

## Organising a Literary Corpus in the Middle Ages

INSTRUMENTA PATRISTICA ET MEDIAEVALIA

Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

# Organising a Literary Corpus in the Middle Ages

The *Corpus Nazianzenum* and the *Corpus Dionysiacum*

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with the collaboration of  
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# INSTRUMENTA PATRISTICA ET MEDIAEVALIA

Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

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Founded by Dom Eligius Dekkers († 1998)

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# The *Corpus Nazianzenum* and the *Corpus Dionysiacum* in the Georgian Literary Tradition

Thamar OTKHMEZURI

(*Tbilisi*)

## Introduction

The *CD* and the *CN*, the two most significant works of late antiquity, are connected with the name of a famous Georgian scholar of the Black Mountain (the Antioch region), Ephrem Mtsire (Ephrem the Minor). He was a monk on the Black Mountain from the 1070s to the end of the 1090s, residing at the monastery of St Symeon the Younger on the Miraculous Mountain. He was the abbot of the monastery at Kastana from 1091.<sup>1</sup> The Antioch region, where multi-ethnic and multilingual peoples had cohabitated for centuries, had created at that time a favorable background for the exchange of ideas and concepts that had a considerable influence on Ephrem Mtsire in terms of enhancing his intellectual development. He had translated the most important Byzantine works from Greek into Georgian and played a significant role in the development of various genres of Georgian ecclesiastic literature.

The last quarter of the eleventh century is marked by a significant development in the history of medieval Georgian culture: an intellectual trend, called Hellenophilism in contemporary scholarship, appeared in the Georgian literary tradition. The Hellenophile method of translation – transferring every detail and each nuance of the source text into translation – was already in use in the early so-called pre-Athonite epoch (fifth–tenth centuries), especially in translations of the

<sup>1</sup> See Tbilisi, NCM, A-24 (thirteenth century), fol. 145v; Tbilisi, NCM, Q-37 (1091), fol. 324r. About Georgians in the monasteries of the Black Mountain, see DJOBADZE, *Materials*; SAMINSKY, “Illuminated Manuscripts”; OTKHMEZURI, “ანტიოქიის რეგიონის”; OTKHMEZURI, “Black Mountain”.

books of the Bible. However, the attempts of early translators were not based on theoretical concepts, they worked without having any translation methodology in mind.<sup>2</sup> By contrast, the Hellenophile method of translation employed in the eleventh-century Black Mountain literary school had a firm theoretical basis that was reflected in Ephrem Mtsire's colophons and prefaces to his works. Moreover, the Hellenophilism of this epoch touched not only the Georgian translation methodology and Georgian literary language, but also the whole of Georgian culture and scholarly perception. Besides the formation of the concept of *ad verbum* translation, it played a big role in systematic translation of works of various genres (e.g. works of scholastic and dogmatic theology, commentaries) that, hitherto, had been rarely translated into Georgian, and in shaping the medieval Georgian manuscript – creating Georgian manuscripts along the same lines as the Greek.

The aim of my article is to show what impact the introduction of a Hellenophile translation technique and new genres have had on the Georgian manuscript? How did the concept of verbatim translation affect the literary triangle: *text – manuscript – reader*? The analysis of the *CD* and the *CN* rendered into Georgian in the Hellenophile epoch enables us to elucidate this issue.

Gregory the Theologian's sermons had been translated into Georgian several times before Ephrem Mtsire.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the eleventh century, Ephrem, at first, filled a gap by translating those sermons of Gregory that had not been translated hitherto, and then he translated Gregory's sixteen liturgical sermons that had been previously translated by Georgian translators. In addition, he rendered into Georgian

<sup>2</sup> KHARANAULI, “თარგმანის ტექნიკის”, pp. 281-282.

<sup>3</sup> The first translations of Gregory the Theologian's sermons were done in the pre-Athonite epoch: an anonymous translator rendered two liturgical sermons (*In nativitatem* – Or. 38 and *In sancta lumina* – Or. 39) from Greek into Georgian and they are preserved in *Mravaltavis* (homiletical-hagiographical collections); Grigol Oshkeli, the tenth-century translator from Tao-Klarjeti translated two sermons (Or. 7, 27) from Armenian. At the beginning of the eleventh century, Euthymius the Hagiorite completed the translation of fifteen liturgical and several non-liturgical sermons, among them Gregory's theological discourses (Or. 29, 30, 31) and the theological epistles (*Epp.* 101, 102); in the eleventh century, David Tbeli also translated several of Gregory's sermons from Greek into Georgian.

the *Commentaries* of the tenth-century Byzantine scholar Basilius Minimus on Gregory's sixteen liturgical sermons<sup>4</sup> and the Pseudo-Nonnos' *Mythological Commentaries* (explanations of the allusions to Greek mythology made by Gregory in his sermons),<sup>5</sup> appending them to the collection of the sixteen liturgical sermons. This is the collection we have in mind when speaking about the *CN* in this article.<sup>6</sup>

As for the *CD* and *Commentaries* on it, they were translated by Ephrem for the first time.<sup>7</sup>

### 1. Translation Techniques of the *Corpora*

The *CN* and the *CD* were translated by Ephrem in the last decade of the eleventh century<sup>8</sup> when his Hellenophile method of translation was completely formed. Accordingly, they are source-oriented, Hellenized translations.

<sup>4</sup> On this commentary, see the articles by Gaëlle Rioual and Thomas Schmidt in the present book.

<sup>5</sup> See [Pseudo-]Nonniani *In IV Orationes*, ed. NIMMO SMITH.

<sup>6</sup> Our survey is based on the Georgian manuscripts of *CN* of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries: Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, georg. 43 (twelfth century), Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, georg. 15 (twelfth century); Tbilisi, NCM A-109 (thirteenth century). For the edition of the sixteen liturgical sermons of Gregory the Theologian, see Gregorii Nazianzeni *Opera. Versio iberica*, I–VII, ed. METREVELI, COULIE et al. For the edition of the Georgian translations of the commentaries on Gregory the Theologian's sermons, see [Pseudo-]Nonniani *In IV Orationes. Versio iberica*, ed. OTKHMEZURI. Only two Georgian translations of Basilius Minimus' *Commentaries* on Gregory's sermons (*Or.* 1 and *Or.* 39) and Basilius Minimus' *Epistle to Constantine Porphyrogenitus* have been published, OTKHMEZURI, *კომენტარული ქანობი*, pp. 229–268.

<sup>7</sup> Early Georgian manuscripts of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* are: Tbilisi, NCM, A-110 (twelfth century, some parts, especially the beginning and the ending were restored in the eighteenth century) and A-684 (twelfth century). For the edition of the Georgian *CD* (under the name of Petrus the Iberian), see: პეტრე იბერიელი, *შრომები*, ed. ENUKASHVILI). The Georgian version of the commentaries on the *Corpus Dionysiacum* is only partly published: *ქართულ-ბერძნული საღვთისმეტყველო განმარტებანი*, ed. TCHUMBURIDZE.

