Piruza Hayrapetyan

THE EMERGENCE OF THE ARMENIAN GANDZ-HYMNS:

POSSIBLE SYRIAC AND BYZANTINE ECHOES

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

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May 2015

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Piruza Hayrapetyan

(Armenia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Abstract

The goal of the present study is to examine the *gandz*'s (a special type of Armenian hymns) twofold relationship with, first, Armenian liturgical sermon (*zhamagrkʻayin kʻaroz*) and, second, Syriac and Byzantine hymnological genres, namely, *madrāshā*, *memrā* and *kontakion*. The study represents a one-level comparison concentrating merely on a literary-poetical form: other aspects of the *gandz* and, consequently, its literary connections with above mentioned hymnological genres on other levels (metrical, musical and literary motif) are not considered here. Based on structural analysis of, on one hand, *gandz* and, on the other hand, *kʻaroz, madrāshā*, *memrā* and *kontakion*, I try to demonstrate the extent of the literary dependence of *gandz* upon these genres tracing the shared structural features. Also, the analysis reveals those structural features which make *gandz* a distinctive hymnological genre from the above mentioned genres.

Acknowledgements

Table of contents

iii

List of Figures, Tables or Illustrations

Introduction

Gandz[1] (treasure or song) is a compound Armenian hymn comprised of the *gandz* itself*, tagh* (song)*, meghedy* (derived from Greek *μελῳδία*, i.e. singing, chanting) and their sequels, *yordorak* and *p'ogh*, genres which are structurally and functionally different from each other: together they form a *gandz kanon*.[2] The *gandz,* basically defined as a poetical sermon, constitutes the main body or the so called ideological part of the *kanon* introducing or explaining the meaning of the feast. In contrast, *tagh* and *meghedy*, free of the homiletic character typical for *gandz*, are generally either a glorification of a particular feast or saint or/and a lyrical elaboration of a specific motif in the *gandz* that they accompany. This *gandz-tagh-meghedy* structural pattern provides wide opportunities for the poetic elaboration of the same motif in various ways.

Dedicated to church feasts and saints, *gandzk'* (pl. of *gandz*)[3] were recited or sung in the Armenian Divine Office. They were collected in *gandzarans,* medieval Armenian collections containing *gandz kanons.* In scholarship, both the invention of the *gandz* as a genre and the special layout of the *gandzaran* collections are attributed to Grigor Narekats'i (ca. 945-ca.1003), an influential ecclesiastic, poet and commentator. The second phase of the development of the *gandzaran*, the enrichment of the collection with lyrical items, i.e. *taghk'* and *meghedyk',* is associated with Nersēs Shnorhaly (ca. 1102-1173), a prolific theologian, poet and hymnographer. The further and the last phase is linked to Grigor Khlat'ets'i (1349-1425), a historian and hymn-writer who enriched the Armenian liturgical calendar with new feasts, himself writing *gandzk'*

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[1] For the transliteration of the Armenian script (the version of the Library of Congress), see Appendix 1.
[2] In foreign sources and catalogues of Armenian manuscripts, *gandz* is presented in different names; *canticum*, anthem, litany*, kontakion*, etc.
[3] Henceforth, all plurals of the Armenian terms will appear in their original forms, for instance, *gandz,* pl. *gandzk'; tagh,* pl. *taghk'; meghedy* , pl. *meghedyk'; k'aroz,* pl. *k'arozk'; sharakan,* pl. *sharakank',* etc., but *gandzaran,* pl. *gandzarans; kanon,* pl. *kanons.*

1

dedicated to them, also introducing rhythmical forms into the poetics of *gandz*. Based on this, in scholarship, the development of the *gandzaran* is roughly divided into two phases representing two editions, the so called *pre-khlat'ets'i* (*նախախլաթեցիական խմբագրություն*) and *khlat'ets'i* (*խլաթեցիական խմբագրություն*).[4] Considering the number of surviving manuscript *gandzarans*, about three hundred in total scattered in various collections of the Armenian manuscripts throughout the world, *gandzaran* was a geographically widespread liturgical-literary tradition.

The question of the origin of *gandz* as a genre and its literary connections has never been a subject of a separate and comprehensive study.[5] However, in her Introduction to the first critical edition of Narekats'i's *gandzk'* and *taghk'*, Armine K'yoshkeryan, who laid the grounds for studies of this hymnological genre, considers this issue as well. Rightly pointing out several structural features shared by *gandzk'* and *zhamagrk'ayin k'arozk'* (breviary sermon), a litany or a liturgical sermon widely found in Armenian breviary commonly called *Zhamagirk'* (The Book of Hours),[6] she argues that Narekats'i used *k'aroz* as a literary model for his new compositions.[7] The question of the *k'aroz-gandz* literary connection will be discussed in the first part of the second chapter.

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[4] See Arminē K'ēōshkērean, in *Գանձարանային մշակույթ* [The beginning and development of the *gandzaran* heritage: 10th-13th centuries] (Erevan: Yason, 2008), 18-19.

[5] For a summary of the previous studies on the *gandz* in general, see, ibid. 6-12.

[6] According to scholarly consensus, the history of the Armenian Breviary goes back to the fifth century. Its formation is attributed to the fifth-century Armenian intellectuals, Sahak I Part'ev, Gyut I Arahezats'i, Hovhannes I Mandakuni and Mesrop Mashtots'. The chief headings of the standard *zhamagirk'* consists of 1. Formularies of faith, confession and absolution, 2. Canon of Nocturns, 3. Canon of Matins, 4. Canon of Prime, 5. Canon Terce, 6. Canon of Sext, 7. Canon of None, 8. Canon of Liturgy, 9. Benediction of the Corporeal Table, 10. Canon of Vespers, 11. Canon of Compline, 12. Canon of Rest (cf. Greek *Horologion*). In addition, it contains the ninety-fourth prayer of Grigor Narekats'i and canticles of Nersēs Shnorhaly, as well as names of the eight musical tones. See Norayr Pogharyan, *Ծիսագիտություն* [Ritual studies] (New York: Thomson Reuters/ Foundation Press, 1990), 2-27. Maghak'ia Ormanean, *A Dictionary of the Armenian Church*, trans. Bedros Norehad (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1984), 44.

[7] Armine K'yoshkeryan, "Introduction," to *Տաղեր և գանձեր* [*Taghk'* and *gandzk'*], by Grigor Narekats'i, comp. Armine K'yoshkeryan (Erevan: Academy Press, 1981), 21-31; idem, *The beginning and development of the gandzaran heritage*, 26-33.

2

The theory of regarding *kʻaroz* as a literary prototype of *gandz* has been simply adopted by the later scholars.[8]

Directly linking *gandz* to the Armenian *zhamagrkʻayin kʻaroz*, Kʻyoshkeryan argues for the "Armenian origin" of the *gandz* dismissing the important fact that the *zhamagrkʻayin kʻaroz* with its basic structure recalls Syriac and Byzantine litanies, called *karōzōthā* (pl. *karōzwāthā*) and *ἐκτένεια* (pl. *ἐκτένεια*) respectively.[9] The question of the origins of *gandz* was directly connected to the interpretation of the term '*gandz*' itself. According to the traditional view, the name emerged from the incipits of Grigor Narekatsʻi's *gandzkʻ* opening with the word *gandz* (treasure). The direct link of the interpretation of the term '*gandz*' to Narekatsʻi has served as a kind of supporting argument for the "Armenian" origins of the genre.

The misbelief that both "the explanation for the term '*gandz*' and the emergence and development of the genre itself should be sought in an Armenian environment"[10] limited the comparative studies of *gandz* within the framework of the Armenian literature. In fact, the only literary connection which was observed and examined is the relationship of *gandz* with *zhamagrkʻayin kʻaroz*. Kʻyoshkeryan devotes one paragraph to the question of the literary relation of *gandz* to Syriac and Byzantine liturgical forms.[11] In fact, the way the question itself is formulated, whether *gandz* is an originally Armenian or a "borrowed" literary genre, limits the answer to 'yes' or 'no' and simply disregards the fact that there is no such a thing as a fully

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[8]Vardan Devrikyan, "Introduction" to Գանձարան [Gandzaran], comp. Vardan Devrikyan, 2 vols, Մատենագիրք Հայոց ՄԱ, ՄԴ [Classical Armenian Authors 11, 14] (Antelias, 2008), 14-16.

[9] The question of the literary connections of the Armenian, Byzantine and Syriac litanies is beyond the scope of this thesis.

[10]Kʻyoshkeryan, "Introduction," 23.

[11] Ibid.

3

detached cultural-literary phenomenon. Consequently, the search for a "purely Armenian", "purely Byzantine" or "purely Syriac" literary or cultural phenomenon inevitably leads to an impasse.

In fact, the question of the literary connections of the *gandz* is a multi-layered discourse requiring comprehensive and systematic approaches and, importantly, considering its compound structure (subgenres within the genre), several, rather than one, points of comparison. Armenian literature with its roots in translations from Syriac and Greek was originally heavily based on these literary traditions. The shared culture is evidenced, first, by a huge number of translations from Syriac and Greek into Armenian starting from the very beginning of Armenian literacy in the fifth century[12] and, second, a set of commonalities found in Armenian, Byzantine and Syriac rites.[13] The religious and literary interactions become more discernible in hymnology as it successfully combines theology, poetry and music. From this point of view, *gandz* is of a special interest: as a compound genre, representing a complex of subgenres, it provides a wider spectrum of comparative studies than any other Armenian poetic genre.

To proceed with my own investigation, I will start with the restatement of the question. Instead of asking whether *gandz* was originally an Armenian or a "borrowed" literary genre, I will formulate my research question as: What literary impulses, both internal and external, did the *gandz* receive from other hymnological genres? What are the extent and levels of the literary dependence of *gandz* upon these genres? The present study will mainly concentrate on three

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[12] For an English summary of translations from Greek and Syriac into Armenian, see Levon Ter-Petrosian, *Ancient Armenian Translations* (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1992); For translations only from Syriac into Armenian, see Edward G. Mathews, *Syriac into Armenian: The Translations and Their Translators*, Analecta Gorgiana 1091 (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2010).

[13] For instance, through the comparative study of the Armenian Night office, Gabriele Winkler demonstrates a number of commonalties Armenian rite shares with the Byzantine and, especially, with Eastern-Syrian rites. See Gabriele Winkler, "The Armenian Night Office I: The Historical Background of the Introductory Part of Գիշերային ժամ," in *Studies in Early Christian Liturgy and Its Context* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 94-113; idem, "The Armenian Night Office II: The Unit of Psalmody, Canticles, and Hymns with Particular Emphasis on the Origins and Early Evolution of Armenian's Hymnography," in *Studies in Early Christian Liturgy and Its Context* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 507-44.

literary connections, *gandz-kʻaroz*, *gandz*-Syriac *madrashā* and *memrā* and *gandz*-Byzantine *kontakion.* William Peterson, while discussing the literary dependence of the *kontakion* upon Syriac hymns, clearly makes distinction between literary dependence as a poetical form and a source.[14] Sebastian Brock goes further mentioning three elements of literary dependence, metrical form, literary form and literary motif hereby suggesting three layers of comparison. [15] For hymnology, which is a musical and performative genre, I will add the fourth element, musical form.

The aim of the present study is to examine the *gandz*'s twofold relationship with, first, Armenian liturgical sermon (*zhamagrkʻayin kʻaroz*) and, second, Syriac and Byzantine hymnological genres, namely, *madrāshā*, *memrā* and *kontakion.* The study will represent a one-level comparison concentrating merely on a literary-poetical form: other aspects of the *gandz* and, consequently, its literary connections with above mentioned hymnological genres on other levels (metrical, musical and literary motif) will not be considered here. Since, in the previous studies, the origin of genre and the origin of the *gandz* as a genre name were interrelated and discussed together, my main discussion will start with the interpretation of the term '*gandz*' (Chapter 1). Moving further, based on structural analysis of, on one hand, *gandz* and, on the other hand, *kʻaroz, madrāshā*, *memrā* and *kontakion*, I will try to demonstrate the extent of the literary dependence of *gandz* upon these genres tracing the shared structural features. Also, the analysis will reveal those structural features which make *gandz* a distinctive hymnological genre from the above mentioned genres concentrating on its basic disticnive feature, i.e. *gandz-tagh-meghedy* structural pattern (Chapter 2). This wil lead to the final step of the present study: the emergence and early

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[14] William L. Petersen, "The Dependence of Romanos the Melodist upon the Syriac Ephrem: Its Importance for the Origin of the Kontakion," *Vigiliae Christianae* 39, no. 2 (1985): 170-77.

[15] Sebastian Brock, "From Ephrem to Romanos," in *From Ephrem to Romanos: Interactions between Syriac and Greek in Late Antiquity,* Variorum Collected Studies Series CS664 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1999), 140.

development (10th-13th centuries) of the *gandz-tagh-meghedy* pattern, i.e. *gandz kanon* which will

be explored in the context of the manuscript tradition of the *gandzarans* (Chapter 3).

Chapter 1. Between Tradition and Etymology: A New Way to the Origin of Gandz

In the previous studies, the question of the origins of *gandz* was directly linked to the interpretation of the term '*gandz*' as a genre. Monks and poets who composed *gandzk'* called their hymns by different names: *ban* (word, speech),[16] *erg* (song)[17], both of them usually appear in acrostics, *k'aroz* (sermon), *govest* (laud),[18] *kanon* (canon) or *karg* (order),[19] *gandz* and so on. Each term emphasizes a particular aspect of the genre, musical, poetical, liturgical-functional, etc. Among them, the most widely used ones were *k'aroz* and *gandz*. Notably, starting only from the late fourteenth century, the term '*gandz*' became widely used in manuscript sources overshadowing *k'aroz*. According to the traditional view, as already mentioned, the name emerged from the incipits of Grigor Narekats'i's *gandzk'*: in the Haykazean dictionary, besides the primary meaning of the word, i.e. "treasure", "treasury", *gandzk'* are defined as "songs and *k'arozk'* derived from the incipits of the songs by Grigor Narekats'i."[20]

There are two important points here: firstly, according to this definition, the secondary meaning of *gandz*, i.e. song or sermon, was developed within Armenian ecclesiastical and literary environment, and, secondly, by this definition, *gandz* is linked to another liturgical genre, *k'aroz* which, as will be demonstrated in the further chapter, has its own reason. This definition was

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[16] Mainly appears in the acrostics of *gandzk'* by Movsēs Erznkats'i (13th-14th cc.), Gēorg Vardapet (14th c.), and so on.

[17] Appears in the acrostics of *gandzk'* by Grigor Narekats'i (10th c.), Sargis Anets'i (12th c.), and so on.

[18] See, for instance, BN 80, 212r (14th c.).

[19] See, for instance, MM (Matenadaran collection) 3870 (15th c.), 146r, 193r; MM 3871 (15th c.), 70v, 73r, 86v, 91r, 94v, etc.; MM 3503 (1394), 18v, 20v, 23r, etc.

[20] Գանձ կոչին երգք և քարոզք, առեալ ի սկզբնաւորութենէ երգոց Նարեկացոյ. See *Նոր բառգիրք հայկազեան լեզուի* [A New Dictionary of the Armenian Language], 2 vols, vol. 1 (Venice: St. Lazar Press, 1836-1837), s.v. "գանձ."

widely adopted by the majority of scholars serving as a ready-made formula for *gandz*.[21] Here, I will start the main discussion on the origins and literary connections of *gandzkʻ* by questioning this traditional view. Through the etymological analysis of the word and its dialectal variations, I will argue (although with great caution) that the word '*gandz*' meaning song, with slight semantic variations, existed in Armenian language since the fifth-sixth centuries as a Middle Persian loanword. Hence, connecting its emergence to the incipits of Grigor Narekatsʻi's *gandzkʻ* is no longer convincing.[22]

As a supporting argument for the traditional explanation for the emergence of the term '*gandz*', scholars cite the well-known example of the genre name of *andzinkʻ* (persons, nominative plural of the noun *անձն*, person) which is the opening word of the incipit of a seven-century hymn: "Those persons who dedicated themselves to the love of Christ."[23] The hymn, composed by the Armenian Catholicos and hymn-writer Komitas, commemorates the virgins who suffered martyrdom together with Saint Hripsime. Its structure, based on an alphabetical acrostic, served as a poetical model for later hymns and songs with the same acrostic pattern. Thus, later on, all hymns composed with an alphabetical acrostic were analogically called *andzinkʻ*.

Furthermore, a similar phenomenon can be observed in the emergence of the genre names of *sharakankʻ* (pl. of *sharakan*, *troparia*) which are direct offspring of *ktsʻurdkʻ* (pl. of *ktsʻurd,* the *responsorium* to the psalmody and the canticles). Traditionally dating back to the fifth century,

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[21] See especially, Kʻyoshkeryan, *"Introduction"*, 21-22; idem, *The beginning and development of the gandzaran heritage*, 26-27; Devrikyan, *"Introduction",* 12-13.

[22] I am immensely grateful to Dr. Hrachʻ Martirosyan (Leiden University, Austrian Academy of Sciences) for his comments and advices concerning this issue.

[23] Անձինք նուիրեալք սիրոյն Քրիստոսի. For the English translation of the poem, see Komitas I Aghtsʻetsʻi, "Devoted Persons," in *The Heritage of Armenian Literature: From the Sixth to the Eighteenth Century*, 3 vols, vol 2, comp. Agop Jack Hacikyan, et all (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), 906-7.

sharakankʿ are considered to be the first Armenian independent hymns, sung in the daily offices of the Armenian Church.[24] In the eighth century, the *sharakan* was developed into *sharakan kanon* (*կանոն շարականաց, kanon of troparia*), a series of eight *sharakankʿ* each having its fixed place and liturgical role within the *kanon*.[25] Modeled on Biblical canticles, they were specified by names which come from the incipits of Biblical canticles that served as their models.[26] For instance, the first *sharakan* of the *kanon* represents a song of praise called *ōrhnestsʿukʿ*, also, *ōrhnutʿyun* (praise). It was modeled on the Biblical Song of Moses with the incipit "We will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously" (Exodus 15:1). The opening word of this biblical passage in Armenian is *ōrhnestsʿukʿ* (we will praise)[27] which, in the course of time, became a genre name for all opening odes of *sharakan kanon.*

In the same way, the third *sharakan* of the *kanon* representing a hymn of praise to the Virgin Mary was modeled on Mary's biblical song (Luke 1:46-55) with the incipit: "My soul will magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." Based on the first word of the incipit in the Armenian version,[28] *Metsatsʿustsʿē* ("May [my soul] magnify") the third ode is called

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[24] The earliest evidence of the Armenian office comes from Catholicos Yovhannes Ōdznetsʿi (ca. 650-728). He wrote a commentary on the offices and left further evidence in his *Oratio synodalis* 10 and 13-15, and other fragments (for sources see ff. 1-5). There is also a commentary by his contemporary Stepannos Syunetsʿi (ca. 680-735), and a later one, in the tenth century, by Khosrov Andzevatsʿi. The Armenian office has seven hours: 1. Night hour (Nocturns), 2. Morning hour (Matins), 3. Sunrise hour (Prime), 4. Midday hour (Typica), 5.Evening hour (Vespers), 6. Hour of peace, 7. Hour of rest (Compline). For a brief summary of the Armenian office in English, see Robert Taft, "The Armenian Office", in *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*, 2nd revised ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993): 219-24.

