

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*

Edited by
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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

Founded by Dom Eligius Dekkers († 1998)

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Books for Bibliophiles

Two Ancient Collections of the Georgian Translations of Gregory of Nazianzus' Works – NCM S-1696 and NCM A-87

Maia MATCHAVARIANI
(*Tbilisi*)

Gregory of Nazianzus's works have been known in Georgia since ancient times. This is evidenced by the existence of the short versions of Gregory's *Or.* 38 and *Or.* 39 in Georgian so-called "Mravaltavi",¹ which must have been translated before the ninth century.² Quotations from Gregory's works can be found in original Georgian literary works created before the tenth century, including citations from those Georgian translations of Gregory's works that are lost today.³ The great popularity of Gregory the Theologian in the Georgian world is indicated by

¹ Regarding "Mravaltavi" (homiletical-hagiographical compendium), see: VAN ESBROECK, *Homélistes géorgiens*; ABULADZE, "მრავალთავი"; *კლარჯული მრავალთავი*, ed. MGALOBLSHVILI; *უდაბნოს მრავალთავი*, ed. SHANIDZE – TCHUMBURIDZE; *ათონის მრავალთავი, იოანე ბოლნელის ქადაგებანი*, ed. MAISURADZE et al.; MGALOBLSHVILI, "Sabatsminduri"; TSERADZE, "აგიოგრაფიულ-ჰომილეტიკური"; GIPPERT, "Mravaltavi"; GIPPERT, "Cod. Vind. georg. 4".

² RAPHAVA, "მოკლე ტექსტები"; ABULADZE, "მრავალთავი", p. 248.

³ A colophon is added in the manuscript NCM A-87 to *Or.* 44 saying: "This sermon someone has wrongly translated and our godly father Euthymius translated this anew, offer a prayer" (ესე საკითხავი მრუდად ვისმე ეთარგმნა და ღმერთშემოსილმან მამამან ჩუენმან ეფთვმე ახლად თარგმნა, ლოცვა ყავთ) (NCM A-87, fol. 115r). The first Georgian translation of *Or.* 44, mentioned in this note, is lost nowadays, but this colophon proves the existence of the earliest translation.

the fact that most of his homilies have been translated twice, and, in the case of some others, four different translations exist, which were made at different times.⁴

Georgian versions are preserved both in the Georgian corpus of Gregory's works and in more than 100 mixed collections, where Gregory's works are presented together with the texts of other authors. The handwritten books containing Georgian versions are diverse in terms of content (e.g. a small corpus by Euthymius the Hagiorite, an extended corpus of mixed translations), as well as in terms of structure (e.g. compendia with commentaries).

In this paper, we will look at two collections of translations of Gregory's works that are distinguished from other manuscripts by one common feature – these handwritten books were created not for common use but according to the private interests of specific people for their personal libraries.

I. NCM A-87

This collection of Gregory the Theologian's works is copied on parchment and contains 416 folios (dimensions 36 × 24.5 cm).⁵ The text is written in calligraphic Nuskhuri script in brown ink that has faded out from place to place. This manuscript has been copied by several copyists and decorated by two different artists.⁶ One of the copyists seems to be Mikel,⁷ mentioned in the colophon on fol. 112v, the identities of the other copyists are unknown. Some of the titles of the texts are written in cinnabar and some in golden ink. The very first page is decorated by a headpiece; the initials are also painted and ornamented. The manu-

⁴ There are four Georgian translations of Gregory's *Or.* 38 and *Or.* 39: two translations are anonymous and were made before the second half of the ninth century, both homilies were translated for the third time by Euthymius the Hagiorite at the end of the tenth century and Ephrem Mtsire translated them for the fourth time in the second half of the eleventh century. The texts of all four translations are published: Gregorii Nazianzeni *Opera. Versio iberica*, IV-V, ed. COULIE et al.

⁵ BREGADZE, *საწიგროლოცა*, pp. 95-104.

⁶ Regarding the decoration of the manuscript, see SCHMERLING, *Художественное оформление*, pp. 140-143.

⁷ NCM A-87, fol. 112v.

script is mutilated in the middle, three (28, 42, 43) quires being lost, several separate sheets were cut out, and several sheets were burnt by the ink.

This collection was created in the second half of the eleventh century by order of Mariam, the former Martha, the two-time queen of the Byzantine Empire, daughter of the king of Georgia, Bagrat IV.⁸ The identity of the commissioner (and accordingly the time of the manuscript creation) is presented in the colophon written in cinnabar and placed on the very first page of the manuscript (see Fig. 1), between the title of the first text and the text itself. Queen Mariam is also mentioned in two other colophons (fols 228r and 358r). This makes it possible to specify, to a certain extent, the dating of the manuscript. The future Empress Martha was brought to Byzantium in 1066, where she was appointed heir to the Byzantine throne by Michael VII Doukas and was named Mariam. Michael Doukas received the throne of the emperor in 1071. Because in the colophons of manuscript NCM A-87, Mariam-Martha is mentioned as a queen; this should mean that this collection was copied after (a) Martha was named Mariam, and (b) she became the wife of the Emperor and the Empress of Byzantium. Accordingly, this manuscript was manufactured after 1071, presumably in Constantinople.

In addition to historical data, this colophon also renders other interesting information about Empress Mariam herself. It says:

Holy Gregory the Theologian, with your mercy and assistance make her [Mariam – M. M.] worthy of writing down and fulfilling your words, who beseeched you with faith and searched for your teachings with great desire, your servant Mariam, daughter of Bagrat, King of Aphhazs and Sebastos.⁹

In other words, Empress Mariam was eagerly searching for Gregory's works and, what is more important, she commissioned the copying of

⁸ Regarding Mariam-Martha, see: GARLAND – RAPP, “Mary of Alania”; NODIA, “მარიამ დედოფალი”; NODIA, “Грузинские материалы”.

⁹ წმიდაო გრიგოლ ღმრთისმეტყუელო, მაღლითა და შეწვევნითა მიჰმადლე და ღირს ყავ წმიდათა ამათ სიტყუათა შენთა აღწერად და აღსრულებად სარწმუნოებით მვედრებელსა შენსა და სურვილით მეძიებელსა წმიდათა სწავლათა შენთასა, მჯევალსა შენსა მარიამს, ბაგრატ აფხაზთა მეფისა და სევასტოსის ასულსა (NCM A-87, fol. 1r).

these texts for her personal interest, her private needs.

