorious article stands in need of two minor corrections at this point: (1) While drawing attention to the problem of the Letter's chronological place in the *Girk' Tghlots'* (*Book of Letters*, a collection generally lacking in chronological order; see Bogharian's chronologically arranged edition), Thomson takes no notice of the fact that in the *Kanonagirk'* manuscripts, from where the Letter was lifted for inclusion in the *Girk' Tghlots'*, the Letter is found always in conjunction with documents from the fourth and fifth centuries. (2) "That the letter was written by Macarius II to Vrtanēs of Siunik was accepted by the editor of the *Kanonagirk'*, the late Vazken Hakobyan" (p. 82), is incorrect. Hakobyan is as harsh a critic of Akinian as Hats'uni, insisting on the fourth-century date of the

Thomson's cautious position is warranted. To begin with, there is a substantive tampering in the baptismal part of the text, where the admonition to baptize only on the three festal occasions is done away with—probably at the time when the Letter was transformed into a church order for the *Kanonagirk'* (223.2–3), a time when the rule was no longer followed. Moreover, there is glaring evidence for repeated post-Chalcedonian tampering in the Eucharistic part, in the very introduction of the Eucharistic elements (227.9–10), as was suspected long ago by Mai: "*Canonem vel fictum vel interpolatum iudico ab Armenis huius erroris tenacibus. Etenim apostolica traditio contrarium docet.*"⁸⁰ The particulars of this much polemicized subject after Chalcedon need not be discussed here, nor need the details of the tampering (for which see below, in the section on the integrity of the text).

As for Pogharian, in revising the 1901 Tiflis edition of the *Girk' Tghlots'* and rearranging chronologically the letters comprising the epistolary, he moves the Letter of Macarius from near the end—where Tovma of Hromklay had appended it in the course of his adding to the collection and where it remains in the manuscripts—and places it at the beginning of the volume, thus indicating his conviction regarding the fourth-century date of the Letter.⁸¹ Like all other Armenian scholars who had encountered the document earlier, he takes its traditional date and authorship unhesitatingly, without resorting to giving any reason for his accepting the early date of the document or its assumed authorship. Except for two emendations,⁸² his text of the Letter follows Hakobyan's edition throughout.

This survey of scholarship would be incomplete without referring to two instances of Akinian's misleading influence. The first, in a study on the *Diegesis* or *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* (a pro-Chalcedonian text originally composed in Armenian ca. 700 and known only in a Greek translation,

document (see above and n. 75). As for Thomson's tagging the Letter under the name of Macarius II, in *A Bibliography of Ancient Armenian Literature to 1500 AD*, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 68–69, it appears to be a convenient accommodation of Akinian's work—however unwarranted.

⁸⁰Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, 10/2:272 n. 1.

⁸¹Pogharian, *Girk' Tghlots'*, pp. 1–9.

⁸²At 219.14 <ew> *arakel* ("and to send"), a somewhat unnecessary emendation; and 226.7 *annabutean pazbak* ("cup of immortality") instead of *annabutean vichak* ("portion of immortality"). A third emendation at 228.1, *minch'ew i* ("all the way to") instead of *miayn i* ("only to") does not pertain to Hakobyan's edition of the *Kanonagirk'* but to the 1901 Tiflis edition of the *Girk' Tghlots'* by Izmiereants'. All three editors of the Armenian text, however, miss observing the blatant textual tampering at 227.9–10 (immediately preceding 228.1).

describing the relations between the Armenian and Greek churches in the sixth–seventh centuries), Garitte cites the Letter of Macarius in a post-Chalcedonian historical context.⁸³ Similarly, van Esbroeck classifies the Letter of Macarius among anti-Chalcedonian Armenian writings, in a chronologically arranged list of such works, where he also tags to it the date given by Akinian (“um 600”).⁸⁴ Apart from the tampering referred to above and discussed further below, there is nothing anti-Chalcedonian in this document. Garitte’s and van Esbroeck’s placing it in post-Chalcedonian times is but a consequence of Akinian’s dubious work in Armenian and its German abstract.⁸⁵

The evidence for a fourth-century date

The authorship and date of the Letter are invariably bound together, and they are to be determined by the evidence obtained from the document itself. The episcopal authority with which Macarius writes, with clear allusions to the Council of Nicaea and references to a large gathering of bishops in Jerusalem, the contextual setting in which the Letter is grounded, are imperative for ascertaining both authorship and date. The identity of the recipient, Vrtanēs, is no less crucial. The special way in which he is addressed and the presumed authority of his office, whereby he is expected to carry out the recommended liturgical reforms and to reprimand an insubordinate bishop, a schismatic Arian, are indicative of his hierarchical position. These leave no doubt about his identity as the elder son and second successor of Gregory the Illuminator, and an exact contemporary of Macarius. The occasion precipitating the visit of the Armenian delegation of priests, most probably the auspicious dedication of the Church of the

⁸³G. Garitte, ed., *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 132; Subsidia 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 1952; repr. 2003), p. 210.

⁸⁴M. van Esbroeck, “Ein Jahrtausend armenischer antichalcedonischer Literatur,” *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 30 (1998) 146–184. It is equally strange that van Esbroeck also lists the letter of Grigor Bishop of the Artsrunis (see Appendix II in this volume) among anti-Chalcedonian Armenian writings (pp. 156–157).

⁸⁵A German abstract is found in the *Handes Amsoria* edition of Akinian’s work, with the following title: *Des Patriarchen Makarius II. von Jerusalem Brief an den Erzbischof Vrtanēs von Siunī über die kirchlichen Disziplinen. Ein Beitrag zur armenischen Kirchengeschichte des 6. Jahrhunderts* (40 [1930] 631–635). The book itself carries a shorter German translation of the title only. One wonders whether Garitte or van Esbroeck had read Akinian’s work in Armenian.

Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, the Encaenia, shall be considered next. I shall then treat the rest of the prosopographic and toponymic evidence, followed by the architectural elements alluded to in the Letter. Lastly, I shall discuss only a portion of the apparent antiquity of the two liturgical practices—those faulted and those recommended (further discussion can be found in the Commentary). When this cumulative evidence is considered, the fourth-century date of the Letter becomes unmistakable, and the year A.D. 335 emerges as the actual date of the Letter.

"I, Macarius, Archbishop of Jerusalem" ⁸⁶

Even though the incumbent bishops of the see of Jerusalem were subject to the metropolitan see of Caesarea Palaestinae, which in turn was under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Antioch, the Jerusalem see was privileged because of its unique advantages and the surge of building activities ordered by Constantine. This was evident at the Council of Nicaea, where the see of Jerusalem was recognized as the original mother church of Christendom, granted in Canon 7: "Since custom and ancient tradition demonstrate that the Bishop of Aelia (Jerusalem) is to be honored, let him have a position of honor without prejudice to the dignity of the metropolis (Caesarea)."⁸⁷ Given the importance of his see, Macarius held a prominent place

⁸⁶Macarius succeeded Hermo (Hermōnas) as bishop of Jerusalem in 314. According to Theodoret, he was blessed with every virtue, a man truly worthy of his name, "Blessed" (Eccl. Hist., 1.3). Hermo is the last bishop of Jerusalem mentioned in Eusebius' *Ecl. Hist.* (7.32.9).

⁸⁷Trans. W. A. Jurgens, *The Faith of the Early Fathers*, 3 vols. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1970) 1:284; for the Greek text of the *Canons of Nicaea*, with commentary, see C. J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, ed. and trans. from the 2nd German edition with supplementary notes by H. Leclercq, 11 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907-1952) 1/1:328-620. Jurgens notes: "The situation is a strange one. A suffragan bishop, he of Jerusalem, is to have a position of honor above that of his metropolitan, the bishop of Caesarea; but he is subject to the jurisdiction of the latter. This somewhat anomalous situation was now and again the cause of some friction until 451 A.D., when Jerusalem was made a patriarchate" (p. 287, n. 18). Cf. Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.*, 7.19: "James being the first that received the dignity of the episcopate at Jerusalem, from our Saviour himself, as the sacred Scriptures show that he was generally called the brother of Christ; this see, which has been preserved until the present times, has ever been held in veneration by the brethren that have followed in the succession there, in which they have sufficiently shown what reverence both the ancients and those of our own times exhibited, and still exhibit, towards holy men on account of their piety" (trans. C. F. Cruse). As regards the Hadrianic name of the city as Aelia Capitolina until then, P. W. L. Walker observes: "Even if the city continued to be known as 'Aelia' in the world of imperial administration, in the Christian world after 325, almost without exception, the city once more became 'Jerusalem'" (*Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* [Oxford: Claren-

at Nicaea.⁸⁸ The same importance is manifested in the famous letter which Constantine wrote to Macarius in connection with the building plans for the site of Golgotha and Christ's Tomb.⁸⁹ The privileged status of Jerusalem was reaffirmed at the Council of Jerusalem that was convened in conjunction with the dedication or Encaenia of the Holy Sepulcher complex (the rotunda-shrine over the Tomb, called the Anastasis; the shrine at Golgotha; and the Basilica of the Cross, called the Martyrium by Eusebius and others since, to the east of the precinct) in September 335.⁹⁰

The Letter under consideration belongs to the Nicene Era, the time when the Bishop of Jerusalem was beginning to dwell on the significant place accorded his see. The eventual rise of the see to patriarchal status at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, credited to the efforts of Juvenal, the first Patriarch of Jerusalem (in office ca. 422–458), was but the culmination of a natural development.⁹¹ Jerusalem was ranked fifth among the Patriarchal hierarchies (fourth in the East), and its jurisdiction was extended to include

don; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990], p. 395; cf. pp. 32 and 258, on the centrality of Jerusalem vis-à-vis Caesarea and the Christological tension between them).

⁸⁸Sozomen, *Ecl. Hist.*, 1.17, lists him first among the signatories (not so in Socrates, *Ecl. Hist.*, 1.13, a list not found in the Armenian version of Socrates; but see Khorenats'i, *Arm. Hist.*, 2.89). In the list of the "318 bishops" present at Nicaea, given at the end of the *Canons of Nicaea* in the *Kanonagirk* (1:133–150, actually 212 names are given), Macarius heads the list of bishops from Palestine; Eusebius of Caesarea comes third (1:136; cf. p. 567, where, according to Yerevan ms. 1905, Eusebius is fifth). See H. Gelzer et al., *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina Latine, Graece, Coptice, Syriace, Arabice, Armeniace*, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Scriptores sacri et profani (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898; repr. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1995).

⁸⁹Eusebius, *Vita Const.*, 3.25–40; cf. Theodore, *Ecl. Hist.*, 1.17.

⁹⁰M. Fraser, *The Feast of the Encaenia in the Fourth Century and in the Ancient Liturgical Sources of Jerusalem*, PhD Thesis, Durham University (1995), esp. pp. 59–129; idem, "Constantine and the Encaenia," in International Conference on Patristic Studies (12th: 1995, Oxford, England), E. A. Livingstone, ed., *Studia Patristica: Papers Presented at the Twelfth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford, 1995*, vol. 29: *Historica, Theologica et Philosophica, Critica et Philologica* (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), pp. 25–28 (Fraser's twin studies are accessible at <http://www.encaenia.org>); cf. K. Baus et al., *The Imperial Church from Constantine to the Early Middle Ages*, trans. A. Biggs, History of the Church 2 (New York: Seabury, 1980), p. 193; Z. Rubin, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Conflict between the Sees of Caesarea and Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel* 2 (1982) 79–105; F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 139–140.

⁹¹See "Act VIII" of the Council (session of 26 October), in E. Schwartz, ed., *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, Tom. II: Concilium universale Chalcedonense*, 6 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1932–1938) 1:3362–366. On the life and work of Juvenal, see E. Honigsmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950) 209–279; and S. Vailhé, "Formation du patriarcat de Jérusalem," *Échos d'Orient* 13 (1910) 325–336.

the three provinces of Palestine: Caesarea, Scythopolis, and Petra, comprising fifty-nine bishoprics.⁹² But the episcopal authority with which Macarius writes seems to antedate this later development.⁹³ He refers to himself twice by name as "Archbishop of Jerusalem" (219.13; 225.6) and remarks about "the lesser authority" he holds "within the greater tenets of the Church," a likely allusion to his being subordinate to the Metropolitan of Caesarea (218.5). He nonetheless amplifies his authoritative voice with that of a large gathering of bishops for an unspecified occasion in the Holy City (218.1-2; 219.12-14), as also with that of the clerics of his see (225.5-9). Yet the immediate authority to which he appeals is the Apostolic tradition and that of its heirs, the holy Fathers (219.5; 224.2, 11-13; 225.8-9; 227.8). As for his canonical authority, it rests squarely with the Council of Nicaea, "the holy Council which was held because of the heretics . . . to lay down ordinances for the Church" (218.9-11; note that the *Canons of Nicaea* had not yet had their full effect in the land of Armenia at the time of writing). He alludes to the Nicene credal or declaratory baptismal formula (i.e., the trinitarian formula, 219.7). He knows no later council; and the "heretics" are none other than the "Arians" who are named twice (227.4; 229.4).⁹⁴

Speaking of fourth-century realities in the Holy Land, Walker observes: "the opinion of the Jerusalem bishop is being increasingly sought on matters of doctrinal controversy within the wider Church. Jerusalem and the Holy Land are on the 'centre stage'. What was believed and practised in Jerusalem was of vital interest to Christians elsewhere."⁹⁵ What we have in the *Letter to the Armenians* is a clear attestation to this reality, showing how the old Syrian liturgical traditions long observed in Jerusalem were being modified because of Constantine's "New Jerusalem," and how these local changes were in turn affecting "the regions of the East."⁹⁶

⁹²A. Papadakis, "Jerusalem, Patriarchate of," in A. P. Kazhdan et al., eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 2:1036-37.

⁹³It is worth noting that although Macarius asserts broad episcopal authority by virtue of the see of the "Holy City," he claims no territorial jurisdiction beyond Jerusalem: there is no mention of *Palaistinôn* or *Palaistinôn apasan*. Only in the heading of the document, which is of later derivation, is he referred to as "Patriarch."

⁹⁴Hats'uni, "Tugh' Makaray Erusaghema'swoy," p. 260; idem, "At Vrtanês tghin heghinakê," pp. 18-19; Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk*, p. lxix.

⁹⁵P. W. L. Walker, "Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the 4th Century," in A. O'Mahony et al., eds., *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land* (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995), pp. 22-34, esp. 23. Cf. idem, *Holy City*, esp. pp. 93-130, on the aftermath of Nicaea. See also Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers*, pp. 131-157.

⁹⁶The influence of the Jerusalem liturgy on the development of liturgical traditions elsewhere

Because of Sozomen's imprecise reference to the year of Macarius' death, implying some overlap between his last years in office and the succession by Maximus (*Ecl. Hist.* 2.20), it was assumed in earlier scholarship that the death of Macarius fell between 331 and 335/6. Later reference works place it in 333, the middle of those imprecise years, a date presumably meant to be approximate.⁹⁷ Sozomen's account is in fact reliable and worth quoting here—now that it finds some documentary substantiation:

Maximus succeeded Macarius in the bishopric of Jerusalem. It is said that Macarius had ordained him bishop over the church of Diospolis, but that the members of the church of Jerusalem insisted upon his remaining among them. For since he was a confessor, and otherwise excellent, he was secretly chosen beforehand in the approbation of the people for the bishopric, after that Macarius should die . . . and Maximus remained in Jerusalem, and exercised the priestly functions conjointly with Macarius.⁹⁸

has been a key area of liturgical studies in the last fifty years. Among the early studies, see E. C. Ratcliff, "The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition and its Resettlement under the Influence of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century," in G. J. Cuming, ed., *Papers Read at the Second Winter and Summer Meetings of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Studies in Church History 2 (London: Nelson, 1965), pp. 19–37; repr. in A. H. Couratin and D. Tripp, eds., *E. C. Ratcliff: Liturgical Studies* (London: SPCK, 1976), pp. 135–154. For later studies, see the bibliography in P. Jeffery, "The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered: The Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47/1 (Spring, 1994) 1–38, esp. 36–38. The liturgical development in Jerusalem, especially as it relates to the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, became more momentous with the consecration of Cyril as bishop in 348 and the delivery of his catechetical lectures as Lenten and Easter instructions for catechumens in ca. 350. The last five of these lectures (19–23), the *Mystagogical Catecheses* to the newly baptized, were lately thought to have been the work of his successor, John II (386/7–417), on the basis of attribution to the latter in some manuscripts as well as differences in tone and style. However, see E. Yarnold, "The Authorship of the Mystagogical Catecheses Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem," *Heythrop Journal* 19 (1978) 143–161; and A. J. Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogical Catecheses*, Patristic Monograph Series 17 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001). The latest challenge to the Cyrilian authorship of the *Mystagogical Catecheses* on the grounds that the baptismal theology of Romans 6 and post-baptismal anointing were as yet unknown in mid-fourth-century Jerusalem (J. Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem: Fourth- and Fifth-Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt*, Liturgy, Worship and Society Series [Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007]), is to be dismissed in the light of *The Letter of Macarius*; see M. E. Johnson's forthcoming review of Day's work.

⁹⁷See, e.g., S. J. Voicu, "Macarius I of Jerusalem," in *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, Angelo Di Berardino, ed., 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) 1:514, and the references there. Cf. Theodoret, *Ecl. Hist.*, 5.39 (NPNF 3:159), where the year 336 for the death of Macarius is given in brackets (cf. 2:436 of the first NPNF edition, where 336 is given as the accession year of Maximus).

⁹⁸Trans. Hartranft, who notes: "This whole chapter is from an unknown source, and shows familiarity with Palestinian history" (NPNF 2:271 n. 2); cf. Theodoret, *Ecl. Hist.*, 2.27.

Sozomen allows for the possibility that the aged Macarius saw the construction activities to the end and that, assisted by his coadjutor and successor, Maximus (d. 348), he presided over the dedication services which began on Saturday, 13 September 335. Eusebius also had a major role at the festivities, given his orations for the occasion.⁹⁹ As host to the large gathering of bishops, whose presence in the Holy City is repeatedly attested in the Letter, Macarius could have left the affairs of the Jerusalem Council to Eusebius since it was to be a continuation of the Council of Tyre, itself a continuation of what began as the Council of Caesarea in 334 to address the Arian and Melitian charges brought against Athanasius in the aftermath of Nicaea and the eventual reinstatement of Arius.¹⁰⁰ Sozomen's account, its imprecision notwithstanding, corroborates (and is in turn corroborated by) the Letter we possess. Together, they compel us to place the death of Macarius at the end of the year 335—if not early in 336.

⁹⁹Judging from Eusebius' *The Life of Constantine*, he must have made his journey to see the emperor in Constantinople immediately after the Council of Jerusalem and the Encaenia that followed (*Vita Const.*, 4.41–48). His report about the "Church of the Savior," the recently dedicated Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and his "Tricennial Oration" before Constantine indicate his presence at the festivities he describes (*Vita Const.*, 3.25–28, 33–40; 4.41–48, esp. 4.46). Walker observes that the last chapter suggests that book 4 had not been revised at the time of Eusebius' death, and that the speech "On Christ's Sepulchre" was first delivered at the dedication of the site on 17 September 335, two months before the speech was reused in the *De Laudibus Constantini* (chs. 11–18) in the emperor's presence (*Holy City*, pp. 27 and n. 87, 408 and n. 16); following H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations*, Classical Studies 15 (Berkeley: University of California Publications, 1976), pp. 35–45; T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 187.

¹⁰⁰On the issues addressed by these councils, see Socrates, *Ecl. Hist.*, 1.27–35; Theodoret, *Ecl. Hist.*, 1.28–31, and the detailed discussion in B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922) 2:50–68. The sentiments expressed by Macarius against the Arians (218.9–10; 227.2–6; cf. the epilogue, 228.11–229.10) are first and foremost his own, carried over from Nicaea. And certainly he was not alone in cherishing such feelings among the bishops assembled in Jerusalem, foremost of whom was his coadjutor and successor, Maximus, who seems to have represented Macarius at Tyre (cf. Sozomen, *Ecl. Hist.* 2.25). Walker sums up the situation: "Thus Palestine found itself, for example, inexorably involved with the Arian controversy from the outset, playing host to a most volcanic council at Tyre in 335, and seeing its leading bishops (of Caesarea and Jerusalem) invariably at odds on the issue" (Walker, *Holy City*, p. 19; his parenthesis). Among indications of the tension between the two bishops are Eusebius' stopping short of naming Macarius in *Ecl. Hist.* 7.32.9 and leaving out the latter's name when introducing the letter of Constantine "to the bishop who at that time presided over the Church in Jerusalem" to begin construction of the monumental buildings (*Vita Const.*, 3.29).

"Chief-bishop" Vrtanēs

As pointed out in the discussion on the Armenian translation of the Greek original of the Letter, the recipient Vrtanēs is addressed as *episkoposapet*, meaning "chief-bishop" (219.15; cf. 225.11), a title reserved for the successors of Gregory the Illuminator in Armenian sources. Garsoïan observes that this title is "usually used interchangeably with *hayrapet* [i.e., 'patriarch'] and *kahanayapet* [i.e., 'chief-priest' or 'highpriest'] to distinguish the Armenian primates of the Gregorid house [fourth and fifth centuries], to whom it is exclusively reserved, from the patriarchs of other families."¹⁰¹ One finds consistent use of these epithets in references to the Gregorid patriarchs in the earliest works written after the invention of the Armenian letters at the turn of the fifth century. This was the Golden Age of Armenian literature, the likely period in which the Letter of Macarius was translated with some faithfulness to ecclesiastical usages current at the time.¹⁰² Moreover, the Letter is equally addressed to "all the bishops and priests of Armenia" (220.1: *hamorēn episkoposs ew kahanays Hayots*), and acknowledges the jurisdictional authority of Vrtanēs over all the bishops there (cf. the epilogue, 228.11–229.10), an authority that could not have been accorded to Vrtanēs Bishop of Siwnik in the sixth century. There is no other Vrtanēs in the Gregorid line of patriarchs; in fact, there is no other head of the Armenian Church (usually called Catholicos after the fifth century) by this name. Thus, the significance of his office whereby he is expected to carry out the recommended reforms cannot be underestimated—much less ignored (as it is by Akinian).

As for the years of Vrtanēs in office, with which Akinian begins his unwarranted criticism, Ormanian records them as 333–341.¹⁰³ Ormanian seems to have been off by several years, as Ananian has convincingly shown in revising the years of Vrtanēs in office to 327–342.¹⁰⁴ Ananian has a sound

¹⁰¹Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, p. 523 (q.v. "Episkoposapet"); Thomson, *The History of Lazar Pärpeti*, pp. 272–274.

¹⁰²On the literary pursuits of the period, see R. W. Thomson, "The Fathers in Early Armenian Literature," *Studia Patristica* 12 (=Texte und Untersuchungen 115; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975) 457–470; repr. in idem, *Studies in Armenian Literature and Christianity*, ch. XII; L. Ter-Petrosyan, *Daser Hay Ekeghets'akan Matenagrutyunits' (E Dar)* (Lessons from Armenian Ecclesiastical Bibliography [5th Century]), (Soch'i: Armenian Diocese of Nor Nakhijewan and Russia, 1993).

¹⁰³*Azgapatum*, I:126–127.

¹⁰⁴P. Ananian, *S. Grigor Lusaworch'i dzec'nadrutēan tuakanē ew paraganerē* (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1960), esp. pp. 188–190; published earlier in *Bazmavep* 117 (1959) 9–23, 129–142, 225–238; 118 (1960)

argument, based on the fact that the *Buzandaran*, our primary source for the history of Armenia in the fourth century, places the burial of Gregory the Illuminator (d. 328) "in the district of Daranaghik, in the village of Tordan," and that of his younger son and successor Aristakēs (d. 327), "in the district of Ekegheats, in the town of T'il" (3.2). As for Vrtanēs, the elder son and second successor of Gregory, his body was brought "to the village of Tordan in the district of Daranaghik. And there they laid his holy bones to rest next to the great patriarch Grigor" (3.11).¹⁰⁵ The fact that Aristakēs was not buried next to his father Gregory suggests that he preceded his father in death, and that Vrtanēs succeeded Aristakēs earlier than previously thought.¹⁰⁶ Accordingly, Vrtanēs received the Letter of Macarius in the middle of his term in office. The Letter, then, has no bearing on determining the beginning of his years in office—as it has on determining the end of Macarius' years in office.

The occasion in Jerusalem

The repeated mention of "a large assembly of bishops" in Jerusalem at the time of writing (218.2; 219.14) is quite significant, especially with the amplification "from every city." This certainly seems to allude to the gathering of bishops for the Encaenia festivities in September 335, the dedication of the Holy Sepulcher complex on the occasion of the Tricennalia of Constantine's reign. That this was the most likely occasion for the visit of the Armenian priests, an event to which Vrtanēs was probably invited but chose to send a letter along with a delegation of priests instead, is almost a foregone conclusion. The priests delivered this letter in the presence of "a large assembly of bishops," with added entreaties of their own (217.12–218.4); hence the collective response of those in attendance (219.12–14).

Eusebius gives a picture of the gathering on that occasion: "Jerusalem became the gathering point for distinguished prelates from every province, and the whole city was thronged by a vast assemblage of the servants of God." He adds: "In short, the whole of Syria and Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, and Lybia, with the dwellers in the Thebaid,

53–60, 101–113; idem, "La data e le circostanze della consecrazione di S. Gregorio Illuminatore," *Le Muséon* 74 (1961) 43–73, 319–360.

¹⁰⁵ Trans. Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁶ Ananian, *S. Grigor Lusaworch'i dzet'nadrut'ean t'uakanē*, pp. 181–211.

all contributed to swell the mighty concourse of God's ministers, followed as they were by vast numbers from every province."¹⁰⁷ Thereafter, the Encaenia was commemorated each year as a major feast of the Church (13 September). At the end of her diary of 384, Egeria gives some details of the eight days of festivities in Jerusalem, adding that no less than 40-50 bishops accompanied by many of their clergy attend from distant places.¹⁰⁸ Sozomen, writing a century after the first celebration, similarly highlights the prominence of the feast:

Since that period the anniversary of the consecration has been celebrated with great pomp by the church of Jerusalem; the festival continues for eight days, initiation by baptism is administered, and people from every region under the sun resort to Jerusalem during this festival and visit the holy places.¹⁰⁹

Much could be said on each of these lines of Sozomen; however, his statement on baptism being administered during the feast is very important for the date of the *Letter to the Armenians*. Macarius, in the fragment preserved by Anania of Shirak, speaks of the three major feasts during which baptism was administered in Jerusalem: Nativity/Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost (284.5-39). He does not know of this fourth season for baptism, which was introduced perhaps soon after the first Encaenia.¹¹⁰

Less significant—but interesting nonetheless—is the time element intimated in the remark that the Armenian delegate priests were awed “upon seeing the very careful ordering of the life-giving baptism in the Holy City” (218.12). Given the tradition of the Jerusalem Church in 335 to baptize on the three festal occasions only (Nativity/Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost), one surmises that the delegates witnessed the baptismal services at Pentecost. Having naturally avoided winter travel, the priests must

¹⁰⁷ *Vita Const.* 4.43. Eusebius proceeds to describe the splendid banquets, the lavish offerings of imperial magnificence, the discourses of the many bishops, and his own orations.

¹⁰⁸ *Peregrinatio*, 48.1-49.3, right where the text is mutilated; it ends with the fourth day of the feast. Cf. Renoux, *Le Codex arménien Jerusalem 121*, 2:222-225.

¹⁰⁹ *Ecl. Hist.* 2.26. It should be remembered that Sozomen was a native of Palestine, born in Bethalia near Gaza, and educated by local monks before he settled in Constantinople as a lawyer. His nine Books cover the period 323-425.

¹¹⁰ Cyril, whose catechetical lectures were delivered during Lent (ca. 350) to the catechumens who were baptized on Holy Saturday, is silent about the other seasons for the administration of baptism.

have journeyed in the spring and arrived in Jerusalem in time to witness the baptisms administered at Pentecost. This was also the time when other delegates were arriving for the Encaenia. That baptisms were administered at the Constantinian complex before its dedication is attested also by the anonymous "Pilgrim of Bordeaux," whose *Itinerarium Burdigalense* of A.D. 333 is the earliest description left by a Christian traveler in the Holy Land. He recounts having seen, not far from Christ's Tomb, an exceptionally beautiful basilica—presumably the five-aisled Martyrium known also as the Basilica of the Cross—with water cisterns where "infants" were baptized.¹¹¹ The Letter of Macarius, however, does not seem to limit the baptismal services to the site close to the Anastasis (see the Commentary, on 218.12–219.2).

The gathering of bishops at the time was also in conjunction with the Council of Jerusalem, which had been moved there from Tyre upon orders from Constantine. The Council was convened for two primary reasons: to address the remaining issues for the reinstatement of Arius following the condemnation of Athanasius at Tyre,¹¹² and to prepare for the Encaenia

¹¹¹Geyer and Cuntz, eds., *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, §§593–594. In her account of the Easter Vigil in 384, Egeria describes a similar scene of baptism and the ensuing Eucharist (*Peregrinatio*, 38.1–2). The location of the baptistery cannot be determined with certainty; for a survey of the besetting archaeological questions, see the survey by A. J. Wharton, "The Baptistery of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the Politics of Sacred Landscape," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 46, *Homo Byzantinus: Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan* (1992) 313–325. Cyril's remark in the introductory lecture, "The very place should put you to shame; be taught by what you can see" (*Procat.*, 4), seems to favor a site south of the Anastasis precinct, from where Golgotha also was possibly within the catechumens' view. Cf. M. R. Miles, "The Evidence of Our Eyes: Patristic Studies and Popular Christianity in the Fourth Century," in *International Conference on Patristic Studies* (9th: 1983, Oxford, England), E. A. Livingstone, ed., *Studia Patristica: Papers of the Ninth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford 1983*, vol. 18.1: *Historica, Theologica, Gnostica, Biblica* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1985), pp. 59–63.

¹¹²Constantine recognized Athanasius' consecration as Bishop of Alexandria in 328, but the latter, who had championed the cause of Orthodoxy against Arius at Nicaea in 325, refused the emperor's request to be reconciled with Arius and to enter into communion with him. The charges brought against Athanasius were certainly political, instigated by Arians who sought revenge for all that the young Alexandrian had done to them at Nicaea. The Council of Tyre condemned and deposed Athanasius for the charges brought against him by the Arians and the Melitians. He hurried to Constantine and persuaded him to overturn the rulings; but this was for a short time only, until the arrival of Eusebius of Nicomedia with new charges. Within a day Athanasius was banished to Trier (7 November 335). Thereafter Athanasius, his troubles unending, produced a collection of documents in his own defense, under the title *Apology against the Arians*, which he published about the year A.D. 347; see H. G. Opitz, ed., *Athanasius. Werke, II.1: Apologien* (Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1935), pp. 87–168. In ch. 76, a letter of 8 September 335, he refers to the bishops present at Tyre. Elsewhere, in his *Epistula de Synodis Arimini et Seleucia*, 21, he refers to the Council of Jerusalem of the same year (p. 231), to be distinguished from

assembly.¹¹³ Given the weighty issues for this council to address, and that in view of the impending celebration, it is unlikely—though not impossible—that the appearance of the Armenian priests for liturgical and canonical matters was before this body. It was probably at an informal gathering of the many bishops with their host Macarius when the delegation of Armenian priests made their appearance to deliver the letter from Vrtanēs and to add their own entreaties. In either case, the Letter's repeated attestation to a large number of bishops gathered in Jerusalem, and the appearance of the Armenian delegation before such a great assembly, is very significant. This cannot be placed in any other time, given the established identities of the sender and the recipient of the Letter—among other indicators.

Further prosopographic and toponymic evidence

Nothing is known about the Arian bishop Torg of Basean and Bagrewand apart from the testimony in Macarius' *Letter to the Armenians* (229.1-10). The name Torg, the genitive of which, *Turgeay*, is the textual form here, is attested in the pre-Christian Armenian pantheon as Torg-Angegh.¹¹⁴ He was the weather-god worshiped at Angegh-Tun in Sophēnē or Tsopk, where at a later time a church was built over the old pagan temple to Ner-

a later council held in Jerusalem, mentioned in the *Apologia [secunda] contra Arianos*, 57 (p. 87). As for Arius, energized by the successes attained for him by his supporters, he persuaded Constantine in a personal interview in 336 of his orthodoxy. "At the emperor's command, and in accord with decisions already reached at councils in Tyre and Jerusalem in 335 A.D., Arius was to be re-admitted on the next day to communion" (Jurgens, *The Faith of the Early Fathers*, 1:275). He died upon leaving the palace. On his last years and caricatured death, see Socrates, *Ecl. Hist.*, 1:38; cf. Sozomen, *Ecl. Hist.*, 2:29-30; Theodoret, *Ecl. Hist.*, 1:14.

¹¹³Hefele and Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, 1/1:666-667. That there was added reason for the convening of the Council of Tyre, and so too for that of Jerusalem, is well observed by Fraser: "The council of Tyre certainly seems to have been convened as a prelude to the Encaenia assembly in Jerusalem. The historian Socrates states that the synod [*sic*] had been convened as a 'secondary matter' to the inauguration of the Martyrium basilica, so that 'all causes of contention being removed there, they might the more peacefully perform the inaugural ceremonies in the dedication of the church of God' (*Ecl. Hist.* 1.28). When the order came from Constantine that the bishops were to move from Tyre to Jerusalem the proceedings were unfinished; the bishops re-assembled in Jerusalem to re-admit Arius to communion" ("Constantine and the Encaenia," pp. 25-26; cf. idem, *The Feast of the Encaenia*, pp. 24-26, 29, 234-237). Fraser goes on to observe that the absence of Constantine at the Encaenia shows that the question of reinstating Arius was not fully settled, as the emperor had wished to have had the Arian controversy resolved quickly, prior to the impending, auspicious occasion which also marked the emperor's tricennial.

¹¹⁴N. Adonts', "Tork astuats hin Hayots" (Tork, a Deity of the Ancient Armenians), *Yusbardzan Festschrift / Handes Amorya* (Vienna: Mekhitharist Congregation, 1911), pp. 389-394.

gal (Arm. Angegh).¹¹⁵ The name Torg dropped out of usage like other names of pagan deities soon after Armenia's conversion to Christianity at the hand of Gregory the Illuminator early in the fourth century, only to reappear in the thirteenth. No such personal name could have been used in the sixth century—or even the fifth—least of all for a bishop. Elsewhere in the early sources the name appears only in contexts that recount the pre-Christian faith of the Armenian people.¹¹⁶ One is compelled to cite the heretical bishop's pagan name as further evidence for an early fourth-century date of the Letter.

