

SEARCHING FOR EUTHYMIUS THE ATHONITE'S AUTOGRAPH:
*COD. IVIRON GEO. 68**

Autograph manuscripts, i.e. texts written in the authors' or translators' handwriting, as well as partially autograph manuscripts, i.e. texts annotated and corrected by the authors or translators themselves, occupy an important place in the study of medieval texts and scholarly culture. Besides the fact that autographs play a crucial role in the edition of critical texts, they also serve as important sources for the research of creative processes and for the study of methods and approaches of authors and translators in the Middle Ages. In this regard, the Georgian manuscript *Ivir. geo. 68* from the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos, is particularly interesting, since it brings to light new aspects of translation process and manuscript production on the Holy Mountain. The manuscript has been studied by Alexander Tsagareli, Robert Blake, and Tamar Bregadze¹.

1. *The manuscript Iviron geo. 68*

1.1. *Codicological description*

156 ff. Size of the manuscript: 22 × 15 cm; size of the written text: 15 × 8,5 cm; parchment; written in one column; number of lines: 13; missing beginning (two quires) and ending (about six folios), *quire numeration*; a brown leather and wood cover, decorated with medallions.

1.2. *Content*

- 1) Fol. 1r-39v: Gregory the Theologian, *In Nativitatem (Oratio 38)*. *Inc.*: ხოლო რაჟამს ესევითარნი ვიქმნეთ (= τοιούτοις δὲ γενομένοις... [PG 36, col. 317 C 10]).
- 2) Fol. 40v-42r: *Doxologia*². *Inc.*: Ɔ აკუსებაო, დიდო და პატოსანო... (= 'Ἄλλ', ὃ Πάσχα, τὸ μέγα καὶ ἱερὸν...) – *Des.*: ... პატვიო და

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¹ TSAGARELI, *The Information*, p. 92-93 (№75); BLAKE, *Catalogue*, p. 149-150; BREGADZE, *Description*, p. 61-62.

² For the text of this *Doxologia*, a slightly paraphrased fragment from Gregory the Theologian's *Oratio 45*, see *Versio iberica*, I, p. 157-159.

სიმტკიცე აწ და მარადის და უკუნითი უკუნისამდე. ამინ.
(= ... τιμή, καὶ κράτος, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. Ἀμήν [PG 36, col. 664 A 8-C 1]).

- 3) Fol. 43r-155v: *Commentary on the Difficult Passages from the Oratio in Nativitatem by Our Father Maximus the Confessor. Des.:* ... კეთილსა მოვიღებთ სასყიდელსა უვნებელობასა (= καλὸν λαμβάνοντες μισθὸν τὴν ἀπάθειαν [PG 91, col. 1300 B 1])³.

The texts preserved in the manuscript⁴ are translated by the 10th-11th century famous Georgian scholar of the Iviron Monastery, Euthymius the Athonite⁵.

The manuscript displays the following notes⁶:

- 1) Fol. 39v: ლოცვა-ყავთ გლახაკისა ეფთჳმესთჳს “Pray for the poor Euthymius”, written in *nuskhuri* script⁷.
- 2) Fol. 42r: შემინდევით უცბად ჩხრეკისათჳს “Forgive me for my hasty handwriting”, written in *nuskhuri* script.
- 3) Fol. 32v: ქრისტე, აღიღე მამაჲ იოვანე და ეფთჳმე, ლოცვა-ჰყავნ “Christ, praise Father Iovane and Euthymius, pray”, written in *mkhedruli* script⁸.

1.3. Palaeographic characteristics

The main text of the manuscript is written in a literary, quite sophisticated *nuskhuri* script; the manuscript is exceptional due to, on the one hand, its larger than usual graphemes, and, on the other hand, its *mise-en-page*; namely, graphemes and written lines are separated by larger than usual spaces and margins are wider than usual as well. The manuscript

³ The *Commentary* on Gregory the Theologian’s *Oratio* 38 is a compilation text, mainly based on Maximus the Confessor’s *Ambiguorum Liber*, namely the explanations of Gregory the Theologian’s *Oratio* 38 (PG 91, col. 1273 D-1301 A 13). See OTKHMEZURI, *Ambigua ad Iohannem*.

⁴ For the critical edition Gregory the Theologian’s *Oratio* 38 and of the *Commentary on the Difficult Passages*, see *Versio iberica*, III: this edition is based on nine 11th-13th c. manuscripts, among which is *cod. Ivir. geo.* 68.

⁵ On Euthymius the Athonite and his activity, see KEKELIDZE, *History*, I, p. 184-213; TARKHNISHVILI – ASSFALG, *Geschichte*, p. 126-156. For the recent English translation of the *Lives* of the Georgian Athonite fathers, see GRDZELIDZE, *Georgian Monks*.

⁶ In the manuscript several inscriptions of late period (18th-19th cc.) are also attested, BREGADZE, *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts*, p. 62.

⁷ *Nuskhuri* script is a Georgian minuscule dating from the 9th c. onwards; most of the Georgian manuscripts were written in this script.

⁸ *Mkhedruli* script is the latest modification of *nuskhuri*. The earliest witnesses of *mkhedruli* script are attested already in the 11th-12th cc.



has been “edited”, for in several places (fol. 3v, 4r, 10v, 14r, 21r, 22v, 24r, 27v, 36r, 37r, 39r-v, 47v, 50v, 51r, 72v, 90r) in the main text, words and phrases are inserted between lines and in the margins [Fig. I, III, IV]. These additions are written in an informal handwriting.

According to Bregadze, the main text of the manuscript, the insertions and inscriptions all belong to the same person, who must be Euthymius the Athonite; the note “Pray for the poor Euthymius” (fol. 39v) and the insertions written in an informal handwriting, were noted more rapidly. She also thinks that the note “Christ, praise Father Iovane and Euthyme, pray” (fol. 32v) also belongs to Euthymius the Athonite⁹. In Tsagareli’s and Blake’s opinion, the insertions in the manuscript and the note “Pray for the poor Euthymius” must be connected to Euthymius¹⁰.

Three different hands can be distinguished at work in *Ivir. geo.* 68¹¹:

- first hand, which wrote parts of the main text (fol. 1r-92v) [Fig. I, II, III, IV] and the note “Forgive me for my hasty handwriting” (fol. 42r) [Fig. II, note at the end of the text];
- second hand, which wrote other parts of the main text (fol. 93r-155v) [Fig. V];
- third hand, which wrote the insertions [Fig. I, III, IV] and the note “Pray for the poor Euthymius” (fol. 39v) [Fig. I, note at the end of the text].



The difference between the first and second hands is hardly visible. Both are formal, literary handwritings, identical in style, and the change from first to second hand does not alter the *mise-en-page* (number of lines and distance between them, and size of margins do not change); in both cases, the text is written in angular and larger than usual graphemes, slightly inclined to the right, ligatures are almost absent; the abbreviation system for the *nomina sacra* is identical for the two hands. The entire text is regulated by the same system of punctuation which contains two marks: two dots (:.) and three dots (:.).









First and second hands can be distinguished from the form of some graphemes. Namely, graphemes with an axis have a tendency to be inclined in the second hand. For instance, *un* (*u*) is inclined to the right  [Fig. V, lines 4, 12, 13], whereas the axis in the first hand is straighter, more vertical  [Fig. I, lines 5, 6; Fig. II, lines 2, 3, etc.].

⁹ BREGADZE, *Description*, p. 6-7.

¹⁰ TSAGARELI, *The Information*, p. 93; BLAKE, *Catalogue*, p. 150.

¹¹ Nothing can be said about the inscription of fol. 32v in *mkhedruli* (Christ, praise father Ioane and Euthymius, pray). Bregadze’s opinion that it belongs to Euthymius the Athonite is more an impression, which is unsubstantiated by any argument.

In the first hand, *kan* (*k*) has a more or less straight axis  [Fig. III, lines 9, 11] and is crossed by a horizontal line, with endings pointing up and down; the *kan* of the second hand has an axis sharply inclined to the right, and is crossed by a horizontal line with a small circle as endpoint on the left and a short line pointing down on the right .

The second hand inclines the axis of *zen* (*z*) to the right , whereas *zen* in the first hand has a more or less vertical axis . There is another difference in *zen* between the two hands: in the first one, *zen* has a bowl [Fig. II, lines 5, 8], whereas the second one does not display this feature [Fig. V, lines 5, 7]. Curved lines are generally predominant in the first hand; for example, *man* (*m*) has two forms, with a curved extension on top:  [Fig. II, lines 4, 5, 11, etc.], or without it:  [Fig. I, lines 6, 7; Fig. II, lines 9, etc.]; whereas, in the second hand, *man* is always without the curved extension:  [Fig. V, lines 1, 6, 10, 11]. The difference between the two hands is also demonstrated by the serif, the decorative element of graphemes. In the first hand, the right-oriented graphemes, such as *c*, *t'*, *x* on the left, or back sides do not have serifs; even when there is a serif, it is horizontal:  [Fig. I, line 2; Fig. II, lines 1, 5, 6, etc.]. In the second hand, the use of serifs is more common; moreover, they are always directed downwards:  [Fig. V, line 11]. The grapheme  (*kan*) also has a serif. These characteristics of graphemes are idiosyncratic, i.e. they are individual, distinctive elements of handwritings appearing in the manuscript. It is clear that the main text of *Ivir. geo.* 68 was written by two scribes; the fact that the overall manuscript is written in the same style indicates that these two scribes came from the same scriptorium and belonged to the same literary school.

