

Colligite fragmenta:
Fragments of Dispersed Caucasian Manuscripts Virtually Reunited

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1. Armenian fly-leaves containing the *Commentary of Psalms* by Theodoret of Cyrhus

While working on the identification of the content of Armenian fly-leaves in the National Library in Paris, I copied two leaves bound with the Armenian manuscript 182. The manuscript dates from the middle of the fifteenth century, its binder is not known; the original binding is partly preserved in the occidental binding of the nineteenth century, and the fly-leaves are not in a very good state of conservation (cf. Fig. 1). It is clear that multispectral images are needed to decipher the text entirely. It was clearly identifiable as a *Commentary on the Psalms*, of which I could detect the Greek original: the *Commentary on the Psalms* by Theodoret of Cyrhus. I must confess that it took me some time to find under which name this work could have been kept and copied in Armenian, since the official theology in Armenia was, at least since the seventh century, the one of Cyrill of Alexandria, not a great friend of Theodoret; so, to keep and distribute the text, it had been put under the name of Epiphanius of Salamis.

I could find some series of manuscripts of this *Commentary* reused as fly-leaves. One of them is found in the Armenian Patriarchate St James in Jerusalem; it comprises all in all ten fragments of leaves bound mainly in manuscripts that were copied in the years 1609 by Mxit'ar Mokac'i in Jerusalem. The original manuscript was written in *erkat'agir*, in two columns with 34 lines per page.

1.1 The fly-leaves of the first series are:

– Manuscript J 2047 (Fig. 2). We read on f. 510v: գրեցաւ ... ձեռամբ ... գրչի Մխիթար Մոկացոյ ... արդ գրեցաւ ի թվականութեանս Հայոց ու եւ ծր: 'it has been copied ... by the hand ... of the scribe Mxit'ar Mokac'i ... now, it has been copied in the year 1000 and 58 of the Armenians' (= 1609 CE). It contains the Commentary of Ps. 26.8 – 27.2. There is no indication about the binder (JC VII, 93).

– Yerevan, Matenadaran, Armenian fragment 382 (no printed description exists). Fragments like this are mainly fly-leaves taken out of a manuscript during its restoration; unfortunately, the manuscript from which they have been taken out is usually not indicated, so the copyist and the binder remain unknown. Here we have one full leaf, where we read the Commentary of Ps. 28.1–5.

– Jerusalem, Manuscript J 1936 (Fig. 4), f. 521r: ես ... Մխիթար Մոկացիս ... սկսայ եւ կատարեցի: կազմողի ... Ռըստակես ... կազմեցաւ ի թվականիս ու ծր 'I ... Mxit'ar Mokac'i ... began [to copy] and finished [it]; it was bound in the year 1059 (1610 CE) by Rēstakēs'. It contains the Commentary of Ps. 28.5 – 30.11 (JC VI, 474–475). The two manuscripts kept in Jerusalem were copied for Grigor Paronter, Patriarch of Jerusalem.

– Manuscript J 1331 (Fig. 3) was restored by the same Rēstakēs in the same year 1610 as indicated on f. 409v: Նորոգեցաւ սուրբ գիրքս ի թվականիս ու ծր ձեռամբ տրուպ Ռըստակէս ... 'This holy book [Works by Philo] was restored in the year 1059 (1610) by the hand of humble Rēstakēs. Commentary of Ps. 30.23 – 31.9. This is the lower part of the leaf (JC IV, 307).

In the same year of 1610, Rōstakēs restored the manuscript J 302 and added four fly-leaves, but that time from an Armenian manuscript of the Gospels, which was also used in the manuscript J 1988.

