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ON SEMANTIC INDEX OF GREATER ARMENIA IN MOSES KHORENATSI (In Light of Moral Theory of Philo of Alexandria)

Introduction

Two fragments of *History of the Armenians* by Moses Khorenatsi make up the focus of the present investigation. One of them concerns the author's narrative about the foundation of Armenia by the Ethnarch Hayk and his descendants [Hist., I, 10–12]. The other concerns the rebirth of the country under Gregory the Illuminator, the most prominent figure in the conversion of the Armenians to Christianity [Hist., II, 91, 19]. The current investigation focuses on the two fragments and displays the most important movement of the symphony of the Armenian history. It shows traits of anthropomorphism, whereby historical events and situations are interpreted through moral values as well¹.

Despite numerous differences, both texts demonstrate semantic and semiotic parallels which become manifest in the light of Philo's ontology and moral philosophy. From this point of view, his *Questiones et solutiones in Genesis* is of particular interest². It represents a brief and clear summary of the author's ideas and concepts preserved in an ancient Armenian version³. Later, it was translated into Latin, and still later into modern languages⁴.

Scholars usually scrutinise the data of *Quaestiones* in the light of Philo's other treatises, particularly *De opificio mundi*, *De fuga et inventione*, *De somniis*, *De*

¹ On the anthropomorphism of historical narrative of Khorenatsi see **Stepanyan**, 1998, 289–291.

² **Vardazaryan**, 2006, 9–11; **Vardazaryan**, 2011, 191–193; On Philo's influence on sociology and moral theory of Moses Khorenatsi see: **Zekiyan**, 1987, 471–485; **Zekiyan**, 1988, 381–390; **Stepanyan**, 2005, 248–254; **Stepanyan**, 2009, 181–191. This influence must not be categorically linked with the time of translation for Philo's works. Apparently, Armenian intellectuals were long before acquainted with the Greek originals and (following the *heteroeptic* method of translation) proposed Armenian equivalents of Philo's key terms and concepts. On this method in Armenia see, **Sarksian**, 2006, 224–229.

³ **Philoni Judaei** Paralipomena, MDCCCXXXVI.

⁴ For a reference on this problem, see **Hilger**., 1991, 1–15.

agricultura, De virtutibus, Vita Moses and others⁵. I hope to make use of their results for the hyper-textual enlargement of the fragments under consideration and to find new opportunities to interpret the historical concept worked out by Moses Khorenatsi.

1. Axiology of the Birth of Armenia: the Ethnarch Hayk

In the first fragment, the main motive of Khorenatsi is to trace the genealogy of the Armenians in the context of the book of *Genesis* in Holy Scripture. Apparently, a whole generation of intellectuals worked on this problem, and the author uses their results to link the local Armenian history with the universal Biblical history⁶. He mentions numerous chronographers and historians who contributed to this task: the Sibylline Oracles, Berossus, Mar Abas Catina, Abydenus, Cephalion, Eusebius, the ballads, the songs and dances of *the old descendants of Aram* and more [Hist., I, 5; 6; 8]⁷. They represented the pagan and Christian views on this issue, and Khorenatsi seeks to combine them into a single convincing narrative⁸.

In accordance with this, he begins his narrative with God's creation of the world and proceeds to the Flood: «Which was not rest but the destruction of whatever was upon the earth. It seems to me that to give rest means to stop, namely, to stop the impiety and evil by the annihilation of the infamous men of the second age» [Hist., I, 4, 25]. In this regard, he wrote of the rescue of Noah, the righteous Patriarch who (with his household) gave birth to *the third generation of humankind* [Ibid.]. The next step was to establish «[...] the harmony of the order of the three races up to Abraham, Ninos, and Aram» [Hist., I, 5, 5]. They represent the eleventh generation of Noah's sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth⁹.

To create a list of Noah's descendants, Khorenatsi overcame numerous discrepancies in his primary sources [Hist., I, 5, 43]. Nevertheless, there is much fictitious data in them, and modern scholars do not find them entirely acceptable. However, the *ideology* of the composition is more important: it is aimed at the

⁵ Winden, 1979, 313–318; Hay, 1991, 81–97; Terian, 1991, 29–46.

⁶ The aim to harmonise the local Armenian history with the global history makes one of the important features of the historical concept of Moses Khorenatsi. Stepanyan, 1991, 156–158.

⁷ About Berossus, Abydenus and Cephalion see the versatile discussion of Aram Topchyan. Topchyan, 2006, 17–64.

⁸ Quite possibly, this work had already been completed by the previous generation of intellectuals and Moses had a compendium of the early Armenian history at his hand. Sarkisian, 1986, 7–16.

⁹ The genetic line from Shem to Abraham is well attested in the Holy Scripture. As to the lines from Ham to Ninos and from Japheth to Aram, their authorship, supposedly, must be attributed to the composers of the Compendium.

synchronisation of crucial events of the early world history paving the way to the origins of Armenia.

In the days of Khorenatsi, two versions of the origins of Armenia were in circulation. One of them recognised T'orgom as the ancestor of the Armenians; the other ascribed this role to his son Hayk¹⁰. The author knows both versions but prefers the second one. Accordingly, juxtaposing the data of the Holy Scripture and Mar Abas Catina, he scrutinises the text describing Hayk's deeds¹¹.

Hayk, a descendant of Japheth: «[...] was handsome and personable, with curly hair, sparkling eyes, and strong arms. Among the giants, he was the bravest and most famous, the opponent of all who raised their hands to become an absolute ruler over all the giants and heroes» [Hist., I, 10, 3]. He lived in Babylon with ferocious and strong giants who lived under the sway of the worst of them, Bēl:

«These circumstances enabled Bēl to impose his tyranny on the whole land. But Hayk refused to submit to him [...] and journeyed to the land of Ararat, which is in the northern regions, with his sons and daughters and sons' sons, martial men about three hundred in number, and other domestic servants and the outsiders who had joined his service and all his effects» [Hist., I, 10, 8]. «He came and dwelt in an elevated plain and called the name of the plateau Hark' – that is, here dwelt the fathers of the family of the house of T'orgom. He also built a village and called it after his own name Haykashen. It is also recorded [...] that on the southern side of this plain at the foot of a long mountain there already dwelt a few men who willingly submitted to the hero» [Ibid.]¹².

Through envoys, Bēl demanded Hayk's obedience but received a firm refusal. He gathered his *giants of enormous height* forming a disordered multitude and invaded Hayk's territory. The battle took place on a plain to the southeast of Lake Van, which later was named Hayots dzor. Many giants were slain but the outcome of the battle remained uncertain:

«Realising this, the skillful archer Hayk advanced, and approaching the king (Bēl) pulled taut his wide-arc'd bow and shot the triple-fletch arrow at his breast armor; the arrow pierced right through his back and struck in the ground. So perished the

¹⁰ The narrative of Hayk and his descendants was popular in the Armenian historiography of the 5th – 7th centuries, particularly, in Sebeos (Anonym, Primary History), I, 1–4. It was adopted by the Georgian historiography and was well attested in Kartlis Tskhovreba, I, 1–3. **Toumanoff**, 1963, 108–109.

¹¹ On the mythological aspect of the narrative see **Abeghyan**, 1966, 38–42; **Petrosyan**, 2009, 155–163. However, some scholars trace real historical events in it. They combine the information of the myth with the data of inscriptions of Assyrian king Tiglath Pileser I (1174–1076 BC.). **Hmayakyan**, 1991, 125–132.

¹² Khorenatsi relates also that some of these *early men*, who dwelt in the province Tarōn, near the mountain Sim, were the descendants of Shem [Hist., I, 6, 22–23]. Cf. **Sarkisian**, 2006, 58–59.

domineering Titan; he was struck to the ground and breathed out his last breath» [Hist., I, 11, 22]¹³.

