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A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_churchman\\_os.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php)

*unknown*.<sup>1</sup> If some critic were to arise and deal with St. Mark as Professor Driver and those of his school have dealt with the Pentateuch, the occurrence of the well-known phrase *καὶ εὐθύς* in a passage assigned to the original Mark (or Ur-Markus, as the Germans would call it), when that phrase had been distinctly set down as a characteristic of a second writer of, say, the fourth century A.D., would be utterly fatal to the theory. For the hypothesis is that JE and P are not only distinct, but so distinct that their styles cannot possibly be confounded. We should not, therefore, expect to find in the former expressions characteristic of the latter. But not only is this frequently the case with the language of JE as compared with that of P in the chapter we have been examining, but our examination has proved that there are many indications of a *common authorship of the whole Pentateuch*. It is imperative, therefore, that the whole question should be reinvestigated, and from a different and wider point of view. I venture to repeat my firm conviction that, when such an examination has been fully carried out, the present critical analysis of the Pentateuch will be abandoned.

J. J. LIAS.

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#### ART. II.—ARMENIA.

CIVILIZED Europe is just now having its attention directed towards Armenia, and the utmost interest and pity are being felt for a people suffering sore persecution at the hands of the Mahommedan masters. It is an old story, Armenia having been the scene of such troubles for many years past. A system of unavowed persecution has been going on, with a view to crushing the spirit of the Armenian people, probably the strongest and most independent race now held in thrall by Turkey. Of late this persecution has driven the people into open revolt against their tyrants, and the first symptoms of disaffection have been met with the most cruel and unrelenting reprisals on the part of the Turkish Government. One result has been to call for concerted action from the leading Powers of Europe; and Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Austria, and Italy are all interested in putting an end to this great international and intolerable scandal. How long the struggle will last, and what the end shall be, it is impossible to say; but many things seem to point to the imminent disruption of the Turkish empire, and to the mystical drying up

<sup>1</sup> Professor Driver, too, in the passage to which I am referring, is dealing with the ordinary use of the common word *משפחה*. His argument will not apply to the uncommon words I have mentioned in the text.

of the waters of the Euphrates. So great an oppression of a Christian race on the part of the Mussulman power will, we must trust, not continue to be suffered; the conscience of Christian Europe will revolt against it.

Events like these naturally draw closer attention to the country, and it will not be out of place, therefore, in the present crisis to say something in this paper about Armenia, its people, its Church, and history.

Let us, first of all, ascertain the exact locality. Armenia is a country of about 500 miles in extent in both directions, lying in a south-easterly direction between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. It consists for the most part of lofty plateaus, in whose higher elevations are found the fountain-heads of the Tigris, Euphrates, and Araxes rivers. These mountain systems all show evidence of volcanic origin, and many of them exhibit extinct craters. The hot mineral springs and the frequent earthquakes that have taken place over the region tell the same tale. The loftiest mountain in the country is Ararat, which rises to an elevation of some 17,000 feet; it dominates the land, and, indeed, has given its name to the entire district. If we look at Isa. xxxvii. 38, where we are told that the two parricides who slew the Assyrian king "escaped into the land of Armenia," we shall find that the word in the original is "Ararat." A most unnecessary change was made by the translators of the Old Testament, which, however, is corrected in the Revised Version. This is the only place in the Bible where we find the word "Armenia," and, as we have seen, it has no right to be there. But is there no other Biblical reference to a country which bordered so closely on other historic lands as Assyria and Media, and lay not so very far from Syria and Northern Palestine?