Martha-Mariam or Mary of Alania, as she is known in Byzantine sources, was a prominent historical figure in the political and cultural life of Byzantium in the last quarter of the eleventh century. The two-time Empress of Byzantium Mariam managed to maintain her position as Augusta and, more importantly, secured the royal status of Constantine, her only son by Michael Doukas, until his premature death in or after 1094. At the same time, she actively participated in the cultural life of Byzantium and was perceived as the patron of Byzantine and Georgian men of letters and theologians and a supporter of the Georgian Monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos. Mariam-Martha had close relations with Michael Psellos, Theophylact of Ohrid and John Italos.

Mariam-Martha's level of education and special interests are evidenced by the original works and translations she inspired: Eustratios of Nicaea, a disciple of John Italos, dedicated two of his works to her, a treatise on natural sciences and an anti-Latin polemical work;¹⁰ Theophylact of Ohrid, Constantine's tutor, wrote commentaries on the Gospels of Mark, Luke and the Minor Prophets at the empress' request. And it was Theophylact of Ohrid who praised the empress' piety and love of theology in his *Paideia Basilike*.¹¹

Considering all this, it was no wonder that Empress Mariam was especially interested in Gregory of Nazianzus, one of the most refined and sophisticated theologians of Byzantine literature.

The compendium NCM A-87 contains 42 texts in all, 33 of which are translations of Gregory's works. Out of 22 works translated by Euthymius, 21 are included here (a translation of *Or.* 2 is not included).¹² Here, we also see *Or.* 7 and *Or.* 27 translated by Grigol of Oshki, while 10 out of the 11 texts translated by Davit Tbeli are presented here (*Or.* 36 is missing). However, it is possible that Davit's translation of *Or.*

¹⁰ POLESSO SCHIAVON, "Trattato inedito"; GARLAND – RAPP, "Mary of Alania", pp. 112-113.

¹¹ GARLAND – RAPP, "Mary of Alania", pp. 112-113.

¹² I think that Euthymius' version of *Or.* 2 was not included in this collection on purpose, as it differs from the Greek original a lot, and is, therefore, Euthymius' interpretation of Gregory's sermon rather than the sermon itself. In this compendium, Gregory's *Or.* 2 is presented in Davit Tbeli's translation, which is much closer to the original text. MATCHAVARIANI, "სამი ქართული თარგმანი".

36 was included in the quires (42 and 43) of the collection which have been lost.

In addition to Gregory's sermons, NCM A-87 contains other works related to Gregory's corpus: Gregory's Vita, Maximus the Confessor's "Commentaries", other "Explanations of difficult words", a "Praise of St Demetrius of Thessaloniki" attributed to Gregory, and the "Teachings" compiled from different passages of Gregory's sermons. It can be said that NCM A-87 contains almost all the Georgian versions of Gregory's works and other texts related to Gregory's corpus which existed at that time, thus, fully complies with the wishes and orders of the empress, stated in the colophon above.

Table 1: Contents of NCM A-87

Translators: E – Euthymius the Hagiorite; T – Davit Tbeli; O – Grigol of Oshki

#	Work	Author	Transl.
1	Vita	Gregory Ref.	E
2	<i>Or.</i> 19	Greg. Naz.	E
3	<i>Or.</i> 38	Greg. Naz.	E
4	Comment. ¹³	Maxim. Conf.	E
5	<i>Or.</i> 43	Greg. Naz.	E
6	<i>Or.</i> 39	Greg. Naz.	E
7	<i>Or.</i> 40	Greg. Naz.	E
8	<i>Or.</i> 1	Greg. Naz.	E
9	<i>Or.</i> 45	Greg. Naz.	E
10	<i>Or.</i> 44	Greg. Naz.	E
11	Explan. ¹⁴		
12	<i>Or.</i> 41	Greg. Naz.	E
13	<i>Or.</i> 37	Greg. Naz.	E
14	<i>Or.</i> 20	Greg. Naz.	E
15	<i>Or.</i> 28	Greg. Naz.	T
16	<i>Or.</i> 29	Greg. Naz.	E
17	<i>Or.</i> 30	Greg. Naz.	E

¹³ ოთკჰმეზური, "Maximus the Confessor".

¹⁴ Full title: "Explanation of difficult words" (ძნელთა სიტყუათა განმარტებად), translated into Georgian by Euthymius the Hagiorite.

#	Work	Author	Transl.
18	<i>Or.</i> 31	Greg. Naz.	E
22	<i>Or.</i> 2	Greg. Naz.	T
23	<i>Or.</i> 3	Greg. Naz.	E
24	<i>Or.</i> 9	Greg. Naz.	T
25	<i>Or.</i> 10	Greg. Naz.	T
26	<i>Or.</i> 11	Greg. Naz.	E
27	<i>Or.</i> 12	Greg. Naz.	T
28	<i>Or.</i> 16	Greg. Naz.	E
29	<i>Or.</i> 14	Greg. Naz.	E
30	Teachings ¹⁵		E
31	<i>Or.</i> 4	Greg. Naz.	T
<i>Missing part</i>			
32	Epist. 101	Greg. Naz.	T
33	<i>Or.</i> 34	Greg. Naz.	T
34	<i>Or.</i> 21	Greg. Naz.	E
35	<i>Or.</i> 24	Greg. Naz.	T
36	<i>Or.</i> 15	Greg. Naz.	E
37	Praise of St Demetrios of Thessaloniki ¹⁶		E
38	<i>Or.</i> 8	Greg. Naz.	T
39	<i>Or.</i> 42	Greg. Naz.	E
40	<i>Or.</i> 27	Greg. Naz.	O
41	Explan. ¹⁷		O
42	<i>Or.</i> 7	Greg. Naz.	O

¹⁵ BEZARASHVILI, *თეორია და პრაქტიკა*, pp. 88-97.

¹⁶ Full title: "Sermon by our holy and blessed Father Gregory the Theologian. Praise of the Great Martyr Demetrios which he spoke on return to Constantinople a day after the saint's feast" (თქუმული წმიდისა და ნეტარისა მამისა ჩუენისა გრიგოლი ღმრთისმეტყუელისაჲ შესხმად დიდებულისა მოწამისა დიმიტრისი, რომელი თქუა შემდგომად დღესასწაულისა მისისა დღითა ერთითა გარეთ შესრულმან კონსტანტინეპოვლედ). As the study showed, this is Euthymius' original work compiled on the basis of Gregory's *Or.* 24, "Praise of St Cyprian". See MATCHAVARIANI, "შესხმა".