After this great victory, Hayk's descendants gradually spread to all corners of the Northern Country giving birth to Armenia: «Now our country is called Hayk' after the name of our ancestor Hayk» [Hist., I, 11, 23]¹⁴. In other words, Khorenatsi recognises the anti-tyrannical stance as an intrinsic characteristic of the Haykids and early Armenia. This moralistic approach is traceable in Philo of Alexandria as well. His narrative on Noah and his sons is of exceptional interest: «Who are the three sons of Noah – Shem, Ham and Japheth? These names are symbols of three things in nature – of the good, the evil and the indifferent. Shem is distinguished for good, Ham for evil, and Japheth for the indifferent» [Philo, Q G., I, 88]¹⁵.

On this basis, the clash of Hayk with Bēl gains essential features: Hayk represents the household of Japheth, whereas Bēl (Nimrod) represents that of Ham [Hist., I, 5–6]. Correspondingly, Hayk personifies *indifferent qualities* (τὰ ἀδιαφόρα), whereas Bēl personifies evil (τὰ κακία)¹⁶.

These qualities are exactly defined in the moral theory of Philo. According to the philosopher, evil results from the domination of bodily principle over mind. In the cosmos, this inversion leads to distraction and chaos. In human beings, it initiates a life full of low passions: «[...] and in the universe it is the matter devoid of quality and in men the ignorant and untutored soul that is without mark» [De fuga, II, 9]. The worthless man (φᾰῦλος, μόχθηρος) is deprived of mind and reason being swept down to the world of sense-perception [De somn., VIII, 44]¹⁷. His life is led by vices flowing out of the mortal portion of the soul – pleasure and lust, gluttony and vainglory, luxury and treachery: «He, miserable creature, will be seen in his true colors, either with the instincts of a slave rather than a gentleman, a skinflint and a

¹³ In 'Primary History', this version of the narrative is supplied with details making it more vivid and colourful. The same traits are traceable in Kartlis Tskhovreba. They testify that the elaboration of the narrative remained current for a long time.

¹⁴ Cf. Eghishe, De anim., XI, 42–43.

¹⁵ The Armenian original looks as follows: «նշանակք անուանքս այսք են՝ երկց բնութենէս իրաց. բարւոյ, եւ չարի, եւ անորոշի. զանազանի սեմն բարւոյ, եւ քամն չարի, եւ հաբեթն անորոշի» [Փիլոնի Երրայացւոյ Մեկնութիւն Ծննդոց, Ա, 89].

¹⁶ According to the moral theory of the Middle Stoa, human actions represent three poles of axiology: the perfect actions (τὰ κατορθώματα), the evil actions (τὰ ἀμαρτήματα), and the appropriate actions (τὰ καθήκοντα). The actor of the first is the sage (πρεσβύτερος), the second is the result of the actions of the vicious man (φᾰῦλος). The third grade is marked by the figure of the advanced man (προκόπτων) whose main achievement is the moderation of passions (μετριοπαθεία) [Cicero, De leg., I, 2, 8]. Cf. Sandbach, 1989, 63–68, 126–128; Martens, 2003, 151–154; Annas, 2008, 11–26.

¹⁷ Dillon John, 1997, 190–197.

split penny; or on the other hand as living in a whirl of prodigality, even ready to fling away money and to guzzle – an ever – active patron of courtesans, pimps, and every licentious crew» [De fuga, V, 28]. In a word, the material world is comparable to a turbulent torrent ready to swallow the weak soul [De fuga, IX, 48]¹⁸. The latter is blind to heavenly intelligible values, *he neither seeks nor finds*.

The figure of Bēl is patterned by Moses Khorenatsi on similar ideas. This antihero is depicted as a symbol of corporeal principle; he is selfish, cruel and tyrannical. His entourage is «like an impetuous torrent (որպէս յորձան ինչ սաստիկ) pouring down» [Hist., I, 11, 10].

The indifferent axiology, according to Philo, flows out of the ambiguity of human nature, which is believed to comprise two opposite elements – the heavenly and the earthly: «For the earth-formed man is a mixture, and consists of soul and body, and is in need of teaching and instruction, desiring, in accordance with the laws of philosophy, that he may be happy» [QG, I, 8]¹⁹. For him, genuine benefits are health, courage, fidelity, wealth, correspondence of words with acts, etc. [De fuga, XXVII, 152]²⁰. From this neutral position, he is capable of starting the heavenly journey to divine values: «[...] for in a very deed God drops from above the eternal wisdom (σοφία) upon minds which are by nature apt and take delight in contemplation» [De fuga, XXV, 138]²¹. In other words, *he seeks and finds*. Moses proceeds from such an understanding depicting Hayk with high mental and corporeal colors: he is a «prudent and intelligent (նշխմ եւ խոհեմ) giant with curly hair and sparkling eyes» [Hist., I, 11, 11].

But from a neutral (or indifferent) position, an opposite movement is also quite possible: a regression to the predominance of corporeal principle under irrational impulse (τῆς ἀλόγου φορᾶς) [De fuga, XXVI I, 152]. It will promote evil in both private and social life²².

This reconstruction makes it possible to formulate the axiology of Armenia. Indeed, Philo provides a key for assessing the place of this country in the essential

¹⁸ Turbulent torrent is viewed as a symbol of uncontrollable passions. Cf. **Graver**, 2008, 175–176.

¹⁹ Happiness was held by the Stoics as the main motive of human life: «[...] the core claim of Stoic ethics, that human happiness depends on the recognition that what really matters is not securing «indifferents» such as health and material goods but achieving what is really «good», that is (roughly) acting virtuously». **Gill**, 2007, 194.

²⁰ Philo seems follows the Stoic ethics holding that appropriate actions belong to man by nature. **Devettere**, 2002, 19–20.

²¹ In this way, cosmic Wisdom becomes earthly wisdom attributing to human beings the opportunity of free choice between the good and the evil. In epistemological aspect, it denotes a movement from contemplative life to practical life. **Calabi**, 2008, 161–163.

²² **Bos**, 2002, 281–284.

layer of the narrative of Khorenatsi. According to him Armenia occupies a middle position between the absolute good and evil. It means that both *haykism* and *bēlism* are to be viewed as archetypal components of history.

Khorenatsi demonstrates those opposite poles through the long *historical journey* of the Armenians highlighting the causes of supremacy of one or the other. According to him, *haykism* was absolutely valid up to the time of Vahē, the last of Hayk's descendants: «[...] who rebelled and was killed by Alexander of Macedon» [Hist., I, 31, 14]. During this entire period, the principle of direct inheritance was unbreakable since «the descendants of heroes are heroes» [Hist., I, 31, 3]. With Vahē's death, the initial book of the History, «Genealogy of Greater Armenia», comes to an end²³.

The next book, «The Intermediate Period in the History of Our Ancestors», is marked by a mixture of *haykism* and *bēlism*. The movement of history in one or the other direction depends on the ideas, projects and actions of the leading personalities. Consequently, ideal kings or tyrants make up the main figures of the narrative. The most illustrious representatives of the first group are Vagharshak Arsacid, Artashēs the First, Artashēs the Last, and Trdat the Great. Their reign combines «the deeds of valor and bravery, the wise actions and ordinances (գործ քաջութեան եւ արութեան, իմաստից եւ կարգաց)» [Hist., I, 2, 2]²⁴. The tyrants who make up the second group are personified by Artavazd I, Eruand and Artavazd the Last. Khorenatsi's characterisation of Artavazd I is very precise: «Unconcerned with wisdom, valor, or good repute, truly a servant and slave to his stomach, he fattened his guts (ծառայ եւ ստրուկ որովայնի արդարեւ լինելով՝ զաղբիւս մեծացուցանէր)» [Hist., II, 22, 4]²⁵. The entropy of *bēlism* gradually takes the upper hand, causing a great turmoil in the Armenian kingdom. The first act of it is thought to be the murder of King Khosrov II, which occurred in 252 A.D.²⁶.

2. Spiritual Rebirth: the Education of Gregory the Illuminator

The son of the late king, who regained his ancestral throne through the support of Diocletian, reigned for more than thirty years, and was known as Trdat the Great (298–330)²⁷. Under the spiritual leadership of Gregory the Illuminator, Greater

²³ On Vahē's historicity, see **Shahinyan**, 1973, 172–177.

