The Holy Spirit in the Liturgy of the Armenian Church: The Significance of the Hymns of Pentecost

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More than the brief statements on the Holy Spirit in the confessional or dogmatic writings of the Armenian Church, and altogether distinct from the occasional references to the Spirit in the polemical writings pertaining to early Christological controversies, the hymnal (Šaraknoc') of the Armenian Church constitutes a major source for her Pneumatology. Arranged in the late 13th century by St. Grigor Tat'ewac'î, the Šaraknoc' contains seven Canons or lengthy hymns for the feast of Pentecost: the first for the feast-day and the rest for each of the week-days following. The authorship of the Canon of the First Day remains uncertain, but as for the remaining six, they are attributed to St. Nersēs the Graceful, the great theologian and hymnographer of the 12th century and Catholicos of the Armenian Church (in office 1166-1173). He is responsible for introducing the week-long celebration of Pentecost with its respective liturgy, following, it seems, the custom of the Latin Church, where the eight-day celebration of the feast goes back to the 7th century.

Each of the seven Canons of Pentecost consists of several parts or hymns for the eight traditional modes that characterize the hymnody of the Armenian Church. Thus, the seven lengthy hymns amount to thirty-three parts or shorter, constituent hymns. They draw their inspiration from biblical and patristic sources, especially the discourses of St. Gregory Nazianzen, and from the traditional Armenian understanding of the role of the Spirit in the worship of the Early Church and in the lives of her faithful. Whether seven or thirty-three, no traditional church has so many hymns dedicated to the Holy Spirit and for the feast of Pentecost especially.

Resorting to a hymnal as a primary source for a church's tacit Theology, especially of such an important subject, may at first appear to be a rather questionable methodology. This may be true when treating certain lay compositions in non-traditional churches of the last few centuries, where the divine mystery is so often trivialized. There is a marked difference, however, in the theological seriousness with which the ancients
traditionally approached the Deity. Their well-thought hymns emanate from profound theological understanding; after all, they are the work of theologians. In the case of the Armenian hymnal, the authorship of most hymns in the Šaraknoc’ is well established, and that of the rest enjoys fairly reliable attributions, with St. Nersèses the Graceful, the hymnographer par-excellence of the medieval Armenian Church, as its greatest contributor.

What makes the Canons of Pentecost (including those of the week following) an important subject of study is the fact that certain of their constituent hymns are also used in the various sacraments and rites of the Armenian Church where the Spirit is invoked, especially in rites involving anointing—such as chrismation and ordination. Consequently, any serious consideration of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy of the Armenian Church should necessarily account for these hymns as prerequisites for the inquiry. Given the limitations of the paper, we shall confine ourselves to a theological outline of these hymns after considering briefly some of their subsequent liturgical utilization.

(I)

Several of the hymns in the Canons of Pentecost are sung at various intervals in the order of baptism. The first is from the end of the Canon of the First Day (Levavi), sung at the beginning of the blessing of the baptismal braid (Arm. “narot”), the twined red and white threads or ribbons which represent the water and blood from the pierced side of Christ:

The heavenly power and one of the indivisible Trinity shone forth as light upon the world....
He who came down from heaven this day also rested upon the apostles, the very Holy Spirit....
He who operates in the saving mysteries this day in descending upon the apostles showed himself as having been known by the prophet. The second hymn in the order of baptism is from the beginning of the Canon of the Fourth Day (first set of stanzas in the “Ornæviw,” the hymn associated with the Canticle of Moses in Ex. 15, hereinafter referred to as Cantemus), sung at the beginning of the holy baptism, as the infant is brought to the font:

The sun of righteousness Christ rising over the world banished the darkness of ignorance and after his death and resurrection ascended to the Father from whom he was begotten; he is worshipped by the heavenly and the earthly together with the Father and the holy Spirit; and therefore we bow down to the Father in spirit and in truth.
In return for the Word who was born of the bosom of the Father and ascended into heaven, the Spirit of Truth, the one promised as good tidings, was sent from on high by the Father to comfort them that were saddened by Adam and to arm the ranks of the chosen apostles with fire; and therefore we bow down to the Father in spirit and in truth.

This day the sorrowful and nocturnal travail of the birth of the first mother has been loosed, for those who were born with body unto death and corruption have been born again by the Spirit to be sons of light of the heavenly Father; and therefore we bow down to the Father in spirit and in truth.

The third hymn is from the beginning of the Canon of the First Day (first set of stanzas in the Cantemus), sung when blessing the baptismal water:

The Dove that was sent came down from on high with a great sound and like the flashing of light he armed the disciples with fire while they were seated in the upper room.