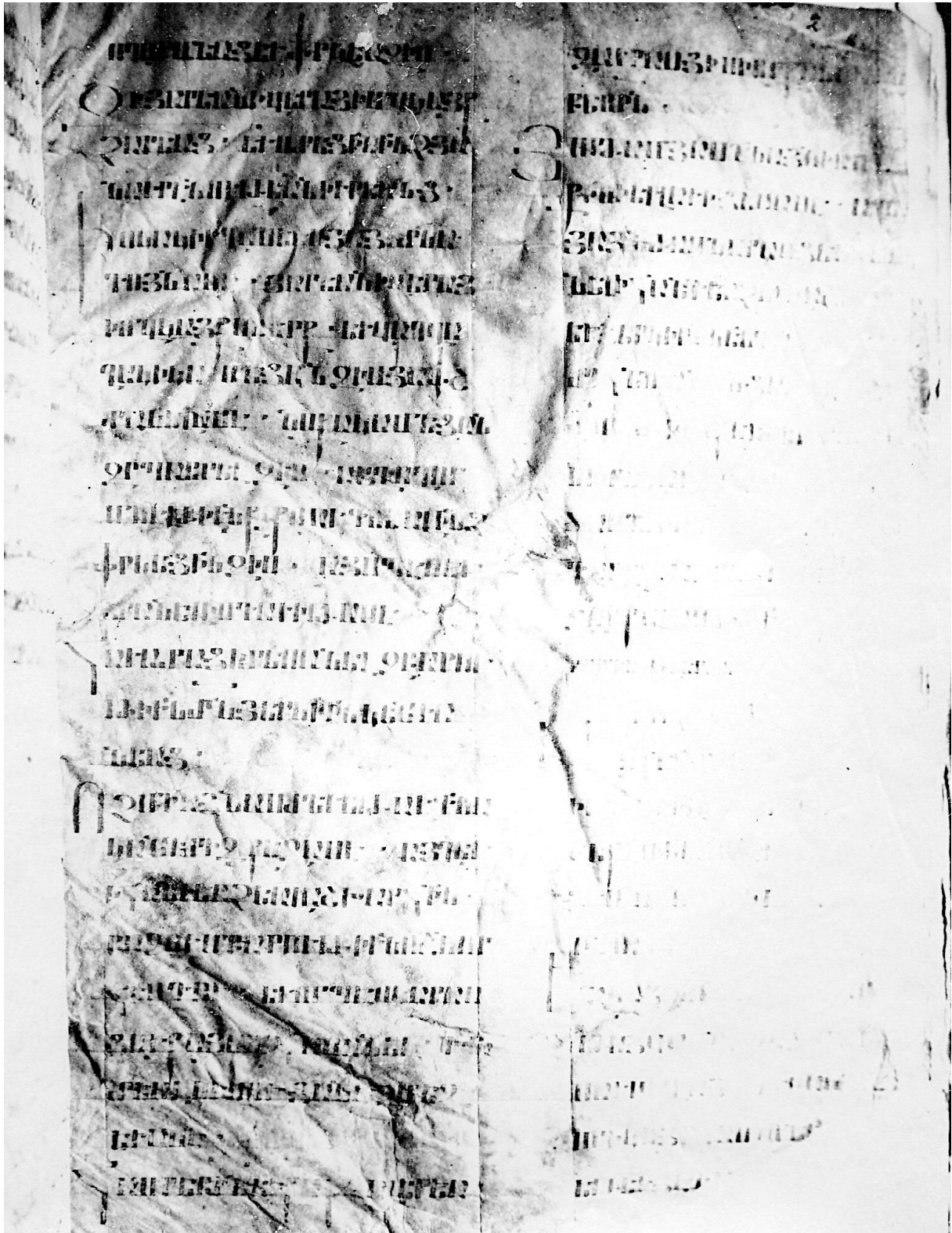


Fig. 1: Paris, BnF, arm. 182



Fig. 2: Jerusalem, St James, J 2047

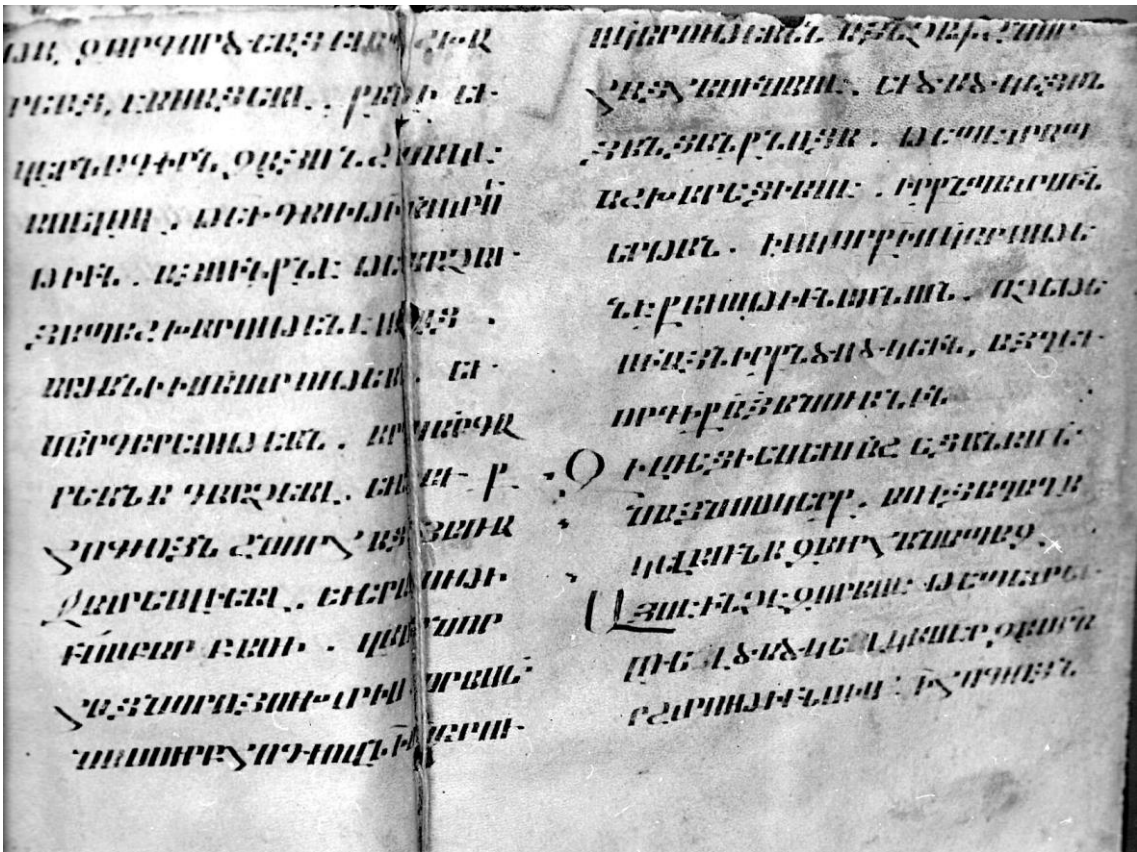


Fig. 3: Jerusalem, St James, J 1331

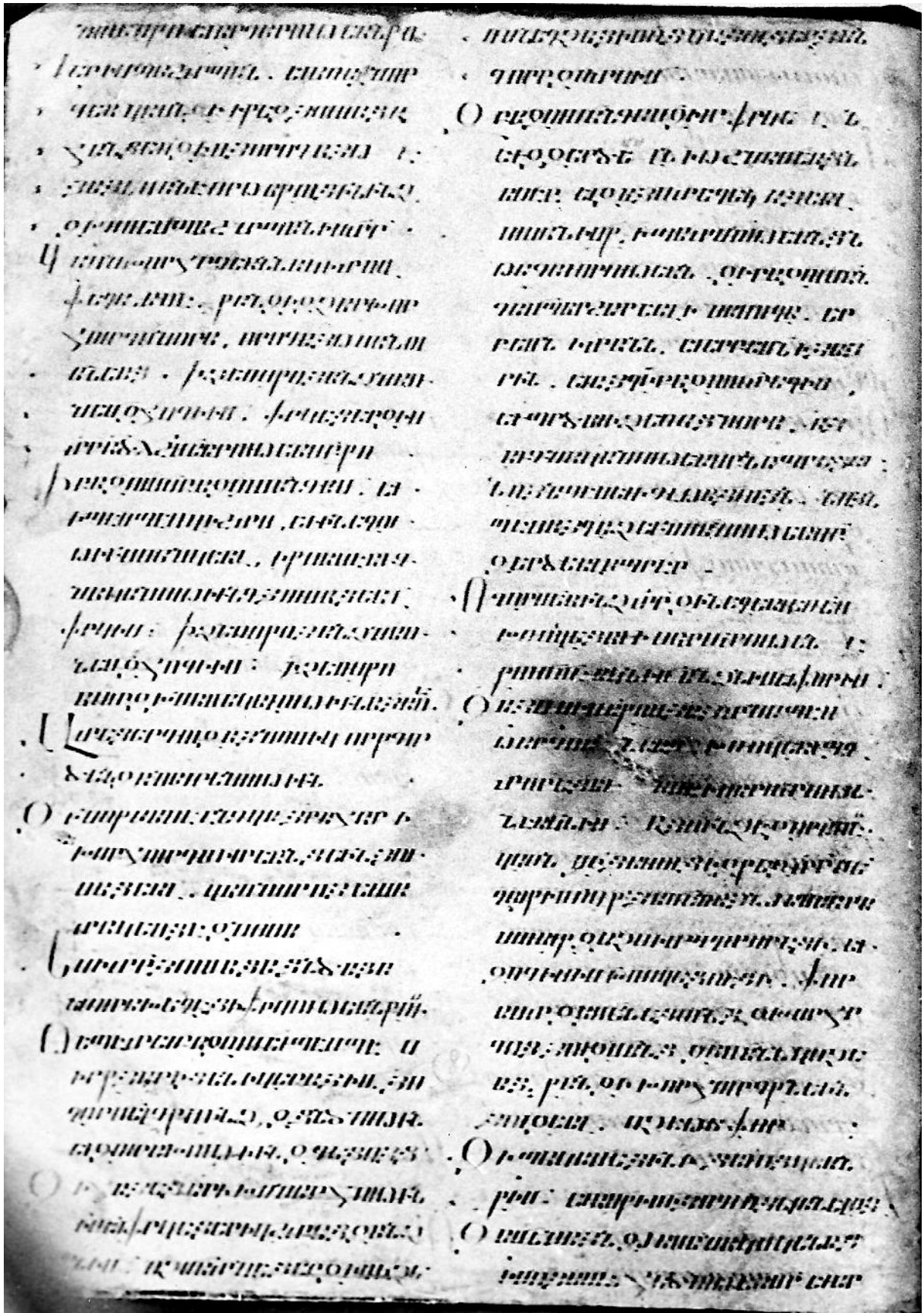


Fig. 4: Jerusalem, St James, J 1936

The Yerevan manuscript M 790, copied in 1611, again by Mxit'ar Mokac'i, has two fly-leaves with the *Commentary of Psalms* by Theodoret, on Ps. 18. 8 – 19.7, but it seems to stem from a different manuscript, with only 31 lines.

