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DOI:10.57155/XDUM5169

PHILOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ARMENIAN TRANSLATION OF PSEUDO-NONNOS' *COMMENTARY TO* GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS

Key words: *Pseudo-Nonnos, Greek Mythology, Յունաբան Դպրոց, Gregory of Nazianzus, Translations from Greek, Philology, Textual Criticism.*

Pseudo-Nonnos' *Commentary* on the *Discourses* of Gregory of Nazianzus is an important witness to the reception of Greek culture in the Byzantine era. Its original version, redacted in Greek, probably in the Syro-palestinian area in the early 6th century, consists in an exegesis to some erudite references to pagan culture – mostly mythological – found in Gregory's *Discourses* n. 4, 5, 39 and 43.¹ This work had a great success in the Byzantine and Near Eastern Middle Ages, as it is transmitted by

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¹ After an outburst of interest in the Greek text of Pseudo-Nonnos in the late XIX – early XX centuries, the text remained long neglected until recent times, with few exceptions. See e.g. **Edwin Patzig**, “De Nonnianis in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentariis”, *Jahresbericht der Thomasschule in Leipzig über das Schuljahr 1889-1890*, 1890, p. 1-30; **Jan Sajdak**, *Historia critica scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni*, Cracoviae – Varsoviae, 1914; **Tadeusz Sinko**, “De expositione Pseudo Nonniana historiarum, quae in orationibus Gregorii Nazianzeni commemorantur”, *Charisteria Casemiro Morawski oblata*, ed. **Societas Philologa Polona**, Cracoviae – Lipsiae, 1922, p. 122-148; **Francesco Trisoglio**, “Mentalità ed atteggiamenti degli scoliasti di fronte agli scritti di S. Gregorio di Nazianzo”, *II Symposium Nazianzenum. Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-28 août 1981, Actes du colloque international*, ed. **J. Mossay**, Paderborn, 1983, p. 187-251; **Domenico Accorinti**, “Sull'autore degli scoli mitologici alle orazioni di Gregorio di Nazianzo”, *Byzantion*, 60, p. 5-24; **Caroline Macé**, “Les ‘Histoires mythologiques’ du Pseudo-Nonnos et la tradition des ‘Discours’ de Grégoire de Nazianze: À propos du manuscrit Sélestat, Bibliothèque municipale, 105”, *Byzantion* 71, 2001 p. 110-130.

over 150 Greek manuscripts and was translated into Syriac,² Armenian³ and Georgian.⁴ In this article I will focus on some philological aspects of the Armenian version, dated around 7th century and belonging to the cultural environment of the so-called “Hellenising School” (“Յունաբան Դպրոց”).⁵ The existence of this Armenian version, even before its publication, was already known among scholars, since it had been listed in Somalean’s *Quadro*⁶ and in Zarbhanalean’s *Մատենադարան Հայկական թարգմանություններ*⁷, included in the Mekhitarist *Նոր Բառգիրք*’s⁸ textual database, and extensively quoted by Ant’imosean in his translation of Francesco Soave’s *Institutions*.⁹ Nonnos’ Armenian text became

² Edited in **Pseudo-Nonnos**, *The Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Scholia*, ed. **S. Brock**, Cambridge, 1971.

³ Edited in **Nonnos**, *Die Scholien zu fünf Reden des Gregor von Nazianz*, Hrsg. **A. Manandian**, Marburg, 1903.

⁴ Edited in **Pseudo-Nonnos**, *Pseudo-Nonniani In IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarii, versio iberica*, ed. **Thamar Otkhmezuri**, Turnhout, 2002. See also **Jennifer Nimmo Smith**, **Tamar Otkhmezuri**, “The Georgian Versions of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Commentaries and their Greek Originals”, *Le Muséon*, 106, p. 289-308.