²⁴ By the historical concept of Khorenatsi, this book is designed in accordance with the priority of psychic principle. **Stepanyan**, 1998, 292.

²⁵ As it is highlighted above, Philo assesses like situations as a result of soul's decline from natural balance. See **Dillon**, 1997, 193.

²⁶ **Gaorsoian**, 1997, 72; **Dayraee**, 2011, 180.

²⁷ The problem of succession to the throne after Khosrov II still remains uncertain. The data of the Sasanid royal inscriptions give an opportunity to speak exactly only about two crown-princes, Hormizd-

Armenia was converted to Christianity, presumably in 301²⁸, an event which is scrutinised by Agathangelos in his History. Two more authors are of undoubted value for the matter under consideration, Sebeos and Zenob Glak²⁹. Their records amplify each other and make it easier to ascertain the essence of Khorenatsi's narrative.

However, I see my main task in analysing the biography of St. Gregory attested in the narrative of Moses Khorenatsi. It is believed to contain the essential semantic and semiotic structures based on the ideology of the rebirth of Greater Armenia through Christianity.

It is well attested that the worship of St. Gregory already existed in the second half of the 5th century serving as an impetus for spiritual unification of the Caucasian Christian area³⁰. His life and spiritual exploit was canonized in accordance with the hagiographic tradition.

The text of Moses Khorenatsi is a result of the canonical design embracing the following essential components: corporeal birth, education in Christian values, enlightening activity in pagan Armenia, death and apotheosis³¹. This narrative standard was set up in a space with strict axiological parameters – Sassanid Iran, Cappadocia, and Greater Armenia. The first two represent the opposite poles of spiritual evil and good, whereas the third is connected with indifference. Correspondingly, the biography of St. Gregory is to be considered as a series of transitions from one axiological condition to the other³².

The corporeal birth of St. Gregory is connected with the treacherous mission of his father Anak, who arrived in Greater Armenia to murder king Khosrov II, an irreconcilable enemy of the Sassanid Empire [Hist., II, 67, 12]. For Khorenatsi, the Sassanids are evildoers because they overthrew the Parthians, the descendants of the Biblical patriarch Abraham through his wife K'etura [Hist., II, 68, 2–6]. Anak is

Ardashir and Narses, appointed *great Arminian kings* (wuzurg Arminan šah). Presumably, they reigned in Greater Armenia until 293. See **Gaorsoian**, 1997, 73–75.

²⁸ It is the traditional date. In scholarly literature, it varies from 284 to 314, and every approach is supplied with suited arguments. For a brief (but essential) reference of the literature of this problem, see, **Nersessian**, 2010, 23–25.

²⁹ On the detailed comparison of the data of these sources, see **Khalateants**, 1893, 3–37.

³⁰ **Muradyan**, 1982, 5–20.

³¹ Apparently, it represented the hagiographic genre *paterikon* – a common biography of saints compiled in accordance with the real facts and events of their lives. Cf. **Aigrain**, 1953, 53–54; **Efthymides, Déroche**, 2011, 35–94. About the genre in Armenia see **Ter-Davtyan**, 1973; **Cowe**, 2011, 299–322.

³² Quite possibly there is another way of establishing the similar axiological condition through the comparison with the ideal images of the Maccabees which makes up a practice usual in the early Armenian historiography. Cf. **Thomson**, 1975, 329–341. This approach, however, seems insufficient for my case since my purpose is to consider the matter in its dynamics.

Arsacid from the clan of Sureneans, but keeps the side of the Sassanids seduced by the promises of Shapur I (241–271):

«[...] to return to them their original home called Pahlav, the royal city Bahl, and all the country of the Kushans³³. Similarly, he promised the form and splendor of royalty, half of [the empire of] Arians, and second place under his authority» [Hist., II, 74,3]. Anak succeeded in his plan: «The two years had passed since Anak's arrival in Armenia, in the third he killed Khosrov, who had reigned forty-eight years» [Hist., II, 74,12].

In response, the murderer himself and all his family were put to death. But «God's care saved the only one», the future Gregory the Illuminator [Ibid.]³⁴. The main motive for Anak's treachery was his vainglory, a vice connected with irrational affections of human nature³⁵. In Philo's moral theory, such men are ultimately separated from the true and omnipotent God living a life without reason and soul:

«[...] they convey an unlimited supply of eatables one after another, and steep it in quantities of strong drink, until the reasoning faculty is drowned, and the sensual passions born of excess are aroused and raging with a fury that brooks no check, after falling upon and entangling themselves with all whom they meet, have disgorged their great frenzy and have abated» [De agr., 122]. This mode of life is defined by the author as lifelessness (βίον ἀβίωντον)» [De fuga, XXII, 123]³⁶.

Education in Christian values took place in Cappadocia. The narrative of Moses Khorenetsi describes the initiation of an adept which begins as follows.³⁷

«A certain Persian, not one of the lesser and insignificant people, whose name was Burdar, went from Persia to the province of Cappadocia and settled in Caesarea. Having married a Christian wife called Sophy, the sister of a certain magnate named Euthalius, he set out to return to Persia with his wife. But Euthalius caught him and

³³ F. Justi etymologises the name Anak linking it with the new Persian nāk – *verderbt, böse* (corrupt, perverse, and evil). **Justi**, 1895, 15.

³⁴ There was another tradition about the second son of Anāk: «Only two infant sons of the Parthian did someone save and rescue through their nurses, who took them and fled, the one to Persian territory and the other to Greek territory» [Agath., Hist., 34; cf. Zenob., 8].

³⁵ An advanced reader could observe the vainglory or self-esteem (ὑπερηφάνια = *superbia*) as one of the *seven homogeneous deadly sins*. In its integrity, this concept reached back to Euagrius Ponticus, a Christian monk of the 4th century. As to the other sins, they looked as follows: gluttony, lust, avarice, sadness, anger, sloth, and pride. See in detail **Tilby**, 2009, 9–35.

³⁶ Philo's definition «living being already dead» marks the lowest level of human existence under bodily passions. It marks an extreme condition of *soul-body* separation. **Royse**, 1988/1989, 224–225. Plotinus is more figurative in representing corporeal men: «[...]they are like the heavier birds which have incorporated much from the earth and are so weighted down that they cannot fly high[...]» [Plot., V, 9, 1]. Cf. **Boeri**, 2005, 384–386; **Stamatellos**, 2013, 58.

³⁷ **Stepanyan**, 1998, 294–295.

dissuaded him from going farther. At this point the birth of our Illuminator took place, and by chance [Sophy] became the child's nurse. When the catastrophe occurred, Euthalius took his sister and her husband with the child and returned to Cappadocia» [Hist., II, 80, 2–4].

Scholars have pointed out that the etymology of the names of the actors of the fragment uncovers the phases of the spiritual journey of an adept, from somatic pleasures and passions to divine virtues and truths³⁸.

Burdar: is a name derived from the Avestan *beretar* – *patient, bearer, wearer, porter*³⁹. Reputedly, this Persian has chosen the destiny of men ready to start on a path to heavenly virtues. Burdar's journey to Cappadocia and marriage are to be estimated as a spiritual migration. In the words of Philo, such men:

«When they have thoroughly learned in all its details the whole study of the sense-perceptions, calm it as their prerogative to advance to some other greater object of contemplation, leaving behind them those lurking-places of sense-perception, to which the name of Heaven is given» [De somn., VIII, 59]⁴⁰.

Philo traces the best demonstration of this in the life of Abraham: «[...] who has thoroughly comprehended himself, thoroughly of himself, having as a step to this ascertained the nothingness in all respects of created beings» [De somn., VIII, 60]⁴¹. This road is full of toils; even backward movement is quite possible. In view of this, Moses describes Burdar's intention «to return to Persia with his wife»⁴². However, the ascendance to perfection is more typical of Burdar⁴³. He is brought back to Caesarea, and in Philo's terminology, must be recognised as a Practicer (ὁ ἀσκητής) who: «[...] does not brook to spend a lifetime in the territory of the senses, but a few days and short time in compliance with the necessities of the body to which he is tied, but in the city discerned by the intellect (ἐν τῇ νοητῇ πόλει) that a life-long enduring is in store for him» [De somn., VIII, 46]⁴⁴.