Manuscript J 973 (Fig. 5) was copied and bound in Jerusalem in the year 1614 by a certain Kirakos (f. 291r): *Ես Կիրակոս ... ըզճառարաննս կազմեցի, մատամբ իմովն գրեցի, զոր յիշատակ սայ եղիցի Տէր Գրիգոր Պատրիարզի* 'I Kirakos ... bound these discourses, I wrote with my finger(s), it will be a memorial for Lord Grigor the Patriarch'. This leaf shows the Commentary of Ps. 30.24 – 31.2; it is the upper part of the leaf used also in J 1331 (*JC* III, 558).

So, we have three copyists, and two contemporary binders. R̥astakēs used two different old manuscripts to prepare fly-leaves; the two binders used leaves from the same manuscript for their bindings. Kirakos used the higher part of a leaf for J 973, while R̥astakēs had already taken the lower part for J 1331 four years before! He was also able to bind without fly-leaves: see manuscript J 1931. Mxit'ar used fly-leaves coming from two different manuscripts of the same *Commentary*.

It still remains enigmatic how the leaves were stored for being re-used. People coming from far could work in the same scriptorium: Mxit'ar came from the region of Van, while R̥astakēs came from Iran (the monastery of Sourb Step'anos of [Dara]šamb). Three of these manuscripts were explicitly copied within a few years for Grigor, the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, a great lover of manuscripts.

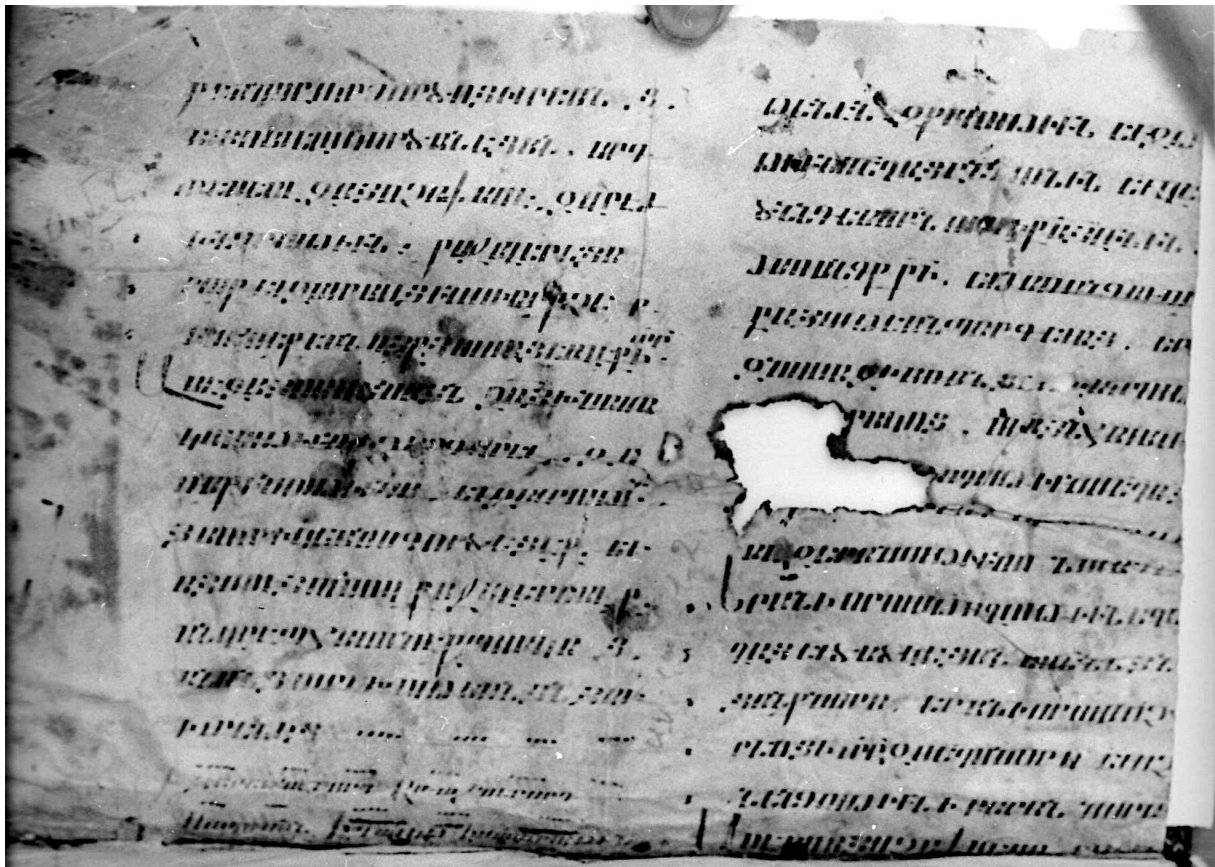


Fig. 5: Jerusalem, St James, J 973

1.2 The second series is even much richer: fourteen manuscripts, if not fifteen. It comes from a manuscript in *erkat'agir*, written in two columns with 29 lines. It contains fragments of the *Commentary of the Psalms* by Theodoret from Ps. 18 to 143:

– Yerevan, Matenadaran, M 1773, copied by At'anas dpir; cf. f. 437r: *ի թվաբերութեանս մերում ռ՛ճ եւ ժ՛բ ... ի գիւղաքաղաքն Կարբի* ‘in [the year] 1112 of our era [= 1663] ... in the borough of Karbi’. It provides the Commentary of Ps. 18.5–15 (*MGC V*, 1166).

– M 785, copied in the year 1615 in Elingean, probably restored later. No indication about the restoration. Commentary of Ps. 26.10 – 29.11 (*MGC III*, 715–718).

– M 1526, copied in 1293–1294 in Yovhannow Vank' and rebound in the same monastery in 1667; cf. f. 907r: *եղեւ վերստին նորոգումն ... ձեռամբ ... Զաքարիա ... որ եւ կազմեալ նորոգեցի* ‘the last restoration was done ... by ... Zak'aria ... who also bound and restored [it]’. Commentary of Ps. 30.7 – Ps 31.8 and 106.1 – 107.4 (*MGC V*, 328–330).

– M 1404, copied in 1664 in Yovhannow Vank' by the same Zak'aria; cf. f. 459v: *Գրեցաւ ձեռամբ ... Զաքարիա ... ի դուռն Յօհաննու վանից ... ռ՛ճ ժ՛բ թվին* ‘was copied by the hand ... of Zak'aria ... in the monastery of Yōhannow Vank' ... in the year 1113 [= 1664]’. Commentary of Ps. 33.11 – 34.6 (*MGC IV*, 1182).

– M 678, copied in 1673 in Hāričoy Vank' by a certain Somias, but at the end of the scribe's colophon, on f. 166v, we read in a secret alphabet ‘the diacon Zak'aria’, which should indicate the binder. Commentary of Ps. 65.9–17 (*MGC III*, 295).

– M 1864, two units bound together. The first one was copied by Grigor Erevanc'i in 1676 (cf. f. 63r). The manuscript was offered to Yōhannow Vank' in 1680 (cf. f. 425v). The same Grigor Erevanc'i copied M 1425 for Yovasap' of Karbi, so these two were no strangers to each other. Commentary of Ps. 67.31–36 and 68.22–29 (*MGC VI*, 234 and 238–239).