The Dove immaterial, unsearchable, that searches the deep counsels of God and taking the same from the Father tells of the awful second coming, has been declared consubstantial with the Father and the Son.

Blessing in the highest to him that proceeds from the Father, to the Holy Spirit, through whom the apostles drank the immortal cup and invited the earth to heaven.

The fourth hymn marks the beginning of holy chrismation. It is found in the middle of the Canon of the Fourth Day (Miserere):

Source of life, distributor of graces, O Spirit, who hast come down from on high, thou hast divided thine incorruptible gifts among the apostles.

Thou that being above the waters didst create the creatures, now coming down into the waters of the Font dost bear sons of God. Thou dost adorn and restore always thy new Church so that her children shine with diverse gifts of thine.

Sometimes, the latter hymn is preceded by yet another hymn from the Canon of the Fourth Day (second set of stanzas in the Cantemus):

Thou consubstantial with the Father and the Son, the ineffable effluence from the everlasting essence, today thou hast poured the water of life in Jerusalem....

Thou who art Creator with the Father and the Son, through thee creatures are born in the waters; today thou bearest children of God from the waters....

Thou who knowest the depth of God, art glorified with the Father and the Son; today thou hast made the fools of the world utterly wise.
As for the Theology of the order of baptism (including chrismation and Communion), it is part of the early Christian heritage. Initially an expression of repentence or conversion, such as from foolishness to wisdom, baptism came to be viewed as divine adoption, incorporation into the Body of Christ, or initiation into discipleship, further defined as participation in the life of Christ—by sharing in his sufferings and resurrection while maintaining a strong consciousness of the grace of the Spirit. In this sense, baptism is participation also in the life of the Spirit (i.e., the Spirit of Christ); hence the notion of Spirit baptism, a shared experience with Christ, signified through chrismation. Moreover, the repeated references to birth and body seem to suggest that the chrismation of the senses and members of the infant is at the same time symbolic of the experience of the community of faith, the Church as the Body of Christ with its various members endowed with the gifts of the Spirit.

A significant part of the rite of ordination of priests is the invocation of the Holy Spirit, to the effect that he is the one ordaining. The ancient hymn of ordination, “The divine and heavenly grace, that ever fulfills the holy necessities of the Apostolic Church, calls (the candidate by name)...”\(^ {13}\) The gift is the Spirit, who calls, ordains, and bestows the sevenfold gift: truth, wisdom, understanding of the great Mystery, power, knowledge, piety, and the fear of the Lord, as the episcopal “Prayer of the Litany” indicates.\(^ {14}\) In the vesting of the newly ordained, the role of the Spirit is further emphasized in the words “Take the authority from the Holy Spirit, for you are able to bear the yoke of our Lord Jesus Christ,” as the stole is placed around the neck of the newly ordained. And again, when putting the girdle around him: “Take the authority from the Holy Spirit, to bind and loosen, as our Lord commanded the holy Apostles, saying...” (quoting Matt. 18:18; cf. 16:19). The three stanzas on the descent of the Dove, quoted above from the Canon of the First Day (first set in the Cæntemus), are sung at this juncture to conclude the vesting and to anticipate the anointing: “The Dove that was sent, descended from on high....” Then follows the consecration with the holy Myron, ceremoniously brought to the bishop in a dove-like receptacle, a symbolic representation of the descending Dove. It is important to note that with every act of anointing (of the forehead and of the hands separately), the bishop stresses the consecrating role of the Spirit. It is at this juncture that a new name is given to the newly ordained priest, implying that he is now born of the Spirit (cf. John 3:5-8). It would be wrong, then, to speak of “the consecrating bishop”; but rather, of “the consecrating Spirit.” Then comes the ultimate authorization to celebrate the Eucharist. When handing the chalice and the paten, the bishop says: “Take and receive authority and competence from the Holy Spirit, to consecrate and consummate the holy
Sacrifice in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the living and the dead."

Much of the same Theology is reflected in the other ordination rites, whether of bishops or catholicoi.

As for the Theology obtained between baptism and ordination, we see it clearly in the Pneumatology of St. Nersēs, in two consecutive stanzas in the middle of his first composition for the feast of Pentecost (Canon of the Second Day, end of Patrum):

*Come, new creatures, born anew in Christ through the font by the Holy Spirit; glorify the dispenser of graces.*

*New priesthood honored by Christ with the anointment of the Holy Spirit; glorify the dispenser of graces.*

Unfortunately, these lines are not part of either of the two rites.