<sup>8</sup> OTKHMEZURI, “Liturgical Sermons”.

Ephrem states in his *Preface* and colophons to the *CN* that he had translated the sermons of Gregory the Theologian “not as beautifully as would be sufficient for Georgian, but instead following the Greek text”.<sup>9</sup> According to Ephrem, he did not willfully change anything in Gregory’s text, but carried across every word, even the simplest conjunction, such as “and”.<sup>10</sup>

Ephrem’s translations of both *corpora* show how he strived to establish a regular system for theological and philosophical terminology. In connection with *CD*, he discussed Greek philosophical terminology, which he highly esteemed. This work is mainly based on Classical philosophical terminology, as Ephrem put it, “the pagans’ words”. In one of the marginal notes of *De fide orthodoxa* he states:

The person who would be given by God the opportunity to translate the book by St Dionysius, will face a challenge to search for many peculiar words, for St Dionysius used many pagan words throughout this text.<sup>11</sup>

It should be mentioned that the translation of the *CD* as well as of John of Damascus’ works (*Dialectica* and *De fide orthodoxa*) were Ephrem Mtsire’s most significant legacy, as he provided a firm foundation for the translation of philosophical works in the Georgian translation tradition. He facilitated the establishment in the Georgian perception of Classical philosophical thought incorporated into a Christian context, thus, paving the way for the successful activities of Georgian scholars of the next generation in this field, for example, Ioane Petritsi, Georgian Neoplatonist philosopher of the twelfth century, translator of Proclus’ *Elements of Theology* and the author of commentaries on it.

<sup>9</sup> Tbilisi, NCM, A-292, fol. 279v: არა ქართულისა შუენებითა, არამედ ბერძულისა შედარებითა; cf. BREGADZE, *აღწერილობა*, p. 174.

<sup>10</sup> Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, georg. 43, fol. 3v: არარას კელმეწიფებოდა თჳსით გულით დართვად და სხუებრ ცვალებად ვიდრე დონანთამდეცა; cf. BREGADZE, *აღწერილობა*, p. 149.

<sup>11</sup> Tbilisi, NCM, A-24, fol. 102r: ვის ღმერთმან მისცეს წმიდისა დიონოსიოს წიგნისა თარგმნად, მრავალთა უჩუეველთა სიტყუათა უნდა მოპოვნებად, რამეთუ წმიდისა დიონოსის თქუმულნი ყოველნი საწარმართოდთა სიტყუთა არიან; cf. წმ. იოანე დამასკელი, *მართლმადიდებლური გადმოცემა*, ed. MIMINOSHVILI – RAPHAVA, p. 208.

In parallel to the highly literal translations of Gregory's sixteen sermons and *CD*, Ephrem translated the commentaries on these works in a free manner. The Greek-Georgian comparative study of the commentaries on the "Celestial Hierarchy" affirmed that Ephrem made both minor and major text changes in his translation of this part of the commentaries. He applied minor changes to the sentences to adjust to the norms of the Georgian language by adapting or adding some words, and included his own vast theological judgments into the commentaries.<sup>12</sup>

The translation of Basiliius Minimus' *Commentaries* is constructed by combining the literal and free style methods of translation: the commentaries of a theological character are translated with a special precision; the free style of translation is employed on the lexical explanations and the commentaries relating to Gregory's artistic allusions. Basiliius' commentaries concerning Gregory's syntax, rhetorical technique, style and punctuation had been adapted to the Georgian translation of the sermons or omitted altogether. While translating the rather stylized text of the *Epistle of Basiliius Minimus to Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, which serves as a preface to Basiliius' *Commentaries*, Ephrem undertook the translation with special precision, using the method of imitation – i.e. verbatim translation imitating simultaneously the high literary style of Basiliius which is characteristic for medieval epistolography.<sup>13</sup>

The translation of Pseudo-Nonnos' *Mythological Commentaries* is executed in a free style and contained Ephrem's explanatory notes mainly connected with the Greek mythology. Examples of the latter are:

ამისთვის ტრიესპეროს ეწოდა, რომელი-ესე სამ ღამედ  
გამოითარგმანების (*Comm. 4, historia 43*).

Because of this he was called *Triesperos* which in translation means  
"three nights".

<sup>12</sup> ქართულ-ბერძნული საღვთისმეტყველო განმარტებანი, ed. TCHUMBURIDZE, pp. 6-7. The Georgian text in this edition is compared with the *PG* edition of the Greek commentaries on the *CH* (*PG* 4, cols 29-113).

<sup>13</sup> ΟΤΚΗΜΕΖΥΡΙ, "Basiliius Minimus".

ეწოდების არტემის ღმერთი ელაფივოლოდ, ესე იგი არს ღმერთი ირმის მოისარი (*Comm.* 43, *historia* 2).<sup>14</sup>

Artemis is called the goddess *Elaphivolo* that is “the goddess who shoots at deer”.

Ephrem’s explanatory insertions are, for the most part, structured on the same pattern: Greek words are transliterated and this is followed by explanations, namely, the etymological translation of the words.

The free style of translation of the commentarial texts had been determined by their expository character. In order to retain their explanatory function in the Georgian translation, they had to be interpreted with the help of some alterations to make verbatim translations of the main texts of the corpora more comprehensible for Georgian readers.

## 2. Paratexts of the Corpora

The *CN* and the *CD* stand out for the abundance of elements which are novelties introduced into Georgian manuscripts in the Hellenophile epoch. These are paratexts – prefaces, marginal commentaries, explanatory marginal notes (annotations), searching tools (indexes, marginal signs, etc.) – additional material to the main text, which plays a significant role in its reception or interpretation by readers. It is true that some of them had already been presented in early Georgian manuscripts, but their use in the manuscripts containing Ephrem’s translations takes on a systematic character. Moreover, he frequently expressed his opinions regarding the function of these details in the manuscript and stressed that these novelties were dictated by the Greek manuscripts.

### *a. Commentaries of Byzantine authors*

Both corpora contain Byzantine commentaries placed in the margins of the manuscripts. According to Ephrem’s *Preface of De fide Orthodoxa*, marginal commentaries “came from the original” (დედისაგან არს), i.e. they derived from the Greek sources. In Ephrem’s prefaces, they are also called “surrounding” (მოთხვითად მოწერილი) explanations (Fig. 1). As mentioned above, one important author of commentaries on the *CN* is the tenth-century Byzantine scholar Basilus Minimus.

<sup>14</sup> [Pseudo-]Nonniani *In IV Orationes. Versio iberica*, ed. OTKHMEZURI, pp. 48, 244.