[25] For a brief review on *ktsʿurd-sharakan-kanon* development, see Armenuhi Abgaryan, "Հիմներգության ժանրը" [The Hymnological Genre], in *Հայ միջնադարյան գրականության ժանրերը* [Genres of Medieval Armenian Literature], ed. Varag Nersisyan, 93-126 (Yerevan, 1984), 100-2.

[26] On the origin, formation and structure of the Armenian *kanon* in comparison with Byzantine and Eastern Syrian *kanons* (κανόνες and *qanone,* respectively), see Winkler, *"The Armenian Night Office II",* 507-544. For an extensive bibliography on *sharakan*, see ibid, 473-4 (note 2). On the formation and structure of the Byzantine *kanon*, see Egon Wellesz, "Byzantine Music and Its Place in the Liturgy", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 81st sess. (1954-1955), 19-21.

[27] Օրհնեց굓ք զՏէր զի փառօք է փառաւորեալ (*'ōrhnecʿukʿ'*, aorist subjunctive plural of the verb *'ōrhnem'*).

[28] Մեծացусցէ անձն իմ զՏէր և ցնծացէ hոգի իմ Աստուծով փրկչաւ իմով.

Metsats΄usts΄ē. Likewise, the names of the rest of the *sharakank΄* of the *kanon* are connected with the incipits of their Biblical models.[29] Thus, the emergence of a genre name simply from an opening word of a hymn or its poetical model was not unusual and, in this context, the traditional explanation of the term '*gandz*', at first glance, seems logical and simply another example for this phenomenon. However, as will be demonstrated in the following, there is a number of significant details neglected in previous studies.

As I have mentioned in the Introduction, *gandzk΄* were created by the tenth-century Armenian ecclesiastic, poet and commentator Grigor Narekats΄i. The poetic foundations laid by him inspired a rich tradition of *gandzk΄* in subsequent centuries. In scholarship, up to the 1920s, only three *gandzk΄* were attributed to Narekats΄i (nos 1-3 in Table 1);[30] Norayr Pogharyan expands this list with three more *gandzk΄* (nos 4-6); Armine K΄yoshkeryan, in her Introduction to the first critical edition of Narekats΄i's *gandzk΄* and *taghk΄*, adds another four to the list (nos 7-10).[31] Thus, in all, there are ten *gandzk΄* attributed to Narekats΄i. The table below illustrates their titles, incipits and acrostics; originals are given in footnotes.[32]

Table 1

NN	Title	Incipit	Acrostic

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[29] For the full list of these *sharakank΄* and their place in the office, see Winkler, "The Armenian Night Office II", 519.
[30] First published in 1702, together with the Book of Lamentation and other compositions. See Grigor Narekats΄i, Գիրք աղօթից [The Book of Prayers] (Constantinople, 1702), ՃԻՋ-ՃԻ (page numbers are represented in Armenian letters).
[31] K΄yoshkeryan, "*Introduction*", 10-15.
[32] All titles and incipits are quoted from the revised edition of Narekats΄i's *gandzk΄*, see Grigor Narekats΄i, "Գանձտետր" [Gandztetr], in Ժ. դար [The tenth century], 110-258, comp. Armine K΄yoshkeryan, ed. Hrach΄ya T΄amrazyan, Մատենագիրք Հայոց ԺԲ [Classical Armenian Authors 12] (Antelias, 2010).

1.	*K'aroz* on the Descent of the Holy Spirit Recited by Grigor Narekats'i	Treasure of light, equally glorious as the Son…	Grigor's song[33]
2.	*K'aroz* on the Church Recited by Grigor Narekats'i	Desirable treasure of the great kindness, discovered and hidden…	Grigor's song[34]
3.	*K'aroz* on the Holy Cross Recited by Grigor Narekats'i	Treasure inscrutable, hidden magnitude, powerful and great, and eternally kind…	Grigor's song[35]
4.	*K'aroz* on Nativity and Baptism Recited by Grigor Narekats'i	Treasure incorruptible, hidden strength, powerful, inconceivable mystery, appeared on earth, Holy Mother of God…	Grigor's song[36]
5.	*K'aroz* on the Assumption of the Most Blessed Holy Mother of God Recited by Grigor Narekats'i	Treasure incorruptible, hidden in holiness wondrous and immaculate, adorned with purity…	Grigor's song[37]
6.	*K'aroz* on the Transfiguration, Recited by Grigor Narekats'i	Treasure unspeakable and inexpressibly consubstantial Holy Trinity…	Grigor's song[38]

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[33] Title: *Գրիգորի Նարեկացւոյ ասացեալ քարոզ ի զալուստ Սուրբ Հոգւոյն*, inc. Գանձ լուսոյ, փառակից Որդւոյ…, acr. Գրիգորի երգ.

[34] Title: *Քարոզ եկեղեցւոյ Գրիգորի Նարեկացւոյ ասացեալ*, inc. Գանձ բաղձալի բարութեան մեծի՝ գտեալ եւ ծածկել…, acr. Գրիգորի երգ.

[35] Title: *Քարոզ սրբոյ խաչին, Գրիգորի Նարեկացւոյ ասացեալ*; inc. Գանձ անքնին, ծածկեալ մեծութիւն, Զաւրեղ, ահավոր, միշտ բարի…, acr. Գրիգորի երգ.

[36] Title: *Քարոզ ասացեալ Գրիգորի Նարեկացւոյ, ի Սուրբ Ծնունդն եւ ի Մկրտութիւնն*; inc. Գանձ անապական, ծածկեալ մեծութին, Ահատր, անիմանալի խորհուրդ՝ երեւեալ յերկրի, Սուրբ Աստուածածին…, acr. Գրիգորի երգ.

[37] Title: *Գրիգոր Նարեկացւոյ քարոզ ասացեալ ի Փոխումն ամենաւրհնեալ Սուրբ Աստուածածնին*; inc. Գանձ անապական, ծածկեալ սրբութեամբ, Գերահրաշ եւ անարատ, զարդարեալ մաքրութեամբ…; acr. Գրիգորի երգ.

[38] Title: *Քարոզ Վարդավառի, ի Գրիգորէ Նարեկացւոյ*; inc. Գանձ անպատում եւ անձառելի, Անպարագրելի միասնական Սուրն Երրորդութիւն…; acr. Գրիգորի երգ.

7.	*K'aroz* to All the Holy Apostles	Treasure of the glorious mystery…	Grigor's song[39]
8.	*K'aroz* to Saint John the Baptist, Recited by Grigor Narekats'i	The One with no beginning and the beginner of the being from nothing…	A song to the Voice[40]
9.	*K'aroz* to St. Gregory the Illuminator of the Armenians	With wondrous joy, the servants of Sion are commemorating you…	Grigor's *gandz*[41]
10.	*K'aroz* on the Church and the Lord's Ark Recited by Grigor Narekats'i	We all, gathered in the holy universal apostolic Church are singing…	None[42]

Assuming that these ten *gandzk'* are genuine works of Narekats'i, two striking facts stand out, which do not seem to fit the traditional explanation for the emergence of the genre name. Firstly, three of ten *gandzk'* (nos 8, 9 and 10 in the table) do not open with the word '*gandz*' (treasure). Secondly, the acrostic of the *gandz* dedicated to St. Gregory the Illuminator[43] (no. 9 in the list) spells out as "Grigor's *gandz*". Again, accepting Grigor's authorship, the logical implication is that at the time of its composition, i.e. the tenth century, '*gandz*' as a genre name

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[39] Title: *Քարոզ համաւրէն սուրբ առաքելոցն, Գրիգորի վարդապետի;* inc. Գանձ փառաց խորհրդոյ…; acr. Գրիգորի երգ.

[40] Title: *Քարոզ Գրիգորի Նարեկացւոյ ասացեալ, ի սուրբ Յովհաննէս Մկրտիչն*; inc. Իսկապէս անսկիզբն եւ սկզբնացուցիչ յոչէից գոյից…; acr. Ի Ձայնն երգ.
"The Voice" in the acrostic metaphorically refers to John the Baptist. Narekats'i creates allusion to "The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness" (Isaiah 40:3) and "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight" (Mark 1:3); see *Trésor des Fêtes Hymnes et Odes de Grégoire de Narek*, trans., ed. and annot. Annie Mahé and Jean-Pierre Mahé (Louvain: Peeters, 2014), 121, ft. 1.

[41] Title: *Քարոզ Գրիգորի Նարեկացւոյ, ասացեալ ի սուրբ Լուսաւորիչն Գրիգոր*; inc. Գերահրաշ գնծութեամբ բերկրեալ մանկունքն Սիոնի տաւնեն զաւր քո յիշատակլի…, acr. Գրիգորի գանձ.

[42] Title: *Քարոզ Եկեղեցւոյ և Տապանակին Տեառն, Գրիգորի Նարեկայ*; inc. Ժողովեալքս ամենեքեան ի սուրբ կաթողիկէ առաքելական եկեղեցի երգեմք.

[43] St. Gregory of Illuminator (ca. 231-325) is the legendary converter of the Armenians from paganism to Christianity in 301 A.D. Around 302 A.D., he was consecrated by the bishop Leontius of Caesarea, in Cappadocia.

had already been established for these kinds of hymns. Thus, here the traditional explanation reaches an impasse which raises the need for new explanations of the origins of the genre name.

In his seminal etymological dictionary, unfairly neglected in the previous scholarship, Hrachʻya Achaṙyan explains the word '*gandz*' under two different entries: he considers *gandz* meaning treasure (henceforth, *gandz* I) as a loan word from Middle Iranian (MI *ganǰ*, meaning treasure, treasury), and *gandz* meaning "a certain type of church songs" (henceforth, *gandz* II) - a borrowing from New Persian[44] (NP گَنج meaning "a group of Persian musical modes or notes" attributed to Barbud (Barbad),[45] a legendary Persian musician in the service of Kosru Parvis, whose name was afterwards adopted to signify the master of music. Thus, the primary meaning, i.e. treasure, treasury, was borrowed without semantic modification: *gandz* I is already widely attested to in the Armenian Bible translated in the fifth century. Regarding the second meaning, i.e. musical mode or note, in Armenian linguistic environment it developed into a "song": in written sources, *gandz* II appears only in *gandzaran*s and its ealiest attestation is the acrostic of the *gandz* to St. Gregory composed in the tenth century. However, as will be demonstrated below, *gandz* II was borrowed before the Early New Persian (8th-12th centuries), at some point between the fifth and sixth centuries.

In his etymological dictionary, comparative linguist Hrachʻ Martirosyan, while discussing the dialect forms of the verb *kardam* (to read), mentions that in the dialect of Gharabagh, the verb to read (*karta/il* in the local dialect) additionally means to sing a religious song for the purpose of magic. In the Armenian folk tale "The Bald Man" in the Gharabagh dialect, this meaning is

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[44] Achaṙyan did not specify the exact period. Most probably, he meant the early period of New Persian (8th-12th cc.).
[45] *Հայերեն արմատական բառարան* [Armenian Root Dictionary], 3 vols (Erevan: State University Press, 1971), s.v. "գանձ".

expressed by the phrase *gandz kardal* (to read/recite *gandz*).[46] In the tale, the phrase appears twice: "They call the priest to come and *read gandz* (italics are mine, P.H.) so that the Satan goes away through the roof-window. The priest arrives and *reads* all *gandzkʻ* he knows (italics are mine, P.H.) but the Satan does not go away."[47] In the Armenian text, the word *gandz* appears as *kändz* (pronounced *kyandz*) which represents two phonetic developments; firstly, the shift a > ä known as Achaṙyan's Law[48] first identified and studied by linguist Hrachʻya Achaṙyan and, secondly, the sound shift g > k, referred to as the Devoicing Rule in scholarship.

Achaṙyan's Law refers to the shift of Classical Armenian "a" to palatalized "ä"[49] which occurred in several Armenian dialects. Palatalization was followed by devoicing of initial stops and affricates (Devoicing Rule). Describing the sound changes in the Van dialect, Achaṙyan noticed that the Classical Armenian initial stops and affricates "b", "d", "g", "dz", "j" (Arm. "բ" "դ" "գ" "ձ" "ջ") have been systematically devoiced and turned to "p" "t" "k" "ts" "ch" (Arm. "պ" "տ" "կ" "ծ" "ճ") and the following "a" vowel shifted to palatalized "ä". According to Achaṙyan, this sound change happened in several phases; firstly, the Classical Armenian "ba", "da", "ga", "dza" "ja" (initial stage) turned into "bä" "dä" "gä" "dzä" "jä" (intermediate stage) and,

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[46] Hrachʻ Martirosyan, *Etymological Dictionary of the Armenian Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), s. v. "kardam".

[47] *Դերին ծեն ըն տամ, վրեր կյա կյանձ կարթի, հանցու սադանան հուրթավը տուս կյա կյինա: Դերը կյամ ա, հիշպան կյանձ ա գյուդում, լոխ կարթում ա, սադանան քյինամ չի.* See "Քյաչալը" [The Bald Man], in *Հայ ժողովրդական հեքիաթներ* [Armenian Fairy Tales], 17 vols, vol. 7, ed. A. M. Nazinyan and M. N. Aṙakʻelyan (Erevan: Academy Press, 1979), 359.

[48] Achaṙyan's Law is frequently discussed in scholarship; in English see especially, H. D. Muradyan, "Excursus: How to Interpret Achaṙyan's Law," in *Handbook of Armenian Dialectology*, ed. John Greppin and Amalia Khachʻaturian (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1986), 27-33; Bert Vaux, "Achaṙyan's Law and Consonantal ATR in Armenian," in *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of Armenian Linguistics*, ed. John Greppin (Delmar, NY: Caravan 1992), 271-93; Joseph J. Weitenberg, "On the Early Development of the Armenian Dialects," in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Armenian Linguistics*, ed. Dora Sakayan (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1996): 103-14; Bert Vaux, *The Phonology of Armenian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 174-77.

[49] Muradyan assumes that there was a tendency to spread the vowel palatalization over other back vowels as well, namely "u" and "o". However, this phonetic development appears in a few dialects only, most consistently in the dialect of Krzen. See Muradyan, "Excursus", 31.

eventually, the latters shifted to "pä" "tä" "kä" "tsä" "chä" (final stage).[50] Thus, from a diachronic point of view, the shift a > *ä* preceded the devoicing of the initial consonants.

Acharyan's Law, initially formulated for the Van dialect, in fact, was geographically widely distributed including the dialects of Van, Shatakh, Urmia, Salmast, Shamaxi.[51] The dialect of Gharabagh, which attests *gandz* II in the form of kändz in the folk tale above, is in the list of dialects showing the effects of Acharyan's Law. So, if *gandz* > kändz shift is a result of Acharyan's Law and the concomitant Devoicing Rule, then the next relevant point in the present discussion is approximately when these phonetic developments took place. The answer will give a clue to the approximate date when *gandz* II was borrowed from Middle Persian.

In the context of a set of phonetic developments related to Acharyan's Law, Joseph J. Weitenberg reconstructs a relative chronology of the Law and the Devoicing Rule. Based on the fact that devoicing of voiced obstruents can be found in the earliest Arabic loans in Armenian language, Weitenberg dates the Rule to the seventh century or later: the earliest surviving literary witness of the Rule is the ten-century Autun Glossary.[52] Regarding the chronology of the phonetic shift a > ä, i.e. Acharyan's Law, it goes back to the fifth century: the palatalization of the vowel is already attested in the Armenian translation of Dionysius Thrax's *Grammar*[53] considered the

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[50] See Hrach'ya Acharyan, *Քննություն Վանի բարբառի* [Analysis of the Dialect of Van] (Erevan: State University Press. 1952), 18-23, 40; for a summary of Acharyan's Law in English, see Muradyan, "Excursus", 27.

[51] For the full list of the dialects showing the effects of Acharyan's Law see, Bert Vaux, "Acharyan's Law and Consonantal ATR in Armenian," in *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of Armenian Linguistics*, ed. John Greppin (Delmar: Caravan, 1992), 289.

[52] Armenian-Latin glossary, containing ninety dictionary items, discovered in the library of Autun (France) by French scholar H. Aumon, who published it in 1882. The *Glossary* was copied on the last two pages of a Latin manuscript. Based on the script (Armenian words are written in Latin script), it is dated to some time between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century.

For more details, see J. J. Weitenberg, "Armenian Dialects and the Latin-Armenian Glossary of Autun," in *Medieval Armenian Culture,* University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 6, ed. Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 13-28.

[53] Based on the fact that in many dialects the palatalization of back vowels, with the exception of a > ä/e, was not consistent, Muradyan, argues that the palatalization of "a" is more ancient than that of "o" or "u". In the *Grammar* by

earliest translation of the Armenian Hellenophile School, made between 450 and ca. 480.[54] Thus, in brief, Achaṙyan's Law and the Devoicing Rule along with other phonetic developments have taken place starting from the fifth to the early tenth century.[55]

Back to the word *gandz* II, the *gandz > kändz* shift shows that it was affected by both Achaṙyan's Law and the Devoicing Rule. Thus, based on the relative chronology of these phonetic developments discussed above, the hypothetical phonetic development of *gandz* II can be traced as follows:

Table 2

ca. 5th - ca. 7th centuries	Achaṙyan's Law, a > ä	*gandz > gändz*
ca. 7th - ca. 10th centuries	Devoicing Rule, g > k	*gändz > kändz*

For undergoing these phonetic developments, the *gandz* II, i.e. Middle Iranian *ganǰ* must have been borrowed in the course of the fifth to sixth centuries: it can be asserted that at least in the seventh century it must have already existed in the Armenian language. Two more facts deserve attention before the conclusion here. First, in the dialect of Shatakh, which also displays the effects of Achaṙyan's Law, the word '*gandz*' is found as a verb meaning 'to declare', 'publicly announce',

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Dionysius Thrax, the Armenian translator gives three forms for the verb '*gam*' (to come), *gam, gom, geam.* All three are various dialect forms of one and the same verb '*gam*' which is the Classical Armenian form. The form *geam (gäm)* corresponds to *käm*, found in the dialects of Zangezur, Gharabagh and Van, the only difference is that in the latter form, the voiced stops and affricates have devoiced. Hence, the form *geam (gäm)* fixes the time when the vowel was palatalized (Achaṙyan's Law), but there was no devoicing of voiced phonemes (Devoicing Rule). Therefore, the existence of "ä" goes back as far as the fifth century and perhaps even earlier. See Muradyan, "Excursus", 32.

[54] Ter-Petrosian, *Ancient Armenian Translations*, 7.
[55] Weitenberg, "On the Early Development of the Armenian Dialects", 106-10.

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as in "The shah issued an edict and announced it to the whole country."[56] Here the expression '*käntsuts'*' is marked by the same double phonetic shift, (to) *gandz* > (to) känts.[57] Secondly, in the dialect of Van, *gandz* II is attested in the *känts* form meaning 'a lament to a dead person'.[58] Importantly, this association of *gandz/tagh* with lament is widely attested to in manuscript *gandzarans*. In the titles or directions of scribes, *taghk'* dedicated to Mary's lament at Christ's Cross usually following the *Gandz on Good Friday* and *Gandz on the Burial of Christ* are usually called *oghbk'* (pl. of *oghb,* lament).[59] Likewise, *taghk'* dedicated to the dead mainly copied with the *Gandz to All the Departed* are widely called *oghbk'* (laments). [60] Hence, the words '*gandz'/'tagh'* and *'oghb'* were widely used interchangeably, or simply together.[61] Laments to the dead were performed during the rituals related to the dead and due to their practical role they were also popular outside the church. As ritual *gandzk* [62] they were widely copied in *mashtots'* (The Ritual Book), a medieval Armenian collection containing the principal sacraments and rites, such as baptism, confirmation, marriage, burial, and so on.[63] Thus, the association of *gandz/tagh* with lament in manuscript *gandzarans* echoes the earlier association already fixed in the meaning of *känts* in Van dialect.