As for the districts of Basean (Phasianē) and Bagrewand (Bagraouandēnē) in northwestern Armenia, they fall far beyond the jurisdiction of the bishop of Siwnik in eastern Armenia. These districts are adjacent to the Gregorid domains, the districts of Ekegheats' (Akilisenē) and Daranaghiik (Daranalē) in westernmost Armenia and were evangelized by bishops sent to the region by Gregory himself.¹¹⁷ Moreover, fifth-century Armenian sources speak of each of these two districts as having its own bishop, a later development that underscores the antiquity of the Letter, written at a time when the districts were under a single episcopal jurisdiction.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, in the sixth century all these western districts were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Imperial Church (with Bagrewand added in 591).¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵"The ruins of the Arm. monastery of Angghay-Vanik lie 2 km east of the present day village of Engil (recently renamed Dönemaç), Turkey, on the Engil or Hoşap Su (Tk. 'River' [on the upper reaches of the western Tigris, north of Amida and south of Arsamosata])." J. R. Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia*, Harvard Iranian Series 5 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and NAASR, 1987), p. 365; cf. pp. 362–370, where he also deals with the unfounded etymology of the name in Khorenats'i (Arm. Hist., 2.8). Russell invites attention to the fact that the temple of Angegh was probably allowed to function "out of Zoroastrian reverence for the souls of departed kings merely, Orontids who appear to have been claimed as ancestors by the Arsacids in Armenia," and thus was not among the temples destroyed by St. Gregory (pp. 369–370).

¹¹⁶See "Tork" in H. Achaëan, *Hayots' andznanneri bararan* (Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names), 5 vols. (Yerevan: Petakan Hamalsaran, 1942–1962) 5:171–172; cf. Hakobyan, *Kanona-girk*, 2:lxviii.

¹¹⁷Agathangelos, *History*, §845; cf. the Greek (*Vg*, 172) and Arabic (*Va*, 160) versions of the *Vita Gregorii*.

¹¹⁸For the primary sources, see "Bagrewand/Bagrawand" and "Basean/Basēn" in Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, pp. 452–454.

¹¹⁹R. H. Hewsen, *The Geography of Ananias of Sirak (Aixarhatoyē): The Long and the Short Recensions* (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1992), p. 212. Cf. G. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 30 vols. (Florence and Venice: A. Zatta, 1759–1798; repr. Paris: H. Welter, 1901–1927), 11:645.

Thus far the toponymic evidence establishes the early fourth-century date of the Letter and the identity of its recipient as Vrtanēs the son of Gregory the Illuminator—who by virtue of his higher office and geographical proximity to the districts of Basean and Bagrewand would be in a position to exert whatever influence he could on the heterodox and schismatic bishop. The recipient could not have been Vrtanēs Bishop of Siwnik as Akinian would have it, in the sixth century.

The last prosopographic evidence is found in the denunciation of the Arians, followers of Arius of Alexandria who was condemned at the Council of Nicaea (325), the canons of which are alluded to earlier in the document (218.9–11; 219.7). The unnamed “holy Council held because of the heretics” is clearly that of Nicaea. The author, who was present at the Council, names no other heretical group but the Arians—just as he knows of no other Council but Nicaea. This internal evidence has further historical substantiation in that there was a brief revival of Arianism in fourth-century Armenia, supported by the successors of King Trdat III/IV (reigned 298–330),¹²⁰ who were antagonistic toward the successors of the Illuminator.¹²¹ The situation is comparable to the revival of Arianism under the successors of Constantine the Great (Constantius and Valens in particular), who later in life wavered about the decisions of Nicaea. Arianism was not an issue for the Church after the fourth century, given the triumph of Orthodoxy under Theodosius I at the Council of Constantinople in 381.¹²²

¹²⁰On the hitherto problematic years of his reign, see Ananian, *S. Grigor Lusaworč'i dzeinadrut'ean tsakanē*, pp. 185–186, 190–191; C. Toumanoff, “The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids: A Chronological and Genealogical Commentary,” *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 6 (1969) 233–281; R. H. Hewsen, “The Successors of Tiridates the Great,” *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 13 (1978–1979) 99–126; idem, “The Synchronistic Table of Bishop Eusebius (Ps. Sebēos): A Reexamination of its Chronological Data,” *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 15 (1981) 59–72; N. G. Garsoïan, “The Arsakuni Dynasty (A.D. 12–[180?])–428,” in R. G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, 2 vols. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997) 1:63–94; and the more critical views of M. van Esbroeck, “On the Historical Background of the Early Sources Regarding the Churches in the Caucasus,” *St. Nersess Theological Review* 9 (2004) 5–24, esp. 12.

¹²¹The Buzandaran is our primary source on the conflict between the Gregorids and the Arianizing court. The opening chapters of the surviving text are quite revealing. For a translation and commentary, see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*; eadem, “Politique ou Orthodoxie? L'Arménie au quatrième siècle,” *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 4 (1967) 297–320; repr. in eadem, *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians*, ch. IV.

¹²²For the parallel circumstances marking the end of the Nicene-Arian conflicts in the West, see D. H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Nicene-Arian Conflicts*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), esp. pp. 233–236.

The issues raised in the Letter would be anachronistic in a post-Chalcedonian period.

Conversely, a patriarchal letter to the Armenians from sixth-century Jerusalem could not have concealed the post-Chalcedonian sentiments and the turmoil besetting the monastic establishments in the Holy Land.¹²³ It is inconceivable to have had such a letter from Macarius II even to an Armenian secessionist (Chalcedonian) bishop of Siwnik, a near-contemporary of the secessionist Catholicos Kurion of the Georgians, without some reference to the Christological controversies of the time. Simply stated, our Letter does not fit the historical situation of the sixth century, a time when Armenian, Georgian, and Caucasian-Albanian hierarchs had determined at the Council of Dwin in 554 to stay separate from the Greeks, a period of decidedly anti-Armenian attitudes among them, attitudes manifested also by the Jerusalem Patriarchs of the sixth century. A good example of their Chalcedonian animosity directed against the Armenians is to be found in the letter to Abas, Catholicos of the Caucasian Albanians (in office 552–596), from Patriarch John IV of Jerusalem (in office 574–594), the successor of Macarius II. John urges the Caucasian Albanians to throw the heretical Armenians out of monasteries in their country as it was certainly being done in Jerusalem.¹²⁴

The architectural evidence

Having noted that Armenians have no built baptisteries but that they were baptizing in any convenient bowl (219.3), Macarius goes on to mandate: "But if we have churches, we must also build baptisteries and a font" (222.6–7); and "The table of expiation is behind the veil, where the Holy Spirit descends; and the font is next to it in the same compartment, and out of honor set up on the right hand" (228.5–6), i.e., to the north of the

¹²³See N. Egenger, "Les moines de Palestine et le concile de Chalcédoine," in Th. Hummel et al., eds., *Patterns of the Past, Prospects for the Future: The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land* (London: Melisende, 1999), pp. 257–263. See also J. Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: the Monasteries of Palestine, 314–631*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); C. B. Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); and P. T. R. Gray, ed., *Leontius of Jerusalem Against the Monophysites: Testimonies of the Saints and Aporiae*, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

¹²⁴For the text and translation of the letter of Patriarch John IV, see above, n. 68.

apse, as one looks from the east or the altar. These lines in context show that even having church buildings is a new development (note that the last remark is suggestive of the more primitive single-apse church)—as is also the use of built baptisteries, with a font. Equally noteworthy is the mention of veils as partitions not only between the altar and the chancel but also between the chancel and the nave, a partition between the clergy and the laity (228.7–8). The use of the veil in Byzantine churches predates that of the *templon*, originally a low parapet or chancel barrier constructed of stone or marble, which about the mid-fifth century developed into a taller partition (and eventually to the much taller wooden iconostasis in thirteenth-century Constantinople). The use of veils and not of structural barriers indicates an early period of church architecture—from before the fifth century.¹²⁵ The archaeological evidence, a corroborative external factor, will be discussed in the Commentary, on 222.4–223.1.

The liturgical evidence

Perhaps it is needless to say—were it not for Akinian—that the liturgical evidence throughout the document is indicative of the formative period, the springtime of the liturgy.¹²⁶ Such evidence will be noted throughout the Commentary. Suffice it to say for now that the issues dealt with in the Letter (the baptismal and Eucharistic irregularities arising from indistinct roles of the clergy) belong to the fourth century; to have them raised in the sixth century would be anachronistic. The document tells of the primitive form of the initiatory rites of the Armenian Church and reveals efforts by clergy who were familiar with the newly reshaped Jerusalem tradition to emulate the perceived orthopraxis of the Holy City. This was the time when the old Syrian baptismal tradition, once observed in Jerusalem and still persisting in Armenia, had newly undergone due changes in Constantinian Jerusalem; and these changes were having their resettling effects on the

¹²⁵L. Ph. Bouras, "Templon," in Kazhdan et al., eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3:2023–24, citing A. K. Orlandos, *Hē xylostegos palaiochristianikē basilikē tēs Mesogiakēs lekanēs*, 2 vols., Archaeological Society at Athens Library 35 (Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens, 1952–1957) 2:526–527, among others; cf. idem, *Byzantine Architecture*, Archaeological Society at Athens Library 162 (Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens, 1998).

¹²⁶Drawing on the retitled book by L. Deiss, *Aux sources de la liturgie* (Paris: Éditions Fleury, 1964 = *Early Sources of the Liturgy*, trans. M. J. O'Connell [Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1967], republished under the title *Springtime of the Liturgy: Liturgical Texts of the First Four Centuries* [Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1979]).

received tradition especially in the East.¹²⁷ The practices decried in the document were evidently the norm in Armenia from before the missionary activities of Gregory the Illuminator (the father of Vrtanēs, recipient of the Letter) and present further evidence for the Syrian roots of early Armenian Christianity emanating from Edessa. The reformatory role expected of Vrtanēs in the Letter (219.12–220.7; 223.9–12), a task conceivably begun on his initiative (217.12–218.1), is commensurate with the fact that the Gregorids—having hailed from Cappadocian Caesarea—favored Greek liturgical traditions over Syriac traditions from Edessa.¹²⁸

One cannot speak of the ritual of baptism in the Armenian Church—whether past or present—without expression of some indebtedness to Gabriele Winkler for her monumental work on this subject.¹²⁹ She has

¹²⁷Cf. Ratcliff, "The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition," 19–37. Much of what Ratcliff and others (e.g., J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 vols. [Utrecht and Antwerp: Spectrum Publishers, 1962–1966] 3:372–374) ascribe to Cyril's initiative now seems to have been an existing practice, however recent, in Jerusalem—even the baptismal theology associated with Romans 6:3–5 (see the lengthy excerpt by Anania of Shirak, Appendix I).

¹²⁸See Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy*, p. 223. This is transparently clear in the Armenian version of the *History of Agathangelos (Aa)*, where the entire Edessene tradition of Armenian Christianity has been deliberately deleted. Considerable Byzantine liturgical usages were introduced into the Armenian Church through the reforms of the great-great-grandson of Gregory the Illuminator, Catholicos Nersēs the Great (in office ca. 353–ca. 373), especially at the council convened by him at Ashtisat (ca. 354); see eadem, *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians*, chs. V–VII. Moreover, Koriwn, *Life of Mashtots*, 76.8–11 (ed. Abeghyan), recounts the revision of the initial Armenian translation of the Scriptures (substantially from the Old Syriac version) in light of Greek manuscripts brought from Constantinople, upon the urging of Catholicos Sahak, the last of the Gregorids (in office 387–438; d. 439). This came about immediately after the Council of Ephesus (431), as the Armenian and Syrian Churches drifted apart during the Christological controversies involving Nestorius and Nestorianism (cf. G. Winkler, "An Obscure Chapter in Armenian Church History (428–439)," *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 19 [1985] 85–179; repr. in eadem, *Studies in Early Christian Liturgy*, ch. VII). A renewed awareness of the special relationship between the two churches came about at the council of Manazkert in 725/6, at which time the old ties were reaffirmed. On Armenian-Syrian church relations, see Ter-Minassiantz, *Die armenische Kirche*; on the third–fifth centuries, H. G. Melkonyan, *Hay-asorakan baraberut'yunneri patmulyunitsi* (From the History of Armenian-Syrian Relations) (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1970).

¹²⁹Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, especially. Cf. Renoux's contribution to the study of the subject (*Rituels arméniens du baptême*) and his greater emphasis on the Greek influence since the fifth century ("Un bilan provisoire sur l'héritage grec du rite arménien," pp. 53–69). Armenian readers may also consult the work of S. Chemchemian, "Mkrutēan khorhudi banadzewē" (The Form of the Sacrament of Baptism), *Bazmavep* 125 (1967) 135–142, and "Kanon Mkrutēan" (The Rite of Baptism), *Bazmavep* 129 (1971) 36–46; 130 (1972) 211–230, 400–419. Among Winkler's other contributions to the study of East Syrian influences on Armenian liturgy, see "The Armenian Night Office I: The Historical Background of the Introductory Part of *Gisberayin Zham*," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 1 (1984) 93–113; "The Armenian Night Office II: The Unit of Psalmody, Canticles, and Hymns with Particular Emphasis on the Ori-

rightly brought into focus the Armenian adherence to early East Syrian practices of the rite, even though her Armenian sources begin with Agathangelos (alongside its non-Armenian versions), the pseudonymous mid-fifth-century author/redactor of the *History of the Armenians*, which narrates the events surrounding the life of Gregory the Illuminator and includes the catechism known as *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*.¹³⁰ Her observations are noteworthy given the Armenian Church's fascination with catechists like Cyril of Jerusalem, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and John Chrysostom, besides the baptismal homilies of the Cappadocian Fathers.¹³¹ Beginning with a survey of the historical links between the two traditions since the introduction of Christianity into Armenia at the hands of Syriac-speaking missionaries in the second and third centuries, she goes on to underscore the similarities in their baptismal liturgies long before the ninth-century codification of the Armenian *Euchologion*, the *Mashtots'* compiled by Catholicos Mashtots' of Eghivard (in office 897–898). Winkler's reconstruction of the ritual prior to the ninth century, by probing the trenchant remarks in earlier Armenian sources and comparing them with the codified ritual on the one hand and the instructions in the earliest catechises and homilies on baptism through the fifth century and from various regions on the other hand (the early Syriac sources in particular),¹³²

gins and Early Evolution of Armenia's Hymnography," *Revue des études arméniennes* 17 (1983) 471–551 (both articles are reprinted in her collected articles: *Studies in Early Christian Liturgy and its Context*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 593 [Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997], chs. V–VI); and "Nochmals das armenische Nachtoffizium und weitere Anmerkungen zum Myrophorenoffizium," *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 21 (1988–1989) 501–519.

¹³⁰*Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 82–88 (cf. 88–95, on the various versions of the *Vita Gregorii*). For an Eng. trans. of the catechism attributed to St. Gregory, see Thomson, *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*. The Arm. text of the *Teaching (Vardapetut'run)* has been transmitted as an integral part of Agathangelos (*Aa* §§259–715), for which see above, n. 4. On the questionable ascription of the *Teaching* to St. Gregory, see Thomson's introduction, esp. pp. 41–49.

¹³¹See the earlier studies by M. F. Lages, "The Hierosolymitan Origin of the Catechetical Rites in the Armenian Liturgy," *Didascalia* 1 (1971) 233–250; idem, "The Most Ancient Penitential Text of the Armenian Liturgy," *ibid.*, pp. 43–62.

¹³²Winkler resorts to the earliest extant manuscripts of the *Mashtots'* (Venice ms. 320 [old no. 457], and Yerevan ms. 1001, both from the tenth century) to establish the text of the ritual and provides a German translation (*Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 99, 177–233; for an Eng. trans., see Conybeare and Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum*, pp. 86–101; abridged version in E. C. Whitaker and M. E. Johnson, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy* [Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2003], pp. 74–81; for a French translation, see above, n. 7). Her primary Armenian sources for the period preceding the codification of the *Mashtots'* in 897/8 are the mid-fifth-century *History* of Agathangelos (*Aa*), treated alongside the non-Armenian versions of the Agathangelian cycle and *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*, and the canons of Catholicos Yovhannēs of

leaves no doubt about considerable Armenian conformity with early East Syrian practices—their respective developments with some Greek influence notwithstanding.¹³³ This is to be seen not only in the overall structure of the rite but also in its various parts: the preparation, the renunciation of Satan, the profession of faith, the blessing of the oil, the pre-baptismal anointing (which by the end of the ninth century had possibly given way to post-baptismal anointing only),¹³⁴ the blessing of the water, the baptismal and anointing formulae, the interspersed psalms and prayers (and later hymns), and the order of things following baptism.

It remains to say that the *Letter to the Armenians* would have provided some valuable data for the reconstruction of the initiation ritual as it was in its formative years, before the ensuing reforms through much of the Byzantine realm of influence and long before the codification of the ritual in the *Mashtots'*. Winkler, however, has no reference to the document under consideration,¹³⁵ a document which substantiates her main thesis.

The use of baptisteries came about not only with the continuity of the rituals of washing in purification baths (*miqvat*) in Judaism and among Jewish Christians but also with the realization of Paul's theology of baptism in Romans (6:3–5) as death, burial, and resurrection with Christ (the Gentile Christians' association of baptisteries with mausoleums was therefore a simple and logical association). The triple immersion then, according to Macarius, is to signify the threefold significance of baptism (note the excerpt by Anania of Shirak). It may be gathered from his remarks (223.4–9) that in Armenia either they did not immerse three times or else, if they did, it was to signify something else: confession of faith in Father, Son, and Spirit. In Armenia, it seems, there were no built baptisteries and fonts because the ritual immersion was not theologically connected with Paul's understanding of baptism as death, burial, and resurrection with the Lord. Following the Syrian perception of baptism as rebirth in Johannine under-

Odzun (in office 717–728; *ibid.*, pp. 82–95, 99–100, 106–132, 396–401). Her earliest, third-century Syriac sources are the "Acts of Thomas" and the "Acts of John" from the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (*ibid.*, pp. 95–98, 132–156); cf. eadem, "The History of the Syriac Prebaptismal Anointing," pp. 317–324.

¹³³ *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 335–448. On the Greek influence since the fifth century, see the studies by Renoux (above, n. 7).

¹³⁴ As gathered from the oldest extant manuscripts of the *Euchologion*, cited above, n. 132.

¹³⁵ She cites Conybeare's *The Key of Truth*, but not his "Appendix IX: Macarius' Epistle to the Armenians." She has several references to other works by Akinian, but none to his misleading study of this document.

standing, Armenians thought of the font more as a womb.¹³⁶ Moreover, the use of baptisteries in Armenia was no more prevalent than that of mausoleums. These were not as common in Pers-Armenia as they were in the Greco-Roman world,¹³⁷ given that the pre-Christian faith of the Armenians was rooted in Zoroastrianism, where burial rites centered on exposure of the dead.¹³⁸

The recurring use of the words *dzet* (‘olive oil,’ twice in line 219.5) and *iugh* (‘oil,’ 223.11; 225.11; 226.1; both words rendering Gk. *elaion*) and the absence of the word *meion* or *miwon* (Gk. *myron*) could be cited as further evidence for an early date of the document, when the use of the latter term was not yet in vogue liturgically.¹³⁹ Its first such use is attested in Cyril’s *Mystagogical Catecheses* (3.2), in his introduction of post-baptismal anointing.¹⁴⁰ At the time of Macarius’ writing, as also when the document was translated into Armenian early in the fifth century, no distinction was yet made between the use of olive oil and the use of substitutes, usually blended oils in lands where olive oil was not available—a burning issue between the Byzantine and Armenian churches in post-Chalcedonian times (more so when the word *myron* was used by Armenians for their substituted, sanctified oil).¹⁴¹

Unfortunately, no major work on the early development of the Armenian Eucharistic rite exists. However, two critical editions of Armenian anaphoras, accompanied by translations and commentaries, have appeared recently: Feulner’s work on the anaphora of Athanasius, and that of Win-

¹³⁶Cf. Ratcliff, “The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition,” p. 28.

¹³⁷For a short survey, see M. Hasratian, *Early Christian Architecture of Armenia* (Moscow: Incombook, 2000), pp. 78–79.

¹³⁸See Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia*, pp. 418–419.

¹³⁹Winkler observes: “It is striking that the oldest sources, of both Armenian and Syriac origin, never refer to the oil as *myron*, but invariably use ‘(olive) oil’: *meibā* (Syriac); *iul* (Armenian) . . . Unfortunately these terms have not always been translated as ‘(olive) oil,’ as they should have been, but by misleading terms such as *myron* or ‘chrism’; ‘The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing and its Implications: A Study of the Armenian, Syriac and Greek Terminology for the Oil,’ *Worship* 52 (1978) 24–45, esp. 26–27 (repr. in eadem, *Studies in Early Christian Liturgy*, ch. I; and in M. E. Johnson, ed., *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation* [Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1999], pp. 58–81).

¹⁴⁰Cf. Ratcliff, “The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition,” p. 31.

¹⁴¹My colleague, M. D. Findikyan, once made the following meritorious observation: The early liturgical distinction may actually have less to do with the composition of the oil than with the hierarchical rank of the one blessing it: *myron* when blessed by a bishop and simply *elaion* when blessed by a priest. Cf. canons ix–x of Catholicos Yovhannēs of Ōdzun (Hakobyan, *Kanona-girk*, 1:519–520).

kler on the anaphora of Basil.¹⁴² The shape of the Armenian rite in the tenth century is well known, thanks to the *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* by Khosrov, Bishop of Andzewats'ik.¹⁴³

Post-Chalcedonian tampering

This will be discussed in the following section.

Considering the text

As stated earlier, a lengthy excerpt from the Letter of Macarius survives from the time before the Letter was incorporated into the *Kanonagirk*. The excerpt is found in a discourse titled "On the Epiphany of Our Lord and Savior" by Anania of Shirak, a seventh-century sage (d. ca. 690) who invokes the name of Macarius at the beginning and at the end of the quotation, thus reassuring the reader of the certainty of its source as also of its length and implied accuracy (Anania is renowned for meticulousness in his voluminous scientific and mathematical works). This will be examined in context.

The opening paragraphs of the discourse constitute the immediate preceding context of the citation from Macarius. Anania endeavors to show

¹⁴²H.-J. Feulner, *Die armenische Athanasius-Anaphora*, *Anaphorae Orientales 1: Anaphorae Armeniacae 1* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2001); G. Winkler, *Die Basilien-Anaphora. Edition der beiden armenischen Redaktionen und der relevanten Fragmente, Übersetzung und Zusammenschau aller Versionen im Licht der orientalischen Überlieferungen*, *Anaphorae Orientales 2: Anaphorae Armeniacae 2* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2005).

¹⁴³Khosrov Andzewats'ik's *episkoposi meknutiwn aghosits' pataragin* (Khosrov Bishop of Andzewats'ik, *Commentary on the Prayers of the Divine Liturgy*) (Venice: St. Lazar, 1869); Eng. trans., S. P. Cowe, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy by Khosrov Anjewati*, *Armenian Church Classics* (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1991), esp. pp. 19–50. For an overview, see R. F. Taft, "The Armenian 'Holy Sacrifice' (*Surb Patar[algi]*) as a Mirror of Armenian Liturgical History," in idem, ed., *The Armenian Christian Tradition. Scholarly Symposium in Honor of the Visit to the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, of His Holiness Karekin I . . . December 12, 1996*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta 254* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1997), pp. 175–197. Among studies on respective units, see idem, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Volume II: The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral Rites*, 2nd ed., *Orientalia Christiana Analecta 200* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1978), esp. pp. 59–62, 90–97, 102–105; idem, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Volume V: The Precommunion Rites*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta 261* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2000), esp. pp. 111–113. For a brief overview, see M. D. Findikyan, "Divina Liturgia della Chiesa armena," in E. Farrugia, ed., *Dizionario dell'Oriente cristiano* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2000), pp. 72–74.

from the outset that the date for the Nativity/Epiphany is the basis for determining the days of the subsequent feasts of the Lord within the liturgical year. The received tradition, according to the "sixth" canon of the *Apostolic Canons* ("seventh" in the extant Armenian manuscripts)¹⁴⁴ is that the feast is to be held on January 6. He points out that there is no Apostolic tradition of separating the Lord's Nativity from his Epiphany, whereby the Nativity is to be celebrated twelve days earlier, on December 25, and the Epiphany on January 6. According to him, the celebration of the Nativity on December 25 originated with the disciples of the Gnostic Cerinthus (flourished ca. A.D. 100).¹⁴⁵ Thus, the fixed day or the starting point is January 6, the day the feast of the Nativity/Epiphany was celebrated in Jerusalem. He then quotes this passage from Macarius' *Letter to the Armenians* by way of providing further Apostolic tradition received from Jerusalem.

(5) Hence the ordinance of baptism of the holy font and the earnest observance of the three feasts during which those who are dedicated to God desire most eagerly to bring unto baptism those in darkness and to carry out the great form of the salutary mystery, which is carried out on these holy and prominent days. And this (form of the mystery) they hasten to carry out with great eagerness (10) in the holy places of Christ; which all Christians, those who fear Christ, must also carry out in the baptismal service on these (days): on the holy Epiphany of the Nativity of the Lord, and <on> the saving Easter of the life-giving passion of Christ, and on Pentecost full of grace—when the Divine descent of the life-giving Spirit overflowed among us. (15) It is therefore necessary to make known the significance of each of these feasts, of the Nativity and Baptism, so that you also may hasten to do the same. For on that same salutary day, with the luminous Nativity of Christ, our expiatory birth of the holy font is realized; for on that same day he himself was baptized, condescending to be among us. For it was not that he was himself (20) in any need of cleansing, but he desired to cleanse us from the filth of sin, he who cries out with a loud voice, saying: "Unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (Jn 3:5). In the same fashion as we are born with him, we are baptized with him on the same holy day of the Nativity of Christ.

¹⁴⁴Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk*, 1:32.

¹⁴⁵The earliest mention of the observance of the Nativity on December 25 is in the Philocalian Calendar of 336, representing Roman practice at the time.

(25) Next, on the quickening resurrection of Easter, by mortifying our sins in the waters of the font, we become imitators of the mortification by death of our Lord Jesus Christ; and by the triple immersion, being buried in the waters of the holy font, we signify in the persons of those who are being baptized the three days' burial of our Lord. And this also the divine Apostle (30) shows clearly, when he says: "Being buried with him through baptism, let us become imitators of the likeness of his death, so that by the renewal of the resurrection we may become partakers with him in the life eternal" (Rom 6:4-5).

But on the grace-bestowing <and> sanctifying day of Pentecost was the luminous manifestation of the life-giving Spirit, which, in the form of fiery tongues, (35) descended on the Apostles, granting them that by laying hands on those who are being baptized (these shall) receive gifts from the grace of the Spirit. After the same pattern we also, on the same day, bestow the same Spirit by laying hands on those who are baptized. We fulfill the pattern of this with unflinching care, that we may become perfect.¹⁴⁶

The immediate following context is a short quotation from Gregory of Nazianz's "Homily on Holy Baptism," where "the Theologian" is said to have reiterated the theology of Macarius.¹⁴⁷ Below is the text of the excerpt, said to be from the "sixth chapter" of Macarius' "counsel" (*kbrat-tuut'wun*) in his *Letter to the Armenians*, with references to the page and line numbers of Abrahamyan's edition of the works of Anania of Shirak.

Text of the excerpt in Anania of Shirak

Text in the *Kanonagirk'*

284 (5) Եւ այց կարգաւորութիւն
մկրտութեան սրբոց առաքանին եւ
փոյթ յաւատարմեանն Գ տաւնիցն,
յորում առաւել եւս փախազեն
միւյազդ փութացուցանել ի
մկրտութիւն զընծայեալսն
Աստուծոյ, եւ կատարել զաւրինակ
մեծ փրկական խորհրդեանն, որ ի
սուրբ եւ յերեւելի առուրս

223. 1^bԵւ ոչ ի գլխաւոր տաւնն
2^aմիայն է կատարելութիւնն. զի
առաքեալքն ոչ ըստ ընտրութեան
տաւնիցն 3^aմկրտէին, այլ ըստ
բաւականի եկելոցն լուսաւորէին ի
ջուրցն 4^aվերապին ճնանելով:

(the above lines, 1b-4a, abrogate the injunction to limit baptism to the

¹⁴⁶Abrahamyan, *Anania Shirakats'u Matenagrutyunē*, p. 284.

¹⁴⁷Oration 40, ch. 24.

կատարեցաւ: Եւ զայս մեծութեամբ
 փախազանաւք փութան կատարել
 (10) ի սուրբ տեղիսս Քրիստոսի. զոր
 պարտ է եւ ամենայն քրիստոնէից
 երկիւղածաց Քրիստոսի կատարել ի
 նոսա գիտչումն մկրտութեանն ի
 սուրբ յայտնութեանն ծննդեանն
 տեսուն, եւ <ի>փրկական գատկի
 կենարար չարչարանացն Քրիստոսի,
 եւ ի շնորհալից Պենտեկոստին,
 յորում աստուածային էջք Հոլոյն
 կենդանարարի ի մեզ ծաւոյեցան:
 (15) Զոր պարտ է գիւրաքանչիւր
 տաւնիցն պատճառ ծննդեանն եւ
 մկրտութեան ծանուցանել, զի եւ
 դուք ի նոյն փութացեալք
 կատարեցէք. քանզի լուսաւոր
 ծննդեանն Քրիստոսի եւ մեր
 մեղսաքաւիչ ծնունդ որդւոյ
 աւագանին ի նմին փրկական
 աւուրն կատարեցաւ. զի ի նմին
 աւուր առ յանձն մկրտից յաղաղ
 առ մեզն գիջանելոյ: Զի ոչ եթե
 ինքն (20) կարաւ ինչ էր
 սրբութեան, այդ զմեզ կամեցաւ
 սրբել ի մեղացն սրբութենէ, որ
 մեծաձայն գոչմամբ աղաղակէ
 ոսեյով. եթե ոչ ոք ծնցի ի ջրոց եւ
 ի Հոլոյ, ոչ կարէ մտանել
 յալքայութիւնն Աստուծոյ. զի լսաւ
 նմին աւրինակի ծնեալք ընդ նմա,
 եւ մկրտեալք ընդ նմին եղիցուք ի
 սուրբ աւուր ծննդեանն Քրիստոսի:
 (25) Իսկ ի կենսաբեր
 յարութեանն գատկին, ի ձեռն
 մեռուցանելոյ զմեզս մեր ի ջուրս
 աւագանին նմանողք յինիմք

three festal occasions in the
 corresponding passage, lines 5–27a)

մեռելու թեան մահուն տեսն մերոյ
Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի, եւ երեք կին
ընկրմամբն թաղել ի ջուրս արոյ
աւազանին, գերեքաւրեայ թաղումն
տեսաւ մերոյ նշանակեմք յանձինս
մկրտելոցն, զոր եւ աստուածայինն
առաքեայ (30) յայտնապէս ցուցանէ,
ասելով, թէ թաղեալք ընդ նմին
մկրտութեամբն, նմանողք եղիցուք
նմանութեան մահու նորա. զի եւ
նորոգութեամբ յարութեանն
հաղորդ լինիցիմք նմա ի կեանսն
յաւիտենականս:

Իսկ յաւուրն շնորհասարդեւ
<եւ> արբարար Պենտեկոստեին
գլխատարայծառ ազգումն Հոգւոյն
կենարարի, սր ի տեսակ հրեղէն
բեզուայ (35) իջեալ յառաքեայսն,
պարզեւելով նոցա ձեռս ի վերայ
մկրտեցելոցն զնելով, ընդունելով
պարզեւս ի Հոգւոյն շնորհաց: Ըստ
նմին աւրինակի եւ մեք ի նմին
աւուր ձեռս ի վերայ մկրտելոցն
զնելով, նոյն հոգի պարզեւի. զորոյ
գաւրինոսին զգուշութեամբ
անխափան կատարեմք, զի
կատարեալք լիցուք:
(Չայս Մակարիոս)

Եւ երեք կին ընկրմամբն թաղեալ
ի ջուրս սուրբ աւազանին,
⁵գերեքաւրեայ թաղումն Տեսաւ
նշանակեմք յանձինս մկրտելոցն:
⁶Զոր եւ աստուածային առաքեայն
յայտնապէս ցուցանէ ասելով,
⁷թէ՝ «Թաղեցաք ընդ նմա
մկրտութեամբն, նմանողք եղիցուք
նմանութեան մահու նորա, զի
նորոգութեամբ յարութեանն
հաղորդ լինիցիմք նմա զի կեանսն
յաւիտենայ»:

Եւ այսպէս ուղիղ դաւանութեամբ
ձեռս ¹⁰ի վերայ զնելով՝ պարզեւեալ
լինի Հոգին Սուրբ ի փրկութիւն
մեզ, յուսաւորել ¹¹զկոչեցեայսն
յորդեղբու թիւն:
(the above lines, 223.9b–11a, abridge
the corresponding passage, lines
33–39)

This seventh-century excerpt is subsequently treated as a fragment of the original text, and is placed where it belongs, with the corresponding *Kanonagir* text in the parallel column. The translation of the excerpt is given in similar format, imbedded in the translation of the Letter (in *italics*). A translation of the complete discourse of Anania of Shirak is provided as an appendix to this monograph.¹⁴⁸ Hakobyan provides the above text of

¹⁴⁸Cf. Conybeare's translation and notes in *The Armenian Church: Heritage and Identity*, pp. 776–783.

the excerpt in his introduction to the Letter of Macarius.¹⁴⁹ As for Akinian, he oddly opts for the later, eleventh-century text as found in the discourse of Anania of Sanahin,¹⁵⁰ which is but a misappropriated version of that of Anania of Shirak with some corruptions. It would be superfluous to address Akinian at this juncture, except to point out that by the eleventh century the excerpt had acquired an omission resulting from identical ending (*homoioteleuton*) in lines 26b–28a (հմանողք . . . աւազանին), an addition of a word in line 35 (երեւեցաւ after յառաքեալսն), and a transposition of words in line 36 (սպարդեւս ընդունելով).

The excerpt clearly reveals that the text of the Letter in the *Kanonagirk* had undergone some changes, ranging from abridgement to alteration: such as doing away with the restriction to baptize only on the three major feast days, an adaptation to eleventh-century reality—the time when the Letter became part of the *Kanonagirk*. However, there is no need to conjecture about major transpositions and major abridgements within the text as we have it in the *Kanonagirk*. Suffice it to acknowledge that Anania's excerpt from "chapter six" indicates that such changes were certainly made, but not to the detriment of the overall structure of the document. Consequently, line 225.3 was detached from the preceding paragraph and numbered as canonical question *D* (iv). The epilogue, anticipated in the prologue (219.10–11), was numbered *T'* (ix), without an introductory question or *lemma*, and thus "Nine Chapters" became part of the derivative heading or subtitle. As for the theologically motivated post-Chalcedonian tampering in the Eucharistic part (see below), it could have occurred prior to the canonical redaction.

The most reliable text of the Letter of Macarius, based on the extant manuscripts, is that provided by Hakobyan in his edition of the *Kanonagirk*, the compilation of the canon law of the Armenian Church, where he utilizes more than forty manuscripts of the *Kanonagirk* and a few others of the *Girk Tghotots*. His text surpasses that provided by Izmirants' in the first edition of the *Girk Tghotots*, the ecclesiastical epistolary. The text of the Letter in Pogharian's revised edition of the epistolary follows that of Hakobyan, differing in but two emendations.¹⁵¹ Hakobyan's utilization of a large number of manuscripts notwithstanding, the text he provides is not

¹⁴⁹Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk*, 2:xciv–xcv, following that of Anania of Sanahin (pp. xciii–xciv).

¹⁵⁰Akinian, *Tugh' Makaray B.*, pp. 82–84.