³⁸ Adontz, 1928, 237.

³⁹ Justi, 1895, 73.

⁴⁰ On this base, Christian theology worked out a special term to express the readiness of an adept to follow the divine call for perfection. See, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, 1961, 176 (ἡ ἐνὶ ὑπερεκλογησίᾳ).

⁴¹ The beginning of Abraham's migration from Harran is quite comparable with this level of spiritual initiation. See Lawrence, 1935, 55–60.

⁴² The absolute pole of such *deviation* (ἀπόκλισις) is observable in the figure of Lot (Migr., 148–149). Cf. Graffigna, 2003, 137.

⁴³ According to the Stoic moral theory, the *appropriate actions*, τὰ καθήκοντα (officia), were prescribed to this kind of men [Cicero, De leg., 2, 8]. Martens, 2003, 151–154.

⁴⁴ The self-mastery (ἐγκράτεια) or self-control (σωφροσύνη) is recognized as the pivotal moral value of this kind of men. See Calabi, 2008, 146–147.

Sophy: is a name denoting *wisdom* (ἡ σοφία) in Greek, Hellenistic and Biblical theology and philosophy⁴⁵. Philo is thought to be among the most prominent intellectuals who worked to harmonise these traditions. In his theory, wisdom figures in heavenly and earthly hypostases⁴⁶. The first of them indicates the most important potency of God in keeping the intelligible universe in unity and harmony. This universal Wisdom is God's daughter (θυγάτηρ τοῦ θεοῦ):

«For that which comes after God, even though it were the chiefest of all things, occupies a second place, and therefore was termed to express its contrast with the Maker of the Universe who is Masculine, and its affinity to everything else. For preeminence always pertains to the masculine, always comes short of and is lesser than it» [De fuga, IX, 51]⁴⁷.

At the same time, the Wisdom is sometimes identified with the Divine Word (ὁ λόγος) which is masculine. Philo explains this with the argument that «[...] all virtues have a woman's title, but powers and activities of consummate men» [Ibid.]⁴⁸. As to earthly wisdom, it finds an abode in human souls: «[...] the daughter of God, even Wisdom, is not only masculine but father sowing and begetting in souls aptness to learn discipline, knowledge, sound sense, good and laudable actions» [De fuga, IX, 52]⁴⁹. In Christianity, this assumption generated a system for the education of young adepts from *the outer (pagan) sciences to the inner or sublime (Christian) sciences*⁵⁰. While the first stage demanded a study of grammar, rhetoric and philosophy, the second focused on the works of the Fathers of the Church. In the whole, the purpose of education was to shape a harmonious human soul consisting of the rational, the appetitive and the spirited parts:

«Of these parts we are told that the spirit and the appetite are placed below, supporting on each side the intellectual part of the soul, while the rational aspect is joined to both so as to keep them together and to be held up by them, being trained for

Concerning righteous men, Plotinus indicates: «Others do indeed lift themselves a little above the earth; the better in their soul urges them from the pleasant to the nobler, but they are not of power to see the highest and so, in despair of any surer ground, they fall back in virtue's name, upon those actions and options of the lower from which they sought to escape» [Plot., V, 9, 1]. **Armstrong**, 1967, 258–263.

⁴⁵ **Horsley**, 1979, 30–54; **Sterling**, 1995, 355–384. 357–373; **Latura**, 2012, 880–886.

⁴⁶ **Cox**, 2005, 71–95.

⁴⁷ **Mattila**, 1996, 108–112.

⁴⁸ **Borgen**, 1972, 117–121.

⁴⁹ On the parallel of the cosmic Word and human reason see **Robertson**, 2008, 10–14.

⁵⁰ See A Patristic Greek Lexicon, 1961, 995–996 (παιδεία, παιδεύσις). The ideal mode of the combination of the two branches of instruction is found in Moses' description of the Egyptian Christians: «They no longer seek oracles from Proteus, the god of the underworld, but they study the power of various sciences from the new Plato, I mean from the teacher of whom I was not found an unworthy pupil [...]» [Hist., III, 62, 8]. Apparently, it is about the Catechetical School of Alexandria (Didascalium) founded by Mark the Apostle. See, **Ferguson**, 1974, 15.

courage by the spirit and elevated to the participation in the Good by the appetite» [Greg. Nyss., Mos., II, 96].

For this kind of men, the following idea is quite applicable: «It was not some constraining power from above that caused the one to be found in darkness and the other in light, but we men have in ourselves, in our own nature and by our choice, the cause of light or darkness, since we place ourselves in whichever sphere we wish to be» [Greg. Nyss., Mos., II, 80]⁵¹.

Euthalius: is a name derived from the Greek Εὐθαλής – *blooming, flourishing, thriving, well-fed*. He is firm in his Christian faith, and the name denotes his high spiritual status. According to Philo, these men have already set their gaze upon the heaven comprehending *all that follows on after God*: «[...] among created things which is holy is, in the universe, the heaven, in which natures imperishable and enduring through long ages have their orbits; in man it is mind, a fragment of Deity» [De somn., I, 34]. In most cases, «the fragment» reaches the Deity through training and knowledge, and its bearer becomes a seer (ὁρῶντα). The assumption of Gregory of Nyssa concerning such men is very characteristic: «We are in some manner our own parents, giving birth to ourselves by our own free choice in accordance with whatever we wish to be [...]» [Greg. Nyss., Mos., II, 3]. For them, the assumption of Philo is quite applicable – *they seek and find*. Among them, however, there are some most gifted personalities *who do not seek but find*: «Under this head is regarded every wise man who learns directly from no teacher but himself (αὐτομαθής καὶ αὐτοδίδακτος σόφος); for he does not by searching and practicing and toiling gain improvement, but as soon as he comes into existence he finds wisdom placed ready in his hand, shed from heaven above» [De fuga, XXX, 166]⁵². The intellectual tradition saw the most appropriate expression of this type in the Biblical patriarch Moses⁵³.

⁵¹ The free will of men designs their way to the divine virtues preparing them to become *the God's image* (ἰνδαλμα τοῦ Θεοῦ). However, it is also able to cause their downfall to passions and vices. See **Wolfson**, 1942, 135–137. Presumably, the free will concept was adopted from Zoroastrianism where it was considered as a way of participation of men in cosmic combat between good and evil. **Masani**, 1954, 97–103; **Zahner**, 1961, 41–42.

⁵² This way represented the arriving of an adept at knowledge of God through revelation. **Wolfson**, 1960, 103.

⁵³ Moses was considered as a personification of *the unwritten law* (ἄγραφος νόμος) which was greater than the written law. See **Wedderburn**, 1973, 310–311; **Najman**, 1999, 67–68.

The situation was entailed by the activity of *the highest part of the soul* and defined by Plotinus as *godly* (τὸ θεῖον). Relatively, he calls these men *godlike*: «[...] in their mightier power, in the keenness of their sight, have clear vision of the splendour above and rise to it from the cloud and fog of earth and hold firmly to that other world, looking beyond all here; delighted in the place of reality, their native land, like a man returning after long wanderings to the pleasant ways of his own country» [Plot., V, 9, 1]. Cf. **Rist**, 1967, 418; **Song**, 2009, 29.

Gregory: The account of Moses Khorenatsi (and his main source Agathangelos) about the education of Anak's son in Caesarea is brief and without significant details: «I am happy to say, for the sake of [preparing] a way our salvation. Otherwise, with what hope or expectation did they raise the child of Pahlav descent in the Roman Empire and dedicated him to the Christian faith?» [Hist., II, 80, 5].