– M 32, copied in Šorot' in 1670. I cannot explain this place of copy far from Yovhannow Vank'. Commentary of Ps. 76.5–16 and 77.35–49 (*MGC I*, 96).

– M 6832, copied before 1439, but with further notes; cf. f. 142v, note of the 17th century (*non vidi*). Commentary of Ps. 88.41–52 and 105.1–10 (*MC II*, 403).

– M 6936, manuscript of the 17th century; two notes by the scribe, on ff. 79v and 151v (*non vidi*). Commentary of Ps. 98.1–6 and 101.19–26 (*MC II*, 424).

– M 380, copied in 1310 in Yohanavank' (cf. f. 311r); first rebound in 1443 (cf. f. 313r). Probably rebound again in the same monastery in the 17th century. Commentary of Ps. 108.13 – 109.1 (*MGC II*, 318–320).

– M 2167, copied in 1424 in Jerusalem. Commentary of Ps. 118.159–168 (*MGC VII*, 275–278).

– M 1741, copied in Yohanow Vank' in the year 1651 for Yohannēs, abbot of the monastery, also named in M 1526 (see above). Commentary of Ps. 123.2 – 125.1 (*MGC V*, 1054).

– M 152, four units; copied in Yowhanowvank' for Yovhannēs by At'anas in 1672 (f. 244r). At'anas is also the copyist of M 1773, the first manuscript listed above, and named with Zak'aria in the manuscript M 1526, f. 907r. Commentary of Ps. 140.9 – 141.6 (*MGC I*, 624).

– M 238, copied by Sargis in Sałmosavank' in 1651 (Fig. 6). Commentary of Ps. 142.3 – 143.1 (*MGC I*, 1049–1050).

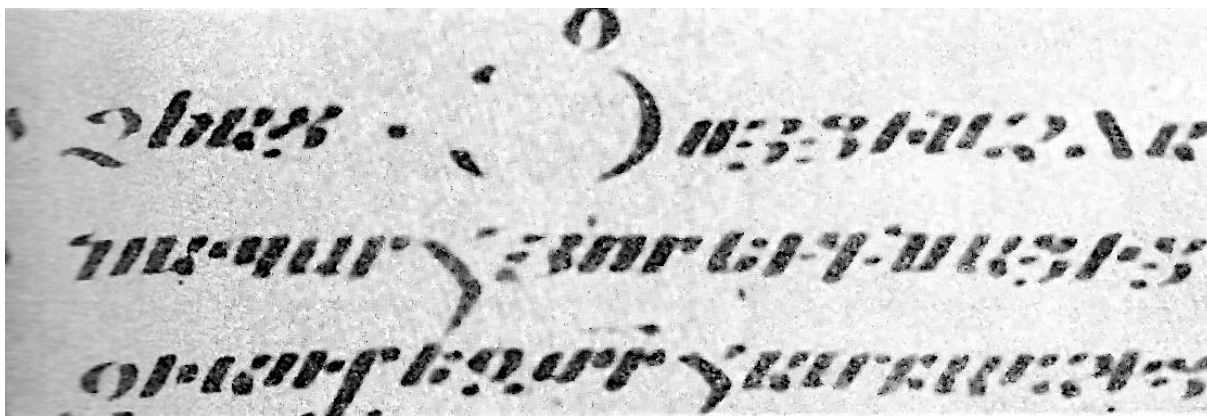


Fig. 6: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M 238

Maybe we could here add manuscript J 1108, copied in 1657 in Sałmosavank[՝], four leaves in *erkat'agir* containing a 'Commentary'; the copyist and the binder are not named (*JC IV*, 162–163). Unfortunately, I have not seen it yet.

What can we learn from this second series? Maybe three things: first, there were scriptoria where it was possible to copy manuscripts but not to bind them. Karbi and Sałmosavank[՝] are very close to Yovhannow Vank[՝], I do not know manuscripts bound there in the 17th century.

The second thing to note is that the binder of this series always began to use the upper part of the leaves, then he worked with what remained: in every manuscript, we have fly-leaves with the upper part of the reused leaves.

The third one is that, when a manuscript had to be copied quickly, it was unbound, quires were given to more than one copyist, and it had to be rebound once more; so M 380 was bound three times.

For the manuscript copied in Šorot[՝], maybe we have to remember that manuscripts travelled. So, for example, our first manuscript, M 1773, copied in 1663, was brought in 1669 to Agowlis to be copied there. But was this also the case for the manuscripts or leaves to be re-used? For this, I have no answer.

A last remark about the two sets: they were re-used because these two manuscripts were written in *erkat'agir*, in *scriptio continua*: so they were no more used for common readings.

2. Georgian fly-leaves

Now let us consider Georgian fly-leaves that we can virtually reunite. They, too, are to be found in Armenian manuscripts.

2.1 A first set consists of a series of fifteen, if not sixteen manuscripts comprising fly-leaves of a nice Georgian manuscript of the thirteenth century, with the four books of Kings, two books of Chronicles, Esther, Tobit, Judith, Nehemiah, complementing the Octateuch, written in two columns of 31 lines in *nusxuri* script. This is the oldest known manuscript of the so-called Janashvili redaction. Mose Janashvili thought this was an old redaction, and Ucha Tsindeliani even found a *khanmeti* form in one of the fragments, thus confirming the hypothesis of a very old translation. I detected a very strange *haemeti* form, namely, წარ-ჰ-კალ[თ] in II Chr. 24.20.

The fly-leaves are:

- Yerevan, Matenadaran, Fragment 32 (no printed description). Contains II Reg. 3.14–33 and 10.11 – 11.11 (Fig. 7).
- M 6653, copied in the year 1454 in Bazēnic' Vank' (and rebound later?). III Reg. 2.35–44 and IV Reg. 10.2–25 (MC II, 365–366) (Fig. 8).