⁵ On the Hellenising School there is a rich bibliography: see e.g. **Yakob Manandean**, *Յունաբան Դպրոցը և նրա զարգացման շրջանները* [*The Hellenizing School and the Periods of its Development*], Vienna, 1928; **Arusyak N. Muradyan**, *Հունաբան դպրոցը և նրա դերը Հայերենի քերականական տերմինաբանության ստեղծման գործում* [*The Hellenizing School and Its Role in the Creation of Armenian Grammatical Terminology*], Yerevan, 1971; **Charles Mercier**, “L’école hellénistique dans la littérature arménienne”, *REArm*, 13, 1978-1979, p. 59-75; **Abraham Terian**, “The Hellenizing School. Its Time, Place and Scope of Activities Reconsidered”, *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period. Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980*, ed. **N. G. Garsoïan**, **T. F. Mathews**, **R. W. Thomson**, Washington, 1982, p. 175-186; **Valentina Calzolari**, “L’École Hellénisante”, *Agés et usages de la langue arménienne*, ed. **Marc Nichanian**, Paris, 1989, p. 110-142; **Գոհար Մուրադյան**, *Հունաբանությունները դասական հայերենում*, Երևան, 2010 (English translation: **Gohar Muradyan**, *Grecisms in Ancient Armenian*, Leuven – Paris – Walpole (MA) (Hebrew University Armenian Studies 13), 2012); **Irene Tinti**, “Problematising the Greek Influence on Armenian Texts”, *Rhesis. International Journal of Linguistics, Philology and Literature*, 7.1, 2016, p. 28-43; **Valentina Calzolari**, “Les traductions arméniennes de l’École Hellénisante et l’introduction des arts du trivium en Arménie”, *Les arts libéraux et les sciences dans l’Arménie ancienne et médiévale*, ed. **V. Calzolari** (Textes et Traditions 36), Paris, 2022, p. 19-52.

⁶ **[Սոմֆիաս Սոմալեան]**, *Quadro delle opere di vari autori anticamente tradotte in Armeno*, Venezia, 1825, p. 18:

⁷ **Գաբեգին Զարբանալեան**, *Մատենադարան Հայկական թարգմանություններ նախնեաց (Դար Դ-ԺԳ)*, Վենետիկ, 1889, էջ 634-646:

⁸ **Գաբրիել Աւետիքեան**, **Խաչատուր Սիրմելեան**, **Մկրտիչ Աւգերեան**, *Նոր Բառգիրք Հայկազեան Հեգուի*, ի Վենետիկ, 1836, էջ 16:

⁹ **Francesco Soave**, *Արուեստ բանական կամ տրամաբանություն* [Istituzioni di logica], translated into Armenian by **Arsēn v. Ant’imosean**, Venice, 1825, p. 67-73:

accessible to scholars after Manandian's *editio princeps*,¹⁰ which was soon followed by an extensive review by Akinyan¹¹. The text remained understudied for a long time afterwards, with the exception of the collations made by Brock and Coulie, respectively, for the edition of the Syriac¹² and Greek¹³ texts of the same author, and Latteur's short article¹⁴. Fortunately, there has been a remarkable outburst of interest in this intriguing text over the past few decades, especially thanks to the efforts of G. Muradyan,¹⁵ who focused on the importance of Ps.-Nonnos for

¹⁰ **Nonnos**, *Die Scholien zu fünf Reden*, Hrsg. A. **Manandian**. This edition, from which I will be quoting, is in fact a separated reprint of two articles by Manandian: **Agop Manandian**, "Die Scholien zu fünf Reden des Gregor von Nazianz", *Zeitschrift für Armenische Philologie*, 1.3, 1902, p. 220-272, and 1.4, 1903, p. 273-300.

¹¹ **Ներսիս Աղիմեան**, «Նոննոսի մեկնությունները Գրիգորի Աստուածաբանի հինգ հանդից», *ՀԱ*, 18, 1904, էջ 139-146, 165-173.

¹² **Pseudo-Nonnos**, *The Syriac Version*, ed. **S. Brock**; see also **Sebastian Brock**, "The Armenian and Syriac Versions of the Ps.-Nonnus Mythological Scholia", *Le Muséon*, 79, 1966, p. 401-428.

¹³ **Pseudo-Nonnos**, *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarii*, ed. **J. Nimmo Smith** (Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca 27), Turnhout 1993; this edition was translated in **Jennifer Nimmo Smith**, *A Christian's Guide to Greek Culture* (Translated Texts for Historians 37), Liverpool, 2001. See also **eadem**, "A revised List of the Manuscripts of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Commentaries on four Sermons by Gregory of Nazianzus", *Byzantion*, 57, 1987, p. 93-113; **eadem**, "The Reception of the 'Catalogue of Inventors' in Gregory of Nazianzus' Sermon 4, 107-109 in Pseudo-Nonnus' Commentary on Sermon 4 and Beyond: An End or a Beginning?", *The Literary Legacy of Byzantium: editions, translations and studies in honour of Joseph A. Munitiz*, ed. **B. Roosen**, **P. van Deun**, Turnhout, 2019, p. 333-355; **eadem**, "Magic at the Crossroads in the sixth Century", *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization. In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. **E. M. Jeffreys**, University of Oxford, 2012, p. 224-238. Regarding the Armenian version see also **Bernard Coulie**, "Les versions orientales des commentaires mythologiques du Pseudo-Nonnos et la réception de la mythologie classique", *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e medievale: il «Romanzo di Alessandro» e altri scritti. Atti del seminario internazionale di studio (Roma-Napoli, 25-27 settembre 1997)*, ed. **R. B. Finazzi**, **A. Valvo**, Alessandria, 1998, p. 113-123.