¹⁷ Full title: "Explanations of the above-mentioned, numbered words which are hard to understand". RAPHAVA, "Georgian and Armenian Commentaries".

There is very little information about the private libraries of the Georgian kings or the representatives of the high aristocratic circle of medieval Georgia. One such reference is retained in the *Life of King Davit Aghmashenebeli* (Davit the Builder, 1073-1125) by an anonymous chronicler, where it is described how the King carried his personal library with him and used every free moment to read a book or listen to a recited one.¹⁸

Interestingly, another such reference or, better to say, a hint about the existence of a private library is related to Mariam-Martha herself. The *Life of St Patapius*, translated by the prominent Georgian translator of the eleventh century, Theophile the Hieromonk, in the manuscript KHM 5, is followed by the colophon of the same Theophile, where it is said: “Learn that I translated this in my early age (my youth) and it was with Queen Mariam, and now in my old age I was forced to translate it again”.¹⁹ This colophon indirectly but undoubtedly indicates that Empress Mariam had her own private library where the early translation of the *Life of Patapius* was kept. Therefore, the collection NCM A-87, created and commissioned by Empress Mariam to study the writings of Gregory the Theologian, seems to be undeniably intended for her personal use and was kept in her private library.

It is noteworthy that this manuscript, unlike some other handwritten compendia of the Georgian translations of Gregory the Theologian’s

¹⁸ “Considering that a fear of the Lord is the mother of Wisdom, and that the mother of this fear of the Lord is the Holy Scriptures, then how well Davit performed. He gathered such scriptures in great numbers; all he could find was translated into Georgian from the other languages, the old as well as the new, like the second Ptolomaeus [...] Spending days and nights in constant travel, in permanent marches and in tireless labors, he kept many mules and camels loaded with books. Dismounting his horse, a book would be the first thing in his hand and he did not stop reading until he was exhausted”. English translation: D. Gamq’relidze, *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, METREVELI – Jones (eds), p. 183.

¹⁹ შეისწავეთ, რამეთუ სიჭაბუკესაცა მეთარგმნა და მარიამ დედოფალსა ჰქონდა, ხოლო აწ სიბერესაცა ვიძიულე თარგმნად. ლოცვა-ყავთ თეოფილესთვის, KHM 5, fol. 118r; see METREVELI, “თეოფილე”.

works (A-92,²⁰ A-1²¹), also commissioned by representatives of high aristocratic circles and richly decorated, created on the queen's personal order, is simple enough – no miniatures, just one ornamented head-piece on the very first page and decorated initials. It is not uncommon to have words or corrections of entire lines of the text added in less formal handwriting (see Fig. 2). The modest decoration and less formal appearance of the text seem to be directly related to the purpose of the manuscript, i.e. to be a reading book where the priority was given to the accuracy of the text and decoration was less important.

2. NCM S-1696

This manuscript is also copied on parchment and contains 279 folios (dimensions 38 × 27.5 cm) (see Fig. 3).²² It is in a much worse condition than NCM A-87 – a lot is missing at both the beginning and the end. The collection is copied very neatly in calligraphic Nuskhuri script, with several ornamented initials; unlike NCM A-87, there are almost no corrections here. The titles of the texts are written in cinnabar with Asomtavruli letters. Cinnabar is also used for the symbolic names of Christ in Euthymius' version of Gregory's Or. 2.²³

The manuscript starts from the 20th (the first 19 are missing) and ends on the 54th quire. Some folios are also missing from inside. The missing parts are filled with paper sheets copied in eighteenth-century Nuskhuri script.

This collection was compiled and copied by Petre Patrikios, the former Petrik, a prominent historical figure of the second half of the eleventh century whose activities are described in the *Life of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli (George the Hagiorite)* by Giorgi Mtsire (the Lesser).²⁴

²⁰ Both manuscripts were commissioned by Zacharia, bishop of Valashker-ti, later archbishop of Bana. BREGADZE, , *აღწერა*, pp. 78-83; SCHMERLING, *Художественное оформление*, pp. 158-160.

²¹ BREGADZE, *აღწერა*, pp. 62-70; SCHMERLING, *Художественное оформление*, pp. 143-147.

²² BREGADZE, *აღწერა*, pp. 91-95.

²³ MATCHAVARIANI, "Names of Christ", pp. 266-268.

²⁴ In addition to Petre Patrikios, Giorgi Mtsire's *Life of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli* (written in the last quarter of the eleventh century), once also mentions a certain Ioane Patrikios, formerly Petrik, as a disciple and collaborator of Giorgi

Petre, the former Petrik, was an active political figure at the court of the king of Kartli, Bagrat IV, and a close associate of the Byzantine emperors.

At the time NCM S-1696 was copied, Petre was already a clergyman.²⁵ During his ministry, Giorgi also copied a Menaion with stichera translated by Giorgi Mtatsmindeli. In Elene Metreveli's view, Petre copied these two manuscripts, the Menaion and the collection of Gregory's works, no earlier than 1060. Petre spent the last years of his life in the Georgian Monastery of Iviron, on Mount Athos, and died there. This is evidenced by one commemoration of Iviron Monastery, which is a highly honourable memento for an agape feast to be held in the Iviron Monastery on January 16 in honour of Petre the Priest, which was commissioned by the abbot Ioane (Bukaisdze) (1080-1104).²⁶ Based on this,

Mtatsmindeli and a great admirer and popularizer of Giorgi's literary work. Georgian text edited in *საგოგრაფიული ლიტერატურა*, II, ed. ABULADZE et al., pp. 101-207; English translation: *Georgian Monks*, tr. GRDZELIDZE, pp. 97-162). As E. Metreveli revealed, this Ioane, who is not found anywhere else except in the *Life of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli*, was, in reality, Petre the former Petrik. This confusion was caused by the resemblance of the abbreviated forms of the names "Ioane" (Ἰῶ) and "Petre" (Πῆ) in Nuskhuri script in the archetype of the manuscripts containing the "Life" from where this error spread to other manuscripts. See METREVELI, "იოანე", pp. 201-205. This Ioane could also mean the brother of Petre – see below.