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[56] Շահ էլավ թուղթ գրեց, ամբողջ էկիր կանձուց. See *Հայոց լեզվի բարբառային բառարան* [A Dialectical dictionary of the Armenian language], 7 vols, vol. 3 (Erevan, Academy Press: 2004), s. v. "կանձել".

[57] *Կանձել*; note, the last voiced obstruent is also devoiced.

[58] A Dialectical Dictionary of the Armenian Language, vol. 3, s.v. "կյանձ".

[59] See, MM 4768,154v,155v-6r,159r-159v; MM 4771, 150v-1v; MM 4301, 138v-9v; MM 6495, 260v-1r; MM 3555, 155r-6r, etc.

[60] See MM 4768, 338r-338v; MM 6495, 431r-431v, etc

[61] See MM 5438, 220v-1v.

[62] The term was suggested by Vardan Devrikyan. For the critical edition of the ritual *gandzk'* on burial see Gandzaran, vol. 2, 1551-1556.

[63] More on the Armenian Ritual, see Frederick C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum, Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary rites of the Armenian Church Together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany, Edited from the Oldest Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905); Norayr Pogharyan, *Ծիսագիտություն* [Ritual Studies] (New York: Thomson Reuters/ Foundation Press, 1990), 91-120.

In addition, another significant detail about the word *känts* found in the Van dialect is that it is directly linked to Grigor Narekatsʻi. His whole life and work is associated with Narekavankʻ, the monastery in the village of Narek, on the southern shore of the Lake Van in Rshtunikʻ, which was one of the regions of the Atsrunid kingdom of Vaspurakan. The dialect of Van associated with Van, the city center of Vaspurakan, was spread throughout the areas of the Lake Van, including the village of Narek. Narekatsʻi used *gandz* II only once, in the acrostic of the *Gandz to St. Gregory*. Although it is difficult to say whether this was one of his earlier or later *gandzkʻand*, consequently, whether the use of *gandz* in acrostic was an earlier or later experiment, it seems that it was a kind of experiment which had no continuation neither by him nor by any later *gandz*-writer. As illustrated in Table 1, Narekatsʻi mainly preferred to use the word *erg* (song) in his acrostics. Arguably, in his time the word *gandz* II was not commonly used in ecclesiastical context. It was not until the thirteenth and fourteenth century, that *gandz*-writers and scribes began to use it more widely. The earliest surviving manuscript *gandzaran*s mainly use the word *kʻaroz*[64] and *gandz* starts to appear widely in titles, directions of scribes and colophons only from the fifteenth century onward.

The earliest surviving manuscript attesting to the use of *gandz* II is BN 79. It is a compound manuscript consisting of two different manuscripts, *gandzaran* (henceforth referred to as BN 79 I), and *tagharan* (songbook; henceforth, BN 79 II). BN 79 II, written in 1241 in Drzarak (Cilicia), is the earliest preserved *gandzaran* with a precise date and, in fact, the only surviving *gandzaran* from the thirteenth century. With regard to BN 79 I, as was convincingly argued by Armine Kʻyoshkeryan, it was copied no earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century.[65] In BN 79 I,

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[64] For instance, see MM 2061 (1310), MM 7785, etc.

[65] See Armine Kʻyoshkeryan, "Փարիզի ազգային մատենադարանի N 79 գանձարան-տաղարանը: Ա. Գանձարան" [The N79 *gandzaran-tagharan* of the National Library of France (I): *gandzaran*], *Ejmiatsin* 9 (1971),

in the titles, all *gandzkʻ* appear under the name *kʻaroz*. However, the word '*gandz*' appears four times: twice in the titles and twice in notes of the scribe. On folio 105v, after the title "*Kʻaroz* on the Apparition of the Holy Cross", there is a note from the scribe: "This *gandz* is [usually] for [the feast of] the Holy Cross of Varag. We put it here for [the feast of] the Apparition [of the Holy Cross], since there is another [*gandz*] for [the feats of the Holy Cross of] Varag."[66] Elsewhere, on folio 164v, after the title "Another *Kʻaroz* to the Kings" the scribe writes: "Oh brothers, the exemplar of this *gandz* was quite imperfect, so in case of mistakes, do not blame me."[67] Evidently, while copying the manuscript, the scribe used several exemplars. Apparently, the majority of them were following the old tradition of using the word '*kʻaroz*', however, however, a few of them were already switched to *gandz*: the exemplar from which the scribe copied two *gandzkʻ* probably had the word '*gandz*' appearing in the titles.[68] Based on the fact that the scribe freely used the word '*gandz*' in his notes, it can be speculated that at the time of the copying of BN 79 I, in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century, it was becoming a more common practice to call these hymns *gandz* rather than *kʻaroz*.

In conclusion, the word *gandz* meaning 'song' had existed in the Armenian language before the tenth century and before Narekatsʻi. The three dialectal forms of the word *gandz* II, *kändz* (Gharabagh), to *känts* (Shatakh) and *känts* (Van) underwent the same phonetic changes; palatalization of the classical Armenian vowel "a" (a> ä) and devoicing of the initial stops and

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48-53). In the catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts in the National Library of France, BN 79 I is dated to the thirteenth century (see *Manuscrits arméniens de la Bibliothèque nationale de France: Catalogue* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1998), 157).

[66] Arm. *Այս գանձս Վարագա է։ Մեք երեւման դրաք, զի մեկ մի այլ Վարագա կայ.*

[67] Arm. *Ով է[դ]բարբ, այս գանձիս ալիբնակն խիստ անարիեստ էր, թէ ծուտ լինիցի, մի մեղադրէʻք.*

[68] See BN 79 I, 133v, 196v. Notably, both *gandzkʻ*, *Gandz to the Holy Hripsimean Virgins* and *Gandz on the Third Day of the Assumption of the Holly Mother of God Recited by Movsēs Vardapet,* are composed by Movsēs Erznkatsʻi who lived between the second half of the thirteenth and the first quarter of the fourteenth centuries (died in 1323). Armine Kʻyoshkeryan attributes twenty *gandzkʻ* to Erznkatsʻi, all presented in BN 79 I (see Kʻyoshkeryan, *The beginning and development of the gandzaran heritage,* 221-222).

affricates (g > k). These phonetic shifts, known as Achaṙyan's Law and Devoicing Rule respectively, developed in the course of the fifth to the early tenth century; Achaṙyan's Law was already attested to in the Armenian translation of Dionysius Thrax's *Grammar* and the Devoicing Rule, in the early tenth-century *Autun Glossary*. Thus, based on the relative chronology of these phonetic developments, the hypothetic development of *gandz* II can be roughly reconstructed as follows. In the first stage in the fifth-sixth centuries, it was borrowed from Middle Iranian (MI *ganǰ* > Arm. *gandz*); in the second stage from the sixth to the seventh century, it was affected by Achaṙyan's Law (*gandz* > gändz) and, finally, between the seventh and the late ninth century it was further influenced by the Devoicing Rule (gändz > kändz).

Before concluding the chapter, one important fact is to be noted: the few existing (and not complete) Middle Iranian dictionaries refer to the word '*ganǰ*' meaning only 'treasure' or 'treasury.'[69] This does not necessarily mean that the other sense of the word, i.e. musical mode or note which already existed in Early New Persian,[70] was not yet in use in the Middle Iranian period. The number of surviving pieces from the Middle Iranian literature is quite limited and, from this point of view, loan-words in other languages, such as Armenian, Georgian, Aramaic and Arabic, may supplement the dictionary of Middle Persian. As demonstrated above, the three dialect forms of the *gandz* II display slight semantic differences in three Armenian dialects; ritual, magic song (Gharabagh), announcement or edict (Shatakh) and lament to the dead (Van), all going back to the same shared core meaning of 'song'. These three dialect forms certainly can serve as a clue to

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[69] See especially *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary,* comp. David N. MacKenzie, rev. ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), s.v. "*ganǰ*"; *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum: Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, 4 vols, vol. 3, 1 (Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian), comp. D. Durkin-Meisterernst (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), s.v. "gnz".

[70] See especially *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, comp. Francis J. Steingass, rev. ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), s.v. "گنج"; [Dehkhoda Dictionary] لغتنامه دهخدا, vol. 6, comp. Mohammad Moin (1958), s.v. "گنج".

reconstruct the complete semantic picture of the Middle Iranian word *'ganǰ'*. After all, the extension of meaning of the Middle Iranian *'ganǰ'* to the sphere of poetry and music is certainly not surprising as, for instance, several collections of *andarz* contain the word *'ganǰ'* in their title, e.g. *Ganj ī šāyegān/šāhīgān* (The Royal Treasury).[71] Importantly, the same phenomenon is observed in Syriac literature as well: the Syriac word *'gazō'* (or *'gazā'),* also borrowed from Middle Persian, appears in a liturgical-musical book called *Bēth gazō* (Treasure-house). Shaped no earlier than the eighth century, the collection contains *qōlē* (sg. *qōlō,* voice, tune) which follow the eight-mode system, *oktōēchos* (cf. Armenian *sharaknotś*).[72] It seems that the names of both the Armenian *gandzaran* and the Syriac *bēth gazō* echo the semantic development of the Middle Iranian *'ganǰ'*, treasure - spiritual treasure - spiritual word/song.

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[71] I am grateful to Dr. Shaul Shaked (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) for drawing my attention to this issue.

[72] As I am aware, there is no a comprehensive study on *Beth gazō*. For coverage of some aspects of *Beth gazō* in different Syriac traditions, see especially, Fr. M. P. George, "Ktobo' dbeth Gazo'" in *West Syriac Musical Tradition of the Beth Gazo' in India with Music Notation,* Moran Etho 32 (Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 2012), 32-37; George A. Kiraz "Ephrem's madroshe and the Syrian Orthodox Beth Gazo: A loose, but fascinating affinity" *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 2.1 (New Jersey: The Syriac Institute and Gorgias Press, 1999): 47–56; Joseph J. Palackal, "Oktoēchos of the Syrian Orthodox Churches in South India," *Ethnomusicology* 48, no. 2 (2004): 229-250; Heinrich Husmann, "Madraše und Seblata, Repertoireuntersuchungen zu den Hymnen Ephraems des Syrers", *Acta Musicologica* 48, no. 2 (1976): 113-150; Rev. J. Sanders, "The Beth gazo or the octo-echoes of the West Syriac Church", *The Harp* 5, no. 1-3 (1992): 15-28.

Chapter 2. The Relationship of Gandz to *Kʻaroz, Memrā, Madrāshā* and *Kontakion*

In early manuscript *gandzarans*, the terms '*gandz*' and '*kʻaroz*' were used interchangeably. Based on several structural commonalities between *gandzkʻ* and *kʻaroz*, Armine Kʻyoshkeryan stated that the impulse towards this new hymnological genre came from *zhamagrkʻayin kʻaroz* (breviary sermon).[73] The theory of considering *kʻaroz* as a literary prototype of *gandz,* as already mentioned, has been widely adopted by the majority of scholars. Rightly pointing out common structural features of *gandz* and *kʻaroz* and drawing link between these two liturgical genres, Kʻyoshkeryan, however, paid no attention to three important factors; first, the commonalities between the so called Armenian *zhamagrkʻayin kʻaroz* and Syriac and Byzantine litanies, called *karōzōthā* (pl. *karōzwāthā*) and *ἐκτένεια* (pl. *ἐκτένεια*), respectively; second, the fact that some structural features of *gandz*, for instance, the refrain, equally link them to the Syriac and Byzantine independent hymns; and, third, structural differences between *gandz* and *kʻaroz*, namely, non-alphabetical acrostics, which directly link *gandz* to Syriac and Byzantine hymns.

Consequently, the focus of the present chapter will be the *gandz*'s twofold relationship with, first, *kʻaroz* and, second, Syriac and Byzantine hymnological genres, namely, *madrāshā*, *memrā* and *kontakion.* Based on structural analysis, on one hand, structural commonalities between *gandz* and these hymnological genres will be traced. On the other hand, the analysis will reveal those structural features which make *gandz* a distinctive hymnological genre from *kʻarozkʻ*, Syriac and Byzantine hymns.

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[73] Kʻyoshkeryan, "Introduction," 23-31.

2.1. *Gandz-k'aroz* relationship

In addition to the psalms and lections, *Zhamagirk'* (The Book of Hours) contains several textual units –*erg* (chant), *maght'ank'* (supplications), *aghot'k'* (prayers, collects) and *k'arozk'*.[74] While chants, which were mainly introduced by the twelfth-century ecclesiastical poet Nersēs Shnorhaly, are clearly determined by their structural, metrical form and literary-poetical nature, the distinction between collects, supplications and *k'aroz* is not always clear. Describing *k'arozk'*, Armine K'yoshkeryan mentions that having no fixed size, they are either small textual units opening with the expression "Again in peace let us beseech the Lord", and ending with "Almighty Lord our God, save us and have mercy on us" or relatively long texts composed of several of stanzas, each of them ending with a refrain, such as "We beseech", "Let us beseech the Lord", etc., to which the faithful responded with "Hear us, Lord, and have mercy on us". However, as she points out, the most characteristic feature of *k'arozk'* is the almost invariable conclusion:

> *Deacon:* Again with one accord for our true and holy faith, let us beseech the Lord.
> *The communal response:* Lord, have mercy.
> *Deacon:* Let us commit ourselves and one another to the Lord God almighty.
> *The communal response:* To you, O Lord, we commit ourselves".
> *Deacon:* Our Lord God, have mercy on us according to your great mercy. Let us all say with one accord:
> *The communal response:* Lord, have mercy, Lord, have mercy; hear, Lord, and have mercy.[75]

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[74] *K'arozk'* frequently appear with collects, i.e. concluding prayers, see, for instance, Քարոզ և աղօթք՝ Մի՛ նախանձիր և Խոստովան [էղերուք Տեառն] կանոնացն [K'aroz and prayer for the *kanons* 'Do Not Fret' and 'Give Thanks [to the Lord]']; Քարոզ և աղօթք Ողորմեա [ինձ] և Ի նեղութեան [իմում եւ առ Տէր կարդացի] կանոնացն [K'aroz and prayer for the *kanons* 'Have Mercy on Me' and 'I Call on the Lord in my Distress'], and so on. See Ժամագիրք ատենի [The Book of Hours], in Ժամակարգութիւն Հայաստանեայց սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ, յորում պարունակին երեք գիրք. Սաղմոս Դաւթի, Ատենի ժամագիրք և Տօնացոյց [The Canonicals of the Holy Armenian Church Containing Three Books, the Psalms of David, the Book of Hours and Liturgical Calendar], 1- 145 (Constantinople: Yovhan Myuhēntis Gēorgean Press, 1849), 30-31. References will be made to this edition of the Book of Hours. For a discussion on the unity of *k'aroz* and collect, see Winkler, "The Armenian Night Office I", 94-95.

[75] K'yoshkeryan, "Introduction", 25-26.

23

Singling out the basic structural features of *k'aroz,* K'yoshkeryan gives a general description of these items rather than attempting to classify them. In addition, in her observations, she considers only the size and structure but not the literary nature and type of these texts. However, the real nature of the texts under the title '*k'aroz*' is more complicated than that. Most importantly, the term '*k'aroz*' is an umbrella term denoting a group of texts structurally, metrically and functionally different from each other. Consequently, the word '*k'aroz*' in titles is more a label than an accurate definition of genre. Unfortunately, there is no precise and established terminology in Armenian scholarship to express the nuanced complexity of these compositions both in terms of their structure and nature. Hence, to avoid confusion the present study of the genre of these texts will proceed descriptively and not by definition. Also, as it is beyond the scope of this thesis to consider all aspects of *k'aroz* (e.g. the musical aspect), the attempt to categorise these texts below by no means aspires to be a definitive classification.[76] Instead, it remains conventional with the primary practical aim to facilitate the study of *gandz-k'aroz* relationship.

A close study of textual units appearing under the title '*k'aroz*' in *zhamagirk'*'s reveals that based on their nature or type they can be generally grouped into two categories, *k'aroz*-exhortations and *k'aroz*-lauds or prayers.[77] Most of the *k'aroz*-exhortations are mainly are structurally simple textual units, generally consisting of liturgical formulas and standard expressions.[78] Recited by the

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[76] The ideal categorization should be based on the study of all aspects of these texts, literary, musical, metrical, functional-ritual, etc. equally and the working terminology should be equally acceptable and practicable for scholars of literary, musical and ritual studies.

[77] This difference in character is clearly indicated in verbal forms: while, in *k'aroz*-exhortations the verb forms are mainly expressed in aorist subjunctive plurals (e.g. "Let us beseech", (աղաչեսցուք), "Let us request" (խնդրեսցուք), etc.), in *k'aroz*-lauds they are mainly expressed in present indicatives (e.g. "We beseech" (աղաչեմք) etc.), and aorist imperatives (e.g. "Grant" (շնորհեա), etc.).

[78] However, there are relatively long, structurally and textually well-elaborated *k'aroz*-exhortations. See, for instance, the *k'aroz* with the incipit "We all, having risen from peace of sleep, granted by the Lover of mankind" (Զարթուցեալքս ամենեքեան ի հանգստենէ քնոյ, զոր շնորհեաց մեզ մարդասէրն Աստուած), attributed to the fifth-century Catholicos and hymn-writer Hovhan Mandakuni. See *The Book of Hours*, 6. For the musical aspect

24

deacon, they are addressed to the community of the faithful, inviting them to join the office. They are commonly followed by short responses of the faithful; e.g. *Exhortation for Sundays and Other Lord's Days*:

> *Deacon:* Let us beseech the Lord, with the faith and unity, that He may extend to us grace of His mercy. May the Lord Almighty save and have mercy upon us.
> *The communal response:* Save us, O Lord. Lord, have mercy, Lord, have mercy, Lord, have mercy.[79]

K'aroz-lauds or prayers, on the other hand, are mainly structurally complex textual units addressed to the Lord, the Virgin Mary or a particular saint rather than the community of the faithful. In terms of the *k'aroz-gandz* relationship, *k'aroz*-lauds are of relevance here and consequently the discussion below will refer to this type, rather than *k'aroz*-exhortations.[80] To demonstrate the extent and structural levels on which these two liturgical genres intersect with each other, the basic structural features of both genres will be illustrated (Table 1 and 2). Through the example of *K'aroz to the Holy Hripsimean* (the full title: *K'aroz to the Holy Hripsimeans, Also*

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of these *k'arozk'*, see Anna Arevshatyan, "Քարոզի ժանրը հայ հոգևոր երգաստեղծության մեջ" [The Genre of k'aroz in the Armenian church music], *Historical-Philological Journal* 2-3 (1992): 199-214.