¹⁴ **Dominique Latteur**, "Les scholies arméniennes au Discours XXIV sont-elles du Pseudo-Nonnos?", *II Symposium Nazianzenum. Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-28 août 1981. Actes du colloque international*, ed. **J. Mossay**, Paderborn, 1983, p. 253-257.

¹⁵ **Gohar Muradyan**, "The Reflexion of Foreign Proper Names, Theonyms and Mythological Creatures in the Ancient Armenian Translations from Greek", *REArm*, 25, 1995, 63-76; **eadem**, "Greek Authors and Subject Matters in the Letters of Grigor Magistros", *REArm*, 35, 2013, p. 29-77; **eadem**, *Ancient Greek Myths in Medieval Armenian Literature* (Armenian Texts and Studies 5), Leiden-Boston, 2022, *passim*. See also **Federico Alpi**, "The Cauldron of the Titans. Quotations from Clement of Alexandria in the Letters of Grigor Magistros Pahlawuni (990-1058)", *Armenia through the Lens of Time. Multidisciplinary Studies in*

the reception of Greek mythology in the Armenian *milieu*, and of E. M. Shirinyan, who studied its aftermath in medieval Armenia, with particular regard to its presence in the *Գիրք Պատճառաց*.¹⁶ Of course, much work is still to be done on this text, starting from a critical edition which must take into account all known manuscripts transmitting the *Commentary*. The need for a revision of Manandian's text was first pointed out by Coulie in a note in Nimmo Smith's edition, where he listed the non-collated manuscript witnesses preserved in the Matenadaran, in Venice (S. Lazzaro) and Jerusalem (St. James).¹⁷ In fact, the printed text often leaves the reader unsatisfied: the first to observe this was Manandian himself, who reported having discovered another important codex, now M598 (d. 1303), in his seminal work on the *Hellenising School*, and described it as having «մեծ թուով ընտիր ու նոր ընթերցուածները»¹⁸. G. Muradyan, in her recent work on the reception of Greek mythology in Armenia, made use of this same manuscript to point at variant readings in some passages of Ps.-Nonnos' text, which may improve Manandian's edition. For instance, in a passage of *history* 1.1 of Manandian's edition (*hist.* 39.1 of Nimmo Smith's edition)¹⁹ where the concealing of Zeus from his father Kronos is discussed, we read ποῦ κέκρυπται «where (the child) was hidden» in the Greek original; M598, that has ուր է մանուկն թաղուցեալ «where the child was hidden», is closer to the Greek than Manandian's two manuscripts, that have զթաքուստ մանկանն «the child's hiding place»²⁰. In another passage of the same *history*, where the Greek has οἱ θεολόγοι «the theologians», M598 has աստուածաբանքն հեղինացոյ «the pagan theologians», while Manandian's manuscripts have առասպելաբանքն հեղինացոյ «the pagan mythologists», a clear example of anti-pagan interpolation.²¹

Honour of Theo Maarten van Lint, ed. **F. Alpi, R. Meyer, I. Tinti, D. Zakarian** (Armenian Texts and Studies 6), Leiden – Boston, 2022, p. 185-212.

¹⁶ See e.g. **Erna Manea Shirinian**, “The *Liber Causarum*: a Mediaeval Armenian Isagogical Collection”, *Le Muséon*, 130, 2017, p. 139-176; **eadem**, “*Vitae Homeri*, Pseudo Nonnos’ *Commentary* on Sermon 4 by Gregory of Nazianzus and the Armenian ‘Book of Causes’”, *Armenian, Hittite, and Indo-European Studies. A Commemoration Volume for Jos J. S. Weitenberg*, ed. **U. Bläsing, J. Dum-Tragut, T. M. van Lint** (Hebrew University Armenian Studies 15), Leuven – Paris – Bristol (CT), 2019, p. 323-345.

