

Armenian Canon Lists VII: The Poetic List of Arak'el of Siwnik' (d. 1409)*

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The present study constitutes the seventh member of a series of articles¹ in which I publish Armenian lists of biblical books. This article contains, principally, the poetic list attributed to Arak'el of Siwnik', a well-known medieval Armenian poet, savant, and scholar who lived from the mid-fourteenth century until 1409. Arak'el was the nephew of the famed theologian and systematician Grigor Tat'ewac'i (1344?–1409), whose own canon list was published earlier in this series.² I am basing my text of Arak'el's list on that published in the work of Ter-Movsesian on the Armenian Bible, which I present in a somewhat emended form and with an English translation below. Ter-Movsesian apparently published Arak'el's text from a manuscript that in his day was in the possession of the distinguished scholar Grigor Xalat'eanc'.³ The fate of this manuscript is unknown; it is not to be identified with

* My thanks are expressed to Dr. Hratch Tamrazian, Director of the Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Yerevan, Armenia, who not only facilitated my work there but also graciously arranged for the necessary photographs of manuscripts to be made available to me.

¹ See my previous articles on Armenian canon lists: "Armenian Canon Lists I: The Canon of Partaw (768 C.E.)," *HTR* 66 (1973) 479–86; "Armenian Canon Lists II—The Stichometry of Anania of Shirak (c. 615 – c. 690 C.E.)," *HTR* 68 (1975) 253–60; "Armenian Canon Lists III—The Lists of Mechtar of Ayrvank' (c. 1285 C.E.)," *HTR* 69 (1976) 289–300; "Armenian Canon Lists IV—The List of Gregory of Tat'ew (14th Century)," *HTR* 72 (1979) 237–44; "Armenian Canon Lists V—Anonymous Texts," *HTR* 83 (1990) 141–63; "Armenian Canon Lists VI—Hebrew Names and Other Attestations," *HTR* 94 (2001) 477–92. See also my articles: "An Armenian Translation of a Baraitha in the Babylonian Talmud," *HTR* 63 (1970) 151–54; "L'étude du canon arménien," in *Le canon du Nouveau Testament* (ed. Gabriella Aragione, Eric Junod, and Enrico Norelli; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2005) 281–96.

² See preceding note.

³ Mesrop Ter-Movsesian, *History of the Armenian Version of the Bible* (St. Petersburg: Pushkin, 1902) 264–66 [in Russian]. Arak'el's works are listed in Michael E. Stone, *Adamgirk': The Adam*

any of the copies published here. Ter-Movsesian was also aware of another copy then in Eĵmiacin bearing the number 599. This *Miscellany*, copied in 1660 in an unknown place, is now preserved as number 702 in the Maštoc' Matenadaran in Erevan. The text appears on 186r–189v.⁴

At almost the same time, from 1905 to 1911, Frederick Murad also published Arak'el's list in abbreviated form from Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate 345, fols. 116r–117r.⁵ According to Murad this manuscript was also a miscellany, but the text of Arak'el's list is not mentioned in Bogharian's catalogue under this number.⁶ A comparison between Ter-Movsesian's and Murad's texts reveals that they were much the same. To these witnesses I have added here the variants of two other manuscripts, Matenadaran M711 and Matenadaran M7029.⁷ Manuscript M711 also contains *Death of Adam* and *Concerning the 72 Languages*.⁸ This list of people and tongues is also included in *Book of Questions* by Grigor of Tat'ew, part 6, section 7.⁹ The other copy is available in M7029, fols. 183v–187v.¹⁰ The manuscript was copied in Constantinople in 1654.

I base my edition below on Ter-Movsesian's text, but with some variations. It is probable that more copies exist, but in the past the work has not been included in the lists of writings of Arak'el Siwnec'i and so any information available is only incidental.¹¹ To judge from the character of the variants in these four witnesses, no great differences affecting the canon list itself are to be expected, even if further copies turn up. In the present paper Arak'el's list is newly introduced into current canonical discussions.

Book of Arak'el of Siwnik' (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 41–45. Neither there, nor in other catalogues of Arak'el's works, is this canon list mentioned.

⁴ It is described in Önnik. Ēganean, *Մալր Յուցաց Հայերնէն Ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի Անուան Մատենադարանի* (General Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Maštoc' Matenadaran) (vol. 3; Erevan: Magaġat', 2007) 400. Apparently the variants Ter-Movsesian marks as stemming from "X" were drawn from this manuscript.

⁵ Frederick Murad, *Յայտնութեան Յովհաննու Հին Հայ թարգմանութիւն* (The Old Armenian Translation of the Revelation of John) (Jerusalem: Sts. James Press, 1905) 296–97.

⁶ Norayr Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts* (vol. 2; Jerusalem: Sts. James Press, 1967) [in Armenian].

⁷ M711, fols. 116r–119v, is described in Ēganyan, *General Catalogue* 3, 421–26. It was apparently copied in 1724. On M7029, see note 10 below.