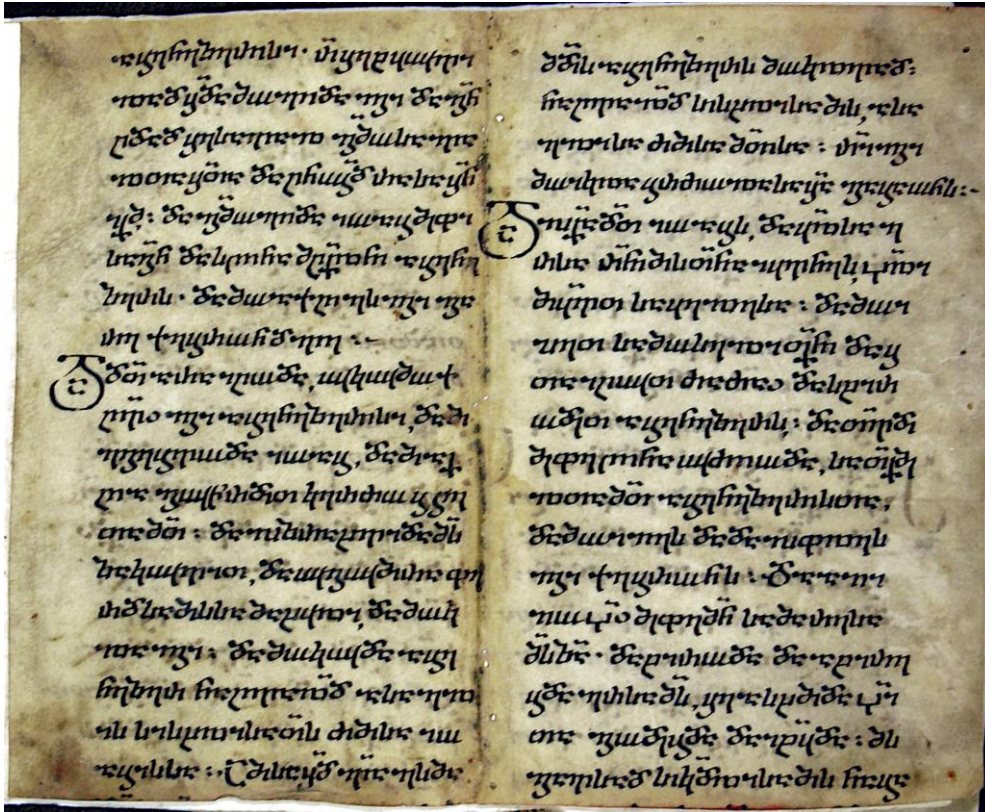


Fig. 7: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M Fragment 32

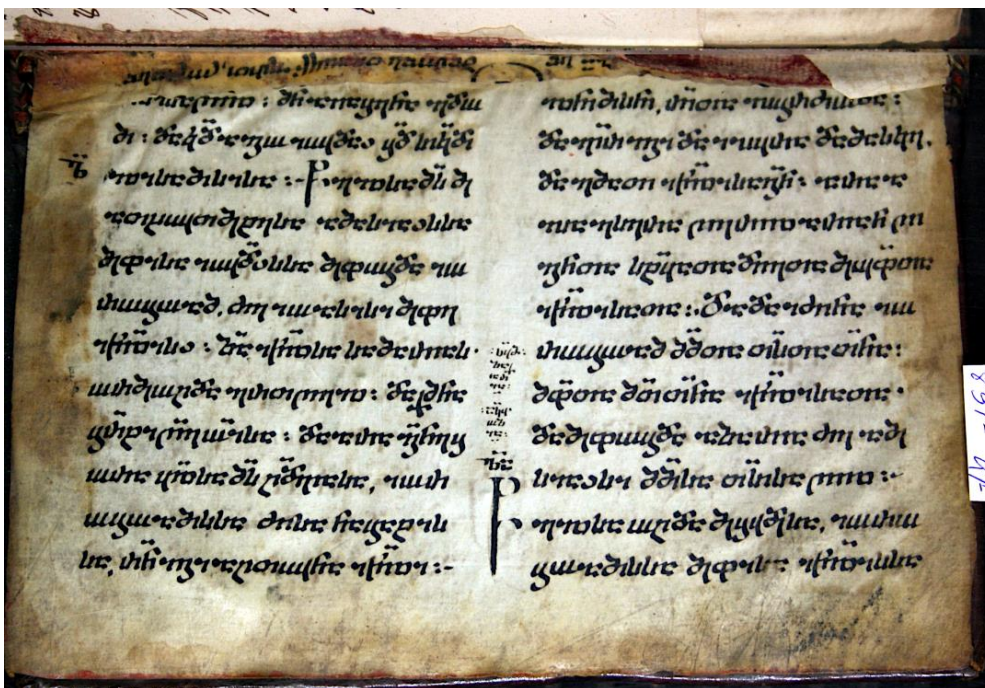


Fig. 8: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M 6653

- M 1319, no date nor place of copy. 16th–17th centuries. IV Reg. 9.17–27 (MGC IV, 909).
- M 891, no date nor place of copy, 17th century. IV Reg. 14.17–15.16 (MGC III, 1112) (Fig. 9).
- M 223, copied in 1647 in Sowltanec'i giwl in Arcax. I Chr. 9.6–37 (MGC I, 995–996) (Fig. 10).



Fig. 9: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M 891

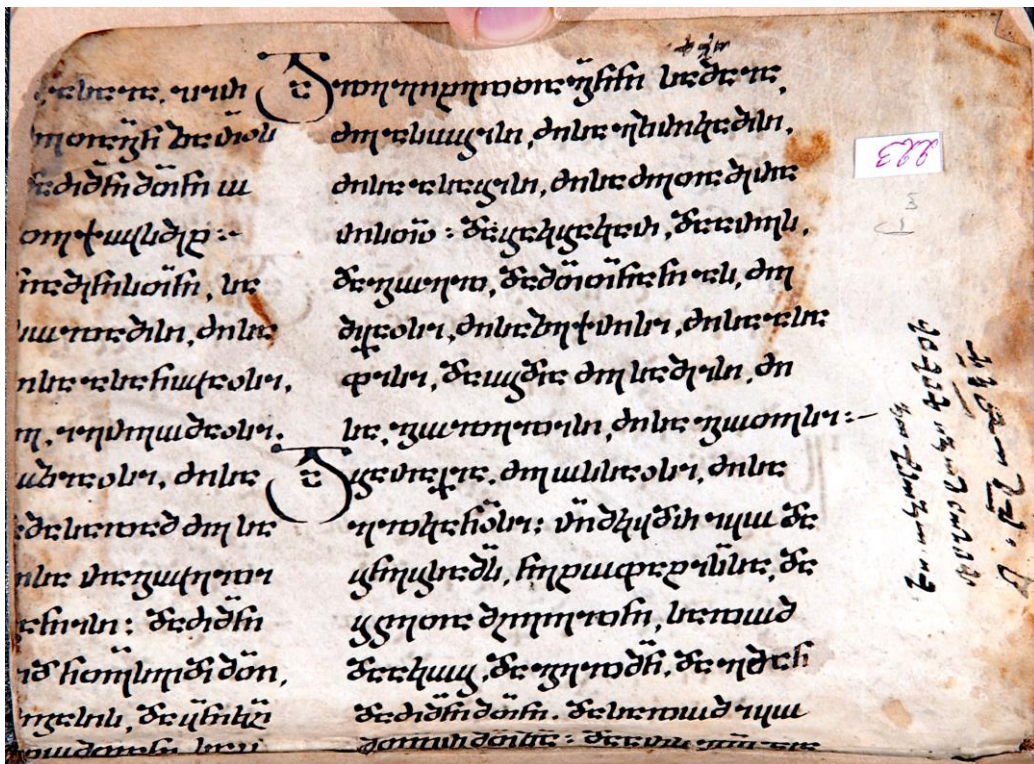


Fig. 10: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M 223

– Fragment 8 (no printed description). I Chr. 25.15–21 and 29–31; 26.1–5 (Fig. 11).