¹⁷ **Pseudo-Nonnos**, *Pseudo-Nonniani commentarii*, ed. **J. Nimmo Smith**, p. 31-32, n. 81.

¹⁸ **Յակոբ Մանանդեան**, *Յունաբան Դպրոցը*, էջ 236-237.

¹⁹ From now on I will be referring to the “chapters” of Pseudo-Nonnos’ *Commentary* as “histories” (*hist.*), a term the ancient author himself makes use of.

²⁰ See **Muradyan**, *Greek Myths*, p. 43, n. 11.

²¹ See **Muradyan**, *Greek Myths*, p. 44, n. 13; the reading աստուածաբանքն is confirmed also by ms. M621. Anti-pagan interpolations are ubiquitous through all traditions of Nonnos’ text: see

In addition to the use of new manuscripts, it is sometimes necessary that philologists intervene on the text *ope ingenii*, when an error shared by the whole tradition (and thus possibly belonging to a lost archetype²²) is spotted. For instance, the need for an intervention on the received text was felt by Muradyan while commenting on the *history* 2.5 (*hist.* 43.1.74 in Nimmo Smith's edition): all known witnesses share the reading *կարծրագոյն* «stiff» in front of Greek ἔνδοξος «renowned, most famous», which leads Muradyan to hypothesize the conjectural emendation of *կարծրագոյն* «sturdiest» into **կարծագոյն* «most famous», possibly a neologism from the root of *կարծեմ* «think, suppose» created by the Armenian translator to render ἔνδοξος «renowned, most famous».²³

I will now discuss some passages where I think the text of Manandian's edition might be improved by recurring to other manuscripts (section 1) or by conjectural emendation (section 2), taken from section 1 of the Armenian edition,²⁴ that is the *Commentary* to Gregory's *Discourse* n. 39. Here is a list of the manuscripts I have been able to consult so far, and which I will be referring to²⁵:

- ll (Manandian's A) : M1672, XII c. ;
- ff (Manandian's B) : M2101, d. 1223 ;
- g : M621, XVII c. ;
- h : M598, d. 1303 ;
- b : V873 (*olim* 511), d. 1206 .

e.g. **Pseudo-Nonnos**, *Pseudo-nonniani commentarii*, ed. J. Nimmo Smith, p. 41, and **Pseudo-Nonnos**, *The Syriac Version*, ed. S. Brock, p. 26.

²² I am not yet able to provide a stemma codicum for the manuscript tradition; however, since all witnesses share some errors, as will be shown in part 2 of this paper, it is possible that they all stem from a lost archetype.

²³ **Muradyan**, *Greek Myths*, p. 159, n. 161.

²⁴ **Nonnos**, *Die Scholien zu fünf Reden*, Hrsg. A. Manandian, p. 3-13.

²⁵ I wish to express my utmost gratitude to the Matenadaran digitalisation department and to prof. A. Topchyan for providing digital reproductions of the manuscripts necessary to my ongoing work; the same goes for Father Ohanyan with respect to the manuscripts hosted in Venice, San Lazzaro. I deem these manuscripts as independent witnesses of the text.

1. New manuscript readings

1.1. *hist.* 1.1 arm. (p. 3, ll. 9-10 Manandian = *hist.* 39.1.5-6 Nimmo Smith)²⁶

ed. Nimmo Smith, mss. IF	ὅτε οὖν ἐγέννησε τὸν Δία, φοβουμένη μήπως καὶ τὸ βρέφος τοῦτο καταποθὲν ἀπόληται...	So, when she gave birth to Zeus, fearing that this baby too would be swallowed and perish...
mss. S E n Cosmas of Jerusalem	ὅτε οὖν ἐγέννησε τὸν Δία ἡ Ῥέα φοβουμένη μήπως καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βρέφος καταποθὲν ἀπόληται...	So Rhea, when she gave birth to Zeus, fearing that this baby too would be swallowed and perish...
ed. Manandian, mss. ԱԲ	արդ՝ յորժամ զԱրամազդ ծնաւ, երկուցեալ, թե գուցէ եւ զայս կլանիցէ եւ կորուսցէ...	So, when she gave birth to Aramazd, fearing that he may swallow and destroy this one, too...
ms. Գ	արդ՝ յորժամ զԱրամազդ ծնաւ, երկուցեալ Ռէի, թե գուցէ եւ զայս երախայս կլանիցէ եւ կորուսցէ...	So Rhea, when she gave birth to Aramazd, fearing that he may swallow and destroy this baby, too...
ms. Դ	արդ՝ յորժամ զԱրամազդ ծնաւ, երկուցեալ Ռիայ, թե գուցէ եւ զայս երախայս կլանէ եւ կորուսեալ լինիցի...	So Rhea, when she gave birth to Aramazd, fearing that he may swallow this baby too and he would be destroyed...
Syr (ed. Brock)	<i>kd dyn yldt hd' l'zws, 'l ddhl' hwt ddlm' 'p hn' 'wl' kd mtbl' n'bd</i>	Now when she bore Zeus, in fear lest this child too would, being swallowed up, perish... ²⁷