In Gen. x. 3 we read of Togarmah, a son of Gomer, and brother of Ashkenaz and Riphath. As a geographical term, Togarmah has always been connected with Armenia, and a reference to Ezek. xxvii. 14 and xxxviii. 6 will bear out this view. The people here intended, according to Grimm, are the ancient inhabitants of Armenia. This learned authority derives Togarmah from "two elements—*toka*, which in Sanscrit is 'tribe,' and Armah (Armenia)"—a view that may well be accepted, says Rawlinson.<sup>1</sup> This latter writer goes on to say: "The Armenian tradition which derived the Haikian race from Thorgau, as it can scarcely be a coincidence, must be regarded as having considerable value." And he points to another clue, that of language: "The existing Armenians, the

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson's "Origin of Nations," p. 183.

legitimate descendants of those who occupied the country in the time of Ezekiel, speak a language which modern ethnologists pronounce to be decidedly Indo-European, and thus so far the modern science confirms the Scriptural account."<sup>1</sup> We may find a further connecting-link in the character of the trade carried on, according to Ezekiel, with Tyre: "They of the house of Togarmah traded for thy wares with horses, and war-horses, and mules." Now, according to ancient authorities, these mountain valleys, in consequence of the vast number of horses raised there, gave the character to the country of *σφόδρα ἵπποβότος*. We learn from Strabo that the horses of the district were held in high estimation as "the celebrated Nisæan breed."<sup>2</sup> It remains to be said that the Armenians themselves have from the earliest times associated their race with the house of Togarmah.

A name that has also come to the front during the present troubles as a designation for the district is the beautiful title "Anatolia," *i.e.*, the land of the rising sun, a title which finds its equivalent in the Levant or the Orient, these being general terms for those lands lying to the east of the Mediterranean Sea.

The country there is populated by a branch of the great Indo-European family, most likely a reflux wave of those Phrygian settlers who originally passed into Europe from Asia.<sup>3</sup> It was remarked of old by Eudoxus that the Armenians resembled the Phrygians in their language (*τῆ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι*).<sup>4</sup>

Modern Armenia is divided between Russia, Turkey, and Persia, and between these rival powers has endured much persecution and misery. Her Christian population has always suffered evil things at their hands, and this present outbreak is probably an effort to attain to some kind of autonomy, and get free at least from the oppressive yoke of the Moslems.

Of all the races in this western portion of Asia, the Armenians alone have shown any capability of rising superior to their environment and promising better things, and their powerful character must sooner or later, unless the people are exterminated, exercise a marked influence in determining the fortunes of this part of the world. Their intellect is characterized, according to Mr. Tozer, by great depth and sobriety; their upper classes are known throughout the Turkish empire as leading bankers and merchants.<sup>5</sup> But, indeed, they are to

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson's "Origin of Nations," p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> See article in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," i., pp. 108, 109.

<sup>3</sup> See Herodotus, vii. 73.

<sup>4</sup> See Bevan in "Dictionary of the Bible," iii., pp. 1527.

<sup>5</sup> Tozer's "Church and Eastern Empire," pp. 84-7.

be found everywhere, from London and Manchester in the West, to Madras and Calcutta in the East. The leading cities of Europe—Paris, Amsterdam, Vienna, Dresden, Genoa, Venice—own among their most respected and influential traders men of Armenian birth. Out of the four millions of Armenian people, scarcely half the race are to be found dwelling in their own country.

The Armenians are described as a tall people, of a dark-brown complexion, quick and intelligent. The women are handsome and remarkable for their fine black eyes. They are very industrious, and given to weaving rich fabrics of silk and wool, as well as carpets. Their houses, however, as Mr. Tozer describes them, are anything but comfortable or a credit to their civilization, being chiefly built of clay and rough stones, with an outer court for their animals and an inner one for themselves.

The history of this people is on the whole a sad one. Armenia has never won the place which would seem to belong to it as one of the most ancient nationalities of the East. From the fall of the Sassanidæ or later Persian empire in the seventh century, the country was fought for by the Eastern empire and the Saracens. For a brief period—859 to 1045—it was ruled by a native dynasty of able princes—the Bagratidæ. The kingdom was then conquered by the Byzantines, and they made way for the entrance of the Turks into Asia Minor. From this time forward the country became the prey of Mahomedan rulers, until at length the largest portion of it was incorporated in the Ottoman empire, under whose régime it has groaned ever since.