Apparently, *the outer sciences* were not applied for the training of the youth. More probably, the narrative was patterned on the training of Gregory of Nyssa under his elder sister Macrina and his brother Basil the Great. Passing through it and reaching spiritual maturity, the adept usually became a Practicer (ὁ ἀσκητής): «He who would approach the knowledge of the things sublime must first purify his manner of life from all sensual and irrational emotion» [Gr. Nyss., Mos., II, 157]⁵⁴. Supposedly, the new (spiritual) name of the young man, Gregory (Γρηγόριος), expressed this very transformation, deriving from the Greek γρηγορεῖν – *to watch, to be watchful, alert, vigilant*.

However, the life of a Practicer is not yet stable, «[...] for practicing is by nature an uneven business, at one moment going onward to a height, at another returning in the opposite direction, at one time like a ship making life's voyage with fair winds, at another with ill winds» [De somn., I, 150]. A step towards stability came with Gregory's maturity⁵⁵. A somatic element still dominated in his life, as he married a Christian virgin, Mariam, but after the birth of his two sons *they willingly separated from each other*. He consistently believed in his spiritual mission and «[...] did not linger in Caesarea, but quickly turned back and in the city of Sebaste *occupied himself with collecting material for his teaching*» [Hist., II, 80,]. He chose Greater Armenia as his portion not only to redeem the fault of his father but also: «For the holy martyrs who were martyred here made a road for these Northern regions, since they had gone up and made paths for others» [Agath., 741]⁵⁶.

3. Spiritual rebirth: the conversion of Greater Armenia to Christianity

The narrative of Gregory's illuminative activities in Greater Armenia is compiled on a vertical spatial axis – from the Pit to the Caves of Manē situated on the tops of Sepuh Mountain, in the province of Daranalik⁵⁷. During this entire

⁵⁴ Gregory of Nyssa considered the intellectual purification as an important way for the apophatic theology. **Ojell**, 2007, 179–182.

⁵⁵ In Christianity, maturity was celebrated with baptism aimed at *putting on Christ like a garment*. It had parallels in many cultures; the most distinguished of them was the Roman ceremony of *toga virilis* vesting youths with the dignity of manhood. **Harrill**, 2002, 276.

⁵⁶ First of all, it is about the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew. According to the tradition of the Armenian Church, in the 1st century A.D., they arrived in Greater Armenia with a mission to convert the people but were put to tortures and death. See in detail **Esbroeck**, 1972, 241–249.

⁵⁷ Daranalik entered into Upper Armenia, one of the fifteen counties (ašxarh) of Greater Armenia. For the detailed description of the province see **Hakobyan, Melik-Bakhshyan, Barseghyan**, 1986, 52.

spiritual journey, king Trdat III initially conveyed the Saint as his severe opponent, later as a keen associate. Both of them were victims of a state turmoil, lost their parents and found refuge in the Roman Empire. Reaching maturity, both of them came back to Greater Armenia, one to inherit his ancestral royal title, the other to illuminate the country with the light of Christianity. This activity was associated with the moral, legislative and executive faculties demanding: «[...] love of humanity, of justice, of goodness and hatred of evil» [Mos., II, 3, 9]⁵⁸.

A more detailed version of the narrative is preserved in the text by Agathangelos which has been the focus of numerous studies⁵⁹. The narrative begins with the irreconcilable conflict between the Zoroastrian king and the Christian devotee. It results in the tortures and imprisonment of the Saint in the jail of Artaxata, Khor Virap (Խոր Վիրապ). However, due to God's punishment and inspiration, the king changes his attitude towards the enemy into regard, friendship and cooperation [Agath., Hist., 225]⁶⁰. In this cooperation, a parallel is traceable with the renowned concept of Plato on the two essential potencies of the Creator⁶¹. It was continued by Philo in the context of Biblical theology distinguishing divine kindness and governance (ἐὐεργεσίαν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν) as the embodiments of these potencies: «Now the name denoting the kind and gracious powers is *God*, and that denoting the kingly ruling is *Lord*» [De Somn., XXVI, 163]⁶². In other words, the ideology of the Armenian Church saw the embodiment of divine kindness in St. Gregory and that of the divine governance in Trdat III. As highlighted above, the cooperation of the two eminent leaders led to the conversion of the country.

Curiously, Moses Khorenatsi does not recount the details and vicissitudes of this crucial event. He only sums up its results, which affected the ecclesiastical organisation of the country. In this regard, the author passes by with silence the consecration of the Saint in Caesarea, his return to Armenia and his baptism of the king and his court and the entire nation in the waters of Euphrates, the destruction of the pagan temples and the building of Christian shrines in their places [Agath.,

⁵⁸ The phrase is modeled in accordance with Philo's concept of divine reward and punishment in response to men's virtuous or vicious actions. See **Mendelson**, 1996, 105–116; **Runia**, 1997, 3–18.

⁵⁹ For a survey of the recent investigations on the problem see, **Yevedian**, 2006, 527–542.

⁶⁰ According to the legend, the king was turned into a boar: «[...] he lost his human nature for the likeness of wild pigs and went about like them and dwelt among them. Then entering a reedy place, in senseless abandon he pastured on grass, and wallowed naked in the plain» [Agath. Hist., 212]. Most probably, this «punishment» was nothing but a fragment of the ritual of the king's dedication to the cult of Vahagn/Verethragna, the god of warriors [Yašt, 14, 27]. It is well attested that the boar was the sacred animal of this god [Yašt, 14, 15].

⁶¹ As the effect of these two functions, Plato recognized justice (ἡ δική), the essential condition of social cooperation of citizens. **Hall**, 2004, 42–51.

⁶² Philo follows this platonic concept both in his cosmology and political theory. Cf. **Carson**, 1981, 150–151; **Sterling**, 1993, 97–98.

Hist.,]⁶³. Instead, Khorenatsi scrutinizes the events of the last phase of the earthly life of the Saint:

«After illuminating the whole Armenia with the light of divine knowledge, banishing the darkness of idolatry and filling all regions with bishops and teachers, in his love for the mountains and solitude and a secluded life with tranquility of mind to speak to God without distraction, he left his own son Aristakēs as his successor and remained himself in the province Daranalik in the mountain Caves of Manē» [Hist., II, 91,3]⁶⁴.

In the Caves (Մանեայ ւայր) the Saint lived for many years, but from time to time «[...] traveled about the country, visiting disciples and confirming them in the faith» [Hist., II, 91,]. Later, his seclusion became absolute and he no longer appeared to anyone. Under this rather imaginative description, an experienced observer is able to trace the highest level of spiritual initiation when an adept, pursuing the example of the patriarchs Abraham, Israel, Jacob and (particularly) Moses, enters into an intimate relationship with God: «[...] for those hasten to make themselves like His blessed and happy nature» [De Abr., XVIII, 87]. Moreover, they become *the friend of God* (ὁ θεοφίλος)⁶⁵.

The anabasis and communion with God was usually interpreted as the corporeal death of the Saint: «[...] bad people, prolonging their days, are dead, deprived of the life in association with virtue, while good people even if cut off from their partnership with the body, live ever, and are granted immortality». In more definite formula, the same sounds as follows: «[...] some people are dead while living, and some alive while dead» [De fuga, X, 55]⁶⁶.

Moses Khorenatsi views the essential end of Gregory's seclusion in this form of death. He depicts this event in accordance with Christian axiology representing it as an act of martyrdom inspired by *the view above*, a *dying for God in imitation of Christ*:

⁶³ Ormanean, 2001, 98–99:

⁶⁴ For the complete survey of the last period of St. Gregory's life see, Esbroeck, 1971, 378–418; Terian, 2002, 45–65.

⁶⁵ Essentially, they represent *the godlike men* whom Plotinus sometimes indicates as the *genuine beings* (αὐτοάνθρωποι – *self-men*) highlighting: «But even there we are not to remain always, in that beauty of the multiple; we must make haste yet higher, above this heaven of ours and even that; leaving all else aside, we ask in awe: «Who produced that realm and how?». Everything There is a single idea in an individual impression and, informed by Good, possesses the universal good transcendent over all» [Plot., VI, 7, 16]. Cf. Song, 2009, 38.