The Armenian translation, as usual, is true to the content of its Greek model, apart from the syntactical reorganization of the subordinate. What catches the eye, however, is the apparent omission of τὸ βρέφος «the baby» in the Armenian edited text; what might instead be the correct reading, *զայս երախայս* «this baby» was

²⁶ See also **Muradyan**, *Greek Myths*, p. 42-44. I will first make reference to the passages according to the Armenian edition of Manandian (“*history*”, followed by page and line(s)), and then according to the Greek edition of Nimmo Smith. The text of Cosmas of Jerusalem, an 8th-century commentator of Gregory of Nazianzus, is quoted from **Cosma di Gerusalemme**, *Commento ai Carmi di Gregorio Nazianzeno*, ed. **G. Lozza**, Napoli, 2000. The Syriac text is taken from **Pseudo-Nonnos**, *The Syriac Version*, ed. **S. Brock**.

²⁷ The translations of the Syriac text, here and *infra*, are taken from Brock’s edition.

transmitted by mss. ԳԴ. The word *երախայս* was probably dropped by mss. ԱԲ because of a *saut du même au même* (*զայս Երախայս*).

ԳԴ also share another variant reading, the explication of the name of Rhea as the genitive subject of *երկուցեալ*. This variant reflects the Greek reading ἡ Ῥέα φοβουμένη «Rhea, fearing», which is attested by the majority of Greek manuscripts and by Cosmas of Jerusalem, the most important witness of Ps.-Nonnos' indirect tradition; just a few Greek manuscripts, along with the Syriac translation and ԱԲ, do not have ἡ Ῥέα «Rhea». This suggests that the omission of ἡ Ῥέα might have taken place independently at various stages of the tradition, and that the original reading might be ἡ Ῥέα φοβουμένη, which was translated into Armenian as *երկուցեալ Ռէի* (v. l. *Ռիայ*), a reading preserved by ԳԴ, but omitted by ԱԲ, and thus not printed in Manandian's edition. On the basis of this restored reading in the Armenian version and the agreement with the majority of the Greek tradition and Cosmas one may be tempted to accept ἡ Ῥέα φοβουμένη «Rhea, fearing» as the original text. This text might seem redundant – which is why the Syriac and some Greek and Armenian manuscripts preferred to omit it, as the subject is already obvious –, but fits perfectly in Ps.-Nonnos' style, which mostly tries to be as clear as possible, even at the cost of seeming pedantic.

The omission of the very same name, that of the goddess Rhea, is attested also in another passage: at *hist.* 1.2 arm (p. 4, ll. 14-15 Manandian = *hist.* 39.2.1 Nimmo Smith). Let us compare the texts:

ed. Nimmo Smith, mss. S n, Cosmas of Jerusalem	Ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἐσεβάσθη Ῥέα ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν	In Phrygia was worshipped Rhea, the mother of the gods
mss. m	Ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἐσεβάσθη ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν	In Phrygia the mother of the gods was worshipped
ed. Manandian, mss. ԱԲ	ի Փռիւզիա (Փռիւզիեայ Բ) պաշտեալ եղեւ մայր աստուածոցն	In Phrygia the mother of the gods was worshipped
ms. Գ	ի Փռիւզիայ պաշտել (lege պաշտեալ) եղեւ Ռէ՝ մայր շաստուածոցն	In Phrygia was worshipped Rhea, the mother of the non-gods
ms. Դ	ի Փռիւզիայ պաշտեցեալ եւ Ռէ մայր աստուածոցն	In Phrygia was worshipped Rhea, the mother of the gods
Syr (ed. Brock)	bprwgy' mstgd' hwt r'', 'm' lm d'lh'	In Phrygia there was worshipped Rhea, the mother, that is, of the gods

In this passage mss. Գ and Դ agree with the *n* family, S and Cosmas, as well as the Syriac, in transmitting the name of the «mother of the gods», Rhea, which this time is necessary to fully understand the text. Mss. ԼԲ and the Greek family *m* omit the name of the goddess, but it must be noted – as has already been discussed by Shirinian²⁸ and Nimmo Smith²⁹ – that the Armenian version derives from the Greek family *n*, and this case would be no exception if the reading of ԳԴ were to be supplied in the edited text, as I suggest.