The note “Forgive me for my hasty handwriting” (fol. 42r) is a widely used scribal formula in old Georgian manuscripts. The scribes of the medieval Christian East often referred to themselves using this humble formula, where “hasty handwriting” helps the scribe to apologize for the poor quality of his handwriting. In some cases, the handwriting of a same scribe can look different in the text he is copying and in the personal notes he adds from time to time: the main text is usually written by the scribe according to the classical norms of calligraphy, whereas the personal notes may reveal some traces of informal handwriting. Due to their location in specific places of the manuscript (in the margins, at the end of a text, etc.), these notes are often written in smaller graphemes, in shorthand, and in a less official type of script. Scribe’s note in *Ivir. geo.* 68, fol. 42r, is indeed, at first look, different from the main text, however, in this case, it still has a literary, official style. In terms of graphemes’ shapes, it is nearly identical to the first hand, but has different proportions, so creating a visual

difference between these two writings. Namely, in the main text, graphemes are written with big gaps, and their size is also larger; whereas in the scribal note, graphemes are closer to each other and more elongated. It is also possible that the note reveal the scribe's actual handwriting, whereas the main text, in terms of proportions, for certain purposes, is changed and written with wider gaps, more sparsely, and in larger graphemes.

The note "Pray for the poor Euthymius" (fol. 39v), as well as other marginal and interlinear notes, are written in a different, third hand, clearly distinct from the first and second hands. It is an informal handwriting with uneven graphemes of different sizes, and with graphemes not following the baseline. Judging from the shape of the graphemes, this informal handwriting is comparable to the formal handwritings of *Ivir. geo.* 68 (similarly, it contains serifs); it is therefore highly plausible that the note and insertions belong to a representative of the same literary school from which this manuscript emanated; however, this representative is not a professional scribe. His most distinguishable and individually exceptional writing is that of the letter *nari* (*n*); it stands out with its inclined, curved head, which is turned downwards and almost touches the baseline [Fig. I, III, IV]. It is clear that the note and insertions belong to another scribe, a third person who worked on the manuscript, i.e. "editing" it.

As if often the case with ancient manuscripts, the presence of an informal handwriting may lead to the assumption that the person directly connected with the material copied in the manuscript also participated in its creation, being for instance a famous author or translator, who personally writes down or copies his work, or edits it. Authors and translators are often less skilled in the art of calligraphy than professional scribes, their handwriting is therefore mostly informal.

This is precisely the reason why manuscript *Ivir. geo.* 68, due to the informal handwriting it displays, has been connected to Euthymius. In our opinion, there are indeed traces of Euthymius the Athonite's personal involvement in the manuscript; namely, the note "Pray for the poor Euthymius" and marginal and interlinear additions to the main text have been personally made by Euthymius. But this would not be enough to prove the role of Euthymius, for informal handwriting could exist for other reasons, for instance due to the inexperience of a scribe, or to the fast pace of the copying process. For example, part of manuscript *Ivir. geo.* 79 is written in informal handwriting, and the manuscript has therefore been attributed to the hand of Euthymius by scholars such as Blake and Tsagareli¹². However, after closer examination of the manuscript, this assumption turned

¹² TSAGARELI, *The Information*, p. 92; BLAKE, *Catalogue*, p. 157-159.

out to be incorrect¹³. Similarly, palaeography alone would not be sufficient to prove that the notes and insertions in *Ivir. geo. 68* belong to Euthymius' hand. Since there is not a single manuscript that is proven to be Euthymius' autograph, we cannot test our assumption by comparing *Ivir. geo. 68* to it. Therefore, other arguments have to be developed, including the date of the manuscript, the formula "Pray for the poor Euthymius" used in the scribal note, and the content of the insertions in regard with Euthymius the Athonite's translation method.

2. Date of the manuscript *Ivir. geo. 68*

Blake, Tsagareli, and Bregadze connect the manuscript directly to Euthymius the Athonite, and, hence, date it by the end of the 10th century. According to Elene Metreveli, *Ivir. geo. 68* was created before 1002 and must be connected to the completion of one of the key stages of Euthymius' translation of Gregory the Theologian's works¹⁴.

In the list of works of Euthymius the Athonite presented in a manuscript dated 1002, in Ioane the Athonite's preface to Euthymius' translation of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, the 13th point reads *Life of Saint Gregory the Theologian and his Sermons*¹⁵. In Metreveli's opinion, this must be a collection of Gregory the Theologian's sermons, beginning with the *Life of Gregory the Theologian* by Gregory the Priest, and containing Gregory's liturgical sermons, i.e. *Or. 43, 40, 38 with Commentary, 19, 39, 45, 44, 41, 11, 21, 16, 14*. This collection has survived in the 13th century manuscript *Tbilisi, NCM (= National Center for Manuscripts), A-80*, which is carefully copied in a later manuscript, *Tbilisi, NCM, A-518* (dated 1708)¹⁶. This collection is usually referred to as "small" collection, since later on it was enriched with Euthymius' and other scholars' translations of Gregory the Theologian's sermons and so becoming a larger collection¹⁷.

¹³ DOLAKIDZE, *On the Composition*.

¹⁴ *Versio iberica*, I, p. IX.

¹⁵ SHANIDZE (ed.), *St. John Chrysostom, Commentary on Matthew*, p. 14. The list of Euthymius' works is presented in several manuscripts containing this writing; among them, manuscript N° 20 of Kutaisi State Historical Museum (dated 1048) is noteworthy. It is copied from Euthymius' autograph including Euthymius' translation of John Chrysostom's writing and contains the colophon of Euthymius, indicating the date of creation of the autograph, the year 1002; see NIKOLADZE, *Description*, p. 98.

¹⁶ BREGADZE, *Description*, p. 106-114.

¹⁷ After composing the "small" collection of Gregory the Theologian's sermons, Euthymius the Athonite begins working on Gregory's large collection. In manuscripts *Tbilisi, NCM, A-92* (11th c.) and *S-413* (11th c., some parts are missing), two liturgical

It is noteworthy that the work on Gregory's liturgical sermons, i.e. the creation of the "small" collection of his works, must have begun before 1002, in the last quarter of the 10th century. Euthymius' translation of Gregory's two sermons, *Oratio* 43 and *Oratio* 15, already appeared in Basil the Great's *Teachings* (*cod. Ivir. geo.* 32), a manuscript copied in 977¹⁸. In a manuscript containing the same work of Basil the Great, *cod. Tbilisi, NCM*, H-2251 (end of the 10th century¹⁹), there are already Euthymius' three translations of Gregory's sermons: *Or.* 43, 40, 15²⁰.

Manuscript *Ivir. geo.* 68, thus, represents, according to Metreveli, one of the preliminary or preparatory stages of the creation of the so called "small" collection of Gregory the Theologian in Georgian. At this stage, Euthymius collects materials for Gregory's collection, translates Gregory's sermons, and incorporates them into collections of works of other authors, such as the manuscripts of Basil the Great's *Teachings*, *Ivir. geo.* 32, *NCM*, H-2251, or assembles them in shorter manuscript, such as *Ivir. geo.* 68. Metreveli supposes that *Ivir. geo.* 68 could have included at its beginning, along with Gregory's *Oratio* 38 and its *Commentary*, the *Life of Gregory the Theologian*, and sermons 43, 40, and 15 at its end, which, by then, must have already been translated by Euthymius²¹. It is hard to estimate whether *Ivir. geo.* 68 could have included other materials besides *Oratio* 38 and its *Commentary*. The size of the manuscript is smaller than average, and in case it incorporated large volumes of text (such are Gregory's sermons 43, 40, 15), it would have been harder to bind it; moreover, only two quires are missing, enough to incorporate the beginning of

(*Or.* 1, 42) and four non-liturgical sermons (*Or.* 20, 29, 30, 31) are added to the *Life of Gregory the Theologian* and to the other previously translated liturgical sermons. The work on the collections of Euthymius' translations of Gregory's sermons continues after Euthymius' death. For the purpose of enriching the collection of Gregory's liturgical sermons, Gregory's liturgical sermon 24 translated by David Tbeli was added to the manuscript *Tbilisi, NCM*, A-1, copied in Constantinople in 1031. Gregory the Theologian's collection copied in Antioch in 1040 for the Cross Monastery in Jerusalem (*cod. St. Petersburg*, 3), contains seven non-liturgical sermons translated by David Tbeli, along with Euthymius' translations; this collection illustrates that Euthymius had translated Gregory's sermons 3 and 37. Manuscript *Tbilisi, NCM*, S-383 (11th c.) contains Euthymius' translations and Tbeli's translations of Gregory's eleven non-liturgical sermons, whereas manuscript *Tbilisi, NCM*, S-1696 (11th c.), the second volume of the two-volume edition, along with Euthymius' and David Tbeli's translations of Gregory the Theologian, also contains Gregory Oshkeli's translation of one of Gregory's sermons. See BREGADZE, *Description*, p. 62-106.