⁸ See Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha: Relating to Adam and Eve* (SVTP 14; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 209 and references to earlier works there (*Death of Adam*, fols. 113r–115v; *Concerning the 72 Languages*, 158–64).

⁹ See Գիրք Հարցմանց (Book of Questions) (Jerusalem: Sts. James Press, 1993; repr. of *ibid.* Constantinople, 1729) 298.

¹⁰ M7029 is described in Önnik Ēganyan, Antranik Zeyt'unyan and P'aylak Ant'abyan, *Յուցակ ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անվան մատենադարանի* (Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Maštoc' Matenadaran) (vol. 2; Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1970) 445–46.

¹¹ See Stone, *Adamgirk'*, 42–45 for the most up-to-date such list.

The poem is written in stanzas of four lines with a monorhyme in each stanza. Each line has four feet of two syllables divided at a caesura after the second foot.¹² This form is common in Armenian medieval poetry and one that Aṛak‘el uses extensively in his *Adamgirk‘*.¹³

Following Aṛak‘el’s poetic list presented here, another as yet unstudied list is given. In the ceremony for the ordination of a bishop, the ordinand expresses his assent to the books of the Old and New Testaments, and the relevant passage listing the books is thus included in the rite.¹⁴ This passage is provided below after the notes on the text by Aṛak‘el Siwnec‘i.

■ The Poetic List of Aṛak‘el of Siwnik‘

Sigla and Notes on the Edition of Aṛak‘el’s List

| | |
|----------------|--|
| M | Ter-Movsesian’s text |
| X | M702, formerly Eĵmiacin 599, as cited by Ter-Movsesian |
| 711 | M711 |
| 7029 | M7029 |
| N* | text as written by scribe |
| N ^c | text as corrected by scribe |

Text: I have followed Ter-Movsesian’s text except in instances where I am quite certain that it is corrupt. In those cases, I have introduced variant readings into the text and signaled them in the apparatus. In some cases where I am certain that Movsesian’s text is corrupt but do not find a preferable reading among those collated, I have emended his text and put the emendation in pointed brackets: < >. Corruptions allowed to stand are marked with braces: { }.

Apparatus: Movsesian’s text, with the occasional emendations mentioned above, forms the lemma. All variants except for +/- յ, ոյ / -ոյ etc., and -ա- / -այ-, are noted. When a variant affects the meaning of the text, it has been translated into English in the apparatus. Occasional editorial remarks are introduced into the apparatus following a colon. Observe that M711 has numerous spelling variants.

Translation: In the translation words included in parentheses have been added for reasons of English style and clarification.

¹² It is intriguing that in stanza 17 two lines end in -տլ and two others in -տլ. The rhyme is very regular, except for line 33.2.

¹³ See Stone, *Adamgirk‘*, 18, 24.

¹⁴ Մաշտոց ձեռնագրութեան եպիսկոպոսի (Ritual for the Ordination of a Bishop) (Vaṫaršapat: Catholicossate, 1876) 22.

Համառօտ Համարք Աստուածաշուքնչ Գրոց
Short Enumeration of the Biblical Books

- 1 Տէր Առաքել ղերտոյ Սրենեաց,
զուրկ և թափուր յամէն չնորհաց,
զարդարեցի զկարգ գրանաց.
զաստուածաշունչ կտակարանաց:
 - 2 Վասն այն յայտնեմ՝ զբանս գրանաց,
զհին և զնոր կտակարանաց,
զի ուսանին զանուանս կարգաց,
եաթանասուն երկու գրանաց:
 - 3 Քառասուն և չորս հին կտակին,
քսան և ութ նոր կտակին,
աստուածաշունչ կոչին սոքին,
զոր խաւսեցաւ Աստուած հոգին:
 - 4 Նախ է հինգ գիրք մովստական.
ծնունդք և ելք և զևտական.
թիւք և երկրորդ արէնք որ կան
խրատ աշխարհի ընթհանրական.
 - 5 Վեց արհնութիւնքն յակոբեան,
վերայ որդւոցն երկոտասան.
զի արհնութիւնք որ աղամանս,
յորդոց յորդիս կարգաւ երթան:
 - 6 Իսկ երկրորդ կարգն որ յետ սոցայ,
գիրք եաթն՝ Յեսու որդի Նաւեայ,
ութ Ռատաւորքն որ յետ նորա,
ինքն Հուութ մայր Յովբիթայ:
 - 7 Սաղմոս կոչի մեծին Ռաւթայ
կին Բոյոսի մայր Յովբիթայ.
զի Յովբիթ ծնաւ զՅեսսէ տղայ.
Յեսսէ ծնաւ զՌաւիթ արքայ:
 - 8 Թաղաւորութեանց գիրք չորեքին,
Սաղմոսն և չորս Սողոմոնին.
Յոբ և Սիրաք սրբաշուքին.
սնեկապետ Սողոմոնին:
 - 9 Այս քսան գիրք հին կտակին,
որ մինչև յայս վայր ղերպեցին.
- I, Lord Arak'el, bishop of Siwnik',
empty and destitute of all grace,
adorned the order of writings,
the divinely inspired Testaments.
- For that reason I make known the word of
the books
of the Old and New Testaments,
so that they (people) learn the names of the
orders
of (the) seventy-two writings.
- Four and forty (are) of the Old Testament,
eight and twenty of the New Testament;
they are called "inspired" (or: the Bible),
which God the Spirit spoke.
- First are five Mosaic books:
Genesis and Exodus and Leviticus,
Numbers and Deuteronomy, which are
counsel for the whole world.
- Six(th) (are) Jacob's blessings
over the twelve sons,
so that the Adamic blessings
go from (his) children to (their) children in
order.
- But the second order which is after these:
the seven(th) book, Joshua son of Nun;
the eight(h), Judges, which is after it (or:
who are after him);
the nine (ninth), Ruth, mother of Obed.
- Psalms is ascribed to the great David.
The wife of Boaz (was the) mother of
Obed,
for Obed begot Jesse as (his) child;
Jesse begot King David.
- The fourfold books of Kingdoms,
Psalms and the four (books) of Solomon,
Job and Sirach, holy of spirit,
Solomon's chamberlain.
- These (are) the twenty books of the Old
Testament
that occurred up to this point.