¹⁵¹See above, n. 82.

critical but diplomatic, based primarily—if not entirely—on manuscript no. 648 of the Mashtots' Matenadaran in Yerevan (dated 17th cent.).¹⁵² The variant readings he provides in the *apparatus criticus* include some preferred readings that could be incorporated into the text, especially to restore some corrupt readings in a couple of passages: 222.6b–223.1a, 227.7–10.

Hakobian's diplomatic text

222 ⁶Եւ եթէ եկեղեցիա ունիմք,
 7 պարտ է եւ մկրտատունս առնել եւ
 աւագան, յորում մկրտէ որ
 գացցեն յուղիղ հաւատոս
 րարեպաշտութեան: 8 Ապա եթէ
 գիպեսցի ոք հիւանդ, 9 ուր ոչ իցէ
 եկեղեցի եւ կարգաւոր աւագան, չէ
 արժան արդելու որ կամիցին
 10 մկրտել, այլ կտտարել
 գմկրտութիւնն առանց կարգաւոր
 աւագանի: 11 վասն ի հարկէ
 պիտոյիցն, գի մի գացի պարտական
 իրկութեանն: 12 խափանելով
 գմկրտութիւնն: 2 ի Հոգին Սուրբ
 լսաւ մաղթողին 13 սայ զճնորհն, եւ
 լսաւ ամանին ոչ լինի արդելեալ. եւ
 յամենայն ժամ 223 1 խափաղեալքն
 ըստականանան ճնորհի Հոգւոյն:

Preferred readings from the *apparatus*

222 ⁶Եւ եթէ եկեղեցիա ունիմք,
 7 պարտ է եւ մկրտատունս առնել եւ
 աւագան, յորում մկրտել որք
 գացցեն յուղիղ հաւատոս
 րարեպաշտութեան: 8 Ապա եթէ
 գիպեսցի ոք հիւանդ, 9 ուր ոչ իցէ
 եկեղեցի եւ կարգաւոր աւագան, չէ
 արժան արդելու որ կամիցի
 10 մկրտել, այլ կտտարել
 գմկրտութիւնն առանց կարգաւոր
 աւագանի: 11 վասն ի հարկէ
 պիտոյիցն, գի մի գացի պարտական
 իրկութեանն: 12 խափանելով
 գմկրտութիւնն: 2 ի Հոգին Սուրբ
 լսաւ մաղթողին 13 սայ զճնորհն, եւ
 լսաւ ամանին ոչ լինի արդելեալ. եւ
 յամենայն ժամ 223 1 խափաղեալքն
 ըստականանան ճնորհի Հոգւոյն:

The preferred readings are quite justifiable. The infinitive *մկրտել* agrees with the other infinitives in the immediate context, and the plural pronoun *որք* with the plural verb following (*գացցեն*); both readings are attested among the variants in the *apparatus*. The singular verb *կամիցի*, though not

¹⁵²Seconded by manuscript no. 3562 (dated 1597–1599). Among the 48 manuscripts utilized by Hakobyan in his edition of the *Kanonagirk*, which he divides into two recensions based on contents and their arrangement (A, the manuscripts of which are indicated by sigla with capital letters; and B, with sigla in lowercase letters), the Letter appears in nearly all of the manuscripts (but not in the oldest, Nor Jugha manuscript 131, dated 1098) and always in conjunction with documents from the fourth and fifth centuries. In recension A, it is usually the 39th or 38th collection of canons, in B the 11th. For more, see Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk*, 1:xxx–xl.

attested in the *apparatus*, agrees with the preceding singular pronoun (or), its subject (had it been the object, then the combination would be correct as is), and the corresponding verb (*դուրսի*, which has no plural variant in the *apparatus*). The remaining two corrections are commonplaces with the declension of nouns that have no singular form (both the accusative and the instrumental are found in the *apparatus*). Note that this passage in the *Kanonagirk* is followed by the abridged passage shown alongside the excerpt found in Anania's discourse.

The second passage in Hakobyan's edition which stands in need of textual criticism is quite crucial.

Hakobian's diplomatic text

227⁷ է. Եւ որպիսի՞ աւրինակս
նուէրք սրբութեանն յաւրինեսցի:
ՅՀանէլ ի սեղանն զհացն սուրբ՝
ջերմ ըստ առաքելոյն
աւանդութեան⁹ եւ
անսպակ՝ առանց իրիւք խառնման,
զի ոչ տարականացու իւրք փրկիմք,
10այլ անսպական մարմնով
ամբիծ եւ անարտոտ
դառնին:

Critical text, based on preferred readings in the *apparatus*; emendations in < >

227⁷ է. Եւ որպիսի՞ աւրինակս
նուէրք սրբութեանն յաւրինեսցին:
ՅՀանէլ ի սեղանն զհացն սուրբ՝
ջերմ, ըստ առաքելոյն
աւանդութեան, ⁹եւ <զբաժակն>
անսպակ՝ առանց իրիւք խառնման,
զի ոչ տարականացու իւրք փրկիմք,
10այլ անսպական մարմնով <եւ
արեամբ> ամբիծ եւ անարտոտ
դառնին:

The question in line 7 ("And by what guideline shall the offerings of the sacrament be carried out?") is somewhat unwieldy, and a plural suffix is needed (though not required) for the singular verb *յաւրինեսցի* (*yarwinesci*, "it shall be carried out" or "it shall be done") to correspond with the plural substantive *նուէրք* ("offerings" or "gifts"). Such a plural verb is found among the variants. As for the rest, it shows a twofold and blatant anti-Chalcedonian tampering, which further substantiates the authenticity of the document and its pre-Chalcedonian date: first, the addition of the words *անսպակ՝ առանց իրիւք խառնման* (*anapak arants' irik' kharman*, "incorruptible, without any admixture"), and then, by a later hand, the deletion of the words *զրեամբ* (*zrabazhakn*, "the cup") and *եւ արեամբ* (*ew areamb*, "and by the

blood"). Obviously, the addition is anterior to the absurd deletion of the necessary words. Moreover, the initial tampering extends to the biblical text contemplated here (1Pet 1:18–19). Whereas the words *սպախանացմ. խիփ* (*apakanats'u iwik*, "with corruptible things" [Gk. *phthartois*]) are authentic, the recurring word *անսպախան* (*anapakan*, "incorruptible" [Gk. *aphthartos*]) with reference to the body and blood, is not.¹⁵³ The latter word is a substitution for *սպառնական* (*patuakan*, "precious" [Gk. *timiō*, lit., "with (the) precious (blood)"]). As for the word *մարմին* (*marmīn*, "body"), although it is not found in the Petrine text, it seems to have been inspired by the Eucharistic words of the New Testament or—more immediately—by the Eucharistic prayer(s) of the Divine Liturgy.¹⁵⁴

As it stands, the maligned text reads contrary to the historical tradition of the mixed chalice, wine mixed with water,¹⁵⁵ and answers Thomson's guarded concerns about authenticity—on which I have already touched briefly in my survey of scholarship on the Letter.

The text yields the following translation, with the initial tampering in *italics* (and without conjectures as to the original text beyond the restored words):

7VII. And by what guideline shall the offerings of the sacrament be carried out?

8The holy bread is to be brought to the table, hot—according to the tradition of the Apostles; 9and <the cup> *incorruptible—without any admixture*: "for we are redeemed not with corruptible things,¹⁰ but with the *incorruptible* body <and blood> of the spotless and unblemished Lamb" (1Pet 1:18–19).

¹⁵³In and of themselves, such terms are not always suggestive—much less indicative—of later heterodox developments (such as Aphthartodocetism). A good and early example may be drawn from Irenaeus (d. ca. 200): "But our opinion is in accordance with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist in turn establishes our opinion. For we offer to Him His own, announcing consistently the fellowship and union of the flesh and Spirit. For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity" (*Against Heresies*, ch. 18). Cf. Cyril, *Mystag. Cat.*, 4:3.

¹⁵⁴Note, e.g., *i surb patuakan marmnoy ew yarenē Teān meroy ew prkch'in Yisusi Kristosi . . .* ("of the holy, precious body and blood of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ . . ."); Cowe, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy by Xosrov Anjēwālī*, pp. 210–211, 232 n. 28, 249 n. 1 to §159.

¹⁵⁵R. [F.] Taft, "Water into Wine: The Twice-Mixed Chalice in the Byzantine Eucharist," *Le Muséon* 100 (1987) 323–342; idem, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, pp. 442–444.

Here I would like to suggest that the original reading of this passage could have been the primary reason for the exclusion of the Letter from the initial compilation of the *Girk' Tghbtots'* early in the seventh century. The compilation is replete with anti-Chalcedonian documents, brought together at the height of the Christological controversies between the Armenian and Greek churches and fueled by the separation of the Georgians from the Armenian fold in 608. There were several attempts by the Byzantine Church in this period to impose the Chalcedonian faith upon the Armenians. When the Persians attacked Armenia in 571/2, trying once again to force the nation to accept Zoroastrianism, Catholicos Yovhannēs II of Gabeghecanġ (in office 557–574) together with certain of the nobility took refuge in Constantinople. The Byzantines considered this an opportune time to compel the Armenians into accepting the Chalcedonian faith.¹⁵⁶ A synod was convoked and the Armenians were persuaded to accept the dictates of their hosts, only to recant them upon returning to Armenia following the death of the Catholicos in Constantinople in 574. This led the Emperor Maurice (reigned 582–602), himself of Armenian descent, to help install a rival Catholicos, John of Bagaran (d. 611), and to try harder to win the Armenians over especially after the Byzantine settlement with the Sasanian Khosroes II in 591, which ceded to Byzantium most of the Armenian territories under Persian control. The response to Maurice by Catholicos Movsēs II of Egheward (in office 574–604), "I shall not cross the Azat River. I shall not eat the baked bread of the Greeks, nor shall I drink their hot water" (a sarcastic reference to the Byzantine Eucharist with its leavened bread and mixed chalice), did not put an end to the attempts toward reunion.¹⁵⁷ These continued under Heraclius (reigned 610–641). The tension of the period is captured in several of the letters in the *Girk' Tghbtots'*, especially in the correspondence between the Armenians and the Georgians.¹⁵⁸ This, then, was the time when the latter compilation came to be (during the Catholicosate of Komitas of Aghts'k, in office

¹⁵⁶Garitte, *La Narratio de rebus Armeniac*, pp. 210–213.

¹⁵⁷For the quote, as reported by the Georgian Catholicos Arsēn (in office 860–887), see *ibid.*, pp. 226–227; for the nearly identical Greek text of the *Narratio*, see p. 40 and comments, and pp. 242–244. The Azat River marked the boundary between Persian and Byzantine Armenia.

¹⁵⁸Pogharian, *Girk' Tghbtots'*, pp. 316–364 (pp. 164–195 of the Tiflis edition). Pogharian's edition of the *Girk' Tghbtots'*, pp. 221–230, includes certain letters of this period that are not found in the Tiflis edition (cf. pp. 671–672). See also Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne et le Grand Schisme d'Orient*, pp. 506–583.

615–628), without the Letter of Macarius. In other words, there was a theological objection to the Letter. The cause for rejection was removed when the Letter was incorporated into the *Kanonagirk* in the eleventh century, from where it made its way into the second (Cilician) edition of the *Girk Tghbtots* in the thirteenth century.

The above textual observations and those touching on the textual history of the Letter notwithstanding, Hakobyan's text is very reliable. I follow it with some caution, preferring the emended readings indicated in the above passages.

Although Macarius' *Letter to the Armenians* has not been entirely unknown, it was relegated to near oblivion due to the results of previous scholarship, especially the work of Akinian. The document has been maligned not only in the recent past but throughout its history. It was rejected by the compiler(s) of the initial collection of the *Girk Tghbtots*, the epistolary of important ecclesiastical documents first collected in the seventh century, for obvious reasons: certain of its recommendations, such as limiting baptism to three major feast days, conflicted with the rite of baptism in vogue at the time when the compilation was put together. Moreover, a paragraph on the Eucharist with the mixed cup was not acceptable to Armenian traditionalists who insisted on the unmixed cup for Christological reasons. For the same reasons the document was left out of the various compilations of the *Kanonagirk*, until it was modified for inclusion in an eleventh-century edition, and thereby made its way into the expanded edition of the *Girk Tghbtots* in the thirteenth century. Thus, while the Letter does not survive in its original form, that it has survived at all is a marvel. Its Hicrosolymitan origin might have had something to do with its preservation, for that was the reason for its being excerpted by Anania of Shirak in the seventh century.

A document as ancient as the Letter of Macarius, with its known provenance and important content on the administration of the most fundamental sacraments of the Church from a time when these were in a state of liturgical development and adaptation, deserves renewed attention in more serious scholarship—now that its authorship, date, and authenticity have been established on the basis of the overwhelming internal evidence.

It would be utterly anachronistic to place this Letter after its clear *terminus ante quem*: near the end of A.D. 335.

Text and Translation

ԵՐԱՆԵԼԻՈՅՆ ՄԱԿԱՐԱՅ՝ ՍՐԲՈՅ ՔԱՂԱՔԻՆ ԵՐՈՒՍԱՂԷՄԻ ՀԱՅՐԱՊԵՏԻ ԿԱՆՈՆԱԿԱՆ ԹՈՒՂԹ Ի ՀԱՅՍ

ՎԱՄՆ ԿԱՆՈՆԱԴՐՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԿԱԹՈՂԻԿԷ ԵԿԵՂԵՑԻՈՅ ԿԱՐԳԱՑ
ԶՈՐ ԶԷ ԱՐԺԱՆ ԸՆԴ ՍԱՀՄԱՆ ԵՒ ԸՆԴ ՀՐԱՄԱՆ ԱՆՅԱՆԵԼ

ԳԼՈՒԽԲ Թ

216 ⁵Ահա վասն անիսն եւ երկիւղին Աստուծոյ եւ ի վախազ սիրոյ
բարեպաշտութեան ⁶ձերոյ փութացայ գարթուցանել զրարեսէր եւ
զպարզամիտ 217 ¹սիրոս ձեր ի խնայիր ուղիւ բարեպաշտութեան՝
ճշմարիտ կանոնադրութեան ²կաթողիկէ եկեղեցւոյ եւ կարեւոր
կարդաց Աստուծոյ, զոր ³սարտ է բազում զգուշութեամբ ասանայ եւ
աներկեւան հաւատով պահել ⁴ամենայն երկիւղածաց Աստուծոյ: Յորս
եւ դուք ոչ յապաղեայ Հեղուցուցիչ ⁵ինչ դանդաղանաւք
ծուլացարուք, այլ փութացեալք շնորհաւք ⁶Սուրբ Հոգւոյն՝
ջերմութեամբ եւ աստուածային սիրոյն բաղձանաւք. որ ⁷ոչ միայն ի
մերձաւորացն յաւժարեցուցանէ ժողովի խնդրել զՀոգւոյն
⁸աւգտութիւնն, այլ եւ ի տար աշխարհ փութացուցանէ հասանել
մեծաւ ⁹փառապանաւք եւ ըզձալի տենչանաւք յաղապս
աստուածահաճոյ խնդրոյ ¹⁰եւ Հոգւոյ վրկութեան, զմտաւ ածելով
զասացեալսն, թէ՛ «Մի դանդաղեցիւ ¹¹երթալ հեռի ճանապարհ, թէ՛
պիտանացու ինչ ուսուցանել ոք ¹²խոստանայցէ»: Որ եւ գտն
փախազ Հոգւոյն փաստակոյց յանձինս ձեր ¹³երեւեցուցեալ վասն
մեծաշահ աստուածային դանձուցն Հոգւոյն, ¹⁴առաքեցէք գիր ի
հեռաբնակ աշխարհէ, ի կողմանցդ Արեւելից ի սուրբ 218 ¹քաղաքս
Երուսաղէմ, որ ի ձեռն երկիւղածաց քահանայից մատուցաւ ²առաջի
բազմութեան եպիսկոպոսացս, որք մի մի ժողովեալք յիւրաքանչիւր
³քաղաքաց, որոց առաջի անկեալ Հոգւոյն մաղթանաւք խնդրեցին
⁴զգրոյն պատասխանիս: Զոր թէպէտ եւ ոչ կամէաք, ծանրացեալ
⁵սկարութեամբ, հրամանատուութեանս մեծամեծ կրաւնիւք
եկեղեցւոյ, ⁶սակայն Հոգւոյն ժողովին եւ փոյթ աստուածասէր
քահանայիցս հարկաւորեաց ⁷զմեզ զրեւ եւ տայ ձերում կամայաւժար
բարեպաշտութեանդ ⁸զգյուրի կարեւոր կարդաց եկեղեցւոյ՝

Of the Blessed Macarius, Patriarch of the Holy City Jerusalem: Canonical Letter to the Armenians

On Laying Down Canonical Ordinances for the Universal Church
That Are Not Right to Transgress by Definition or Command

Nine Chapters

[Prologue]

216 ⁵Because of your awe and fear of God and passionate longing for piety, ⁶I have hastened herewith to rouse your devout and sincere 217 ¹hearts to seek true piety, the right canonical regulations laid down ²for the Universal Church and the essential ordinances of God, which ³ought to be received with much care and observed with unswerving faith ⁴by all who fear God. Among whom you also should not be sluggish ⁵through some slothfulness, becoming indolent; but must make haste through the grace ⁶of the Holy Spirit, through the fervor and yearnings of the divine love, ⁷which not only makes those who are near (us) solicitous to supplicate, to seek the spiritual ⁸benefit, but also constrains those in the remote parts of the world to pursue with eager ⁹longings and ardent desires the quest that pleases God, ¹⁰even the salvation of souls—bearing in mind the saying that “You shall not hesitate ¹¹to go a long way should there be someone ¹²who promises to teach (you) something beneficial.” Indeed you, on your own, have manifested such longing for spiritual rewards, ¹³for the very enriching, divine, (and) spiritual treasures, ¹⁴having sent a letter from a distant land, from your regions of the East, to the holy 218 ¹city Jerusalem. This (letter), delivered by reverend priests, ²was laid before the large assembly of bishops who had gathered together one by one from every ³city. Before whom appearing with spiritual entreaty, they asked for ⁴a response to the letter. Although we were reluctant, being overwhelmed ⁵by a sense of the lesser authority we hold within the greater tenets of the Church, ⁶we were nonetheless compelled by the spiritual supplication and the concern of these God-loving priests ⁷to write and to impart to your solicitous piety ⁸the main points of the

զհաստատութեան հաւատոյ, ոչ մի⁹ ինչ երկրաշութեամբ, եւ
զամենայն կանոնադրութիւնս սրբոյ ժողովոյն¹⁰ որ վասն
հերժուածորայն եղեւ, զորս կարեւոր է ընդունել տմենայն
¹¹ րարեպաշտոց, որ եղեւ վասն դրութեան կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ:

¹² Այլ եւ տեսեալ զբողոքազուշայի կարգաւորութիւն կենսարար
մկրտութեան սրբոյ 219¹ քաղաքիս, հիացեալ զարմացան, թէ
կոյմանք Արեւելոյ թերի են զդուշութեամբ² յայսպիսիս բազում
ինչ իրաւք: Զի ի տեղիս տեղիս աւագան³ կարդաւոր ոչ ունին, եւ
յորդէս ամանի մկրտեն. եւ է որ սարկաւորունք⁴ մկրտութիւն
առնեն, եւ եպիսկոպոսք եւ քահանայք առանձնակ⁵ ձէթ աւծման
աւրհնեն. եւ զձէթ կնքոյ որ յառաքելոյն եւ այսր պահի,
⁶ յաւելլաւծով ոչ ունին, եւ զրոյր զգայարանս մանկան ոչ աւծանեն:
⁷ Եւ է զի գծողոյն կարդեալսն ոչ ասեն ուրեք ուրեք քահանայքն
⁸ ի ժամ մկրտութեանն: Եւ ձեռնադրութեամբ ժառանգաւորքն
միապատիւ⁹ հաւատարին եւ ոչ ընդ տեղեալսն հնազանդին: Եւ
բազում եւ¹⁰ այլ շփոթութիւնք հպարտութեամբ եւ ծուլութեամբ,
զոր ի կարգս եկեղեցւոյ¹¹ մոլծեսոյ են մարմնասէրք, զոր ծանուցին
մեզ եկեալքս:

¹² Ընդ որ հիացեալ մեծապէս զարմացաք եւ վասն երկիւղին
Աստուծոյ ոչ հեղոացաք¹³ զբոլ վաւթանակի՝ ես Մակարիոս
արքեպիսկոպոս Երուսաղէմի եւ¹⁴ ամենայն բազմութիւն
եպիսկոպոսացս որ ընդ իս են՝ առաքել ի¹⁵ կողմանող Արեւելոյ առ
Քրիստոսասէր եւ երկիւղած եպիսկոպոսապետոյ 220¹ վրթմանէս եւ առ
համաւրէն եպիսկոպոսս եւ քահանայս Հայոց: Բազում
² զգուշութեամբ եւ երկիւղիւ կատարել զկարգաւորութիւնն մեծի
խորհրդոյն³ Աստուծոյ որ կատարի ի կաթողիկէ եկեղեցւոյ, որով
պարզեւ ի շնորհաց⁴ Հոգւոյն մեղաց թողութիւն եւ ողւոյ
փրկութիւն մկրտելոյն ի սուրբ⁵ աւագանին: Եւ Հոգին Սուրբ ոչ
արհամարհէ զցանկացողս բարեպաշտութեան,⁶ այլ խոնարհեալ իջանէ
եւ արէ ուղիղ դուռնութեամբն ի ձեռն⁷ սրբոյ ջրոյ աւագանին: Եւ
յայտմ ամենայնի չէ պարտ ծուլաւնայ⁸ եւ դանդաղել
⁹ եպիսկոպոսացն եւ երկոյնցն ի մկրտել զայնոսի, որք կամին
¹⁰ մերձենայ ի բարեպաշտութիւն աստուածապաշտութեան: Զի այն է
փոյթ¹⁰ քահանայից եւ զործ կարեւոր առաջնորդաց եկեղեցւոյ՝
զկամողան բարեպաշտութեան¹¹ իրաւոյն եւ ուսուցանել բանիւ <եւ>
վարդապետութեամբ,¹² մերժել ի սատանայէ եւ ընծայեցուցանել
Աստուծոյ սրբոյ աւագանին¹³ յուստւորութեամբ, եւ մի ումեք լինել

essential ordinances of the Church, for the strengthening of the faith⁹ that knows no wavering, and the entire canons laid down by the holy Council¹⁰ which was held because of the heretics. It is essential that all¹¹ pious people accept these, since it was held (also) to lay down ordinances for the Church.

¹²Upon seeing the very careful ordering of the life-giving baptism in the Holy 219¹ City, they were amazed with astonishment that the regions of the East are wanting in carefulness² in many such matters. For in various places they have no regular fonts,³ but baptize in any usable vessel. And in some cases the deacons⁴ perform baptism. And bishops and priests independently⁵ hallow the oil of anointing. And since they do not have sufficient oil of sealing, which is from the Apostles and is kept here,⁶ they do not anoint the infant's entire organs of sense.⁷ And in various places the priests at the time of baptism do not say that which was laid down by the Council.⁸ As for laying on of hands, the clergy are regarded equals in honor,⁹ and they do not subordinate themselves to superiors. There are many¹⁰ other irregularities, besides pride and indolence, that have been introduced into the ordinances of the Church¹¹ by carnal ones, as those who have come (hither) have made known to us.

¹²We were amazed over that, greatly astonished. However, from fear of God we have not hesitated¹³ to write promptly—I, Macarius, Archbishop of Jerusalem, and¹⁴ the entire, large assembly of bishops who are with me—(and) to send to¹⁵ your regions of the East, to you, Christ-loving and reverend Chief-bishop 220¹ Vrtanēs, and to the whole body of bishops and priests of Armenia,² to administer the rite of the great sacrament of God with much care and reverence,³ as it is administered in the Universal Church; whereby forgiveness of sins and salvation of souls are granted⁴ out of the grace of the Spirit to those who are baptized in the holy⁵ font. And the Holy Spirit does not despise those who yearn for piety,⁶ but, bending low, descends and sanctifies through right confession of faith (and) by means of⁷ the water of the holy font. And in all this, it is not proper for bishops and presbyters to be indolent and slow⁸ to baptize those who wish⁹ to draw near to the piety of worshiping God. For this is a concern¹⁰ of priests and an essential task of the leaders of the Church¹¹ to exhort in piety those who are willing, and to teach them by word of doctrine¹² to renounce Satan and to dedicate themselves to God through the illumination of the holy font;¹³ and not to become the cause of

սլատճառք կորստեան անհնազանդութեամբ¹⁴ եւ թերախտար ինչ կարգաւք մկրտութեան, վասն դանդաղութեան 221¹ իւրոյ առ ոչ ածել զամենայն կարգաւորութիւն ի վերայ² մոտուցելոցն ի մկրտութիւն սուրբ աւագանին, զոր ըստ զգուշութեամբ³ եւ ցնծալից զօրութեամբ առանց դանդաղելոյ կատարէ ընդհանրական⁴ եկեղեցի Աստուծոյ:

Եւ արդ՝ եկեայ ի խնդիր ստուգիւ ըստ նախասացեալ⁵ գլխոցն՝ արասցուք սկիզբն ի գրոց Հատուցեալ զոր⁶ պահանջէք:

⁷Ա. Թէ արժան իցէ տարկուողաց մկրտութիւն առնել, եւ կատարեալ⁸ իցէ խորհուրդն:

⁹Գիտութիւն լիցի Քրիստոսասէր եղբայրութեան ձերոյ, զի եպիսկոպոսաց¹⁰ եւ քահանայից միայն է իշխանութիւնս այս. եւ սարկաւազաց¹¹ զայս առնել չէ արժան, քանզի սպասաւորք են. եւ խափանեալ է¹² այս առ ի նոցանէ: Եւ աւելի է խնդրելն, թէ կատարեալ է առ ի նոցանէ¹³ մկրտեալն. ըսցց պարտ է նախ քննել, թէ սովորութիւնն իցէ զաւառին¹⁴ այնմիկ սարկաւազացն մկրտել. եւ եթէ գտցի ոք արարեալ, ընդ 222¹ անմեղութեամբ է վասն անդիտութեան կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ. զի սովորութեան² զաւառին գհետ չոգաւ: Իսկ եթէ գիտէր զկարգս եկեղեցւոյ եւ³ անց զնոքաւք, եղիցին ի վերայ նորա պատիժք ըստ կարգի յանցանացն:

⁴Բ. Եթէ աւագան սրբեալ ոչ ունին, եւ յորպէս ամանի մկրտեն:

⁵Զի եթէ ոչ էր մերձ եկեղեցի շինեալ ի փառս Աստուծոյ եւ ի մուսս⁶ ժողովրդոց, առանց մեղադրելոյ արդեաւք էր. եւ եթէ եկեղեցիս ունիմք,⁷ պարտ է եւ մկրտատունս առնել եւ աւագան, յորում մկրտել որք զայցեն⁸ յուղիղ Հաւատս բարեպաշտութեան: Ապա եթէ զիպեսցի ոք Հիւանդ,⁹ ուր ոչ իցէ եկեղեցի եւ կարգաւոր աւագան, չէ արժան արդելու որ կամիցի¹⁰ մկրտել, այլ կատարել զմկրտութիւնն առանց կարգաւոր աւագանի¹¹ վասն ի Հարկէ պիտոյիցն, զի մի գտցի պարտական փրկութեանն¹² խափանելով զմկրտութիւնն: Զի Հոգին Սուրբ ըստ մաղթողին¹³ տայ զչնորհմն, եւ ըստ ամանին ոչ լինի արգելեալ. եւ յամենայն ժամ 223

¹ փափաղեալքն ըստականանան չնորհիւ Հոգւոյն:

someone's perdition by reason of (their) disobedience, ¹⁴through some imperfect thing in the rite of baptism owing to their slothfulness ²²¹in not conferring the entire rite upon ²those who present themselves for baptism in the holy font. ³The Universal Church of God administers this (rite) with much care and joyous trembling, and without delay.

⁴And now let us proceed to inquire closely into the aforementioned ⁵points, providing in writing that which ⁶you require.

[Regarding Baptism]

⁷I. Whether it is right for deacons to perform baptism, and is the sacrament ⁸fulfilled (in such cases)?

⁹Be it known to your Christ-loving fraternity, that this authority belongs to bishops ¹⁰and priests alone, and that it is not right for deacons ¹¹to perform it, for they are attendants; consequently, it is closed ¹²to them. And there is more to the question: Is the person baptized by them made perfect? ¹³It is proper, then, first to inquire whether it is customary for deacons to baptize in a particular province; ¹⁴and if one were found to have done so, ²²² ¹he is blameless because he merely succumbed to the customs of the province out of ignorance of the ordinances of the Church. ²But if he knew the ordinances of the Church and ³transgressed them, let punishment be inflicted on him in proportion to his transgression.

⁴II. If they have no hallowed font, in what handy vessel (should) they baptize?

⁵If there was no nearby church built to the glory of God for people to come into, ⁶(then), perhaps, there was nothing to blame. But if we have churches, ⁷we must also build baptisteries and a font in which to baptize those who come ⁸with true faith to piety. However, should there be a sick person ⁹where there is neither church nor regular font, it is not right to prevent the person willing ¹⁰to baptize; the baptism may be administered without a regular font, ¹¹because the circumstances compel, (and) lest he be found a debtor for (someone's) salvation ¹²by obstructing the baptism. For the Holy Spirit bestows grace upon the petitioner, ¹³and is not prevented by the vessel; ²²³ ¹and those who long for the grace of the Spirit are always satisfied.

[Շիրակացի, խմբ. Արրահամյան]

[Կանոնադիրք, խմբ. Հակոբյան]

284 (5) Բայց կարդաւորութիւն
մկրտութեան սրբոյ աւագանին
եւ փոյթ յաւթարութեանն Գ
տաւնիցն, յորում առաւել եւս
փափաղեն միդագր
փութացուցանել ի մկրտութիւն
գրնծալեացն Աստուծոյ, եւ
կատարել գաւրինակ մեծ
փրկական խորհրդեանն, որ ի
սուրբ եւ յերեւելի առւրս
կատարեցաւ: Եւ զայս մեծաւ
փափաղանաւք փութան
կատարել (10) ի սուրբ տեղիսս
Քրիստոսի. զոր սրբոս է եւ
ամենայն քրիստոնէից
երկիւրածայ Քրիստոսի կատարել
ի նոսա գրոչումն մկրտութեանն
ի սուրբ յայտնութեանն
ծննդեանն տեառն, եւ <ի>
փրկական գատիկի կենարար
չարչարանայն Քրիստոսի, եւ ի
շնորհայից Պենտեկոստ<ե>ին,
յորում աստուածային էջք
Հոգւոյն կենդանարարի ի մեզ
ծաւալեցան: (15) Զոր սրբոս է
գլխաքանչիւր տաւնիցն
սրտնառ ծննդեանն եւ
մկրտութեան ծանուցանել, զի եւ
զուք ի նոյն փութալեք
կատարեցէք. քանզի լուսաւոր
ծննդեանն Քրիստոսի եւ մեր
մեղաքաւիչ ծնունդ սրբոյ
աւագանին ի նմին փրկական
առւրն կատարեցաւ. զի ի նմին
առւր սու յանձն մկրտից

Եւ ոչ ի գլխաւոր տաւնն
²միայն է կատարելութիւնն. զի
առաքեալքն ոչ լոտ
լնարութեան տաւնիցն ³մկրտէին,
այլ լոտ լաւականի եկելոյն
լուսաւորէին ի ջուրցն ⁴վերստին
ծնունելով:

[Fragment in Anania of Shirak]

284(5) *Hence the ordinance of baptism of the holy font and the earnest observance of the three feasts during which those who are dedicated to God desire most eagerly to bring unto baptism those in darkness and to carry out the great form of the salutary mystery, which is carried out on these holy and prominent days. And this (form of the mystery) they hasten to carry out with great eagerness (10) in the holy places of Christ; which all Christians, those who fear Christ, must also carry out in the baptismal service on these (days): on the holy Epiphany of the Nativity of the Lord, and <on> the saving Easter of the life-giving passion of Christ, and on Pentecost full of grace—when the Divine descent of the life-giving Spirit overflowed among us. (15) It is therefore necessary to make known the significance of each of these feasts, of the Nativity and Baptism, so that you also may hasten to do the same. For on that same salutary day, with the luminous Nativity of Christ, our expiatory birth of the holy font is realized; for on that same day he himself was baptized, condescending*

[Redaction in the *Kanonagirk*]

Nor is the administration (of the rite) on major feasts ²only, for the Apostles were not baptizing with a preference for the feasts, ³but, to the satisfaction of those who came to them, were illuminating by making rebirth through the waters possible.

յաղագս առ մեզն զիջանելոյ: 2/ի
 ոչ եթե ինքն (20) կարուտ ինչ
 էր սրբութեան, այդ զմեզ
 կամեցաւ սրբել ի մեղացն
 պղծութենէ, որ մեծաձայն
 զոչմամբ աղաղակէ ասելով. եթե
 ոչ ոք ծնցի ի ջրոյ եւ ի հոգւոյ,
 ոչ կարէ մտանել յարքայութիւնն
 Աստուծոյ. զի ըստ նմին
 աւրինակի ծնեալք ընդ նմա, եւ
 մկրտեալք ընդ նմին եղիցուք ի
 սուրբ աւուր ծննդեանն
 Բրիստոսի:

(25) Իսկ ի կենսարեր
 յարութեանն գատկին, ի ձեռն
 մեռուցանելոյ զմեզս մեր ի
 ջուրս աւագանին նմանողք
 լինիմք մեռելութեան մահուն
 տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի
 Բրիստոսի, եւ երեքկին
 ընկղմամբն թաղեալ ի ջուրս
 սրբոյ աւագանին, զերեքսուրեայ
 թաղումն տեառն մերոյ
 նշանակեմք յանձինս մկրտելոյն,
 զոր եւ ատուածայինն առաքեալ
 (30) յայտնապէս ցուցանէ,
 ասելով, թէ թաղեալք ընդ նմին
 մկրտութեամբն, նմանողք
 եղիցուք նմանութեան մահու
 նորա. զի եւ նորողութեամբ
 յարութեանն հաղորդ լինիցիմք
 նմա ի կենսոն յաւիտեանականս
 Իսկ յաւուրն չնորհապարգեւ
 <եւ> սրբարար Պենտեկոստեին
 գլուխապաշտու ողորմն
 Հոգւոյն կենարարի, որ ի
 անասիս հրեղէն լեզուաց (35)

Եւ երեքկին
 ընկղմամբն թաղեալ ի ջուր
 սուրբ աւագանին,⁵ զերեքսուրեայ
 թաղումն Տեառն նշանակեմք
 յանձինս մկրտելոյն: ⁶Զոր եւ
 ատուածայինն առաքեալն
 յայտնապէս ցուցանէ ասելով,
⁷Թէ՛ «Թաղեցաք ընդ նմա
 մկրտութեամբն, նմանողք
 եղիցուք նմանութեան ⁸մահու
 նորա, զի նորողութեամբ
 յարութեանն հաղորդ լինիցիմք
 նմա ⁹ի կենսոն յաւիտեանից»:

to be among us. For it was not that he was himself (20) in any need of cleansing, but he desired to cleanse us from the filth of sin, he who cries out with a loud voice, saying: "Unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (Jn 3:5). In the same fashion as we are born with him, we are baptized with him on the same holy day of the Nativity of Christ.