¹⁸ BREGADZE, *Description*, p. 188.

¹⁹ *Cod.* H-2251 is dated by Ts. Kurtsikidze to 994-1001, based on the colophon mentioning David Curopalate as King of the Georgians: KURTSIKIDZE (ed.), *Euthymius the Athonite*, p. 018-021.

²⁰ BREGADZE, *Description*, p. 190-191.

²¹ *Versio iberica*, I, p. VIII-IX.

Gregory's *Oratio* 38 but not large enough for the long *Life of Gregory the Theologian*. It is nevertheless obvious that *Ivir. geo.* 68 presents one of the preliminary stages in the history of the composition of Gregory's "small" collection. This is further supported by the following arguments:

- (a) In the Georgian manuscript tradition, Gregory's *Oratio* 38 with its *Commentary* is included in the collections containing Euthymius' translation of Gregory the Theologian's sermons²²; *cod. Ivir. geo.* 68 is the only preserved manuscript in which these two texts are presented separately, and was therefore not meant to be published and distributed, but was rather created to be later incorporated into a collection.
- (b) The poor orthography of *Oratio* 38 and its *Commentary* in *Ivir. geo.* 68 is also noteworthy, while these texts are well-written in Gregory the Theologian's other manuscripts.

These arguments corroborate the assumption that manuscript *Ivir. geo.* 68 was not created for publication and distribution, but rather constituted a work in progress, a sort of draft.

The manuscript displays some ornamental elements, e.g. slightly decorated initial letters, which, on the one hand, might appear inappropriate for a draft, but we cannot exclude that given the scarcity of parchment in general, drafts were used and circulated internally in a monastery. Moreover, this manuscript nevertheless came from the hands of professional scribes, and it is possible that they would not complete even draft manuscripts for internal usage without adding minimal decorations.

A peculiarity of *Ivir. geo.* 68 is to include a *Doxologia* (fol. 40v-42r) between *Oratio* 38 and its *Commentary*. This text is actually a slightly paraphrased fragment from Gregory the Theologian's *Oratio* 45²³. How and why did it appear in this manuscript? Given its context, in this passage Gregory the Theologian praises God, who aided him not only in starting, but also in finishing an important task: აწ შეიწირე ჩუენ მიერ ესე თქუმულნი სიტყუანი, არა დაწყებაჲ, არამედ აღსასრულიცა ჩუენისა ნაყოფთა შეწირვისაჲ "now accept as a tribute from us these pronounced words, not [only] the beginning, but also the end of our labor"²⁴. It is well known that Georgian translators often refer to their

²² These collections are: *Tbilisi, NCM*, A-1 (1030); *St.-Petersburg*, P-3 (1040); *NCM*, S-383 (first half of the 11th c.); *NCM*, S-413 (11th c.); *NCM*, A-87 (11th c.); *NCM*, A-80 (13th c.); *NCM*, A-518 (1708); see BREGADZE, *Description*, p. 59-60, 61-114.

²³ KOURTSIKIDZE, *La composition du manuscrit Iviron 68*.

²⁴ Cf. $\nu\tilde{\nu}\ \mu\tilde{\epsilon}\nu\ \xi\chi\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \omicron\kappa\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\sigma\iota\nu\ \dot{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$ (*PG* 36, col. 664 B 1-3).

own translations of Byzantine authors to decorate their colophons appended to the translations. For instance, there are reminiscences from Gregory's sermons in Ephrem Mtsire's *Introduction* to his translation of Gregory the Theologian's works²⁵. The case is similar here: Euthymius borrows from Gregory to express his gratitude, and takes a passage from Gregory's *Oratio* 45 to show his praise to God for aiding him in finishing an important task. What kind of task is he referring to? It is possible that attaching a large (four pages) text of gratitude is expected whenever someone finishes an important project, such as, for example, completing the translation of the collection of Gregory's works. If this text of gratitude only referred to the materials of *Ivir. geo.* 68, Gregory's *Oratio* 38 and its *Commentary*, it would best appear in the end of these texts in the manuscript, and not at the end of *Oratio* 38. We can therefore assume that the translation of *Oratio* 38 as one of the main constituent parts of Gregory's collection with the addition (*Commentary*) was the final stage of an important project for Euthymius, i.e. the translation of Gregory's "small" collection. This is *The Life of Gregory the Theologian and his Sermons* which appears in manuscript *Tbilisi, NCM, A-80* and is mentioned in the list of Euthymius' translations. Hence, the manuscript, which reflects the work completed in 1002, the preliminary stage of creating Gregory's collection, is contemporaneous with Euthymius, and, correspondingly, traces of Euthymius' work in it are also possible.

3. The note "Pray for the poor Euthymius"

Scribal notes, frequent in medieval Georgian manuscripts, as well as manuscripts of the Christian East, often name individuals who are connected to the manuscript, be it a scribe, a donor of a manuscript, or a translator of the work presented in the manuscript. The person authoring the notes is usually the scribe of the manuscript; however, in certain cases, this could also be the donor or the translator.

The note on fol. 39r in *Ivir. geo.* 68, "Pray for the poor Euthymius", is Euthymius the Athonite's personal evocative inscription, composed by Euthymius himself. Notes of this type, both in first and third person, often appear in manuscripts containing Euthymius' translations; for instance:

- ლოცვა-ყავთ გლახაკისა ეფთჳმესთჳს, რომელმან ესე ვთარგმნე
"Pray for poor Euthymius, I who translated this" (*Ivir. geo.* 32, fol. 47v);

²⁵ OTKHMEZURI, *The Genre of Commentary*, p. 84-93.

- ლოცვა-ყავთ გლახაკისა ეფთჳმესთჳს, წმიდანო ღმრთისანო “Pray for poor Euthymius, O Saints of God” (*Tbilisi, NCM, A-96, fol. 164r*);
- ... ლოცვასა მომიგსენეთ გლახაკი ეფთჳმე, რომელმან ვთარგმნე ესე ბერძულიდან ქართულად “... mention in your prayers me, poor Euthymius, I who translated this from Greek into Georgian” (*Tbilisi, NCM, A-96, fol. 99v*).

To stress his own humility, presenting himself as a poor, a sinner, writer of scribbles, is a widely used *topos* in medieval colophons. However, when it comes other person’s evocation, negative epithets are substituted by positive ones. This tendency is especially visible in notes dedicated by scribes to Euthymius the Athonite. For example:

- მამაო, ძეო და სულო წმიდაო, ადიდე მამაე ეფთჳმე, შემამკობელი შენი და ქართველთა ენასა გამომთარგმანებელი სუფევათა დაუსრულებელთა, ამინ “Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, praise father Euthymius, your glorifier and translator into Georgian language until the end of times, amen” (*Tbilisi, NCM, A-92, fol. 182v*).

Moreover, Euthymius’ personal notes, where he calls himself a poor, are followed in manuscripts by scribes’ notes underlining that negative epithets are Euthymius’ self-assessment, while scribes, on the other hand, prefer to praise him:

- ლოცვა-ყავთ გლახაკისა ეფთჳმესთჳს, მონანო ქრისტესნო “Pray for the poor Euthymius, servants of Christ” (Euthymius’ personal note), but: ესე თჳთ დაუწერია. მე ესრეთ ვიტყჳ: ღმერთმან ადიდეს მამაე ეფთჳმე “This is what he wrote himself. I will say the following: God, praise father Euthymius” (scribe’s note about Euthymius), (*Tbilisi, NCM, A-92, fol. 203r*);
- ლოცვა-ყავთ გლახაკისა ეფთჳმესთჳს “Pray for the poor Euthymius” (Euthymius’ personal note), but: წმიდაო, მდიდარი ხარ შენ, არა გლახაკი წინაშე უფლისა “Saint, you are rich, not poor in front of God” (scribe’s note about Euthymius), (*Tbilisi, NCM, A-1103, fol. 11v*);
- ლოცვა-ყავთ გლახაკისა ეფთჳმესთჳს “Pray for the poor Euthymius” (Euthymius’ personal note), but: ესე მამასა ეფთჳმის დაწერილია. ლოცვა-ყავთ დააკურთხეთ, რომელმან ესე სულთა განმანათლებელი გვთარგმნა, დიდისა და წმიდისა მამისა ეფთჳმისთჳს “This was written by father Euthymius. Pray and bless him, who translated this work that illuminates the souls, the grand and saint father Euthymius” (scribe’s note about Euthymius), (*Tbilisi, NCM, A-1103, fol. 58r*);

- ლოცვა-ყავთ გლახაკისა ეფთვმესთვს მთარგმნელისა და შემინდვეთ “Pray for the poor Euthymius, the translator, and forgive my sins” (Euthymius’ personal note), but: ესე თვთ წმიდასა მამასა ეფთვმეს დაუწერია, ხოლო მე გლახაკი იოანე გრძელისძე ამას დავსწერ, ვითარმედ არა გლახაკი, არამედ მდიდარი და სულითა დიდებული წინაშე ღმრთისა “This was written by the Holy father Euthymius himself, whereas me, poor Ioane Grdzelisdze, I write that he is not a poor, but rather rich and has a magnificent soul in front of God” (scribe’s note about Euthymius), (*Tbilisi, NCM, A-1103, fol. 117v*).