- յետ այսորիկ բաժանէին
Թագաւորութիւնք ազգի նոցին:
- 10 Ռեբովամ՝ որդի Սողոմոնին.
Թագաւորեաց բոլոր ազգին.
և յետ Բաղամ՝ ծառայ նոցին.
որ փախեաւ յահէ Սողոմոնին:
- 11 Զի սա յԵգիպտոս փախեալ մընաց,
մինչ Սողոմոն արքայն նընջեաց.
յետոյ եկեալ Հակառակեաց,
տասըն ցեղին Թագաւորեաց:
- 12 Քսան ու մին գիրքն Յսայեայն,
քսան երկու Նրեմիային.
քսան երեք Եզեկիէլին,
երկուտասանքն ի միասին:
- 13 Այս երեսուն և Հինգ լինին
գրեանք Հնոց կտակարանին.
մինչև ցայս վայր կարգն երկրորդին
մինչդեռ կային յԵրեսնաց երկրին:
- 14 Յետ այսորիկ գերի գնացին.
ի Բաբելոն բոլորովին.
Յաւթանասուն՝ և երկու տարին
ազգն ամենայն գերի գնացին:
- 15 Իսկ երրորդ կարգն որ սկսանին,
երկու Եզրանն են առաջին
որ այլ և այլ ժամանակին,
միայն անուամբ Համանայնին:
- 16 Մինն ի յազգէն էր Յուդային
մին դևտական քահանային.
յետ գերութեան Բաբելոնին
գկտակարանքն սոքայ գրեցին:
- 17 Մին Եզրաս էր Սաղաթիէլ,
որ ծնաւ որդի գԶաւրաբաբէլ.
Հոգով սրբով լցեալ սայ էր,
գեղծեալ գրեանսն նորոգէր:
- 18 Զի կտակարանքն որ ընդ նոսին
ի Բաբելոն կորեան նորին.
սոցա յայտնեաց Աստուած Հոգին՝
որ գամենայն նորոգեցին:
- After this the kingdoms
of their people were divided.
- Rehoboam, son of Solomon,
ruled over the whole people,
and afterwards (was) Bašam their servant,
who fled out of fear of Solomon.
- For he, having fled to Egypt, stayed (there)
until King Solomon fell asleep (or: died).
Afterwards, having come back, he revolted;
he ruled over the ten tribes.
- The twenty-first book (is) Isaiah's,
the twenty-second (is) Jeremiah's,
the twenty-third (is) Ezekiel's,
the twelve (are reckoned) together.
- These make thirty-five
writings of the Old Testament
up to this point, of the second order,
while they were in their land.
- After this they went into exile,
all together to Babylon;
for seventy-two years
all the people went into exile.
- Now (is) the third order, which begins:
the two Ezras are the first,
who (lived) at different times,
(and) only agreed in name.
- One was from the tribe of Judah,
the other a Levitical priest.
After the Babylonian exile,
they wrote the Testaments.
- One Ezra was Salathiel,
who begot a son, Zerubbabel.
He was filled with the Holy Spirit;
he renewed the destroyed writings.
- For the testaments that (were) with them
perished in Babylon.
God made the Spirit known to them,¹⁵
who (plur.) renewed them all.

¹⁵ Or: God the Spirit made known to them.