[79] *Քարոզ կիրակէից եւ այլոց տերունական տօնից.* Խնդրեսցուք հաւատով միաբանութեամբ ի Տեառնէ, զի զողորմութեան զշնորհս իւր արասցէ ի վերայ մեր: Տէրն ամենակալ կեցուսցէ եւ ողորմեսցի: Կեցո', Տէ'ր: Տէ'ր, ողորմեա', Տէ'ր, ողորմեա, Տէ'ր, ողորմեա. See *The Book of Hours*, 67. All translations by me, unless otherwise indicated.

[80] The term *'zhamagrk'ayin k'aroz'* (breviary sermon) widely circulated in scholarship (K'yoshkeryan, Devrikyan, Arevshatyan) refers to exactly this type of *k'arozk'*. I avoid using it as it does not represent the textual diversity behind it. Furthermore, it is misleading in a sense that the definition *zhamagrk'ayin k'aroz'* logically refers to all *k'arozk'* appeared in *zhamagirk'* regardless the type. Anna Arevshatyan uses two terms, *'zhamagrk'ayin k'aroz'* and *'ergvogh k'aroz'* (chanted sermon) interchangeably (Arevshatyan, "The Genre of k'aroz"). The latter is more preferable although it is based on a solely musical aspect of the genre.

to Apostles and Prophets, Recited by St. Gregory Our Illuminator)[81] the table below illustrates the

structural patterns of *k'aroz*:[82]

Table 1

Components	*K'aroz* to the Holy Hripsimeans
K'AROZ$_A$	Line$_1$ O Lord, great and powerful and glorious… L$_2$ ———, we beseech. *The communal response: Hear us, Lord, and have mercy on us* L$_1$———, L$_2$ ———, we beseech. L$_1$ ———, L$_2$ ———, we beseech. L$_1$ ———, L$_2$ ———, we beseech. L$_1$ ———, L$_2$ ———, we beseech.

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[81] *Քարոզ ի սրբոյն Գրիգորէ Լուսաւորչէն մերմէ ասացեալ վասն սրբոց Հռիփսիմեանցն, այլ վասն առաքելոց և մարգարէից.* See *The Books of Hours*, 63. The authorship of this *k'aroz* is highly debatable as the name of Gregory the Illuminator is mentioned among the intercessors in the intercession prayer. See K'yoshkeryan, "Introduction," 24.

[82] To show the similarities between *k'arozk'* and *gandzk'*, as an example K'yoshkeryan brings *K'aroz on Ester* (see K'yoshkeryan, "Introduction," 26-29). The full title is *K'aroz on Ester Recited by Saint Basil of Caesarea of Cappadocia* (Սրբոյն Բարսղի Կեսարու Կապադովկեցոյ ասացեալ քարոզ Զատկաց), inc. "Assembled in the temple of the glory of Thy Holiness, we ask for Your compassion" (Ժողովեալս ի տաճար փառաց սրբութեանդ Քո հայցեմք ի Քոյին գթութեանցդ). In Armenian sources, it is attributed to Basil of Caesarea. However, the question of the authorship of this k'aroz remains open. Non-Armenian catalogues of the works by Basil of Caesarea do not seem to have any reference to this piece and as far as I am aware, no studies are dedicated to *K'aroz on Ester* and its authorship. *K'aroz on Easter* mainly appears in *gandzarans* (the oldest examples are: MM 2061, 2r-6v; MM 4068, 80v-4r; BN 79 I, 82v-7v, BN 80, 161r-4v, etc.), and sometimes in Rituals (e.g. MM 967, 112r- 4v, see Extensive Catalogues, vol. 3, 243). No references to it have been identified in manuscript descriptions of The Book of Hours. Thus, it is mainly "*gandzaran* item", consequently, it is not relevant for a comparative analysis to show the similarities of *k'arozk'* and *gandzk'*. For the critical edition of *K'aroz on Ester*, see *Gandzaran*, vol. 1, 697-9.

26

*K'AROZ*B	Through the intercession of the holy Mother of God, and John the Baptist and holy saints, prophets and martyrs, and Saint Gregory our Illuminator, Through the intercession and supplications of the saints (N), who we commemorate today, and all your saints, who are united for the sake of Your love, O Lord, Remember the souls of our departed and visit upon them in time of Your Advent: we beseech.[83]
*K'AROZ*c	And again, grant us with encouragement of love and good deeds, we beseech. *The communal response: Grant us, our Lord God.* Let us commit ourselves and one another to the Lord God almighty. *The communal response: To you, O Lord, we commit ourselves.* Our Lord God, have mercy on us according to your great mercy. Let us all say with one accord: *The communal response: Lord, have mercy, Lord, have mercy; hear, Lord, and have mercy.*[84]

The striking characteristic feature of the core part of the *k'aroz* (A) is the one-word refrain 'we beseech' which concludes every second line. As a literary device it plays several roles in the passage, communicative, rhetorical, structural-metrical, etc. As a "formal" mode of listener

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[83] Բարեխօսութեամբ սրբուհւոյ Աստուածածնին եւ Յովհաննու կարապետին եւ սրբոց առաքելոց, մարգարէից եւ մարտիրոսաց եւ սրբոյն Գրիգորի մերոյ Լուսաւորչին, բարեխօսութեամբ եւ աղօթիւք սրբոցն (այս անուն), որոց այսօր է յիշատակ, եւ ամենայն սրբոց քոց, Տէ՛ր, որք միացան ի սէր Աստուածութեանդ քո, յիշեա՛ զհոգիս ննջեցելոց մերոց եւ ա՛յց արա ի քում գալստեանդ, աղաչե՛մք.

[84] Եւ եւս առաւել զյորդորումն սիրոյ եւ զգործս բարեաց պարգեւել մեզ խնդրեմք: Տո՛ւր մեզ, Տէ՛ր Աստուած: Զանձինս մեր եւ զմիմեանս Տեառն Աստուծոյ ամենակալին յանձն արասցուք: Քեզ՝ Տեառնդ, յանձն եղիցուք: Ողորմեա՛ց մեզ, Տէ՛ր Աստուած մեր, ըստ մեծի ողորմութեան քում. Ասասցուք ամենեքեան միաբանութեամբ՝ Տէ՛ր, ողորմեա՛, Տէ՛ր, ողորմեա՛, լո՛ւր, Տէ՛ր, եւ ողորմեա՛.

engagement,[85] refrains together with communal responses ("Hear us, Lord, and have mercy on us", "Grant us, our Lord God", etc.) provide the community with the opportunity of direct liturgical participation creating a triangle communication between the deacon and the faithful, and between them and God. Additionally, binding together different lines and all three passages (A-C) they create parallelism of structure and, thereby, a structural harmony in the whole text. Finally, from the rhetorical point of view, the refrain 'we beseech' emphasizes the key idea, more concretely, the core action of the process, i.e. beseeching God.

Regarding the structure of the *gandz*, the number of stanzas varies in each: depending on how many initials the acrostic contains it may vary from six to fifteen or more stanzas not necessarily structurally and metrically identical to each other. Through the example of *Gandz on the Transfiguration* the table below illustrates the basic structural features of *gandz*:

Table 3

Components	*Gandz* on the Transfiguration[86]

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[85] The terms 'formal' and 'rhetorical engagement' are taken from a study on the experimental elements in early Hebrew *piyyutim*: Laura S. Lieber, "The Rhetoric of Participation: Experiential Elements of Early Hebrew Liturgical Poetry," *The Journal of Religion* 90, no. 2 (April, 2010): 119-47. Here she highlights two key modes of listener engagement, the formal and the rhetorical. "Formal" modes of engagement involve listeners through formal devices, such as refrains and choral responses. In this case, the poetic structure itself dictates "the nature and location of participation." "Rhetorical" mode of engagement involves listeners through the use of rhetorical devices, such as the usage of the voice, diction, verbal moods and tenses, and so on. These devices "involve the listeners emotionally and intellectually in the narrative of the poem." See Lieber, "The Rhetoric of Participation," 121.

[86] For the full text see, Gandztetr, 697-703.

GANDZ_A	**G**. Stanza$_1$ (14 lines) Treasure unspeakable and inexpressibly consubstantial Holy Trinity… May you receive the supplications and requests of Your saved people for your pleasure: we beseech.[87] **R**. St$_2$ (17 lines) ——— May you… we beseech. **I**. St$_3$ (24 lines) ——— May you… we beseech. **G**. St$_4$ (16 lines) ——— May you… we beseech. **O.** St$_5$ (16 lines) ——— May you… we beseech. **R**. St$_6$ (15 lines) ——— May you…we beseech. **I**. St$_7$ (21 lines) ——— May you remember and have mercy on the departed with the hope of resurrection.[88]
GANDZ_B	**E**. And again, grant us with encouragement of love and good deeds, we beseech. **R**. Unite us with the hope of Love, which is with Lord. We beseech.[89]

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[87] Գանձ անպատում եւ անճառելի, Անպարագրելի միասնական Սուրն Երրորդութիւն… Ահա ընկալցիս զաղերս եւ զպաղատանս քո փրկեալ ժողովրդեանս Քեզ ի հաճութիւն, աղաչեմք.

[88] Ահա յիշեսցես եւ ողորմեսցես ննջեցելոցն
Յուսով յարութեան, խնդրեմք:

[89]Եւ եւս առաւել
Զյորդորումն սիրոյ եւ զգործս բարեաց պարգեւել մեզ, խնդրեմք:
Բոստել զմեզ ի յոյս սիրոյն,
Որ առ Տէր, խնդրեմք.

GANDZc	*G.* We send our praise to the heights, To the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. We ask and beseech to the immaculate and the most blessed Mistress, the Mother of the Incarnate Word of God, The holy Forerunner John the Baptist, the Herald and Ordainer of the Son of God, The Archdeacon and Protomartyr Stephen, The crown of martyrs, Through the prayers of the happy orders of apostles and prophets, offered as incense, Through the meritorious virtue of your teacher, the patriarch Saint Gregory, all our Illuminator, Chaste hermits And those who profess you as a God, You come in the Last Great day, O Merciful. Those who came into being from You.[90]

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[90] Գոհաբանութիւն ի բարձունս վեր առաքեմբ

Հաւր եւ Որդւոյ եւ Հոգւոյն Սրբոյ.

Հայցեմբ եւ աղաչեմբ զանարատ եւ զամէնաւրհնեալ Տիրուհիդ՝

Զմայր մարմնացելոյ Բանին Աստուծոյ,

Զսուրբ եւ զյառաջընթաց կարապետն զմկրտիչն Յովհաննէս՝

զՔարոզն ու զձեռնարողն Որդւոյն Աստուծոյ,

Զնախասարկաւագն եւ զառաջին վկայն,

Զպսակն մարտիրոսաց՝ զՍտեփանոս,

Խնկանուէր հայցմամբ երջանկացն դասուց առաքելոց եւ մարգարէից

Մեծավաստակ առաքինութեամբ դաւանողին զքեզ՝

Սրբոյն Գրիգորի հայրապետին՝ ամէնեցուն մերոյ Լուսավորչին,

Մաքրակրաւնից ազանց միանձագ

Եւ զքեզ Աստուած խոստովանողաց,

Որ ի վերջնում աւուրն մեծի

Յայտնիս նորոգել, միայն ողորմած, զ՚ի քէն զոյացեալբ:

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GANDZ$_D$	And now, have mercy on us, O Lord our God, According to Your great mercy.[91]

Based on the two tables above, the graphic below roughly summarizes the general structural comparison of *k'aroz* and *gandzk'*:
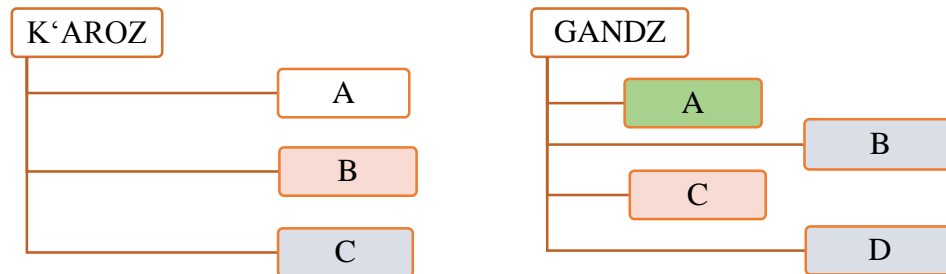
GANDZ$_A$ is the core part of the hymn. It generally opens with a doxology addressed to the Father God or Holy Trinity or the Virgin Mary, then is followed by stanzas introducing the meaning of a feast. From the perspective of poetical content and language, *GANDZ*$_A$ with its well-elaborated poetical language, imagery and metrical diversity is fundamentally different from *K'AROZ*$_A$. The common structural feature which links *GANDZ*$_A$ to *K'AROZ*$_A$ is the refrain concluding every stanza. Here, however, instead of a short one-word refrain which is strongly suggestive of congregational participation, there are well-elaborated two-line refrains whose length suggests the use of choirs. Both *GANDZ*$_C$ and *K'AROZ*$_B$ represent prayer of intercession. In its basic structural features, *GANDZ*$_C$ follows to *K'AROZ*$_B$. However, while in *k'aroz* the prayer of intercession is represented with standard invocations, in *gandzk'* it is a well-developed stanza in

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[91] Եւ այժմ ողորմեաց մեզ, Տէր Աստուած մեր,
Ըստ մեծի ողորմութեան քում

terms of both content and poetical language. Moreover, *GANDZ*_C introduces a new mode of rhetorical engagement in the text, namely, a change of the performance pattern: the term *'pogh'* (change) appeared as a marginal note in manuscripts or a subtitle in printed sources, marks a change of the musical tone or the melody.

*K'AROZ*_C is "split" into *GANDZ*_B and *GANDZ*_{D.} In fact, this is the only case when the direct borrowing from *k'aroz* can be argued with confidence. However, it should be noted that Narekats'i employs these lines directly only in two *gandzk'*, *K'aroz on the Church* and *the Lord's Ark* and *K'aroz to All Holy Apostles:*

*K'AROZ*_C *Deacon:* **And again, grant us with encouragement of love and good deeds, we beseech.**

The communal response: Grant us, our Lord God.

Deacon: **Let us commit ourselves and one another to the Lord God almighty**.

The communal response: To you, O Lord, we commit ourselves.

Deacon: **Our Lord God, have mercy on us according to your great mercy.**

Let us all say with one accord.

The communal response: Lord, have mercy, Lord, have mercy; hear, Lord, and have mercy.

*GANDZ*_B **And again, grant us with the encouragement of love and good deeds, we beseech.**

Let us commit ourselves and one another to the Lord God almighty, we beseech.

*GANDZ*_D **And now, have mercy on us, O Lord our God,**

According to your great mercy.

Elsewhere, including the *Gandz on the Transfiguration* deconstructed above, instead of the directly employing the lines 'Let us commit ourselves and one another to the Lord God almighty', Narekats'i introduces a new line 'Unite us with the hope of Love, which is with the Lord', which is used in his other *gandzk'* with slight variations depending on the subject. It should be noted that in the later centuries, the lines borrowed from *k'aroz* became "obligatory" parts only for those *gandzk'* which had the word *erg* (song) in their acrostics.[92]

To sum up, comparative structural study of *k'aroz* and *gandz* demonstrated above shows that, to a certain extent, *gandz* as a literary form was inspired by *k'aroz*. The structural relationship between these two genres can be summarized as follows. Firstly, both *k'aroz* and *gandzk'* are concluding with intercession prayers. Based on the basic structural commonalities between the intercession prayer of *k'aroz* and that of *gandz*, it can be traced that, in all probability, the latter was modeled on the intercessionary part of *k'aroz*. Secondly, the lines 'And again, grant us with encouragement of love and good deeds, we beseech. Let us commit ourselves and one another to the Lord God almighty, we beseech' were borrowed from *k'aroz*; in this case the structural influence of *k'aroz* on *gandz* is more readily perceptible. Finally, refrains are widely used both in *k'arozk'* and *gandzk'*: while in *k'arozk'*, they are one-word expressions concluding every second line, in *gandzk'* they are well-elaborated two-line structures concluding every stanza. However, as will be demonstrated in the second part of this chapter, since refrains were relatively common rhetorical, metrical and communicative devices used in liturgical poetry in general, the argument that this literary technique was borrowed necessarily from *k'aroz* is not necessarily convincing in itself.[93]

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[92] See, for instance, the *gandzk'* composed by a *gandz*-writer Sargis. On the life and work of Sargis, see Armine K'eoshkeryan, "Գանձասաց Սարգիս Անեցի [The *gandz*-writer Sargis Anets'i]," *Historical-Philological Journal* 2 (1971): 201-9:

[93] Cf. K'yoshkeryan, "Introduction," 29; Devrikyan, "Introduction," 16.

Besides the structural similarities, however, there are striking structural differences between *kʻaroz* and *gandz* which allow us to establish a clear distinction between these two genres. First of all, as demonstrated above through the example of the *Gandz on the Transfiguration*, *gandzkʻ* do not contain communal responses.[94] Consequently, the participation of the faithful is limited and the communicative role is played only by the refrain. Thus, from the point of a "direct participation" of the community, *gandzkʻ* are less "communicative." Secondly, all stanzas of *gandzkʻ* are linked together by acrostics representing a word or a short expression. Acrostics were popular multi-function devices in Greek, Latin and Semitic literatures.[95] The two structural features mentioned above, acrostics and well elaborated refrains, link *gandz* to Syriac and Byzantine hymns, namely, *memrē, madrāshē* and *kontakia*.

2.2. *Gandz-memrā, madrāshā, kontakion* relationship

Syriac hymnology is basically represented in two forms;[96] *memrā* and *madrāshā*. In scholarship, *memrā* is defined as a verse homily, consisting of isosyllabic couplets which display different syllable patterns traditionally associated with various authors (in brackets); 5+5 (Balai, fifth century), 6+6, 7+7 (Ephrem the Syrian) or 12+12 (Jacob of Serugh, sixth century). *Madrāshā*, defined as a stanzaic hymn, has more complex metrical construction:

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[94] However, in MM 7785 (14ᵗʰ century), the refrain of the *gandz* by the thirteenth-century *gandz*-writer Mkhitʻar Ayrivanetsʻi is followed by a communal response 'Hear us, Lord, and have mercy on us" (227v). See Kʻyoshkeryan "Introduction," 29.

[95] For the usage of alphabetic acrostics in metrical compositions, see Ralph Marcus, "Alphabetic Acrostics in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6, no. 2 (Apr., 1947): 109-115 (for its usage in Hebrew, Syriac and Byzantine liturgical poetical forms - psalms, *piyyutim, madrāshē , kontakia*, see, ibid, 111-4); Jerzy Danielewicz, "Further Hellenistic Acrostics: Aratus and Others," *Mnemosyne Fourth Series* 58, no. 3 (2005): 321-34; Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, "Additional Elements of Alphabetical Thinking in Psalm XXXIV," *Vetus Testamentum* 52, no. 3 (Jul., 2002): 326-33; Johan Renkema, "The Meaning of the Parallel Acrostics in Lamentations," *Vetus Testamentum* 45, no. 3 (Jul., 1995): 379-83; David Noel Freedman, "Acrostics and Metrics in Hebrew Poetry," *The Harvard Theological Review* 65, no. 3 (Jul., 1972): 367-92. According to scholarly consensus, acrostics are of Semitic origins.