²⁵ METREVELI, "იოანე", p. 223.

²⁶ "I, Father Ioane, and all brethren commended a memento for an agape feast in honour of Petre the Priest to be held on January 16. Our brother blessed Petre the Priest donated to the monastery a Menaion containing readings of all twelve months, commissioned by him and copied by himself in seven books fully complete with stichera and all chants, as it is written in the manuscripts of Father Giorgi [the Hagiorite], with no loss. Before that, he [Petre] donated the complete euchologion, translated by the same blessed Father Giorgi, and due to all this on the feast day of the chains of the holy and all-praised Apostle Peter we commended [a memento for an agape], so that this agape should have been fulfilled eternally with full diligence, with funeral service and all prayers ordered by the rule, with anaphora and liturgy and consolation of the brethren. And libation should be given in the evening three times and at noon, four times. And after us, whoever will be lazy and disregard this and will not celebrate this from year to year, or whoever will miss anything in prayer

it can be assumed that the manuscript NCM S-1696 was copied in the Iviron in the 1060s-1080s.

In the *Life of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli* by Giorgi Mtsire, Petrik and his brother, also named Ioane, appear for the first time in an episode that describes the arrival of King Bagrat IV of Kartli and his mother, Maria, and their long stay (1054-1056) in Constantinople. During this period, Giorgi Mtatsmindeli was the head of the Iviron and actively tried to restore the Georgian monastery, which, at that time, was on the verge of destruction. Giorgi then came to King Bagrat and Queen Mariam, and, with their help and with the participation of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, he restored the old rights of the monastery, reclaimed the lands which had been seized and settled the issue of taxes. It is evident from another memento of the Iviron Monastery concerning an agape feast for Petrik and his brother Ioane on 13 December²⁷ that the two brothers made a great contribution to resolving these cases.

or in liturgy or will not console the brethren as much as he can, he will have to answer to God” (თუესა იანვარსა ივ (16) აღაპი განგჯწესებია პეტრე ხუცისათჳს მე, მამან იოანე და ყოველთა ძმათა, შემოწირნა ეკლესიასა ამან კურთხეულმან ძმამან ჩუენმან პეტრე ხუცესმან სათუეონი ათორმეტთა თუეთანი თავისა მოგებულნი და თჳსითა ჳელითა დაწერილნი შჳდად წიგნად, ყოვლითურთ სრულნი სტიქარონითა და ყოვლითა საგალობელითა ვითარცა წმიდისა მამის გიორგის ნუსხათა შინა სწერია უნაკლულოდ. და ამისა უწინა შემოწირნეს კურთხევანი სრულნი, მისვე სანატრელისა მამისა გიორგის თარგმნილი. და ამის ყოვლისათჳს განვაწესეთ დღესასწაულსა წმიდისა ყოვლად ქებულისა მოციქულისა პეტრეს ჯაჳჳთა თაყუანისცემისსა, რადთა საუკუნოდ აღესრულებოდის აღაპი მისი ყოვლითა მოსწრაფებითა, პანაშჳდითა და ყოვლისა ლოცვისა წესითა, წესისაებრ, და ანაფორითა და ჟამისწირვითა და ძმათა ნუგეშინისცემითა. და ეწდიოს მწუხრსა სამი და სამხრად ოთხი, და ვინცა ვინ შემდგომად ჩუენსა უდებ იქმნას და უგულუბელს ყოს და არა გარდაიჳადოს წლითი წლად, ანუ დააკლოს რად ვინ, ანუ ლოცვასა ანუ ჟამის წირვასა, ანუ ძალისაებრ ნუგეშინის ცემასა ძმათასა, ღმერთსა მან გასცეს პასუხი), agape no. 32, NCM A-558, fol. 5v (374). METREVELI, *საალაპე წიგნი*, pp. 141-142.

²⁷ “A memento for an agape feast [on the feast day of] St Eustratius to be held on December 13, in honour of Petrik and his brother Ioane. When the Queen, mother of Bagrat established one litre [a yearly donation] and Bagrat exempted us from tax, these both great cases were solved with support and effort of them [of

It seems that it was at this time that Petrik and Ioane met Giorgi Mtatsmindeli, became his disciples and, since then, were actively involved in the life of the Georgian Monastery of Iviron. The brothers were loyal and devoted followers of King Bagrat IV, representing the interests of Georgia at the court of the emperor of Byzantium. And it was during this period of diplomatic activity that Petrik was to receive the title of “patrikios” and then of “vestiarios” – these facts clearly show how deserving and valued Petrik was at the royal court of Byzantium.²⁸

With Petre’s assistance, Giorgi Mtatsmindeli met the Emperor of Byzantium several times and Petre facilitated all these meetings. After the sudden death of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli in Constantinople in 1065, it was Petre who organised the transfer of Giorgi’s body to Mount Athos and the burial ceremony. Petre fulfilled the last will of Giorgi by obtaining two chrysobulls from the Byzantine Emperor, one to strengthen the rights of the Georgian monastery on Mount Athos, and the other for the protection and support of 80 orphans brought from Georgia to Iviron by Giorgi Mtatsmindeli.

In addition to political and public activities, the other side of the life of Petre the former Petrik is no less important. Petre was a highly educated person and a great admirer and connoisseur of the literary activity of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli. Giorgi Mtsire writes about Petre in the “Life”:

And for a zealous person who [...] wishes to learn about the content of each book, at the end of this book can be found a numbered list of contents as well as a divinely beautiful and radiant colophon which the monk Peter²⁹ Patrikios, the former Petrik, added when he was copying

Petrik and Ioane]. Whoever does not celebrate this agape with full diligence, he will have to give an answer to God” (თ[უეს]ა დეკენბერსა ი~გ (13) წმიდათა ევსტრატეთ დღესასწაული. პეტრიკის და მმისა მისისა იოანესდა აღაპად განგვწესებიეს, ოდეს დედოფალმან ზაგრატის დედამან ლიტრაჲ ერთი სოლიმნი შეგვქმნა და ზაგრატ დიმოსი მოგვწყვდა, ორივე ესე დიდი საქმე მათითა თანადგომითა და მოლუაწებითა სრულ იქმნა და ვინ მათი აღაპი ყოვლითა გულისმოდგინებითა არა გარდაიკადოს, ღმერთსა მან გასცეს პასუხი), agape no. 15, NCM A-558, 3v (370); METREVELI, *საალაპე წიგნი*, pp. 137-138.