(25) Next, on the quickening resurrection of Easter, by mortifying our sins in the waters of the font, we become imitators of the mortification by death of our Lord Jesus Christ. And by the triple immersion, being buried in the waters of the holy font, we signify in the persons of those who are being baptized the three-day burial of our Lord. And this also the divine Apostle (30) shows clearly, when he says: "Being buried with him through baptism, let us become imitators of the likeness of his death, so that by the renewal of the resurrection we may become partakers with him in the life eternal" (Rom 6:4-5).

But on the grace-bestowing <and> sanctifying day of Pentecost was the luminous manifestation of the life-giving Spirit, which, in the form of fiery tongues, (35) descended

⁴And by the triple immersion, being buried in the water of the holy font, ⁵we signify in the persons of those who are being baptized the three-day burial of the Lord. ⁶And this also the divine Apostle shows clearly, when he says: ⁷"We were buried with him through baptism; let us (therefore) become imitators of the likeness ⁸of his death, so that by the renewal of the resurrection we may become partakers with him ⁹in the life eternal" (Rom 6:4-5).

իջեալ յառաքեալսն, սրարդեւելով
 նոցա ձեռս ի վերայ
 մկրտե(ցե)լոցն դնելով,
 ընդունելով պարզեւս ի Հոգւոյն
 շնորհաց: Ըստ նմին աւրինակի
 եւ մեք ի նմին աւուր ձեռս ի
 վերայ մկրտելոցն դնելով, նոյն
 հոգի պարզելի. գորոյ
 գաւրինակն զգուշութեամբ
 անխափան կատարեմք, զի
 կատարեալք լիցուք:

Եւ այսպէս ուղիւ
 դաւանութեամբ ձեռս ¹⁰ի
 վերայ դնելով՝ պարզեւեալ
 լինի Հոգին Սուրբ
 ի վրկութիւն մեզ,
 յուսաւորեյ ¹¹զկոչեցեալսն
 յորդեզրութիւն:

Եւ հաւատովք աւժանիմք յիւշ ¹²սրբութեան: Եւ այսպէս ըստ
 իւրաքանչիւր եղեալ մասանց կարգք սրբոյ 224 ¹եկեղեցւոյ յաւրինին,
 ոչ ելանելով ըստ եղեալ սահման եւ զխառորեայ, ²ըստ
 երկնաւորացն դասուց, որպէս ուսաք ի հարցն հոգեւորացն՝
 յաշտիերոտց ³առաքելոցն սրբոյ:

⁴Գ. Եւ զիա՞լով կարգք եկեղեցւոյ սրբոյ յաւրինին:

⁵Վերադառնալք ըստ կարգեալ կայենիցն կայցին ի խառնութիւն
 ուղղել ⁶ի բարին, որոց կոչեցան ի վերակացութիւն. եւ աւեալ ի
 նոցանէ՝ ⁷մի վեբասցին ամբարհաւածութեամբ գանձինս տու
 իմաստունս ունելով, ⁸եւ անկցին յոմարութեամբ, եւ անկցին ի
 չարութիւն: Զի թէպէտ միապէս ⁹տուեալ են շնորհքն ի
 հաւատացեալքն, այլ ոչ միասորտիւ ամենեքեան: ¹⁰Եւ թէպէտ եւ
 փոքրկայացւոյ գլինքն անբաւն, այլ զփառս աստուածութեանն ¹¹ոչ ընդ
 նմին կորոյս. եւ տուաքելոցն ամենեցուն յետ ¹²յարութեանն երեւեալ
 Կենարարին, այլ գոմանս դեր ի վերոյ կարգէ: ¹³Եւ նոյն
 սկզբնաւորեայ ի մեզ հաստատեցաւ. գոր եւ Պաւղոս ոչ հրամայէ 225
¹գմիմեամբք երանել ասելովն. «Իւրաքանչիւր ոք յոր կոչումն
 կոչեցաւ՝ ²ի նմին կայցէ»:

³Գ. Եւ ո՞րպէս հրամայեցի բաւականանալ իւրաքանչիւր յեղեակն
⁴կարգի:

⁵Ալով՝ միարանութեամբ, ժաւանդաւորացս՝ եպիսկոպոսաց եւ
 քահանայից ⁶եւ տարկաւաղաց, եւ Մակարիոս արքեպիսկոպոս տուր
 քաղաքիս ⁷Երուսողէմի, աւանդեմ գկանոնադրութիւնս գայս ձեզ,

on the Apostles, granting them that by laying hands on those who are baptized (these shall) receive gifts from the grace of the Spirit. After the same pattern we also, on the same day, bestow the same Spirit by laying hands on those who are baptized. We fulfill the pattern of this with unfailing care, that we may become perfect.

And thus when we lay hands with right confession of faith, ¹⁰the Holy Spirit is bestowed for our salvation, illuminating ¹¹those who are called to adoption;

and in faith we are anointed with the oil of holiness. ¹²And the established ordinances of the holy ²²⁴ Church are thus regulated in every detail, without transgression of any rule established and underscored ²by those of the heavenly ranks, as we learned from the spiritual Fathers, from the disciples ³of the holy Apostles.

⁴III. And how are the (hierarchical) orders of the holy Church regulated?

⁵Let overseers at established posts be given authority to guide ⁶into goodness those for whose supervision they have been called. And let those receiving (guidance) from them ⁷be not puffed up with haughtiness, holding themselves to be wise ⁸while lapsing into foolishness, lapsing into wickedness. For although ⁹the spiritual gifts are commonly given to believers, still, they are not all of equal honor. ¹⁰And although the Infinite made himself little, yet he lost not the glory of the Deity thereby; ¹¹and (although) the Giver of life manifested himself to all the Apostles after ¹²his resurrection, yet some he ranks above the rest. ¹³And the same principle has been established among us. Accordingly, Paul does not allow (us) ²²⁵ ¹to climb over one another, saying: "Let each one to whatever calling he was called, ²abide in the same" (1Cor 7:20).

³IV. And how is each to be commanded to be content with his assigned ⁴rank?

⁵Now, in meeting together with the clergy, we bishops and priests ⁶and deacons, I, Macarius, Archbishop of the holy city ⁷Jerusalem, hand

ուսեայ⁸ յառաքելոցն պատմութեանց. եւ աւանդութեամբ Հարցն առ մեզ հաստատեայ⁹ Հիմնանայ: Զի գտուրի մկրտութեանն ձեռնադրութիւնն, որպէս¹⁰ յառաջագոյն տուցաք, եպիսկոպոսաց եւ քահանայից միայն է կատարեր: ¹¹Եւ գիւղ սրբութեան՝ եպիսկոպոսապետն աւրհնեացէ. եւ վասն Հեռաւորութեան ¹²եւ կարեւոր պիտոյից, Հրամանաւ արքեպիսկոպոսին երկու ¹³եւ երեք միարանեայ եպիսկոպոսք. եւ սարկաւաղունք՝ սպասաւորք 226 ¹սրբութեանն: Եւ գիւղն աւժման մեռելոցն եւ հիւանդացն եւ մկրտելոցն շառանձնակ աւրհնեացեն քահանայքն եւ եպիսկոպոսքն: Զայս սահմանեցին³ սուրբ Հարքն մեր, եւ մի ոք իշխեսցէ լիովնել գողիղ եղեայ սահման,⁴ գի մի գնոցին կապանք նգովիցն ընկալեայ՝ որոշեսցի յԱստուծոյ:

⁵Ե. Եւ ո՞րպէս մերձեացուք առ սեղանն սուրբ եւ կենդանարորն ⁶խորհուրդ:

⁷Առ այդ անմահութեան յիճակ՝ մի ոք երկմտութեամբ եւ մի թերահաւատութեամբ,⁸ եւ մի գործովք անարժանութեամբ մերձ լինել յանդգնեսցի,⁹ գի մի գկամա Աստուծոյ ըստկութեանն յամենայն երկիր շարժեսցէ,¹⁰ եւ ինքն լուիցէ զասացեալսն՝ «Դու ընդէ՞ր ընու պատմեն զարդարութիւն ¹¹իմ, գի տոեցեր գխրաս իմ»: Այլ ուղիղ գնացիւք եւ ճշմարիտ հաւատով ¹²մատուցեալ՝ լուսաւորեսցի, եւ այլոց ինքեամբ գործեսցէ փրկութիւն:

227 ¹Զ. Եւ գիտ՞րդ է արժան գխորհուրդն կատարեր:

²Զփրկականն խորհուրդ մարմնայ եւ արեանն Տեառն պարտ է երկիւղիւ ³եւ զգուշութեամբ կատարել, եւ ուղիղ դասման խոստովանութեամբ՝ ⁴ուրոյն ի հերձուածողացն փորձիչ խորհրդոց. գի մի Արիանոսացն մերձ ⁵լինելով, բոտ առաքելոցն՝ «Առւան Աստուծոյ եւ ճշմարտութիւնն ⁶հայհոյեսցի»:

⁷Է. Եւ որպիսի՞ աւրինակաւ նուէրք սրբութեանն յաւրինեսցի:

⁸Հանել ի սեղանն գհացն սուրբ՝ ջերմ, բոտ առաքելոցն աւանդութեան,⁹ եւ <գրաժտիլ> անապակ՝ առանց իրիք խառնման, գի ոչ ստղկանացու իւրիք փրկիւնք,¹⁰ այլ անապակաւ մարմնով <եւ արեամբ> ամրիժ եւ անարատ գաւինն: Եւ 228 ¹զայս մինչեւ ի

down to you these regulations that have been learned ⁸from the accounts of the Apostles and firmly established for us through the tradition of the Fathers, ⁹namely, as we said above, the laying on of hands in holy baptism ¹⁰is for bishops and priests alone to administer, ¹¹and the chief-bishop (alone) shall bless the oil of holiness. But by reason of distance ¹²and weighty circumstances, at the command of the archbishop, two ¹³or three bishops may meet together (to bless it). As for deacons, they are attendants ²²⁶ ¹to the sacrament. And the oil of anointing for the dead and the sick and for those to be baptized, ²the priests and the bishops shall individually bless. This our holy Fathers ruled, ³and let no one decree to change the rule rightly laid down, ⁴lest the binding of their anathemas be upon him, which shall be determined by God.

[Regarding the Eucharist]

⁵V. And how shall we draw near to the holy table and the life-giving ⁶sacrament?

⁷Let no one dare to come near to this cup of immortality in double-mindedness, or with lack of faith, ⁸or with improprieties, ⁹lest the will of God be moved unto wrath on all the earth. ¹⁰And he shall hear the saying: "Why do you keep recounting my righteousness ¹¹when you have despised my discipline?" (Ps 50:16-17; LXX 49:16-17). But, approaching with right steps and true faith, ¹²let him be illumined and work out himself salvation for others also.

²²⁷ ¹VI. And how is it proper to administer the sacrament?

²It is necessary to administer the saving sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord with fear ³and care, and to make a right confession of faith, ⁴distinct from the ensnaring sacraments of the heretics; lest, through the proximity of Arians, ⁵"the name and truth of God ⁶be blasphemed" (Rom 2:24), according to the Apostle.

⁷VII. And by what guideline shall the offerings of the sacrament be carried out?

⁸The holy bread is to be brought to the table, hot—according to the tradition of the Apostles; ⁹and <the cup> incorruptible—without any admixture: "for we are redeemed not with corruptible things, ¹⁰but with the incorruptible body <and blood> of the spotless and unblemished

սեղանն սարկաւաղունքն յաւրինեսցեն. եւ վկասարեայն ²ի վերայ քահանայքն կատարեսցեն:

³Ը. Եւ զիս⁶րդ եկեսցէ ի ձեւ սեղանն խորհրդոյն եւ այլ եւս ⁴կարգքն:

⁵Սեղանն քաւութեան ընդ վարագուրան, յորում Հոգին Սուրբ իջանէ, ⁶եւ աւագանն յետոյ տու նմին տամբ, եւ պատուով հաստատեալ յաջմէ: ⁷Եւ ժառանգաւորքն իւրաքանչիւր աշտիճանսու պաշտեսցեն, եւ ժողովրդականքն ⁸արտաքոյ վարագուրին, եւ երախայքն առ դրունան ունկնդրութեամբ: ⁹Գի մի ընդ միմեանս երանելով եղծցին կարգքն, այլ իւրաքանչիւր ¹⁰կայանիւ անարատ մնասցէ:

¹¹(Թ.) Զայս աւանդեմ ձեզ պատուիրան հաւատոյ եւ կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ՝ ¹²ըստ ինդրոյ աղաչանաց ձերոց. նշովեմք ի վերայ այսոցիք գայլաձեւան ¹³խորհեցեայսն, զի ի միմեանց ընկայեալ ձեռնադրութեամբ զշնորհս՝ ¹⁴ոչ լիբեմք պակասութիւն: Եւ միապատիւ ոչ իրաւունս վարկանիմք ²²⁹¹գկարպեայսն ուղղապէս եկեղեցւոյ. եւ զվառամոլ անձինս կշտամբեմք, ²որք խորհին հակառակ՝ որպէս պատմեալ եղեւ մեզ զՏուրղեայ ³Բասենոյ եւ Բաղրեւանդայ եպիսկոպոսէ որ սակաւութիւն ընդ ⁴Արիանոսս միաւորեալ է եւ դարձեալ խղճեալ: Եւ արդ՝ եւ այլ եւս ⁵յանդգնադոյնս խորհի. եպիսկոպոս միայն աթոռաւ, եւ ընդ արքեպիսկոպոսին ⁶ինքեամբ անձին տայ պատիւ, գոր չէ արժան ընդունել, զի եւ ⁷ոչ հարքն աւանդեցին այսպիսի ինչ հակառակութիւնս յեկեղեցի մուծանել. ⁸եւ անվայելուէ է համարել հաւատար, մինչեւ կոչմամբ ի պատիւ ⁹աթոռոյն ժամանեսցէ: Եւ արդ պարտ է գայնպիսին քաղցրութեամբ ի ¹⁰հնազանդութիւն կոչել. եւ եթէ ի նոյնն մնասցէ՝ խորշել իբրեւ յաւատարէ:

¹¹Ողջոյն տան ձեզ ամենայն եկեղեցիս: Ողջ յերուք ի Տէր հաստատուն եւ ¹²ուղիղ հաւատով. ամէն:

Lamb" (1Pet 1:18-19). And 228 ¹this shall the deacons prepare, as far as to the table, but that which is performed ²upon it the priests shall perform.

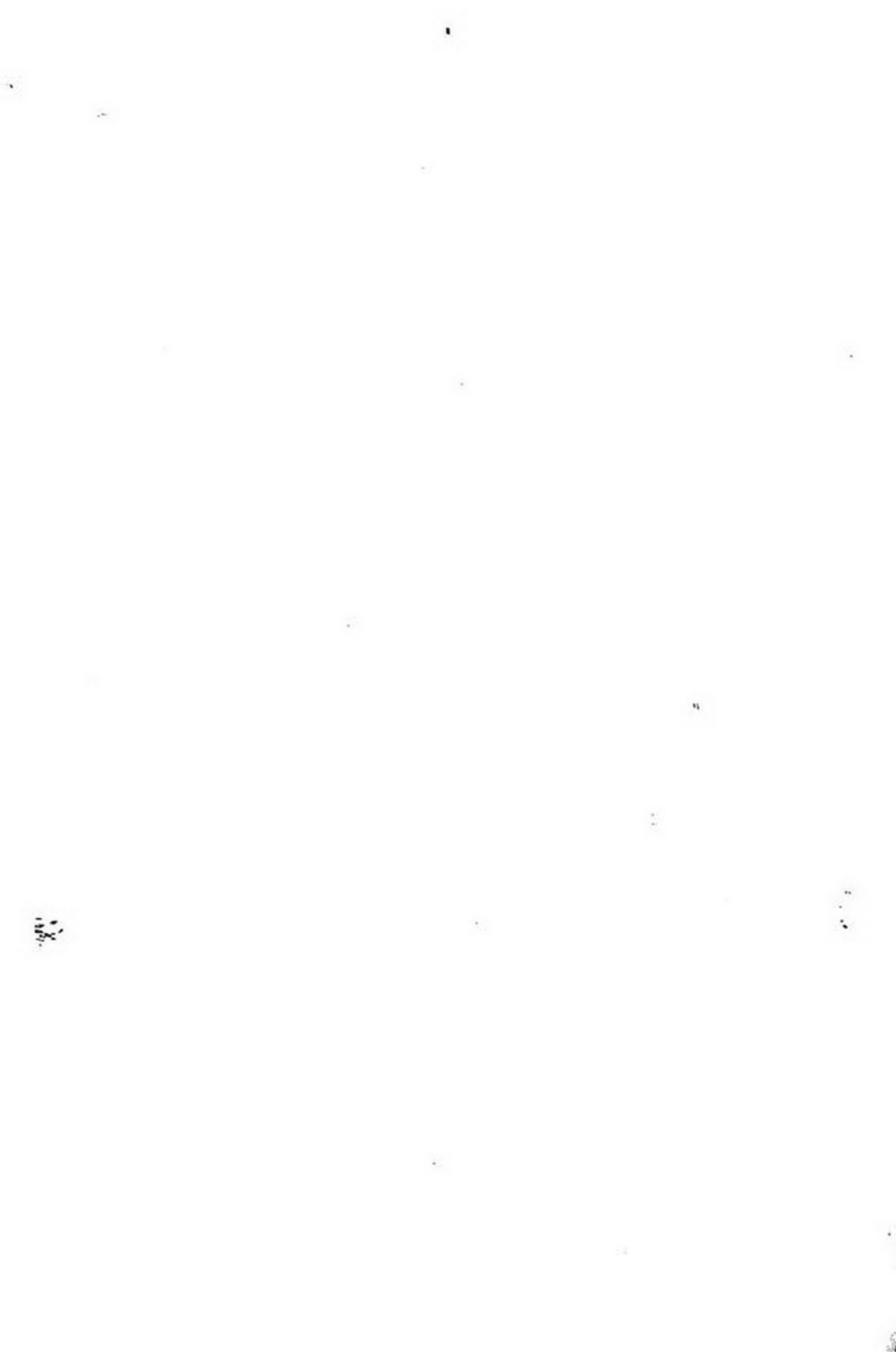
³VIII. And how shall the table of the sacrament be positioned, and (what about) ⁴the partitions also?

⁵The table of expiation is behind the veil, where the Holy Spirit descends; ⁶and the font is next to it in the same compartment, and out of honor set up on the right hand. ⁷And the clergy in their several ranks shall worship (there), and the congregation ⁸outside the veil, and the catechumens at the door, listening. ⁹Lest these partitions be effaced by encroachments, let each ¹⁰remain in his own station irreproachable.

[Epilogue]

¹¹(IX) This injunction concerning the faith and ordinances of the Church I hand down to you ¹²in accordance with your supplications, and we pronounce an anathema on those ¹³who are contrary-minded. For having received the grace from one another through the laying on of hands, ¹⁴we do not tolerate shortcomings; nor do we esteem as being of equal honor 229 ¹the offices rightly ordained for the Church. And we reprimand those persons who crave glory, ²who hold the opposite opinion, as has been reported to us of Torg, ³Bishop of Basean and Bagrewand, who for a little time ⁴was united with the Arians, then repented through remorse, and now again ⁵is most insolently minded, (being) a bishop only with a seat, and conferring on himself the honor (reserved) for an archbishop, ⁶which he is not worthy to receive. For ⁷the Fathers handed down none of these perversions introduced into the Church, ⁸and it is unbecoming to regard (him as) an equal—unless he succeeds to the honor of the seat by (divine) calling. ⁹Therefore you must gently summon such a person to ¹⁰obedience, but should he persist in the same, then shun him as an alien (cf. Mt 18:15-17).

¹¹All the churches greet you. Fare you well in the Lord, being firm and right in faith. Amen.



Commentary "



Of the Blessed Macarius, Patriarch of the Holy City Jerusalem: Canonical Letter to the Armenians

On Laying Down Canonical Ordinances for the Universal Church
That Are Not Right to Transgress by Definition or Command

Nine Chapters

The heading of the Letter

In its present form the Letter has a derivative heading of several lines with some significant variants.¹ The words of the heading appear to have been gleaned from the prologue or letter-opening, and the identification as a "canonical letter" (*kanonakan t'ughē*) is justifiable by the contents,² but not the word "Patriarch," for it is anachronistic and is not found in the Letter (see the Introduction, p. 46). The author refers to himself twice as "Archbishop" (119.13; 225.6). The subheading "Nine Chapters" is a palpable derivative of the redacted contents of the Letter. It would be fair to conclude that originally the Letter had no heading and conformed to the norms of early Byzantine epistolography—as it still does even in its redacted form. Its three formal parts are well delineated: letter opening (216.5–221.6), body of the letter (221.7–228.10), and letter closing (228.11–229.11). Nonetheless, differentiating between the basic forms of fourth-century ecclesiastical letters and those of ecclesiastical letters from later periods is difficult, given the commonalities within the genre where ancient formulae survived for centuries.³

¹In some manuscripts the heading has been omitted with the letter opening (Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk*, 2:216 n. 1).

²Some manuscripts identify it as a "constitution" (*sahmanadrut'wn*); *ibid.*

³M. Mullett, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Letter," in M. Mullett and R. Scott, eds., *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979* (Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1979).

216.5–217.4

⁵Because of your awe and fear of God and passionate longing for piety, ⁶I have hastened herewith to rouse your devout and sincere ²¹⁷ hearts to seek true piety, the right canonical regulations laid down ²for the Universal Church and the essential ordinances of God, which ³ought to be received with much care and observed with unswerving faith ⁴by all who fear God.

The letter opening begins with a common prescript referring to the sender and the recipients and their relationship to God. However, it lacks the common benediction or greeting in such openings.

The reference to canon law in the opening lines is not surprising, for Macarius is about to mandate some canons on his authority and that of the bishops assembled with him in Jerusalem. He must have been familiar with canonical developments up to his time,⁴ just as he was familiar with the Canons of the Council of Nicaea, which he attended about a decade earlier. Episcopal legislative assemblies from the late second century until the eve of Nicaea, dealing with the issues of the day, produced synodal agreements which came to be called "canons." Macarius considers what he is about to deliver as being in line with such canons, particularly with those of Nicaea (see further below, on 218.4–11). Like the Canons of Nicaea, his mandates derive from the "Universal Church" and pertain to the same, which is the whole church, encompassing the local churches everywhere. With the nascent Nicaean orthodoxy, the "Universal Church" no doubt had its own, limiting definition that excludes the heterodox churches.

ingham, 1981), pp. 75–93. M. Grünbart, who concentrated on the forms of address in Byzantine epistolography, utilizing 3,762 letters of 100 writers and netting 5,419 forms of address—usually written in one of the Atticizing dialects—cautions that we can observe certain tendencies, recognize rules, but cannot establish absolute certainty in formal criteria (*Formen der Anrede im byzantinischen Brief vom 6. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, Wiener byzantinistische Studien 25 [Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003], pp. 28–56, esp. 34). Cf. idem, "Beobachtungen zur byzantinischen Briefrhetorik," in *International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (20th: 2001, Paris, France), *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: projets actuels et questions de méthodologie: actes de la 16^e table ronde organisée par Wolfram Hörandner et Michael Grünbart dans le cadre du XX^e Congrès international des études byzantines*, Collège de France, Sorbonnes, Paris, 19–25 août 2001, *Dossiers byzantins* 3 (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2003), pp. 31–41.

⁴For a history, see J. A. Fischer and A. Lumpe, *Die Synoden von den Anfängen bis zum Vorabend des Nicaenums*, *Konziliengeschichte*, Reihe A, hrsg. W. Brandmüller (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1997); H. Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Sardica*, *Oxford Early Christian Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 5–48.

Until the fourth century, Christian communities conducted themselves first by the norms of the Scriptures. The evolving customs were sanctioned as Apostolic traditions, thereby formalizing the various customs of the respective communities. Some communities produced documents that provided guidance for various aspects of Christian life. The *Didache*, written in Greek for a Syrian community ca. A.D. 150, is the earliest of the few that survive. The book purports to contain the teachings of the Twelve Apostles and deals with rules governing the liturgy, the sacraments, and lay practices like fasting. Other such "Apostolic" traditions, also known as "church orders," are found in the *Didascalia apostolorum*, written in Greek for churches in Syria early in the third century. Surviving in Syriac translation, it was incorporated into later compilations, especially a work of the late fourth century, the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Such is also the *Apostolic Tradition*, the original Greek text of which is lost but which has come down to us in an incomplete Latin version and several Oriental versions, ascribed to the shadowy "Hippolytus of Rome" and generally dated to the third century. The collection, now believed to be of Egyptian provenance, contains liturgical instructions for the consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons and for administering baptism.⁵ Hess observes:

While the earlier church orders were predominantly concerned with Christian living and the moral standards to be followed by members of the community, the *Apostolic Tradition* . . . demonstrates a growing interest in the appointment of church leaders and liturgical practice in the local churches.⁶

The *Letter to the Armenians* is of the latter kind, and its aim is clearly regulatory. To urge its acceptance, Macarius refers repeatedly to Apostolic authority behind the tradition he upholds, whether local or universal (219.5; 224.3; 225.8; 227.8).

"The essential ordinances of God" (217.2) are "the essential ordinances of the Church" (218.8).

⁵On its diverse liturgical forms and practices reflecting various traditions, some quite ancient while others of later redaction, see the comprehensive work of P. F. Bradshaw et al., *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, Hermenia Commentary Series, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002).

⁶Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law*, p. 36.

217.4-12

⁴Among whom you also should not be sluggish ⁵through some slothfulness, becoming indolent; but must make haste through the grace ⁶of the Holy Spirit, through the fervor and yearnings of the divine love, ⁷which not only makes those who are near (us) solicitous to supplicate, to seek the spiritual ⁸benefit, but also constrains those in the remote parts of the world to pursue with eager ⁹longings and ardent desires the quest that pleases God, ¹⁰even the salvation of souls—bearing in mind the saying that “You shall not hesitate ¹¹to go a long way should there be someone ¹²who promises to teach (you) something beneficial.”

There is a biblical echo in these lines: “That you be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises” (Heb 6:12). Cf. below, 220.5: “the Holy Spirit does not despise those who yearn for piety,” i.e., those earnest in “the quest that pleases God.” The proverbial saying about distant travel for the sake of education is a recurring theme in Greek *paideia*; indeed, a specifically Greek theme ever since the time of Plato. The most famous examples are Solon, Hecataeus, Herodotus, Eudoxus, and Plato himself. Long journeys taken by students to learn from important teachers are often distinguished from those of travellers who journey about to see the world so as to expand their knowledge of other cultures.⁷

217.12-218.4

¹²Indeed you, on your own, have manifested such longing for spiritual rewards, ¹³for the very enriching, divine, (and) spiritual treasures, ¹⁴having sent a letter from a distant land, from your regions of the East, to the holy ²¹⁸ ¹city Jerusalem. This (letter), delivered by reverend priests, ²was laid before the large assembly of bishops who had gathered together one by one from every ³city. Before whom appearing with spiritual entreaty, they asked for ⁴a response to the letter.

With this introduction of the occasion of the Letter, by referring to the petition from Armenia and to the expected response, the author is complying with an epistolographic convention.⁸ Even so, this does not take away

⁷See W. Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, trans. G. Highet, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944) 2:259-260, 351 n. 357a. In medieval Armenian sources, the example of Anania of Shirak is noteworthy (Abrahamyan, *Anania Shirakats'u Matenagrutyuné*, pp. 31-42, on his autobiography).

⁸Cf. T. Y. Mullins, “Petition as a Literary Form,” *Novum Testamentum* 5 (1962) 46-54.

the historical basis in fact: the Armenians had asked for counsel regarding the ordinances of the Church, to which Macarius responds on his authority as Archbishop of Jerusalem and on the authority of the bishops assembled there. The urgency to respond was apparently precipitated by the oral report of the Armenian delegates, as they added their own observations of the situation in Armenia, comparing it with their impressions of things seen and experienced in Jerusalem. Their supplication was decisive (228.11-12). There was an emerging conviction in Christian communities that there were norms and practices that should be followed in all the local churches; following the example of Jerusalem was preferred. And although Armenians were eager to follow the liturgical tradition of Jerusalem, some of their baptismal practices persisted for a few more centuries.⁹

On the large gathering of bishops in Jerusalem at this time, to which the author refers again in 219.14, see the Introduction (p. 51). The Letter is sufficiently clear about its time and place, but it gives no indication as to the occasion for the gathering. All that can be said with fair certainty is that the *Concilium Hierosolymitanum* of A.D. 335,¹⁰ while convening at the time of the dedication of the Holy Sepulcher Church, in one of its informal sessions perhaps, gave some attention to liturgical issues aimed at bringing a degree of uniformity to the administration of the two major sacraments: baptism and the Eucharist.

The author is very conscious of the biblical prerogatives granting Jerusalem a special mission to all nations and to the ends of the earth. Apparently, the ecclesiastical authorities there took the Isaianic dictum seriously, that "the law will go forth from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (2:3; cf. Cyril, *Cat.*, 18.34); perhaps also the parting words of the ascending Lord in the book of Acts (1:8), regarding the primacy of Jerusalem in the Church's mission to all nations and to the ends of the earth. The traditional authority of the Jerusalem Church goes back to Apostolic times, when it was customary for the first Christian missionaries such as Paul to keep in touch with the mother church. Of particular significance is the first Council of Jerusalem where, according to Acts 15:1-35, decisive actions were taken by those who were regarded as "pillars": James, Peter, and John (cf. Gal 2:1-10). Jerusalem's special—indeed central—role was never lost sight of, as attested in the *Apocalypse of John* and nearly all

⁹Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 335-447.

¹⁰See the Introduction, p. 49 and n. 100.

subsequent "Apostolic" writings in the post-biblical period, beginning with the *Didache*.

218.4-11

Although we were reluctant, being overwhelmed⁵ by a sense of the lesser authority we hold within the greater tenets of the Church,⁶ we were nonetheless compelled by the spiritual supplication and the concern of these God-loving priests⁷ to write and to impart to your solicitous piety⁸ the main point(s) of the essential ordinances of the Church, for the strengthening of the faith⁹ that knows no wavering, and the entire canons laid down by the holy Council¹⁰ which was held because of the heretics. It is essential that all¹¹ pious people accept these, since it was held (also) to lay down ordinances for the Church.

Beyond the routinely used exclamations of humility in religious letters,¹¹ as observed in the Introduction ("I, Macarius . . ."), there is a likely allusion here to the Jerusalem episcopate being subordinate to the Metropolitan see of Caesarea: "the lesser authority we hold within the greater tenets of the Church." Moreover, the first person plural in the statements "we were reluctant . . ." and "we were compelled . . ." is probably collective for the council in session and not simply editorial; for the author uses the first person singular elsewhere (219.13; 225.6). On yet another grammatical point, the phrase "and the entire canons laid down by the holy Council" (line 9) is in apposition to "the essential ordinances of the Church" (line 8), of which Macarius is about to give "the main points" or simply "the point" (Arm. *zghukh*; Gk. *to kephalaion*; cf. 224.1). What he is about "to write and to impart" is in keeping with the canons of that historical Council, a "sum-mation" (another meaning of the Greek word) given in the spirit of that Council. These lines also provide an interpretive clue, to consider the canons imparted by Macarius in light of the historical reference.

There is no ambiguity here about the allusion to Nicaea, the "holy Council which was held because of the heretics," its identification reinforced by the equally clear allusion to the Canons of Nicaea, which Macarius is promulgating. The author knows no other council but the relatively

¹¹For these and other common terminology, see Grünbart, *Formen der Anrede im byzantinischen Brief*, pp. 78-137. Grünbart observes that as in Late Antiquity self-humiliating terms were routinely used by clerics. Among the commonplaces are *doulos* ("servant"), the abstract form *euteleia* ("simplicity") and *metriotēs* ("modesty," a term used mostly by hierarchs). The last form was used by the Patriarch of Constantinople to the very end of the Empire.

recent one of Nicaea, a historical event in living memory, where he had a prominent place—being the first bishop named of the 318 bishops in attendance (Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.* 1.17). Conversely, “the Arians” are the only heretics known to him, and the sentiments he expresses against them are in keeping with his long-standing opposition to them, seen also in the lingering tension between him and Eusebius of Caesarea on the issue of the reinstatement of Arius (cf. 227.4 and 229.4).

But were the Nicene Canons known in Armenia at this time? Aristakēs (d. 327), the younger son and successor of Gregory the Illuminator, attended the Council of Nicaea (where he must have met Macarius) and, according to Agathangelos, returned with copies of its canons to his ailing father who is said to have added to them.¹² However, the *Letter to the Armenians* shows that there was relative ignorance of the Nicene Canons in Armenia at this time, compelling us to have a second look at the testimony of Agathangelos. In a note to his translation of Agathangelos' *History*, Thomson observes a borrowing—among several others—from Koriwn's *Life of Mashtots* where the latter tells of the return of Eznik and two companions (Ghe-wontēs and Koriwn himself) from Ephesus in 431 “with the canons of Nicaea and Ephesus.”¹³ As in his several other borrowings from Koriwn, Agathangelos has a tendency to appropriate his source for his narration of the life of Gregory (§§818–900).¹⁴ That we have such an instance here is certain, an Agathangelian appropriation from Koriwn with an adaptation to a known fact: the presence of Aristakēs at Nicaea.¹⁵ The identification of the additions claimed for Gregory remains a puzzle in scholarship.¹⁶

¹²Agathangelos, *History*, §§884–885; cf. Buzandaran, 3.10; Khorenats'i, *History*, 2.89–90. See Mardirossian, *Le livre des canons arméniens*, pp. 510–513 and esp. nn. 50–51 for an excellent discussion of these passages.

¹³Koriwn, *Life of Mashtots*, 19 (76.3); Thomson, *Agathangelos*, pp. 501–502, n. 1 to §885. Cf. J.-P. Mahé, “Traduction et exégèse: réflexions sur l'exemple arménien,” in *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont: contributions à l'étude de christianismes orientaux*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 20 (Genève: Patrick Cramer, 1988), pp. 243–255, esp. 245 n. 11.

¹⁴See the parallels in Tēr Mkrtch'ean and Kanayants', *Agatangeghay Patmut'wun Hayots'*, pp. 14–15; also the numerous references to Koriwn in Thomson's notes to these sections, pp. 492–503.

¹⁵On Aristakēs, see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, p. 351; on the conciliar lists that mention him see eadem, “Some Preliminary Precisions on the Separation of the Armenian and Imperial Churches: I. The Presence of ‘Armenian’ Bishops at the First Five Oecumenical Councils,” in J. Chrysostomides, ed., *Kathēgētria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey on Her Eightieth Birthday* (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 1988), pp. 249–285 (esp. pp. 251 n. 4; 257–258 and n. 35); repr. in eadem, *Church and Culture in Early Medieval Armenia*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 648 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), ch. III. Cf. Gelzer et al., *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina*, pp. 28–29, 65, 72, 89, 105, 129, 171, 199.

¹⁶For a review see Mardirossian, *Le livre des canons arméniens*, pp. 510–529, 575–578.