[96] In scholarship, the *soghithā,* alternatively called a dialogue poem (Type I, according to Sebastian Brock's classification of dialogue poems), is mainly considered as a subset of *madrāshā*. It consists of a two-character dialogue framed by a brief narrative introduction of the setting and a closing doxology. The stanzas of *soghithā* were sung antiphonally, alternating between two conflicting voices. I will return to this form below in the discussion of dialogue poems (Type I).

Ephrem the Syrian employed about fifty different stanza patterns ranging from simple (such as 5+4+5+4) to highly complex ones. Each *madrāshā* is based on a particular stanza pattern built up on isosyllabic principles. Though historically *madrāshā* can be traced back to Bardasan (d. 222) and Mani (d. ca. 276),[97] its poetical perfection is generally associated with Jacob of Serug and, especially Ephrem the Syrian, whose poetic output is mainly comprised of *madrāshē*. The defining structural feature of *madrāshā* is the congregational refrain concluding each strophe. Unlike *memrē* which were most probably recited, *madrāshē* were sung but since Syriac hymn-writers never adopted any notational system to write down the music, the original melodies of *madrāshē* are now lost.[98] In terms of of literary character, *memrē* and especially *madrāshē* are of singular interest as they successfully combine homiletic, dramatic and lyrical elements.[99]

The comparative study of Syriac *madrāshē* and *memrē* with *kontakia* reveals a set of common features between these hymnological genres. Consequently, it has been argued for the *kontakion*'s literary dependence upon these genres in terms of both poetical form and source. The *kontakion*, basically defined as a sung, metrical sermon is an extraordinary combination of poetical, dramatic and homiletic elements. Its invention is attributed to the sixth-century poet Romanos the Melode. According to the traditional view, introduced by J. B. Pitra and, then

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[97] The origin and earliest history of *madrāshā* is a much debated issue as no early source enumerates the characteristic features constituting this genre. For a detailed discussion on the early *madrāshā*, see Kathleen E. McVey, "Were the Earliest Madrase Songs or Recitations?" in *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J. W. Drijvers*, ed. G. J. Reinink and A. C. Klugkist, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 89 (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 185–99. Here the author, among other questions, discusses the relationship between music and verse in the early *madrāshā,* eventually arguing that *madrāshā* was originally a literary form and it was Bardaisan who transformed it into song, a thesis which is additionally supported by Ephrem's testimony in his *madrāshē* .

[98] For a brief introduction on Syrian church music, see Heinrich Husmann, "Syrian Church Music," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol 18, ed. Stanley Sadie (Washington: Groves Dictionaries of Music, 1980), 472–81; Milos Velimirovíc, "Christian Chant in Syria, Armenia, Egypt and Ethiopia," in *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 2, The Early Middle Ages to 1300, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 3–25. Also, James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 92–95.

[99] For a brief introduction to the Syriac poetical forms, see Sebastian P. Brock, "Introduction" to *St. Ephrem the Syrian, Hymns on Paradise* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), 36–39, idem, *An Introduction to Syriac Studies*, Gorgias Handbooks 4 series, 2nd rev. ed. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 8-10. See also, J. Barrington Bates, "Songs and Prayers Like Incense: The Hymns of Ephrem the Syrian," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 69, no. 2 (June, 2000):170-92.

further developed by Egon Wellesz, the *kontakion* was the dominant hymnographic form in Byzantine matins till the seventh or early eighth century when it was replaced by the *kanon* and, consequently, both the composition and the liturgical use of *kontakia* ceased.[100] However, as was convincingly argued by José Grosdidier de Matons and, especially, Alexander Lingas,[101] *kontakia* continued to be produced in the course of the three centuries after the death of Romanos to fill out the rapidly expanding sanctorale.[102] Furthermore, Romanos considerably influenced later preachers and hymnographers at least until the ninth century, and perhaps even beyond.[103]

Generally, the *kontakion* consists of eighteen to twenty-four stanzas called *οἶκοι* (pl. of *οἶκος,* "house") or *troparia*, all composed according to the metrical and musical pattern of a model stanza, the *heirmos* (εἱρμός).[104] Consequently, all stanzas are structurally and metrically similar to each other. The *kontakion* opens with a short *troparion*, metrically and melodically independent stanza, called *prooemion* (προοίμιον) or *kukulion* (κουκουλιον); it introduces the subject, the setting of the *kontakion*. All stanzas are concluded with a refrain, called *ephymnion* (ἐφύμνιον), which suggests that the main body was sung by a soloist, commonly the, deacon

[100] Wellesz, "Byzantine Music and Its Place in the Liturgy", 19-20; idem, "*Kontakion* and *Kanon*," *Atti del Congresso Internazion ale di Musica sacra* (Tournai, 1952): 131-33; idem, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 157, 199, 203-4; Eric Werner, *The Sacred Bridge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 227.

[101] José Grosdidier de Matons, "Liturgie et hymnographie: *Kontakion* et Canon," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34/35 (1980/81): 31-43; Alexander Lingas, "The Liturgical Place of the *Kontakion* in Constantinople," in *Liturgy, Architecture, and Art in the Byzantine World: Papers of the XVIII International Byzantine Congress; Moscow, 8-15, August 1991)*, ed. C. C. Akentiev, Byzantinorossica 1 (St. Petersburg: Vizantinorossika, 1995): 50-57.

[102] Generally approving the arguments of Grosdidier and making important clarifications, Lingas states that the main liturgical setting, "the original home" of the *kontakion*, from the time of Romanos until the ninth century, was the cathedral rite, *asmatike akolouthi* (sung office) rather than the Palestinian monastic rite, in which *kanons* evolved. Iin fact, "traditional theory" did not consider this very fact of existence of two separate strands of liturgical development in Constantinople. Thus, arguing for the *kontakion*'s origins in popular vigils and the persistence of these services within the mature *asmatike akolouthia* (as well as for the fact that *kontakia* were still being written as late as the ninth century), Lingas concludes that the hymns of Romanos and the other early melodies were not replaced by *kanons* in the seventh or eighth century. What is more, "*kanons* had no place at all within Constantinopolitan cathedral worship: they were a prominent feature of the Palestinian monastic rite imported by St. Theodore the Studite at the very end of this period. It was only through the Studite monks' rapid assimilation of cathedral forms that the *kontakion* attained its present place within Sabaïtic orthros" (Lingas, "The Liturgical Place of the *Kontakion*," 56).

[103] Mary B. Cunningham, "The Reception of Romanos in Middle by Byzantine Homiletics and Hymnography," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 62 (2008): 251-60.

[104] Cf. Syrian *rish-qolo* (head of song). See, Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, 213-14.

and the choir joined in the refrain.[105] The further defining feature of *kontakion* is the acrostic, representing at least a two-word expression connecting all stanzas together. Thus, structurally speaking, *kontakion* is a relatively strictly-regulated poetical form where three major factors, acrostic, refrains and *heirmos* define the structure.

As a new hymnological genre, the *kontakion* introduced a new vibrancy into Byzantine poetry. William Petersen mentions three major fields where the *kontakion* was revolutionary. Firstly, it introduced the accent metric, known as the "Byzantine metric", a system which eventually replaced the quantitative "Hellenic metric" of Classical Greek verse. Secondly, the *kontakion* introduced new metrical structures: instead of Classical lines, with predictable metrical patterns, such as Homeric dactylic hexameter, it consists of *cola* of varying numbers of feet, and within the strophe the *cola* themselves follow no regular pattern. Finally, it widely uses dialogue as a literary device which not only opens new perspectives to express the psychological depth of the characters but also acts as a rhetorical tool to achieve a new level of immediacy for the listener [106] and evoke and engage a "sensory experience." [107] As the comparative study has revealed *kontakion* inherited all these features from Syriac poems.

The theory that the impulse towards *kontakion* came from Syriac hymnological genres, was first put forward by Paul Maas. He traced seven structural features which link *kontakion* to the three major forms of Syriac hymnology, *soghithā, madrāshā* and *memrā*.[108] The seven points can be summarized as such: a. the acrostic (no 1); b. the refrain (no 2); c. dramatic elements (nos. 3-4); d. metrical features (nos. 5-7).[109] Based on *kontakion*'s dependence upon Syriac genres as a poetical form, Maas argued for its Syriac origin. The theory of *kontakion*'s

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[105] Trypanis, "Introduction", xi. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 179-80.
[106] See Petersen, "The Dependence of Romanos", 172-73.
[107] Georgia Frank, "Romanos and the Night Vigil in the Sixth Century," in *Byzantine Christianity: A People's History of Christianity*, vol. 3, ed. Derek Kreuger (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006): 59–78, 67. See also, Frank's article "Dialogue and Deliberation: The Sensory Self in the Hymns of Romanos the Melodist," in *Religion and the Self in Late Antiquity*, ed. David Brakke, Michael L. Satlow, and Steven Weitzman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 163–79.
[108] Maas considers *soghithā* as a separate genre, rather than a subgenre of *madrāshā*.
[109] Paul Maas, "Das Kontakion," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 19, no. 2 (1910): 290.

Syriac origin is widely accepted by other scholars,[110] however, some debates continued about its Greek origin as well.[111] Apart from the genre dependence upon Syriac poems, the source analysis of the *kontakia* of Romanos revealed that Romanos widely used Ephrem's hymns (as well as other works) as a literary source, especially with regard to choice of symbols, metaphors, and so on.[112]

Back to the main questions: how and to what extent do *gandzkʻ* as poetical forms relate to Syriac *madrāshē, memrē* and Byzantine *kontakia*? What structural commonalities can be traced between them and these genres? The first point of intersection is the acrostic, common for *madrāshē, kontakia* and *gandzkʻ*. As demonstrated in the first part of the chapter, acrostics are one of the basic structural components of *gandz*. Besides their "informative" role recording the name of the author, sometimes the name of a feast or saint it is dedicated to, acrostics play several roles as a literary device. Firstly, splitting the composition into more or less structurally identical stanzas they help create structural regularity in a composition playing a so-called structure regulating role. Secondly, acrostics establish an artistic continuity within the work binding different stanzas or lines and create a sense of completeness of the composition. Thirdly, acrostics functioned as "author's signatures" on the work expressing a sense of authorship. The thirteenth-century *gandz*-writer Mkhitʻar Ayrivanetsʻi connected all his eighteen *gandzkʻ* with an acrostic which spells out a whole sentence containing his name.[113]

Finally, these acrostics are important from the point of genre history as they can reveal what medieval hymn-writers called their poetical compositions. Romanos mainly uses non-

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[110] Wellesz, "Byzantine Music and Its Place in the Liturgy," 18-19. Petersen, "The Dependence of Romanos," 171-87.

[111] Grosdidier de Matons argues that the *kontakion* is "une creation originale du genie grec." According to his investigations, Romanos did not use sources written in Syriac, nor did Romanos employ the Syriac works of Ephrem as a source. William Peterson criticizing this methodological starting point, namely not distinguishing between evidence of dependence in poetic form and evidence of literary dependence, reargues for *kontakion*'s dependence upon Syriac poems as a literary form, in Petersen, "The Dependence of Romanos," 170-77).

[112] Petersen, "The Dependence of Romanos," 177-84; for Romanos' usage of Greek sources see, for instance, Riccardo Maisano, "Romanos's Use of Greek Patristic Sources", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 62 (2008): 261-73.

[113] Eleonora Harutyunyan, "Introduction" to *Տաղեր և գանձեր* [*Taghkʻ.* and *gandzkʻ*] by Mkhitʻar Ayrivanetsʻi, comp. Eleonora Harutʻyunyan (Yerevan: Nairi, 2005), 31-33.

alphabetical acrostics, where he labels his *kontakia* with different names; e.g. ὕμνος (hymn)[114],

ἔπος (word, speech),[115] αἶνος (praise, laud),[116] ψαλμός (psalm",[117] ποίημα (poem),[118] ᾠδή

(song):[119] the most favored labeling in *kontakia* is αἶνος.[120] In acrostics of *gandzk῾*, the most

widespread labels are *erg* (song, cf. ᾠδή, also song), mainly favored by Grigor Narekatsʻi and

twelfth-century hymn-writer Sargis; and *ban* (speech (also in verse), cf. ἔπος,). The fact that

these hymn-writers called their compositions by different names not only demonstrates

additionally the widely spread medieval trend to use synonyms[121] but also, the vague (at least,

for modern scholarship) understanding of the notion 'genre' and its demarcation by medieval

authors. This fact additionally suggests that these labels should be considered as descriptions,

rather than scholarly genre definitions in the modern sense.

The other structural feature shared by *madrāshā*, *kontakion* and *gandz* is the refrain. As

a literary device the refrain plays communicative (directly engaging the community or the

choir), rhetorical (emphasizing the key thought) and structural role (linking different stanzas

of the poem and creating harmonic structure). Refrains change from *gandz* to *gandz*, depending

on the subject. One thing is, however, fixed: the last refrain is commonly dedicated to the

departed. Thus, so far two structural features, acrostics and refrains, were equally shared by

madrāshē, *kontakia* and *gandzk῾.*

The further crucial component which links Syriac *madrāshē*, *memrē* and Byzantine

kontakia is the dramatic element. Based on the extant of usage of the dramatic elements, Syriac

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[114] 'τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Ρωμανοῦ [ὸ] ὕμνος' ("The hymn of humble Romanos"). See Romanus Melodus, Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica genuine, ed. Paul Maas and Constantine A. Trypanis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 289, etc. Henceforth, Romanus Melodus.

[115] 'τοῦτο Ρωμανοῦ τὸ ἔπος.' ("The story of Romanos"), Romanus Melodus, 26; with variations, 49, 172, 266, etc.

[116] 'τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Ρωμανοῦ αἶνος' ("The story of Humble Romanos"). See Romanus Melodus, 64, 131, 157, etc.

[117] 'ὸ ψαλμός οὗτος εστίν Ρωμανοῦ' ("This psalm is of Romanos"). See Romanus Melodus, 81, 149, etc., with slight differences, 223, 242, etc.

[118] 'τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Ρωμανοῦ τοῦτο τὸ ποίημα' ("This Poem is of Humble Romanos). See Romanus Melodus, 395.

[119] 'ἡ ᾠδή Ρωμανοῦ' ("The song of Romanos"). See Romanus Melodus 196, 276.

[120] The word '*kontakion*' meaning 'rotulus' first appears in the ninth century. See Constantine A. Trypanis, Introduction to Romanus Melodus, note 1.

[121]Abgaryan, The Hymnological Genre, 94.

poetical forms can be generally grouped into two categories; a. hymns with no dramatic elements (Sebastian Brock defines these hymns as "prayer songs"), and b. hymns containing dramatic elements. The latter can be split into two subgroups; a. hymns containing monologs with or without narrator's interventions;[122] and b. hymns with dialogic elements, commonly referred to as dialogue poems in scholarship.

Syriac dialogue poems are represented in both *memrē* and *madrāshē*. To demonstrate the complexity of dialogic and narrative-homiletic elements in these texts, Sebastian Brock distinguishes them between five different types. Type I, represented almost exclusively by *madrāshā*, is a formal dialogue with alternating stanzas but without any narrative framework; it opens with an introduction providing the setting of the hymn[123] and sometimes concludes with an epilogue: [124] this type of dialogue poem is identical with the *sogithā*. Type II, represented by both in *madrāshē* and *memrē*, is "a transitional form of the disputation poem where the two parties no longer speak in alternating stanzas, but are allocated uneven blocks of speech." Type III includes *madrāshē* which are still made up of a dialogue but have a basic narrative framework, develop a theme or whole episode, no longer have an alternating structure and allow for more than two speakers. Type IV is represented exclusively by biblical *memrē* and consists of "a narrative framework which also contains speeches" and, finally, Type V also represented by *memrē* introduces various kinds of homiletic material.[125]

Dramatic elements are one of the main components of *kontakia* as well: in fact, imagined speech in form of both monologue and dialogue is the dominant literary technique

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[122] See, for instance, Ephrem the Syrian's *Hymn on the Nativity* (no. 16), which represents a monologue of Mary (st. 1-15) with narrator's conclusion in the end of the poem (st. 16-17). See, *Bride of Light*: *Hymns on Mary from the Syriac Churches,* trans. Sebastian Brock, Moran Etho 6 (Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1994), 21-24; also, *On Nativity III* (monologue - st. 1-4, 7-18, narrator – st. 5-6), ibid, 24-27.

[123] Cf. *prooemium* in *kontakia*.

[124] See for instance, Dialogue Between Mary and the Angel (narrator- st. 1-10, dialogue – st. 11-50, narrator st. 51-54); Dialogue between Mary and the Magi (narrator- st. 1-10, dialogue – st. 11-52, narrator st. 53), etc.

[125] Sebastian Brock, "Dramatic Dialogue Poems," in *IV Symposium Syriacum*, ed. H. J. W. Drijvers, R. Lavenant, C. Molenberg, and G. J. Reinink, OCA 229 (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987): 136–38.

here. A clear-cut example is Romanos' hymn *On the Nativity I (Mary and the Magi)* based on the birth narrative of Christ as told in Matthew II, 1:2 and Luke II, 1:15. Here, the *proomion* and introductory glorification (strophe 1) are followed by a series of monologues and dialogues; the monologue of Mary (str. 2-3), the dialogue of Mary and the Magi (str. 4-6), Mary and Christ (str. 7-9), Mary and the Magi (str. 10-21); the *kontakion* concludes with a monologue-glorification of Mary (str. 22-24). [126] All dialogic and monologic parts are intervened by the narrator's voice which functions as a literary device to connect the different voices of the narrative: it does not bear the so-called ideological gravity of the poem. Thus, in *kontakia* the didactic and doctrinal concepts (here, in *On the Nativity I*, the concept of Christ's Incarnation and Mary's holy conception) are presented and developed through the dramatic speech of the main characters of the narrative rather than the narrator.

Thus, in both Syriac dialogue poems and *kontakia*, the dramatic element is dominant over the narrative-meditative one. The Biblical personages here have a distinctively prominent verbal role which is often lacking in the relevant biblical narratives.[127] Consequently, biblical stories are being performed rather than simply retold. In contrast, in *gandzkʿ* the voice of the narrator is dominant rather than that of characters: the collective and communal aspect of the poem is underscored through the use of the first-person plural pronouns, "we", a rhetorical technique directly involving the listeners as participants. In this sense, *gandzkʿ* are one-voiced, rather than two or multi-voiced, narratives. Here, two basic elements, meditative-lyrical and homiletic-narrative can be traced. The meditative-lyrical elements are dominant in Narekatsʿi's *gandzkʿ*: dogmatic concepts here are mainly formulated in epithets rather than illustrated by lively dialogs. Biblical stories and episodes are alluded to rather than being retold or illustrated in a dramatic matter. Homiletic-narrative elements are dominant only in two of his *gandzkʿ*,

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[126] See Romanus Melodus, 1-9:
[127] For a discussion on the "voice of woman" in Syriac dialogue poeim see Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Spoken Words, Voiced Silence: Biblical Women in the Syriac Tradition," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9 (2001): 105–31

Gandz to St. Gregory the Illuminator of Armenians and *Kʻaroz on the Church and the Lord's Ark Recited by Grigor Narekatsʻi*.[128] In both cases they are generally comparable with those Syriac poems which are classified as prayer songs by Sebastian Brock.