- 19 Եւ երկու գիրք մնացորդին,
 գոր վեցեքին սոքայ գրեցին.
 և մնացորդ վասն այն ասին,
 գոր յետոյ սոքայ զմնացեալս
 գրեցին:¹⁶
- 20 Դանիէլէն և Եսթերին,
 Բարուք և մակաբայեցին,
 Տուբիթ, Յուդիթ, կարգ Նեյեմիս,
 որ յերրորդ կարգս աւարտեցին:
- 21 Այս են գրեանք Հին կտակին,
 քառասուն և չորս գիրք գլխովին.
 աստուածաշունչ կոչին սոքին,
 գոր խաւսեցաւ Աստուած Հոգին:
- 22 Սաղաթիէլս այս ցանկալին
 և ե.ն ընտրեալ արք ընդ Նըմին.
 զեղծեալ գրեանս կտակարանին
 քառասուն ար գամէն գրեցին:
- 23 Յետ սոցա Նոր կտակարանին,
 քսան և ութ գիրք անուանին.
 որ գալտեամբ աստուածային
 զայս խաւսեցաւ Աստուած Հոգին:
- 24 Նախ չորս գլուխ աւետարան,
 թուխտք Պաւղոսի չորեքտասան
 առաքելոց գիրքն գրեցան
 կաթաղիկէն ամենեքեան :
- 25 Այլ և տեսիլքն Յոհաննու,
 որ յայսնեցաւ Նմա յԱստուծոյ.
 և էր ընդ եղբարսն յաւուր մահու,
 որ յայսնեցաւ ի Յոհաննու:
- 26 Այս քսան ութն գիրք ըստ կարգին
 կտակարանաց Նորոյ ուխտին
 աստուածաշունչ կոչին սոքին,
 գոր խաւսեցաւ Աստուած Հոգին:
- And two books of Paralipomena,
 which those six wrote,
 and because of that they are called “the
 rest,”
 the things which they wrote, remaining
 after these.
- (The books) of Daniel and Esther,
 Baruch and the Maccabees,
 Tobit, Judith, the order of Nehemiah,
 which concluded this third order.
- These are the writings of the Old
 Testament,
 forty-four books in all.
 They are called “divinely inspired” (or: the
 Bible),
 which God the Spirit spoke.
- This Salathiel, the desirable one,
 and five elect men with him,
 wrote all the destroyed books
 of the testament in forty days.
- After them, of the New Testament,
 twenty-eight books are named,
 which God the Spirit spoke
 through the divine coming.
- First, four Gospel chapters,
 (then) fourteen epistles of Paul;
 the book of the apostles was written,
 all the Catholics (i.e., Epistles).
- Also the vision of John,
 which was revealed to him by God,
 and “he was with his brothers on the day of
 death,”¹⁷
 which was revealed by John.
- These are twenty-eight books in order
 of the testaments of the New Covenant.
 They are called “divinely inspired” (or:
 the Bible),
 which God the Spirit spoke.¹⁸

¹⁶ There is one syllable too many in this line. Perhaps the second word should be յետ.

¹⁷ The *Dormition of John* is usually referred to by this tag.

¹⁸ These two lines repeat 16.3–4 exactly.

- 27 Աստ եաթմանաստն ՚ւ երկու լեզուին,
 Նոյնքան թուով գիրք չնորհին.
 զի ամենայն ազգ առանձին,
 առցէ չնորհք աստուածային:
- 28 Այս լինելոց է յետ Նեոխն
 որ գան հաւատս ամէնեքին.
 զի ամենայն լեզուք խոստովանին,
 զՔրիստոս Աստուած գանձն երեքին:
- 29 Եւ գոցուք հոգոյն այսքան թուով,
 զոր Տէր յայտնեաց այս խորհրդով՝
 և թմանանեկի է չափով,
 թողցես եղբաւն զմեզս յոլով:
- 30 Վասն այն ետ գրեանք այսքան թուով,
 որպէս ծաղկունք գեղ կազմելով.
 եաթեան մահու մեղքն չափով
 եաթնանեկի է կրկնելով.
- 31 Եւ թմանանեկի է չն թուով.
 չորս հարիւր ութսուն համարով,
 զոր չորս տարեբքս յաւերդով
 մեք մեղանչեմք ութ խորհրդով:
- 32 Արդ այսքան գեղ չնորհեաց չափով
 զոր մեղանչեմք Նոյնքան թուով.
 զի սրբեսցուք յախտէ հոգով
 սուրբ գրոց ունին գնելով:
- 33 Այժմ՝ արհնութիւն տամ ցնծալով
 երեք անձանց հաւատալով.
 զոր այս չափ խրատ գրեաց փութով,
 զմեզ ի մեղաց ազատելով:
- 34 Փառս տամ՝ հաւրն ազատողի,
 և միածնին զմեզ փրկողի.
 սուրբ հոգոյն կեցուցանողի
 երրորդութեանն միակի:
- According to the seventy-two languages,
 books were given in the same number,
 so that every single nation
 might receive divine grace.
- This will transpire after the antichrist,
 when all come to faith,
 so that all tongues confess
 Christ, God, threefold Person.
- And we will find such by a spiritual
 number,
 which the Lord revealed through this plan
 (or: mystery):
 it is seventyfold in measure.
 You shall forgive your brother's sins
 completely.
- For that reason he gave books of that
 number,
 forming beauty like flowers.
 The mortal sins by the measure of seven,
 by duplicating seventyfold seven.
- By the number of "He is" seventyfold,
 by the number four hundred and {eighty},
 by which exceeding the four elements
 we sin by eight thoughts.¹⁹
- Now he gave this much medicine by
 measure,
 so that we who sin by the same number,
 so that we may be cleansed of sin by the
 Spirit,
 by attending to the holy books.
- Now rejoicing I give praise,
 believing in the three Persons,
 who carefully wrote such an amount of
 counsel for us,
 freeing us from sins.
- I glorify the liberating Father,
 and our Only-Begotten Savior,
 the vivifying Holy Spirit:
 the unitary Trinity.