Two people – Maximus and Germanus – are mentioned as the authors of some scholia in the margins of the Georgian manuscripts of the *CD*. It is accepted in contemporary scholarship, especially after Suchla's critical edition of the *Scholia* on the *CD*,<sup>15</sup> that the author of this work is John of Scythopolis. In the Introduction of this edition, Maximus the Confessor and Germanus I of Constantinople are named as the authors of some additions to Scythopolis' *Scholia*.<sup>16</sup> In the future, a detailed comparison of the Georgian translation with the critical edition of the Greek text will show which type of Greek codices identified by Suchla the Georgian translation follows.

Placing commentaries in the margins of the Georgian *CN* and the *CD* is obviously based on a deep knowledge of the Greek manuscript tradition of these *corpora*.<sup>17</sup> In some cases, the commentaries in the Georgian manuscripts have figurative forms, as they have in Greek (Fig. 2).<sup>18</sup>

The Georgian translation of Pseudo-Nonnos' mythological commentaries is appended to the *CN* at the end of the collection, as it is in Greek manuscripts of Gregory the Theologian's sermons.<sup>19</sup>

### *b. Prefaces*

One of the most important paratexts of the *CN* and the *CD* are *Prefaces* (prologues) – treatises of an introductory character which proceed these collections.

Prefaces of a historical-literary character occupy a special place in Ephrem's literary works. He wrote introductory texts to his translations of the *Commentaries on the Psalms* and praxapostolic texts, John of Damascus' *Dialectica* and *De fide orthodoxa*, Theodoret of Cyrus' *Philothea Historia* and the *CN*. In terms of their content and function, they closely resemble to the Greek *prooimia*, which had been popular

<sup>15</sup> Ioannis Scythopolitani *Prologus et scholia*, ed. SUCHLA, *CD*, IV/1.

<sup>16</sup> Ioannis Scythopolitani *Prologus et scholia*, ed. SUCHLA, *CD*, IV/1, pp. 45, 49; also see ALEXIDZE, "Georgian Version".

<sup>17</sup> On Basilus Minimus' Greek manuscripts, see Basillii Minimi *In Or.* 38, ed. SCHMIDT, p. XXIX; Basillii Minimi *In Or.* 4 et 5, ed. RIOUAL, p. XLVI.

<sup>18</sup> Compare, for example, with Venezia, BNM, gr. Z. 143 (Diktyon 69614), fol. 27r; see HUTTER, "Marginalia decorata", p. 734.

<sup>19</sup> See the description of Greek manuscripts of Gregory the Theologian containing Pseudo-Nonnos' *Commentaries* in *RepNaz*, I-VI.

in the Byzantine literature of Ephrem's time.<sup>20</sup> They represent invaluable sources for literary, historical, bibliographical and other aspects of medieval studies.

Ephrem's *Preface* to Gregory's sermons with the title, *To Monk Kvirike from Ephrem Mtsire*, is written in the form of an epistle.<sup>21</sup> As becomes clear from this text, Kvirike of Alexandretta, the addressee of this epistle, was a member of the Georgian colony on Black Mountain, Ephrem's spiritual father and mentor, who ordered him to translate Gregory's sixteen liturgical sermons employing a verbatim method of translation. The main topic of the *Preface* is an explanation of the reasons why Ephrem translated these sermons for the second time after such a great authority as Euthymius the Hagiorite. In this context, he compares his own translations with Euthymius' ones, reviews the translation techniques used by Euthymius and himself in translating Gregory's sermons, gives an impressive description of the artistic style of Gregory's sermons: "laconic, deep and shrouded" (სიტყუასობოკლე, სიღრმე და მოფარულეობა), an appraisal that coincides with the Greek Church Fathers' estimation of Gregory the Theologian's writings methodology (cf. Basil the Great, *Letter XIX*: Γράμμα ἡλθέ μοι πρῶην παρὰ σοῦ, ἀκριβῶς σόν, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῷ χαρακτήρι τῆς χειρός, ἕσον τῷ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἰδιώματι. ὀλίγα γὰρ ἦν τὰ ῥήματα πολλήν διάνοιαν παριστῶντα – "The day before yesterday a letter came to me from you. It was indeed strictly yours, not so much in handwriting as in the letter's peculiar quality. For though the sentences were few they offered much thought"<sup>22</sup>).

It is noteworthy that the *Preface* to the *CN* has a special artistic value, for it demonstrates Ephrem's rhetorical skills. He uses the artistic imagery to adorn the text of his epistle, in some cases utilizing the rhetorical devices of Gregory the Theologian in his own way.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> HUNGER, *Prooimion*, pp. 5-35; HUNGER, *Profane Literatur*, I, pp. 205, 218; KENNEDY, *History of Rhetoric*, III, pp. 54, 116.

<sup>21</sup> For the edition of Ephrem's *Preface* of the Georgian *CN* see BREGADZE, ადწეროლობა, pp. 147-149; TVALTVADZE, *ვერემ მცობის კოლოფონები*, pp. 224-228; for the French translation, see Gregorii Nazianzeni *Opera. Versio iberica*, I, ed. METREVELI et al., pp. XXXVI-XXXIX. See also the article by Jost Gippert in the present volume.

<sup>22</sup> Basil, *Letters*, I, tr. DEFERRARI, pp. 120-123.

<sup>23</sup> OTKHMEZURI, *კომენტარული ჟანრი*, pp. 85-93.

The Georgian *Preface* of the *CD*<sup>24</sup> represents the word-for-word translation of the *Prologus* of the *CD*,<sup>25</sup> in which the story of the conversion of Dionysius to Christianity at the Areopagus court is introduced. The etymological explanation of the Greek name *Areopagus* – Ἄρειος Πάγος – Hill of Ares is given in the *Preface*, and the books of two authors of late antiquity – Androtion and Philochorus – are mentioned as the sources of this story.

After the *Prologus*, the titles of the four treatises of the *CD* and ten epistles are listed. It is in the later restored part of the manuscript Tbilisi NCM A-110 and starts from a separate page (fol. 3r) (the same information is presented in the index of the Georgian *Corpus*). This is followed by a listing of the titles of Pseudo-Dionysius' works mentioned in the *CD* and considered lost by scholars. These are: *De angelicis proprietatibus*, *De anima*, *De justo ac divino iudicio*, *De divinis hymnis*, *De intellectilibus et sensilibus* and *De theologicis informationibus*. The passages of the *CD* (books and chapters) where these titles are mentioned, are also specified. This kind of additions are also attested in the Greek *CD*.<sup>26</sup>

### c. Ephrem Mtsire's annotations

Most manuscripts containing translations of Ephrem Mtsire preserve his marginal annotations or, in his words: “[the notes] that had been orally written” (ზეპირით დაწერილნი) – *extempore notes* composed *impromptu*, on the spur of the moment.