It remains to say something on the subject of the Armenian Church and its literature. The religion of Armenia before its evangelization seems to have partaken of the nature-worship so common in the East. The character of the Anatolian religion, its essence, says Professor Ramsay, "lies in the adoration of the life of nature—that life subject apparently to death, yet never dying, but reproducing itself in new forms, different, and yet the same. This perpetual self-identity under varying forms, this annihilation of death through the power of self-reproduction, was the object of an enthusiastic worship characterized by remarkable self-abandonment and immersion in the divine, by a mixture of obscene symbolism and sublime truths, by negation of the moral distinctions and family ties that exist in a more developed society, but do not exist in the free life of nature."<sup>1</sup> This was the form of heathen worship, in a measure refined and sublimated by contact with Greek

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<sup>1</sup> See the *Contemporary Review*, October, 1893, p. 565.

culture and philosophy, that Christianity had to meet in its first efforts to evangelize the country.

Tradition gives the honour to St. Bartholomew and St. Jude of being the first Christian missionaries to the Armenians, but it is a tradition feebly supported. It is also on record that Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, towards the close of the second century, wrote an epistle to the Armenian Christians, who were under the authority of Meruzanes, a native bishop. The historic founder of the Church of Armenia was undoubtedly St. Gregory the Illuminator, who flourished in the opening years of the fourth century, and from whom it has been called the Gregorian Church.

The story of Gregorius is a strange one. He was born A.D. 257 at Valashabad, the capital of the province of Ararat. They were days of persecution, and the infant child was saved from death when the rest of his family perished in the massacres ordered by Tiridates III. He was taken to the Cappadocian Cæsarea, where he was baptized and brought up a Christian. When grown up to man's estate he returned to his native country, where his life was again threatened by the king. The sufferings he endured survive in the legend of "the twelve tortures of St. Gregory." An evidence that Christianity already existed in the country may be found in the tradition that, when cast into a noisome pit, his life was preserved by the ministrations of a Christian woman. As the result of his labours, Gregory was at last permitted to baptize the king and his court in the Euphrates, and a general destruction of the idol temples followed.

We must always associate the name of the great evangelist who won Armenia to the faith with the thought of light. It was the name he gained for himself—Gregory Lusavoritch, *i.e.*, the Illuminator. In his day he told of the great vision he had witnessed of the descent from heaven of One grave and majestic, whose presence was of light. On the spot where the revelation came to him he built a church, and called it the Church of Etchmiadzin, *i.e.*, the descent of the only Begotten One. The place continues to be sacred in the eyes of the Armenians, and boasts of the oldest monastery in the world. It is believed to be rich in MSS., which may yet see the light.

In the year 302 Gregory was consecrated first Primate of the Armenian Church by Leontius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia. After having presided over the Church for thirty years, and arranged for its future episcopal government, and having founded many schools and churches, Gregory, as was the custom in those days, retired from office, and spent the close of his life in seclusion. He was succeeded by his son. When Gregory heard of the decrees of the Council of Nicæa, it

is recorded that he burst into an exclamation of thanksgiving in the following words: "Now let us praise Him who was before the world's worshipping the most Holy Trinity, and the Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, world without end"—words which continue to this day to be added to the Creed when recited in the Armenian Church.<sup>1</sup>