¹⁹ The meaning of this stanza is unclear.

Apparatus

Title] om 711 | Համառօտ “short”] om 7029

1.1 Տէր] om 711 **1.3** զարդարեցի] շար զըրեցի “I wrote as a poem” 711 | զկարգ] զկարգըս “this order” 711 | զբանասց] զըրեանց 711 **2.3** ուսանին] ուսանիս “you learn” 711 **2.4** և թմնաստուն] զՀԲ 711 | ի թմնաստուն 7029 | երկու] և երկու “and two” 7029 **3.1** և] ու 711 7029 + գիրք “books” 711 : M fits scansion better **3.2** incipit] + ու 711 | սոքին] նոքին 711 **3.4** հոգին] զհոգին X **4.2** ղետական] ղականք 711 եղևտական 7029 **4.3** թիւ] թիւքն 711 7029 | աւրէնք] աւրէնքն 7029 **4.4** խրատ] խրատք 7029 | ընթհանրական] ընդհանրական 711 **5.2** վերայ] ի վերայ 711 : M fits scansion better **5.3** աւրհնութիւնք] աւրհնութիւնքն 711 7029 | աղամայն] յաղամայն 711 | յորդուց] որդուց 711 7029 **6.1** երկրորդ] 711 երրորդ M 7029 | սոցա] սոցայն 711 : the rhyme is in –ա(յ)ն in this ms (711) **6.2** որդի նաւեայ] որդին նաւեան 711 **6.3** նորա] նորայն 711 **6.4** մայր յովբիթեայ] մայրն յովբիթեայն 711 մայր յովբիթայ 7029 **7.1** սաղմոս “Psalms”] սամամ “Samam” 711 | մեծին դաւթայ] մեծի դաւթեան 711 | դաւթա] դաւիթայ X 7029 **7.2** բոյոսի “of Boaz”] + է “is” 711 : M fits scansion better | յովբիթայ] յովպրիթեա 711 **7.3** զի] ի with erasure mark 7029 | յիովբիթ] զյովբիթ X յովբիթ X 711 **7.4** յեսսէ] ևեսսէ “and Jesse” 711 ևեսէ 7029 **8.2** և] ու 711 | չորս] + գիրք “book(s)” 711 : M fits scansion better **9.2** յայս] ցայս 711 **10.3** և յես] 711 և յեսոյ M ցեսոյ 7029 | Բաղամ “Bařam”] Բովամ “Bovam” 711 **11.1** սա յեզիպ.] սայ էզիպ. 711 **12.1** ևսայեայն] յեսային 711 ևսայեայն 7029 **12.2** երկու] ևերկուքն 711 | երեմիայն] յերեմիին 711 **12.3** եզեկիւէլին] յեզեզիւէլին 711 **12.4** երկուտասանքն] ևերկուտասանքն “and the twelve” 711 **13.2** հնոց] հնոյ 7029 | կտակարանին] կրտակին 711 : 711 is one foot too short **14.2** բաբելոն] բաբելոն 711 **14.4** գնացի] over մնացին prima manu 7029 **15.2** եզրաման] եզրապք ևն 711 : does not fit scansion **15.3** այլ¹] յայլ 711 | այլ²] յայլ 7029 **16.2** մին] և մինն 711 **17.1** մին “one”] հին “the old” 711 : corrupt **17.3** սրբով] om 711 | սայ էր] սայ էլ 711 : corrupt **17.4** զրեանաքն] զրեանս 711 | նորոգէր] նորեգէր 711 **18.1** կտակարանքն] կտակարանք 711 **19.3** և] om 711 | ասին “were called, said”] 711 ասեն “they said” M 7029 **20.3** յուզիթ] յուսիթ “and Judith” 711 | կարգ] գիրք “book” 711 : perhaps better | երրորդ] երկրորդ 711 : corrupt **21.2** գլխովին] գրխովին 7029 **21.3** կոչին] կոչի 7029 : M 711 preferable **22.1** ցանկալին] 711 ցանկալի M 7029 | այս “this”] այր “man” 711 **22.2** Ե.Ն.] i.e., հինգ “five” 711 7029 Են “are” M է “7” X : either M read Ե.Ն. “the five” as Են “are” or 711 7029 read Են “are” as Ե.Ն. “the five”: we prefer 711 7029, cf. 4 Ezra 14:24, 37 **22.3** զեղծեալ] զեղեալ 711 : corrupt | զրեանս] զրեանք 711 **24.1** աւետարան] աւետարանն 711 **24.2** թուխտք] և թուղթք “and . . . epistles” 711 թուխթք 7029 **24.3** առաքելոց] առաքելոց “and of the apostles” 711 | գիրքն] M 7029* գործքն “acts” X 711 7029^c + որ 711 **24.4** կաթուղիկէքն] ու կաթուղիկէքն 711 կաթուղիկէքն 7029 | ամենքեան] ևաթնքեան “all the” X 7029^c **25.1** տեսիլքն] տեսիլքն 711 7029 : perhaps preferable **25.3** և էր ընդ