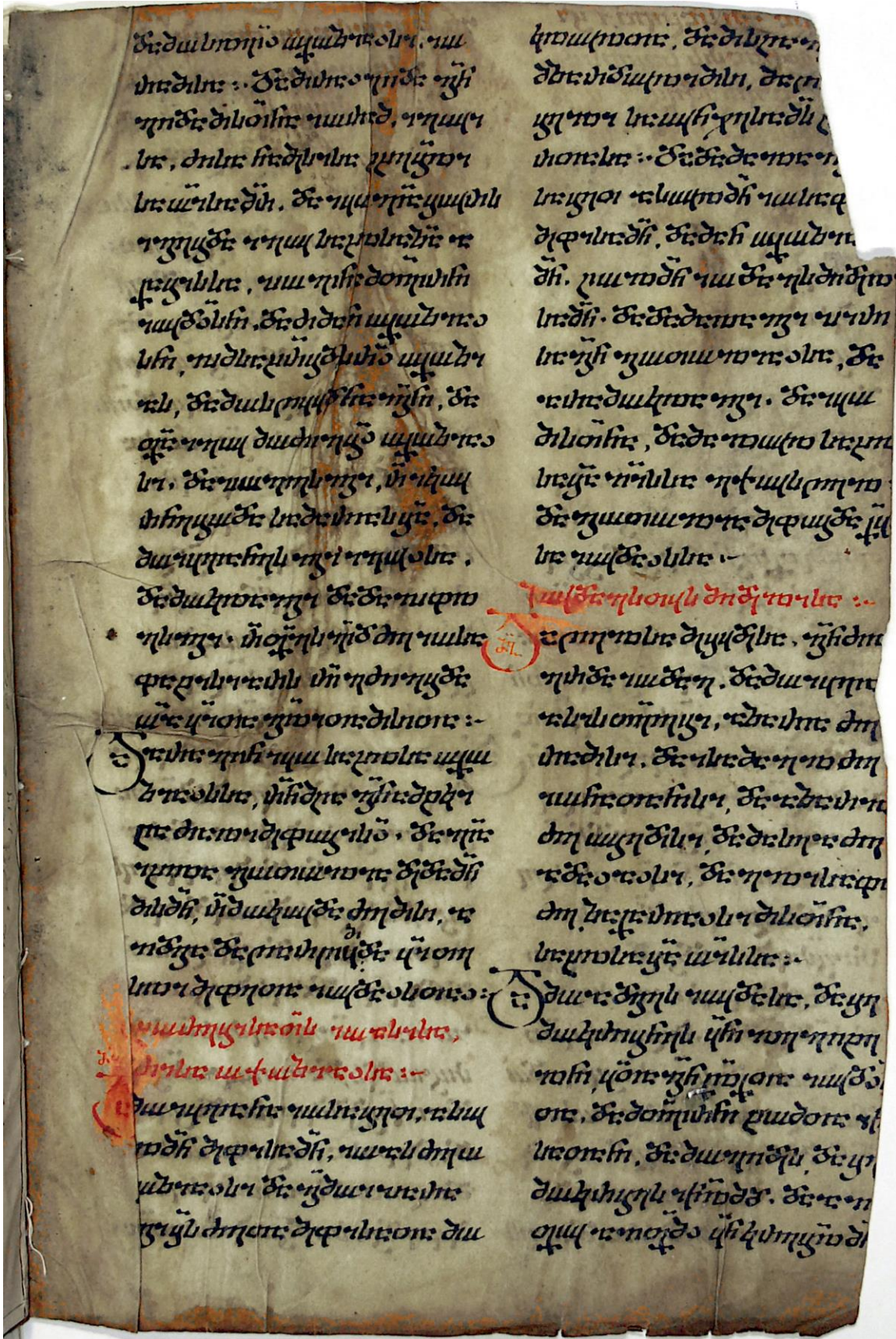


Fig. 11: Yerevan, Matenadaran, Frg. 8

- M 10350, no colophon left. 17th century. I Chr. 26.31–32; 27, 5–9 and 13–16 (*MC II*, 1099).
- M 719, two units bound together, both of the 17th century. II Chr. 11.13–22; 18, 17–20 (*MGC III*, 459–462) (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M 719

- Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Armenian 24. Copied and bound in Sanahin in 1504. II Chr. 24.19–22 and 24–27; this manuscript was brought to my attention by Giorgi Matcharashvili, whom I thank. A full reproduction is available on the net (see [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:423203552\\$1i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:423203552$1i)).
- M 3001, newly bound in 1643, place not indicated. II Chr. 28.12 – 29.31 (*MGC X*, 10) (Fig. 13).
- M 1024, copied in 1564 near lake Van. II Chr. 34.18 – 35.4 (*MGC IV*, 91–96) (Fig. 14).
- M 1694, no colophon. 16th–17th centuries. II Chr. 36.13–23 (the end of the book) and Esth. 1.1 and 4–7 (*MGC V*, 911) (Fig. 15).
- Fragment 14 (no printed description). I am not absolutely sure that this is the same hand. Esth. 3.7–12 (Fig. 16).
- M 7125, copied in 1330, no place indicated. Esth. 11.1–2; Tob. 1.1–18 (*MC II*, 467).
- M 1320, bound in 1212 by a certain Petros, no place indicated. Neh. 8.4 – 11.4 (*MGC IV*, 911–914).