²⁸ METREVELI, “იოანე”, p. 210.

²⁹ “Ioane” is in the published version of the Georgian text (Old Georgian Hagiographic Literature, p. 148), as the seven manuscripts out of eight, containing “Vita, share confusion of names ‘Ioane’ and ‘Petre’”, see note 25.

these holy books for himself.³⁰ By means of great work and diligence, he made a detailed description of each book including hymns and troparia.³¹

Giorgi Mtatsmindeli was not only an incomparable translator, but, above all,

he was the first Georgian scholar in the Mount Athos community who by means of colophons, tables of contents and indexes presented a complete picture of the great philological work and scientific research he had carried out while translating from Greek into Georgian in order to create appropriate Georgian versions.³²

Only well-educated scribes could understand Giorgi Mtatsmindeli's colophons and consider all the requirements that Giorgi placed on the copyists of his texts. The colophons mentioned above point to two important facts: a) Petre was an educated scribe who studied Giorgi's work in detail and succeeded in creating duplicate copies of Giorgi's autographs, and b) Petre copied Giorgi's translations for himself, for his personal library.

³⁰ A similar phrase can be found in the colophon of NCM Q-37, a manuscript containing Ephrem Mtsire's translation of Commentaries of the Psalms, copied by Ioane Mtavaraizdze in the Monastery of Kastana in 1091. Ioane says in the colophon that he had first copied the first part of the book for Ephrem Mtsire (the Lesser) and that now he copied the text for himself (fol. 317r, ABULADZE (ed.), *აღწერილობა (Q კოლექცია)*, I, p. 44). This manuscript is copied in an informal hand and, according to certain paleographic features, T. Otkhmezuri attributes it to the Black Mountain (Antioch) literary school. OTKHMEZURI, "ანტიოქიის რეგიონის", pp. 358 and 365.

³¹ აგიოგრაფიული ლიტერატური, II, ed. ABULADZE et al., p. 148; English translation: *Georgian Monks*, tr. GRDZELIDZE, p. 125. ხოლო უკუეთუ ვინმე იყოს მოსწრაფეთაგანი... და უნდეს ცნობის ძალი თვთეულისა წიგნისაჲ, თუ რაჲ სწერია, ამისვე წიგნისა ბოლოსა პოსს აღრიცხულად და განმარტებულად თვთეულისა წიგნისა ზანდუკი და ანდერძი ღმრთივშუენიერ და ბრწყინვალედ, რომელი წმიდამან ბერმან იოანე პატრიკმან, პეტრიკ-ყოფილმან აღწერა, რაჟამს-იგი თავისა თვისისათჳს გარდაიწერნა წმიდანი ესე წიგნნი, ყოველი წულილ-წულილად აღირიცხა გალობაჲ და დასდებელი ფრიადითა შრომითა და გულსმოდგინებითა.

³² METREVELI, "იოანე", p. 197.

I think that the collection of Gregory of Nazianzus's works in NCM S-1696 is part of this library. It is true that, unlike NCM A-87, due to the manuscript's lacunae, no colophon is preserved, but the data of the collection itself allow us to judge its purpose.

There are 23 texts preserved in this collection, 17 of which are translations of the works of Gregory the Theologian, and the remaining 6 are works related to Gregory's corpus (comments, the "Teachings", and the "Praise of St Demetrius of Thessaloniki" and "The First Epistle", both attributed to Gregory):

Table 2: Contents of NCM S-1696

Translators: E – Euthymius the Hagiorite; T – Davit Tbeli; O – Grigol of Oshki

#	Work	Author	Transl.
1	<i>Or.</i> 40	Greg. Naz.	E
2	<i>Or.</i> 11	Greg. Naz.	E
3	<i>Or.</i> 21	Greg. Naz.	E
4	<i>Or.</i> 42	Greg. Naz.	E
5	Praise of St Demetrius of Thessaloniki		E
6	<i>Or.</i> 16	Greg. Naz.	E
7	<i>Or.</i> 14	Greg. Naz.	E
8	<i>Or.</i> 29	Greg. Naz.	E
9	<i>Or.</i> 30	Greg. Naz.	E
10	<i>Or.</i> 31	Greg. Naz.	E
11	Teachings ³³		E
12	<i>Or.</i> 2	(Greg. Naz.)	E
13	<i>Or.</i> 3	(Greg. Naz.)	E
14	<i>Or.</i> 2	Greg. Naz.	T
15	Teachings ³⁴		T

³³ The name of the translator is indicated in the title of the text: "Spiritual Teachings of Our Holy Father Gregory the Theologian translated by our blessed Father Euthymius" (სწავლანი სულიერნი წმიდისა გრიგოლი ღმრთისმეტყუელისანი, თარგმნილნი ნეტარისა მამისა ჩუენისა ეფთუმისნი, NCM S-1696, fol. 149v).

³⁴ Full title: "Teaching of our holy and blessed Father Gregory the Theologian" (სწავლაჲ წმიდისა და ნეტარისა მამისა ჩუენის გრიგოლი

#	Work	Author	Transl.
16	Epist. 101	Greg. Naz.	T
17	Epist. ³⁵		T
18	<i>Or.</i> 9	Greg. Naz.	T
19	Explan. ³⁶		T
20	<i>Or.</i> 10	Greg. Naz.	T
21	Explan. ³⁷		T
22	<i>Or.</i> 7	Greg. Naz.	O
23	<i>Or.</i> 8	Greg. Naz.	T

This collection contains texts which are attested only in this manuscript and the Greek originals of which have not been traced to this day: Euthymius the Hagiorite's interpretation of *Or.* 2 and "Teachings", two "Explanations", attached to *Or.* 9 and *Or.* 10, the Georgian versions of which are attributed to Davit Tbeli, a Georgian translator of the first half of the eleventh century. Two more translations of the texts, the Greek originals of which are lost, are also known to have been translated by Davit Tbeli: the "First Epistle of Gregory the Theologian to Cleodnius the Priest" and another version of "Teachings". We should also note here the layout and sequence of translations in the manuscripts. The texts are grouped according to their translators. After Euthymius' versions of *Or.* 2 and *Or.* 3, a second translation of *Or.* 2 is included, this time by Davit Tbeli. This almost side-by-side placement of two different translations of *Or.* 2 is clearly not accidental, and shows the intent

ღმრთისმეტყუელისად). This work, compiled by Davit Tbeli from different passages of Gregory's sermons, from the structural point of view is similar to Euthymius' "Teachings". MATCHAVARIANI, "დავით ტბელის", pp. 144-145.