218.12–219.2

¹²*Upon seeing the very careful ordering of the life-giving baptism in the Holy City, they were amazed with astonishment that the regions of the East are wanting in carefulness² in many such matters.*

This second of the three opening paragraphs, on the priests' report about baptismal and hierarchic irregularities in Armenia, is most revealing (218.12–219.11). Here we learn about the professed shortcomings in the baptismal rite in Armenia: (a) that it is administered anywhere with any convenient vessel; (b) that at times deacons baptize; (c) that priests and not just bishops hallow the oil of anointing; hence (d) there is confusion in the ecclesiastical hierarchy with the clergy being regarded as all of one rank; (e) that they do not anoint the entire organs of sense; (f) that at times they do not declare the (Nicene) baptismal formula; and (g) that there are "many other irregularities" besides pride and indolence within the ecclesiastical ranks. Other distinctions emerge in the specific responses to these reported problems, especially in the fragment following "Canon ii" (222.4–224.3), regarding the proper seasons for baptism. It should be noted that no wrongs about the Eucharist are mentioned here—unless they are contemplated in the "many other irregularities."

The above remark about the priests' witnessing "the very careful ordering of the life-giving baptism in the Holy City" has to be considered alongside another reference to the rite of baptism in the excerpt by Anania, an integral part of Macarius' *Letter to the Armenians*: "And this (form of the mystery) they hasten to carry out with great eagerness in the holy places of Christ" (284.9–10). Together, these two references seem to suggest that the administration of baptism in the Holy City was not limited to the primary site near the Anastasis and Golgotha, but that there were other baptismal sites.

The anonymous pilgrim from Bordeaux recounted having seen in Jerusalem, in 333, not far from Christ's Tomb, an exceptionally beautiful basilica with water cisterns where "infants" were baptized.¹⁷ This Basilica of the Cross or the Great Church, the Martyrium, was not, it seems, a construction site but was already in use for baptism two years before its dedication. In her account of the Easter Vigil in 384, the pilgrim Egeria

¹⁷Geyer and Cuntz, eds., *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, §§593–594. On the unsettled questions about the site of the baptistery, see the Introduction, p. 53 and n. 111.

describes a similar scene of baptism and the ensuing Eucharist—while Cyril was still in office (d. 386/7).¹⁸ The Armenian priests must have been similarly awestruck as they witnessed “the very careful ordering of the life-giving baptism in the Holy City.” This line further suggests that the delegates must have been in Jerusalem since Pentecost (if not earlier), the last of the three baptismal seasons of the year (see the excerpt by Anania).¹⁹

219.2–3

²*For in various places they have no regular fonts, ³but baptize in any usable vessel.*

This first subject is taken up in “Canon ii” (see comments on 222.4–223.1). On the scarcity of baptisteries in Armenia, where portable fonts were used, see the section on “The Architectural Evidence” in the Introduction, pp. 57–58.

219.3–4

³*And in some cases the deacons ⁴perform baptism.*

This is the first issue taken up in the specific responses to the reported irregularities (“Canon i”). The tradition of deacons’ preaching and baptizing is quite early, going back to Apostolic times (cf. Philip in Acts 8:26–40), and is attested in nearly all post-apostolic writings that mention the special duties and functions of deacons.²⁰ With the rise of the priestly office in the Early Church, at the end of the second century, deacons began to lose many of their prerogatives. Against the deacons’ performing baptism customar-

¹⁸*Peregrinatio*, 38.1–2.

¹⁹A fourth season was added shortly after the dedication of the Holy Sepulcher complex, as the day of its dedication became the feast of Encaenia. Sozomen informs: “Since that period the anniversary of the consecration has been celebrated with great pomp by the church of Jerusalem; the festival continues for eight days, *initiation by baptism is administered*, and people from every region under the sun resort to Jerusalem during this festival and visit the holy places” (*Ecc. Hist.* 2.26). Cf. Egeria, *Peregrinatio*, 48.1–49.3, where she ranks the feast with Easter and Epiphany in importance.

²⁰J. T. Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church: Public Services and Offices in the Earliest Christian Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 317–321; K. N. Giles, *Patterns of Ministry Among the First Christians* (Melbourne: Collins-Dove, 1989), pp. 36–38, 49–69, 182–183; idem, “Church Order, Government,” in R. P. Martin and P. H. Davids, eds., *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Development* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1997), pp. 219–226.

ily, the injunction for them was to baptize only in emergencies (see comments on 221.7–222.3). The diaconate was eventually reduced to its primary meaning as a ministry of service: waiting tables, distributing goods to the poor, serving those in need, and ultimately assisting bishops (and later priests) in administrative and liturgical functions.

219.4–5

⁴And bishops and priests independently⁵ hallow the oil of anointing.

In the immediate and larger context, the “oil of anointing” (*dzēt awtsman*) is the same as the “oil of sealing” (*dzēt knkoy*, the rest of line 5);²¹ and as we shall see in the response to this irregularity (in what has come down as “Canon iv” below, 225.3–226.4), it is the “oil of holiness” (*iugh srutean*), which is for the chief-bishop or archbishop to bless. In his absence, and with his consent, two or three bishops could hallow it (bishops and priests could by themselves hallow the oil for other usages, including the oil for pre-baptismal anointing). Thus, the “oil” spoken of here is the equivalent of *myron*, the fragrant oil to which Cyril of Jerusalem refers in his remarks on post-baptismal anointing (*Mystag. Cat.*, 3.2–3).²²

Lines 4–6 imply that Armenians did not practice post-baptismal anointing as it was known in Jerusalem, or that if they did follow some form of post-baptismal anointing, it left certain things to be desired (in the blessing of the oil and in anointing). The greater implication is that pre-baptismal anointing was practiced (cf. 226.1); and this is in keeping with

²¹The word *dzēt*, used twice and only in line 5, is the equivalent of Gk. *elaion*, “olive oil.” On the use of the Arm. word *iugh*, generic “oil” (223.11; 225.11; 226.1) and the translator’s inconsistency, see the Introduction, p. 26. As F. C. Conybeare observes, “The object of anointing the organs of sense was probably to block them against the evil spirit; hence the use of the word ‘to seal’”; *Myth, Magic, and Morals: A Study of Christian Origins* (London: Watts, 1909; repr., *The Origins of Christianity* [Evanston: University Books, 1958]), p. 320. He goes on to observe “For, in the East, a jar of wine is kept good by floating a little oil on the top of it, in the neck or narrow spout; and this use of oil may have suggested the rites of anointing, common to pagan and Christian alike” (*ibid.*).

²²Cf. Ratcliff, “The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition,” p. 31. What Ratcliff considers a novelty introduced by Cyril, the Letter of Macarius shows was already an established practice in Jerusalem—however newly adopted. See also S. P. Brock, “The Transition to a Post-baptismal Anointing in the Antiochene Rite,” in B. Spinks, ed., *The Sacrifice of Praise: Studies in Honour of A. H. Couratin*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia 19 (Rome: C.L.V. Edizioni Liturgiche, 1981), pp. 215–225; repr. in *idem*, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition*, 2nd ed., Syrian Churches Series 9 (Pune: Anita, 1998), pp. 209–221.

the East Syrian practice, indeed its major characteristic.²³ However, "hybridized" patterns were not uncommon at the turn of the fourth century, when the evolving forms were soon to be shaped by the baptismal rite followed in Jerusalem. In Armenia, as in East Syria, post-baptismal anointing with *myron* was either unknown or not yet in vogue as it was in Greek-speaking West Syria and Palestine.²⁴ As noted earlier, the word *myron* does not occur in the Letter, which only hints at some form of post-baptismal anointing among the recipients (see the next comment).

219.5-6

⁵And since they do not have sufficient oil of sealing, which is from the Apostles and is kept here, ⁶they do not anoint the infant's entire organs of sense.

As noted above, the anointing alluded to here is the post-baptismal anointing, a practice apparently evolving among the recipients. Their shortcoming in post-baptismal "sealing", interpreted as "not conferring the entire rite," is attributed to indolence (221.1-2). Further allusion to post-baptismal anointing is found in the Fragment, in Macarius' reference to laying of hands for the bestowal of the Holy Spirit (lines 33-39), and in the redactor's summary (223.9-12). The Armenian practice of the time reflects the mainstream of East Syrian baptismal tradition, which knows no post-baptismal anointing in its developed form. Such was also the situation in

²³Illustrative of the early East Syrian pre-baptismal anointing are the baptismal passages in *The Acts of Thomas* 10 (120-121, 132-133); 13 (157-158), in J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), pp. 493-494, 497, 504-505; H. J. W. Drijvers, "The Acts of Thomas," in W. Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Cambridge and Louisville: Clarke and Westminster / John Knox Press, 1991) 2:322-411, esp. 333. See also Brock, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition* (2nd ed.), pp. 49-53, for the early Syriac sources (Odes of Solomon, Acts of Thomas, Acts of John, Aphrahat, and Ephrem); idem, "Studies in the Early History of the Syrian Orthodox Baptismal Liturgy," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 23 (1972) 16-64; idem, "The Syriac Baptismal Ordines with Special Reference to the Anointings," *Studia Liturgica* 12 (1977) 177-183; L. Leloir, "Symbolisme dans la liturgie syriaque primitive," in J. Reis, ed., *Le symbolisme dans le culte des grandes religions, Actes du Colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve 4-5 octobre 1983* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d'histoire de religions, 1985), pp. 247-263; idem, "Le baptême du roi Gundaphor," *Le Muséon* 100 (1987) 225-233. Cf. the studies by Winkler, cited in the Introduction, pp. 59-61 and notes.

²⁴On the various patterns of baptism, see A. Kavanagh, *The Shape of Baptism: The Rite of Christian Initiation*, Studies in the Reformed Rites of the Catholic Church 1 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1991), pp. 40-54 (especially p. 51); T. M. Finn, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: West and East Syria*, Messages of the Fathers of the Church 5 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), pp. 7-22.

Jerusalem until the Constantinian buildings began to impact the form of the liturgy.²⁵

The exportation of sanctified oil from Jerusalem at such an early date anticipates the growing industry of blessed goods (*eulogia*), such as metal and clay flasks for pilgrims to carry oil sanctified by the Wood of the Cross. Around the year A.D. 570, an anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza in northern Italy describes the sanctified oil in his account of the Tomb: "In the place where the Lord's body was laid, at the head, has been placed a bronze lamp. It burns there day and night, and we took a blessing from it, and then put it back" (*Travels*, 18). Elsewhere he describes the blessing of oil flasks in the nearby Basilica of Constantine: "In the courtyard of the basilica [at Golgotha] is a small room where they keep the Wood of the Cross. We venerated it with a kiss . . . whilst they are venerating the Cross, they offer oil to be blessed in little flasks" (*Travels*, 20).²⁶ Several of these flasks from that period are found in various museums.²⁷

The word "infant" (Arm. *manuk*; Gk. *nēpios*; cf. Arm. *erakhay*, "catechumen" in 228.8) represents the one about to be baptized, whether infant or adult. In context, the word alludes to the one not fully initiated into the mystery of baptism and the subsequent mystery of the Eucharist.

219.7

⁷*And in various places the priests at the time of baptism do not say that which was laid down by the Council.*

After having reminded of the Canons of Nicaea in general (218.9), Macarius points to an irregularity with reference to that Council that is not addressed in the Canons. It remains to suggest that the Nicene credal form of confession of faith was not followed at the time of baptism; i.e., priests in certain locales did not use the trinitarian baptismal formula — "I baptize

²⁵For more on this type of anointing followed in West Syria (Antioch and Palestine), see Ratcliff, "The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition," 19–37; cf. S. P. Brock, "A Short Melkite Baptismal Service in Syriac," *Parole de l'Orient* 3 (1972) 119–130; idem, "The Transition to a Post-baptismal Anointing in the Antiochene Rite," pp. 215–225.

²⁶J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977), p. 83.

²⁷A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1958); G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 5 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982).

you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." This seems to imply that they used a partial interrogatory/declaratory form of the baptismal confession that was not quite trinitarian and which apparently did not culminate with triple immersion (cf. 220.6, where the descent of the Holy Spirit to sanctify the baptismal water is associated with "the right confession of faith"; 223.4-9a, on triple immersion; and 223.9b-11, where the descent of the Holy Spirit to bestow gifts is associated with the laying of hands and "the right confession of faith").

In Jerusalem the interrogatory/declaratory form of the baptismal confession was strictly trinitarian (cf. Cyril, *Cat.*, 16.4, 19; *Mystag. Cat.*, 2.4).

219.8-9

⁸*As for laying of hands, the clergy are regarded equals in honor,⁹ and they do not subordinate themselves to superiors.*

The "laying of hands" here is with reference to clerical ordination and not baptism.²⁸ This particular issue is dealt with in what is enumerated as "Canon iii" below (224.4-225.2; see comments there) and anticipates the reprimand of Torg, Bishop of Basean and Bagrewand, in the epilogue (especially 228.13-229.1). Nonetheless, the problem of regarding the clergy as equals has implications for the rite of baptism and the celebration of the Eucharist, creating confusion as to the liturgical roles expected of bishops, priests, and deacons. This problem as the main cause of the liturgical irregularities in Armenia is contemplated at the beginning of the letter closing (228.11-229.1).

219.9-11

⁹*There are many¹⁰ other irregularities, besides pride and indolence, that have been introduced into the ordinances of the Church¹¹ by carnal ones, as those who have come (hither) have made known to us.*

"Indolence" in particular is repeated here, after the general warning to the recipients not to become indolent (217.5); and again, as the author is about to point out, when it comes to baptizing those "who wish to draw near to

²⁸On laying hands as a means to legitimize Christian leaders in post-New Testament times, see Giles, *Patterns of Ministry*, pp. 184-197.

the piety of worshipping God" (220.7-8). Like the preceding lines, the word "pride," a *bapax*, anticipates the reprimand of Torg in the epilogue, who is placed with "those persons who crave for glory" (229.1).

219.12-220.3

¹²We were amazed over that, greatly astonished. However, from fear of God we have not hesitated ¹³to write promptly—I, Macarius, Archbishop of Jerusalem, and ¹⁴the entire, large assembly of bishops who are with me—and to send to ¹⁵your regions of the East, to you, Christ-loving and reverend Chief-bishop 220 ¹Vrtanēs, and to the whole body of bishops and priests of Armenia, ²to administer the rite of the great sacrament of God with much care and reverence, ³as it is administered in the Universal Church;

On the identity of the author and that of the recipient, see the Introduction, pp. 45-51. It is proper, nonetheless, to add a little about their character as portrayed by later historians.

Theodoret (d. ca. 466), who seems to have had a reliable source on Jerusalem in this period, praises Macarius as a churchman blessed with every virtue, a man truly worthy of his name, "Blessed" (*Ecl. Hist.*, 1.3). He also tells of Macarius' vigorous opposition to Arius—as recounted in a letter by Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia (1.4). The superintendence of the bishop of Jerusalem during the decade of constructing the monumental Constantinian edifices there is further commentary on his vigor. Theodoret goes on to tell of a special gift from Constantine to Macarius, a gift befitting his see: a gold-woven vestment for the administration of the sacrament of baptism (2.27). Such a gift is appropriate for a bishop who—curiously enough—is also much interested in the minutiae of the sacrament. We may surmise that the visiting Armenian priests probably saw him in that special vestment (cf. 218.12).

According to the *Buzandaran*, the most reliable of the fifth-century historical accounts of Armenia(ns) in the fourth century,²⁹ Vrtanēs was in office for many prosperous years, an admirable spiritual leader like his father and brother who preceded him. On one of his visits to Ashtishat in Tarōn to offer the Eucharist at the martyrion built by his father Gregory (over relics of John the Baptist brought from Cappadocian Caesarea), there

²⁹For an Eng. trans. see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*.

was an abortive attempt by the pagan population to murder Vrtānēs. The plot was instigated by the queen of the Arsacid court, who in the past had been rebuked by the patriarch for her immorality. However, she and 2,000 conspirators, with loyalties to the former pagan temple that stood where the martyrium was built, repented and were baptized by Vrtānēs after receiving instruction in the faith—women and children not included in the count (3.3).³⁰ We cannot help but remark about the incidental affinity between this account and the main subjects of the Letter under consideration: baptism and the Eucharist.

In keeping with the traditional authority of the Jerusalem Church since Apostolic times (see comments on 217.12–218.4), which is very much on the mind of the author, he conceived of his Letter as establishing authoritative norms far beyond Jerusalem and with implications for the Universal Church—more so since the large assembly of bishops joins him in the response. Consequently, we may call this document a conciliar letter, since it comes with greater authority than just that of Macarius. The epistolographical conventions notwithstanding, the Letter exudes some pastoral concern. Even as he writes in a correcting and critical vein on such important subjects as baptism and the Eucharist, the author is considerate and respectful.

220.3–7

whereby forgiveness of sins and salvation of souls are granted⁴ out of the grace of the Spirit to those who are baptized in the holy⁵ font. And the Holy Spirit does not despise those who yearn for piety,⁶ but, bending low, descends and sanctifies through right confession of faith (and) by means of⁷ the water of the holy font.

The theology of these lines, derived from biblical and early post-biblical writings,³¹ is reflected in the prayers of the early rites of baptism and in

³⁰The anonymous historian then recounts the lives of the two sons of Vrtānēs (3.5–6): Grigor, the elder son who as bishop of the Georgians and the Caucasian Albanians is said to have “renewed the churches with illuminating regulations, imitating the actions of his grandfather, the first Grigor” before he was murdered by the Arsacid King Sanēsān of the Mazkūt, and Yusik who succeeded his father (in office 342–347) suffered martyrdom at the hands of Tiran, the Arsacid King of Armenia (reigned ca. 338–350). Cf. Khorenats’i, *History*, 3.3, 11, 14.

³¹While several writers of the second century add to the biblical, ablutionary understanding of baptism, Tertullian at the end of the century gives us the first sustained theological reflection on the sacrament, in his treatise *De baptismo*.

Patristic writings on baptism in the fourth century.³² Baptism assures Christian believers living in a hostile world that they are on the victorious side of the battle even though the world is still dominated by evil, that God will deliver the believer from final judgment and bless him or her with eternal life. Although Macarius here associates the descent of the Spirit with the short trinitarian baptismal confessions preceding immersion and/or the baptismal act, elsewhere in the Letter the bestowal of the gifts of the Spirit is associated with the post-baptismal laying of hands (223.9–11 and the preferred excerpt in Anania, Frag. 225.35–39). The imagery of water and the Spirit, contemplated in Genesis 1 as in Acts 2 (alluded to in the excerpt in Anania, lines 33–36) and John 3 (vs. 5 is quoted in *ibid.*, lines 21–23), is commonplace in Patristic treatises on baptism.

The “right confession of faith” could be variously understood: from the short trinitarian baptismal confessions, whether following the renunciation of Satan at the church door or in the invocation preceding immersion (the contextual understanding here), to the Nicene Creed.³³ At 219.7 Armenian priests are blamed for apparently not using the trinitarian baptismal formula in certain places, “that which was laid down by the Council.”

The remission of sins assured at baptism through the grace of the Holy Spirit is freely given to believers only, as a gift of the Holy Spirit (Cyril, *Procat.*, 8, 15–16; *Cat.*, 1.4; 3.2–4, 14–16; 4.16; etc.). This grace increases

³²In addition to Cyril's catechetical lectures, see especially Basil of Caesarea, *De baptismo*; Gregory of Nazianz, *Oratio 40: In sanctum baptismum*; Gregory of Nyssa, *De baptismo*; and John Chrysostom, *De baptismo Christi*, as also his *Catecheses ad illuminandos prima et altera (inter alia)*. See also S. P. Brock, “The Consecration of Water in the Oldest Manuscripts of the Syrian Baptismal Liturgy,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37 (1971) 317–312; G. Winkler, “Die Wasserweihe in den orientalischen Liturgien,” *Concilium* 21 (1985) 113–117.

³³There is a scholarly consensus that creeds, such as the Apostles' Creed or the original Nicene Creed (N), evolved from the shorter baptismal confessions of the Primitive Church, just as the later creeds and confessions evolved from their immediate precursors. See, e.g., Quasten, *Patrology*, 1:23–27; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd ed. (London: Longman, 1972), p. 40–49; J. Pelikan and V. Hotchkiss, *Credo: Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition*, 4 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003) 1:10. According to H. Lietzmann, the Nicene Creed itself (the shorter version N, not the usual, longer version in common use, C) was probably modeled after the baptismal creed of Jerusalem, with the three short sections corresponding with the three baptismal questions of the primitive church; “Symbolstudien XIII,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 24 (1925) 193–202, and the “Kritischer Epilog” by A. Harnack (*ibid.*), p. 203. Earlier scholars held, by misreading Eusebius, that the Nicene Creed was based on the baptismal creed of Caesarea in Palestine. In either case, the Palestinian provenance is noteworthy. On the Armenian credal tradition, see G. Winkler, *Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Armenischen Symbolums*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 262 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2000).

through constant application of God's Word to life, as the newly baptized were reminded through the instructions received soon after their baptism. The Letter does not address the question about those who sin after baptism, a question addressed variously since the early post-biblical period.³⁴

220.7–221.3

7And in all this, it is not proper for bishops and presbyters to be indolent and slow⁸ to baptize those who wish⁹ to draw near to the piety of worshipping God. For this is a concern¹⁰ of priests and an essential task of the leaders of the Church¹¹ to exhort in piety those who are willing, and to teach them by word of doctrine¹² to renounce Satan and to dedicate themselves to God through the illumination of the holy font;¹³ and not to become the cause of someone's perdition by reason of (their) disobedience,¹⁴ through some imperfect thing in the rite of baptism owing to their slothfulness 221¹ in not conferring the entire rite upon² those who present themselves for baptism in the holy font.³ The Universal Church of God administers this (rite) with much care and joyous trembling, and without delay.

The meaning given to exhortation here is in the context of baptismal instruction or catechism, followed by renunciation of Satan and baptism. Macarius seems to be alluding to something similar to "the program of instruction," to use the words of Cyril (*Procat.* 4). The latter's *Procatechesis* or prologue and eighteen *Catecheses* or lectures during Lent to candidates for baptism seem to be rooted in local tradition, perhaps also his five *Mystagogical Catecheses* during Easter Week to those newly baptized. Beginning with the introductory discourse to those having come forward for baptism (*Cat.* 1), and on to the necessity for repentance and remission of sins because of the adversary (*Cat.* 2), Cyril moves quickly to elaborate on the meaning of baptism (*Cat.* 3), with further elaboration to follow in the *Mystagogical Catecheses* (2–3). Some of the lectures are rather involved doctrinally, like *Cat.* 4, which addresses "ten" areas of doctrine: concerning God; Christ as proclaimed in the *kerygma* of the Primitive Church—his incarnation, crucifixion, burial, resurrection, ascension, and the impending judgement at his return;³⁵ the Holy Spirit; the human soul; the body; food; apparel; the resurrection of the body; provision for baptism; and the holy Scriptures.

³⁴This issue is first taken up in the "Shepherd of Hermas," *Mandate* 4.3.1–7. For Cyril's views, see *Cat.* 15.23; 18.20.

³⁵For Cyril's further Christology, see *Cat.* 11.

Certain of these subjects are revisited in some of the lectures that follow. Macarius' remarks show that catechism was a tradition in Jerusalem before Cyril's rise to the episcopate in 348 and the delivery of his lectures in 350 or a year later.

The Armenians' shortcomings in the administration of the rite of baptism are enumerated above (219.2-11). The Jerusalem rite—as gathered from Cyril—begins with the renunciation of Satan in the outer chamber, facing west; then follows the trinitarian confession, facing east. The pre-baptismal oil of exorcism is then applied, in the nude, in the inner chamber, with the repetition of the trinitarian confession. The triple immersion, pointing not only to the three-day burial of Christ but also to the theology of Rom 6:4-5,³⁶ was followed by the post-baptismal anointing with the sweet smelling oil, which signifies the presence of the Holy Spirit bestowed with the laying of hands. The holy Communion and the Easter-Week "Mystagogical" catecheses ensued to the newly initiated.³⁷

It is important to point out that apart from the renunciation of Satan (mentioned here) there is no mention of exorcism among the specifics that follow in the Letter of Macarius, and only an allusion to pre-baptismal anointing (226.1).³⁸ It is possible that these aspects required no criticism and therefore were not touched upon. Conversely, were they to have been included in the original document, they were most likely left out during the redaction of the text in the eleventh century for inclusion in the *Kanona-girk*, a time when these parts of the rite were no longer followed. Chronologically, the following observations could be made: The earliest Armenian source, the mid-fifth-century *History of the Armenians* by the pseudonymous Agathangelos, which narrates the life and teaching of St. Gregory the Illuminator at the turn of the fourth century, may indeed reflect practices of the time of the author/redactor and not necessarily those of the

³⁶See Quasten, *Patrology*, 3:372-374; Ratcliff, "The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition," 19-37. That this was part of the Jerusalem tradition before Cyril is attested in the Letter of Macarius (see 223.1-11 and the corresponding fragment excerpted by Anania, in Appendix I).

³⁷Cf. Whitaker and Johnson, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, pp. 26-33; Finn, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate*, pp. 41-55. For comparable baptismal patterns, see *ibid.*, *passim*; Kavanagh, *The Shape of Baptism*, pp. 40-54. The reliability of the general structure of the rite presented by Kavanagh notwithstanding, a comparative reading of the documents in Whitaker and Johnson is a must (note that Kavanagh stands to be corrected regarding his views on the Apostolic tradition ascribed to Hippolytus [*Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, pp. 4-8]).

³⁸On which see Winkler, "The History of the Syriac Prebaptismal Anointing," pp. 24-45; *cadem*, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, 111-165.

early fourth century (in §833, e.g., one finds a residue of the pre-baptismal anointing conflated with the blessing of the water).³⁹ Canons 9–10 of Catholicos Yovhannēs of Ōdzun (in office 717–728) show that the pre-baptismal anointing was still in vogue (or that there was an attempt to revive it) in his time.⁴⁰ And although the known Armenian *Euchologia* containing the rite of baptism delete the pre-baptismal anointing, the blessing of the oil in the earliest manuscripts suggests that pre-baptismal anointing once followed the prayer.⁴¹

221.4–6

And now let us proceed to inquire closely into the aforementioned⁵ points, providing in writing that which⁶ you require.

Having declared his intent “to write promptly” (219.13) in response to the Armenians’ inquiry (217.12–14; cf. 228.11–12), Macarius is about to mandate the church ordinances to which he refers at 218.4–11, with specific responses to the issues hitherto raised: absence of regular fonts, baptism by deacons, indiscriminate blessing of the anointing oil by priests and bishops, incomplete anointing, occasional omission of the (Nicene) baptismal formula, non-differentiation of the hierarchical orders, and other irregularities attributed to “pride and indolence.” These subjects are not taken up systematically in the sequel, and one wonders if the arrangement of the sequel was the same in the original document.

³⁹Cf. the immediate context (preceding and following) of the *Teaching of Saint Gregory*, §§259–715; §814, where Agathangelos tells of Gregory building the first church with baptistry. See §§828–835 for other indicators of the baptismal rite and Winkler’s analysis of these passages (*Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 106–127).

⁴⁰“It is necessary and right that the holy *myron*, that is the aromatic oil, be blessed by the patriarch; and for each of the bishops once, on Paschal Thursday, as commanded. And for the priests to obtain it from them to consecrate with it altars, churches and crosses, to offer it to catechumens only for the anointing of adoption which follows baptism, and he (the priest) should not mix other (oil) in it, and the priest should not dare to bless it himself (ix). It is necessary and right for the priest to bless the oil of baptism, each and every time he baptizes, sufficient for the hour of necessity, and to consume that which was blessed at the very time he presents it to those being baptized; and not to allow that that which was once blessed to be blessed over and over again; and to anoint with it the infants and those being baptized at the time of baptizing in the font; and they are not allowed to present it for any other rite of anointing (x).” Text in Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk*, 1:519–520.

⁴¹Cf. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 198–203, 401–423; Renoux, *Initiation chrétienne. I, Rituels arméniens du baptême*, pp. 102–103. In the latter, note the omissions in J (the 1933 Jerusalem edition). On the earliest manuscripts, see the Introduction, p. 60 n. 32.

The body of the Letter consists of roughly two parts: one on baptism (221.7–226.4) and the other on the Eucharist (226.5–228.10), with an epilogue or letter closing that addresses the problem with Torg, the renegade Bishop of Basean and Bagrewand (228.11–229.10).

A distinction must be made between the orthopraxy of the rites of baptism and the Eucharist as advocated in the Letter, and their divergent forms that stood in need of reform. The divergent forms have strong resemblances to the old East Syrian rites conceivably practiced in Armenia before the Fourth Century or at about the time of the mass conversion of the Armenian people. The primitive nature of these practices in turn reveals the antiquity of the Letter as an early fourth-century document. The subsequent evolution of the Armenian baptismal liturgy shows that few changes were made, and these gradually—such as the use of portable fonts gradually giving way to stationary fonts, and the pre-baptismal anointing (though not specifically mentioned in the Letter but presumed to have been the practice [cf. 226.1]) giving way to post-baptismal anointing with *myron*, upon the forehead, the breast, and the organs of sense (cf. 219.6; Cyril, *Mystag. Cat.* 3.4). These changes must have come about for two reasons: the eventual influence of Jerusalem, with the lectures of Cyril having a greater impact than the Letter of Macarius, and perhaps because the East Syrians were considered to be Nestorians as of the fifth century.

221.7–222.3

⁷I. *Whether it is right for deacons to perform baptism, and is the sacrament⁸ fulfilled (in such cases)?*

⁹*Be it known to your Christ-loving fraternity, that this authority belongs to bishops¹⁰ and priests alone, and that it is not right for deacons¹¹ to perform it, for they are attendants; consequently, it is closed¹² to them. And there is more to the question: Is the person baptized by them made perfect?¹³ It is proper, then, first to inquire whether it is customary for deacons to baptize in a particular province;¹⁴ and if one were found to have done so, ²²²¹he is blameless because he merely succumbed to the customs of the province out of ignorance of the ordinances of the Church. ²But if he knew the ordinances of the Church and ³transgressed them, let punishment be inflicted on him in proportion to his transgression.*

The first and second issues raised in the prologue or letter opening (219.2–4) are switched around in the response, the body of the Letter. The second

issue, deacons baptizing, is treated first; the remark that there are no regular baptismal fonts in Armenia is taken up next. The issue of deacons baptizing is perhaps the most crucial issue raised in the Letter and one that anticipates the related question of hierarchic disorders—the conceivable cause of the sacramental irregularities. Yet this practice is also the most primitive in character within the history of the rite since New Testament times.⁴² Similarly, the limited liturgical role of deacons in the celebration of the Eucharist is discussed in the second part of the body of the Letter (228.1–2). The only liturgical role left for the deacon is to assist the bishop or the priest at baptism or at the Eucharist.

That baptism is to be administered by bishops or priests, and that deacons may administer the rite in country places is intimated in Cyril, *Cat.*, 17.35. Some redaction may be suspected in Macarius' somewhat more stringent ruling (note his questioning the validity of baptism by deacons [221.12], and then the changing tenor, as of the middle of the paragraph); but the views of the two bishops of Jerusalem are not irreconcilable.⁴³

Restrictions on the sacramental role of deacons appear as early as the Ignatian letters: "It is not lawful to baptize or celebrate the agape without the bishop" (*Ep. ad Smyr.*, 8.1–2). Chs. 12 and 16 of the *Didascalia*, a Syriac church order from the third century, similarly limit the role of deacons in the administration of baptism and the Eucharist.⁴⁴ By the latter part of the fourth century—as the *Apostolic Constitutions* indicate—the deacon no longer baptized, as this was the task of the priest; nor did the deaconess instruct the women. But the deaconess did receive the women from the waters of baptism while the deacon received the men (3.16). In the *Baptismal Instructions* of Chrysostom (d. 407) deacons have no function in the administration of the rite; the bishop is assisted by his priests (cf. *Didascalia Ap.*, ch. 9).⁴⁵

⁴²See the studies cited above, n. 20.

⁴³Note the citation by Gifford in NPNF 7:132 n. 4: "When Cyril directs his Catechumens how they should behave themselves at the time of Baptism, when they came either before a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, in city or village,—this may be presumed a fair intimation that then deacons were ordinarily allowed to minister Baptism in country places" (quoting Bingham, *Antiquities*, II.xx.9).

⁴⁴For other early sources restricting the sacramental role of deacons see the Introduction, pp. 32–33, 35–36 (my responses to Akinian's 1st and 6th objections to a fourth-century date).

⁴⁵C. Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, trans. M. Gonzaga, 2 vols. (1 Antioch, 2 Constantinople), (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1959–1960) 1:152–161; T. M. Finn, *The Liturgy of Baptism in the Baptismal Instructions of St. John Chrysostom*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity 15 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1967), pp.

222.4–223.1

⁴II. If they have no hallowed font, in what handy vessel (should) they baptize?
⁵If there was no nearby church built to the glory of God for people to come into,
⁶(then), perhaps, there was nothing to blame. But if we have churches, ⁷we must also build baptisteries and a font in which to baptize those who come ⁸with true faith to piety. However, should there be a sick person ⁹where there is neither church nor regular font, it is not right to prevent the person willing ¹⁰to baptize; the baptism may be administered without a regular font, ¹¹because the circumstances compel, (and) lest he be found a debtor for (someone's) salvation ¹²by obstructing the baptism. For the Holy Spirit bestows grace upon the petitioner, ¹³and is not prevented by the vessel; ²²³¹ and those who long for the grace of the Spirit are always satisfied.

The response, which so far does justice to the redactor's limited question, continues. The continuation turns out to be the redactor's abridgement with some negation of certain concerns of Macarius preserved in a fragment from before the eleventh-century redaction of the Letter—thanks to the lengthy excerpt by the seventh-century sage Anania of Shirak. In the ensuing comments, Anania's excerpt is treated as a substantial fragment of the Letter, with the redacted text given beneath (see the parallel columns in the Introduction and in the Text and Translation). Awareness of the following context, where Macarius underscores the significance of baptizing on the three festal occasions and the meaning of the triple immersion followed by post-baptismal anointing, becomes important for the exegesis of the preceding passage—especially of the last three lines in context.