The role of the Holy Spirit is equally stressed in the rite of holy matrimony.\(^{15}\) Behind it lies the notion that the Spirit is the bond of all divine relationships, whether in the heavenly realm or the earthly, or between the two. Thus, the union of man and woman within the community of faith is attributed to the work of the Spirit. All hymns and prayers emanate from such a presupposition. The first hymn is on the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, from the beginning of the Canon of the Third Day (first set of stanzas in the Cantemus):

*Today the heavenly beings rejoiced over the renewal of the earthlings, because the Spirit, the restorer of beings, descended into the holy upper room; through him were the ranks of the apostles renewed.*

*Today this nature of earthly substance rejoices over the reconciliation with the Father; although he withdrew the Spirit from creatures born in human bodies, he gives it back again. Today the children of the Church joyfully celebrate the coming of the Holy spirit, by whom they were adorned in bright and luminous garments; they sing the Trisagion with the Seraphim.*

Moreover, the first priestly prayer pronounces as husband and wife those whom the Lord has united. The bride and the groom are deemed married already by virtue of the fact that the Spirit has brought them together in the first place. Consequently, separation or divorce are treated as transgressions against the Spirit, and this, in effect, constitutes the unpardonable sin—tantamount to a denial of the work of the Spirit in all Christian consciousness: the whole understanding of the divine-human relationship (cf. Matt. 12:31-32 and parallels).\(^{16}\) No wonder that the second hymn is the hymn of the Church: "Rejoice O Holy Church, for Christ the heavenly King has this day crowned thee with his cross, and he has adorned thy ramparts with his wonderful glory..." The experience of
the newlyweds is part of the shared experience of the Spirit in the Church as the Body of Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 12:12-13; Eph. 4:3-4).

Not to belabor our subject in the other sacraments and rites of the Church, where the mediatory role of the Holy Spirit is equally significant, we shall proceed to outline the seven Canons for the feast of Pentecost and to highlight their Theology. We have already touched on several of the works and manifestations of the Spirit in some of the constituent hymns, as we considered their place in the sacraments and rites; however, we must repeat some of the points already made as we draw the theological threads together. It is in the opening hymns where we usually find the seminal thoughts or the key words that tend to govern the rest of the composition. We shall therefore devote more attention to these openings, the two sets of three stanzas with refrain, comprising the Cantemus.

(II)

Because of its antiquity and influence on the subsequent Canons of Pentecost, the Canon of the First Day is crucial for our understanding of the role of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy of the Armenian Church. Its broad influence is discernible through the nearly anthemic use of its opening hymn in every anointing service (first set in the Cantemus). It stresses the descent of the Dove (albeit a baptismal imagery), the setting in the upper room, and the apostles’ baptism by the Spirit (cf. Acts 2:1-4). There are a couple of attributes of the Spirit derived from the Paraclete-sayings in the Fourth Gospel: the Spirit as the searcher of the deep counsels of God and revealer of things to come (cf. John 16:13); and a couple of dogmatic statements: the Spirit being consubstantial with the Father and the Son and proceeding from the Father. This hymn provides the starting point and basis of the Pneumatology of the Armenian Church, beginning with the necessity of Spirit-baptism. Not surprisingly, these and other elements, with some variations, become recurring features in the various hymns of the Canon and in several other hymns of subsequent Canons. For example, “the immortal cup” from which the apostles drank, mentioned at the conclusion of the first set in the Cantemus (and used in the order of baptism), becomes “the cup of wisdom” in the refrain of the first set in the Cantemus of the Canon of the Second Day; it is “the immortal cup” with which Peter was inebriated, according to the Laudate in the Canon of the Fourth day; it is “the immortalizing cup,” “the life-giving cup,” and “the cup with fiery taste” in the various hymns of the Canon of the Sixth Day. The imagery carries eucharistic implications as well, and reminds of the several sacramental nuances found even in those parts of the hymns that are not utilized in the established rites. Some themes, such as of the founding
of the Church on the day of Pentecost (end of *Laudate*), are rare when compared with other, recurring themes. One such recurring theme is of the role of the Spirit in the creation story of Genesis (end of *Midday*), contemplated in the opening and closing hymns of the Canon of the Second Day and elsewhere. On the whole, however, the Canon of the First Day denotes the experiential realization of the Spirit in the Early Church.