These two types of notes are written by the same hand: Euthymius’ personal notes are obviously copied from Euthymius’ autographs and inserted by later scribes into collections of Euthymius’ works²⁶. Moreover, these scribes even indicate that they copied Euthymius’ personal notes from Euthymius’ autograph manuscripts (called *nusxa* [ნუსხა] in Georgian)²⁷. The meaning of this term is especially obvious in colophons from manuscripts of Euthymius’ and Giorgi the Athonites’ translations created in the literary circle of Mount Athos. For instance:

- ლოცვა-ყავთ, წმიდანო ღმრთისანო, გლახაკისა ეფთვმესთვს, რომელმან ესე ბერძულისაგან გამოვთარგმნე “Pray, saints of God,

²⁶ It is noteworthy that Blake and Tsagareli mistook *Ivir. geo. 79* for Euthymius’ autograph because they considered Euthymius’ colophon in this manuscript to be authentic. They missed another colophon by the scribe Ioane, written in the same handwriting as Euthymius’ colophon; see DOLAKIDZE, *On the Composition*.

²⁷ Ivane Javakhishvili discusses the meaning of the word *nusxa* in the colophons of medieval Georgian manuscripts: DJAVAKHISHVILI, *Georgian Palaeography*, p. 65-68. He points out the Arabic origin of the word *nusxa* and its meaning: *nusha* in Arabic means the *original, original text, initial manuscript*. Djavakhishvili gives examples from Euthymius’ and Giorgi the Athonites’ colophons, where, depending on context, *nusxa* means *autograph*. Djavakhishvili remarks that this term was from the beginning unstable. Besides an *autograph*, in some contexts, it meant an *original*, and later on *hastily written* (according to the *Lexikon* by Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani, from the end of the 17th c.); more generally, it also meant a *written piece, a manuscript*. There is also another, additional meaning that can be derived from the literary school of the Black Mountain; namely, in the colophon to John of Damascus’ *De Fide Orthodoxa*, the famous Georgian scholar of the 11th c. Ephrem Mtsire discusses the function of this book: „გარდამოცემა“ ეწოდების წიგნსა ამას, რამეთუ არა საკითხავთა სახე აქუს, შესავლიანი და დაბოლოებული, არამედ მსგავს არს გარდაცემულსა მას მწიგნობრისასა, რომელსა შეიქმან ნუსხად და დასდებენ ნივთად პირად-პირადთა წიგნთა დაწერისა, რამთა ვისთანაცა ვის უნდეს დაწერად, მიერ მიიღებდეს ძალსა სიტყვასა “This book is called ‘Exposition’, because it does not have the form of a sermon with a preface and an ending, but it is like a scholar’s report which should be used as a *model* and a standard for writers composing their own books. If someone wants to write [a book], he can get ideas [from it]” (*Tbilisi, NCM, A-24, fol. 36*). According to this context, *nusxa* is a *model, an example*, based on which medieval scholars create their books.

for the poor Euthyme, I who translated this from Greek” (Euthymius’ personal note), and: ესე სიტყუანი თვთ წმიდისა მამისა ჩუენისა ევთჳმესია. ვითა ნუსხასა ეწერა, მეც ეგრე დავწერე “These words come from our Holy father Euthyme himself. I wrote them as they were written in the autograph (*nusxa*)” (scribe’s note), (*Tbilisi, NCM, A-1103, fol. 219r*);

- ლოცვა-ყავთ, წმიდანო ღმრთისანო, ცოდვილისა ევთჳმესიუსს “Pray, saints of Gods, for the sinner Euthymius” (Euthymius’ personal note), and: ესე სიმდაბლითა სავსენი სიტყუანი თვთ ევთჳმესია, ვითა თარგმანებულსა მათსა ნუსხასა ეწერა, ეგრეთვე მე, უღირსმა არსენიმ, აღვწერე “These words full of humility belong to Euthyme himself, as they were written in the autograph (*nusxa*) of his translation, and I, unworthy Arseni, copied them” (scribe’s note), (*Tbilisi, NCM, A-1103, fol. 285v*).

All the above mentioned examples show that the note “Pray for the poor Euthymius” in *Ivir. geo. 68* is Euthymius’ personal note. He uses the same formula to refer to himself in his autograph manuscripts. In *Ivir. geo. 68*, Euthymius’ note is not followed by any scribes’ note, a situation that, as we have already seen, is attested mostly in manuscripts copied from his autographs. The handwriting of the note is palaeographically different from the handwritings of the first and second scribes in *Ivir. geo. 68*, and is more informal, less scholarly. All this, in our opinion, allow us to suppose that this note is authentic, belongs to Euthymius, and is written in the manuscript by Euthymius himself.

4. Analysis of the insertions

In *Ivir. geo. 68*, both Gregory’s *Oratio 38* and its *Commentary* have insertions in them. Insertions are sometimes single words, or short phrases, placed in the margins of the manuscript or between the lines of the text [Fig. I, III, IV]; most insertions have a sign indicating that they are appended to the text, a vertical dotted line, connecting the insertion to a corresponding place in the text. Insertions, as noted above, are written by the third hand, that also wrote Euthymius’ personal note, so that it is logical to assume that the insertions in the manuscript were personally made by Euthymius. This palaeographic argument can be also substantiated by philological elements.

Euthymius the Athonite’s translation work and his translation method are well-studied topics. His method is called the *reduce and expand*

method²⁸, which produces free translations of dynamic equivalence that are oriented toward the readers. Based on the study of various translations made by Euthymius, his insertions have been categorized according to content and function. The texts copied in *Ivir. geo.* 68, Gregory's *Oratio* 38 and its *Commentary*, are rendered into Georgian according to Euthymius' *sensus de sensu* translation method. It is noteworthy, that the interlinear and marginal insertions made in *Ivir. geo.* 68 with the informal third handwriting, are analogous in terms of functions and contents to the insertions in Euthymius' other translations. Four elements can be adduced in support of that affirmation.

First, the insertions in Euthymius' translations quite often present a negative attitude towards pagans and heretics. For instance, in his translation of the *Mythological Commentaries* of Pseudo-Nonnus, Euthymius calls pagan gods (in Greek οἱ θεοί) "non-gods" (არაღმერთები)²⁹. In the translation of Gregory the Theologian's *Oratio* 14, he characterizes heretics as "strangers, those who fight and are enemies of all good" (უცხოე იგი, მბრძოლი და მტერი იგი ყოვლისა კეთილისაჲ), while the Greek text only has ἀλλότριος³⁰. On the other hand, Euthymius often inserts appeals in his translations, intended to add emotional undertones to the text. For example, in his translation of Gregory of Nyssa's treaty *On Virginity*, Euthymius adds "O, my dear ones (ჲ საყუარელნო), do not do this (ნუ იყოფინ!)"³¹. It is noteworthy that appeals by Euthymius are inserted in the context of heretics and pagans as well, and, in such instances, they have a distinctly negative content; for example, address to Severos in the *Hodegos*³² translated by Euthymius: "faithless and steadfast!" (უშჯულოო და მედგარო!)³³; addresses to heretics in Euthymius' translation of Gregory the Theologian's works: "you, the speaker of evil!" (შენ უკუე, ბოროტისა მეტყუელო!)³⁴, "You fool and steadfast!" (ჲ უგუნურო და მედგარო!)³⁵, etc. A similar insertion made in

²⁸ On several occasions in his colophons, Ephrem Mtsire describes Euthymius the Athonite's translation method. For instance, in the *Introduction* to his translation of John of Damascus' *De Fide Orthodoxa*, Ephrem notes that "by the grace of the Holy Spirit he could both expand and reduce", RAPAŦA (ed.), *John of Damascus, Dialectics*, p. 67.

²⁹ OTKHMEZURI (ed.), *Pseudo-Nonniani*, p. XXXV.

³⁰ PG 35, col. 896 A 5; BEZARASHVILI, *Theory and Practice*, p. 437.

³¹ ZVIADADZE, *Gregory of Nyssa, On Virginity*, p. 30, 43.

³² *Hodegos* is a compilation whose main sources are Anastasius Sinaïta's *Hodegos* and John of Damascus' *De Fide Orthodoxa*.