The author is concerned about the proper manner and location of the ritual. He urges that baptisms be done in churches, now that there are such

21–22, 168–169. The diminution of deacons came sooner in the West. Among the Latin fathers, Tertullian (d. ca. 220) required that as a rule only the bishop, or a presbyter or deacon delegated by him, should perform the act of baptism; only in case of necessity was a layman authorized to perform it (*De baptismo* xvii): "The right to confer baptism belongs to the chief priest who is the bishop, then to priests and deacons, but not without the authorization of the bishop." Speaking of laymen who have an opportunity to administer baptism, he adds: "He will be guilty of the loss of a soul, if he neglects to confer what he freely can" (*ibid.*). Cyprian (d. 258) goes so far as to say that a priest (*sacerdos*) "must" (*oportet*) purify and hallow the water (*Epist.*, lxx, 11[OR 7; OR 9]). Later, Jerome (d. ca. 420) witnesses to the same usage: "Without chrism and the command of the bishop, neither priest nor deacon has the right of conferring baptism" (*Contra Lucif.*, ix). Pope Gelasius I (d. 496) mandates: "We order the deacons to keep within their own province"; and further on: "Without bishop or priest they must not dare to baptize, except in cases of extreme urgency, when the aforesaid are a long way off" (*Decrees*, dist. 93). For Armenian sources of the fifth century that forbid deacons to baptize, see Hats'uni, "Aṭ Vrañēs tghēn heghinakē," pp. 17–18.

buildings, and in baptisteries. Only in situations and locales where such buildings are not found can there be exceptions to the rule (222.8–11). From these remarks it appears that church buildings were a new development. The conditions suggested here are reflective of the beginning of the Constantinian era, when the construction of churches as public places of worship was newly allowed.⁴⁶ The archaeological evidence for built baptisteries in Jerusalem and the rest of the Holy Land in this period is not much when compared with the scores of churches known from literary sources or discovered through excavations.⁴⁷ However, the following, often quoted testimony of the anonymous pilgrim of Bordeaux, on his visit to the site of the Holy Sepulcher Church in 333 would suffice, more so since he describes what the delegation of Armenian priests must have witnessed—much to their amazement:

⁴⁶The illegal status of the church in the first three centuries of the Christian era had compelled believers to worship in private homes and eventually in homes that were restructured to accommodate larger gatherings, the *domus ecclesiae*, and even to erect large assembly halls, the *aulae ecclesiae*. For the literary evidence, see H. O. Maier, *The Social Setting of the Ministry as Reflected in the Writings of Hermas, Clement and Ignatius*, Studies in Christianity and Judaism / Études sur le christianisme et le judaïsme 11 (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1991; repr. 2002), pp. 4–5, 36–47; for the archaeological, see G. F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine* (Mercer: Mercer University Press, 1985), pp. 67–82; L. M. White, *Building God's House in the Roman World: Architectural Adaptation among Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, The ASOR Library of Biblical and Near Eastern Archaeology (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), pp. 11–25, 102–139. As for the Judeo-Christians, they had their “synagogues” (Jas 2:2); see B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Circumcision: History and Archaeology of the Judeo-Christians*, trans. E. Hoade, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Minor 2 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1971; repr. 1984), pp. 3–26, 112–136; L. J. Hoppe, *The Synagogues and Churches of Ancient Palestine* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1994), pp. 60–66.

⁴⁷For a survey of baptisteries and fonts found in the Holy Land, some in Transjordan, all dating from the fourth–sixth centuries, see B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Minor 4 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1971; repr. 1984), pp. 301–312 (Italian edition with updated notes: *Alle Origini della Chiesa. II: Le comunità gentile-cristiane* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1982). The increased archaeological activity investigating Roman and Byzantine Transjordan is promising, even though the archaeological data from Late Antiquity in this region is rarely distinctively Christian. See D. L. Chatford Clark “Viewing the Liturgy: A Space Syntax Study of Changing Visibility and Accessibility in the Development of the Byzantine Church in Jordan,” *World Archaeology* 39.1 (2007) 84–104. For the remains of the late-third or early-fourth-century church in Aqaba (ancient Aila), see D. L. Chatford Clark and M. L. Mussell, “Area J: the Putative Byzantine Church,” in S. T. Parker, ed., *The Final Excavation Report for the Roman Aqaba Project, 1994–2002* (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, forthcoming). This mudbrick “transitional pre-Constantinian church,” considered to be the most ancient church found in the Middle East after Dura Europos, has a possible baptistery and apsidal modifications added perhaps in 325.

As you go out of the wall of Sion, as you walk towards the gate of Neapolis . . . on the left hand is the little hill of Golgotha where the Lord was crucified. About a stone's throw from thence is a vault (*crypta*) wherein His body was laid, and [whence He] rose again on the third day. There, at present, by the command of the Emperor Constantine (*iussu Constantini*), has been built a basilica, that is to say, a church (*dominicum*) of wondrous beauty, having at the side reservoirs (*excepturia*) from which water is raised, and a bath behind in which infants are washed (*lauantur*; i.e., baptized).⁴⁸

Fraser is correct in observing that "this basilica, the Martyrium, was not, it seems, a building site but rather had not only been completed but was already in use for baptism two years before its official inauguration."⁴⁹ In her description of the Easter Vigil in 384, Egeria has a description of baptism and the ensuing Eucharist on Saturday, much as they were celebrated in Cyril's day four decades earlier "in the Great Church, the Martyrium":

They keep their paschal vigil like us, but there is one addition. As soon as the "infants" have been baptized and clothed, and have left the font, they are led with the bishop straight to the Anastasis. The bishop goes inside the screen and after one hymn says a prayer for them. Then he returns with them to the church, where all the people are keeping the vigil in the usual way . . . and, when the Offering has been made, they have the dismissal. After their dismissal in the Great Church they at once go with singing to the Anastasis, where the resurrection Gospel is read, and once more the bishop makes the Offering.⁵⁰

As for the situation in Armenia, the earliest churches were converted pagan temples, as their foundations in Ejmiatsin, Ereruyk, Ödzun, and Kasagh show.⁵¹ This observation is commensurate with the *History* of

⁴⁸Trans. A. Stewart, *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem: The Bordeaux Pilgrim* (333 A.D.), Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 1, pt. 2 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1887), §§593–594.
⁴⁹Fraser, "Constantine and the Encaenia," p. 25.

⁵⁰Egeria, *Peregrinatio*, 38.1–2. See also her description of the daily processions during the Easter Octave (with the bishop, the clergy, the "infants" who have been baptized, and all the apotactites both men and women) to and from the Mount of Olives, ending at the Anastasis in time for the Lucernare (39.3–4).

⁵¹Observation made by T. Toramanyan, as cited by C. Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation*, Hebrew University Armenian Studies 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), p. 59 and n. 45. For more on early Armenian church architecture, see A. Khatch-

Agathangelos, who narrates the conversion of pagan priests at the hand of Gregory the Illuminator,⁵² a fact that needs to be reconciled with passages that describe the destruction of pagan temples and their replacement with churches.⁵³ Agathangelos, writing in ca. 460, some 150 years after the events he describes, and probably projecting customs and other realities of his own time, tells of Gregory building the first church with baptistery, in Ashtishat.⁵⁴ Be that as it may, built baptisteries from this period are very rare in Armenia, for portable basins were most likely used in this early period—as the Letter suggests.⁵⁵ Against this apparently prevalent practice, the injunction was that fonts should be used whenever possible.⁵⁶

The evolution of church architecture in Syria from the third century house-church at Dura Europos to the massive fourth and fifth-century basilicas to the north is important for any evaluation of early Armenian church architecture (and before considering any archaeological evidence for early Christianity in Syria we should perhaps consider the evidence for early Christianity in Transjordan, from recent and current excavations from the Decapolis to Aqaba [ancient Aila]).⁵⁷ Apart from the canonical book

atrian, *L'architecture arménienne du IV^e au VI^e siècle*, Préf. par A. Grabar, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 7 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971); P. Cunco, *Architettura Armena dal quarto al diciannovesimo secolo* (Rome: De Luca, 1988); Hasratian, *Early Christian Architecture of Armenia*. An overlooked area in discussions of the parallels and contacts between the early basilicas of Syria and Armenia, especially with reference to the fifth-century basilica of Ereruyk, is the Sasanian evidence; see O. Reuther, "Sasanian Christian Churches," in A. U. Pope, ed., *Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938), pp. 560–566.

⁵²Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians*, §781 (and Thomson's note. p. 484); cf. §840, a passage adapted from Koriwn (7 [46.17–20] and 17 [70.27–72.1–4]).

⁵³Ibid., §§778–790, 809–813.

⁵⁴Ibid., §814. Cf. above, pp. 108–109, on Vrtanēs at the martyrdom in Ashtishat (*Buzandaran*, 3.3). For more on the baptismal passages in the various versions of Agathangelos and the *Vita Gregorii*, see Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 103–132.

⁵⁵Cf. *The Acts of Thomas* 10 (132): "And he had a basin brought and baptized them . . ." On baptisteries in Armenia from the fourth-sixth centuries, see the Introduction, pp. 33–34.

⁵⁶Baptism in streams was preferred in both East and West, believing that the washing away of sin was more sure in running water. This may have been a further departure from Jewish baptismal practices in stagnant water as in the *miqvat*, which enjoyed great popularity in sectarian circles at first, as at Qumran, but which had become rather common in the Pharisaic resettlement of Galilee in the second-fourth centuries. For Justin (*I Apol.*, 61.2; 65.1) and the *Didache* (7.1–3), the former representing Rome and the latter Syria, baptism is complete immersion in the outdoors. The *Didache*, however, permits still water to be used in place of running water, and affusion in place of immersion, apparently taking the local conditions into consideration, especially water shortages in the summer season. The use of water receptacles for baptism was widely permitted as of the third century.

⁵⁷See above, n. 47.

of Acts and the apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* we have very limited knowledge about the spread of Christianity to the East, and the evidence for early East Syrian or Mesopotamian church architecture is scant; and this is rather surprising since the documentary evidence for its flourishing is substantial, especially in the fourth century.⁵⁸

In Syria and Palestine, without exception, the earliest baptisteries of the third and fourth centuries were either square or rectangular, with or without an apse at the end. With some exceptions, this was true also for the rest of the Mediterranean basin, where archaeological evidence for early church architecture, especially for baptisteries and fonts, is substantial.⁵⁹ From the fifth century onward either the circular or the octagonal predominates in certain places. Most baptisteries were either detached from or loosely attached to the main church building, as a side room, and usually located at the north end of the narthex, with or without their own vestibule. More interestingly, baptisteries were like pagan funerary monuments or *mausolea*, with fonts resembling tombs, reproducing "the baptismal tomb wherein the Christian died or rose again with his Lord."⁶⁰ In the older baptisteries of the third-fourth centuries, the exorcism, the sealing, and other initiatory steps took place in the baptistery; in later times they took place in adjoining rooms.

The last three lines of the passage under consideration (222.12–223.1), on the Holy Spirit bestowing grace or gifts (*charismata*) regardless of the place of baptism, is a vestige of the little theology in the Letter. The fragment that

⁵⁸Archaeologically, the remains of the great fourth-century monastery of Tel'Ada in Aleppo are significant; however, they are of little help in bridging the gap between text and archaeology. Attention given in recent years to West Syrian churches with *bemata* is noteworthy; see especially the studies of E. Renhart, *Das Syrische Bema: Liturgisch-archäologische Untersuchungen* (Graz: Grazer Theologische Studien, 1995); and E. Loosely, *The Architecture and Literature of the Bema in Fourth-to-Sixth-Century Syrian Churches*, *Patrimoine Syriaque* 2 (Kaslik: Parole de l'Orient, 2003). Loosely's observation that the *bemata* with altars were for the liturgical display or use of relics of saints is quite meritorious (pp. 55–56). Archaeological work on East Syrian churches with *bemata* remains to be done. The liturgical studies by R. F. Taft are requisite to such work; see his "Some Notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Traditions," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 34 (1968) 326–359; and "On the Use of the Bema in the East-Syrian Liturgy," *Eastern Churches Review* 3 (1970) 30–39.

⁵⁹See the monumental work of J. G. Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962). Davies surveys the earliest Christian baptisteries throughout the Mediterranean basin and notes all their various shapes and functional forms. Cf. J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Studies in Roman and Early Christian Architecture* (London: Pindar Press, 1994), last four chapters especially.

⁶⁰Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism*, p. 14; reflecting the theology of Romans 6.

follows, preserved as an excerpt by Anania prior to its being substantially deleted by the redactor, is conceivably the most theological part of the original document. Having considered the manner and location of baptism, Macarius is about to turn his attention to the time or seasons for the ritual.

FRAG. IN ANANIA, 284.5-9

⁵Hence the ordinance of baptism of the holy font and the earnest observance ⁶of the three feasts during which those who are dedicated to God desire most eagerly ⁷to bring unto baptism those in darkness and to carry out ⁸the great form of the salutary mystery, which is carried out on these holy and prominent ⁹days.

223.1-3

¹Nor is the administration (of the rite) on major feasts ²only, for the Apostles were not baptizing with a preference for the feasts, ³but, to the satisfaction of those who came to them, were illuminating by making rebirth through the waters possible.

It is readily noticeable how the eleventh-century redactor of the Letter for inclusion in the *Kanonagirk* blatantly rejects the admonition of the original document. The Jerusalem Church of Macarius' day administered the rite of baptism on three festal occasions: Nativity/Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost. This reflects a time posterior to baptism at Easter only, which remained the preferred time for baptism for many believers—but not for long, for every Sunday was considered as Easter, or every day as "the Lord's day."⁶¹ Indeed, a fourth season of baptism in Jerusalem was inaugurated perhaps as early as 336, as Sozomen informs us about the feast of Encaenia becoming an annual feast at which time baptism was administered.⁶²

⁶¹P. F. Bradshaw, "Diem baptismo sollemniorum: Initiation and Easter in Christian Antiquity," in E. Carr et al., eds., *Eulogēma: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.*, Studia Anselmiana 110 / Analecta liturgica 17 (Rome: Centro Studi S. Anselmo, 1993), pp. 41-51; repr. in M. E. Johnson, ed., *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation* [Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1999], pp. 138-147. Johnson summarizes Bradshaw's article as follows: "Bradshaw notes the lack of references to a preference for paschal baptism outside of North Africa and Rome in early Christianity until the fourth century, as well as indications that baptism did indeed take place on other days even within the fourth century. He concludes that baptism at Easter was 'never the normative practice in Christian antiquity that many have assumed.' At most it was 'an experiment that survived for less than fifty years.'" (pp. xv-xvi). See further, Johnson, *Images of Baptism*, Forum Essays 9 (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2001), pp. 2-5.

⁶²See the Introduction, p. 52.

A major issue in the criticism of the rite of baptism as practiced in Armenia is that they baptized anywhere, in anything that served as a basin, and that they did so at *any time*.

The redactor's last line above—inspired by the very words of Macarius—conveys a traditional interpretation of baptism as illumination of "those in darkness," a metaphor already used in the Letter (220.12; cf. 223.10; 226.12).

FRAG. IN ANANIA, 284.9-14

⁹*And this (form of the mystery) they hasten to carry out with great eagerness*¹⁰*in the holy places of Christ; which all Christians, ¹¹those who fear Christ, must also carry out in the baptismal service on these (days): ¹²on the holy Epiphany of the Nativity of the Lord, and <on> the saving Easter ¹³of the life-giving passion of Christ, and on Pentecost full of grace—¹⁴when the Divine descent of the quickening Spirit overflowed among us.*

What was liturgically practiced in the Holy Land soon became a pattern for the Universal Church, and Macarius is keenly aware of this development. His advocacy of the development is unmistakable here.

The author is about to divulge his theology of the rite of baptism in what follows. He associates the theological significance of each of the three major feasts—considered seasons for baptism—with the theology of the baptismal rite, with the theology of the three feasts covering the full significance of the rite. The parallel thoughts between Macarius and Cyril noted in the ensuing comments should not be surprising, given the fact that Cyril was ordained deacon by Macarius.⁶³ One can only surmise as to how much of Cyril's catechesis is received tradition.

FRAG. IN ANANIA, 284.15-24

¹⁵*It is therefore necessary to make known the significance of each of these feasts, of the Nativity and Baptism, ¹⁶so that you also may hasten to do the same. ¹⁷For on that same salutary day, with the luminous Nativity of Christ, our expiatory birth of the holy ¹⁸font is realized; for on that same day ¹⁹he himself was baptized, condescending to be among us. For it was not that he was himself ²⁰in any need of cleansing, but he desired to cleanse us from the ²¹filth of sin, he who cries*

⁶³Jerome, *Chron. ann.* 349 (A.D. 350).

out with a loud voice, saying: "Unless one ²²is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (Jn 3:5). ²³In the same fashion as we are born with him, we are baptized with him ²⁴on the same holy day of the Nativity of Christ.

Note the combined feast of the Nativity/Epiphany here, the main reason for this lengthy excerpt by Anania (see Appendix 1).

The metaphor of rebirth refers not only to mystical regeneration but also to the acquisition of a new legal status, such as through adoption (cf. Cyril, *Cat.*, 1.2; 3.16; *Mystag. Cat.*, 3.1). The cleansing effect of baptism is attributed to the grace accomplished by water and the Spirit (cf. *Cat.*, 3.4 [quoting Jn 3:5], 16). In a note on the last passage, Gifford observes: "The Fathers sometimes speak as if Baptism was primarily the Sacrament of remission of sins, and upon that came the gift of the Spirit, which notwithstanding was but begun in Baptism and completed in Confirmation."⁶⁴

The thought that Christ had no need to be baptized but that his baptism was for our cleansing or sanctification, is commonplace in the Fathers (cf. Cyril, *Cat.*, 3.9, 11; 12.15; that there is no salvation without it, except for martyrs, 3.4, 10).

FRAG. IN ANANIA, 284.25-27

²⁵Next, on the quickening resurrection of Easter, by mortifying²⁶our sins in the waters of the font, we become imitators of the mortification by death²⁷of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The notion of baptism as participation in Christ's death (burial and resurrection, as the ensuing lines show) goes back to Paul (Rom 6:4-5). While this notion was commonplace in the early churches in the West, it was not as common in the churches in the East, where the font and the water were perceived more as a womb or an embryonic sack (note the citation of Jn 3:5 above, Frag., line 22). The Letter of Macarius shows that the two notions were part of the baptismal theology of the Jerusalem Church before Cyril, but that it remained for the latter to articulate them in his exceptional way: "And at the selfsame moment, you were both dying and being born; and

⁶⁴NPNF 7:18 n. 9. Cf. A. Schmemann, *Of Water and the Spirit: A Liturgical Study of Baptism* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), pp. 75-81.

that Water of salvation was at once your grave and your mother" (Cyril, *Mystag. Cat.*, 2.4).⁶⁵

FRAG. IN ANANIA, 284.27-32

²⁷And by the triple immersion, being buried²⁸ in the waters of the holy font, we signify in the persons of those who are being baptized the three-day burial of our Lord. ²⁹And this also the divine Apostle³⁰ shows clearly, when he says: "Being buried with him through baptism,³¹ let us become imitators of the likeness of his death, so that by the renewal³² of the resurrection we may become partakers with him in the life eternal" (Rom 6:4-5).

223.4-9

⁴And by the triple immersion, being buried in the water of the holy font, ⁵we signify in the persons of those who are being baptized the three-day burial of the Lord. ⁶And this also the divine Apostle shows clearly, when he says: ⁷"We were buried with him through baptism; let us (therefore) become imitators of the likeness ⁸of his death, so that by the renewal of the resurrection we may become partakers with him ⁹in the life eternal" (Rom 6:4-5).

On the centrality of Rom 6:4-5 in Macarius' and Cyril's understanding of baptism, see the comments on the preceding passage.

Judging from these lines, it would seem possible that the recipients did not immerse three times, or that if they did, the triple immersion did not signify "the three-day burial of the Lord." A comparison with other ancient documents of the baptismal liturgy should help clarify the matter; however, the internal evidence should be considered first. Among the irregularities cited in the prologue, the following is pertinent here: "And in various places the priests at the time of baptism do not say that which was laid down by the Council" (219.7). This is to be understood as at times not following the Nicene credal form of confession of faith; i.e., they did not use the trinitarian baptismal formula—"I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." In the immediate following context the descent of the Holy Spirit to bestow gifts is associated with the laying of hands and "the right confession of faith" (223.9-11; cf. 220.6, where the

⁶⁵Cf. *Cat.*, 3.12. Ratcliff, like others, gives undue credit to Cyril ("The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition," 19-37). On the Patristic theology of the imagery, as participation in the death, burial and resurrection of Christ, see Johnson, *Images of Baptism*, pp. 1-31; as birth or rebirth, and of the Holy Spirit as mother, see Brock, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition* (2nd ed.), pp. 16-26.

descent of the Holy Spirit to sanctify the baptismal water is associated with "the right confession of faith").

The absence of the trinitarian formula does suggest the practice of single immersion—on the assumption that there is an immersion at the mention of each person of the Trinity;⁶⁶ but this is not to be taken strictly, for trinitarian formulae do appear in conjunction with single immersion.⁶⁷ But since the sporadic irregularity appears to refer to the use of a non-trinitarian formula, then a much older tradition is implied. According to Cyprian a single immersion in the name of Christ alone was the rule among Jewish Christians; threefold immersion in the threefold name was the rule among Gentile Christians.⁶⁸

The symbolism of the triple immersion reflected by Macarius, as replicating "the three-day burial of the Lord," is traditional in its understanding of baptism as "the burial of the old man" with his sins and the "resurrection of the new man." Both happen at the same time, based on Paul's theology in Rom 6. Macarius' thought in these lines is embedded in Paul's theology of baptism with its symbolism of the tomb.⁶⁹

FRAG. IN ANANIA, 284.33-39

³³But on the grace-bestowing and sanctifying day of Pentecost was the luminous ³⁴manifestation of the life-giving Spirit, which, in the form of fiery tongues, ³⁵descended on the Apostles, granting them that by laying hands on those who are being baptized ³⁶(these shall) receive gifts from the grace of the Spirit. After the same pattern ³⁷we also, on the same day, bestow the same Spirit by laying hands on those who are baptized. ³⁸We fulfill the pattern of this with unailing care, ³⁹that we may become perfect."

⁶⁶See Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Bapt. Instr.* 14, where the triple immersion is associated with the equality and inseparability of the Trinity. Cf. the conflation in the *Masbets*, where the Trinity is invoked with each immersion and the symbolism of "the three-day burial of Christ" is then declared; Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 214-215; Renoux, *Initiation chrétienne. I. Rituels arméniens du baptême*, pp. 120-123.

⁶⁷See, e.g., *The Acts of Thomas* 10 (120-121, 132-133); 13 (157-158).

⁶⁸Epist. 63.17. But cf. Didache 7.1-3: "Regarding baptism, baptize thus: After giving the foregoing instructions, 'Baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit' in running water. But, if you have no running water, baptize in any other water; and, if you cannot in cold water, then in warm. But, if the one is lacking, pour the other *three times* on the head 'in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit'" (trans. Glimm et al.). For more on the latter passage, see above, n. 56.

⁶⁹Renoux invites attention to Anania's discourse on the *Epiphany* (see Appendix I in this volume) and the symbolism of the triple immersion there as pointing to "the three-day burial of the

223.9-11

⁹And thus when we lay hands with right confession of faith, ¹⁰the Holy Spirit is bestowed for our salvation, illuminating ¹¹those who are called to adoption; and in faith we are anointed with the oil of holiness.

Macarius sees in the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2:1-4) the biblical grounds for the sacramental laying of hands on the neophytes as a means to bestow spiritual gifts, the *charismata* (cf. Cyril, *Cat.*, 16.26). The example of the spirit-filled Apostles' laying their hands on the newly-baptized Samaritans in Acts 8:14-17 provides further grounds for the sacerdotal practice ("Then they began laying their hands on them, and they were receiving the Holy Spirit"). With the laying of hands came the post-baptismal anointing, by bishops or priests (cf. 225.9-10). The oil of anointing was a tangible representation of the Holy Spirit, the Divine intermediary to confirm and to seal (cf. Cyril, *Cat.*, 3.2-4, 14, 16; 4.16).⁷⁰

The commonplace notion of baptism as illumination is a recurring theme in the Letter (220.12; 226.12; cf. 223.3 and Frag. 284.6-7; also Cyril, *Cat.*, 13.21). The word "adoption" (Arm. *ordegrutiwn*; Gk. *huiothesia*) occurs here only, in the abridgement by the redactor; so also the clear statement about post-baptismal anointing (hinted at in 219.4-6), which must have been fully developed in the Armenian Church by the time the Letter was redacted for the *Kanonagir* in the eleventh century. It is possible that the redactor was familiar with the Greek text of Cyril's *Mystagogical Catecheses*, where both notions are found in the third lecture, devoted to post-baptismal anointing (esp. 3.1, alluding to Eph 1:5; cf. *Cat.*, 3.14).⁷¹

Lord"; however, he fails to realize that in Anania this is in a citation from Macarius' *Letter to the Armenians* (*Initiation chrétienne. I, Rituels arméniens du baptême*, pp. 37-38 n. 176; 123 n. 108).

⁷⁰See Brock, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition* (2nd ed.), pp. 34-35, 64-68, on the significance of the *myron*, and pp. 70-74, on laying of hands.

⁷¹The Armenian text of Cyril's lectures, translated in the fifth century from a Greek original by a translator at home with Syriac, has the *Catecheses* only, without the *Procatechesis* and the five *Mystagogical Catecheses*. Since post-baptismal anointing was not as yet fully developed in the Armenian Church of the fifth century, one wonders if the omission of the latter lectures, not unlike other "Oriental" versions, was theologically/liturgically motivated rather than resulting from the limited text of the exemplar. On the Armenian text, see L. Ter-Petrosyan, "Kyuregh Erusaghmat's'u 'Koch'umn Ėntsayutean' erki hayeren fargmanutyan nakhōrinaki harts'in shurjē" (On the Question of the Exemplar of the Armenian Translation of Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical Lectures), *Ejmiatsin* 38 (Nov.-Dec. 1981) 42-48; S. P. Cowe, "Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Armenian Version of St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical Lectures," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 15 (2006) 9-84. Cf. A. (Ch.) Renoux, "Une version arménienne des

223.12–224.3

¹²And the established ordinances of the holy ²²⁴ Church are thus regulated in every detail, without transgression of any rule established and underscored ² by those of the heavenly ranks, as we learned from the spiritual Fathers, from the disciples ³ of the holy Apostles.

"Those of the heavenly ranks" are equated with the Apostolic Fathers on whose authority the canonical tradition has been received in summary form (Arm. *glkhaworeal*; Gk. *kephalaion*; cf. 218.8). Here end the specific injunctions regarding baptism. The form of the baptismal ritual denounced in the Letter is one of the strongest arguments for a fourth-century date, for it exhibits nearly all known features of the rite as observed in the early Syrian church. Several of these features persisted in the Armenian rite of baptism for centuries thereafter, as Winkler has so aptly demonstrated.⁷² For more on the author's canonical orientation, see above, on 218.4–11.

224.4–225.2

⁴III. And how are the (hierarchical) orders of the holy Church regulated?

⁵Let overseers at established posts be given authority to guide ⁶ into goodness those for whose supervision they have been called. And let those receiving (guidance) from them ⁷ be not puffed up with haughtiness, holding themselves to be wise ⁸ while lapsing into foolishness, lapsing into wickedness. For although ⁹ the spiritual gifts are commonly given to believers, still, they are not all of equal honor. ¹⁰ And although the Infinite made himself little, yet he lost not the glory of the Deity thereby; ¹¹ and (although) the Giver of life manifested himself to all the Apostles after ¹² his resurrection, yet some he ranks above the rest. ¹³ And the same principle has been established among us. Accordingly, Paul does not allow (us) ²²⁵ ¹ to climb over one another, saying: "Let each one to whatever calling he was called, ² abide in the same" (1 Cor 7:20).

Addressing the issue of clergy being regarded as all of one rank (raised in the prologue, 219.8–9) and beginning with episcopal authority, Macarius makes clear that church ranks or orders are not equal and that there should

Catéchèses Mystagogiques de Cyrille de Jérusalem?" *Le Muséon* 85 (1972) 147–153, on a quotation from the last lecture translated most likely from a Greek anthology; not a citation from an Armenian version.

⁷²Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, pp. 335–447.

be no confounding of the ranks (cf. the encroachment in rank reprimanded in 229.1-10).⁷³ In his defense of hierarchical structure, replete with biblical allusions, he seems to be drawing a parallel between the diverse yet unequal *charismata* or spiritual gifts granted by the Spirit to believers in general (1Cor 12:1, 28-31; 14:1, 39; Eph 4:7-8, 11-12) and the various ordinations of clergy (line 9).⁷⁴ Although for Paul the Spirit is a shared gift, a centrifugal and centripetal force drawing believers together into the one body of Christ, he attaches greater importance to certain gifts.

Echoes of other Pauline passages are noticeable here: "Although he existed in the form of God . . . but made himself of no reputation, and took upon himself the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men. . . . And being found in appearance as a man, he humbled himself . . ." (Phil 2:6-8); "In him dwells all the fullness of the Deity in bodily form" (Col 2:9). The ranking of some Apostles above others in a post-resurrection setting is an allusion to the reinstatement of Peter with the command "Feed My sheep," and to the contextually favored witness of "the disciple whom Jesus loved" (Jn 21:15-23). Macarius then quotes Paul's command that establishes leadership and church order (1Cor 7:20). To be sure, the author has not tapped into Paul's weightier texts on the subject (cf. 1Thess 5:12-13; 1Cor 16:15-18; etc.).

225.3-226.4

³IV. *And how is each to be commanded to be content with his assigned rank?*
⁵Now, in meeting together with the clergy, we bishops and priests ⁶and deacons, I, Macarius, Archbishop of the holy city ⁷Jerusalem, hand down to you these regulations that have been learned ⁸from the accounts of the Apostles and firmly established for us through the tradition of the Fathers, ⁹namely, as we said above, the laying of hands in holy baptism ¹⁰is for bishops and priests alone to administer, ¹¹and the chief-bishop (alone) shall bless the oil of holiness. But by reason of distance ¹²and weighty circumstances, at the command of the archbishop, two ¹³or three bishops may meet together (to bless it). As for deacons, they are attendants ²²⁶ ¹to the sacrament. And the oil of anointing for the dead and the sick and for those to be baptized, ²the priests and the bishops shall individ-

⁷³Several times in the letters of Ignatius and in other post-apostolic writings deacons are mentioned together with bishops and priests, always in the third place. Confounding the orders or ranks is condemned in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (8.46).

⁷⁴On the relation between *charisma* and office, see Giles, *Patterns of Ministry*, pp. 14-19.

ually bless. This our holy Fathers ruled,³ and let no one decree to change the rule rightly laid down,⁴ lest the binding of their anathemas be upon him, which shall be determined by God.

The lemma points to the connection between hierarchical rank and liturgical privilege, a topic touched upon in the preceding paragraph ("Canon iii") and resumed—to some extent—in the sequel. Regardless of the author's considerable concerns about baptismal and Eucharistic irregularities, his overriding concern is about the distorted distinctions in the clerical ranks and roles that give rise to such irregularities.

The paragraph with its sense of summation constitutes a proper closing of the points on baptism. Equally indicative of a proper closing of this part is the use of the word *anathemata*, a solemn pronouncement of condemnation normally found at the conclusion of conciliar decrees and canons (see further below). Unlike 219.12–220.3, where Macarius speaks with conciliar authority, here he speaks on his own authority, buttressed with that of the clerics of his see (note the hierarchical order) and "the tradition of the Fathers." What Macarius is transmitting, on laying of hands and blessing the two kinds of oil for their intended use, is inherently traditional—perhaps locally cherished tradition from elsewhere.

"As we said above, the laying of hands in holy baptism is for bishops and priests alone to administer." Yet what was "said above" is that the administration of the rite of baptism "belongs to bishops and priests alone, and that it is not right for deacons to perform it, for they are attendants" (221.9–11). Macarius is taking an essential part of the rite for the whole, and there is no reason to suspect a reference here to a lost portion of the Letter. Equally repetitious is the statement "As for deacons, they are attendants to the sacrament."

The author is equally clear about the distinctly blessed oils. The injunction that the "oil of holiness" is to be blessed by the "chief-bishop" or "arch-bishop," someone of the rank of the recipient or the sender of the Letter,⁷⁵ or by "two or three bishops" designated by him, implies that the oil thus blessed is to be equated with the fragrant *myron* used in post-baptismal anointing. This understanding is commensurate with earlier allusions to post-baptismal anointing in the Letter (see comment on 219.4–6). As for

⁷⁵See the Introduction, pp. 45–51, on the respective titles of Macarius and Vrtanēs.

the oil blessed by "the priests and the bishops" individually, it is to be used "for the dead"⁷⁶ and the sick and for those to be baptized."

The anointing of the dead in Pseudo-Dionysius (*Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, 7556C–565C), hitherto considered the earliest reference to such anointing in early Christianity, presupposes a history of the rite.⁷⁷ But now the Letter of Macarius is to be considered our earliest reference to the Christian rite of anointing the dead, even though the Letter is silent about the form.⁷⁸ Whereas the detailed Pseudo-Dionysian anointing of the dead is administered by "the high priest" or "the hierarch," presumably with *myron*, to a deceased member "of the clerical orders" or to a deceased member "of the holy monks or of the sacred people" (the latter referring to believers in general) and is related to baptism, in the Letter of Macarius the anointing is with ordinarily blessed oil and is administered presumably by the priest or the bishop who blessed it. Should there be any implied relation to baptism in Macarius, it would necessarily be to pre-baptismal anointing—judging from the less significant kind of oil used for the rite (the *myron* being reserved for post-baptismal anointing). As for the oil for the sick, it is in keeping with the "Jacobean unction" (Jas 5:14: "Is any among you sick? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord").⁷⁹ The last mentioned use of

⁷⁶The Armenian plural noun *merelots'n* ("for the dead") cannot mean "for the dying," or "for those on the verge of death," or "for those who are deathly sick." The last is one of the meanings W. Bauer has for *tō nekros* (sing.); q.v. "nekros" in *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, rev. by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, 4th rev. and augmented ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1952), p. 536. G. W. H. Lampe has "of body as mortified" among the adjectival meanings of "nekros" (q.v. in *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961], p. 901).

⁷⁷The anointing of the dead is certainly anticipated in the Gospel accounts of the burial of Christ, being a Jewish practice at the time—possibly influenced by some pagan funerary practices of earlier times.

⁷⁸The form, as described by Pseudo-Dionysius, is observed in the Armenian Church to this day in the funeral of members of the clerical order. However, unlike its relationship to baptism in *EH* 7565A, the Armenian rite is related to the consecration with *myron* at the time of the cleric's ordination to the priesthood. See A. B. Schmidt, *Kanon der Entschlafenen: das Begräbnisrituale der Armenier: der altarmenische Bestattungsritus für die Laien*, *Orientalia biblica et christiana* 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), pp. 91–94.

⁷⁹Cf. Canon 13 of the Council of Nicaea, on giving the Eucharist to the dying. On extending the "Jacobian unction" to the dying, in what became the rite of "Extreme Unction" in the West towards the end of the twelfth century and which never became current in the East, see Schmidt, *Kanon der Entschlafenen*, pp. 88–91; cf. M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, trans. G. M. Gregory, 3rd rev. ed. (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1988), p. 114. Canons 9–10 of Catholicos Yovhannēs of Ōdzun mandate that the lesser oil, used for the sick and for those about to be baptized, has to

the less significant or ordinarily blessed oil, "for those to be baptized,"⁸⁰ is understandably for pre-baptismal anointing.⁸¹

Anathemas are mentioned here and in 228.12 (singular). These sweeping threats suggest some kind of divine punishment, ultimately separation from God. In Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, an anathema was conveyed by a decree of excommunication (hinted at in 229.10).

226.5-12

⁵V. And how shall we draw near to the holy table and the quickening 'sacrament'?

⁷Let no one dare to come near to this cup of immortality in double-mindedness, or with lack of faith, ⁸or with improprieties, ⁹lest the will of God be moved unto wrath on all the earth. ¹⁰And he shall hear the saying: "Why do you keep recounting my righteousness ¹¹when you have despised my discipline?" (Ps 50:16-17; LXX 49:16-17). But, approaching with right steps and true faith, ¹²let him be illumined and work out himself salvation for others also.