1.2. *hist.* 1.3 arm. (p. 5, ll. 2-3 Manandian = *hist.* 39.3.4 Nimmo Smith)³⁰

ed. Nimmo Smith, codd. graeci, Cosmas of Jerusalem	ἡ οὖν Δημήτηρ περιήει ζητοῦσα τὴν Κόρην	Demeter then travelled around looking for Kore
ed. Manandian, ms. Բ	Արդ՝ Դեմետեր շրջելով խնդրէր զԱղջիկն	Demeter then looked for the Maiden (= Kore) travelling around
ms. Լ	Արդ՝ Դեմետեր շրջ խնդրելով զԱղջիկն	Demeter then, looking around (?) for the Maiden
ms. Գ	Եւ մայրն Դեմետր շրջէր խնդրելով զԱղ- ջիկն	And the mother, Demeter, travelled around looking for the Maiden
ms. Դ	Արդ Դեմետր քանզի մայր էր՝ շրջէր ընդ եր- կիր խնդրելով զԱղջիկն	Demeter then, for she was the mother, travelled around the world looking for the Maiden
Syr (ed. Brock)	<i>dymtyr dyn mtkrk' hwt</i> <i>wb 'y' lilyt'</i>	But Demeter, going around and looking for the maid

Here the comparison between the Greek and the four independent Armenian manuscripts proves that the original translation of περιήει ζητοῦσα «travelled around looking for» is the one transmitted by ԳԴ and (although partially corrupted) by Լ, where the imperfect περιήει «travelled around» is rendered with the imperfect շրջէր

²⁸ Shirinian, “Vitae Homeri”, p. 329.

²⁹ Nimmo Smith, *A Christian's Guide*, p. xlv.

³⁰ See also Muradyan, *Greek Myths*, p. 76.

«travelled around», and the participle ζητοῦσα «looking for» is translated with the instrumental infinitive ἰδὲν «looking for».

1.3. *hist.* 1.20 arm. (p. 12, ll. 20-21 Manandian, = *hist.* 39.20.7 Nimmo Smith)³¹

ed. Nimmo Smith, Cosmas of Jerusalem	ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κέρατα βοὸς ἐγγλύφουσιν	they carve a cow's horns on the head of her statue
ed. Manandian, ms. <i>Բ</i>	<i>ի վերայ (ի վերա Բ) գլխոյ պատկերին եղ- ջիւրս արշառոյ նկարեն</i>	they depict a cow's horns on the head of the image
ms. <i>Ա</i>	<i>ի վերայ գլխոյ պատկե- րի՝ նոր եղջիւրս արշառոյ նկարեն</i>	they depict an ox's new horns on the head of the image
mss. <i>ԳԴ, Գիրք Պատճառաց</i>	<i>ի վերայ գլխոյ պատկե- րի նորա եղջիւրս արշա- ռոյ նկարեն</i>	they depict an ox's horns on the head of her image
Syr (ed. Brock)	<i>ʾl ryšh dglyph, qmnt' dtwr' glpyn</i>	on the head of her statue they carve bull's horns

Manandian chose to print the text of *Բ* *ի վերա<յ> գլխոյ պատկերին* «on the head of the image», and for this reason in Nimmo Smith's edition (p. 239 *in app.*) it is noted that the Armenian version omits αὐτῆς ἐπὶ «(on) her». By collating *ԳԴ*, which agree with the text of the *Գիրք Պատճառաց* quoted by Manandian in his *apparatus criticus*, we can instead restore the correct reading *ի վերայ գլխոյ պատկերի նորա* «on the head of her image». It is now evident that *Ա*'s reading *նոր* «new», which has become the adjective of the following word *եղջիւրս* «horns», is in fact a corruption of *նորա* «her», as probably is the article *-ն* of *Բ*'s *պատկերին* «the image».

³¹ Cfr. also Muradyan, *Greek Myths*, p. 116.