³³ CHIKVATIA – CHKONIA (eds.), *Euthymius Mtacmideli, Hodegos*, p. 108.

³⁴ ὁδὴν (Oratio 41, PG 36, col. 441 D 1): *add.* შენ უკუე, ბოროტისა მეტყუელო! *Versio iberica*, I, p. 262.

³⁵ γενησθεω (Oratio 29, PG 36, col. 80 B 5): *add.* ჲ უგუნურო და მედგარო (Georgian text is not edited yet).

informal handwriting appears also in *Ivir. geo.* 68, in Gregory's *Oratio* 38: "what are you blaming on God, you fool, are you blaming him for his beneficence?" (რაფსათვს აბრალებ ღმერთსა, უგუნურო, ქველისმოქმედებისათვს-ა?)³⁶.

Second, Euthymius' translations often offer explanatory additions, which complement the content and provide additional context. These additions begin with the following phrase: ესე იგი არს "this is"/"this means", რომელი-იგი არს "which is"/"which means"³⁷. The explanatory phrase added in informal handwriting to the body text of *Ivir. geo.* 68 is of this kind: ἀσθησις (*PG* 36, col. 321 C 4): *add.* ესე იგი არს უხილავნი და ხილულნი "this means invisible and visible"³⁸.

Third, the usage of synonym couples is characteristic of Euthymius' translation practice. Euthymius introduces these couples independently from Greek, one Greek word being translated in two alternative lexical units into Georgian³⁹. Gregory's *Oratio* 38 and its *Commentary* contain up to ten examples of this method. Some of these are written in informal handwriting in *Ivir. geo.* 68:

- οἶόν τι χρονικόν κίνημα (*PG* 36, col. 320 B 3): არს და ჰგიეს დაუსრულებელად "is and exists for ever"⁴⁰;
- προσκίρτησον (*PG* 91, col. 1293 A 10): იმღერდ და წინაჰკრთებოდე "rejoice and exult"⁴¹.

Finally, the claim that interlinear and marginal insertions made in informal handwritings in the translated texts of Gregory's *Oratio* 38 and its *Commentary* belong to Euthymius is further supported by the fact that every single insertion is included in these texts in all manuscripts of Euthymius' translations copied in the 11th c., some of them ten or twenty years after Euthymius' death⁴². It is obvious that the scribes of Euthymius' collections of Gregory the Theologian's sermons had no doubts about the authenticity of these insertions: they considered them to belong to Euthymius.

³⁶ Θεῶν (*Oratio* 38, *PG* 36, col. 328 A 6): *add.* უგუნურო. *Versio iberica*, III, p. 100.

³⁷ BEZARASHVILI, *Theory and Practice*, p. 436.

³⁸ *Versio iberica*, III, p. 84.

³⁹ KURTSIKIDZE (ed.), *Euthymius the Athonite*, p. 060, 062; BEZARASHVILI, *Theory and Practice*, p. 429.

⁴⁰ *Versio iberica*, III, p. 74, n. 9.

⁴¹ *Versio iberica*, III, p. 210, n. 50.

⁴² These collections are: *NCM*, A-1 (1030); *St. Petersburg*, P-3 (1040); *NCM*, S-383 (first half of 11th c.); *NCM*, A-87 (copied before 1071); *NCM*, S-413 (11th c.); *NCM*, A-80 (13th c.); *NCM*, A-518 (1708). See BREGADZE, *Description*, p. 62-78, 83-90, 95-114.

To conclude, *Ivir. geo.* 68 is an example of collaboration between a translator and scribes. This manuscript was specifically written by scribes to be corrected and edited by the translator himself. Having determined the purpose of this manuscript, its specifics are also easily explained: large distances between graphemes and lines, and larger than usual margins facilitate the editing of text and insertion of words and phrases between the lines or in the margins.

5. *An attempt to reconstruct the creation process of the manuscript*

Medieval Georgian sources offer scarce information regarding the creation of a manuscript and the compilation or translation of texts. According to the available sources, newly created or translated texts were initially written down by the author or translator: Euthymius the Athonite⁴³ and Giorgi the Athonite⁴⁴ wrote down themselves their own translations.

Information provided by Georgian sources allows us to imagine the following scenario for the creation of *Ivir. geo.* 68: Euthymius the Athonite translated by writing Gregory's *Oratio* 38 and its *Commentary*, which was then copied by two scribes; afterwards, this manuscript was returned to Euthymius for editing, and edited texts were later copied and distributed for general usage. However, given its wastefulness in terms of material (parchment), as well as in time and human resources (writing a translation, then rewriting it for editing, and rewriting it again for the third time), the

⁴³ In his colophon to John Chrysostom's *Commentary to the Gospel of Matthew*, Euthymius the Athonite talks about the composition of his autograph and mentions certain difficulties related to this process: აღესრულა ესე ნუსხად თარგმანებისა მათეს თავისად კელითა გლაზაკისა და მწარედ ცოდვილისა ეფთიმესითა. ვინცა იკითხვიდეთ, შრომისათჳს ლოცვა-ყავთ და ზომად წერისათჳს შემინდვეთ. უცალო ვიყავ და უფროასი ღამით მიწერია "this autograph of the translation of the book of Matthew was completed by the hand of the poor and sinner Euthymius. Whoever reads, pray for the labors and forgive me for bad writing. I was busy and wrote it mostly at night". NIKOLADZE, *Description*, p. 98.

⁴⁴ According to Giorgi Mtsire, Giorgi the Athonite would sometimes copy two or three times the books he translated from Greek: რამეთუ რომელნიმე წიგნნი ორკეცად და სამკეცად გარდაწერილ არიან, რომელ-ესე მოსაგონებელადცა დიდ არს, ვითარმცა ესოდენნი წიგნნი ერთმან კაცმან, მზანი თარგმნილნი, ცხორებასა შინა თჳსსა აღწერნა "Since some books are copied two or three times, it is important that so many books, already translated, were copied by one man in his lifetime". ABULADZE (ed.), *Ancient Georgian Hagiographical Literature*, III, p. 147. Giorgi the Athonite himself provides information about how he copied the manuscript of the *Paraklyton*: დაესრულა ახალთარგმნილი ესე პარაკლიტონი თარგმნით და ნუსხვით კელითა ჩემ გლაზაკისა გიორგისითა ხუცესმონაზონისადათა "the translation and scribing of the newly translated Paraklyton is finished by my hand, by the poor Giorgi Hieromonk", cod. *Ivir. geo.* 45, fol. 8v. BRUNI, *On the Identification*.

entire process is questionable. Why was it necessary to copy the manuscript written by the translator, for this copy to be edited again by the translator, instead of having Euthymius making corrections in his autograph on his original translation?

Medieval Greek and Latin sources, namely the *Lives* of Holy fathers and their sermons, provide information about book production that can propose a more convincing view regarding the creation of *Ivir. geo.* 68. According to these sources, besides the traditional method of creating texts, whereby authors themselves wrote their texts on parchment, or, to save material, on wax tablets (and this is why so many medieval autographs did not survive until today), in some cases the authors would declaim their texts orally, e.g. during sermons in a church or a lecture in an auditorium, or privately dictate them to their assistant scribes⁴⁵.

In the traditional process, the author works on his autograph by himself, and then makes corrections, add insertions, etc.; in this case, both the main text and the corrections are usually written in informal handwriting. Afterwards, the author passes on the text he himself edited to the scribe, who rewrites and makes a “clean” copy of the text. In the oral method, the manuscript is initially written down by the scribe and then returned to the author, who then inserts corrections in informal handwriting into the text written by a professional scribe. Then, the author returns the manuscript back to the scribe for further copying and distribution.

Examples of the oral method of transmitting and writing down texts are attested in both Eastern and Western Christian literary traditions. For instance, Gregory the Theologian addresses his parish in the following manner in one of his sermons: Χαίρετε, τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἐρασταί, καὶ δρόμοι, καὶ συνδρομαὶ καὶ γράφιδες φανεραὶ καὶ λανθάνουσαι “Farewell, you lovers of my discourses, in your eagerness and concourse, you pencils seen and unseen”⁴⁶. The address γράφιδες “pencils” refers to those who openly or secretly write down the words pronounced by Gregory in the church. Formulae used in the titles of works by Christian authors are also informative, e.g. ἀπὸ φωνῆς, which in some cases (but not always) means *told, oral teaching*. For example, in the title of Ammonius Hermiae’s commentary to Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, the expression ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπίου ἀπὸ φωνῆς Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἑρμείου means “coming from Asklepios from the voice of Ammonius”, i.e. this is a lecture delivered by Ammonius Hermiae at a school in Alexandria, which was written down by

⁴⁵ HAMESSE, *Le vocabulaire*.

⁴⁶ *Oratio* 42, PG 36, col. 492 A 2-3. CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory*, p. 255.