Baptism and the Eucharist were the two most significant observances in the Christian's cultic life, "but, while references to them are not un plentiful, the observance of the *disciplina arcani* inhibited full description of these rites" in the early centuries.⁸² The weighty truths of Christianity were considered too sacred for general publication, and were not to be divulged to those who are not ready to receive them. Consequently, and almost invariably, the earliest sources caution with similar warnings the one drawing near to either of the two central sacraments or mysteries of the initiation

be blessed for each occasion and not more (see above, n. 40). By the thirteenth century, according to a chant (*gandz*) by the learned Vardapet Mkhitar of AyrivanK (1222-ca. 1290), the third day of Pentecost was the time to bless the oil for the sick (*Gandzer ew Tagher* [Chants and Odes], ed. E. Harutyunyan [Yerevan: Nairi, 2005]), pp. 221-224.

⁸⁰The plural participle *mkrtelots'n*, always in a passive sense in the Letter ("those who are baptized," "those who are being baptized," or "those who are to be baptized") appears also in 220.4 and twice in the excerpt by Anania, Frag. 284.29 (cf. 223.5) and 284.37; a third instance of the word there, *mkrts'elots'n* at 284.35, is possibly a corruption.

⁸¹Cf. *The Acts of Thomas* 7 (67), oil used for healing; 10 (120-121, 132), 13 (157), oil used for pre-baptismal anointing.

⁸²J. G. Davies, *The Early Christian Church: A History of Its First Five Centuries* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), p. 136; E. Yarnold, *The Awe Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century* (Middlegreen, Slough: St. Paul Publications, 1971), pp. 50-54; cf. idem, *Cyril of Jerusalem, The Early Church Fathers* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 49-55.

rites (cf. 1Cor 11:27-32). Illumination, a common metaphor for baptism, is here applied to partaking of the Eucharist, it being referred to by as yet another common metaphor in Patristic writings, "cup of immortality" (cf. Ps 116:13; LXX 115:13, "cup of salvation," as in Cyril, *Mystag. Cat.*, 4.5).⁸³

227.1-6

¹*VI. And how is it proper to administer the sacrament?*

²*It is necessary to administer the saving sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord with fear³ and care, and to make a right confession of faith,⁴ distinct from the ensnaring sacraments of the heretics; lest, through the proximity of Arians, ⁵the name and truth of God be blasphemed" (Rom 2:24), according to the Apostle.*

Having addressed the cautious approach necessary to receive the Eucharist, Macarius now turns his attention to the cautious administration of the sacrament. The first element of concern for him is the "right confession of faith," which is the distinguishing factor from the implied "wrong" of the heretics: the Arians. The reference to the Arians suggests that Macarius possibly had the Nicene Creed in mind.⁸⁴ However, as in baptism, so also in the Eucharist, the "right confession of faith" has to do with the invocation of the Holy Trinity (see comment on 220.6)—to make the Bread and Wine the Body and Blood of Christ (cf. Cyril, *Mystag. Cat.*, 1.7; 3.3; [4 pas-

⁸³The latter metaphor recurs in the "Communion Antiphons" of the Byzantine Church during most Sundays and Feasts of the Lord: "Receive the Body of Christ; Taste the Cup of Immortality." A common denominator in the thought pattern(s) here (of illumination and immortality) may be seen in Cyril, *Mystag. Cat.*, 19.9: "When you have renounced Satan and broken the old pact with Hades, then the Paradise of God opens before you, the Paradise that He planted in the East from which our first father was driven out because of his disobedience. The symbol of this is that you turn from the West to the East which is the region of light." The formula of turning from West to East is followed in the renunciation part of the Armenian baptismal rite.

⁸⁴The Creed: "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God, light of light, true God of true God; begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made, both in heaven and in earth; who for us men, and for our salvation, descended, was incarnate, and was made man, and suffered, and rose again the third day; he ascended into heaven, and shall come to judge the living and the dead: And in the Holy Spirit." (trans. I. Boyle). Cyril expounds certain articles of the creed in the fourth Lecture and recites it to the Catechumens at the end of the fifth Lecture without providing the text (supplied at a later time), and directs that the creed is not to be written down or divulged to the Catechumens (*Cat.*, 5.12; see Gifford's "Introduction," NPNF 7:xlvi-xlvii).

sim]; 5.7, [20–22]).⁸⁵ The assumed confessional error of the heretics invalidates their sacraments (cf. Cyril, *Procat.*, 7, with reference to baptism) and is considered blasphemous. According to Cyril, “the (unnamed) brood of heretics, those most ungodly men of evil name, pretending to be friends of Christ . . . blaspheme the Father of the Christ” and are enemies of the Son (*Cat.*, 6.12).

The Arians’ “proximity” is more immediate to the sender than to the recipient (cf. 229.1–5), given the ongoing struggle with Arianism since Nicaea. The Arians, regrouped and revitalized, were a force to contend with at the Council of Jerusalem and earlier at the Council of Tyre (see the Introduction, p. 49).

227.7–228.2

⁷VII. *And by what guideline shall the offerings of the sacrament be carried out?*

⁸*The holy bread is to be brought to the table, hot—according to the tradition of the Apostles; ⁹and <the cup> incorruptible—without any admixture: “for we are redeemed not with corruptible things, ¹⁰but with the incorruptible body <and blood> of the spotless and unblemished Lamb” (1Pet 1:18–19). And 228 ¹this shall the deacons prepare, as far as to the table, but that which is performed ²upon it the priests shall perform.*

The distortion of the Eucharistic scheme with the omission of the words “the cup . . . and blood”⁸⁶ follows an earlier tampering with the added description of the cup as “incorruptible, without any admixture.”⁸⁷ This ini-

⁸⁵The Bread and Wine as the Body and Blood of Christ in a real sense, is a *topos* in the Fathers.

⁸⁶Besides the contemplated Petrine passage, a reading of Cyril’s fourth and fifth *Mystagogical Catecheses* on the mystery of the transformation of the Bread and Wine into the Lord’s Body and Blood should help ascertain the absolute necessity of the restored Eucharistic terms.

⁸⁷This bold tampering underscores the Armenian use of pure wine to signify the incorruptibility of Christ’s body, a major point in Armenian sacramental theology to this day. Note the following in M. Ashjian, *Armenian Church Patristic and Other Essays* (New York: Prelacy of the Armenian Church, 1994): “Traditionally the use of pure wine is credited to St. Gregory the Illuminator, and Armenians have consistently used pure wine and, indeed, have made out of it a symbol of their [ecclesiastical] independence” (p. 85), pointing to the canons of the Synod of Manazkert (convened in 726 by Catholicos Yovhannēs of Ōdzun; *Girk’ Tghitots’*, pp. 473–493 [ed. Pogharian]). See his broader discussion of the subject with reference to the theologian Grigor of Tatew (d. 1409), pp. 82–93. It should be remembered that the mixing of wine with water is an ancient Mediterranean custom, from long before Homeric times; e.g., *The Odyssey*, bk. 20: “They mixed the wine in the mixing-bowls.” See Taft, “Water into Wine,” pp. 323–342; idem, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, pp. 442–444; and N. G. Garsoïan, “Le vin pur du calice dans

tial tampering seems to have affected even the recalled Petrine citation, with the substitution of the word "incorruptible" for the word "precious." Owing to the Eucharistic words of the New Testament, the word "body" need not be seen as an addition here.⁸⁸ For more on this twofold and blatant anti-Chalcedonian tampering, which further substantiates the authenticity of the document and its pre-Chalcedonian date, see the Introduction, pp. 70–73.

Canon 27 of the Syriac *Teaching of the Apostles*, an ante-Nicene Church Order of unknown Syrian provenance, of which the Armenian *Kanonk Arakelakanĕ* (*Apostolic Canons*) is a translation with significant variants,⁸⁹ attests to the use of hot bread for the Eucharist. The word "hot" is possibly a synonym for "fresh." The use of such bread is perhaps a carry-over from the second century, when the Eucharist was distinguished and separated from the *agapē* meal, the daily ritual meal in which bread and wine were consecrated and eaten in memory of Christ's saving death (1Cor 10:26).

An essential part of this section is the question about the role of deacons in the administration of the sacrament. In effect, they are told to mind their place, being reminded, as in lines 219.9–11; 225.13, that they are simply "attendants" or "servants." The injunction bears such close semblance to Canon 18 of the Council of Nicaea that it would be well to quote the latter in its entirety:

It has come to the attention of the holy and great council that in some localities and cities deacons give the Eucharist to presbyters, although neither the canon nor the custom permits those who do not offer sacrifice to give the Body of Christ to those who do offer the sacrifice. This, too, has become known: that some deacons are now receiving the Eucharist even before the

l'Église arménienne," to appear in *Études augustinienes*. (First delivered at the St. Nersess Armenian Seminary International Symposium: "Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Christian East, 25–29 September, 2002, as "The Unmixed Chalice: Some Preliminary Notes on the Dogmatic Aspects of the Armenian Liturgy.")

⁸⁸The New Testament emphasis on the blood alone is found in Acts 20:28; Heb 9:12; and 1Pet 1:2. Besides its grounds in the Eucharistic words of the New Testament, the word "body" is an integral part of the Eucharistic prayer in the Divine Liturgy. Note, e.g., *i surb patuakan marm-noy ew yarenē Tearn meroy ew Prkch'in Yisusi Kristosi . . .* ("Of the holy, precious body and blood of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ . . ."); Cowe, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy by Xosrov Anjewači*, pp. 210–211, 232 n. 28, 249 n. 1 to §159.

⁸⁹Eng. trans. by B. P. Pratten (ANF 8:667–672). Cf. Canons 2 and 31 (*Kanonagirik*, 1:28, 46).

bishops. All this is to be discontinued, and the deacons are to keep within their own proper bounds, knowing that they are the servants of the bishop and that they are less than presbyters. They are to receive the Eucharist, in accord with their rank, after the presbyters, either a bishop or a presbyter giving it to them. And neither are the deacons permitted to sit among the presbyters; for this is contrary to rule and order. If anyone, after these directives, still does not tender his obedience, he is to be deposed from the diaconate (trans. W. A. Jurgens).⁹⁰

It was the primary duty of deacons to serve tables, especially the table of the Lord. One of their usual duties since the Apostolic period was to carry the consecrated bread and wine to such communicants as were absent, as we read in the second *Apology* of Justin Martyr. Their liturgical role also was significant, especially in worship and prayer and in directing the catechumens. But their office of collecting alms to distribute to the poor and to pay bishops and priests gave rise to abuses, and so their powers were curbed and several of their functions were curtailed. Along with their reduced role in administering the rite of baptism, as also in their role of ministering at the table, deacons were prevented from whatever function the bishops and the priests could do. And so they were debarred from celebrating the Eucharist (cf. 221.11–12, with reference to baptism; Cyril, *Mystag. Cat.*, 5.2). This development is quite early in the history of the diaconate, as attested by the above cited canon of Nicaea and the earlier canons of the council of Arles, summoned by Constantine (314).⁹¹ For the likely role of deacons in the Armenian Church at the turn of the fourth century, as gathered from the earliest stratum of the *Kanonagirk*, see the Introduction, pp. 35–36.

⁹⁰Cf. the rule concerning the place of the deacons in the *Didascalia*: "As regards the deacons, let one of them stand continually near the offerings for the Eucharist, and let another stand outside near the door and pay attention to those who enter. Then, when you have made the offerings, let them serve together in the church. If anyone finds himself in a place not his own, let the deacon who is inside take him, make him get up, and lead him to his proper place . . ." (ch. 12).

⁹¹This was to deal with the Donatist schism. It passed 22 canons to curb abuses resulting from the persecutions (see especially canon XVIII). For early sources on the diaconate, see M. Henning and H. Krimm, eds., *Quellen zur Geschichte der Diakonie*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1960–1963), esp. Vol I: *Altertum und Mittelalter*; H. Krimm, ed., *Das Diakonische Amt der Kirche*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1965); J. G. Davies, "Deacons, Deaconesses and the Minor Orders in the Patristic Period," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 14 (1963) 1–15.

228.3-10

³VIII. *And how shall the table of the sacrament be positioned, and (what about) the partitions also?*

⁵The table of expiation is behind the veil, where the Holy Spirit descends; ⁶and the font is next to it in the same compartment, and out of honor set up on the right hand. ⁷And the clergy in their several ranks shall worship (there), and the congregation ⁸outside the veil, and the catechumens at the door, listening. ⁹Lest these partitions be effaced by encroachments, let each ¹⁰remain in his own station irreproachable.

Just as the discussion on baptism ends with an appeal for each to abide by one's appointed rank that determines one's liturgical role ("Canon iv" above, 225.3-226.4), similarly, the brief discussion on the Eucharist ends with this appeal. On the hierarchically ordered spatial divisions, see the discussion on the architectural evidence for a fourth century date in the Introduction, p. 58. In the Patristic "Golden Age" the ecclesiastical office was normally held for life; hence the readers are charged to abide by their calling, and in their appointed place.

As usual in the Early Church, the place of the catechumens (those admitted to the outer circle of the church), was "at the door," to separate them from "the faithful," the baptized members privileged to partake of the Eucharist. For this reason catechumens were also called "hearers" or "listeners."

228.11-229.1

¹¹(IX) *This injunction concerning the faith and ordinances of the Church I hand down to you ¹²in accordance with your supplications, and we pronounce an anathema on those ¹³who are contrary-minded. For having received the grace from one another through the laying of hands, ¹⁴we do not tolerate shortcomings; nor do we esteem as being of equal honor ²²⁹the offices rightly ordained for the Church.*

In the letter closing or epilogue, Macarius restates that his "injunction" is written in response to the Armenians' petition (see 217.12-14). He also highlights, in summary form, what seems to have been uppermost on his mind while writing—as the main cause of the liturgical irregularities in Armenia: the problem of regarding the clergy as equals, an issue stated at 219.8-9 and addressed in "Canon iii" (224.4-225.2). The restatement also anticipates

the reprimand of Torg, Bishop of Basean and Bagrewand, in the immediate context.

Just as the section on baptism ends with the use of the word *anathemata* (226.4), so also this section ends with the use of *anathema*. Anathematizing the contrary-minded is a *topos* in conciliar documents and canons, and is found not infrequently in letters of excommunication.⁹² The repeated use of the term is indicative of the overall integrity of the form of the document—besides other indicators such as the restatement of points set forth in the letter opening.

229.1–10

¹And we reprimand those persons who crave glory, ²who hold the opposite opinion, as has been reported to us of Torg, ³Bishop of Basean and Bagrewand, who for a little time ⁴was united with the Arians, then repented through remorse, and now again ⁵is most insolently minded, (being) a bishop only with a seat, and conferring on himself the honor (reserved) for an archbishop, ⁶which he is not worthy to receive. For ⁷the Fathers handed down none of these perversions introduced into the Church, ⁸and it is unbefitting to regard (him as) an equal—unless he succeeds to the honor of the seat by (divine) calling. ⁹Therefore you must gently summon such a person to ¹⁰obedience, but should he persist in the same, then shun him as an alien (cf. Mt 18:15–17).

Macarius seems to be drawing on Canon 6 of the Council of Nicaea, even as he points to “the Fathers” present there: “Certainly it is quite clear that if someone has been made bishop without the consent of the metropolitan, the great council defines that such a one is not a bishop” (trans. W. A. Jurgens). It is possible that Torg assumed the episcopacy of his jurisdiction before Vrtanēs assumed his higher office in 327 (on the otherwise unknown bishop and his jurisdiction, see the Introduction, pp. 54–55). The schismatic and insubordinate bishop “who for a little time was united with the Arians” is censured here in the not-so-distant spirit of Nicaea, the only council known to the author. Had the Letter been written after Chalcedon or, as Akinian argues, in the sixth century, Arianism would not have been such a big issue,⁹³ and Chalcedonian issues would certainly have emerged.

⁹²A. Papadakis, “Anathema,” in Kazhdan et al., eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1:89.

⁹³The end of Arianism was marked by the Edict of Theodosius in 380 and the ultimate condemnation by the Council of Constantinople in the following year.

Except for the redactional additions and omissions regarding the chalice (227.9-10), no Chalcedonian issue surfaces in the Letter (see the Introduction, pp. 70-73).

The allusion to Mt 18:15-17 is absolutely clear, and significant in that it establishes a basis for excommunication. The language employed by Macarius, no less his approach to the situation, is also in keeping with Pauline theology: the disobedient must be corrected in order that they may be made aware of the wrongness of what they are doing and won back (1Thess 5:14). Failure to respond to religious admonition can lead to total rejection of the one who has been warned (Tit 3:10).

229.11

¹¹All the churches greet you. Fare you well in the Lord, being firm and right in faith. Amen.

The salutation "All the churches greet you" contains an indirect allusion to the many churches represented by their bishops at the Council (see the Introduction, pp. 51-54), as it also brings reminiscences from the letters of Paul (1Cor 16:20; 2Cor 13:13; Phil 4:22). The Greek letter greeting is usually followed by the sender's wish for the health of the recipient. Macarius' wish for the spiritual steadfastness of Vrtanēs fulfills this requirement.

Appendices

Appendix I

A Discourse upon the Epiphany of Our Lord and Savior by the Mathematician Anania of Shirak (7th cent.)¹

(283) We have toiled much in our work on the holy feasts of God² and have arrived at this, upon which we are qualified to discourse.³ (5) To begin with, the feast of the Nativity of Christ our God is the beginning of our feasts and yearly cycles and foremost of the fixed feasts and of all the commemorations of Christ.

The feast of the holy Nativity of Christ, on the twelfth day before the feast of the Baptism, was not appointed by the holy Apostles, nor by their (10) successors either, as is clear from the canons of the holy Apostles. For it is written in the sixth chapter of the canons as follows: "The Apostles appointed and laid it down firmly, that the feast of the Nativity and Epiphany of our⁴ Lord and Savior, the first and foremost of the feasts of

¹Arm. title, *Ananiayi Shirakaynwoy Hamarogbi Asats'eal i Haynut'iunn Tiarn ew Prkchin Meroy*; text in Abrahamyan, *Anania Shirakats'u Matenagrutyunē*, pp. 283–291; Eng. trans., Conybeare, "The Discourse of Ananias, Called the Counter upon the Epiphany," pp. 323–337.

²Our author was commissioned by Catholicos Anastas of Akori (in office 661–667) to revise the Armenian calendar developed by Aṭanas of Tarōn in A.D. 552. In the latter calendar, the year consisted of 365 days, with one day added every four years; the New Year began on the 1st of Nawasard (11th of August). Anania created a partially fixed calendar, preferring to begin the New Year's day on the 6th of January; however, he did not fix the corresponding Armenian day of month, allowing it to change every four years. He also created tables providing the dates of the major feast days for 532 years, from A.D. 580–1112. His calendar was never adopted. The Armenian calendar was eventually fixed by Yovhannēs Sarkawag in A.D. 1116/7. For a history, see G. Brutyan, *Ōrats'oyts' Hayots'* (The Calendar of the Armenians) (Ejmiatsin: Mother See Press, 1997).

³Anania's next work, a sequel to this, is on Easter: *Ananiayi Shirakaynwoy Hamarogbi Asats'eal i Zatikn Tearn* (A Discourse on the Easter of the Lord by the Mathematician Anania of Shirak); text in Abrahamyan, *Matenagrutyun*, pp. 292–299. Eng. trans., Conybeare, "Ananias of Shirak: II. Tract on Easter," pp. 574–584. I concur with Abrahamyan that Anania's discourses on the Epiphany and Easter are foundational for his subsequent work on the liturgical calendar, with all the Dominical feast days being dependent on these two.

⁴Text has *mroy*; read *meroy*, as in the *Kanonagirē*, 1:32 (line 4).

the Church, is on the 21st day of the month Tebeth, which is the 6th of January according to (15) the Romans."⁵

But many years after their laying down the canons, this (separate) feast⁶ was invented, as some say, by the disciples of the heretic Cerinthus;⁷ and was accepted by the Greeks, because they were truly fond of feasts and most fervent in piety; and by them it was spread and diffused all over the world.⁸ (20) But in the days of the holy Constantine, at the holy Council of Nicaea, this (separate) feast was not accepted by the holy Fathers; rather, they appointed the feast to be held in accordance with the aforesaid canon of the holy Apostles. And it is clear (284) from the Letter of the blessed Macarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, which he wrote to the land of Armenia concerning the ritual of the holy Baptism—for he was one of the 318 holy Fathers who were in Nicaea.⁹ And it is written as follows in the sixth chapter of his instructive counsel:¹⁰ (5) "*Hence the ordinance of baptism of the holy font and the earnest observance of the three feasts during which those who are dedicated to God desire most eagerly to bring unto baptism those in darkness and to carry out the great form of the salutary mystery, which is carried out on these holy and prominent days. And this (form of the mystery) they hasten to carry out with great eagerness (10) in the holy places of Christ; which all Christians, those who fear Christ, must also carry out in the baptismal service on these (days): on the holy Epiphany of the Nativity of the Lord, and on the saving Easter of the life-giving passion of Christ, and on Pentecost full of grace—when the Divine*

⁵Ibid., where it is the seventh canon. The Armenian text of the *Apostolic Canons* expands but little upon the Syriac *Teaching of the Apostles*. Except for these few additions, it predates the *Canons of Nicaea* and the Greek *Apostolic Constitutions*. On the various versions cited here, see the Introduction, n. 63. See also *The Armenian Gospel of the Infancy*, 8:5, where—presumably on the authority of "James, the brother of the Lord"—the 6th of January is underscored as the day of the Nativity; A. Terian, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁶Speaking of the celebration of the Nativity on the 25th of December, twelve days before the joint feast of the Nativity and Epiphany or the Baptism on the 6th of January; cf. below, p. 285, lines 12–15; p. 289, lines 32–35; p. 290, lines 3–5.

⁷Traditionally known as the Gnostic opponent of the Apostle John in Ephesus. The earliest mention of the observance of the Nativity on the 25th of December is in the Philocalian Calendar of 336, representing Roman practice at the time.

⁸The Western celebration of the Nativity on the 25th of December was introduced into the churches of Constantinople and Antioch by the end of the fourth century; into the churches of Alexandria by the middle of the fifth century; Jerusalem held to the 6th of January until the death of Macarius II in 575; cf. T. J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1991), pp. 137–141. See also below, pp. 156–157 n. 7.

⁹See the Introduction, n. 85.

¹⁰See the discussion on the text of the letter of Macarius in the Introduction.

descent of the life-giving Spirit overflowed among us. (15) It is therefore necessary to make known the significance of each of these feasts, of the Nativity and Baptism, so that you also may hasten to do the same. For on that same salutary day, with the luminous Nativity of Christ, our expiatory birth of the holy font is realized; for on that same day he himself was baptized, condescending to be among us. For it was not that he was himself (20) in any need of cleansing, but he desired to cleanse us from the filth of sin, he who cries out with a loud voice, saying: 'Unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God' (Jn 3:5). In the same fashion as we are born with him, we are baptized with him on the same holy day of the Nativity of Christ.

(25) Next, on the quickening resurrection of Easter, by mortifying our sins in the waters of the font, we become imitators of the mortification by death of our Lord Jesus Christ; and by the triple immersion, being buried in the waters of the holy font, we signify in the persons of those who are being baptized the three-days' burial of our Lord. And this also the divine Apostle (30) shows clearly, when he says: 'Being buried with him through baptism, let us become imitators of the likeness of his death, so that by the renewal of the resurrection we may become partakers with him in the life eternal' (Rom 6:4-5).

But on the grace-bestowing and sanctifying day of Pentecost was the luminous manifestation of the life-giving Spirit, which, in the form of fiery tongues, (35) descended on the Apostles, granting them that by laying hands on those who are being baptized (these shall) receive gifts from the grace of the Spirit. After the same pattern we also, on the same day, bestow the same Spirit by laying hands on those who are baptized. We fulfill the pattern of this with unfailing care, that we may become perfect". So far Macarius.

(40) Gregory the Theologian also bears witness with Macarius on this point in regard to celebrating the baptism on the three feasts, in his discourse "On Baptism," in which he assails those who are sluggards regarding baptism, and says thus: "You conceal this or that under a pretext, and 'employ pretexts for sins' (Ps 141:4 LXX). You say: 'I am waiting for the Lord's Epiphany; for the Lord's Resurrection, which¹¹ to me is more honorable; (285) I am waiting for Pentecost. It is better to be illumined¹² with Christ; to rise with Christ on the Day of Resurrection; to celebrate the manifestation of the Spirit.' And what then? The end will come in a day of which you will not know, and in a time when you will not be thinking

¹¹Text has *aror*; read *or*.

¹²The Greek text of the oration has "to be baptized."

of it . . .¹³ You had all your time for baptism, (5) and all went by to the end."¹⁴

But after him Saint Cyril succeeded to the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem,¹⁵ and to the throne of the holy Constantine succeeded his son Constantius, along with his brothers. They say that he succumbed to the heresy of Arius. However, he did not fight against the truth, (10) but left both sides alone to do as either of them liked: whether orthodoxy or kako-doxo. In his days this festival (of the Nativity) was admitted in the royal court; and in all places where anyone chose to keep it, they kept it freely and openly, except in the metropolises of the four Patriarchs, who had the thrones (15) of the holy Evangelists. For at that time they had not forcibly transferred the throne of Saint John from Ephesus to Constantinople.¹⁶ And it is clear from the canonical venue of lections of Saint Cyril, for (there) it is written thus: "That on the 25th of the month of December is the feast of David and James, which (day) in other cities they observe the Nativity of Christ."¹⁷ About this the Greeks say (20) as follows: "Because the patriarch with all the clergy and the multitude of the congregation go to Bethlehem and celebrate there, the few priests therefore, who remain in the city (of Jerusalem) celebrate the feast of David and James"; as if the lections belonged only to that city! And they contend that this is why he wrote the words "in other cities," as if having Bethlehem in view! (25) But this (argument) no well-informed person ever adopted. For if we were to take it that way, on what basis then did this same Cyril fix the canon of the Nativity on the 6th of January? For at the beginning of the canon we find it written thus: "The feast of the holy Epiphany is observed in January, on the 6th of the month. They shall assemble in the shepherds' dwelling and observe the following canon; and then in Bethlehem and (30) in the cave."¹⁸ Here then he plainly shows that both (feasts) are to be celebrated on the

¹³Allusion to Mt 24:42, 44; 25:13 (and pars.).

¹⁴Gregory of Nazianz, Or. 40: "On Holy Baptism," ch. 24. The last line, not in the oration, sums up the sequel.

¹⁵Maximus held the office (335/6–348) between Macarius (314–335/6) and Cyril (348–386/7).

¹⁶The four metropolitan archbishops of the ancient Apostolic centers of Christianity, of Rome, Alexandria, Ephesus (later transferred to Constantinople), and Antioch, were all given status as Patriarchs by the Council of Nicaea (325). The Council of Constantinople (381) proclaimed the capital city as the second Patriarchate of Christendom, after Rome.

¹⁷See Renoux, *Le Codex arménien Jerusalem 121. II: Édition comparée du texte*, pp. 50, 54, 228–231. On the traditional attribution of the Old Jerusalem Lectionary to Cyril and his predecessors, even to the Apostle James, "the brother of the Lord," see *ibid.*, pp. 28, 175.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, especially pp. 72–87.

same day; and who will be so rash as to find any fault with the blessed Cyril or with his injunctions? And who is like him in relationship with Christ? And to whom else did such a sign ever appear?¹⁹ And by whom else were so many myriads ever illumined? I think not even by Saint Paul.

(35) For on the day of the apparition of the luminous Cross, countless myriads of myriads believed, of Jews and of heathen. For until the day of Constantius, son of Constantine, the Jews were prevented from going up to Jerusalem; but many Jews, encouraged by him, congregated and dwelt in Jerusalem. Other Jews also, who were in Tiberias and in other cities, (40) had congregated there for the feast. Many heathen also had come there to trade because of the gathered crowd. When they saw the divine apparition, they believed in Christ; and they all hastened to be baptized, so that the fonts and cisterns of water were not enough for them; (286) till at last the blessed one ordered the great baths, which were called the public baths,²⁰ to be cleansed, that they might there carry on the saving (rite of) baptism.²¹ This was the third sign that took place in Jerusalem on the day of the holy Pentecost. But I think this was superior to the first; for though the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles was seen by all (5) in the midst of a multitude of assembled Jews and men of many other races, who are mentioned by name in the Acts of the Apostles, yet on that occasion the Spirit was bestowed on the Apostles alone.²² But the occasion of this multitude being assembled for holy baptism was also much more sublime than the second occasion, which Josephus relates: how that on the day (10) of Pentecost a quaking and panic took hold first of the priests and then of the whole congregation. Then also a voice was suddenly heard from the very depths of the temple, saying (something) like these words: "We depart hence, we depart."²³

¹⁹Allusion to the apparition of the Cross, recounted in the sequel; see below, n. 21.

²⁰The Arm. word here is a distorted transliteration of Gk. *dēmosios*.

²¹For Cyril's testimonial on the apparition of the Cross in the skies of Jerusalem on the 7th of May 351, extending from Golgotha to the Mount of Olives, see Ep. ad Constantium, PG 33, 1165–1176; cf. Sozomen, *Ecl. Hist.*, 4.5; E. Bihain, "L'épître de Cyrille de Jérusalem à Constance sur la vision de la croix," *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 264–296; J. W. Drijvers, "Promoting Jerusalem: Cyril and the True Cross," in J. W. Drijvers and J. W. Watt, eds., *Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Powers in Early Christianity, Byzantium and the Christian Orient*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 137 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 79–95; O. Irshai, "Cyril of Jerusalem: The Apparition of the Cross and the Jews," in O. Limor and G. G. Stroumsa, eds., *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews*, Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism 10 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996), pp. 85–104.

²²Allusion to Acts 2:1–4.

²³Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, 6.5.3 (299–300).

But on this (last) occasion the powers of the Lord do not come forth from beneath, but (15) were plainly manifested to come from above and were not bestowed in secret; so much so that the blessed Cyril was prompt to write to the Emperor Constantius a letter of entreaty summoning him (to be) pious and informed in divine matters.²⁴ For he thought that by his supplication he would gain his salvation; by laying before him the divine sign which had occurred, and the multitude of those converted, (20) as if (to say) "Why are you not also with them?" So then, if the Greeks are pleased to despise this, they would have—at the same time—the Gospel held in disrespect, by their not accepting the feast of the Nativity (as mandated by Cyril). For the one and the other show both the Nativity and the Baptism of Christ our God to have been on one and the same day. For it is written in Luke's Gospel, in the mystery of the baptism, thus: (25) "Jesus himself was about thirty years of age when he began . . ." (3:23). See how clearly it proves that he was baptized on the same day as that of his birth, and embarked on his teaching when he completed his thirtieth year. This also do the Greeks say, that the beginning of the year could have been twelve days earlier, not during or at their end. If we so understand, (the same) could be said of seventy days, whether or not they are in the middle of the year or at its end!²⁵

But in regard to the Apostolic injunction, the Greeks argue thus: that they (the Apostles) had no leisure to research feast days with exactitude, for their occupation was in preaching, and in disassociating (men) from heathen festivals. Will anyone really be content to hear such a thing said of the Apostles (35) as that they were certainly so indifferent about the appointing of feast days? Why, in that case, did they teach us to worship turning towards the east?²⁶ Why, also, to celebrate by assembling on Sunday, to honor it and to rest?²⁷ Or to fast on Wednesday and Friday?²⁸ For these are of lesser significance than the feast of the Nativity and Baptism. However, we would yield this point to them if only they would be persuaded in regard to others. For they say with reference to the holy Fathers at Nicaea that God concealed this from them, as surely as he does not bestow all the spiritual gifts

²⁴See above, n. 21.

²⁵The author's sarcasm is quite noticeable here.

²⁶The first of the canons in the Armenian *Apostolic Canons* (cf. the twentieth of the *Canons of Nicaea*) (*Kanonagirk*, 1:27–28; cf. 1:131).

²⁷The second of the same canons (*ibid.*, 1:28–29).

²⁸The third and fourth of the same canons (*ibid.*, 1:30).

upon one person.²⁹ Had it not been addressed by certain of their company,³⁰ yes. But they were aware of it, and spoke disparagingly of "the Nativity which in other cities they think to celebrate."³¹ But I assent to those of whom the Greeks boast—I mean, to the blessed Basil and Gregory of Nazianz.³² Them I know to be holy, (287) true, spiritual, and followers of the Apostles. And if they had any precept about this, I accept it, even as Paul commands: "If it be revealed to a second (person), let the first listen" (1Cor 14:30). But I do not see any precept by them about this feast. As for the (5) lections and psalms set by Saint Cyril for the two feasts, I do not understand thereby to have separated the two, but to have kept in full the rituals, and to have celebrated the feasts of both mysteries on one and the same day.

But those who suppose they could separate the feasts on the authority of Saint Gregory are unable to point to any precept of his about it, but derive some sort of evidence (10) from his statements and formulate them as they please. They declare that in the discourse "On the Nativity" he says as follows: "A little later on you will see Jesus cleansed in the Jordan,"³³ and they declare that he delivered this discourse on the day of the Nativity, and that "a little later" refers to the twelve days which precede the Baptism. To this we shall give this response. (15) I understand it thus: he simply uses this expression there, "a little later," just as he goes on to say, "But if you are scandalized by his being made flesh and dishonoring himself . . ." and afterwards, "a little later you shall see Jesus sanctifying the Jordan by his baptism"; not dishonoring but elevating the flesh by "cleaving the heavens asunder and having the grace-filled testimony from the Father (20) and from the Spirit."³⁴ Moreover, if you so understand the passage, then you

²⁹Alluding to 1Cor 12:28–31; 14:26–33.

³⁰Allusion to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem (see the next note).

³¹Allusion to the remark in the old Jerusalem *Lectionary* on the feast of David and James, on the 25th of December. Anania is of the opinion that Macarius, who was present at Nicaea, was instrumental in the transmission of the old Jerusalem *Lectionary* (cf. above, n. 17). A related view is found in the defense of Armenian orthodoxy by Catholicos Khach'ik of Arsharunik (in office 973–992). Responding to the Metropolitan Theodoros of Melitine, the Catholicos enumerates the main pillars of the Armenian faith: the Gospel, the Apostolic writings, the first three Universal Church Councils, and the fourth-century Fathers—grouped by their provenience. Among them he names Macarius, Cyril, and John of Jerusalem ("Tearn Khach'kay Hayots' Katoghikosi ban khostovanutean" [Confession of Faith by Lord Khach'ik, Catholicos of the Armenians]; in *Girk' Tghlots'*, pp. 302–322 [ed. Izmirants'], pp. 550–579 [ed. Pogharian]).

³²Text has the first two letters of the name transposed.

³³Gregory of Nazianz, Or. 38: "On the Theophany or Birthday of Christ," ch. 16.

³⁴Ibid., chs. 15–16.

must conceive him as going to be baptized subsequently to his resurrection; for before this passage he has been dwelling upon his passion and resurrection, and he uses the same words, "a little later," even after these events. However, if you clear your mind, you will easily understand from this very discourse that he placed both feasts on one and the same day. (25) For in another passage in the same discourse he speaks as follows: "But now is the feast of the Epiphany of God, for God appeared as man by birth."³⁵ So, then, he combines the two. The Greeks do not acknowledge that the term Epiphany is used of the two feasts, both of the Nativity and of the Baptism. Now, this is obvious to all, that the Epiphany is applied to the 6th of January (30) and not to the 25th of December, whether Greeks or other races, and that no one ever heard of two epiphanies but only of one. Since he uses (the term) Epiphany, and that in the discourse "On the Nativity," it is obvious that he is pointing to one and the same day.