⁶⁶ In other words, the life of the soul has two possible outcomes – on the one hand, the union with God through a series of intermediate deaths, on the other hand, the final death and annihilation. In the eastern intellectual tradition, the concept reaches back to Zoroastrianism, while the western tradition connects it with Orphism and Pythagoras. See Zeller David, 1995, 21–23; Bremmer, 2002, 11–26; 41–55.

«There was a certain woman, Manē by name, among the companions of Saint Rhipsimē, like Nunē, the teacher of the Georgians, who made no haste to follow them when they came among us; but knowing that all places are God's, she dwelt in these mountains in some caves in the rock. For this reason the mountain was named «Caves of Manē», and in that cave later dwelt Saint Gregory» [Hist., II, 91,5]⁶⁷.

To the experienced reader, the virgins Rhipsimē, Nunē, and Manē look like the embodiments of God's heavenly daughter, Wisdom, through whose guidance the souls of righteous men traveled to the visible and invisible heavens⁶⁸. In Christian theology, Wisdom was identified with the Holy Spirit who toiled for the world's salvation in partnership with the Christ-Word⁶⁹.

Gregory's death transposed him *to the ranks of the angels*: «Shepherds found him dead and buried him in the same place without knowing who he was. It was indeed fitting that they who were the ministers of our Savior's birth should also be the servants of his disciple's burial» [Hist., II, 91,]⁷⁰. Summing up his narrative about Gregory the Illuminator, Moses Khorenatsi reminds the reader of his genealogy: «[...] he was a Parthian by origin, from the province of Pahlav, a descendant of the Arsacid family, from the Surēn branch through his father called Anak» [Hist., II, 91,]. Despite the wickedness of his father, he continued a line of spiritual purity reaching back to Abraham, and through him to Moses and Christ. About him, the renowned Biblical maxim was quite applicable: «The man who has sinned is the man who must die and the son is not to suffer for the sin of his father» [Greg. Nyss., Mos., II, 91]⁷¹. In this regard, the narrative of the hagiographic sketch turns back to its starting point, attesting to the predestination of the lifeway of the young orphan.

However, the narrative allows another interpretation as well. The fact is that the province of Daranalik occupied a particular place in the *spiritual geography* of Greater Armenian. In this province, in the fortress Ani Kamakh, the shrine of the head-deity of the Zoroastrian pantheon, Aramazd, and the reliquary of the Arsacid kings were both located [Agath., Hist.,]. Apparently, departing from their earthly

⁶⁷ Cf. Kelly, 2006, 736–737.

⁶⁸ Sterling, 1995, 363–367. This is quite comparable with the concept of Basil the Great about the journey of a soul «through three heavens». Sheldon-Williams, 2007, 438.

⁶⁹ This concept occupied a central position in Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Russian philosophy at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. See in detail Tanev, 2011, 31–44.

⁷⁰ In other words, the Savior's birth and the death of His (direct or indirect) disciples are estimated as comparable events. For disciples, it gave an opportunity to get prepared for the encounter of the highest level. Apparently, it was the Eucharist, «the summit of the Christian life», condensed in the words of Christ: «I am the living bread which came from heaven; if anyone eats of this bread, he will live forever» [John, 6:51]. Cf. A Patristic Greek Lexicon, 1961, 579 (Εὐχαριστία).

⁷¹ The maxim reaches back to the concept of the old prophets on individual responsibility of a man to God with a perspective of personal communion with Him. Daley, 1996, 85–89.

body, the kings joined the group of higher creatures. In this spiritual journey, they imitated the experience of Zoroaster.

A popular tradition circulated among the Zoroastrians recounting about the first encounter of the prophet with Ahura Mazda. In the role of the medium, Vohu Manah (the Good Mind) was depicted, one of Aməša Spentias (Immortal Spirits) who supported the Omnipotent Lord in running the visible and invisible universes⁷². The tradition highlighted the exceptional activity of Vohu Manah: «[...] and it is by the Good Mind, the exteriorization of the divine thought, that the world is brought into existence» [Yasna, 31, 11]⁷³.

The tradition under consideration found its complete reflection in *Denkart*, the Pahlavi *Act of Religion* of the 9th century A.D., which preserved a long version of the prophet's life, taken from the Avestan Nasks:

«And Vahman (Vohu Mana) bade Zardusht: «Go forward to the assembly of divine beings». Zardusht took ninety steps to the nine steps of Vahman. And when he had taken ninety steps, he saw the assembly of the seven Amahraspands (Aməša Spentias). [...] Zardusht paid homage. And he said: «Homage to Ohrmazd (Ahura Mazda), homage to the Amahraspands». And he went forward, and sat in the place of seekers after enlightenment»[Denkart, 5, 2–4]. Ahura Mazda taught him the essential points of his creed: «[...] he showed the duality of the original principles and declared the difference between all their operations, saying» «Of those two spirits he who was wicked, that is Ahriman, chose the worse actions; the Holy Spirit (I who am) Ohrmazd, chose righteousness [...]» [Denkart, 5, 2, 5; cf. Zadspram, XX–XXI]⁷⁴.

The consultations with the members of the spiritual Heptad lasted for ten years. On his return, Zoroaster visited king Vishtasp to gain his support in promulgating the new religion. But the king did not recognize him as a divine messenger: «[...] Vishtasp was turned against Zardusht, through slander and sorcery, by the persuasions of the kayags and karbs. Then he consigned Zardusht to imprisonment and torture» [Denkart, 7, 4, 69]. However, the prophet did not yield, and soon the king and his servants found him: «[...] alive and full of glory, despite hardship and fetters and other afflictions and prolonged starvation» [Ibid.]. To change the situation, Ahura Mazda sent Immortals to Zoroaster's support. Vohu Mana, Asha Vahishta and holy Fire, through miracles, made the king and people accept the new

⁷² On the role of Aməša Spentias in Zoroastrian theology see **Dhalla**, 1938, 39–67, **Boyce**, 1971, 21–24; **Hinze**, 2008, 11–22. Their worship was popular in Pre-Christian Armenia as well. The article of G. Dumézil on this matter is pioneering. See particularly, **Dumézil**, 1926, 43–70.

⁷³ **Narten**, **Gignoux**, 1988, 478–488; **Iyer**, 2009, 92–98.

⁷⁴ Cf. Yasna 28, 1; **Boyce**, 1971, 19; **Luhmann**, 2002, 863–864.

religion and its prophet: «And it is revealed that when Vishtasp accepted the Religion and praised righteousness, the dēvas in hell were troubled» [Denkart, 7, 4, 87]⁷⁵.

In this light, the parallels between king Vishtasp and Trdat III are quite obvious: king's denial of the new religion, imprisonment and tortures of the prophet, his miraculous salvation, king's repentance under divine signs and warnings, his (and his kingdom's) conversion to the new religion. Most probably, the original Zoroastrian texts played the role of a narrative matrix, on which the hagiography of St. Gregory was patterned. We must keep in mind the fact that some Zoroastrian priests (and their sons) converted and became servants of the Christian Church: «He (St. Gregory) took some of the pagan priests' children and brought them up in his own sight and under his care, giving them instruction and raising them with spiritual care and order» [Agath., 845, cf. 785]⁷⁶.

However, in spite of the obvious common features, the two narratives demonstrate some differences as well. Particularly, Zoroaster's communion with Ahura Mazda and the Immortals occurred not at the end of his earthly life, but when he was only thirty and his spiritual mission was about to start. Apparently, it was motivated by the world-view system of the Zoroastrians in assessing good deeds (and righteous earthly life) as higher than good thoughts and good speeches⁷⁷.

The common features make it probable that the Christian hagiographic sketch had been modeled on the Zoroastrian pattern which was lost later. In other words, the authentic text circulated in Armenia long before its conversion to Christianity. The descendants of the old priesthood, converted to Christianity, used the archetypes and practices of Zoroastrianism in setting up the worship of Gregory the Illuminator. It gives us reason to believe that the last abode of the Saint, the Caves of Manē, were primarily a shrine dedicated to Vohu Mana⁷⁸. This proposition suggests that the spiritual rebirth of Greater Armenia was a rather complicated process, demanding new approaches and studies.