And the reason for extempore [notes] is that all translations need certain additions for enlightenment [...] And if our language needs certain enlightening, [explanations] should be placed in the margins and in prefaces, at the beginning of a book.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> For the edition of the *Preface* of the *CD*, see TVALTVADZE, *ევრემ მცირის კოლოფონები*, pp. 217-223.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ioannis Scythopolitani *Prologus et scholia*, ed. SUCHLA, *CD*, IV/1, pp. 97-109.

<sup>26</sup> SUCHLA, “John of Scythopolis”, pp. 24-25. I am very grateful to Caroline Macé, the editor of this book, who supplied me with these references about the *CD*.

<sup>27</sup> Tbilisi, NCM, A-24, fol. 2v: ზეპირობისა მიზეზი ესე არს, ვინაძთგან ყოველსა თარგმანსა უკმს შემატებად სიტყვსა რეცა განმაცხადებელად ძალისა ... უკუეთუ რამე ძალისა განმაცხადებელი უკმდეს ჩუენსა ენასა, იგი კიდესა ზედა ადგილ-ადგილ და შესავალსა

Ephrem's annotations consist mainly of explanations concerning grammatical features of the Greek language, Greek lexical units and punctuation in Greek manuscripts, however his judgements sometimes go beyond these themes and deal with a wider range of issues, such as rhetoric, translation theory, Greek mythology, and even natural history.

Ephrem's lengthy annotation, for example, had been added to the Georgian translation of one of Basilus Minimus' commentaries on Gregory's Epitaph of Basil the Great (*Or.* 43). Ephrem explains the "sphere" and the "hemisphere" mentioned by Basilus in his commentary. He transliterates these two words: *spheri* (სფერი) and *imisphereon* (იმისფერონ), simultaneously etymologically translating the word "hemisphere" by *nakbevar-spheri* (ნახევარ-სფერი), "half-sphere". He uses arguments of cosmological character to define these terms. In his discussion, he cogently explains the well-defined cosmological spherical concept of the world and its geocentric nature, known as the Aristotelian model of the world. The annotation concludes with an artistic image, by way of an explanatory comparison: "as a dot in the circle <drawn> with a compass, so is our earth <positioned> in the centre of the sphere" (ვითარცა წერტილი რამდენ კარაკინითა მომრგულებულსა შინა შუა ოდენ არს ქუეყანად). The relevant source for this comparison can be found in Ephrem's translation of Basilus' commentary on Gregory's *Or.* 42 ("Farewell to the Bishops"): რამეთუ ესრეთ არს იგი (კონსტანტინოპოლი) ყოვლისა სოფლისათჳს, ვითარცა წერტილი, რომლისაგან მოიმრგულების სიმრგულე კარაკინითა (*Comm.* N 63, Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, georg. 43, fol. 155r) – "It (Constantinople is meant here, Th. O.) is the same for the universe, as the dot in the circle drawn by a compass".<sup>28</sup> Ephrem's annotation also alludes to the twentieth chapter "About the Sky" in John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa*. It should be noted that this explanatory annotation represents the first text about physical science written in Georgian. It uses the *erotapokrisis* (question and answer) method that had been established as a teaching strategy in medieval literature: "What is above the sea and earth and what lies beneath them? It is what comprises all of it" (რაღია არს

შინა თავსა წიგნისასა დავწერო; cf. იოანე დამასკელი, *დიალექტიკა*, ed. RAPHAVA, p. 67.

<sup>28</sup> Neither a Greek nor Georgian text of Basilus Minimus' Commentary on *Or.* 42 has been published.

ზენა კერძო ზღვსა და წმელისა და რად არს ქუემე კერძო მათსა? ყოვლითურთ შემცველი მათი).<sup>29</sup>

Ephrem's scholarly outlook, his interest in antiquity, rational approach to the universe and physical ideas, determination for enlightenment, show him as sympathetic with the spirit of the Macedonian period that means, for example, significant achievements in scholarship and education, an increasing interest in rational thought and an admiration for antiquity.

Alongside lengthy annotations, Ephrem wrote brief notes on passages and words which might cause errors or the alteration of the text while copying, because they were alien to or unusual in the Georgian language. Examples are a word transferred into Georgian in the form of a female gender, a phenomenon unfamiliar in Georgian (adding an -ა (-a) to the Georgian noun or pronoun, for example, ღმერთ-ა, მას-ა, literally imitating the female suffix -a of the ancient Greek first declension), foreign lexical units (transliterated Greek words), called "neologisms" (ახალი სიტყუა) by Ephrem, words with a sophisticated orthography and specific punctuation marks. These marginal notes are the translator's messages to future scribes. In one of the notes, he addresses such a scribe directly: "Do not mix up the names, writer!" (ამისთვის ნუ განჰრევ სახელთა, მწერალო!). This warning is about the correct forms of words with similar pronunciation and spelling, the toponyms *Arianzos* and *Nazianzos*, which are frequently mentioned in the *Life of Gregory the Theologian* by Gregory the Presbyter and frequently mixed up in Georgian manuscripts.<sup>30</sup>

#### d. Index

Both collections are equipped with indexes. In Gregory's collection, an *Index* is attested in the beginning of the collection (Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, georg. 43, fol. 4v), after Ephrem Mtsire's *Preface*. It has a title: ზანდუკი საეკლესიოთა ათექუსმეტთა ღმრთისმეტყუელისა საკითხავთად ("Index of the Theologian's sixteen ecclesiastic sermons"), which is followed by the titles of the sixteen liturgical sermons, as well as Gregory the Theologian's *Vita* by Gregory the Presbyter. Each title is accompanied by the opening lines (incipit) of the sermon (two or three words). The titles are numbered, using the letters of the Georgian

<sup>29</sup> OTKHMEZURI, *კომენტარული ქანრი*, pp. 207-218, esp. p. 208.

<sup>30</sup> OTKHMEZURI, *კომენტარული ქანრი*, pp. 206-207.

alphabet. The whole text is written in minuscule (*nuskhuri*) script; the first letters of the titles and the opening lines are written in majuscules (*mtavruli*). Red ink is employed in the writing of titles and the first letters of the opening lines.

The most elaborate indexes appear in the *CD*. This complex text includes five books, each of which consists of a dozen chapters. Each of the five books are preceded by indexes containing numbered chapter titles, including, in some cases, summaries of the topics discussed (Fig. 3). The title of the last (7<sup>th</sup>) chapter of the *EH*, for example, is expanded into the listing of topics covered by the author in that chapter. The red ink is intensively employed in initials and titles.