Among those who immediately followed Gregory in his good work of building up the Church in Armenia may be mentioned Mesrobes, Moses, Eznik, and Isaac. Mesrobes was born in 354, at Hasecasus, now Mush. In 386 he took orders, and devoted himself with zeal to destroying the last remnants of idolatry in Armenia. He is chiefly known, however, for his labours in creating a native Christian literature. He supplanted the old Syriac tongue with a vernacular language, and for that purpose originated an Armenian alphabet. He established schools in all directions, and sent his scholars to study at Athens, Constantinople, Alexandria, and even as far as Rome, from which places they brought back with them copies of the Holy Scriptures and the works of the Fathers, as well as heathen writers. One result of this was a Hellenizing movement, similar to that which repeated itself more than once in the literary history of the country. Among treasures thus preserved was Tatian's "Diatessaron," which was originally translated into Latin from the Armenian Commentary of St. Ephraim, and published at Venice in 1875 by Dr. Moesinger, Professor of Theology in the University of Salzburg.<sup>2</sup> Aided by scholars of a kindred spirit, Mesrobes succeeded in having the sacred Scriptures translated into the Armenian tongue. Chief among these scholars was Moses Khorenensis, "called by his countrymen the father of history, the poet, and the grammarian." After studying in nearly all the learned schools of the West, Moses returned to Armenia, where he died in 488, his age being represented as equal to that of his Hebrew namesake. Many of his writings are still extant, including his "History of Armenia," his "Homily on our Lord's Transfiguration," and his Hymns. This history, says Professor Stokes, "embodies almost the only remains of pre-Christian Armenian literature we now possess, and preserves for us many of the songs and traditions retained at that time in popular memory."<sup>3</sup> It may be added that Moses did much to fix the character of the Armenian liturgy.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Malan published a translation of the "Life and Times of St. Gregory" from the Armenian of Vartabad Matthew.

<sup>2</sup> See Professor Hemphill's "Diatessaron," p. xx. *et seq.* A more complete translation has since been made from an Arabic version with the assistance of experts by the Rev. J. H. Hill, B.D.

<sup>3</sup> Article on Moses in "Dictionary of Christian Biography." According

One of the most learned of the ancient Armenian scholars was Eznik, who chiefly distinguished himself by his noble protest against the Persian viceroy, Mihr-Nersh, when he sought to Zoroastrianize the Church. He wrote "The Destruction of False Doctrines," which is still extant in the Armenian original, and has been translated into French, and a portion of it into German. The whole work, according to Lipsius, "is divided into four books: the first combats the Gentile doctrine of the eternal Father, the second the Zoroastrian religion, the third Greek philosophy, the fourth the Gnostic sect of the Marcionites."<sup>1</sup>

The last Primate of the stock of Gregory was St. Isaac—Sahag the Great, as he is called, who reigned over the Armenian Church for the long period of nearly half a century, and died in 441. His long patriarchate was marked by many leading events, culminating in the destruction of Armenia as an independent nation, when it was reduced to subjection by the Sassanidæ. He assisted Moses in revising the Armenian liturgy, which remains unaltered to the present day as the Divine Service of the Gregorian Church. It is chiefly a compilation from the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Athanasius.

The principal characteristics of the doctrines and ritual of the Armenian Church may be thus summed up: At baptism, infants are sprinkled and dipped three times, and Confirmation is administered immediately afterwards by the priest. The Eucharist is celebrated with the unmixed cup and leavened bread. The latter is dipped in the wine before administration. Both species are given to the laity. Extreme unction is administered to the clergy only, and that after death. The Eucharistic Service is said in the old Armenian tongue, but in preaching the vernacular is used. Children are communicated; no figures or crucifixes are allowed in the churches; a plain cross, however, with the figure of our Lord painted on it, stands on the altar. A sanctuary lamp is always burning, and the cope is worn at all services. The secular clergy are allowed to marry, but only before ordination. The Sacrament is reserved in the churches, but no genuflexions are allowed on entering or leaving the church; no one, however, can enter the sanctuary without first removing his shoes.

There is some difficulty in ascertaining correctly the confessional standpoint of the Armenian Church. It is accused of holding the Eutychian heresy, and denying the twofold

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to the American missionary, Dr. Dwight, a very ancient MS. copy of the history still exists written on parchment in the Armenian college at Tiflis.