³⁵ Full title: "First Epistle of Gregory the Theologian to Cleodnius the Priest" (ეპისტოლე პირველი გრიგოლი ღმრთისმეტყუელისად კლიდონის ხუცისა მიმართ). This epistle is attributed to Gregory, but the text differs from Greek texts of all Gregory's known epistles. MATCHAVARIANI, "დავით ტბელის", p. 143.

³⁶ Full title: "Explanation of the words which are hard to understand" (თარგმანებაჲ ძნიად გულისკმის საყოფელთა სიტყუათაჲ). MATCHAVARIANI, "დავით ტბელის", pp. 139-141.

³⁷ Full title: "These words are explained by same blessed Father Davit" (მისივე ნეტარისა მამისა დავითის თარგმნილნი ესე სიტყუანი). MATCHAVARIANI, "დავით ტბელის", pp. 141-143.

of the compiler/copyist. And this is perfectly justifiable, as Euthymius did not just translate Gregory's second and third homilies, but completely reworked them and, thus, created, albeit based on Gregory's works, two completely new sermons.³⁸ It was due to this great difference from the Greek original that Davit Tbeli subsequently retranslated *Or. 2*, while Euthymius' version was used, it seems, much less and survived only in one manuscript, in NCM S-1696.

Although a large part of the manuscript NCM S-1696 is lost, according to the content of the remaining part it can be assumed that all the Georgian translations of Gregory's works available at the time were collected in this manuscript. Yet, a different purpose can be seen here: the compiler-copyist Petre not only collected all the translations of Gregory's works and other texts that were related to Gregory's corpus, but also paid special attention to rare texts. This is a rather unique case of a particular manuscript presenting the scientific approach and interests of its creator.

A similar case can be found in manuscript Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. 2058/4,³⁹ which contains the Liturgy of St James, a Georgian manuscript originating from the Mount Sinai collection copied by Iovane Zosime in 985; the colophon says:

Holy fathers, have mercy on me. In the original of this Liturgy many ordinances and prayers and words were missing from the beginning to the end; (this was) as I knew from my masters and (as) was written in my own Liturgy. And I did not like this, but the person at whose request I wrote this, entreated me fervently, asking me to write only whatever was written there. Now I have written only this [with big regret].⁴⁰

³⁸ MATCHAVARIANI, "სამი ქართული თარგმანი"; BEZARASHVILI, *თეორია და პრაქტიკა*, pp. 67-78.

³⁹ *უძველესი ქართული ხელნაწერები*, ed. IMNAISHVILI, pp. 259-264; *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi*, ed. KHEVSURIANI et al., pp. 22-24.

⁴⁰ წ(მიდან)ო მ(ამა)ნო, შემიდვეთ. ამის ჟამის წირვისა დედასა მრავალი განგება და ლოცვები და სიტყვები აკლდა თავითგან ვ(იდრ)ე დას(ასრუ)ლამდე, ვითა მე ვიცოდე [მოძღუართაგან] და ჩემთა ჟამის წ(ი)რვათა შინა ეწერა და ვერ დიად ჩემისა გულისა იყო, ხოლო ვინ მაწერიებდა, მევედრებოდა ფ(რია)დ, რ(ად)ა რა მგას შინა სწერია, იგაიდა ოდენ დამიწერეო. აწ იგაიდა ოდენ დამიწხ(რეკი) ა [დიად გულისკლებითა] ...; *უძველესი ქართული ხელნაწერები*, ed. IMNAISHVILI, p. 263; *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi*, ed. KHEVSURIANI et al., p. 23.

The initiator of copying of the old and, as Iovane Zosime thought, defective original seems to have been Kvirike, the commissioner of that manuscript, often mentioned in the colophons of the Georgian manuscripts of the Sinai collection and, according to them, the head of the Georgian monks on Mount Sinai in the 970s-980s.⁴¹ This is a period when Georgians started updating previously translated religious literature, revising the existing one and intensively translating new or previously untranslated works into Georgian, when, due to the high cost of writing materials, many old texts were washed out and new texts were written on the old parchments. At times like this, Kvirike's request to transcribe old works without any change is particularly interesting. I think that the above colophon undoubtedly shows that Kvirike knew the value and importance of the texts of earlier epochs and definitely considered their preservation and protection. Petre had a similar approach when he copied a collection of Georgian translations of Gregory the Theologian's works and related texts and included less known and less common texts in his collection.

Conclusion

The two collections of Georgian translations of Gregory of Nazianzus's works present a special case in the evolution of the *Corpus Nazianzenum*, as the manuscripts were created to meet the personal interests of two individuals. At the same time, these collections also reflect the tastes and aspirations of the educated society of Georgia at that time.

⁴¹ უძველესი ქართული ხელნაწერები, ed. IMNAISHVILI, p. 263; *Liturgia Ibero-Graeca Sancti Iacobi*, ed. KHEVSURIANI et al., p. 23.

ABSTRACT

The two Georgian codices containing works by Gregory of Nazianzus examined in this article were not created for monastic needs but according to the specific, bibliophile interests of the commissioner/owner. NCM A-87 was copied for the Georgian Princess Martha-Mariam, who was the wife of the Byzantine Emperors and played an important role in the political life of contemporary Byzantium; NCM S-1696 was copied by Petre the Priest, formerly Petrik Patrikios, for his own personal interest. Petre was an active political figure at the court of the Georgian King Bagrat IV (mid-eleventh century) and a close associate of the contemporary Byzantine Emperors. These collections preserve some rare translations (not found in any other Georgian collection), texts attributed to Gregory and commentaries which are not found in the Greek sources.