⁷⁵ Cf. **Du Breuil Paul**, 1978, 95–96. In the essential sense, the problem must be discussed on the background of intensive relationship between Zoroastrian and Biblical religious ideas. Cf. **Isbell**, 2006, 143–154.

⁷⁶ **Ormanean**, 2001, 102–103.

⁷⁷ **Dhalla**, 1938, 32; **Zaehner**, 1961, 74.

⁷⁸ Perhaps, the custom reached to Pre-Zoroastrian times: «The customs which I know the Persians to observe are the following: they have no images of the gods, no temples, nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly. [...] Their wont, however, is to ascend to the summits of the loftiest mountains, and there to offer sacrifice to Zeus, which is the name they give to the whole circuit of the firmament» [Herod., I, 131, 5–10]. Cf. **De Jong**, 1997, 90–91.

Epilogue

An anthropomorphic concept is adopted by Moses Khorenatsi to define the axiological significance of Armenia from historical perspective. This concept becomes more transparent in the light of the moral theory of Philo of Alexandria, which reaches back to the Sophists and Plato. It views human beings and societies in parallel with the soul and its three basic moral qualities – goodness, evil and neutrality. According to Khorenatsi, the semantic index of Armenia is neutrality, implying the possibility of two opposite movements – either back to evil or forward to goodness. The outcome depends mostly on the choice of the country and its leading personalities. The backward movement is linked with bodily pleasure, leisure and passivity⁷⁹. The forward movement demands emotional and intellectual efforts, manifesting in deeds. In this way, the author depicts the history of Armenia as a continuous conflict between these opposite principles. He traces two turning points, *birth and rebirth*, connected with the names of the two outstanding leaders, the Ethnarch Hayk and Gregory the Illuminator.

In the actions of Hayk, martial heroism (linked with emotional-corporeal symmetry, beauty and strength) predominates. The beauty and strength of Gregory the Illuminator is motivated by his spiritual and intellectual efforts to reach God. While the purpose of the first hero is to separate Armenia from evil and establish its identity, the purpose of the second hero is to bring the country into a close communion with the Omnipotent Lord.

Khorenatsi scrutinises the experience of Gregory the Illuminator, viewing in his initiation a model of the rebirth of the Armenians into God's congregation (նիսւն Աստուծոյ)⁸⁰. The initiation of the adept represents a movement from corporeal desires to high spirituality. Every phase of it is connected with the death and rebirth of the adept at a new level of dedication⁸¹. His last death occurs in the Caves of Manē, indicating his innate connection with Abraham, Moses and Christ. However, this spiritual journey shows also an obvious allusion to the Zoroastrian spiritual experience, demonstrating the prophet's face to face encounter with Ahura Mazda through the mediation of Vohu Mana. Pre-Christian archetypes, beliefs and experiences had apparently not been forgotten in Greater Armenia⁸².

⁷⁹ The author's «Lament» must be considered as the best example of the backward movement of the soul. Cf. **Stepanyan**, 2009, 184–187.

⁸⁰ The concept of *God's congregation* is more explicit in History by Eghishe [Hist., III, 33–35]. Though very important for reconstruction of the medieval Armenian mentality, this aspect has not yet made an object of special investigation.

⁸¹ Ceremonial death and resurrection was an important element of Orphism and later was adopted by Pythagoras and his disciples. See **Bremmer**, 2002, 11–26.

⁸² **Garsoïan**, 1976, 186–187.

Hellenistic spirituality saw the king as the central figure of the state and society, owing to his exclusive creative potency⁸³. It was thought to emanate from the supreme divine substance, Aramazd-Zeus, furnishing the king with abilities to perform his fundamental functions. Among them, *beneficence* (ἡ εὐεργέτεια) was held to signify the king's efforts to save the country from (real or potential) destruction. It was also believed that he incorporated the earthly *law and righteousness* (ὁ νόμος ἔμψυχος) through the mandate of heaven⁸⁴. On this account, the king was even presented as a *revealed deity* (ὁ ἐπιφανής) linking his country and community with cosmic destiny (ἡ τύχη)⁸⁵. Studies show that the same ideas were used to give proof to royal authority in Hellenistic Greater Armenia as well⁸⁶.

The situation radically changed with Christianization of Greater Armenia when the supremacy of royal authority was challenged by the Church, which monopolised the heavenly mandate in the name of the Omnipotent Lord. This contradiction gradually grew into an overt conflict. Scholars usually pursue its origins in the relationship between Gregory the Illuminator and Trdat III⁸⁷. They usually recall the well-known account of Agathangelos, describing the quarrel between the Zoroastrian king and the Christian priest in the shrine of the great lady Anahit at village Erēz, in the province of Acilisene [Agath., Hist., 48].

The Armenians called the goddess «the glory of our race and savior (ψαυηρ υαզդիս անրոյ եւ կեցուցիչ)» [Agath., Hist., 53]. The kings used to honor her with rich gifts and offerings. So, Trdat III «[...] ordered Gregory to present to the altar of Anahit's statue offerings of crown and thick branches of trees. But he did not agree to serve the worship to the gods» [Agath., Hist., 48]. He declared that he would receive no compensation from the king but only from omnipotent God. In essential sense, the conflict was about the supremacy of either royal or clerical authority⁸⁸.

However, Moses Khorenatsi does not concern himself with this aspect of the rebirth of Greater Armenia. He wrote his *History* to depart from the social chaos of the 5th century described in his *Lament*. The spiritual index of his country made him

⁸³ Pointing out this aspect, the official Hellenistic ideology represented king's realm as a *spear-won land* (χώρα δορίκτητος). The renowned maxim of Moses Khorenatsi, seems, expresses this legal term: «For the frontiers of the brave [...] are their weapons; as much they cut, that much they hold» [Hist., I, 8, 4].

⁸⁴ Strooman, 2014, 48–50.

⁸⁵ Goodenough, 1928, 63–72.

⁸⁶ Stepanyan, 2012, 57–62. The Parthians also proceeded from the Hellenistic concept of propaganda of royal power. Dąbrova, 2008, 25–31.

⁸⁷ See in detail Calzolari, 2011, 45–61.

⁸⁸ This was a local expression of the innate problem of early Christianity. In historical perspective, it would design the two ways of development of the West and the East based on the two ways of union of the Church and the state. The first was under the Pop's prelacy, whereas the second was under the supremacy of the Byzantine emperor. Cf. Schaff, 1997, 115–121.

believe that the Armenians would be able to overcome the chaos only through toils of denying low corporeal passions. Under the guidance of Moses, the Hebrews had undertaken their Exodus from Egypt in search of God and the Promised Land. And it is a very attractive argument that the Armenian author searched for the same end, but in the writing space of his *History*. Figuratively, Moses Khorenatsi tried to wear the mask of the Biblical Moses and perform his role in Armenian history. In some of my works, from different points of consideration, I have already arrived at the same conclusion. However, it demands special investigation, a task that is beyond the limits of the present paper.