In the Canon of the Second Day, the first of those composed by St. Nersés, we find recurring themes as well as some theologically loaded statements of his own. As noted above, in the refrain of the first set in the *Cantemus*, the Holy Spirit offers the spiritual grace as a drink from “the cup of wisdom.” Similarly, the Creator Spirit who hovered over the waters at the time of creation is petitioned to hover over the baptismal font, since he creates anew in the likeness of God and pampers humanity with love. The transforming power of the Spirit is stressed: he makes prophets out of shepherds, apostles out of fishermen, bearers of good news out of tax collectors, and proclaimers out of persecutors. The second set in the *Cantemus* emphasizes both Johannine and Pauline teachings: the judgment and conviction of the world with justice (John 16:8-11), by the Spirit who is sent by the Father and the Son (14:26; 15:26; 16:7), and the bestowal of the seven spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 12, 14), identified with the seven pillars of wisdom upon which the Church is built—theologizing, it seems, on the repeated sentence “for the upbuilding of the Church” in the Corinthian passages. The seven gifts of the Spirit are identified in the above discussed rite of priestly ordination as truth, wisdom, understanding of the great Mystery, power, knowledge, piety, and the fear of the Lord. The concluding hymns of the Canon highlight the biblical basis of the feast. In one (*Miserere*), the Johannine Paraclete is asked by the Son to comfort the apostles, and the experience in Acts is referred to as inebriation with the heavenly wine of wisdom. In the other (*Laudate*), the dominant roles of the Spirit in both Testaments are brought together: when God breathed his Spirit as he created man in his image and inspired the Law and the Prophets, and when the risen Christ breathed his Spirit upon the eleven disciples, saying “Receive the Holy Spirit” (John 20:22). The opening and closing hymns of this Canon form some kind of a frame around the theme of the Creator Spirit, a theme brought up again in the *Cantemus* of the Canon of the Fourth Day.

In the Canon of the Third Day, the first set in the *Cantemus* connects the joy of Acts with that of the present; the second set dwells on three Old Testament events involving the Spirit: the confusion of tongues at Babel, now, as in St. Gregory Nazianzen, rectified by the pouring of tongues in the upper room; the leading of the tribes of Israel through the desert; and the inspiring of the craftsman Bezalel who made the tabernacle. By now,
the various hymns of the Canon become somewhat repetitious, and their contents assume the characteristics of topoi, with several sets of three stanzas addressed respectively to the Father, Son, and Spirit, and the rest to express the present joy, like when rivers of wisdom flooded the streets of Jerusalem (Patrum). The rehearsal of the sevenfold graces or gifts of the Spirit is another commonplace, but not the moving description of the inspired passage of Isaiah read by Jesus at the Synagogue in Nazareth: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me...” (Luke 4:18; cf. Isaiah 61:1-2; 11:2), doubling the effect of the Spirit’s work (Miserere). The concluding Laudate is sheer joy in the Spirit.

The full contents of the Cantemus along with other hymns in the Canon of the Fourth Day have been given above, in our discussion of the order of baptism, and it is not necessary to repeat them here. However, the comparison and the contrast made between the physical birth by the first mother in pain and that of the spiritual, baptismal birth with joy in the Spirit (“This day the sorrowful and nocturnal travail of the birth of the first mother has been loosed, for those who were born with body unto death and corruption have been born again by the Spirit to be sons of light of the heavenly Father”—third stanza of the first set in the Cantemus) compels us to invite attention once more to the discourses of St. Gregory Nazianzen, where the same comparison is found: “Of these the first is by night, and is servile, and involves passion; but the second is by day, and is destructive of passion, cutting off all the veil that is derived from birth, and leading on to the higher life” (Oration 40: On Baptism, 2). The brief Laudate refers to the prophecy of Joel (2:28-32), the intoxication of Peter spoken of in Acts (2:13-16), said to be with “the immortal cup,” and the Spirit flowing like a river in Jerusalem—by now a topos (cf. John 7:38).

The attributes of the Holy Spirit are the subject of the Cantemus in the Canon of the Fifth Day. He is “the Spirit of Truth,” “the dispenser of grace,” “the fountain of wisdom,” “the water of life,” “the spring of Eden,” etc. The Patrum again stresses the dogmatic points on the role and place of the Spirit within the Trinity. He is called “the heavenly fire, the one whom the Word brought down to the rational world.” In the concluding Laudate, he is “the fountain of knowledge,” “the Good News of the Father... to announce the Good News to Adam to return to Eden.” Those renewed by the Spirit and who have become the children of light are summoned to worship and rejoice.