Ephrem has a good understanding of the function of an index in manuscripts; this is a searching instrument which helps readers to retrieve information from the text in a short time without reading the whole book. In his *Preface* to John of Damascus' *Dialectica*, which presents this text and its chapters in an artistic way as a "vineyard" and "bunches of grapes", Ephrem indicates:

Before going to the vineyard and tasting the charity of the bunches of grapes, we should be informed beforehand by the index; we can gather all the sweetness we need in a short time.<sup>31</sup>

### *e. Poems*

Both collections include metrical poems.<sup>32</sup> Five such poems – epigrams (ზედაწარწერილი) – are placed at the beginning of each book of the *CD*, after the indexes. Each of them consists of five verses including 5+7 syllables. These poems are called *iambiko* in Georgian sources.<sup>33</sup> They were translated by Ephrem from Greek, as is evident from his marginal expository notes appended to the verses. In some cases, he explains the method he used in rendering Classical Greek verse structures into Geor-

<sup>31</sup> Tbilisi, NCM, A-24, fol. 1v: ხოლო უმინაგანეს რად ვენაჯისა შევიდოდეთ და ტევნებისა მადლთადას განხილვად გუწადოდის, ესე წინამწარ გუეუწყოს ზანდუკისა ამის მიერ, რადთა რომლისაცა პირისათვს გვკმდეს, მალიად მოვისთულოთ სიტკბოებად; cf. იოანე დამასკელი, *დიალექტიკა*, ed. RAPHAVA, p. 67.

<sup>32</sup> For the edition see პეტრე იბერიელი, *შრომები*, ed. ENUKASHVILI, pp. 016-017.

<sup>33</sup> About *iambiko* in medieval Georgian poetry and the bibliography on this issue, see BEZARASHVILI, *ევრემ მცირე*, II, pp. 91-102.

gian – for example, dactylic hexameter, iambic trimeter. As is known, Ephrem was the first medieval Georgian scholar who expressed a number of theoretical views about the ways of transmitting Classical Greek verses into Georgian and even developed terminology in this area.<sup>34</sup>

Regarding the poems of the *CN*, their number is seven: the poem dedicated to Gregory the Theologian at the very beginning of the collection – an acrostic of six verses, where the first letters of each verse spell out the name *Georgi*<sup>35</sup> (Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, georg. 43, fol. 4r), and the poems attested at the beginning of six sermons: 38, 43, 39, 11, 21, 42.<sup>36</sup> They are incorporated into Georgian manuscripts by analogy with Greek collections.<sup>37</sup> Unexpectedly, except for the poem dedicated to Gregory, they do not belong to Ephrem Mtsire and his translation school, but were transferred into Ephrem's *CN* later, while copying this collection, from a medieval Georgian *Calendar* – the so-called *Prologue-Synaxarion*, which was composed in the Gelati literary school in the twelfth century. The Georgian *Calendar* is preserved in the thirteenth-century manuscript Tbilisi, NCM, A-85, a collection of hymns. This work, in its turn, is based on the eleventh-century Byzantine author Christopher of Mytilene's *Calendar* presented in verse form commemorating all the saints and feasts of the Orthodox Christian liturgical year.<sup>38</sup>

### *f. Marginal signs*

A sixth-century anonymous explanatory note concerning marginal signs is attested in Greek manuscripts containing the sermons of Gregory the Theologian. This is a commentary on four marginal signs: the “heliacal sign” (ἡλιακὸν σημεῖον), “asterisk” (ἀστερίσκος), “attention” (σημεῖον / σημεῖωσαι) and “beautiful” (ὠραῖον). According to this note, the *heliacal sign* marks those passages in which Gregory the Theologian discusses theological issues, because in the Bible, God is named “Sun of the righteousness” (Malach. 4, 2). The asterisk is used to mark those passages in Gregory's sermons where the author talks about the human

<sup>34</sup> BEZARASHVILI, *ვერცხმ მცორე*, II, pp. 116-139.

<sup>35</sup> There are different opinions in Georgian scholarship regarding this person: BEZARASHVILI, *ვერცხმ მცორე*, II, pp. 180-181.

<sup>36</sup> For the edition, see BEZARASHVILI, *ვერცხმ მცორე*, II, pp. 180, 184-186.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, SOMERS – MACÉ, “Adscripta métriques”; SOMERS, “Poèmes”; DEMOEN – SOMERS, “Adscripta métriques”.

<sup>38</sup> BEZARASHVILI, *ვერცხმ მცორე*, II, pp. 181-184.

nature of Christ, as the birth of Christ was announced to the Magi by a star. The sign “beautiful” marks the particularly artistic and elaborate passages in the text, while the sign “attention” is used to denote the passages outstanding in their importance.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, the marginal signs themselves serve as visual commentaries on Gregory’s works, designed to help the reader navigate through his vast and comprehensive writings. All these signs are attested in the margins of Gregory’s numerous Greek manuscripts, and they are employed according to the rule stated in the sixth-century explanatory note.

The situation is the same in the Georgian manuscripts of Gregory’s sixteen liturgical sermons. There is a Georgian translation of the note mentioned above at the end of the index, and all the marginal signs mentioned in the note are in the margins of Gregory’s Georgian manuscripts.<sup>40</sup> Unlike Greek manuscripts where the heliacal sign and asterisk are depicted in a simple form, in Georgian manuscripts they have an elaborate design. These are pen-flourished figures of a fish and a circle composed of geometric and foliate motifs secured by a linear contour. They are painted in red ink (see Fig. 4, an image of the asterisk in the right margin of the folio painted in red ink).

Ephrem speaks also about other marginal signs in the *Preface* of John of Damascus’ *De fide orthodoxa*: შეისწავენი – σημειωσαι, განსაზღვრება – ὀρισμός, განჩინება – ἀποφαιτικός, სამეცნიერო – γωνσις and their importance. He stresses that he has used them by imitating Greek manuscripts preserved in the library of the monastery of St Symeon. He underlines their function: “If someone is looking for a scholarly word, he will find it easily, and he does not need a lot of time to read everything”.<sup>41</sup> Ephrem’s explanations of search tools – marginal signs and indexes – stressed their practical purpose – readers must be able to do a quick search within a book, and easily locate the place of their interest.

<sup>39</sup> ASTRUC, “Signes marginaux”; MOSSAY, “Signe héliaque”; MACÉ, “Signe héliaque”.

<sup>40</sup> OTKHMEZURI, “Signes marginaux”.

<sup>41</sup> Tbilisi, NCM, A-24, fol. 3r: რაჟამს სამეცნიეროსა რასმე სიტყუასა ეძიებდეს ვინმე, ადვილად პოვოს და არა უჭმდეს მიმყოფრებული ჟამი ანუ ყოვლისავე გარდაკითხვად; cf. იოანე დამასკელი, *დალაგეტიკა*, ed. RAPHAÏA, p. 68; OTKHMEZURI, “Georgian Prefaces”, p. 287.