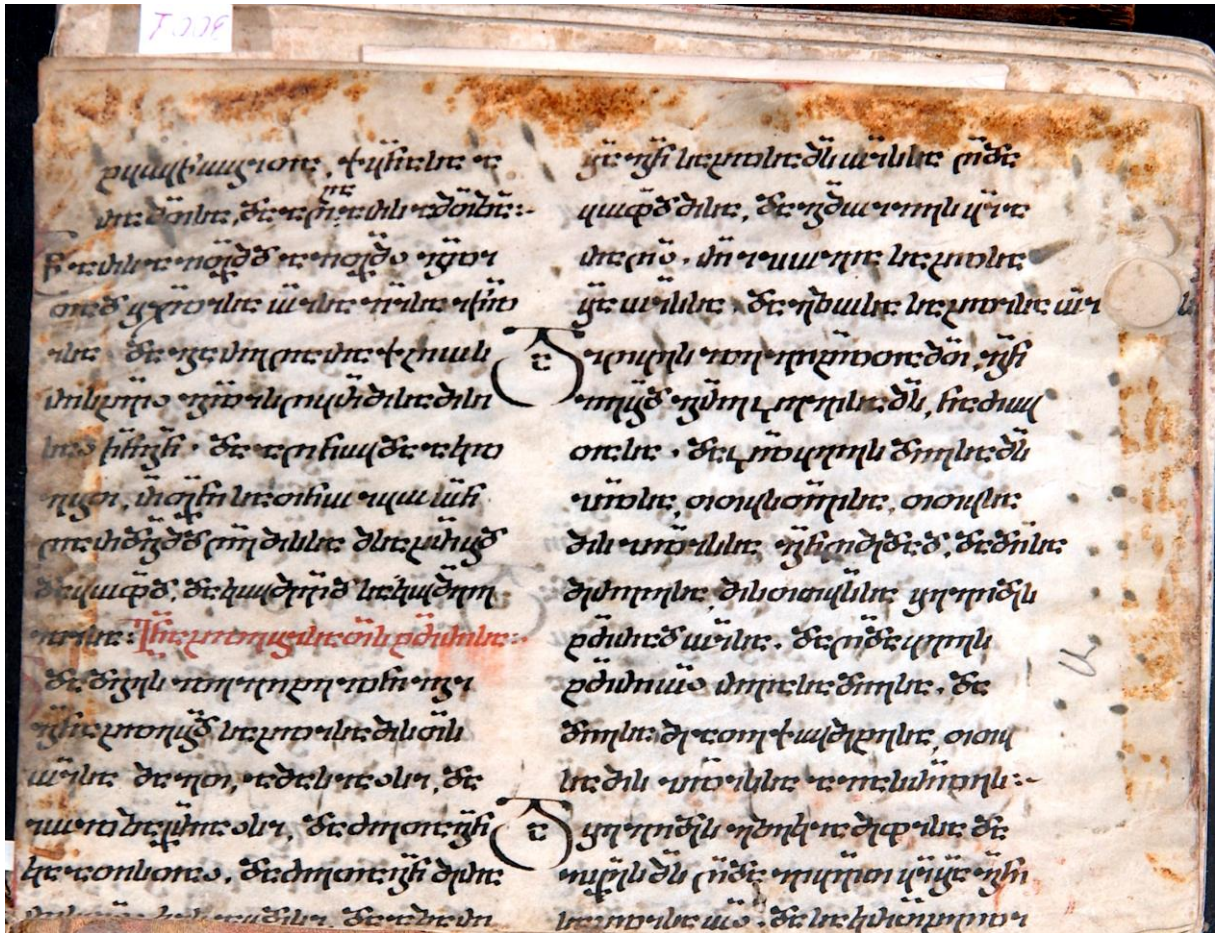


Fig. 13: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M 3001

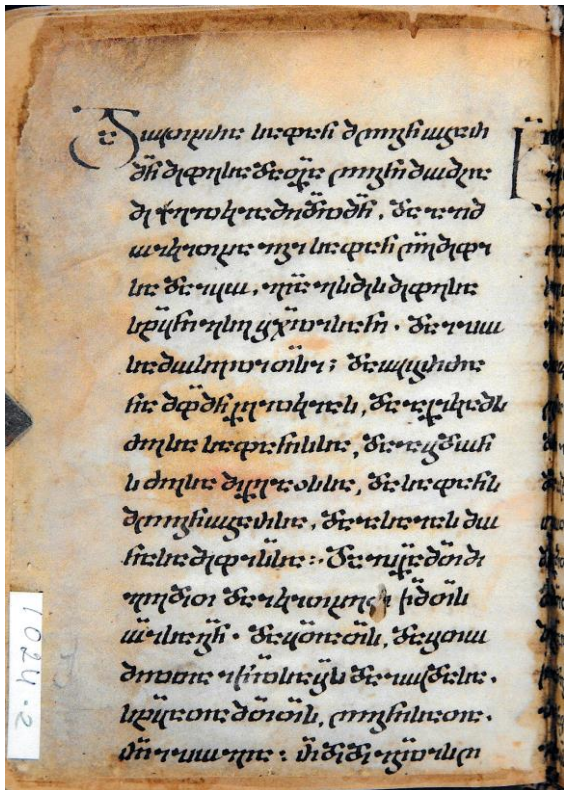


Fig. 14: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M 1024

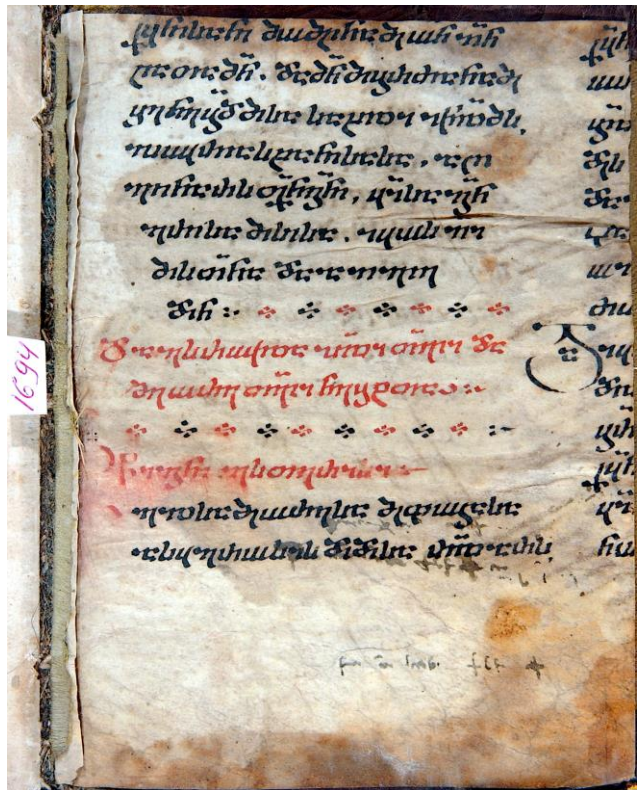


Fig. 15: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M 1694



Fig. 16: Yerevan, Matenadaran, Fragment 14

– M 1554, no place of copying or binding, no date. 16th century. Jud. 7.6–8 and 15 (MGC V, 454–455) (Fig. 17).

We have many fragments, but here, it is not clear where this manuscript was created. Maybe in Sanahin, a place where Armenian and Georgian were in contact? Or rather in Nor-Julfa as suggested by Ałamal Jułaec'i being the copyist of M 891? This case shows how it may sometimes be difficult to reconstruct the past of a manuscript. We see that usually, when the manuscript is complete, we know something about the scribe and the place of copy, but it is

quite rare to know something about the binder. And we also see that many manuscripts have been rebound more than one time!

2.2 A smaller series is kept in Nor Julfa, in Iran. It comprises:

– NJ 202, copied in 1301 in Cilicia. Georgian fly-leaves of the 14th–15th centuries, in *nusxuri*: Menaion, George’s the Athonite version, hymns for 18–19 September and 3–4 October (Fig. 18).

– NJ 96, copied in 1625–1627 in Nor-Julfa. The woven material on the inside of the binding is the same as the one in NJ 202. Of course, it is impossible to think that three centuries later and at a distance of one thousand kilometers, Armenian binders had the same Georgian manuscript and the same woven material at hand; NJ 202 was rebound in Nor-Julfa. Hymns for 5–8 October (Fig. 19).

– NJ 511. Copied in 1634 in Qazvin: hymns for september the 26th and 27th of october. We know very few Armenian manuscripts copied in Qazvin: four or five only. It seems to be one more case where it was possible to copy manuscripts, but not to bind them; this manuscript was bound in Nor Julfa, nearly 500 kilometers from Qazvin (Fig. 20)!

We know that Shah Abbas, at the beginning of the 17th century, deported important Armenian and Georgian populations to Iran. Thus, Georgian manuscripts soon became available for Armenian binders to use, even though we do not know how the Armenians acquired manuscripts in other languages, which was also the case in Jerusalem.