The Canon of the Sixth Day begins with similar attributes of the Spirit, the “immortalizing cup poured from heaven” and which was drank by the apostles; the “life-giving cup.” He is the “living fire” which engulfs completely. It is particularly interesting to note the interchangeable roles of the Three Persons in the following triad, the second set of the Cantemus:
O God without beginning, Holy Spirit, you enlightened resplendently the predictions of the prophets, by pouring yourself abundantly on the apostles.

O timeless, Only-begotten Son, you fulfilled in the upper room the promised gifts of the good news, by pouring yourself abundantly on the apostles.

O heavenly, almighty Father, you granted to us earthlings the dawn of your indivisible light, by pouring yourself abundantly on the apostles.

These stanzas emphasize the foremost attributes of the Persons of the Trinity as consubstantial and co-eternal, their mode of existence and their equality, their co-operational relationship and yet distinctness. So much Theology is packed in these few lines. In the Patrum, the Spirit is “inexhaustible fountain of light” (so also in the Miserere), and the “cup” which the apostles drank “sprung in them the living fountain of wisdom.” The Spirit is the “miraculous divine light” who in the beginning of creation changed the darkness into light, and now “in an expanding blaze” enlightens the apostles (Miserere). The Laudate concludes with the words: “You who always appear to the fiery beings like the luminous flames of Sun, today you were poured from heaven like a cup with fiery taste on earthlings.” The sun imagery here has an antecedent in the Canon of the Fourth Day (used in the order of baptism), but with reference to Christ, the Sun of Righteousness.

The last Canon, that of the Seventh Day, resumes the “light” imagery throughout the Cantemus, and briefly in the middle of the short Miserere, where the “river” imagery is also brought up again. The most interesting part of this Canon, however, is the comprehensive dogmatic statement comprising the final and concluding hymn (Levavi). The dogmatic statement defining the role of the Holy Spirit is similar to the statement in the “Stichera on the Lauds” at the end of the Byzantine Canon.\(^\text{19}\) The statement itself, whether in Greek or Armenian, is a verbatim borrowing from St. Gregory Nazianzen (Oration 41: On Pentecost, 9).\(^\text{20}\) It is more than likely that St. Nersës was familiar with the Byzantine Canon; however, he seems to have adapted the hymn from an existing Armenian translation of the Orations.\(^\text{21}\) Be that as it may, the purposeful borrowing should not be surprising since it was the outright intention of St. Nersës to uphold the unity of the Christian faith. His pioneering efforts to reconcile theologically the churches of the East and the West should not go unnoticed even here.\(^\text{22}\)

Notwithstanding their thematic repetitiousness, as well as the recurring blessing in every Patrum, the exaltation in every Magnificat, the begging for mercy in every Miserere, the rejoicing in every Laudate, and
the praising in every Levavi, the Canons maintain some theological peculiarities through the different refrain(s) of each Cantemus.\textsuperscript{23} The refrains, themselves repetitious, help loosen the redundancy found between several of these hymns, even the structurally identical patterns of some.\textsuperscript{24} More importantly, the hymns reflect a Pneumatology based on a cumulative understanding of the scriptural readings for the entire week.

After all, St. Nerses is the author not only of the Canons of the Second Day and beyond, but also of the entire liturgy for these days. His selections of scriptural readings are as much a commentary on his Pneumatology as are his hymns of Pentecost. We would be hard pressed therefore to associate any of the hymns in a given Canon with a particular passage in the readings for that day as a theological backdrop or a source of inspiration for the composition. Some scattered connections between scriptural passages and certain stanzas could be made.\textsuperscript{25} But this does not represent the whole picture, since his hymns are informed by a theological understanding of more than sixty scriptural passages contemplated by him.\textsuperscript{26}

Although the Armenian Canons for the feast of Pentecost have not escaped the attention of researchers, especially of those interested in the hymnic tradition, there is but little interest in the Pneumatology of the Armenian Church in recent scholarship.\textsuperscript{27} The study of the subject in the pre-Chalcedonian writings attributed to St. Gregory the Illuminator would alone constitute a major undertaking, as would also that in the writings of St. Gregory of Narek (10th century)—not to mention the voluminous writings of St. Nerses the Graceful or the dogmatic literature produced before his time. One could also draw a nearly complete Pneumatology of St. Nerses, along with its attendant Christology, from his inspiring epic Jesus, the Son. Obviously, the Pneumatology of his hymns of Pentecost deserves an exhaustive study, but not apart from the decisive influence of the earlier Canon of the First Day. Ours is simply prolegomena, intended to draw attention to these hymns as prerequisites for any serious inquiry into the place and role of the Holy Spirit in the liturgy of the Armenian Church.