### Conclusion

The study of the Georgian *CN* and *CD* gives us grounds to conclude that from the eleventh century onwards, the Georgian manuscript with its updated format acquired a new, practical purpose – the function of obtaining information quickly and easily. From this time onwards, Georgians began using the manuscript for scholarly purposes, for research and education. Thus, the introduction of the Hellenophile method of translation, as well as of new genres, caused the changes of the structure of the manuscript that, in its turn, influenced the formation of a new Georgian reader. According to Ephrem Mtsire, in the Athonite epoch, the readers of Euthymius' translations were a people in infancy, commoners, who needed to be nourished with “milk and herbs”, i.e. translations done in a clear and comprehensive form.<sup>42</sup> But the Georgian reader of the end of the eleventh century, in Ephrem's opinion, had grown out of “the infancy” and turned into an educated person, ready to take on sophisticated texts. In his *Preface* to Theodoret of Cyrus' *Philothea Historia*, Ephrem states that he could have translated it in a simple manner, but he chose to translate it as it had been written in Greek – with the help of figurative language. He stated in his colophon:

This kind of figurative text is not wasted for those who love study and research; it will prepare them to read deeper books.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, thanks to the Hellenophile tendency in the Georgian literary tradition, changes in the translation methodology and repertoire enriched and updated the Georgian manuscript and gave birth to a new type of Georgian reader – the lover of research and learning.

<sup>42</sup> Ephrem Mtsire stated in the *Preface* of the *CN*: “Our holy father Euthymius [...] nourished the infancy of our people with milk and herbs” (სიზრდობასა ჩუჴნისა ნათესავისასა სძითა ზრდიდა და მხლითა), BREGADZE, *აღწერილობა*, p. 148.

<sup>43</sup> Tbilisi, NCM, A-689, fol. 187v: ესევითარი ქცეულებად გინა თხზულებად სიტყვსად არა უკმარ არს სწავლისმოყუარეთა და კეთილად გამომეძიებელთათჳს, რადთა განჴმზადნეს უღრმესთადრე წიგნთათჳს; cf. TVALTVADZE, *ვერემ მცირის კოლოფონები*, p. 214.

## ABSTRACT

The collection of sixteen liturgical sermons of Gregory the Theologian and the *Corpus Areopagiticum* were translated into Georgian in the last decade of the eleventh century by Ephrem Mtsire. Ephrem is one of the most important representatives of the “Hellenophile” school of translation, which emerged in the last quarter of the eleventh century in monastic centres of the Black Mountain in the region of Antioch. This intellectual trend led to the formation of a new concept of verbatim translation and the establishment of a new literary repertoire for translation. It also shaped the production of medieval Georgian manuscripts. The latter, including the collection of Gregory’s sixteen liturgical sermons and the *Corpus Areopagiticum*, are examples of the production of this “Hellenized” school. They were composed in accordance with Greek rules, as mentioned in Ephrem Mtsire’s notes and colophons. In addition to the main texts, they also include various paratexts: colophons and prefaces (*prooimia*) by Ephrem Mtsire, marginal commentaries by Byzantine authors, marginal annotations composed by Ephrem, marginal signs and pinax. The aim of my paper is to show the function of these paratexts as instruments for facilitating scholarly reading, and to underline their role in the appearance of a new type of Georgian reader with new interests and scholarly purposes.

## RÉSUMÉ

La collection de seize sermons liturgiques de Grégoire le Théologien et le *Corpus Areopagiticum* ont été traduits en géorgien dans la dernière décennie du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle par Ephrem Mtsire, l’un des plus importants représentants de l’école « hellénophile » de traduction, qui a émergé dans le dernier quart du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les centres monastiques de la Montagne Noire dans la région d’Antioche. Ce courant intellectuel a conduit à la formation d’un nouveau concept de traduction *ad verbum*, ainsi qu’à l’établissement d’un nouveau répertoire littéraire pour la traduction. Il a également influencé la production des manuscrits géorgiens médiévaux. Les manuscrits géorgiens contenant le recueil des seize sermons liturgiques de Grégoire et le *Corpus Areopagiticum* sont des exemples de production de cette école « hellénisée ». Ils ont été fabriqués selon les règles grecques, comme mentionné dans les notes et les colophons d’Ephrem Mtsire. Outre les textes principaux, ils comprennent également divers paratextes: colophons et préfaces (*prooimia*) d’Ephrem Mtsire, commentaires marginaux d’auteurs byzantins, annotations marginales composées par Ephrem, signes marginaux et pinax.

L'objectif de notre article est de montrer la fonction de ces paratextes en tant qu'instruments pour faciliter la lecture savante, et de souligner leur rôle dans l'apparition d'un nouveau type de lecteur géorgien avec de nouveaux intérêts et objectifs savants.