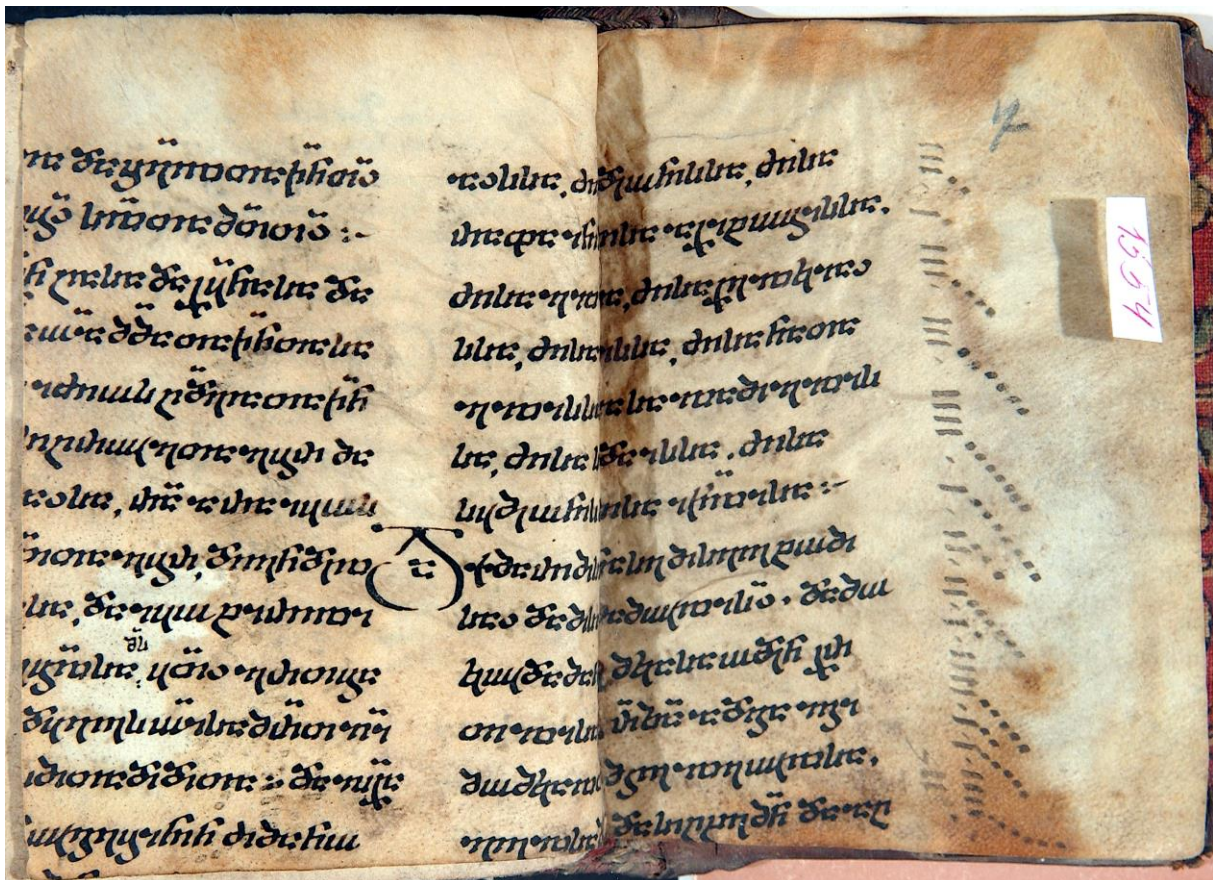


Fig. 17: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M 1554



Fig. 18: Nor Julfa, NJ 202



Fig. 19: Nor Julfa, NJ 96



Fig. 20: Nor Julfa, NJ 511

Of course, I have many further examples. Here I could only give a glimpse into the subject, but I hope it was enough to understand the importance of fly-leaves for a better knowledge of the old literary traditions and of the way they were worked on in scriptoria. The present geopolitical state of Armenia seems to urge the full digitisation of the manuscripts kept in the Matenadaran in Yerevan; it would also be very good to do the same for the manuscripts in the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem.

References

- JC = Նորայր եպ. Պողոսյան, *Մայր Յուզակ Չեռագրաց սրբոց Յակոբեանց*. I–XI / Bishop Norair Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue of the Manuscripts of St. James* (Հայկական մատենադար Գալուստ Կիլիկյանկան հիմնարկության / Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian library). Jerusalem: Armenian Convent 1966–1991. <https://arar.sci.am/dlibra/publication/287937/edition/264401>.
- MC = *Յուզակ ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անվան Մատենադարանի / Каталог рукописей Матенадарана имени Мааштоца*. I–II. Երևան: Հայկական ՍՍՌ Գիտությունների Ակադեմիայի հրատարակչություն / Ереван: Издательство Академии Наук Армянской ССР 1965–1970. <https://matenadaran.am/en/matenadaran/digital-resources/grand-catalogue-of-manuscripts/>.
- MGC = *Մայր ցուցակ հայերեն ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անուն Մատենադարանի / General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mashtots Matenadaran*. I–X. Երևան / Yerevan 1984–2019. <https://matenadaran.am/en/matenadaran/digital-resources/grand-catalogue-of-manuscripts/>.

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Figures 18–20: B. Outtier

Colligite fragmenta: დანაწევრებულ და ვირტუალურად გამთლიანებულ კავკასიურ ხელნაწერთა ფრაგმენტები

ბერნარ უტიე (სენ მარტენ დე ლა მერი)

ნაშრომში განხილულია დანაწევრებული და გაფანტული კავკასიური ხელნაწერების ფრაგმენტთა გამთლიანების შემთხვევები. აღწერილია ამგვარ ხელნაწერთა არა მარტო დღევანდელი მდგომარეობა ან სამომავლო პერსპექტივები, არამედ ის გზაც, რომელიც გავიარეთ დღემდე, კომპიუტერებისა და მულტისპექტრული აპარატების მეშვეობით გადაღებული დიგიტალური გამოსახულებების გარეშე. უკვე ათწლეულებია ვმუშაობ აღმოსავლურ ქრისტიანულ ხელნაწერებზე, და მიმჩნია, რომ ხელნაწერთა შესწავლის საუკეთესო გზა იყო, და მე ვიტყვოდი, დღემდე რჩება, ხელნაწერების უშუალო ნახვა და მათზე მუშაობა; და თუ ეს შეუძლებელია, მაშინ – შავ-თეთრი ფოტოების შესწავლა.

ამჯერად ნაშრომში საუბარია კავკასიური ხელნაწერების მხოლოდ ერთ კომპონენტზე – საწყის და ბოლო დამცავ ფურცლებზე, ე. წ. ფორზაცებზე (გამთლიანებული პალიმფსესტების შესახებ იხილეთ ჩემი ნაშრომი კრებულში „დიგიტალური ქართველოლოგია 1“ (*Digital Kartvelology* 1, 2023).

ფორზაცის არსებობის შესახებ ინფორმაცია ხელნაწერის აღწერილობაში, ჩვეულებრივ, მოცემულია, მაგრამ არ შეიცავს ინფორმაციას კონტენტის, ანუ ტექსტის შესახებ. არადა, ზოგჯერ სწორედ ამ ტექსტებს მიყვართ უცნობი სომხური ან ქართული ტექსტის აღმოჩენამდე და მკვლევარს საშუალებას აძლევენ თავის დროზე დანაწევრებული ხელნაწერის ნაწილები, რომლებიც ხელახლა გამოიყენეს და აკინძეს იმავე ან სხვა ენის ხელნაწერის მასალად, გაამთლიანოს.

ნაშრომში წარმოდგენილია მსგავსი შემთხვევები, რომლებსაც ადგილი ჰქონდა სომხური და ქართული ხელნაწერების კვლევისას. თუმცა, დასაწყისშივე უნდა აღვნიშნო, რომ აღმოსავლეთის ქრისტიანობაში ფორზაცს უმეტესად სომხები იყენებდნენ, რათა ხელნაწერის პირველი და ბოლო გვერდები ყდაზე ხახუნისაგან დაეცვათ და, შესაბამისად, დაზიანებისგან გადაერჩინათ. როგორც 2000 სომხური ხელნაწერის შერჩევითმა გამოკვლევამ დაადასტურა (ერევანი, მატენადარანი, M 1,000 – 3,000), ხელნაწერთა უდიდეს ნაწილს (ათიდან – სამ ხელნაწერს), აქვს ფორზაცი, რაც სტატისტიკურად მაღალი მაჩვენებელია ფორზაცის გამოყენების თვალსაზრისით.