A point worth drawing attention to in our conclusion is the fact that the heavy dependence on St. Gregory Nazianzen notwithstanding, the Theology of these hymns is soundly rooted in the New Testament. The believers' (or the author's) awareness of the immediacy of the Spirit is drawn from the Johannine Paraclete-sayings; their exuberant joy is drawn from the Lucan narrative in Acts; and their sense of participation in the life of Christ or the life of the Spirit owes much to Pauline Theology. The hymns capture well the gathering of the disciples in the upper room, the
descent of the Spirit on the day that marks the birthday of Christianity, and
the enjoining of the proclamation of the Gospel.

28 A clear consciousness of community characterizes all these hymns,
reflecting a sense of identity, a distinctiveness of belonging to the new
Israel. A most recurring imagery is that of the baptismal rebirth, renewal,
and restoration. About the role of the Spirit in baptism we need add
nothing to what we have said above. But two brief comments may be
appropriate on the life and worship of the believing community (perhaps
just of the authors). One is their exuberance and joy; they delighted in
their worship and gatherings, as the repeated use of the words “joy” and
“rejoicing” indicates. The second is their awareness of the power of the
Spirit in their midst, as indicated by the frequent use of the word “today.”
The Spirit is “the heavenly power ... who operates in the saving mysteries
this day.” These words from the end of the Canon of the First Day
(Levavi) are a fitting summary of more than the predominant thought of
the earliest Canon, which by virtue of its antiquity must have influenced—
if not inspired—the composition of the later six Canons by St. Nersēs, who
seems to have been dependent also on inspiration by the very Spirit of
whom he speaks.29 We see both spontaneity and structure in his
compositions here as elsewhere in his writings.30

4. Polarean, Hay grohner, p. 234. In fact, the name “Nerses” is obtained acrostically through the first six stanzas comprising the first hymn, the Canatemus in the Canon of the Second Day of Pentecost (Šarkan, pp. 510-512).
5. Gabriel Awetik’ean, Bac’aturt’iwn šarakanac’ (Interpretation of the Šarakans) (Venice: St. Lazar, 1814), p. 370.
7. The following words of St. Gregory Nazianzen should be instructive: “And even now He [Christ] bears to be stoned, not only by those who deal despitefully with Him, but also by ourselves who seem to reverence Him. For to use corporeal names when disclosing of the incorporeal is perhaps the part of those who deal despitefully and stone Him; but pardon, I say again to our infirmity, for I do not willingly stone Him; but having no other words to use, we use what we have. Thou art called the Word, and Thou art above Word; Thou art above Light, yet art named Light; Thou art called Fire not as perceptible to sense, but...” Oration 37: On the Words of the Gospel, 4 (transl. C. G. Browne and J. E. Swallow, in P. Schaff and H. Wace, eds., Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976] 7:339).
9. Attributes are more certain as of the 12th century; earlier attributions are less certain (see N. Ter-Mikaélian, Das armenische Hymnarium: Studien zu seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1905], pp. 63-104. For attributions found in the manuscript tradition of the Saraknoc’, see ibid., pp. 29-62; cf. the two prefatory lists published in the 1986 New York reprint of the 1936 Jerusalem edition of the Šarakanac’: the first from Šarkan hogewor ergoc’ (Hymnal of Spiritual Songs) (Constantinople: Miwhentinean, 1853), pp. i-iv, the second from the Jerusalem edition (supra, n. 1), pp. 5-7.
10. Throughout, I have used the Latin equivalents of the seven Armenian designations for the categories of Šarakans for the Hours, as recommended by (Abp.) Tiran Nerseyan, The Book of Hours or the Order of Common Prayers of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church (Evanson: Ouzounian House, 1964), pp. vi-xxiii. These are: (1) Canatemus, for the hymns associated with Exodus 15:1-18, the Canticle of Moses, Arm. Orhnut’iwn; (2) Patrum, for those associated with Daniel 3:52-86, the Canticle of the Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace, Arm. Harc’; (3) Magnificat, for those associated with Luke 1:46-65, the Canticle of Mary, Arm. Meçac’usc’è; (4) Misereere, those associated with Psalm 50 (LXX) /51, Arm. Okormia; (5) Laudate, those associated with Psalms 148-150, Arm. Ter yerknic’; (6) Puéri, those associated with Psalm 112 (LX)/113, Arm. Mankunk’; (7) Levavi, those associated with Psalm 120 (LXX)/121, Arm. Hambarji. The 1st of these categories is for the Night Hour, 2-6 are for the Morning Hour, and the 7th for the Evening Hour. An 8th category of Šarakans, “Midday,” Arm. Ҫaçu, is reserved for the Divine Liturgy.
11. Except for the last quotation in this paragraph, all translations are from (Abp.) Tiran Nerseyan, The Order of Baptism (Evanson: [St. Neress Arm. Seminary], 1964), pp. 11-13, 29-31, 51-53, 63-65. At this point, however, it would be more accurate to translate “canuc’aw margarein” as “made known by the prophet,” i.e., Joel 2:28-32 (cf. Acts 2:16-21).
As in the Maštoc’ kam Cisaran (Manual of Rites or Euchologion) (Antelias: Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, 1988), p. 58, omitting the third stanza. This hymn (all three stanzas) is often omitted; cf. Nersoyan, *Baptism*, pp. vi, 57.