RÉSUMÉ

Les deux codex géorgiens contenant des œuvres de Grégoire de Nazianze examinés dans cet article n'ont pas été créés pour des besoins monastiques mais pour répondre aux les intérêts spécifiques et bibliophiles de leur commanditaire/propriétaire. NCM A-87 a été copié pour la princesse géorgienne Martha-Mariam, qui fut l'épouse des deux empereurs byzantins et a joué un rôle important dans la vie politique de Byzance. NCM S-1696 a été copié par Petre le prêtre, auparavant Petrik Patrikios, pour son intérêt personnel. Petre fut une figure politique relativement importante, active à la cour du roi géorgien Bagrat IV (milieu du XI^e siècle) et un proche des empereurs byzantins de son temps. Ces collections conservent quelques traductions rares (n'apparaissant dans aucune autre collection géorgienne), ainsi que des textes attribués à Grégoire de Nazianze et des commentaires qui ne se trouvent pas dans les sources grecques.

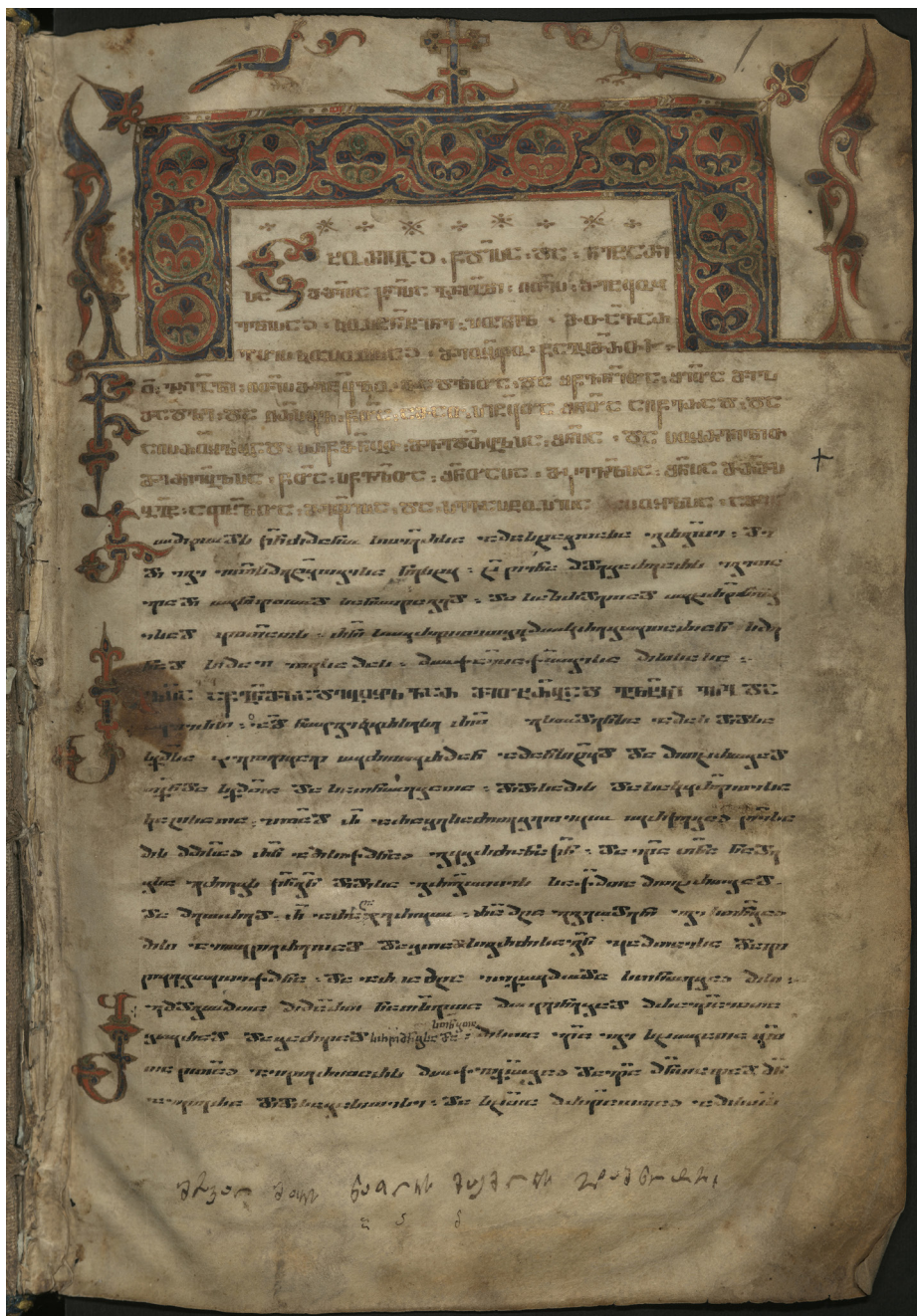


Fig. 1: NCM A-87, fol. 1r; courtesy of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (Tbilisi).