To sum up, the comparative structural analysis of *gandz* as compared with Syriac *memrā*, *madrāshā* and Byzantine *kontakion* reveals structural commonalities between *gandz* and these hymnological genres which, in turn, allows a discourse about its literary dependence on them as a literary form. *Gandz* shares two structural commonalities with *madrāshā* and *kontakion*; refrains concluding each stanza of the poem, and acrostics (mainly non-alphabetical), two-three-word expressions usually containing the name of the author. However, both *madrāshā* and *kontakion* are distinctive for their extensive use of dramatic elements; the biblical narratives and didactic-doctrinal concepts here are presented and developed in a dramatic manner, more concretely, through the dramatic speech of the main characters both in forms of monologue and dialogue. Consequently, the voice of narrator functions mainly as a connector of these different voices. Dramatic elements are not common in *gandzkʻ*; they are mainly distinguished by their extensive use of homiletic-narrative and meditative-lyrical elements instead. The extent of the use of these elements is determined by the authors' literary preference; thus, for instance, Narekatsʻi mostly uses meditative-lyrical elements. The homiletic-narrative and meditative-lyrical character of *gandzkʻ* links them to those Syriac hymns which are devoid of dramatic elements (prayer songs in Sebastian Brock's words).

Finally, as mentioned in the Introduction of this thesis, *gandz* is one of the component parts of the *gandz kanon*: other basic components are *tagh* (song) and *meghedy* (melody). In fact, the originality of *gandz* as a poetical form lays in its *gandz-tagh-meghedy* structural pattern, which makes it distinctive from all hymnological genres discussed above. Such

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[128]Homiletic-narrative elements are dominant especially in he *gandzkʻ* attributed to Khachʻatur (ca. 1260s-1330s). See for instance, [Khachʻatur Kechʻaṛetsi], "Քարոզ աստուածայայտնութեան Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի [*Kʻaroz on Epiphany of Our Lord Jesus Christ*]," *Gandzaran*, vol. 1, 72-73.

structural pattern creates diversity of genre within the *kanon*; *gandz*, *tagh* and *meghedy* are structurally, metrically and functionally different genres. Consequently, the lyrical-meditative and homiletic elements are distributed unequally among the parts of the *gandz kanon*. In *gandz* which is the main body of the *kanon* carrying its ideological gravity, the meditative and homiletic-narrative elements are dominant over the meditative-lyrical and lyrical ones which are main components in *tagh* and *meghedy*. The question whether the *gandz-tagh-meghedy* structural pattern was invented by Grigor Narekatsʻi himself or it is a result of a later literary development, will be discussed in the final chapter.

Chapter 3. Historical Development of the Gandz Kanon in the Context of the Manuscript Tradition

As a complex poetical composition dedicated to the church feasts, *gandz kanon* is comprised of *gandz* itself and its lyrical elaborations, *taghkʻ* (songs) and *meghedykʻ* (melodies). While *gandz* with its poetical and musical texture is clearly determined within the *kanon*, the dividing line, if any, between *tagh* and *meghedy* is not clear.[129] *Gandzkʻ* are multi-stanza compositions clearly defined with their homiletic and narrative character, whereas, *taghkʻ* and *meghedykʻ* are lyrical poems with highly elaborated metrics and poetical language. This difference is clearly underlined in the performance level of these genres as well: while *gandzkʻ* were recited, *taghkʻ* and *meghedykʻ* were sung. Thus, the *gandz-tagh-meghedy* structural pattern creates generic diversity within the *gandz kanon* opening wide perspectives for elaborating the same subject in various poetical and musical manners.

The creation of both the *gandz kanon* and the *gandzaran*, a special medieval collection containing solely *gandz kanons*, is linked to the name of Grigor Narekatsʻi. Considering the systemized picture of Narekatsʻi's *gandzkʻ* and *taghkʻ* (i.e. that each feast is represented in one *gandz* and one or more *taghkʻ* or/and *meghedykʻ*), Armine Kʻyoshkeryan argues that they were created as component parts of the same poetical system, *gandz kanon* and, that already in the tenth century, Narekatsʻi collected them into a liturgical collection, called *gandztetr* (notebook of *gandzkʻ*), which served as a basis for later *gandzarans*.[130] Linking both the creation of the *gandz kanon* and *gandzaran* to Grigor Narekatsʻi, Armine Kʻyoshkeryan hypothetically reconstructs the original layout of Narekatsʻi's *gandzaran* collecting all ten *gandzkʻ* and twenty-

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[129] In manuscript sources, the terms '*tagh*' and '*meghedy*' are frequently used interchangeably. If this is not a case of a synonymic usage of two terms and if there was/is, in fact, such division, the question whether it is based on the poetical, musical or functional aspects of these "genres" is to be explored yet.

[130] Kʻyoshkeryan, *The beginning and development of the gandzaran heritage*, 54-55.

one *taghkʻ*and *meghedykʻ*attributed to him[131] and arranging them according to the sequence of the feasts.[132]

While in the previous chapters the main focus was on the *gandz* itself, the subject of the present chapter will be the whole *gandz kanon* with its complexity. More concretely, here I will deal with the question concerning the emergence and development of the *gandz kanon*, aiming to answer the question whether the *gandz-tagh-meghedy* structural pattern was invented by Grigor Narekatsʻi himself or it is a result of a later literary development. Through the study of the manuscript tradition of *gandzaran*, I will try to trace the historical development of the *gandz kanon* throughout the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries and, if the manuscript data allow, I will trace back to the early period of its existence, the tenth-twelfth centuries from which no manuscript survives.

With its "*kanon*ic" character, the *gandz kanon* is comparable with the *sharakan kanon* (*kanon of troparia*): both *sharakan* and *gandz kanons* are poetic compositions dedicated to the church feasts. In collections, called *sharaknotsʻ* (*tropologion*) and *gandzaran* respectively, they are arranged according to the sequence of the feasts in the liturgical calendar. However, there is a significant difference between these two *kanons*: each *sharakan kanon* is comprised of eight *sharakankʻ*(pl. of *sharakan, troparia*) which have their fixed location within the *kanon* and are specified with names. From the aspect of genre, these eight troparia bear the same genre markers. In contradistinction, *gandz kanon* is comprised of genres which are structurally and functionally different from each other. Although within a *kanon*, *gandz*, *tagh* and *meghedy*

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[131] The authorship of some items is still debatable. For instance, in manuscripts, the *Tagh on Blessing of Water* mostly appears without the author's name. However, in BN 80 and MM 7785 it is attributed to Nersēs Shnorhaly, in MM 5328 - to Grigor Narekatsʻi. Vardan Devrikyan considers Shnorhaly rather than Narekatsʻi to be the author of the poem (see *Gandzaran*, vol. 2, 51, notes)

[132] Kʻyoshkeryan, "Introduction" to *Gandztetr*, 619-620. According to this reconstructed picture, six of the sixteen *kanons* do not have *gandz*, the body part of the *kanon*, and three *kanons* do not have lyrical elaborations at all (neither *tagh* nor *meghedy*). Armine Kʻyoshkeryan assumes that these "missing items" did not survive (ibid., 616) which is a quite legitimate explanation. However, the other, equally possible assumption might be that they were not simply created.

refer to and elaborate the same subject making an ideological and poetical unit, i.e. *gandz kanon*, their dependence on each other is relatively weak. This is the reason, why *taghkʻ* and *meghedykʻ* were widely copied in other collections while having a secondary existence outside the *gandz kanon*. Likewise, there are *gandzarans* (pl. of *gandzaran*) which contain only *gandzkʻ* without their lyrical elaborations, *taghkʻ* and *meghedykʻ*. This makes the *gandz kanon* a less stable poetical complex comparing with that of *sharakan*.[133]

Based on different structural developments of the *gandz kanon*, Armine Kʻyoshkeryan divides *gandzarans* into five categories; collections containing only *gandzkʻ* (I), *gandzkʻ* and a few number of *taghkʻ* (II), only *taghkʻ* and *meghedykʻ* (III), *gandzkʻ* and *taghkʻ*/*meghedykʻ* separately (IV), and, finally, the most common, so called classical type, *gandzkʻ*, *taghkʻ*, *meghedykʻ* and their sequels together (V).[134] This categorization, though clearly tracing the basic types of *gandzaran*, is not supported by any sample data and statistical analysis which will reveal which one of these types was more characteristic for each century.[135]

To proceed with my own investigation, here I will employ a sample-database of manuscripts based on a general structural study of the first 150 manuscript *gandzarans* of the Matenadaran's collection containing 197 in total. The sample will illustrate the different structural developments of the *gandz kanon* in a more accurate way. In addition, it will

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[133] This is clearly visible in the manuscript tradition of both sharaknotsʻ (tropologion) and *gandzaran*. Traditionally dating back from the fifth century, in the course of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, sharaknotsʻ was finally completed and canonized, according to the *tonatsʻuytsʻ* (liturgical calendar) and become structurally more stable collection. Thus, from the thirteenth century onwards, both the sequence of the feasts and the materials within each *sharakan kanon* remain fixed and relatively unchangeable. Consequently, the manuscript sharaknotsʻ generally resemble each other (not considering corruptions and tiny modifications made by scribes). In contradistinction, the picture from one manuscript *gandzaran* to another varies considerably: while the sequence of the feasts is relatively stable, the inner structure of each *kanon* and the number of items within it can differ. Thus, while the changes in sharaknotsʻ and other service books are connected mainly with correspondent changes of the liturgical calendar (adding feasts, for instance), those in *gandzaran* are additionally and equally explained by the literary perceptions and expectations of that particular century (Devrikyan, "Introduction," 9-11).
[134] Kʻeoshkēryan, *The beginning and development*, 42-43..
[135] For each category, Kʻeoshkeryan gives 1-3 examples taken from different Armenian manuscript collections (see ibid.).

demonstrate how these developments and changes are chronologically distributed and which structural pattern was more typical for each century. Finally, based on the sample, the hypothetical development of the *gandz kanon* will be traced from the very beginning of its existence, i.e. from the tenth to nineteenth century.

Mainly based on K'yoshkeryan's categorization, here I will present a slightly different one: I will merge the first two categories considering type II (in K'yoshkeryan's categorization) as a subcategory within the category I. Additionally, I will add a fifth one, a type of manuscript consisting of *mashtots'* (Armenian Ritual) and *gandzaran* separately. Thus, the categories run as follows: collections containing only *gandzk'* (I); *taghk'* and *meghedyk'* (II); *gandzk'* and *taghk'* separately (III); *gandzk', taghk', meghedyk'* and their sequels (IV), and, finally, category V which represents a mashtots'-*gandzaran* type of the *gandzarans*. While creating such database my basic strategy was to compare my personal observations concerning the dating, script, structure, etc. with the data suggested by both compendious [136] and extensive [137] catalogues of the Armenian manuscripts of the Matenadaran. [138] Other sources, such as colophons of the Armenian manuscripts [139] also have been consulted. If there is a striking

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[136] *Ցուցակ ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անվան Մատենադարանի* [Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of the Mashtots' Matenadaran], 3 vols., vol. 1, ed. L. Khachikean and A. Mnats'akanean (Erevan: Academy Press, 1965); vol. 2, ed. L. Khachikean and A. Mnats'akanean (Erevan: Academy Press, 1970); vol. 3, ed. A. Tēr-Step'anean (Erevan: Matenadaran Press, 2007). These catalogues, in scholarship and practice often referred to as compendious catalogues, contain only brief descriptions of manuscripts.

[137] *Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անվան Մատենադարանի* [Extensive catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts at the Mashtots' Matenadaran], 8 vols (the next 26-28 volumes are in progress); vol. 1 (MM 1-300), ed. P'. Ant'abekean (Erevan: Academy Press, 1984); vol. 2 (MM 301-600) ed. P'. Ant'bekean (Erevan: Nairi, 2004); vol. 3 (MM 601-1000), ed. P'. Ant'abekean (Erevan: Magaghat', 2007); vol. 4 (MM 1001-1500), ed. Y. K'ēosean (Erevan: Nairi, 2009); vol. 5 (MM 1501-1800), ed. Y. K'ēosean (Erevan: Nairi, 2009); vol. 6 (MM 1801-2100), ed. G. Tēr-Vardanean (Erevan: Nairi, 2012); vol. 7 (MM 2101-2400), ed. G. Tēr-Vardanean (Erevan: Nairi, 2012); vol. 8 (2401-2700), ed. G. Tēr-Vardanean (Erevan: Nairi, 2013). These volumes provide detailed and extensive descriptions of manuscripts.

[138] The extensive catalogues contain descriptions of only the first 22 manuscripts (MM 432-MM 2672 in the Table 2). Besides published catalogues, I widely used unpublished manuscript descriptions provided by my colleagues at the Matenadaran to whom I am immensely grateful.

[139] *Հայերէն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ* [Colophons of the Armenian manuscripts], 9 vols (incomplete); vol. 1 (5th-12th centuries), comp. A. Mat'evosyan (Erevan: Academy Press, 1988); vol. 2 (13th century), comp. A. Mat'evosyan (Erevan: Academy Press, 1984); vol. 3 (14th century), comp. L. Khachikyan (Erevan: Academy Press, 1950); vol. 4 (1401-1450), comp. L. Khachikyan (Erevan: Academy Press, 1955); vol. 5 (1451-1480), comp. L. Khachikyan (Erevan: Academy Press, 1958); vol. 6 (1481-1500), comp. L. Khachikyan (Erevan:

difference between the data suggested by these sources and my observations, a footnote is given

to clarify it. The following table summarizes the sample-database:[140]

Table 4

Category \ Date	I	II	III	IV	V
14th c.	2061, 427? 4068	3503		5328, 6366, 7785,	
Total	3 (43 %)	1 (14 %)	-	3 (43 %)	-
15th c.	3505, 5856		2541, 4769, 4771, 4876, 5936	425, 427, 428, 430, 474, 475, 555, 2807, 3540, 3555, 3591, 3866, 3870, 3871, 4011,4091, 4103, 4117, 4203, 4209, 4277, 4350, 4433, 4767, 4768, 4770, 4782, 4783, 4844, 4849, 4854, 5209, 5330, 5338, 5376, 5398, 5399, 5400, 5402, 5404, 5423, 5438, 5521, 5785, 5798, 5879, 5951, 6317 (I), 6317 (II), 6350, 6373, 6495, 6516, 6526, 5798, 6839, 6851, 6855, 6968, 7281, 7553, 7593, 7594, 7773, 7787, 7839	3556, 4392
Total	2 (2.7%)	-	5 (6.7%)	66 (88%)	2 (2.7%)

Academy Press, 1967); vol. 7 (1601-1620), comp. Vazgen Hakobyan and Ashot Hovhannnisyan (Erevan: Academy Press, 1971); vol. 8 (1621-1640), comp. Vazgen Hakobyan and Ashot Hovhannisyan (Erevan: Academy Press, 1978); vol. 9 (1641-1660), comp. Vazgen Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy Press, 1984).
[140] For the sample database, see Appendix 2.

16th c.	5218 (I)			429, 473, 554, 2659, 2665, 2927, 3533, 4167, 4200, 4237, 4385, 4423, 4668 (I), 4668 (II), 4785, 4832, 4862, 5340, 5346, 5431, 5434, 5475, 5522, 5899, 6306, 6489, 6527, 6656, 6826, 6833, 7528, 7730, 7888, 7889.	962, 3535, 3768
Total	1 (2.6 %)	-	-	34 (89.5%)	3 (7.9 %)
17th c.	426			424, 2649, 2672, 2709, 2736, 4131, 4183, 4209 (II), 5218 (II), 6426, 7444, 7467, 7507, 7508, 7509, 7531, 7561, 7578, 7705, 7732	893, 3768,
Total	1 (4.3 %)	-	-	20 (87 %)	2 (8.7.%)
18th c.	-	-	5620	432, 3986, 6382, 7349	-
Total	-	-	1 (20 %)	4 (80 %)	-
19th c.	-	-	-	3053, 3591, 7925	-
Total	-	-	-	3 (100%)	-

Before drawing implications from this sample data, some codicological adjustments concerning one of the crucially important manuscript *gandzarans*, MM 3540, are necessary here. There is groundless confusion concerning the date of this manuscript. In scholarship, MM 3540 is frequently referred to as a compound manuscript consisting of two separate parts: the first written in 1286 (henceforth, MM 3540 I) and the second, in 1408 (henceforth, MM 3540 II).[141] According to such interpretation, MM 3540 I is the earliest surviving manuscript

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[141] K'yoshkeryan, "Introduction", 284; Devrikyan, "Introduction", 25. Most probably, they follow to the data suggested by the compendious catalogue.see *Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of the Mashtots' Matenadaran*, vol. 1, 1037).

gandzaran of the Matenadaran's collection from the thirteenth century with a precise date (1286) and the second after BN 79 I (1241) in general. Thus, from this point of view, it is important to make some adjustments.

Both dates, 1286 and 1408, are taken from the two colophons on the same page, 286r (see Figure 1). There are missing pages between ff. 285 and 286: the last part of the last poem on 285v, *Lament recited by the same Grigor Vardapet*, and, consequently, the first part of first colophon on the next page are missing (see Figure 2). The surviving excerpt reads as follows: "Please, remember us in [your] prayers, while copying and proofreading those things. ՁԼԵ (735+551=1286)."[142] These lines are followed by the second colophon: (286r) "Glory to the most holy Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, who gave the feeble soul Yovhanēs, a monk only in name, ability... to reach to the end of the book, in the year of ՊՄԷ (857+551=1408, P.H.) according to our (i.e. Armenian, P. H.) calendar."[143] As the study of the scripts of both colophons shows, they are written by the same hand and the comparison with other pages of the manuscript leaves no doubt that bot colophons and the whole manuscript are written by Yovhanēs. Furthermore, as it turns out, the first colophon is the famous versified colophon of Mkhit'ar Ayrivanets'i.[144]This leaves no doubt that the first colophon is that of the exemplar, copied by the scribe Yovhannēs together with the main text. Hence, MM 3540 should be referred to as a single manuscript written in 1408.

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[142]"///[ա]յս սրբեալ: Զմեզ լիշեցէք ի յաղաւթել, գրելով զայս բանքս, ի սրբագրել: ՁԼԵ (735+551=1286)" (see MM 3540, 286r).

[143] Փառք ամենասուրբ Երրորդութեանն, Հաւր եւ Որդոյ ու Հոգոյն Սրբոյ, որ ետ կարողութիւն տկար ոգոյ Յովհանիսի սուտանունն կրանաւորի... հասանել յաւարտ լուսապիծծ տառիս յամի ՊՄԷ թբւականիս մերում.

[144] For the full text of the colophon, see *Gandzaran*, vol. 2, 1557.

3.1. General implications

Before turning to the main question, the development of the *gandz kanon*, some general implications can be drawn from the sample presented above. Firstly, throughout the centuries, *gandzarans* were copied and spread in various scriptoria both in historical Armenia and beyond. Therefore, *gandzaran* was a geographically widespread, rather than a local (related to a certain scriptorium or a region) literary and liturgical tradition. Secondly, from the sample, the following statistics can be gathered: 50% of 150 presented manuscripts are from the fifteenth, 25% - the sixteenth, 15% - the seventeenth, 3.3% - the eighteenth, and 2% from the nineteenth centuries. Thus, the fifteenth century was an unprecedentedly productive period for *gandzarans*, whereas, starting already from the sixteenth century, the number of the copied *gandzarans* started to decrease. Finally, regarding the fourteenth century, which is of crucial importance for the present discussion, only 4.6% of the manuscripts presented are from this time period. Considering that there are, in total, about three hundred surviving manuscript *gandzarans* in the various collections of the Armenian manuscripts throughout the world,[145] the present sample based on half of these manuscripts can be considered as highly representative and, thus, allows to apply these implications to the whole corpus.