Asklepios⁴⁷. It is interesting to observe that the Latin word *dictare* is often used to refer to the manuscript production processes in Western Christian tradition. In addition to its principal definition (*dictare*), it is also understood as “composition” and “oral composition”, and also as “oral transmission”, i.e. translating a text orally from one language to another. An example of this is the oral transmission and translation from Latin to Italian, without any preparation, of Gregory the Great’s sermon by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) on the occasion of festivities dedicated to Mary Magdalene⁴⁸.

The Georgian scholarly tradition, at every stage of its development, was closely connected to the scholarly culture of the Christian world. The study of repertoire and architectonics of Georgian manuscripts, as well as written sources containing information about the creation process of Georgian manuscripts, reveals the organic link between Georgian and Byzantine book production⁴⁹. Georgian scholars who worked side by side with their foreign colleagues abroad, in the monastic centers of the Christian East and Byzantium, were obviously acquainted with foreign methods of manuscript book production. Hence, it is probable that the processes of writing or translating texts in Georgia must have been similar to those of the Christian world. In other words, in parallel to the method of writing texts, there could also have been a tradition of oral composition and dictation in the Georgian scholarly tradition. But this supposition must be supported by corresponding materials.

In our opinion, *Ivir. geo.* 68 could be considered to be such material. Therefore, the process of drafting *Ivir. geo.* 68 could be the following: Gregory’s *Oratio* 38 and the *Commentary* were orally translated by Euthymius and dictated to his assistants, who wrote down these texts; later they were edited by Euthymius. The result of this process is *Ivir. geo.* 68. This is a case whereby authorial corrections made in informal handwriting for the purpose of editing the text are attested in a manuscript copied by professional scribes. Hence, there are two stages of manuscript production: (1) translating the text – dictating it to scribes who record it, and (2) editing. Afterwards, the third stage encompasses copying and spreading the edited text, the result of which are the manuscripts of Gregory the Theologian’s works – collections, which contain already

⁴⁷ RICHARD, *Ἀπὸ φωνῆς*.

⁴⁸ HAMESSE, *Le vocabulaire*, p. 176: “composer”, “composer oralement”, “transmettre oralement”.

⁴⁹ In the *Introduction* to John of Damascus’ *Expositio*, Ephrem Mtsire talks about constructing Georgian manuscript book according to Greek methods: see OTKHMEZURI, *Medieval Sources*.

edited texts of Gregory's *Oratio* 38 and its *Commentary*⁵⁰. We believe that this scenario of composition of *Ivir. geo.* 68 is much more straightforward and plausible than all other possible scenarios.

In general, the tradition of oral composition, originating from oral lore in ancient times, was quite predominant in the Middle Ages and is directly connected to the ability to memorize by heart and retell large texts, a feature characteristic of the medieval culture⁵¹. Medieval Georgian sources preserve references to such a practice. For instance, Grigol Khandzteli, the 8th-9th c. prominent Georgian ecclesiastic figure and founder of numerous monastic communities in Tao-Klarjeti, was famous for his exceptional memory. He had learned by heart the *Psalter* and other ecclesiastic books, he knew by heart canonical books of the New and Old Testament as well as non-canonical books of Holy fathers whom he could freely cite orally. He also mastered several foreign languages. Whatever he studied, "he could remember it without forgetting" (დაუვიწყებელად აკსოვდა). His hagiographer Giorgi Merchule is impressed with Grigol's talents; according to Giorgi, "his memory was surprising" (განსაკვრებელ იყო კსოვნად მისი) and this skill of Grigol surpassed human capabilities: it "was more than what is naturally possible for us" (უმეტეს ზეშთა ბუნებისა ჩუენისა)⁵². A colophon of Giorgi the Athonite recalls the special skills of Georgian hymnographers, telling that, at the end of a hymn, Georgians, knowing the entire text by heart ("by God's grace, we know it by heart"), would only write the beginning ("the head") of a troparion for Virgin Mary, while Greeks would write the entire hymn, because they "did not know the hymn for Virgin Mary by heart"⁵³.

In Ephrem Mtsire's *Introduction* to Gregory the Theologian's Georgian collection, where Ephrem discusses his translations of Gregory's works, he explains in the following manner the reasons for delaying his translation: he knew by heart the earlier translations of Gregory's works (he means Euthymius' translations), which hindered his work, i.e. creating an adequate, word-by-word translation from Greek. Even though he did not look at old translations, "the habit of knowing by heart the old

⁵⁰ About these collections, see n. 42.

⁵¹ On this issue see CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory*, especially the chapter *Collecting and Recollecting*, p. 243-257.

⁵² ხოლო ახლისა შჯულისა დაბეჭდულნი წიგნი ზეპირით იცნოდა და მრავალნი წიგნი ძუელისაგა შჯულისანი. არამედ დაუბეჭდველნი წმიდათა მოძღუართა თქუმულნი აღურაცხელნი წარმოითქუმოდეს უწიგნოდ ენითა მისითა "He knew by heart the canonical books of the New Testament, as well as many books of the Old Testament, and countless no-canonical books of the Holy fathers he cited himself without looking in books". ABULADZE (ed.), *Ancient Georgian Hagiographical Literature*, I, p. 281-282.

⁵³ METREVELI, *On the Meaning*, p. 32.

text” inadvertently pushed him to write the old text, which he then had to correct and to compare to the original⁵⁴.

Moreover, in Ephrem Mtsire’s opinion, Euthymius the Athonite himself had a supernatural talent of working on texts (“by the grace of the Holy Spirit he could both expand and reduce”⁵⁵); he often enriched his translations with passages from different authors’ works⁵⁶, which also demonstrates his highly developed memory.

Medieval scholars were owners of huge “mental libraries”⁵⁷; they memorized vast texts and had no difficulty in orally composing or translating texts of a similar type. This can have played a role in the composition of manuscript *Ivir. geo.* 68. There is indeed an earlier, pre-Athonite translation of Gregory’s *Oratio* 38, preserved in one of the oldest Georgian collections called *Mravaltavi* (*Polykephalon*). Comparing Euthymius’ translation with that earlier translation shows that Euthymius was well-acquainted with the pre-Athonite version of this text⁵⁸, to such an extent that Euthymius’ translation is a paraphrase of the *Mravaltavi* version, a situation that could have easily happened if Euthymius orally dictated it to his scribes.

<i>Mravaltavi</i> (<i>cod. Ivir. geo.</i> 11)	Euthymius the Athonite
ქრისტე იშვების, უგალობდით! ქრისტე ზეცით, მიეგებვოდეთ! ქრისტესა ქუეყანისანი აღამაღლებდით! უგალობდით უფალსა ყოველი ქუეყანაჲ! რაათა ორივე შემოკლებულად ვთქუა: იხარებდით ცანი და გალობდინ ქუეყანაჲ ზეცისაჲსა მისთჳს და მერმე ქუეყანისაჲსა ⁵⁹ .	ქრისტე იშვების, ადიდებდით! ქრისტე ზეცით მოვალს, მიეგებვოდეთ! ქრისტე ქუეყანასა ზედა არს, ამაღლდით! უგალობდით უფალსა ყოველი ქუეყანაჲ! და რაათა ორივე იგი შემოკრებულად ვთქუა, იხარებდენ ცანი და გალობდინ ქუეყანაჲ ზეცისაჲსა მისთჳს და მერმე ქუეყანისაჲსა ⁶⁰ .

⁵⁴ *Cod. Jer. geo.* 43, fol. 3r: ამის პირისათჳს დიდად დავიყოვნე და ოდეს ძუელმან წამზიდნის ზეპირით კსოვნისა ჩუეულეზამან, რამეთუ ძუელი წინა არა მდებია, გარნა დალათუ დავწერი რამე, რომელი არა იყვის დედასა, არ დავიცონი კულა აყოცად და მართლად დაწერად “For this reason I was late and whenever the habit of remembering by heart the old [translation of Gregory] overtook me, even though the old [translation] was not in front of me, whenever I wrote something that was not in the original, I did not mind erasing it and rewriting it correctly”. BREGADZE, *Description*, p. 149.

⁵⁵ See above n. 28.

⁵⁶ BEZARASHVILI, *Theory and Practice*, p. 48-87.

⁵⁷ The term is taken from CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory*, p. 285.

⁵⁸ MELIKISHVILI, *Les traductions géorgiennes du Discours 38*.

⁵⁹ *Versio iberica*, III, p. 2.

⁶⁰ *Versio iberica*, III, p. 50, 52.

<i>Mravaltavi (cod. Ivir. geo. 11)</i>	Euthymius the Athonite
“Christ is born, <u>chant</u> at him! Christ <u>from</u> the heaven, meet him! Christ <u>is exalted by those who are of earth!</u> Chant at Lord all the earth. That I may <u>briefly say</u> about both, let the heavens rejoice and let the earth chant at him who is of heaven and then of earth.	Christ is born, <u>glorify</u> him! Christ <u>is coming from</u> the heaven, meet him! Christ <u>is on earth, be exalted!</u> Chant at Lord all the earth. And that I may <u>say joining both,</u> let the heavens rejoice and let the earth chant at him who is of heaven and then of earth.