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ԵՊՀ համաշխարհային պատմության ամբիոնի վարիչ
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Հոդվածում առաջարկվում է Պատմահոր «Հայոց պատմության» պատումային զարգացման նոր հարացույց: Ելակետը Փիլոնի բարոյական տեսությունն է՝ կառուցված ըստ մարդակերպության (անթրոպոմորֆիզմ) սկզբունքի: Դա մի արժեհամակարգ է, որը զուգահեռվում է մարդու երեք հիմնական միջավայրի՝ բաղադրիչներով՝ բանականություն (բարիք), մարմին (չարիք) և հոգի (անորոշ վիճակ): Հոգեկան բաղադրիչը ենթադրում է շարժում կամ դեպի առաջին, կամ երկրորդ վիճակը՝ կախված անհատի մտահոգևոր զարգացման աստիճանից և ընտրությունից: Այս ըմբռնումն իմաստասերը տարածում է նաև պատմության վրա: Ի մասնավորի՝ «Այնոցիկ որ ի Լինելութեանն. խնդրոց եւ լուծմանց» տրամախոսության մեջ հետջրհեղեղյան մարդկությունը ներկայացնում է ըստ երեք տարակերպի: Դրանք մարմնավորում են Նոյ նահապետի երեք որդիները՝ Սեմը (բանականություն-բարիք), Քամը (մարմնականություն-չարիք), Հաբեթը (հոգեկան տարտամություն):

Համաձայն Պատմահոր ծննդաբանական ցուցակի՝ Հայկ նահապետը սերում է Հաբեթից: Այս իրողությունը պայմանավորում է հայոց *ընկերային զենտիկա*ի առանձնահատկությունը. այն կրում է տարտամ հոգեկանության կնիքը: Այլ խոսքով՝ հայոց միջավայրում հնարավոր են ընկերային կյանքի և՛ վերընթաց, և՛ վարընթաց շարժումներ: Ամեն ինչ կախված է պատմության կրողների մտահոգևոր կարողություններից և գործողութենական կամքից: «Հայոց պատմության» եռատակտ կառույցն արտահայտում է հենց այս հիմնագաղափարը: Առաջին գիրքը – «Ծննդաբանություն հայոց մեծաց» – ներկայացնում է հայկյաններին, որոնց առաջնորդում է աստվածային նախախնամությունը: Նրանց իշխանության ներքո Հայքն ապրում է հավասարակշիռ ընկերային կյանքով: Երկրորդ գիրքը – «Բան միջակ պատմութեան մերոցն նախնեաց» – պարառում է պատմության երկու հակոտնյա վիճակ՝ կառուցիկ և քաոտիկ: Առաջինը մարմնավորում են իդեալական արքաները՝ Վաղարշակ Արշակունի, Արտաշես

Վերջին, Տրդատ Մեծ, որոնց ստեղծագործ ջանքերով Մեծ Հայքն ապրում է ընկերային համաձայնության և բարեկեցության միջավայրում: Երկրորդը մարմնավորում են եսակենտրոն տիրակալները՝ Արտավազդ Ա, Երվանդ, Արտավազդ Վերջին, Տիրան Ա: Նրանց օրոք երկիրն ապրում է անկում և քայքայում: Երրորդ գիրքը – «Ավարտաբանություն մերոյ հայրենեաց» – ներկայացնում է վերոհիշյալ երկու հակոտնյա վիճակների ծայրահեղ բևեռացումը: Գահակալները ինքնահաճ բռնակալներ են՝ Խոսրով Կոտակ, Տիրան Բ, Արշակ Բ, Պապ, որոնց քաղաքականությունը հանգեցնում է նախ երկրի մասնատմանը և ապա ինքնիշխանության կորստին (428 թ.): Կառուցիկ վիճակների կրողներն այժմ Եկեղեցու հոգևոր առաջնորդներն են՝ Հուսիկ, Ներսես Մեծ, Սահակ Պարթև, Մեսրոպ Մաշտոց:

Իրենց կյանքով և նվիրագործությամբ նրանք նախանշում են այն հոգևոր ճանապարհը, որով ինչպես անհատը, այնպես էլ հանրություն ի գործ են հաղթահարել մարմնական գրգիռները և մերձենալ Աստծուն: Այս ճանապարհը հողավածում դիտարկվում է Գրիգոր Լուսավորչի կյանքի մանրամասն քննությամբ: Այն հարացուցանվել է ըստ աստվածաշնչյան Մովսես նահապետի կյանքի:

Պատմահայրը համոզված է, որ այս ճանապարհով կարելի է հաղթահարել այն համընդգրկուն քաոսը, որը սպասվում է հայոց պատմության վերջին արարում («Ողբ»): Այլոքեն՝ հայոց պատմությունը չարիքի հաղթարման շարունակական հոլովույթ է: Եվ դա արձանագրված է նրա *խնաստային կողում*: Համաձայն Խորենացու՝ նրա օպտիմալ խաղընթացն ընթանում է *ծնունդից դեպի վերածնունդ*՝ ալգորիթմով: Առաջին դեպքում Հայկ նահապետի ստեղծագործ խթանն է, երկրորդում՝ Տրդատ Մեծի և Գրիգոր Լուսավորչի (քրիստոնեություն): Իր Պատմությունը Պատմահայրը դիտարկում է իբրև երկրորդ խթանի տեքստային արտահայտություն:

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**СЕМАНТИЧЕСКИЙ ИНДЕКС ВЕЛИКОЙ АРМЕНИИ В
ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ КОНЦЕПЦИИ МОВСЕСА
ХОРЕНАЦИ
(В СВЕТЕ МОРАЛЬНОЙ ТЕОРИИ ФИЛОНА АЛЕКСАНДРИЙСКОГО)**

В статье по-новому освещается нарратив «Истории Армении» Мовсеса Хоренаци. Исходной точкой взята моральная теория Филона – автора весьма популярного в средневековой Армении. Теория эта антропоморфна, ибо прослеживает параллель между строением человека и его основными моральными ценностями – разум (добро), тело (зло) и душа (неопределенное состояние). Компонент души предполагает движение к первому, или ко второму компоненту – все зависит от уровня развития и морального выбора индивида. Подобное восприятие Филон распространяет и на историю: в своем трактате «Вопросы и ответы на книгу Бытия» историю после Потопа он изображает в тройной типологии. Их олицетворяют три сына Ноя – Сим (разум-добро), Хам (телесность-зло), Иафет (духовная неопределенность).

Согласно генеалогическим спискам Хоренаци, этнарх армян Хайк происходил от Яфета. Это предопределило главную особенность *социального гено типа* армян, который несет печать неопределенности. Иными словами, в социальной среде армян возможны одновременно восходящее и нисходящее движения в зависимости от носителей истории. Подобное понимание предопределило структуру Истории Хоренаци, состоящей из трех книг. Первая – «Родословие Великой Армении» - изображает хайкидов, которые, руководствуясь божественным провидением, обеспечивают мир, согласие и благоденствие Страны. Вторая книга – «Изложение средней истории наших предков» – охватывает два противоположных состояния социального общежития – конструктивное и деструктивное. Первое воплощают идеальные правители Вагаршак Аршакид, Арташес Последний, Трдат Великий. В сущности, они продолжают линию хайкидов, но руководствуются преимущественно собственными идеями и волей. Второе состояние воплощают низменные правители – Артавазд I, Ерванд, Артавазд Последний, Тиран I и др. Под их правлением Великая Армения переживает упадок и хаос.

Третья книга – «Заключение истории нашего отечества» – демонстрирует крайнюю поляризацию вышеуказанных состояний. Как правило, правители жестоки и своенравны. Их политика приводит к разделу Великой Армении между Сасанидским Ираном и Римом (387 г.). Вскоре за этим следует и потеря государственного суверенитета (428 г.). Носителями социальной устойчивости и мира нынче выступают лидеры Церкви – св. Иусик, Нерсес Великий, Саак Партев, Месроп Маштоц.

Своим духовным подвигом они указывают тот путь, став на который социум и индивид способны преодолеть телесные аффекты и приблизиться к Господу. Путь этот в статье рассмотрен на примере св. Григора Просветителя, образ которого скомпонован по канону библейской агиографии (патриарх Моисей).

Хоренаци уверен, что этот путь может предотвратить тот всеохватывающий хаос, который ожидается в конце истории («Плач»). Иными словами, армянская история представляет собой процесс постоянного преодоления зла, и это зафиксировано в ее семантическом коде. По мысли автора, ее оптимальный сценарий протекает по алгоритму *от рождения к возрождению*. В первом случае, это творческий импульс Хайка и его потомков, во втором же – Трдата Великого и Григория Просветителя (христианство). Свою «Историю Армении» Хоренаци рассматривает как воплощение именно второго импульса.