The manuscripts from the late, especially from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are of special interest from two points of view. First, having experienced a series of textual modifications (I would not call them corruptions), mainly, transportation and reduction of stanzas, their resemblance to the originals is remote.[146] However, this does not reduce their literary value, but, on the contrary, they represent a new phase of the development of that

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[145] Kʻēōshkērean, *The beginning and development*, 15; idem, "Introduction" to Տաղեր եւ գանձեր [*Taghkʻ* and *gandzkʻ*], by Nersēs Shnorhaly, comp. Armine Kʻyoshkeryan (Erevan: Academy Press, 1987), Ի (xx).

[146] See, for instance, MM 3591 (1822, Ejmiatsin).

particular text.[147] Second, they illustrate interesting shifts in the reception of gandzaran collections. A clear example for this kind of shift is BN 85, written in 1802 in Venice, where *gandzkʿ* are regarded as a source for a philological-textual study. The manuscript was compiled based on various "early" and "later" manuscript, as well as printed *gandzaran* collections. In the text, the complier Yovhannēs Zohrapean provides different readings of the same passage and, where differences are huge, he provides those passages separately in the columns.[148] In other words, BN 85 is the first attempt at making a critical edition of a *gandzaran* collection, a project which was only recently completed by Vardan Devrikyan.

3.2. The outline of the historical development of the gandz kanon

Back to the main question, the emergence and development of the *gandz kanon* and *gandzaran* collection, the table below illustrates the chronological distribution of all five types of *gandzaran*:

Table 5

Date	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V
14th c.	43 %	14 %	-	43 %	-
15th c.	2.7%	-	6.7%	88%	2.7%
16th c.	2.6 %	-	-	89.5%	7.9 %
17th c.	4.3 %	-	-	87 %	8.7.%
18th c.	-	-	20 %	80 %	-
19th c.	-	-	-	100%	-

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[147] The same point concerning medieval Armenian poetic texts in general is made by Theo M. van Lint. See, Theo M. van Lint, "Medieval Poetic Texts", in *Armenian Philology in the Modern Era: From Manuscript to Digital Text,* ed. Valentina Calzolari and Michael E. Stone, 377-413 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 379.
[148] See BN 85, 3v-4v, 204v-5v, and so on.

Based on this statistics gathered from the sample presented above, it can be inferred that from the fifteenth century onward, Type IV (*gandz-tagh-meghedy*) prevailed in all types (80-100 percent); whereas the other types do not exceed twenty percent. The picture, however, is not that simple in regard to the fourteenth century. According to the sample, in the fourteenth century, the number of the manuscripts of Type II (only *taghkʿ*) and Type III (*gandzkʿ* and *taghkʿ* & *meghedykʿ* separately) was limited, whereas Type I (containing only *gandzkʿ*) and Type IV (*gandzkʿ, taghkʿ, meghedykʿ*) were equally popular. Thus, which one of these types is most likely to represent the original layout of *gandzaran*? Based on the sample, the most probable answer might be either Type I or Type IV. However, before drawing conclusions, an important thing to be considered here is that, given that the fourteenth century is represented by a limited number of manuscripts, the statistics above concerning this century are less likely to represent the real picture of the manuscript tradition of that time. Hence, this situation does not allow us to give a categorical answer to the question above. Rather, it requires more caution in data analysis and, especially, in implications, and using other supporting data, if available, in the discussion. From this point of view, early surviving *gandzarans* from other collections of the Armenian manuscripts can be helpful.

In this sense, manuscript BN 79 brings important contribution to the present discussion. As already mentioned in the first chapter, BN 79 is a compound manuscript consisting of two different manuscripts, BN 79 I (*gandzaran*, containing only *gandzkʿ*, ff. 1-315) and BN 79 II (*tagharan* (songbook), containing only *taghkʿ* and *meghedykʿ*, ff. 316-402). BN 79 II, copied in 1241, in Drazark (Cilicia), is the earliest surviving *gandzaran* with a precise date, whereas BN 79 I, which was attached to the BN 79 II later, was written no earlier than in the beginning of the fourteenth century.[149] The important thing for the present discussion is the colophon of

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[149] In the catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts in the National Library of France, BN 79 I is dated to the thirteenth century, see *Manuscrits arméniens de la Bibliothèque nationale de France,* 157. However, as convincingly argued by Armine Kʿyoshkeryan before, BN 79 I was copied no earlier than the beginning of the

BN 79 II. On the folios 402r-3r, the scribe Yovhannēs tells his dramatic story: on the way back from his place of birth to Drazark (Cilicia), he is robbed losing all his manuscripts among other things. When finally in Drazark, he undertakes copying a new manuscript, but "having neither *gandzaran* nor *tagharan*" ("վասն զի ոչ ունելով ոչ գանձարան, ոչ տաղարան") he starts searching for an exemplar and, eventually, acquires one from the music-master Yusēpʻ. "And so, *after starting and finishing the tagharan* (songbook) with the help of God and the Holy Mother of God, now I beseech all those who happen upon this to remember and ask forgiveness for my numerous sins. Remember me and my parents, my brothers alive and departed, and my sister deceased in Christ, the God, and *the scribe Grigor, who helped me and copied the k'arozkʻ*; remember in the Lord also Yusēpʻ, the music-master who gave me the exemplar readily."[150]

Thus, the colophon above reveals that BN 79 II originally consisted of two separate parts, a *gandzaran*, copied by Grigor ("who helped me and copied the *k'aroz*kʻ"), and a *tagharan*, copied by Yovhannēs himself.[151] Since the *tagharan* (now BN 79 II) starts from the eighth quire, the original *gandzaran* (now lost) occupied the first seven quires (about 56 sheets) of the manuscript. Judging from the number of the missing quires, Armine Kʻyoshkeryan assumes that this *gandzaran*, like other early *gandzarans*, contained about eighteen to twenty

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fourteenth century, see Armine Kʻyoshkeryan, "Փարիզի ազգային մատենադարանի N 79 գանձարան-տաղարանը: Ա. Գանձարան" [The N79 *gandzaran-tagharan* of the National Library of France (I): *gandzaran*], *Ejmiatsin* 9 (1971), 48-53.

[150] All italics mine. "Եւ արդ, արարեալ սկիզբն Տաղարանիս եւ աւարտելով աւգնականութեամբ Աստուծոյ եւ սուրբ Աստուածածնին, եւ այժմ աղաչեմ զամենեսեան՝ ու եւ հանդիպի, անմռաց ունելով ի մտի եւ թողութիւն խընդրել յանցանաց իմոց բազմաց, ինձ եւ ծնողաց իմոց եւ եղբարց իմոց՝ կենդանեաց եւ ննջեց[ել]ոց, եւ իմ քեռ իմոյ՝ ի Քրիստոսէ Աստուծոյ, եւ զԳրիգոր գրացիր, որ աւժանդակն եղեւ եւ գրեաց զՔարոզնին, յիշեսցիք ի Տէր եւ զՅուսէփ երաժշտապետ, որ զաւրինակն անձանձիր շնորհեաց." BN 79, 403r.

[151] Note that, in the manuscript description of the BN 79, Grigor is considered as the scribe of the BN 79 I, which is, apparently, a misinterpretation of the colophon. Probably, based on this misconception, BN 79 I was dated to the thirteenth century. See *Manuscrits arméniens de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, 157.

gandzkʿ, mainly on the main feasts, especially, those of Jesus Christ.[152] Later, BN 79 II was supplemented by a new *gandzaran* from the fourteenth century (now BN 79 I). Thus, BN 79 II, the earliest surviving *gandzaran* (1241) originally consisted of a separate *gandzaran* and a *tagharan*. Hence, structurally, it represented Type III in the present categorization.

If we expand the list of the early *gandzarans* of the Matenadaran collection with other known survived manuscripts from various collections of the Armenian manuscripts, the picture looks like this:[153]

Table 7

Date	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V
13ᵗʰ c.	–	–	BN 79 II (original layout)	–	–
14ᵗʰ c.	MM 2061 MM 4273 MM 4068 BN 79 I ANT$_{elias}$ 98[154]	MM 3503	TÜB$_{ingen}$ 61[155]	MM 5328 MM 6366 MM 7785 BN 80	–

The only type of *gandzaran* which fully represents the ganz *kanon* (*gandz-tagh-meghedy* pattern) is Type IV: other types (apart from the Type V), regardless whether they

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[152] Armine Kʿyoshkeryan, "Փարիզի ազգային մատենադարանի N 79 գանձարան-տաղարանը: Բ. Տաղարան" [The N79 *gandzaran-tagharan* of the National Library of France (II): *tagharan*], *Ejmiatsin* 12 (1971), 33.

[153] It should be noted, that the table does not represent the exhaustive list of early (thirteenth- and fourteenth-century) surviving manuscripts from all collections of the Armenian manuscripts. For instance, according to the *Compendious catalogue*, the Matenadaran's collection contains three more manuscripts from the fourteenth century which I have not consulted; MM 8238, MM 8251 and MM 9053 (see *Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts of the Mashtotsʿ Matenadaran*, vol. 2, 702, 706, 861).

[154] Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մեծի Տանն Կիլիկիոյ կաթողիկոսութեան [Catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts in the collection of the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia], comp. Anushavan Vardapet Daniēlean (Antelias: Armenian Catholocosate of Cilicia Press, 1984), 345. I have not consulted the manuscript.

[155] Kʿēōshkērean, The beginning and development, 43. Here, referring to the manuscript catalogue of Tübingen, Kʿyoshkeryan considers Tübingen 61 as a thirteenth-fourteenth-century manuscript. I have not consulted the manuscript.

contain only *gandzkʿ* (Type I) or *taghkʿ* (Type II), or *gandzkʿ* and *taghkʿ* separately (Type III), represent the *gandz kanon* only partially. Thus, in the table above there are eight manuscripts which do not represent the "complete" *gandz kanon* (i.e. *gandz-tagh-meghedy* structural pattern) vs. four manuscripts fully representing it. This mixed picture suggests that, in the early period, there were several models of the layout of the *gandzaran*. Importantly, in the colophon of BN 79 II discussed above, the scribe Yovhannes complains that while he was copying a new manuscript he had "neither *gandzaran* nor *tagharan*": this claim clearly underlines the fact that in the thirteenth century, at least in Cilicia where he lived and worked, the separate existence of the *gandzaran* and *tagharan* was quite common. These evidences give a bit confidence to challenge the traditional assumption that the original representation of the genre was in the *gandz-tagh-meghedy* pattern, instead suggesting (although with great caution) that this pattern was a result of a gradual development in the course of the tenth to thirteenth centuries.

As illustrated above, BN 79 II (containing *gandzkʿ* and *taghkʿ* separately) and MM 3503 (containing only *taghkʿ*) are the earliest surviving manuscripts introducing only *taghkʿ* and *meghedykʿ*. Armine Kʿyoshkeryan rightly points out that with regard to the arrangement of *taghkʿ* and *maghedykʿ*, both BN 79 II and MM 3503 follow the common sequence of feasts beginning with the Feast of the Holy Nativity and Theophany of Jesus Christ.[156] Thus, such arrangement underlines the liturgical character of these songbooks and additionally proves that they were not just collections of songs, but that they also served as supplements for *gandzarans*. BN 79 II was copied in the Monastery of Drazark, one of the famous scriptoria in Armenian Cilicia, active from the beginning of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century[157] and MM 3503 was composed in Sis, the capital city of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. The fact

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[156] Kʿyoshkeryan, "The N79 *gandzaran-tagharan* (II)," 33.
[157] T. Hakobyan, et. al, "Դրազարկ" [Drazark], in *Հայաստանի եւ հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան* [Dictionary of toponyms of Armenia and adjacent territories], vol. 2, ed. T. Hakobyan, St. Melik-Bakhshyan, et al. (Erevan: State University Press, 1988), 149.

that both these manuscripts were composed in Cilician scriptoria allows linking, albeit hypothetically, the tradition of supplementing *gandz* with *taghkʻ* and *meghedykʻ* to the Cilician poets, first of all, to Nersēs Shnorhaly (Nersēs the Gracious) (1101/1102-1173). Importantly, the majority of the *taghkʻ* in both MM 3503 and BN 79 I is composed by Nersēs Shnorhaly.

The name of Nersēs Shnorhaly is closely associated with the reforms in the Armenian rite and enrichment of the Tonatsʻuytsʻ (the Armenian liturgical calendar) with a series of feasts. Shnorhaly was a prolific hymn-writer composing both *sharakan*kʻ and *taghkʻ*. Armine Kʻyoshkeryan ascribes more than one hundred *taghkʻ* (102, to be exact) to him[158] which represent another level of the development of this lyrical genre in terms of poetical language, imagery and, especially, of metrics.[159] As clearly demonstrated by Kʻyoshkeryan, all these *taghkʻ* were composed according to the "*gandz-kanon*ic" principle but in a *taghkʻ/meghedy-*pokh[160] rather than *gandz-tagh/meghedy-*pokh pattern.[161] In fact, Shnorhaly composed a limited number of *gandzkʻ* (four, according to Kʻyoshkeryan),[162] instead, he employed some features typical for *gandzkʻ* in his *taghkʻ* (for instance, non-alphabetical acrostics). Hence, Shnorhaly introduced a new layout of the *kanon* represented by a *tagh/meghedy*-pogh pattern where the *tagh* or *meghedy* acts as a main and the pokh as a supplementary component of the *kanon*. Cilician scriptoria (especially those of monasteries of Skevra, Drazark, Hromkla and Sis) were famous learning centers and preferred destinations for Armenian intellectuals and students. Due to these active intellectual interactions as well as the extensive exchange of manuscripts between Cilician scriptoria and those in the historical Armenia, a wide spectrum of literary transitions was created. Consequently, in this context, it is not hard to imagine how

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[158]Kʻyoshkeryan, "Introduction" to *Taghkʻ and gandzkʻ* by Nersēs Shnorhaly, ԻԲ, ՕԳ (xxii, lxiii).

[159] Ibid., ՕՋ-ԿԲ (lvi-lxii).

[160] For a brief discussion on *pogh,* see ibid, ԺԹ (xix).

[161]Ibid., ԻԲ (xxii), ԿԱ (lxi).

[162] Kʻyoshkeryan, "Introduction" to *Taghkʻ and gandzkʻ* by Nersēs Shnorhaly, ԻԲ-ԻԳ (xxii-xxiii).

the two traditions of the *gandz kanon* were gradually merged generating a more elaborated structural pattern, *gandz-tagh-meghedy*-pokh, already popular in the fourteenth century.[163]

To conclude, according to the scholarly consensus, *gandzk ʻ* were originally composed in a *gandz-tagh-meghedy* pattern. However, the manuscript data presented above makes this traditional assumption, frequently occurring as a confident claim, less convincing. Apparently, Narekats'i composed both *gandzk ʻ* and *taghk ʻ* dedicated to the same subject or to the same church feast, however, the manuscript data (at least, in the present stage of its study) do not allow going further to claim that these *gandzk ʻ* and *taghk ʻ* were necessarily composed as component parts of the *kanon*, although such implication is quite logical. Instead, the mixed picture in the early manuscript *gandzarans* evidences that there were several models or patterns of *gandzaran* rather than one. The data analysis above allows to put forward (although with great caution) another hypothesis, namely, that the *gandz kanon* was a result of a gradual development in the course of the tenth to the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century, the *gandz-tagh-meghedy* pattern was popular, even though the partial representation of the *kanon* (only *taghk ʻ* or *gandzk ʻ*) continued to be more common. However, to go further, one should consider all surviving *gandzarans* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from all collections of Armenian manuscripts, as only a comprehensive study of these manuscripts would make more confident conclusions possible.

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[163] This phase of development of the *gandzaran* is mainly associated with Grigor Khlat'ets'i.
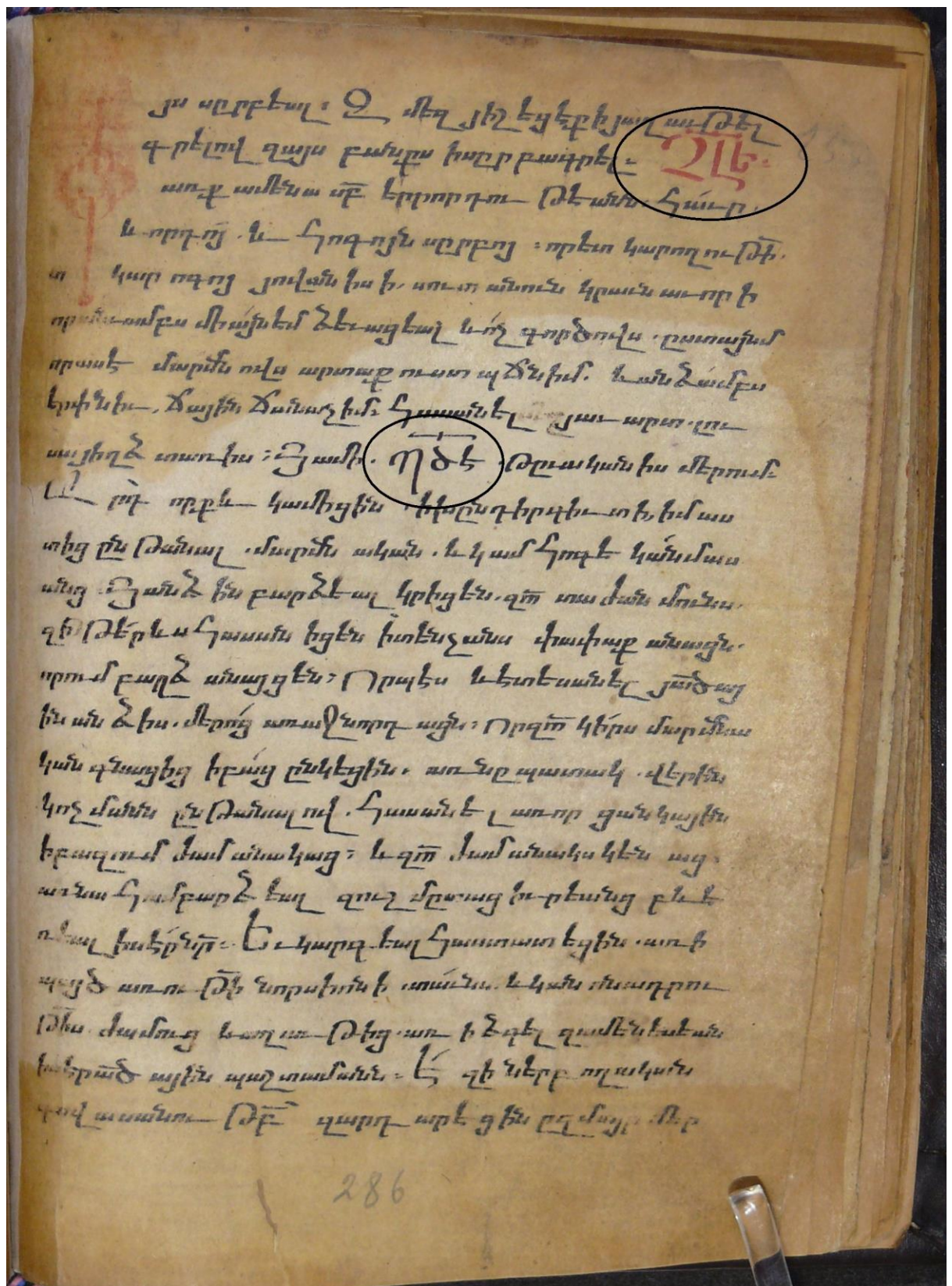
Figure 1MM 3540, 286r.