The *Commentary* to *Oratio* 38 mostly consists of short, simple explanations; its author could have been the compiler of the *Commentary*. Euthymius himself could have been the author, since compilation was part of his scholarly activities⁶¹. Concerning the oral translation of passages from Maximus Confessor’s *Ambigua ad Iohannem*, if we consider Euthymius’ method of simplifying the texts for Georgian readers⁶² (Maximus’ text is also translated according to this method), this also appears to be a perfectly feasible objective.

Finally, the texts of *Ivir. geo.* 68 also contain other characteristics of manuscripts that were orally composed and dictated to scribes: a high amount of mechanical errors (*lapsus calami*) and an exceptional orthographic and phonetic diversity.

The abundance of mechanical errors is generated by the tension of the scribe during dictation: he has to keep up with the tempo of the person dictating the text, and sometimes cannot follow the contents of the text, which prompts him to make frequent mistakes. However, when he visually copies the text, the original is right in front of his eyes; the scribe himself determines the writing speed, he knows what he has already copied and has yet to copy, and he can better understand the gist of the text⁶³. It is hard to distinguish errors that are specifically due to the fact that the text is dictated, since visually copying the text also contains an element of dictation, the scribe dictating to himself the text from the original. However, it is possible to distinguish errors that do not appear in dictated texts; these are purely visual errors, whereby the scribe mistakes one grapheme for another because of the similarities in their outlines. Such mistakes do not appear in our text. On the other hand, the following mistakes appear frequently: dittography (აახალ [*aaخال*]), აღსსარებისა

⁶¹ BEZARASHVILI, *Theory and Practice*, p. 88-97.

⁶² According to Ephrem Mtsire, Euthymius “nourished the infancy of our people with milk and herb” (სიჩხოვებასა ჩუენისა ნათესავისასა სძითა ზრდილა და მხლითა), *cod. Jer. geo.* 43, fol. 2v. BREGADZE, *Description*, p. 148.

⁶³ On this issue, see SKEAT, *The Use of Dictation*.

[aγssarebisa], დაუდგრომეელითა [daudgromeelita], ხრწნილებბისა [xrc'nilebbisa], რომელთამე ემოწაფეთა [romeltame emoc'afeta]); instances of mechanically missing graphemes (დასაბმიერთა – დასაბამიერთა [dasabmierta – dasabamierta], გამოსახველი – გამომსახველი [gamosaxveli – gamomsaxveli], ჰმადლობით – ჰმადლობდით [hmadlobit – hmadlobdit]); incorrectly inserted letters (პატივეცემული – პატივცემული [p'ativcemuli – p'ativcemuli]). These types of mistakes are expected to occur during oral dictation of the text.

The same could be said about another characteristic of the texts in *Ivir. geo. 68*: the high amount of orthographic-phonetic “errors”. In terms of orthographic characteristics, there are numerous cases of incorrectly writing ო (*o*) instead of უ [*u*], უ [*u*] instead of ჯ [*w*], and sometimes ო (*o*) instead of ჯ [*w*]. These misspellings are caused by the complex form of უ [*u*] in the *mtavruli* script (it was written with two graphemes: ოჯ [*ow*]), and they are considered to be purely orthographic “errors”⁶⁴. Concerning phonetic processes, the most common mistake is a missing consonant or vowel: უკდავება [ukdaveba], პირუტყთასა [pirut'qtasa], სიტყუთა [sit'quta], გამოუთქმელისა [gamoutkmelisa], უვნებლობისა [uvneblobisa], ნებლობითა [neblobita]. The lexical unit თვნიერ [twnier] systematically appears in the form of თვნიორ [twnior].

Orthographic and phonetic “errors”, deviating from literary language, constitute the best research material for studying medieval spoken language, be it the spoken tongue of a specific region where the manuscript was composed, or the individual speech of the scholar who copied the manuscript. In this regard, the most noteworthy cases are often repeated words of specific sonority; in these lexical units, one letter is consistently substituted with another, excluding the option that this substitution could have been an accidental error⁶⁵.

Manuscript *Ivir. geo. 68*, which was written by two scribes, contains the same orthographic-phonetic “errors”, which further substantiates the argument that this manuscript was written by dictation. Both scribes write down what they hear acoustically, what they are dictated (otherwise, there would have been more or less individual “errors” of separate scribes in case of visually copying from the original and self-dictating the text). Therefore, the voice which appears in this text belongs to the person giving the dictation, Euthymius the Athonite; the text reflects the specifics of Euthymius' individual speech, his phonetic characteristics.

⁶⁴ SARDJVELADZE, *Old Georgian Language*, p. 14-15.

⁶⁵ MAKHARADZE, *The Data*.

It is noteworthy that all orthographic-phonetic “errors” of *Ivir. geo.* 68 are “corrected”: almost in all other manuscripts including *Oratio* 38 and its *Commentary*, they are substituted with regular forms of Old Georgian language⁶⁶. Apparently, the orthography of these texts was extensively edited as they were copied and spread around.

6. *Conclusion: further questions*

The assertion of this article that *Ivir. geo.* 68 was written by dictation raises a number of additional questions. To what extent is it possible to generalize the above-described procedure of manuscript production? For instance, was this a unique case in Georgian literary tradition, or could it have been used by Euthymius on other occasions, or by other medieval Georgian scholars? Is it possible to discuss Euthymius’ autographs, manuscripts he personally wrote, in the context of the specific case described above? Did Euthymius edit the text in terms of orthography and phonetics in other cases, or did other scholars work on editing final versions?

Some of these questions could be only answered by further in-depth study of Georgian manuscripts of the Ivron collection and Euthymius the Athonite’s inexhaustible literary and translation heritage.

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⁶⁶ See the critical edition and *apparatus criticus* of these texts in *Versio iberica*, III, p. 50-219.

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ZVIADADZE, *Gregory of Nyssa, On Virginity* = გ. ზვიადაძე (გამოც.), წმ. გრიგოლ ნოსელი, ქალწულებისათვის და საღმრთო მსაქალაქობისა [G. ZVIADADZE, *Saint Gregory of Nyssa, On Virginity and divine life*], Tbilisi, 2011.

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Abstract — The article deals with a manuscript from the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos, *cod. Ivir. geo. 68*, containing Georgian translations of *Oratio 38 (In Nativitatem)* by Gregory the Theologian and its commentary *Explanation on the Difficult Passages from Oratio in Nativitatem*. They are translated into Georgian by the famous scholar Euthymius the Athonite at the end of the tenth century.

The texts of *cod. Ivir. geo. 68* have been edited: words and phrases written in an informal handwriting are inserted between lines and in the margins. The note “Pray for the poor Euthymius” (fol. 39v) written by the same informal hand is also attested in the manuscript. The note and the marginal and interlinear additions to the main texts in *cod. Ivir. geo. 68* must have been personally written by Euthymius the Athonite. This is confirmed by: (I) dating the manuscript to the end of the 10th c. (before 1002); (II) analyzing the inscription “Pray for the poor Euthymius”; (III) analyzing the content of the additions considering Euthymius’ *sensus de sensu* translation. Hence, *cod. Ivir. geo. 68* represents the collaboration of a translator and scribes; the manuscript was specifically written by scribes to be corrected and edited by the translator.

The Georgian translations of Gregory the Theologian’s *Oratio 38* and the *Commentary* could be considered to be orally translated texts. Presumably, Euthymius translated the text *impromptu* and dictated it to scribes who record it, and after that, he edited his translations. *Cod. Ivir. geo. 68* contains characteristics of medieval texts that were dictated to scribes. These are the abundance of mechanical errors and exceptional orthographic and phonetic diversity. All errors and orthographic-phonetic peculiarities of these texts were extensively edited as they were copied and spread around.