2. Some conjectures to the text

2.1. *hist.* 1.2 arm (p. 4, ll. 18-19 Manandian = *hist.* 39.2.6-7 Nimmo Smith)

ed. Nimmo Smith, Cosmas of Jerusalem	καταθέλγοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ παρεγείροντες περὶ τὴν ἐκτομήν	beguiling them and inciting them to mutilation
ed. Manandian, mss. ԱԲԳ	հրճուեցուցանելով զինքեանս եւ յարուցանե- լով կայտառագոյն ի հա- րուածսն	subduing themselves by enchantments, and raising themselves swiftly towards the blows ³²
ms. Դ	հրճուեցուցանով զնոսա եւ յարուցանելով կայտա- ռագոյն լինել ի հարուածսն	subduing (?) them by enchantments, and making them rise swiftly towards the blows
Syr (ed. Brock)	<i>dmhṭḥtyn lhwn wmlbṭyn lwt pwsq'</i>	(some pipes) which allured them and aroused them to the cutting

The Armenian text slightly differs from the Greek; while some minor differences may be viewed as free translation, as the addition of the adverb *կայտառագոյն* «swiftly, very rapidly»; on the contrary, the rendering of ἐκτομή «cutting, mutilation», from the root of τέμνω «to cut», with *հարուած* «blow, beating, punch» is quite puzzling. Therefore, I propose to emend *հարուածսն* into *հատուածսն* «cutting, cuts»; since the reading *հարուածսն* is found in all manuscripts, it is possible that this corruption took place in an *erkat* 'agir archetype, where the majuscule forms of the letters *Բ* and *Տ* would look a lot alike, especially if *Տ* were to be written with an almost vertical median stroke. In the title of this very *history* (p. 4, l. 13 Manandian = *hist.* 39.2.tit.1 Nimmo Smith), too, the word ἐκτομή «cutting» is translated by *հատուած* «cutting»; similarly, the same Greek word is rendered by *հատում* «cutting» at *hist.* 3.81 arm (p. 62, l. 5 Manandian = *hist.* 4.88.tit.1 Nimmo Smith).

³² Tr. **Muradyan**, *Greek Myths*, p. 363, with adaptations.

2.2. *hist.* 1.3 arm (p. 5, l. 18 Manandian = *hist.* 39.3.21 Nimmo Smith)

ed. Nimmo Smith, codd. graeci, Cosmas of Jerusalem	καὶ ταύτην δὲ εὖ ποιῆσαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κελεὸν τῷ δοῦναι τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τελέσαι τὰ μυστήρια	and that she granted benefits to those of the house of Keleos by giving the seeds and performing the mysteries
ed. Manandian, mss. ԱՐԳԴ	եւ ինքն բարի առնէր կրեկեացն վասն տալոյն զսերմանիսն եւ կատարե- լոյն զմիւստերիոնսն (զմեստութիոնքն Դ)	and she granted benefits to those who carried a weight by giving the seeds and performing the mysteries
Syr (ed. Brock)	ʿp hy dyn ʿbdt špyr lhnwn dbyt qlʿws, bhy dyhbt zr ʿ wšmlyt rʿzʿ	and in that she did good to those of the house of Keleos in that she gave them seeds and initiated mysteries

The Armenian manuscripts share the reading *կրեկեացն* «to those who carry a weight», while the Greek has τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κελεόν «to those of the house of Keleos/ to those who followed Keleos». I suggest correcting *կրեկեացն*, which may be an archetypal error, into *կեկեանցն* «to the “Keleians”/ to those of the house of Keleos», a *hapax* created *ad hoc* by the translator. The corruption was perhaps facilitated by the recurrence of the verb *կրեմ* «to carry a weight/ to suffer/ to endure» (gr. πάσχω «to suffer/ to endure»).

The same pattern of translation, whereby Greek οἱ περὶ τὸν δεῖνα «those of the house of x» is translated by a name suffixed in *-եանք*, can be found e.g. at *hist.* 3.1 arm (p. 25, ll. 17-18 Manandian = *hist.* 4.1.10 Nimmo Smith), where οἱ περὶ τὸν Τροφώνιον καὶ Ἐμπεδοτίμον καὶ Ἀρισταῖον «those of the house of Trophonius and Empedotimus and Aristaeus»³³ is rendered with *Տրոփոնեանքն եւ Եմպեդոտիմեանքն եւ Արիստեանքն* «the “Trophonians” and “Empedotimians” and “Aristaeans”/ those of the house of Trophonius, Empedotimus and Aristaeus».³⁴

2.3. *hist.* 1.4 arm. (p. 6, l. 25 – p. 7, ll. 1-2 Manandian = *hist.* 39.4.35-37

³³ Translation mine; Nimmo Smith translates «Trophonius, Empedotimus and Aristaeus» (Nimmo Smith, *A Christian's Guide*, p. 3).