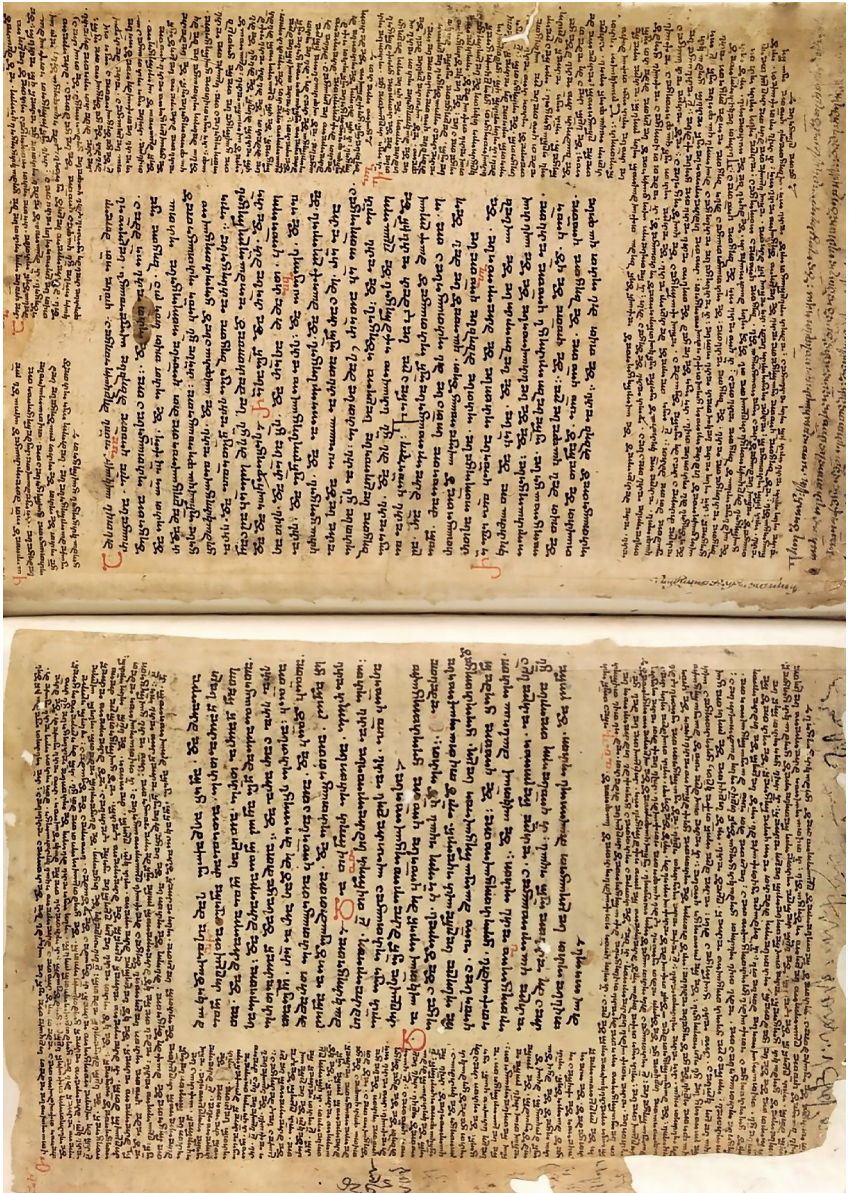


Fig. 1: Tbilisi, NCM, A-684, fols 88v-89r; courtesy of the NCM in Tbilisi.

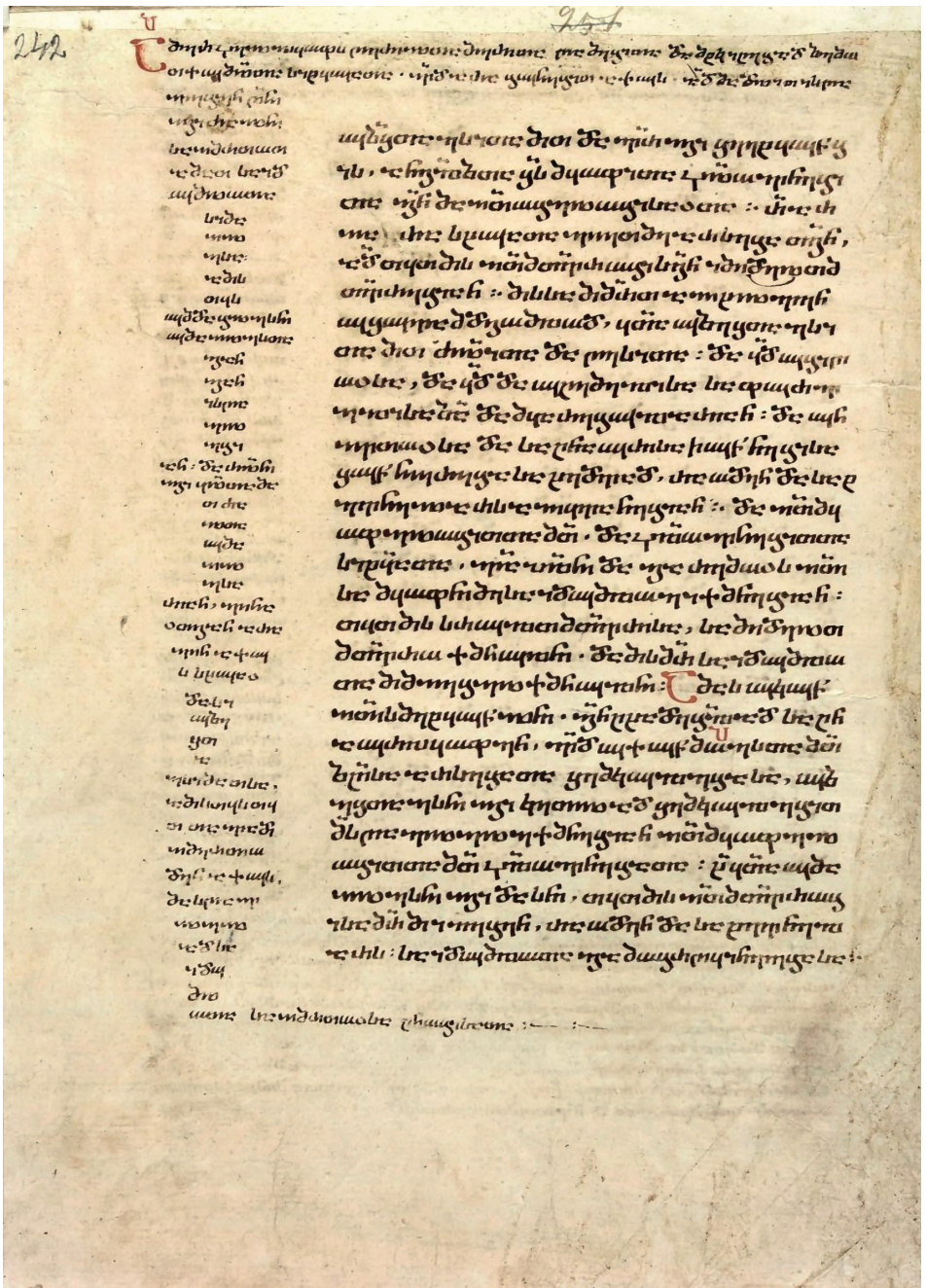


Fig. 2: Tbilisi, NCM, A-110, fol.121v; courtesy of the NCM in Tbilisi.