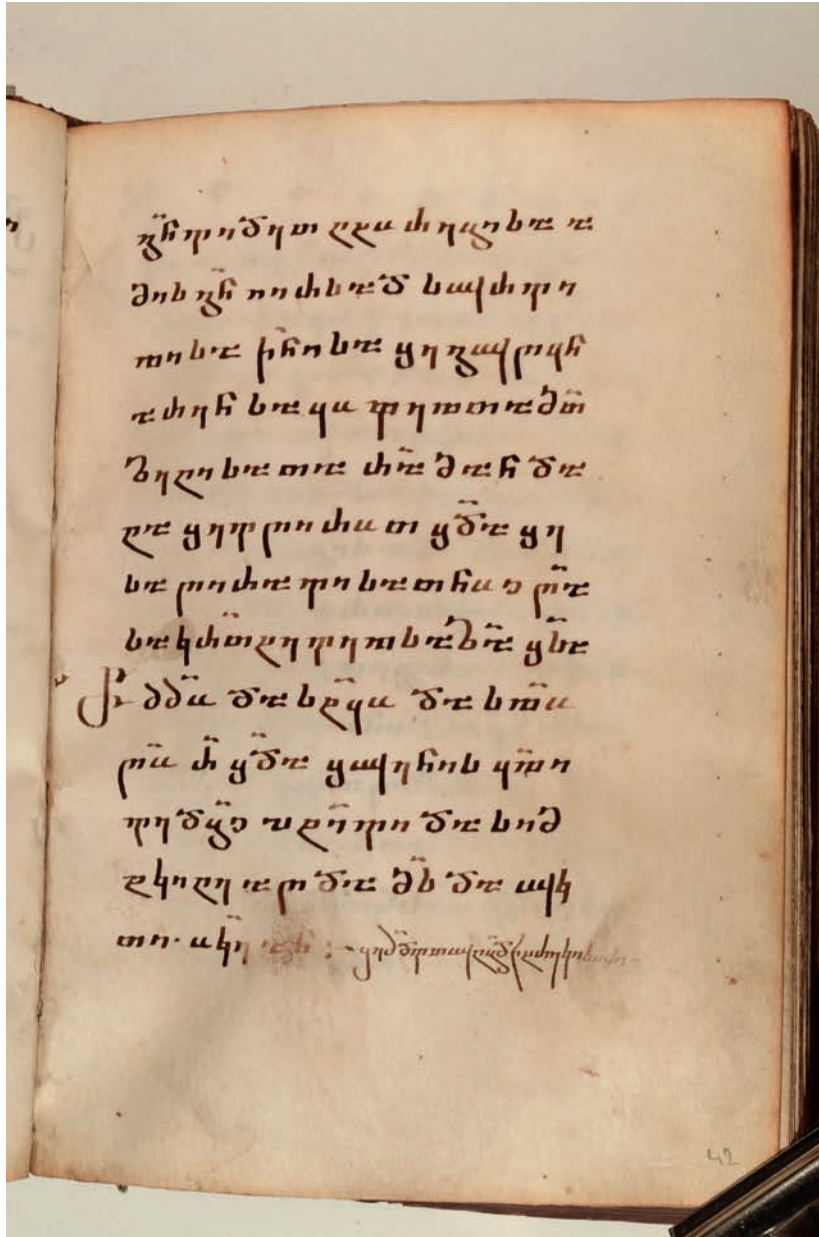


Fig. II. Iviron geo. 68 2c 42r

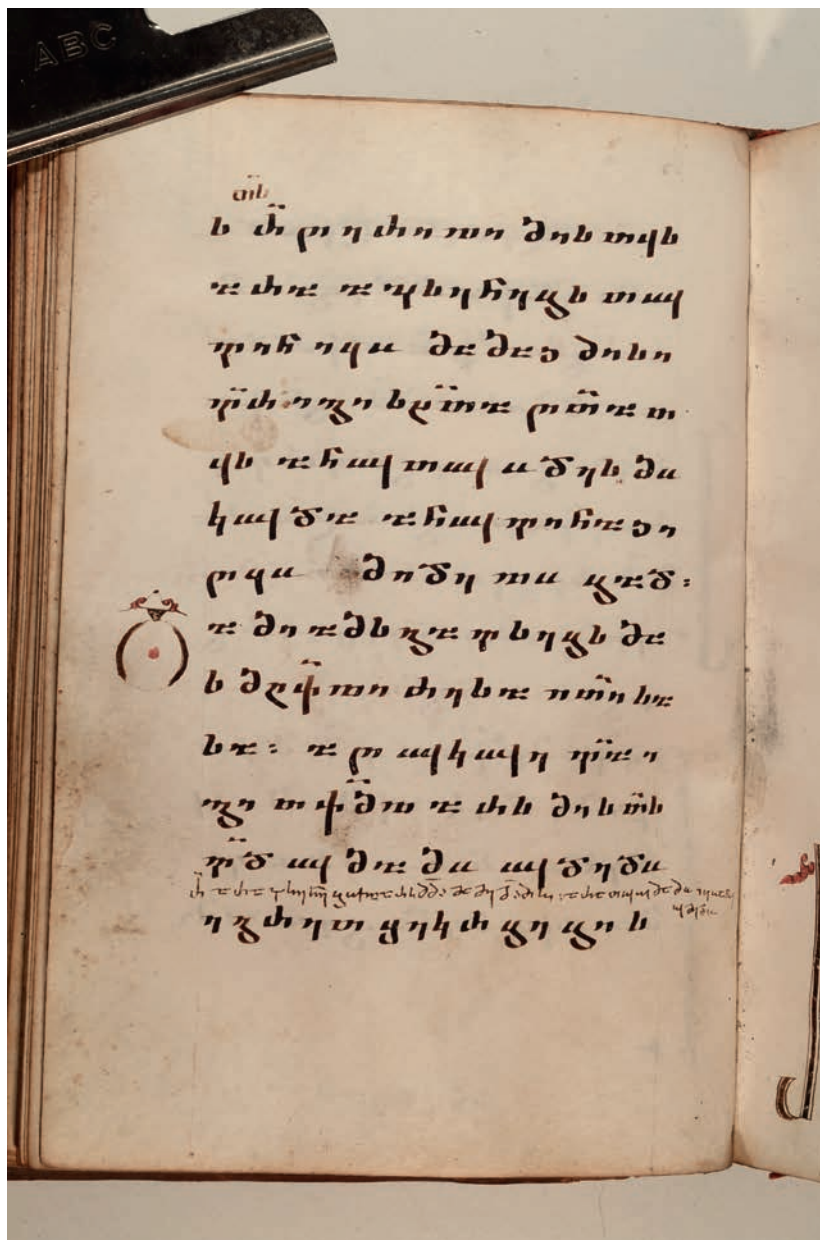


Fig. III. Ivion geo. 68 2c 50v

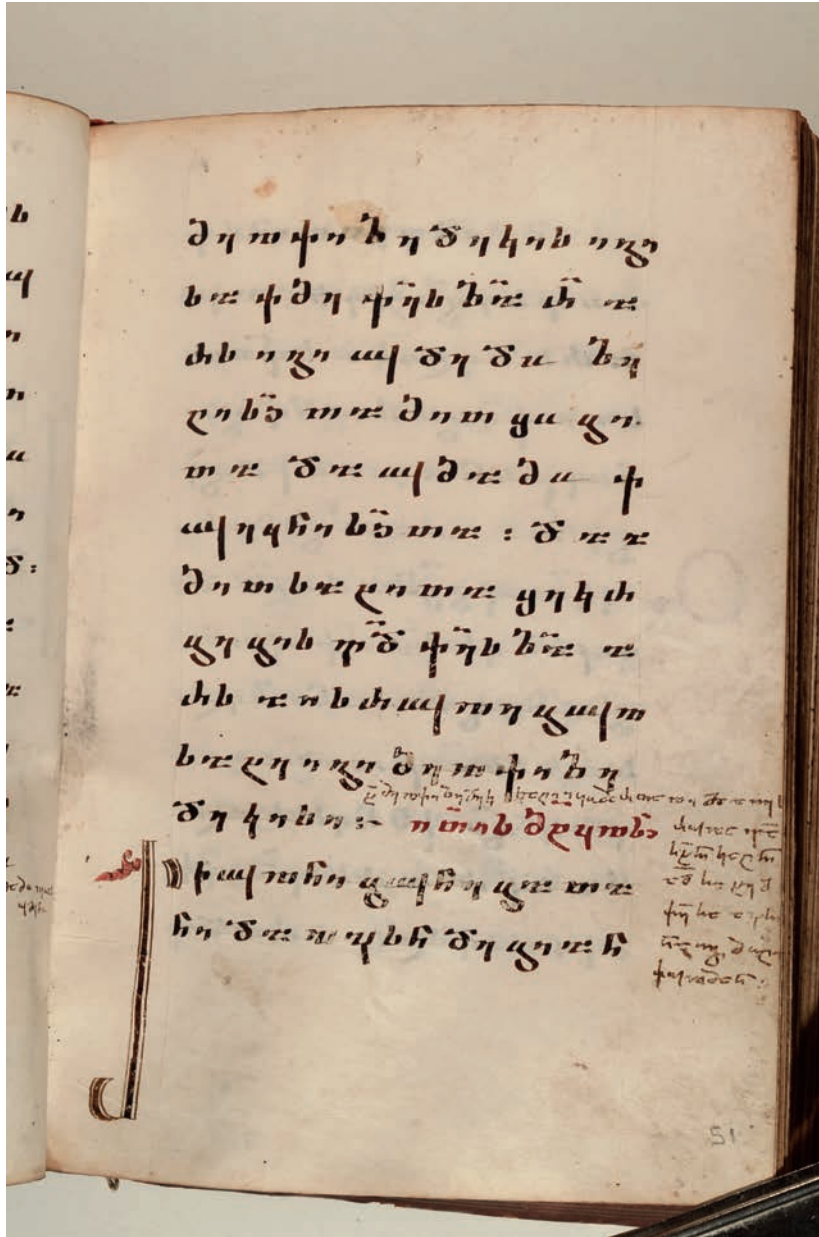


Fig. IV. Iviron geo. 68 2c 51r