Then, again, the Greeks derive as evidence of their case the following words from the discourse "On Baptism": (35) "We celebrated the things befitting the Nativity."³⁶ Yet, pondering the same, he says: "But on this occasion the action of Christ is one thing and the mystery another."³⁷ Well, I agree that the action is one thing and the mystery another; but not on another day. For the previous words indicate this to me: "We have celebrated the things befitting the Nativity," he says, and not "the Nativity" that is twelve (40) days later. Otherwise, he should have said "the Nativity" and not "the things of the Nativity."

Again, if it was not (all) on one day, why did he mention the day of the Nativity (in the discourse "On Baptism"), and not simply say, "the mystery," as elsewhere he does of the economy and of the passion? But you bring up (sayings) that undermine, and overlook those sayings of the same Gregory that support. (45) Come, then, mark me also that passage in the discourse "On Baptism" (288) that says as follows: "The Word recognizes three births for us: the physical, that through baptism, and that of the resurrection." And, contemplating the same, he adds: "All these births my Christ manifestly honored (in his own person): one through that initial and animating Inbreathing;³⁸ another through the Incarnation and the Baptism (5) by

³⁵Ibid., ch. 3.

³⁶Referring to the opening line of Or. 40: "On Holy Baptism," ch. 1.

³⁷A possible paraphrase of the last line of ch. 29 (ibid.).

³⁸Allusion to the conception of Mary by the Spirit, compared to Gen 2:7.

which he was baptized; and another through the Resurrection, which he himself initiated—as he became ‘the Firstborn among many brothers’ (Rom 8:29), likewise being worthy to become ‘the Firstborn from the dead’ (Col 1:18). As for two of these births, I refer to the first and the last, the present is not the time to study them; but (let us take) the middle one, that which concerns us now, that which is also (10) called ‘day of illumination.’”³⁹ See how he combines the two. Let them see, who have intelligence; the Incarnation and the Baptism are one birth, on one day, of which he speaks, even calling it “day of illumination.”

But let us see how the Greeks fit in with the dumbness of Zechariah the six-months-long lapse of days of the pregnancy of Elizabeth, at the end of which we must understand (15) the day of the annunciation by Gabriel. This is what the Greeks say. On the same day on which Zechariah was dumbfounded, on that very day he approached his wife; and she conceived by him on the very same day. Then they count 180 days, which brings the day of the annunciation by Gabriel to the 27th of March. From that day they count 276 (20) days for the pregnancy of the Holy Theotokos, to allow for the ten months’ gestation of the first-born child, and that throws the birth on the 25th of December. Now I ask you to give me your best attention while we investigate the following passages: first the (sacred) text and then the Gospel. For the (sacred) text runs as follows: “My consecrated festivals shall be called holy by (25) you. Three times in the year shall you keep festival. All your males shall appear before me, and you shall offer sacrifices to the Lord” (paraphrasing Deut 16:16). And before that he says: “In the seventh month, let the first day be called holy by you. You shall do no work at all on it. No work at all shall you do on it. And the tenth day of the same seventh month, let it be hallowed by you. (30) Humble yourselves from the evening of the ninth day of the month. And everyone who will not humble himself, he shall be destroyed from among his congregation. And let the tenth day be hallowed by you; for it is a day of expiation for you. You shall do no work at all on it; it is a week-long Sabbath rest. You shall offer sacrifices to the Lord in expiation for (35) yourselves. And the fifteenth day of the same seventh month, called the festival of Tabernacles, shall be holy for you. You shall do no servile work at all on it. In tents you shall dwell for

³⁹Or. 40: “On Holy Baptism,” chs. 2–3. The “Day of Illumination” is also called the “Feast of Lights,” just as “Baptism” is also called “Illumination” (ch. 4). It is equally noteworthy that Gregory’s Or. 39, “On the Holy Lights,” was preached on the Feast of the Epiphany in 381.

a week-long rest. You shall offer sacrifices to the Lord for seven days; and the seventh day shall be called holy, a Sabbath rest. You shall do no servile work at all (40) on it" (summarizing Lev 23:24-36). So the text.

So then Zechariah's dumbness fell exactly on the 10th of Tishri; for that is the seventh month. And it was the day of expiation, on which the high priest entered the holy of holies, once in the year. To which also Paul bears witness.⁴⁰ But on the same day it was not proper for Zechariah (45) to approach his wife, for he was the high priest of the year.⁴¹ Moreover, the great feast of Tabernacles was about to take place, and all Israel (289) was convoked there. For seven days they were to celebrate the feast of Tabernacles, and it was impossible for the high priest to leave the congregation and to go to his house; for it was far away, and he had no dwelling place in Jerusalem. And the holy Gospel is my evidence for this, for there it is written: "And (5) the congregation was waiting for Zechariah, and marveled at his tarrying in the temple. And when he came out, he could not speak to them; and they understood that he had seen a vision in the temple. And he conversed with them in signs and remained dumb. And it came to pass when the days of his ministry were fulfilled, he went to his house. And after those days Elizabeth his wife conceived" (Lk 1:21-24). (10) See how clearly it implies that it was after the completion of the festal days that Zechariah approached his wife. And to make the statement more sure, it restates by repeating: "having completed the days of his ministry"; and again: "after those days." And who among those who think would not know that (he could not have approached her) while he was enjoining the congregation to sanctify (15) and respect not only the feast but also, because of the feast, the beginning of the month and the first day's evening! How then between two major feasts could the high priest leave the congregation and, going to his house, approach his wife? Or (could he) on the very day of the feast? Be it not therefore ours to contradict and dispute those who are puffed up with their craftiness! (20) But let us assent to the truth and to the divine writings, which make it clear that the dumbness of Zechariah was on the 10th

⁴⁰Allusion to Heb 9:7, 25 (cf. Lev 16:12-14, 29-34).

⁴¹The erroneous belief that Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, was a high priest, is due to the apocryphal cycle of "Infancy Gospels." See, e.g., *The Armenian Gospel of the Infancy*, ch. 3 in particular. On the various and conflicting traditions on Zechariah, see A. Berendts, *Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zacharias-Legenden* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1895); among Armenian sources, see M. E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to the Patriarchs and Prophets* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982), pp. 146-149.

of the month Tishri, which is the 27th of September; and that on the 22nd of the month Tishri Zechariah approached his wife and Elizabeth conceived. If we then count the 180 days of six months, that points to the 16th of the month Nisan, (25) which is the 6th of April according to the Romans; and on this (day) was the annunciation to the Holy Virgin. Then, counting the period of ten months' gestation of the first-born, we have a full 276 days, ending on the 21st of the month Tebeth, which is the 6th of January according to the Romans.

Here let us take a firm and unyielding stand. And heaven forbid we should divide (the feast) into two. But on one (30) day let us observe the Nativity and the Baptism and, maintaining intact the appointments of both, let us follow the holy Apostles and the blessed Fathers of Nicaea and our own teachers. For it is not that (the controversial feast day) did not reach them,⁴² and that therefore they did not receive it; rather, it was brought to our land a long time ago and was accepted as by those who were ignorant (35) of the truth. And it lasted many years, until the blessed Catholicos John, who was of the Mandakuni family.⁴³ He then made search for the truth, and having inquired and being well informed, he commanded to abandon it. And after him we too will follow and give this answer to the Greeks, that we are disciples of the holy Fathers of (40) Nicaea; and what we learned we keep firmly and will not bend. As for you, if you do not walk in the paths of your own Fathers, it appears to me that the character of the Jews has taken hold of you; for they taught the Samaritans, and the Samaritans kept what they learned (whereas the Jews did not). So you resemble them. It does no harm to us. (45) But we are on surer ground than the Samaritans, and by far more sublime and divine; and for you we have no other answer. (290) For you do not enjoin (on us) an act of truth, but always (impose your) domination, tyranny, and astuteness.

⁴²The pronoun refers to the latter group, "our own teachers." The introduction of the separate feast of the Nativity in the East was a post-Nicene development. It was introduced into the Churches of Constantinople and Antioch by the end of the fourth century and later into the Churches of Alexandria and Jerusalem, which held to the 6th of January until 549 (see "Christmas" in F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., rev. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 280-281).

⁴³Yovhan Mandakuni, in office 478-490, if not longer. On his role in the development of the Armenian liturgical tradition, see A. Terian, "Mandakuni's 'Encyclical' on Fasting," in R. R. Ervine, ed., *Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East*, AVANT 3 (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2006), pp. 185-195.

I know a few of the Greeks who kept this feast (on the 6th of January) until the Emperor Justinian; but all were constrained by him, and accepted it—(5) Jerusalem, Rome, Alexandria, and every land. But be it not ours to fear the dread of human commands more than the divine. And if it pleases you, I will utter Job's words: "If I be wrong, make me understand" (10:14). And though they scorn the words of truth, let us not deviate in the least from the path of the Fathers.

(10) Let us then set forth clearly in what month and on what days of the month the several nations observe the holy Epiphany:

- A. The Epiphany, according to the Hebrews, falls in the month of Tebeth, on the 21st day always.
- B. The Epiphany, according to the Syrians, in the month of Kanoun, on the 6th day (15) always.
- C. The Epiphany, according to the Arabs, in the month of Assam, on the 21st day always.
- D. The Epiphany, according to the Ethiopians, in the month of Tir, on the 11th day always. (20)
- E. The Epiphany, according to the Egyptians, in the month of Tubil, on the 11th day always.
- F. The Epiphany, according to the Macedonians, in the month of Maimakterion,⁴⁴ on the 21st day always.
- G. The Epiphany, according to the Greeks, in the month of Eudineus, on the 6th day always.
- H. The Epiphany, according to the Romans, in the month of January, (25) on the 6th day always.
- I. The Epiphany, according to the Armenians, changes its date every four years.⁴⁵ And how this comes to be must be explained, and why it is not (30) adjusted to (the dates) of other nations; this I will explain according to the order of the calendar.

⁴⁴This is actually the Athenian month; for a list of the known month names in various other regions of ancient Greece, see F.K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie: das zeitrechnungswesen der Völker*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1906-1914) 2:335-336. Text has "Makatrion."

⁴⁵Conybeare observes correctly: "The Armenian year contained 365 days only, or one quarter of a day less than the solar year . . . For the Armenian calendar gains one day in four years upon the Julian" (p. 783, n. 18); cf. Brutyan, *Örəts'uyts' Hayots', passim*.

Many ask why was not the day of the holy Epiphany made clear? On what day it falls, on which we observe it, I will explain.

We have a tradition from the holy Fathers that it occurred on the 20th of the month (Tebeth);⁴⁶ for this reason we observe it on the same day.⁴⁷ (35) However, the feast of the holy Epiphany is not Jewish but strictly Christian. And there was no need, therefore, to detach it from any other (feast); it was not fixed in a regular manner. Nor was the day (of the week) indicated. It was fixed by reference to the day of the month on which it occurred. But some have declared about the day (of the week) of the holy Epiphany that it happened on a Friday, (40) because on Friday was the creation of the first man; and others assert on the Sabbath. But I am persuaded by the holy Polycarp, for he was a disciple of John the Evangelist and heard with his own ears the entire history of the Savior. And he declares that the birth happened on the first of the week.⁴⁸ And it was fitting that on this day on which was the beginning (45) of creation—this day which signifies all the redemptive acts—he should come into the world by being born, yet keeping the virginity intact. And (he adds) (291) that (on that day was) the resurrection after the stay under the seal of the rock, as also prior to that the entrance into Jerusalem on the day of the palms, and subsequently there too the descent of the Spirit on the Apostles. He declares⁴⁹ that the day of the baptism fell, after thirty years, on the same number of day in the month, on the fourth day of the week. And (5) he declares that the creation of the sun on the fourth day was for a mystery and a type. From the fourth son of Israel was the Savior born, according to the Apostle, (who says) that “our Lord was descended from the tribe of Judah” (Heb 7:14). And because we celebrate both events on one day of the month, it was impossible to reveal the day (of the week), because they fall on different days of the month. But we keep the number of the day of the month; (10) and for seven days we

⁴⁶A scribal error could be suspected here, altering the 21st to the 20th with the omission of a letter; cf. above, p. 289, line 27; p. 290, lines 12–13. The immediately following lines further suggest that Anania has the Hebrew month in mind and not an unnamed Armenian month, which would have been *Kaghots'*, = Dec. 9–Jan. 7 (note that the 20th of the latter does not coincide with the 6th of January; and in this case also an omission of a letter is likewise to be suspected).

⁴⁷On the corresponding day; i.e., on the 6th of January.

⁴⁸As Conybeare observes, according to the same author, the resurrection, the entry into Jerusalem, and Pentecost, all occurred on Sunday, “herein agreeing with the Syriac ‘Teaching of the Apostles’” (p. 783, n. 22; q.v. Canon 2). The underlying belief is that the Passion and birth of Christ occurred on the same day of the week; cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 1.21.

⁴⁹Lit., in the past tense: “he said” (*asats'*).

practice humility through purification and fasting, and on whatever day (of the week) it falls, we feast seven days after it. For God is not limited by time or power of days, according to the Lord's utterance, "for the Son of Man is Lord also even of the Sabbath" (Mt 12:8 and par.).

Appendix II

Letter from Jerusalem to the Armenians by Grigor Bishop of the Artsrunis (6th cent.)¹

Regarding the Feast of the Presentation of the Lord²

¹A critical text of the document, based on Jerusalem (SJ) MSS 3152 (A), 71 (B), 12 (C), 1542 (D), 764 (E=A), has been edited by N. Pogharian (Bogharian), "Tugh't yErusaghem i Hays vasn Teanendarajin" (Letter from Jerusalem to the Armenians Regarding the Feast of the Presentation of the Lord), *Sion* 38 (1964) 33-36. For a French translation, see M. van Esbroeck, *Barsabé de Jérusalem, sur le Christ et les Églises*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 41, fasc. 2 (no. 187) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), pp. 164-167. It is rather strange that van Esbroeck lists this letter among anti-Chalcedonian Armenian writings ("Ein Jahrtausend armenischer antichalcedonischer Literatur," pp. 156-157) when only used in such polemics at a later time.

The authenticity of this letter is attested in another letter possibly from the seventh or eighth century (traditionally attributed to Stepanos Bishop of Siwnik, d. 735). The author paraphrases the letter of Grigor when arguing for the received date of the feast as found in the old Jerusalem Lectionary, the 14th of February, in his response to an anonymous bishop of Antioch, where the feast was celebrated on the 2nd of February, following a decree issued by Justinian in 542 solemnizing its observance in Constantinople on that day (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, PG 108:487-488). For the text of the second letter, see Pogharian, *Girk' Tghibors'*, pp. 494-514, esp. pp. 499-501; Ter-Mkertch'ian rightly questions its traditional attribution to Stepanos (*Knik' Hawatoy*, pp. ciii-civ).

Nothing is known about Grigor apart from his episcopal jurisdiction over the domains of the Artsrunis in south-western Armenia. These were probably part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Imperial Church in the sixth century. See Garsoian, *L'Église arménienne et le Grand Schisme d'Orient*, pp. 10-20; *eadem*, "Janus: The Formation of the Armenian Church from the IVth to the VIIth Century," in R. F. Taft, ed., *The Formation of a Millennial Tradition: 1700 Years of Armenian Christian Witness (301-2001)*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 271 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2004), pp. 79-95 (esp. pp. 81-82). Note that Solomé (Soghovmē), the miraculously healed woman named in §8, came from Mokk, a region in the district of Korduḱ, south of Lake Van; see "Arcruni, house" and "Korduḱ" in *eadem*, *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'arwstos Buzand*, pp. 350, 474-475; and V. [M.] Vardanyan, "Mokk," in V. H. Hambardzumyan et al., eds., *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran* (Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia), 12 vols. (Erevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1974-1986) 7:695-696; *idem*, *Artsruninerē hayots' patmut'ean mej* (The Artsrunis in Armenian History) (Erevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 2002).

²Arm. Teanendaraj is the feast of the Presentation of the Lord in the Temple (Lk 2:22-40) and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in keeping with the law of purification forty days after childbirth (Lev 12:1-8). The feast is called *Karasnordk'* ("The Fortieth Day") in the Armenian version of the old Jerusalem Lectionary, on which see the various studies by Renoux,

[1] In the days of Emperor Justinian [527–565], in the thirtieth³ year of his reign [556], there was peace in the city of Jerusalem and in all the churches of God; for bishops and priests and orders of the holy Church were as though on fire, occupied in the administration of the Orthodox faith, both pilgrims and residents of Jerusalem. But Satan, the hater of goodness, contriving with his own, purposed to disrupt the luminous ordinances of the Church, which were mandated by the holy fathers and affirmed by the blessed Cyril [of Jerusalem].⁴

[2] There was a malicious Jew of the same intent as the devil.⁵ He convinced the Emperor that it is necessary to observe the feast of the Presentation of the Lord on the fortieth day from the Nativity and not from the Epiphany.⁶ Persuaded by him, he wrote a letter to Jerusalem, to the Patriarch Eusto[chio]s⁷ and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, that they should

cited in the Introduction, n. 13; cf. *idem*, *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie*, 2:158–159, 3:609. Renoux invites attention to the equivalent Latin designation of the feast as *Quadragesimae*, as in Egeria's *Peregrinatio* (26); *Le Codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2:229 n. 1). See also Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, pp. 80–81, 147–148, and pp. 175–194 on "The Old Armenian Lectionary."

³Following MSS A and D; the chronology of the letter favors this reading. B has "thirty-third" and C "thirty-second." A fairly reliable chronology is maintained throughout the letter, from 556 to 560: §1 = 556; §3 = 557; §4 = 558; §5 = 559; §§6–10 = 560. Curiously, the later paraphrase of the letter (see the preceding note) has "For in the year 334, during the reign of Emperor Justinian. . . ." The latter seems to date the document by the Sasanian era, beginning in AD 224, thus creating a discrepancy of but a year. See also below, n. 15.

⁴Bishop of Jerusalem (348–386/7); author of the 19 (or 24) "Catecheses" delivered ca. 350/1 as Lenten instructions to the catechumens who were baptized on Holy Saturday. The sweeping allusion to the tradition of the church fathers lacks canonical specificity. The name of Cyril is invoked simply to validate the antiquity of the established tradition as found in the old Jerusalem Lectionary (see below, nn. 6 and 19). On its attribution to Cyril in the Armenian tradition (cf. the attribution to James the Brother of the Lord, further below), see E. Bihain, "Une vie arménienne de saint Cyrille de Jérusalem," *Le Muséon* 76 (1963) 333–338.

⁵Reflective more of the sentiments against the dwindling Judeo-Christians in Byzantine times than those against the Jews in general. On the latter, see R. Radford Ruetter, "The *Adversus Iudeos* Tradition in the Church Fathers: The Exegesis of Christian Anti-Judaism," in P. E. Szarmach, ed., *Aspects of Jewish Culture in the Middle Ages* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1979), pp. 27–50; repr. in J. Cohen, ed., *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 174–189.

⁶That is, to observe the feast on the 2nd of February, forty days after the Occidental observance of the Nativity on the 25th of December, instead of on the 14th of February, forty days after the Epiphany, the day when the Nativity was observed in the Orient, on the 6th of January. The local reckoning of the feast as of the Epiphany is stated repeatedly: in §§4 (twice), 5, 10, 11, and 13. In the last two paragraphs the traditional day of observance is emphasized with Apostolic authority, especially that of James, claimed for the old Jerusalem Lectionary (see below, n. 19).

⁷The name appears twice in the document, as Eustos (here and in §4); apparently short for Eustochios. His turbulent years in office are variously given: usually 552–563. On the death of Patriarch Peter, Macarius II was elected as successor in October 552. Because of his presumed

change the holy day of the Presentation of the Lord to that [reckoned] from the Nativity, as of the 25th of the month of December, as they observe it incorrectly in other cities.⁸

[3] And when the Patriarch heard the Emperor's decree he became very upset and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the whole city—one and all—went to the holy church,⁹ men and women, young men and

Origenist views, Justinian would not confirm his first election, favoring Eustochios at the Second Council of Constantinople (553), at which Origenism was condemned. Following some uneasy years, Eustochios was removed from office and Macarius restored (563–575; some place his death in 567/8, see Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, p. 140). According to the chronology of the letter of Grigor, the restoration of Macarius to the Patriarchate could have happened earlier, in 559 (see further below, §5). Most general studies on Byzantine Jerusalem are unreliable in ascertaining the duration of the patriarchal years in this period; see, e.g., L. Bréhier, "[Jerusalem] from A.D. 71 to A.D. 1099," in C. G. Herbermann et al., eds., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 16 vols. (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1913–1914) 8:355–364, esp. p. 359. For a fairly reliable list of the Jerusalem Patriarchs with their years in office, see Fedalto, "Liste vescovili del patriarcato di Gerusalemme," pp. 5–41 (esp. pp. 14–15). On the Christological controversies of the time, see L. Perronc, *La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche: dal concilio di Efeso (431) al secondo concilio di Costantinopoli (553)* (Brescia: Paideia, 1980).

⁸The history of imperial meddling in church affairs under Justinian I is well known. Indeed, in the fifteenth year of his reign (542) Justinian decreed that in Constantinople the feast of the Presentation of the Lord be observed on the 2nd of February, the fortieth day from the 25th of December (see above, n. 2). Apparently, it took another fifteen years for the new feast-day to become an issue in Jerusalem and perhaps in other parts of the Orient. Since the middle of the fourth century the feast was observed in Jerusalem on the 14th of February, as attested in Egeria's journal and the old Jerusalem Lectionary (see above, n. 2), and at a later time on the 2nd of February (see E. de Moreau, "L'Orient et Rome dans la fête du 2 février," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 62 [1935] 5–20; "Candlemas" in F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., rev. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983], p. 229; and M. Marinone, "Presentation in the Temple," in A. Di Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, trans. A. Walford, 2 vols. [New York: Oxford University Press, 1992] 2:709–710). See also M. van Esbroeck, "La lettre de l'empereur Justinien sur l'Annonciation et la Noël en 561," *Analecta Bollandiana* 86 (1968) 351–371; idem, "Encore la lettre de Justinien, sa date: 560 et non 561," *Analecta Bollandiana* 87 (1969) 442–444; idem, "La lettre de Justinien pour la fête de l'Hypapante en 562," *Analecta Bollandiana* 112 (1994) 65–84; and H. Brakmann, "Ein unbeachtetes Echo des Hypapante-Briefes Kaiser Justinians," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 34 (1991) 104–106. For more on the celebration of the Nativity on the 25th of December in the East, see Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, pp. 137–141. Jerusalem held to the 6th of January until the death of Macarius (ibid., p. 140). The letter of Grigor illustrates the religious turmoil during this period.

⁹None other than the Great Church, the Basilica or the Martyrium to the east of the Anastasis within the Constantinian edifice known today as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The site is mentioned further below in the letter (§5). So also in the old Jerusalem Lectionary, where the site for the celebration of the feast is specified as "the Holy Martyrium"; see Renoux, *Le Codex arménien de Jérusalem* 121, 2:229 and n. 2; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 182. On the edifice, see Ch. Coüasson, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, trans. J.-P. B. and C. Ross, Schweich Lectures 1972 (New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1974). For more on the archaeological remains, see V. C. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: aspetti archeologici dalle origini al periodo crociato*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1981–1982).

virgins, the elderly and the youth. And they raised petitions to the Lord of All with sighs and sobbing, and they prayed to the most holy Theotokos and to all the saints for intercession and help on their behalf. And in one accord they made an oath to die for this cause rather than to violate the mandates and the tradition of the holy fathers. And they were thus armed by the Holy Spirit and became of one mind in their love to the Godhead. And the inhabitants of Jerusalem opposed the Emperor's decree. And when the Emperor heard that they disobeyed the decree, he sent a certain duke to Jerusalem to compel them to observe the Presentation of the Lord in accordance with the Nativity.

[4] Even when the troops arrived in the city of Jerusalem, those [in the city] did not yield to the Emperor's decree; instead, they lighted torches and candles and went before the Lord to [the Church of] Saint Prokopios¹⁰ to celebrate the feast in accordance with the Epiphany, even though they were prevented by the troops. But they preferred death over life. And while they were embroiled in this conflict, suddenly a sign was shown by the Lord; for in Hagia Sion, from the Christ-adorned column¹¹ gushed forth water, from top to bottom. And when the attendants noticed [this], they announced [it] to all who were rushing together there, to see the won-

¹⁰There is a corruption in the manuscripts, which have *Prokops* (D), *Prokopien* (C), *Prakops* (A), and the remote variant *episkopsin* (B). The Church of Saint Procopius was built probably early in the sixth century. Remains of it are still visible at Abu Tor (Jabal Deir Abu Tor), south of the Valley of Hinnom in Jerusalem.

Egeria makes no mention of the procession with lighted torches and candles, but that "On this day they assemble in the Anastasis . . . and things are done with the same solemnity as at the feast of Easter" (*Peregrinatio*, 26; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 147). However, the Roman matron Ikalía speaks of this custom at the time of Emperor Marcian (450-457); see Marimone, "Presentation in the Temple," p. 709. Renoux seems to be correct in surmising that "une procession à l'Anastasis," about which the old Jerusalem Lectionary is silent, was held before the divine liturgy which, as on all Dominical feast-days, was celebrated at the Martyrium—as indicated in the old Jerusalem Lectionary (*Le Codex arménien Jerusalem* 121, 2:229 and n. 2, above).

¹¹This was the column believed to be of the flagellation of Jesus, brought from the nearby ruins of the house of Caiaphas and inserted into the portico of the Church of Hagia Sion, built by Theodosius I (379-395) and dedicated by the bishop of Jerusalem, John II (in office 387-419), around 394—a decade after Egeria's pilgrimage. She describes the veneration of this column at Sion by worshippers on the morning of Good Friday (*Peregrinatio*, 37.1; cf. the earlier account by the anonymous pilgrim of Bordeaux: "One goes up Sion, and sees where the house of Caiaphas the priest was, and there still stands a column against which Christ was beaten with rods" [*Irinerrarium*, §592; trans. A. Stewart]). Jerome, writing in 404, describes the column as "holding up the porch of the church; it is stained with the Lord's blood" (*Ep.* 108.9; cited by Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 155 n. 2). For more on the Theodosian church, see B. Pixner, "Church of the Apostles Found on Mt. Zion," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16/3 (1990) 16-35, 60 (esp. pp. 31, 34).

der which the Lord revealed to empower the Christ-loving assembly and to shame the adversaries. And all were being anointed with the water and were glorifying God. When the duke and the troops witnessed this, they fell prostrate in Hagia Sion and kneeling before the sacred column asked for forgiveness from the Lord. And the people celebrated the holy feast of the Presentation of the Lord in accordance with the Epiphany, to the glory of Christ. This miracle and mighty act occurred in the time of the Patriarch Eusto[chio]s.

[5] In the following year Macarius succeeded to the See,¹² and again there was a brewing turmoil as the holy feast drew near. For again moved by the devil, the Emperor sent troops, twice as many, to have them celebrate the holy Presentation of the Lord in accordance with the Nativity and not in accordance with the Epiphany. When the troops along with the duke and other princes sent by the Emperor came to the Patriarch, wanting to impose the observance of the Presentation of the Lord in accordance with the Nativity as the Emperor had decreed, the inhabitants of Jerusalem fortified themselves with that same faith and one and all went together to the holy church¹³ and fell prostrate before the sacred and God-receiving altar. And lifting up their hands, outstretched, tears streaming down to the floor, they wept and cried out, and again asked for help from the Lord, as when he revealed his power before. And the crying and the restlessness of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem was immense, for they chose death, both men and women, even children, rather than to celebrate the feast with [bothered] conscience. And no sound of worship was heard in the holy churches, but of weeping and crying. And the troops were armed at the entrance of the church, casting fear. As for the people, they cared not for life but opted for death.

[6] When the Patriarch and the duke noticed the fervent and firm faith of Jerusalem and the utter disdain for death, they cried out and said: "Let restlessness and crying cease from among you; for we shall do as the Lord shall command." And while they were puzzled and Satan was rejoicing, elated with his own, the Lord revealed his wondrous act. It happened when the bishop was offering the Eucharist. He saw, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, something indescribable radiating visibly, in the likeness of an

¹²According to the chronology of the letter, this was in 559. The second term of Macarius II in office is usually given as 563–575 (see above, n. 7; cf. below, n. 15).

¹³The Great Church, the Basilica or the Martyrium (see above, n. 9).

angel in the direction of holy Golgotha, in the direction of the entrance to the Lord's [sepulcher], and he reached as far as the second pillar of the sacred chapel¹⁴ and threw his right arm around it, and [behold] there was the right arm of the Lord nailed upon the pillar; and he disappeared. And he [i.e., the celebrant bishop] fell upon his face, and because of the great astonishment that followed, he arose and recounted the vision. And upon hearing it, they all glorified God for this indescribable wonder; how he strengthened the threatened people and blinded the hostile people.

[7] And while all were in this great amazement, another wonder appeared: the most holy Theotokos, the Virgin Mary, was depicted on that same pillar with the child Jesus in her lap and holding a crimson cross in his right hand; and a cross appeared on each of the other pillars. Everyone saw this wonder, the righteous and the sinners alike, on the twenty-ninth of the month of Mehekan,¹⁵ on Sunday, during the hour of the Divine Liturgy. And many pilgrims and those ailing were healed on that day; and this salutary miracle of healing happened to the Armenians first.

[8] For a woman from Mokk,¹⁶ named Solomē, who was crippled for twenty-three years, drew near to the pillar, crawling; and the crowd stood by to see what would happen. As she drew near to the pillar on which were the divine arm and the holy Virgin with the child Jesus, with deep faith she embraced the pillar. Thereupon she stood upon her feet, [made] whole, and greeted everyone; and she went on to give thanks to God and to glorify God. And everyone saw the woman healed and in unison glorified Christ.

[9] And they brought the demon-possessed near to the pillar on which the image was, and they cried loudly and said: "Your lordship, Mary, why have you come to chase us?"¹⁷ And being stricken right there, they quiv-

¹⁴No doubt the Anastasis is meant. On its architecture, see the summary in Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, pp. 173-175.

¹⁵The seventh month of the ancient Armenian calendar, beginning on February 7. Thus, the 29th of Mehekan falls on March 7, a Sunday, as it was in 560. It is equally possible that the author is using a corresponding Armenian month-name while following the local calendar. If so, it was February 29, a leap year, and it was a Sunday. Indeed, February 29 fell on a Sunday in 560, a cycle repeated every 28 years. In either case, and invariably, our document has 560 as the *terminus post quem*, and the context does not require the miracle to have taken place on the feast-day, during the celebration of the feast of the Presentation. For a differing tabulation, coming up with 564 as the *terminus post quem*, and hence 565 as the year of Grigor's writing, see van Esbroeck, *Barsabē de Jérusalem*, p. 167. Van Esbroeck's retrograde calculation from the patriarchal years of Eustochios and Macarius II depends on admitting the base as granted.

¹⁶A region in the district of Korduḵ (see above, n. 1).

¹⁷Echoing Mk 1:24; Lk 4:34.

ered; and those within left them quickly with loathing. Then they stood up and saw the divine, holy right hand and the holy Virgin and Jesus. And they began to seal themselves with the sign of the holy Cross; and others around no longer turned away from them but glorified God for these things. And all were blessing God for the mighty, wondrous acts that were revealed.

[10] And with fear and trembling they arose early to pray and to make petitions, from dawn through the day, giving thanks for the indescribable, wondrous acts and the gifts of Christ. For those who were demon-possessed were healed, the blind were given light, the lame were made to walk, the deaf to hear, the paralyzed were made whole¹⁸ and were glorifying God who revealed so much grace, as at his coming and Epiphany, and brought peace. And Jerusalem's disquieting turmoil was lifted.

[11] Thus they observe the holy feast of the Presentation of the Lord in accordance with the Epiphany, in accordance with the writing of the Apostle James.¹⁹ And those [once] in opposition turned around to peace, and Jerusalem was in joy and in thankfulness to the glory of God.²⁰

[12] For it is foreseen in prophecy that "Out of Zion shall go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" [Is 2:3; cf. Mic 4:2]. And again, "for a spring shall gush forth from the house of the Lord and shall inundate the valley of lots" [Joel 3:18],²¹ for from Jerusalem he shall distribute gifts to all nations.²²

[13] I wrote this to caution those in Armenia, for I personally witnessed the mighty, wondrous acts which the Lord revealed. Especially that you may be cautious of those with evil intentions, who through deceptive words continue to stray from the Lectionary arranged by Saint James,²³ who alter

¹⁸Cf. Mt 11:5.

¹⁹MSS A and E (a duplicate of A) have a significant variant here: "in accordance with the preference of the Apostles." James is presumably the Brother of the Lord, author of the canonical Epistle. However, the allusion, repeated further below (§13), is to the tradition behind the old Jerusalem Lectionary, believed to have been transmitted on the authority of the Apostles and James in particular (according to Cyril of Jerusalem). See also the letter wrongly attributed to Stephanos, in Pogharian, ed., *Girk' Tghéts'*, pp. 497-499.

²⁰Evoking the peace indicated in the opening paragraph.

²¹The Arm. variant (*vidjakats'*, "of lots") favors neither the Gk. of the LXX, which has *schoinôn* ("of reeds"), nor the Heb. of the MT, which has "the valley of Shittim."

²²With these quotations the author is validating not only the Apostolic tradition of Jerusalem but also his own writing from there.

²³See above, §11 and n. 19. Cf. Renoux, *Le Codex arménien Jerusalem 121*, 2:229, for the date, location of the services, and the readings (Ps 92 and 95 [LXX], Gal 3:24-29, and Lk 2:22-40).

the dates²⁴ and the feasts. As for you, abide in the very [faith] as you were taught, till the coming of the Lord.²⁵

[14] Now, those who observe the feast in sanctity of faith and righteousness, whatever they may ask from above shall be given them by the One who gives from above,²⁶ through the intercession of the holy Theotokos and Always Virgin Mary and through the prayers of Simeon the Elder and Anna the Prophetess,²⁷ that you may now come before him in purity and righteousness as on the day of his appearance,²⁸ to inherit the promised blessings in Christ Jesus our Lord,²⁹ to whom be glory always.³⁰

²⁴Lit., "the letters," i.e., the numeric letters indicating feast-days of the month; cf. §2 and n. 8 above.

²⁵Echoing 2 Thess 2:15; Jas 5:7.

²⁶Echoing Mt 21:22; cf. Mk 11:24; Jn 11:22.

²⁷Echoing the Gospel reading for the feast, Lk 2:22-40.

²⁸Echoing Col 1:22; Jude 1:24.

²⁹Cf. Eph 5:3-5; etc.

³⁰The last two paragraphs suggest that the document is more of a homily than a letter, a literary form not uncommon in Early Christian literature since the Epistle to the Hebrews—a homily sent as a letter. In Byzantine epistolography a number of homilies exist in letter form; see E. M. Jeffreys and A. Kazhdan, "Epistolography," in Kazhdan et al., eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1:718-720.

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