For a special treatment of the form of this hymn, found in the Apostolic Constitution and all eastern rites of ordination, see Claudio Guggeroti, *I riti di ordinazione e la Cilicia armena*. Diss., Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium (Rome 1996), pp. 27-35; for a translation, see p. 405: “La divina e celeste grazia, che sempre adempie alle necessità del santo servizio della Chiesa apostolica, chiama...”

Cf. the second set of stanzas in the *Cantemus* of the Canon of the Second Day for the feast of Pentecost, where the seven gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor. 12, 14) are identified with the seven pillars of wisdom upon which the Church is built.

The Canon is attributed to Catholicos Yovhan Mandakuni (in office 478-490); see Polarean, *Hay grother*, p. 31.


Although in the confessional literature of the Armenian Church the Spirit, as a rule, is said to proceed from the Father (see, e.g., *Knık’ hawatoj* [Seal of Faith], ed. K. Ter-Mkrič’ean [Ejmiacin: Mother See Press, 1914], pp. 18-22, 51-55), there are instances where the Spirit is said to proceed also from the Son (e.g., *The Teaching of St. Gregory*, 362, 665 [Eng. trans., R. W. Thomson, *The Teaching of St. Gregory: An Early Armenian Catechism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970)].

Moreover, the tongues at Babel scatter, those in the upper room unite; as in St. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration 41: On Pentecost*, 16.


The dependence of this constituent hymn on the corresponding Byzantine ode is well known (see M. Z. Demirjian, “The Hymns of the Armenian Apostolic Church: Translation with Theological Commentary,” unpublished M.Div. thesis, St. Vladimir’s Orthodox Theological Seminary, Crestwood, NY [1991], p. 9). However, for the patristic source I am indebted to A. Drost-Abgaryan and H. Goltz, “A Quotation from Gregory Nazianzen in the Sharaknoc’,” paper read at the VII° Congrès de l’Association internationale des Etudes arméniennes, Louvain-la-Neuve, 4-7 September, 1996. To illustrate the extent of the borrowing, in the following quotation from St. Gregory Nazianzen (*Oration 41: On Pentecost*, 9), I have underlined the omissions in the Armenian and have indicated the additions in brackets; moreover, I have numbered the sequence of the stanzas as they appear in the Šaraknoc’.

The translation is that of C. G. Browne and J. E. Swallow, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, 7:382. (1) The Holy Ghost, then, always existed, and exists, and always will exist. He neither had a beginning, nor will He have an end; but He was everlastingly ranged with and numbered with the Father and the Son. For it was not ever fitting that either the Son should be wanting to the Father, or the Spirit to the Son. For then Diety would be shorn of Its Glory in its greatest respect, for It would seem to have arrived at the consummation of perfection as if by an afterthought [Arm. adds the refrain: “and He is blessed forevermore]. (2) Therefore He was ever being partaken, but not partaking: perfecting, not being perfected; sanctifying, not being sanctified [Arm. transposes the last two words]; deifying, not being deified [Arm. adds the refrain: “and He is blessed forevermore]; (4) Himself ever the same with Himself, and with Those with Whom He is ranged; invisible, eternal, incomprehensible, unchangeable, [Arm. adds the refrain: “and He is blessed forevermore]; (5) without quality, without quantity [Arm. transposes the last two words], without form, impalpable, [Arm. adds the refrain: “and He is blessed forevermore]; (3) self-moving, eternally moving [Arm. transposes the last two words], with free-will, self-powerful, All-powerful—even though all that is of the Spirit is referable to the First Cause, just as is all that is of the Only-begotten [Arm. adds, with the refrain: “he breathes wherever He wills, as much as He likes, whenever and as much; and He is blessed forevermore]; (7) Life and Lifegiver: Light and Lightgiver; absolute Good, and Spring of Goodness; the Right, the Princely Spirit; [Arm. adds the refrain: “and He is blessed forevermore]; (6) the Lord, the Sender, the Separator; Builder of His own Temple; leading, working [better, Arm.: ”strengthening”] as He
wills; distributing [better, Arm.: “distributing as He wills] His own Gifts; [Arm. adds the refrain: “and He is blessed forevermore]; (8) the Spirit of adoption, of Truth, of Wisdom, of Understanding, of Knowledge, of Godliness, of Counsel, of Power [τηχνη, inadvertently omitted in Eng.], of Fear—which are ascribed to Him, by Whom the Father is known and the Son is glorified; and by Whom alone He is known; one class, one service, worship, power, perfection, sanctification [Arm. adds the refrain: “and He is blessed forevermore]. Why make a long discourse of it? All that the Father hath the Son hath also, except the being Unbegotten; and all that the Son hath the Spirit hath also, except the Generation. And these two matter do not divide the Substance, as I understand it, but rather are divisions within the Substance.”