Figure 2MM 3540, 285v.

Conclusion

The twofold comparative study of *gandz,* on one hand, with *zhamagrkʻayin kʻaroz* (breviary sermon) and, on the other hand, with Syriac and Byzantine hymnological genres, *madrāshē, memrē* and *kontakia,* reveals that the literary connections of gandz should not be restricted within one literary relation, as it was claimed before. In fact, a set of structural commonalities shared with the Syriac and Byzantine hymnological genres mentioned above does not allow to limit the discourse to the traditional "kʻaroz-gandz" framework. Comparative study of *kʻaroz* and *gandz* demonstrated in the study restates the traditional link between these two genres, however, it shows that the extent of the literary dependence of *gandz* upon *kʻaroz* is exaggerated in previous scholarship to a considerable extent. The structural commonalities (intercession prayer, direct line-borrowings) traced in previous scholarship, by no means allow us to limit the literary connections of *gandz* to a single formula claiming that *gandz* has its origins in *kʻaroz.* On the contrary, a series of structural differences between *kʻaroz* and *gandz,* including well-elaborated refrains, the introduction of acrostics, and so on, dictates to establish a clear distinction between these two genres.

On the other hand, the structural study of gandz in comparison with poetically well-elaborated Syriac and Byzantine hymns, *memrē, madrāshē* and *kontakia,* reveals a set of structural commonalities among them. This justifies a discourse about the literary dependence of *gandz* upon these genres as a literary form. The *gandz* shares several structural commonalities with *madrāshā* and *kontakion,* such as well-elaborated refrains concluding each stanza, acrostics (mainly non-alphabetical), and so on, however, both *madrāshā* and *kontakion* are distinctive for their extensive use of dramatic elements; the biblical narratives and didactic-doctrinal concepts here are presented and developed in a dramatic manner and through the dramatic

speech of the main characters both in forms of monologue and dialogue. Dramatic elements are not characteristic for *gandzkʻ;* they are mainly distinguished by their extensive use of homiletic-narrative and meditative-lyrical elements instead. The homiletic-narrative and meditative-lyrical character of *gandzkʻ* links them to those Syriac hymns which are devoid of dramatic elements, prayer songs in Sebastian Brock's classification.

Finally, the comparative study above, along with shared commonalities, reveals a set of the structural features which make gandz a hymnological genre distinct from the hymnological genres above. The main structural originality of *gandz* as a poetical form lays in its kanonic structure, the *gandz-tagh-meghedy* pattern which creates a diversity of structural and metrical forms within the *kanon* and dictates unequal distribution of the lyrical-meditative and homiletic elements among the components of the *gandz kanon.* According to the scholarly consensus, *gandzkʻ* were originally composed in a kanonic, i.e. *gandz-tagh-meghedy* pattern. However, the study of the development of the *gandz kanon* in the context of the manuscript tradition of *gandzaran* collections does not allow to claim that *gandzkʻ* and *tagh*kʻ were necessarily composed as component parts of the kanon, with confidence. In fact, the mixed picture in the early manuscript *gandzarans* evidences that there were several models or patterns of *gandzaran* rather than one. This opens the floor for another hypothesis suggesting that the *gandz kanon* was a result of a gradual development in the course of the tenth to the thirteenth centuries.

It is beyond the scope of the present study to give the complete and exhaustive picture of the literary connections of *gandz*. Instead, its aim is to bring the question into a wider literary context eschewing rigid boundaries between literary traditions which were once intensively interacting with each other. Potential avenues of further research include going beyond the present comparison conducted on the single level of literary form, and include the level of metrical form, closely related to the poetical form. A more nuanced and systematic study of

gandz in the context of Syriac and Byzantine hymnography will facilitate not only the reconstruction of the interactive literary dialogue among these literary traditions, but also, reveal its poetical richness and originality on structural and metrical levels.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Transliteration of the Armenian Script

Ա ա	A a	Թ թ	T' t'	Ձ ձ	Dz dz	Ճ ճ	Ch' ch'	Յ յ	Ts' ts'
Բ բ	B b	Ժ ժ	Zh zh	Ղ ղ	Gh gh	Պ պ	P p	Ւ ւ	W w
Գ գ	G g	Ի ի	I i	Ճ ճ	Ch ch	Ջ ջ	J j	Ու ու	U u
Դ դ	D d	Լ լ	L l	Մ մ	M m	Ռ ռ	Ṛ ṛ	Փ փ	P' p'
Ե ե	E e	Խ խ	Kh kh	Յ յ	Y y (h)	Ս ս	S s	Ք ք	K' k'
Զ զ	Z z	Ծ ծ	Ts ts	Ն ն	N n	Վ վ	V v	Եւ եւ	Ew ew
Է է	Ē ē	Կ կ	K k	Շ շ	Sh sh	Տ տ	T t	Օ օ	Ō ō
Ը ը	Ě ě	Հ հ	H h	Ո ո	O o	Ր ր	R r	Ֆ ֆ	F f

Appendix 2: Manuscript sample data

	MS Number	Date(s)	Place(s)	Scribe(s)	Commissioner(s)	Category
1.	423	1742	Caesarea	Presbyter Astvatsatur, Clerk Yevkʻaṙtsʻi Yovhannēs[164]	Tʻalastsʻi Tēr-Yesayi, Friar Mēyrēm, Sargis, Marinos, et all.	IV
2.	424	17th c.		Nikoghayos	Yovhannēs	IV[165]
3.	425 (I)	1466	Artskē	Priest Atom	Xōja Yovanēs	IV
4.	425 (II)	15th c.	Baghēsh		Karapet	IV[166]
5.	426	17th c.		Clerk Mikʻayēl	Barsegh the Old man	I[167]
6.	427	15th c.		Stepʻannos	Priest Grigor	IV
7.	428	1489	Van (Mon. of St. Aṙakʻelotsʻ (?))	Priest Azaria	Xōja Sadagha	IV
8.	429	16th c.				IV
9.	430	15th c.	Aghtʻamar (?)	Monk Yakob		IV
10.	473	16th c.			Nersēs	IV
11.	474	1474		Alekʻsianos		IV

[164] All names are given as they appear in the manuscripts, hence the same proper names can appear in different spelling, e.g. Yovhannēs, Yovanēs, Yohannēs, etc.

[165] It also contains repentance poems (Ապաշխարութեան տաղեր). See 343r-376v.

[166] Consists of six pages (ff. 347-352).

[167] Eleven of eighty-six *kanons* contain lyrical items, i.e. *taghkʻ*, *meghedy*kʻ, etc. This manuscript is a clear-cut example of the category II in Kʻēōshkērean's classification (see Kʻēōshkērean, The Beginning and Development…, 42).

12.	475	15th c.[168]	Erznka	Grigor Arewelts'i		IV
13.	554	16th c.				IV
14.	555	15th c.		Yohannēs		IV
15.	893	1685		Father Zak'aria	Father Zak'aria	V[169]
16.	962	1530	Archēsh	Yovhannēs	Sōlt'anxōja	V
17.	2061	1310	Tirashēn	Monk Karapet	Nersēs Mghajrts'i	I[170]
18.	2541	15th c.				III
19.	2649	17th c.		T'ēodos Karnets'i, Xach'atur	Archirabbin Xach'atur Kostandnupolsets'i (i.e. the scribe)	IV
20.	2659	16th c.		Tērunakan		IV
21.	2665	1505	Mon. of St. Gevorg Zoravar (Khlat')	Priest Xach'atur		IV
22.	2672	1607	Kaffa	Step'annos T'oxat'ts'i	Father Step'annos, Father Yakob	IV
23.	2709	1645				IV[171]
24.	2736	1621	Kaffa	Zak'aria-Chandēmir	Priest Minas	IV[172]
25.	2807	15th-16th	Land of Ararat (?)	Mat'ēos		IV

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[168] On the controversy of the dating the manuscript, see the note just after the first colophon (see Extensive Catalogue, vol. 2, 878).
[169] *Gandzaran* part also contains *sharakan*s and moral poems.
[170] Two of twenty-two *kanons* contain lyrcal items.
[171] Also contains "non-*gandzaran*" items (songs, laments and moral poems, see 360v-403r)
[172] Also contains "non-*gandzaran*" (songs, laments and moral poems, see 437r-480r).

26.	2927	16th c.		Monk Hayrapet		IV
27.	3053	19th c.	Moscow (?)			IV
28.	3503	1394	Sis	Esayi Sasnetsʻi	Esayi Sasnetsʻi	II
29.	3505	between 1472-1480[173]		Melkʻisētʻ	Gharacha Yovhannēs	I
30.	3533	16th c.				IV
31.	3535	1508	Mon. of Metsakert)	Yovanēs		V
32.	3540	1408	Mon. of Tsʻipnay	Yovanēs	Monk Vardan, Yovanēs	IV
33.	3555	1431			Friar Manuēl, Priest Tirawag	IV
34.	3556	1441-1449	Mon. of St. Nshan (Erznka)	Sargis	PriestYovanēs	V
35.	3591	1822	Ējmiatsin	Pōghos Grigorean Kesaratsʻi	Pōghos Grigorean Kesaratsʻi	IV
36.	3768	>1667		Manuk		V
37.	3866	15th c.	Mon. of St. Kirakos	Friar Mkrtichʻ	Friar Yakob	IV
38.	3870	15th c.		Yovsepʻ		IV
39.	3871	15th c.			Presbyter Sargis	IV
40.	3986	18th c.				IV
41.	4011	15th c.		Grigor		IV
42.	4068	14th c.		Priest Ghazar		I

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[173] Cf. 1458 (see Catalogue, vol. 1, 1028).

73

43.	4091	1457	Ostan	Presbyter Karapet	Priest Karapet	IV
44.	4103	15th c.				IV
45.	4117	1436	Village of Krtsanis (Tpʻkhis/Tbilisi)	Yovanēs	Sargis - Archbishop of Albania[174]	IV
46.	4131	17th c.	Erevan		Father Simēon	IV
47.	4167	16th c.	Tatʻev (?)	Karapet	Landlord Mxitʻar	IV
48.	4183	1659	Kaffa	Mkrtichʻ	Xachʻeres	IV
49.	4200	16th c.				IV
50.	4203	15th c.				IV
51.	4209 (I)	15th c.		Karapet, Xachʻatur		IV
52.	4209(II)	17th c.				IV
53.	4237	16th c.				IV
54.	4273	1396		Monk Yovhannēs		I
55.	4277	15th c.			Zakʻaria	IV
56.	4350	<1451	Archēsh (?)	Presbyter Yovhannēs	Priest Nersēs	IV
57.	4385	16th c.		Bishop Mxitʻar		IV
58.	4392	1472	Archēsh	Presbyter Yovhannēs	Simēōn, Priest Grigor	V
59.	4423	1569	Artskē	Nersēs	Sinasar	IV

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[174] In Classical Armenian, *Աղուանք* (Aghuankʻ), usually referred to as Caucasian Albania not to be confused with the modern state of Albania: the native name for the country is unknown (Robert H. Hewsen, "Ethno-History and the Armenian Influence upon the Caucasian Albanians," in *Classical Armenian Culture. Influences and Creativity*, ed. Thomas Samuelian (Chicago, 1982): 27-40.

60.	4433	1478	Village of Kukʻi	Priest Manuēl	Coppersmith Ǝruzbēk	IV
61.	4668 (I)	16th c.				IV
62.	4668 (II)	16th c.				IV
63.	4767	1484	Aghtʻamar	Priest Tʻumay	Sargis, Eghisabed	IV
64.	4768	1451	Mon. of Berdadzor	Margarē	Priest Sukʻias	IV
65.	4769	15th c.		Frair Vrtʻanes, Anonymous		III
66.	4770	15th c.		Bishop Yakob	Priest Mkrtichʻ, Vardapet Yovhannēs	IV
67.	4771	15th c.			Anonymous, Frair Vardan	III
68.	4782	1492			Landlord Grigor	IV
69.	4783	15th c.				IV
70.	4785	16th c.			Margarit Mamay (Mother)	IV
71.	4832	16th c.		Priest Arakʻel		IV
72.	4844	15th c.			Blacksmith Ghazar, Blacksmith Awetis	IV
73.	4849	1461	Village of Shatuan	Priest Melkʻisētʻ	Friar Yovhannēs	IV
74.	4854	15th c.		Eghia	Father Yovhannēs the Old man	IV
75.	4862	16th c.		Yakob, Ghazar	Pawghos (?)	IV

75

76.	4976	1477	Village of P'asavank' (Moks)	Priet Israyēl	Awetis Aghnats'i	III
77.	5209	15th c.	Father Yovhannēs			IV
78.	5218 (I)	16th c.		Nersēs		I[175]
79.	5218 (II)	17th c.				IV
80.	5328	ca. 1388	Mon. of Ts'ipna	Grigor Xlat'ets'i	Vardapet T'umay	IV
81.	5330	15th c.		Israyēl	Priest Step'annos	IV
82.	5338	1465	St. Yovhannēs St. Amenap'rkich' Church[176]	Priest Melk'isēt'	Landlord Yovhannēs	IV
83.	5340	1594	Mon. of Ginēkants'	Abraham	Monk Yovhannēs	IV
84.	5346	1593	Lim	Monk Dawit'	Xōja Putax Vanets'i	IV
85.	5376	1466	Aght'amar	Mkrtich'	Priest Yovanēs	IV
86.	5398	15th c.		Yovsēp'	Yovsēp'	IV
87.	5399	1499	Hizan	Yovhannēs, Markos	Priest Grigor	IV
88.	5400	15th c.			Carpenter Petros	IV
89.	5402	1497	Khizan	Mkrtich'	Priest Yovanēs	IV
90.	5404	1440	Ostan	Karapet	Petros Narekats'i	IV

[175] Contains some *taghk'* (see 8v-9r, 14v-5r, 100v-1r).
[176] Lit. Holy Savior Church.

91.	5423	15th c.		Margarē	Margarē	IV
92.	5431	16th c.		Friar Mesrop, Yovannēs	Friar Mesrop	IV
93.	5434	1576	Datwan	Deacon Jakob, Friar Yovanēs	Rabbi Nersēs	IV
94.	5438	1491	Artskē	Priest Ghazar, Yakob Netrarenc'		IV
95.	5475	1594	City of Moks	Sargis	Father Movsēs, Xat'unbēk Vanets'i	IV
96.	5521	1445	Aght'amar	T'umay Minasenc'	T'umay Minasenc'	IV
97.	5522	1595	Village of Surs	Awetis	Landlord Murat, Father Yovanēs (?)	IV
98.	5620	1721-1755	Lim	Friar Nikoghayos	Friar Nikoghayos	III
99.	5785	1483	Mon. of Gomk' (Baghēsh)	Karapet Baghishets'i		IV
100.	5798	1462	Van	Karapet	Priest Atom	IV
101.	5856	15th c.		Clerk Martiros (?)	Yovanēs, Sultanshēn	I[177]
102.	5879	1485	Arshēsh	Priest Minas	Yovanēs	IV
103.	5899	16th c.	Yovanēs, Step'annos			IV
104.	5936	15th c.	St. Astvatsatsin of Awegh	Herapet		III

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[177] The first six of seventy-nine *kanons* contain lyrical items.

105.	5951	1414				IV
106.	6306	1559	Kaffa	Sargis		IV[178]
107.	6317 (I)	15th c.		Galust	Sir Manuēl	IV
108.	6317 (II)	15th c.		Bishop Grigor	Ghurghutʻ, Shaghawaytʻ, Ghubatʻ, et all	IV
109.	6350	15th c.	Mon. of Koṙ	Israyēl	Priest Karapet, Monk Dawitʻ	IV
110.	6366	14th c.		Sargis		IV
111.	6373	15th				IV
112.	6382	18th c.			Halif	IV
113.	6426	17th c.		Xachʻatur, Anonymous	Xachʻatur, Aṙakʻēl, Xacheres	IV
114.	6489	16th c.				IV
115.	6495	1490	Archēsh	Yovanēs Archishetsʻi	Friar Sargis	IV
116.	6516	15th c.			Sir Umēd	IV
117.	6526	15th c.		Nersēs	Sir Chamuk	IV
118.	6527	1528	Village of Ghultʻik	Bishop Stepʻannos	Nubar, et all	IV
119.	6656	1575	Village of Sarnay	Presbyter Stepʻannos	Brothers Ӡxtiar and Xalō	IV
120.	6798	15th c.	Keghi	Deacon Eremia		IV
121.	6826	16th c.				IV
122.	6833	16th c.				IV

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[178] Contains "non-*gandzaran*" items, mostly moral poems (see 362v-400v).

123.	6839	15th c.				IV
124.	6851	15th c.				IV
125.	6855	15th c.		Daniēl		IV
126.	6968	15th c.				IV
127.	7281	15th c.		Tʻuma		IV
128.	7349	1757-1761	Karin	Bałdasar Karnetsʻi, Melkʻon	Baghdasar Karnetsʻi	IV
129.	7444	17th c.	Kaffa	Priest Arzuman		IV
130.	7467	1674-1675	Gharasu	Yovhannēs Gharasuyetsʻi	Xōja Paghtasar	IV
131.	7507[179]	1665	Kaffa	Priest Yovakim	Lutʻlu	IV
132.	7508	1670	Paxchʻasaray	Clerk Awetikʻ		IV
133.	7509	17th c.		Nikoghayos		IV
134.	7528	16th c.		Yovanēs		IV
135.	7531	17th c.				IV
136.	7553	1484	Moghni	Priest Mkrtichʻ	Sahil (Zahvil)	IV
137.	7561	17th c.			Gulagha	IV
138.	7578	17th c.		Grigor (?)		IV
139.	7593	1484		Stepʻannos	Sir Arghutʻē	IV
140.	7594	1490		Ignatios Haghpatetsʻi		IV
141.	7705	17th c.				IV

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[179] The next manuscript (MM 7491, written in Tpʻxis (=Tbilisi), commissioner, Sir Zurab) was under restoration and was unavailable for research at the time of my study.

142.	7730	1550	Chʻmshkatsak	Yovsēpʻ	Vard	IV
143.	7732	1623	Kaffa	Friar Zakʻaria		IV
144.	7773	15th c.				IV
145.	7785	14th c.	Ghrim (=Crimea)	Yovhannēs	Yovhannēs Sebastatsʻi	IV
146.	7787	1460	Ghrim (=Crimea)	Martiros	Xachʻatur	IV
147.	7839	1438	Tpʻkhis (=Tbilisi)	Sargis	Priest Dawitʻ	IV
148.	7888	1505		Priest Mxitʻar	Landlord Mkrtichʻ	IV
149.	7889	1523		Soghomon	Sir Banos	I
150.	7925	1814	Tʻifliz (=Tbilisi)			