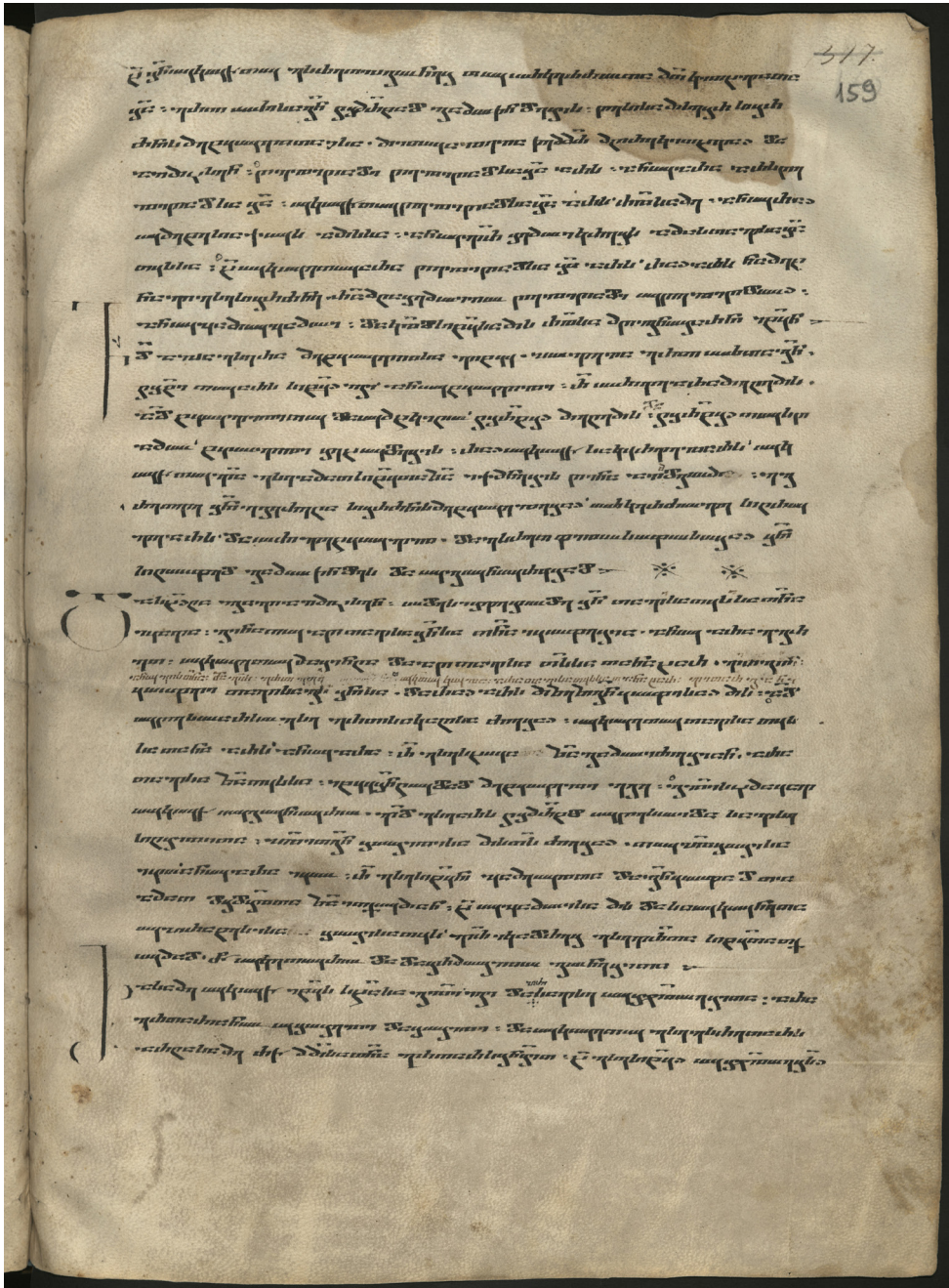


Fig. 2: NCM A-87, fol. 159r; courtesy of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (Tbilisi).

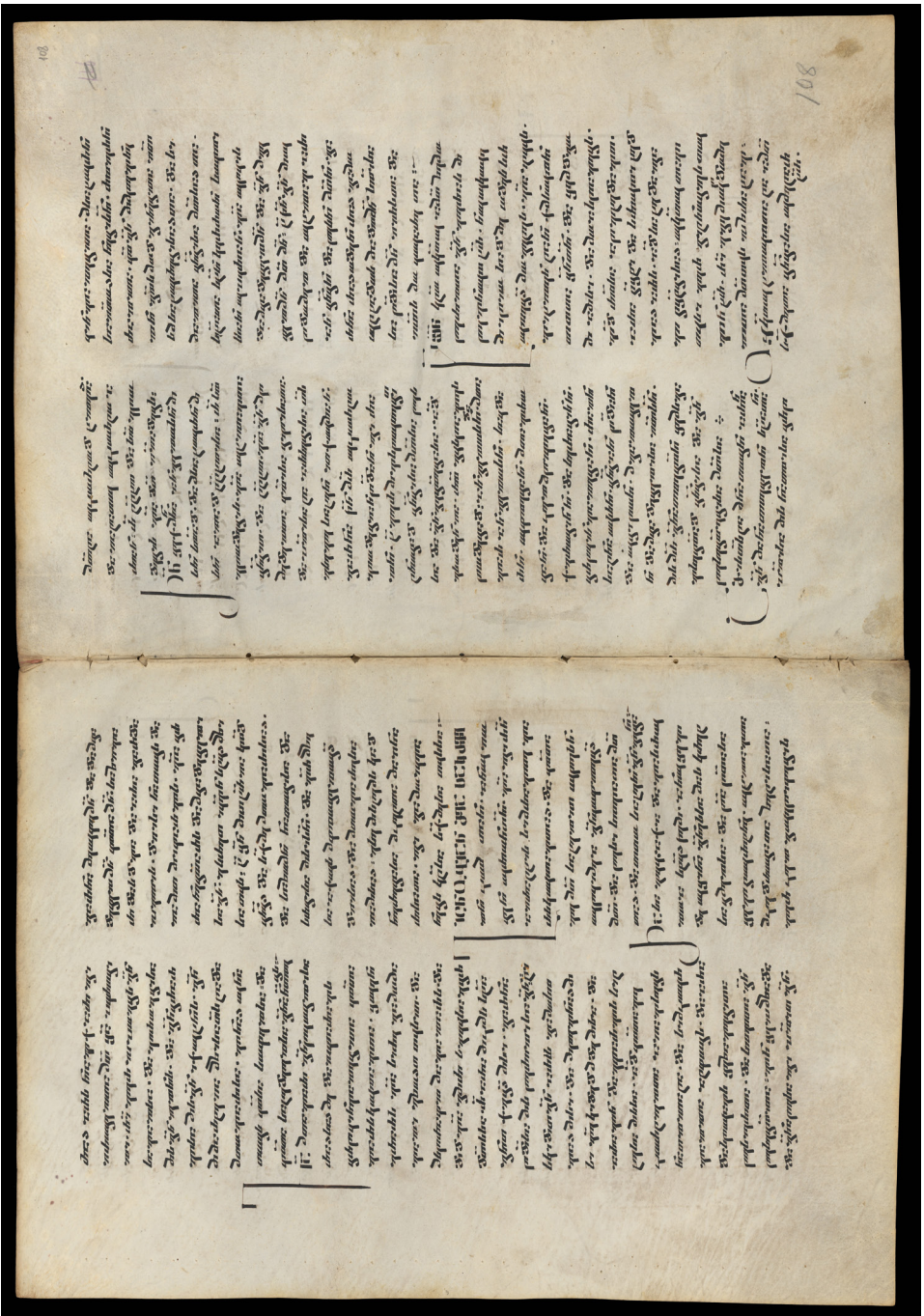


Fig. 3: NCM S-1696, fols 107r-108r; courtesy of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (Tbilisi).