<sup>1</sup> Article on Eznik, "Dictionary of Christian Biography."



nature of Christ. A good authority, Dr. Neale, in his "History of the Eastern Church," denies the truth of this charge, and says the Church is orthodox. Certainly there is no trace of Eutychianism in its acknowledged formularies. The error seems to have arisen in a curious way—in rejecting, through jealousy, it is said, the enactments of the Council of Chalcedon, which condemned the Eutychian heresy. It is stated that this was done at the Synod of Dovin, or Thevin, in 536; but in the second volume of Tschamtschean's "History of Armenia," published in 1785, it is clearly shown that this is a mistake, and that no such dogmatic utterance of only one nature in Christ was made.<sup>1</sup> There are other vouchers for the orthodoxy of the Church, such as Professor Felix Neve, of Louvain, and in England the Rev. George Williams. On May 13, 1885, the Rev. C. G. Curtis printed in the *Guardian* a remarkable letter from M. Baghos Dadian to the Archbishop of Paris, in which he says: "The Armenian Church has constantly recognised Jesus Christ to be true God and true man, and consequently the two natures in the one Person—the Person of the Word." Thus it has at all times rejected the opposite errors of Nestorius and Eutyches. He traces the chief cause of the mistake to the ambiguity of the Armenian word for *φύσις*, which means more properly *personne*.

From the original National Church of Armenia, the head of which has the title of "Servant of Jesus Christ, by the Grace of God Catholicos of all the Armenians, and Patriarch of the Holy Convent of Etchmiadzin," there sprang subsequently two branches—the Jacobite, or West Syrian Church, and the Uniats, the latter acknowledging the Papal supremacy. The dispersion of the Armenians led in early times to the establishment of two subordinate patriarchates, one at Constantinople, to take charge of the Armenian Churches in Eastern and Southern Europe, and the other at Jerusalem.

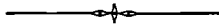
The Anglican Communion has never had any official dealings with the Armenian Church, but there have been from time to time acts of individual courtesy and Christian consideration. Thus, when Henry Martyn died, in 1812, a lonely stranger at Tocat, his remains were interred, by order of the Catholicos Ephraim, with the greatest possible respect. In the cathedral church at Etchmiadzin lie the remains of Mr. Macdonald, British Envoy at the Persian Court, and a memorial tablet was allowed to be erected to his memory. As lately as 1891 two English clergymen, at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, visited the heads of the Armenian Church to learn something of their spiritual wants, when an earnest

<sup>1</sup> See Hefele's "Church Councils," vol. iv., p. 145.

entreaty was made that the English Church should do something towards helping them to educate their priesthood, as had been already done in the case of the Chaldæan Christians.

We learn from the "Handbook of Foreign Missions" that the American Presbyterians have been for many years busy in Armenia, with a view to extending a knowledge of Gospel truth among the inhabitants. They have been working in the country for about half a century, and have built many churches and schools. They have also four colleges for higher education. In connection with this mission there are about 11,000 adherents. This work has been much interfered with by the present disturbances. What seems to be really wanting, however, is a movement towards elevating and purifying the native Church itself; but all efforts in this direction must be suspended until we know what is to be the fate of this unfortunate country. Just now there seems to be a danger lest Armenia itself, with its venerable church, should be wiped out of existence as an independent nationality through sheer brute force and cruelty. As a recent article in the *Spectator* says: "It is, as we conceive, quite one of the chances of the present day that the ancient Armenian people, who are as Aryan as the ancient Persians or ourselves, may pass from the face of the earth, dying finally of Turkish violence and European betrayal."<sup>1</sup>

J. A. CARR, LL.D.



### ART. III.—THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH CATHOLIC.

THE discussions which have been so rife during the last year or two concerning the unity of Christendom, and the kind of action by which union might be promoted amongst the separated bodies of Christians, have necessarily involved assumptions as to what the nature of the Church is; and they have also stimulated inquiry into the authority and the truth of such assumptions. We in England may be said to have inherited two principal definitions of the Church of Christ. 1. The Church is defined by some as consisting of the aggregate of those Christian communions which have preserved a valid succession from the Apostles, and which may, on that account, be regarded as representing the one Catholic Church of the earliest ages. 2. It is defined by others as consisting of all the persons, belonging to any communion, whom God sees to be truly converted and to have the right character of

<sup>1</sup> *Spectator*, November 30, 1895.