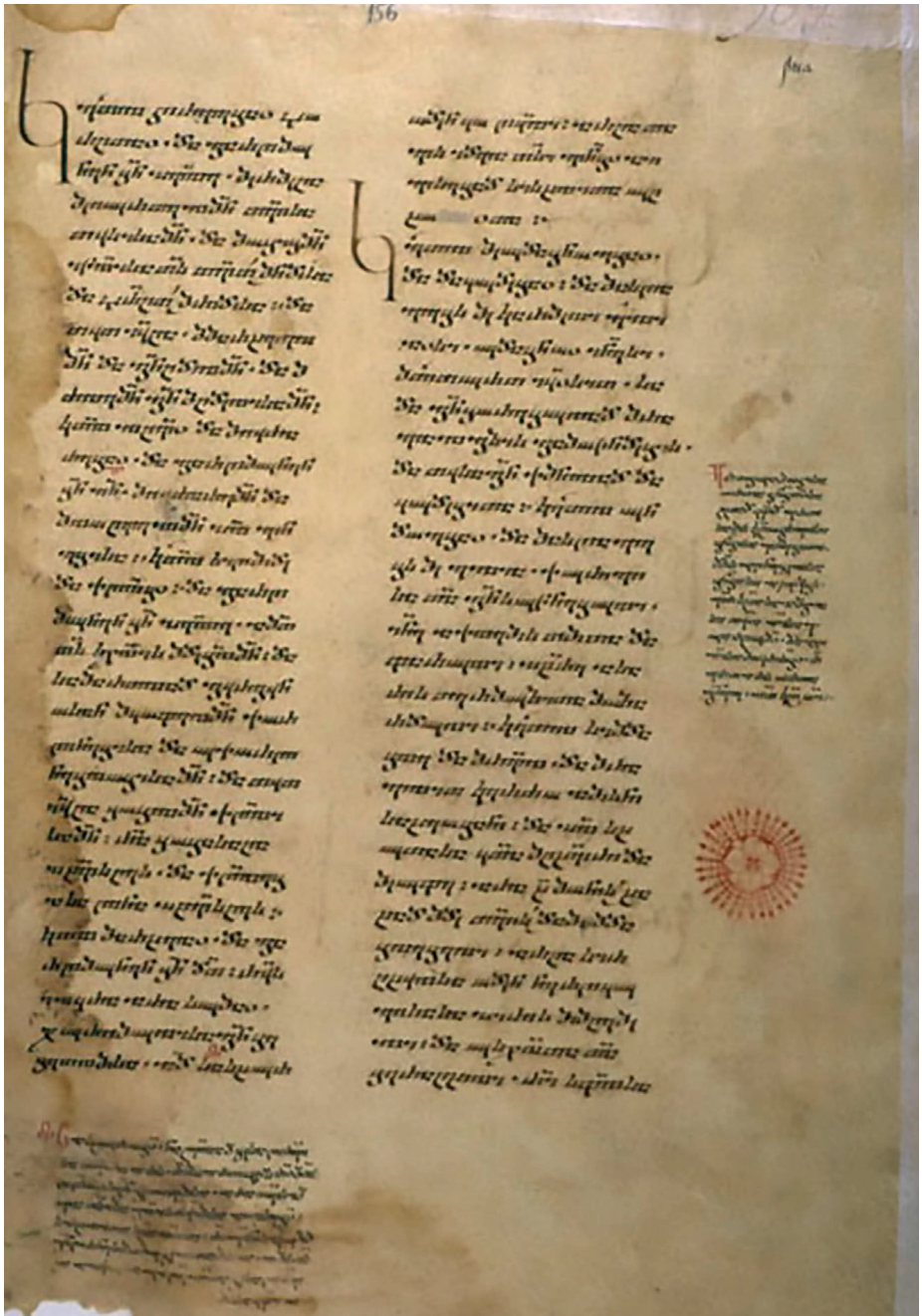


Fig. 4: Tbilisi, NCM, A-109, fol. 156r; courtesy of the NCM in Tbilisi.

# Bibliography

The reader will find here all abbreviations and bibliographic references used in the chapters: (1) journals and series; (2) dictionaries, references books, online resources; (3) primary sources (editions and translations); (4) secondary literature; (5) library names (manuscript collections).

Editions and translations of primary sources used in the present volume are referred to in abbreviated form in the chapters. Works edited only in *PG* are not mentioned in this bibliography, nor are ancient editions, whose titles are often so similar that they cannot be referred to in abbreviated form without causing confusion. For the same reason books published before 1700 are not abbreviated and therefore not found in this list.

Titles are sometimes shortened, their punctuation is normalised, and the information is simplified, reduced to the Latin abbreviated forms in primary sources: “ed.” and “ed. et tr.”, and to the English forms “(ed.)” and “(eds.)” in secondary literature. Places of publication are given in their actual linguistic form, notwithstanding the fact that the publication may be in another language, e.g. Latin. The same is true for the names of modern authors. Authors’ names are alphabetised under the prefix if they have one, and diacritics are ignored for the purpose of alphabetisation. If a publishing house has more than one seat, only the main place of publication is given.

All webpages mentioned in the list were last accessed on 10 December 2023.

Abbreviations of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita’s and Gregory of Nazianzus’ works:

*CD* = *Corpus Dionysiacum*

*CH* = *De caelesti hierarchia*

*DN* = *De divinis nominibus*

*EH* = *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*

*Ep(p).* = *Epistula(e)*

*MT* = *De mystica theologia*

*CN* = *Corpus Nazianzenum*

*Carm.* = *Carmina*

*Ep(p).* = *Epistula(e)*

*Or.* = *Orationes*

## 1. Journals and Series

*AC = L'Antiquité Classique*

*AnBoll = Analecta Bollandiana*

*ASNSP = Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*

*BBGG = Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*

*BT = Bibliotheca Teubneriana*

*Byz = Byzantion*

*BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

*CCSA = Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum*

*CCSG = Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*

*CCSL = Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*

*CD = Corpus Dionysiacum*

*CN = Corpus Nazianzenum*

*CodMan = Codices manuscripti. Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde*

*CSCO = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*

*CSEL = Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*

*CUF = Collection des Universités de France*

*FOC = The Fathers of the Church*

*GCS = Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*

*GNO = Gregorii Nysseni Opera*

*GRBS = Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

*IPM = Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia*

*JA = Journal Asiatique*

*JÖB = Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*

*JThS = Journal of Theological Studies*

*MH = Museum Helveticum*

*Mus = Le Muséon*

- NAWG* = *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*
- OCA* = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
- OCP* = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
- OLA* = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*
- OLP* = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
- OrChr* = *Oriens Christianus*
- PG* = *Patrologia Graeca*
- PIOL* = *Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain*
- PL* = *Patrologia Latina*
- PO* = *Patrologia Orientalis*
- POr* = *Parole de l'Orient*
- PTS* = *Patristische Texte und Studien*
- REAug* = *Revue des Études Augustiniennes / Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*
- REB* = *Revue des Études Byzantines*
- REG* = *Revue des Études Grecques*
- RHT* = *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*
- ROC* = *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*
- RSPT* = *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*
- RSBN* = *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*
- SC* = *Sources Chrétiennes*
- SE* = *Sacris Erudiri*
- SGKA* = *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*
- SMC* = *Studies in Manuscript Cultures*
- ST* = *Studi e Testi*
- SH* = *Subsidia Hagiographica*
- TC* = *Trends in Classics*
- TU* = *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*

## 2. Dictionaries, Reference Books, On-line Ressources

- BHG* = F. HALKIN, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd edn, Bruxelles, 1957 (*SH*, 8a); *Novum Auctarium*, Bruxelles, 1984 (*SH*, 65).
- BHL* = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina, Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, Bruxelles, 1898-1899 (*SH*, 6); H. FROS, *Novum Supplementum*, Bruxelles, 1986 (*SH*, 70).
- BHO* = P. PEETERS, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, Bruxelles, 1910 (*SH*, 10).
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- DBBE* (*Database of Book Epigrams*) = <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/>.
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##### 5. Abbreviations of library names (manuscript collections)

- BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
- BL = British Library
- BML = Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
- BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France
- BNM = Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
- BSB = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
- EBE = Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος
- GIM = Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej
- KHM – Niko Berdzenishvili Kutaisi State Historical Museum
- NCM – Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (Tbilisi)
- ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
- SMMJ = St Mark Monastery in Jerusalem