] էր ընդ M ւ էր ընդ 711 էր ընդ 7029 : a reading with էր “he was” is preferable
25.4 յայտնեցա] զըրեցա “was written” 711 7029 **26.1** քան ութն] քան և
 ութ 711 : perhaps preferable, scansion **26.3** կոչին] 711 կոչի M 7029 **27.1**
 եսթանասուն] իսթանասոն 7029 | ւ երկու] երկու 711 **27.2** թուով] թվով
 711 | չորհին] չորհեաց հոգին “the Spirit gave” 711 : 711 is one syllable too
 long; M scans if չորհին is read with “unwritten” Է; regardless, **27.3** ամենաճն]
 գամենայն 711 | ազգ առանձին] զգառանձին 711 : unknown word | առանձին
] առանձինն 7029 **28.1** լինելոց] լենելոց 7029 **28.2** գան] + ի “to” 711
 7029* : produces one syllable too many | ամէնեքին] ամենեքին 711 7029 **28.3**
 This line is one foot (two syllables) too long **29.1** գտցուք] գոնցուք X գոն
 ցաւք “there are pains” 711 : corrupt **29.2** տեր] տէրն 711 7029 | խորհրդով
] om 711 **29.3** ևթանասնեկի] -եկին 711 | է] 711 reads as numeral “7” :
 in stanza 3[.1–2], the total is “seventy-two”; in stanza 21, forty-four in the Old
 Testament + twenty-eight in the New Testament = seventy-two, but here the total
 is seventy or seventy-seven and not seventy-two **29.4** գմեղս] + իւր “his” 711
 : either is possible **30.1** թուով] թվու 711 **30.2** դեղ “beauty”] դեղ “medicine”
 7029 : graphic corruption **30.3** եսթեան մահու] զլեթն մահու չստի 711 **30.4**
 եսթեանեկի] եսթանասնեկի 711 | է] 711 7029 interprets correctly, as
 numeral “7” **31.1** է զն] է 711 7029 **31.2** ութառն համարով] ւ ձ ևն համարով
 711 | հարիւր] հարեւր 7029 **31.4** մեք “we”] միշտ “always” 711 | մեղանչեմք
 “we sin”] մեղանչեմ “I sin” 711 | ութ “eight”] ըստ “according to” 711 :
 graphic corruption **32.1** դեղ] 711 7029 տեղ M | անձանց] անձանցն 711
33.2 հաւատալով] հաւատով 711 **33.3** խրատ գրեաց փութով 711 “he carefully
 wrote . . . counsel”] խըրատ գըրեաց փութով 711 մեղ խրատ գրեաց M 7029 “he
 wrote counsel for us” **34** totum] om 711 **34.1** հաւր] հաւրն 7029

General Notes on the Structure of Arak'el's Canon

Arak'el reckons the Old Testament to consist of forty-four books and the New Testament of twenty-eight, despite confusion on the numbers noted in the apparatus to 29.3. These numbers are reached by including one apocryphal (but closely biblically associated) work in each Testament: the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in the Old Testament²⁰ and the *Dormition of John* in the New Testament. I will discuss these below. These two numbers, forty-four and twenty-eight, add up to seventy-two, a figure the author develops typologically as corresponding to the seventy-two languages of the human race, thus symbolizing the universality

²⁰ Despite the formulation in stanza 5, this cannot be interpreted as the biblical form of Jacob's blessings in Genesis 49. In quite a few Armenian biblical manuscripts, *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* follows Deuteronomy. See the indexes in Chahé Adjémian (Ajamian), *Grand catalogue des manuscrits arméniens de la Bible* (Bibliothèque arménienne de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian; Lisbon: Gulbenkian Foundation, 1992) index on cols. 1011–12. See the introduction to Michael E. Stone in collaboration with Vered Hillel, *An Editio Minor of the Armenian Version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (HUAS 11; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), forthcoming.

of salvation.²¹ This alternation between seventy and seventy-two is not infrequent because both figures had numerological significance: 7 x 10 and 12 x 6.²²