23 In the Canon of the First Day: “...that is why we celebrate today your blessed coming” (second set in the Cantemus). In the Canon of the Second Day: “Make us drink as well, with your mercy, from the cup of wisdom... and cloths with the light of your glory.” In the Canon of the Third Day: “Let every soul bless the Spirit of God” (second set in the Cantemus). In the Canon of the Fourth Day: “... and therefore we bow down to the Father in spirit and in truth,” and “Spirit of God, have mercy.” In the Canon of the Fifth Day: “Let us glorify Him with the “Trisagion”’ (second set in the Cantemus). In the Canon of the Sixth Day: “Blessed are you, Spirit of Truth... abundantly pouring yourself on the apostles.” In the Canon of the Seventh Day: “Blessed are you true Light,” and “Blessing the Father, sender of the Word.” A certain progression—conceivably experiential or participatory—is somewhat discernible in these refrains of the various days, with the seventh creating a triad for the Trinity.

24 The following structural pattern in sets of three stanzas (abc) within the Cantemus of the third / sixth / and seventh days is noteworthy: (a) the Spirit descends / is poured / flows; (b) the Spirit is given [to the apostles] / the apostles drink [of the Spirit] / the apostles are adorned by the Spirit; (c) “the children of the Church joyfully celebrate” / “the Gentile Church greatly rejoices” / “the apostles filled with joy, speak in exaltation” (adapted from Demirjian, “The Hymns of Pentecost,” p. 39).

25 In the Canon of the First Day, Acts 2:1-21 (esp. vss. 1-4) is reflected in the first stanza of the Cantemus. In the Canon of the Second Day, Gen. 1:1-5 (esp. vs. 2b) is reflected in the second stanza of the Cantemus, Prov. 9:1-6 (esp. vs. 1) in the sixth stanza of the Cantemus, and Rom. 1:17 (esp. vs. 2) in the second stanza of the Laudate. In the Canon of the Third Day, Gen. 8:6-11 (esp. vs. 10) and John 1:29-34 (esp. vs. 32) are reflected in the third stanza of the Patrum. In the Canon of the Fourth Day, Gal. 4:1-7 (esp. vss. 6-7) is reflected in the second stanza of the Miserere, and Matt. 1:18-21 (esp. vss. 20-21) in the third stanza of the Cantemus. The concluding Levavi of the seventh day, with its battery of dogmatic statements, bears some semblance to the form of Wis. of Sol. 7:22-23, an apocryphal reading for that day. Thus far, our observations are adapted from Demirjian, “The Hymns of Pentecost,” pp. 42-48 (he is silent regarding the readings for the sixth day, and the one he points out for the fifth day, Exodus 30:22-29a [esp. vs. 25] as a backdrop for the third stanza of the Laudate, is far stretched). Other direct or indirect connections cannot be ruled out. Even where established, the connections are extremely rare. However, there can be no doubt that certain readings for a particular day have some bearing on hymns for another day; e.g., I Sam. 16:12b-13, Samuel anointing David, a reading for the fourth day, must have inspired the first stanza of the Miserere for
the third day: “You rested with seven-fold graces on the blossomed Scepter of Jesse...”; Luke 4:14-22, Jesus reading from Isaiah at the synagogue in Nazareth, a reading for the seventh day, must have inspired the second stanza of the same Miserere for the third day.

26 For the scriptural readings, see (Abp.) Khajag Barsamian, The Calendar of the Armenian Church (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1995), pp. 47-49. One minor correction: the first reading for the fourth day should be 1 Sam. 16:12b-13 (instead of 1 Kings 16:12-14).