Arak'el divides the Old Testament into three sections called "orders" (կարգ). His purpose in the list is stated in stanza 2: "so that they (i.e., people) learn the names of the orders." His use of կարգ is quite interesting. The names of the orders are, in fact, not given, although those of the biblical books are. In stanza 4 "first" apparently means "first order." The first order consists of the Pentateuch together with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The word կարգաւ "in order" is introduced in the last line of stanza 5. In this instance, however, it does not mark the second order, which begins in stanza 6 (see also stanza 13). This second order contains all of the books that can be attributed to the period down to the Babylonian exile, thus including the period of the monarchy. In addition to the books in the collection of the Prophets (*Nevi'im*) in the traditional Hebrew Bible, it includes Ruth, Psalms, the four books of Solomon (including Wisdom), Job, and Sirach. Uniquely, the figure of Sirach is connected with King Solomon as his chamberlain. The third division, starting in stanza 15, contains books relating to the return and the early second commonwealth, such as Ezra, 4 Ezra (Salathiel), Nehemiah, Chronicles, Daniel, etc. This threefold division is reminiscent of the rabbinic tripartite division of Scripture. The Jewish order of Scripture is known to some Armenian canon lists.²³ However, although Arak'el's list evidences a tripartite division, the contents of his divisions are not the same as those in the Jewish canon but rather organized on a historical framework.

This list is unique in its poetic form. In addition, it introduces some biblical and apocryphal traditions relating to the various books when it mentions them.

Comments on Particular Stanzas and Lines

5: This refers to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. This work is found often in Armenian Bible manuscripts.²⁴ Adam's name is introduced in 5.4 because Arak'el viewed the Pentateuch as the history of Adam's blessing. He was extremely interested in the stories of Adam and Eve, as witnessed by his long poetic biblical retelling *Adamgirk'* or "Book of Adam"²⁵ and *Traxtagirk'* or "Book of Paradise."

6.1: The text reads երրորդ "third," but it is corrupt for երկրորդ "second," as shown by the phrase "until this point of the second (երկրորդ) order" (but "third" in the corrupt Armenian text) and then by the word "third" in stanza 15.²⁶

²¹ See above, n. 3. Compare also *Teaching of St. Gregory* §612 (fifth century); *Michael the Syrian, Chronicle of the Reverend Michael, Patriarch of the Syrians* (Jerusalem: Sts. James Press, 1871) 13 [in Armenian].

²² See Michael E. Stone, "Apocalyptic Historiography," in *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2011) 62-69, forthcoming.

²³ See Stone, "Canon Lists IV," 239, 241; cf. "Canon Lists V," 470-86.

²⁴ See the discussion in n. 20 above.

²⁵ See Stone, *Adamgirk'*.

²⁶ See Stone and Hillel, *Testaments*, "Index of Variants," no. 241.

8: The Wisdom of Ben Sira is included in this second order, apparently because of the tradition cited here that he was King Solomon's chamberlain, a tradition unknown elsewhere. Nothing specific in this text would explicitly tie Job to the period of the Judges and the united monarchy.

10–11: Baḥam is a form of the name Jeroboam. In 1 Kgs (3 Kingdoms) 11:27 it is related that he revolted against King Solomon, and according to 1 Kgs (3 Kingdoms) 11:40, 1:2, and 2 Chr 10:2, Jeroboam fled to Egypt until King Solomon's death.

11.1: On the ten tribes, see 1 Kgs (3 Kingdoms) 1:31, 35.

13: Here the exile is the point of division in the historical books.

14: The number of years in the exile, drawn from Jer 25:11–13, 29:10, is seventy. Arak'el makes it seventy-two because of the requirements of his typology. The alternation between seventy and seventy-two is found elsewhere: see page 376 above. There is an overall likeness between the seventy-two books and seventy-two tongues on the one hand and, on the other, Josephus's twenty-two books; the latter are parallel to the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet and, according to Jubilees 2:15–16, the number of creations—recall that the world was created by speech, i.e., by the twenty-two letters (see also stanza 27.1 below).

15–17: On the two Ezras, see the note to stanza 18 below.

16: On the term “priest”: the ending փն of քահանային would be best attributed to the exigencies of the monorhyme. In general, note that Arak'el introduces grammatical anomalies for the sake of rhyme, such as սկսին in 15.1, հարողեցին in 18.4, as well as in the present instance.

18: The tradition that Scriptures were lost in the destruction of the First Temple and restored by Ezra Salathiel has been isolated and studied. It is a development and rationalization of the narrative of the revelation of Scripture in 4 Ezra 14.²⁷

19: The uses of մնացորդ and cognates in this stanza are plays on the word, which means basically “remainder.” Here we have it in lines 1, 3, and 4.

19.2: The “six” are Ezra and the five scribes who wrote down the divine revelation according to 4 Ezra 14:24, 42.

22.1: Compare this stanza with stanza 17, which already gave the tradition about the two Ezras.

24.1: Regarding the “chapters”: Armenian has a word գլուխ , which, like Latin *caput*, may mean either “head” or “chapter.” Perhaps here the author views the four Gospels as parts of one great composition.

24.4: Regarding թուխոք : This byform is quite common.

25.3–4: The *Dormition of John* is often found in Armenian Bible manuscripts.²⁸

²⁷ See Michael E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1990) 426, 434, and bibliography there. For the Armenian tradition, see idem, *The Armenian Version of IV Ezra* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 1; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979) 38–39, and idem, “The Metamorphosis of Ezra: Jewish Apocalypse and Mediaeval Vision,” *JTS* 33 (1982) 1–18, esp. 2–3. See in general Robert A. Kraft, “‘Ezra’ Materials in Judaism and Christianity,” in *ANRW* 2.19.1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1979) 119–36.

²⁸ See Adjémian, *Grand catalogue*, s.v. ; Vahan Hovhanissian, “The Repose of the Evangelist

26.2: As is the case above (see stanza 18), “testaments” means “books.”

27.1: As noted above (see the note to stanza 14), the number seventy-two (referring both to the number of different tongues and the books of the Bible) is connected with the idea of universal salvation.

29.1: Regarding գուցուք: The variant գոն ցաւք, which may mean “there are pains,” is a graphic corruption.

29.4: The meaning of this line is obscure.

31: The calculation is unclear. Է, meaning “he is,” is the seventh letter of the Armenian alphabet. It is also a fairly common name for God, translating ó ōw (see Exod 3:14) and the numeral seven. So $7 \times 70 = 490$ (see Dan 9:24, “seventy weeks”). However, line 2 implies that the total is 480, which does not compute. Then the four elements and eight thoughts or mysteries are adduced, but that adds up to 492, which is a second non-computing total for line 1 of this stanza. Alternatively, we might emend 480 to 490. I have marked it by braces. We exceed, lines 3 and 4 might be interpreted to say, our bodily nature (four elements) by eight thoughts (mysteries), and these can be regarded as not being part of the computation. The reason for the number eight is unclear.

■ The Rite for the Ordination of Bishops²⁹

Աշակերտիս՞ Հին և Նոր կտակարանացն՝ որք ի Հոգւոյն սրբոյ Հնորհեցան ի ձեռն մարգարէից և առաքելոց, և ուխտեմ՞ այնու միայն հովուել զժողովուրդն քո. և զնոյն ուսանել և ուսուցանել յամենայն ի կեանս քո. որք են՝

Ծնունդք, Ելք, Ղևտական, Թիւք, Երկրորդ Օրէք,

Յեսու, Դատաւորք, Հոռութ, Չորս Թագաւորութիւնքն, Երկու Մնացորդքն,

Յոբ, Սողոմոն, Դաւիթ,

մարգարէքն՝ Տապի, Երեմիա, Եզեկիէլ, Դանիէլ, և երկուստան մարգարէք:

Եւ Նոր կտակարանքն, որ է

Աւետարանս աւրբ՝ Մատթէոսի, Մարկոսի, Ղուկասու և Յովհաննու,

չորեքուստան թուղթք Պօղոսի, Գործք Առաքելոց, Եօթն թուղթք Կաթողիկոսայ և Յայտնութիւն Յովհաննու:

Are you a disciple of the Old and New Testaments, which were bestowed by the Holy Spirit through the prophets and apostles, and do you swear by this alone to shepherd your peoples and to study and teach the same all your life? Which are:

Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy,

Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four Kingdoms, two Chronicles,

Job, Solomon, David,

John and the Armenian Bible,” in *Bringing the Underground to the Foreground: New Perspectives on Jewish and Christian Apocryphal Texts and Traditions; Proceedings of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha Section of the Society for Biblical Literature International Meeting Held in Groningen, the Netherlands, July 25–28, 2004* (ed. Pierluigi Piovanelli), forthcoming.

²⁹ See *Մաշտոց ձեռնարկութեան եպիսկոպոսի* (Ritual for the Ordination of a Bishop) (Vafaršapat: Catholicossate, 1876) 21.

the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and the twelve prophets.
 And the New Testament, which is:
 the holy Gospel of Matthew, of Mark, of Luke and of John;
 fourteen epistles of Paul, Acts of the Apostles, seven Catholic Epistles,
 and the Revelation of John.

General Notes

1. This list, by its character, is brief. It occurs in the liturgy as part of a series of assents given by the candidates, preceded by an asseveration of belief in the resurrection of the dead and followed by one relating to the Council of Nicea.

2. The character of the text in the 1876 edition remains unknown, and so any possible variations in medieval manuscripts remain unknown.

3. The category of historical books omits various works, some “proto-”canonical like Esther, Ezra and Nehemiah, and some “deutero-”canonical, such as Judith, Tobit, and Maccabees.

4. Presumably “Solomon” includes the Song of Solomon, Proverbs, Qoheleth and the Wisdom of Solomon. “Jeremiah” may well include Lamentations.

5. The New Testament list is standard and does not include Third Corinthians or the *Dormition of John*.

6. Since it is hard to believe that the Armenian Church did not regard Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, etc., as canonical, this list cannot be taken as a dogmatic statement of Armenian canon but must be regarded as mentioning the chief works of the Old Testament in an indicative way.