³⁴ I give here the reading of mss. ԳԵ; mss. ԱԲ, and thus also Manandian's edition, omit եւ արիստեանքն «and the “Aristaeans”», which was probably dropped because of a *saut du même au même*.

Nimmo Smith)³⁵

ed. Nimmo Smith, fere codd. graeci	Ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Διὸς γέγονε κεφαλὴ ὠδίνων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ μηρὸς αὐτοῦ γέγονε μηρὸς ὠδίνων	The head of Zeus became a head of labour pains, just as his thigh became “a thigh of labour pains” ³⁶
ed. Manandian, mss. ԱՐԳԴ	Գլուխն Արամազդայ գլուխ ասի երկնից, որպէս եւ բարձքն՝ բարձք երկնի	The head of Aramazd is said “head of the sky”, as his thighs “thighs of the sky”
Syr (ed. Brock)	<i>ryšh dzws hw’ ryšh dhbl’</i> , <i>’ykn’ d’p’ t’mh</i>	The head of Zeus became a head (full) of travail, as was also his thigh

Here the error is quite easy to explain. Some scribe must have confused *երկն* (gen. sg. *երկան*, gen. pl. *երկանց*) «labour pain» with *երկին/երկինք* (gen. sg. *երկնի*, gen. pl. *երկնից*) «sky», because Zeus (identified with Aramazd in the pagan Armenian pantheon) is the god of the sky, and the expression *գլուխ երկանց* «head of labour pains» seemed somewhat odd, even after the explication of the birth of Dionysus from Zeus’s thigh in the previous lines of the same chapter. The comparison with the Greek κεφαλὴ ὠδίνων «head of labour pains» and μηρὸς ὠδίνων «thigh of labour pains» allows us to suggest the conjectural emendations of *գլուխ երկնից* «head of the sky» in *գլուխ երկանց* «head of pain labours», and of *բարձք երկնի* «thighs of the sky» in *բարձք երկանց* «thighs of pain labours».

These are just some examples of the work that should be done to achieve a full revision of Nonnos’ text; of course, a new edition, apart from a more reliable critical text which takes into account all known manuscripts, should include a comprehensive study of the *Commentary*, starting e.g. from its translation technique and its reception in Medieval Armenia.

³⁵ See also **Muradyan**, *Greek Myths*, p. 63.

³⁶ Translation is min.

ԼՈՐԵՆՅՈ ԿՈԼՈՄԲՈ

ԲԱՆԱՍԻՐԱԿԱՆ ԴԻՏԱՐԿՈՒՄՆԵՐ ԿԵՂԾ-ՆՈՆՆՈՍԻ՝ ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ՆԱԶԻԱՆՉԱՑՈՒ ՃԱՌԵՐԻ ՄԵԿՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀԻՆ ՀԱՅԵՐԵՆ ԹԱՐԳՄԱՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՎԵՐԱԲԵՐՅԱԼ

Բանալի բառեր՝ Կեղծ-նոննոս, հունական դիցաբանություն, հունաբան դպրոց, Գրիգոր Նազիանզացի, թարգմանություն հունարենից, բանասիրություն, բնագրագիտություն:

Կեղծ-նոննոսի՝ Գրիգոր Նազիանզացու ճառերի Մեկնության հին հայերեն թարգմանության բնագիրն արժանի է հետագա բանասիրական քննության: Այն հրատարակության պատրաստելիս՝ Հակոբ Մանանդյանը ոչ բոլոր ձեռագրերն է օգտագործել: Այդ անտիպ ձեռագրերի և հունարեն սկզբնագրի, երուսաղեմի Կոսմասի վկայության ու հնագույն ասորերեն թարգմանության բաղդատությունը թույլ են տալիս են բնագրային որոշ ուղղումներ առաջարկել Մանանդյանի հրատարակության մեջ. էջ 3.9-10՝ կարդալ **երկուցեալ Ռէի** (փխ. «երկուցեալ»), էջ 4.14-15՝ կարդալ **եղեւ Ռէ** (փխ. «եղև»), էջ 5.2-3՝ կարդալ **շրջէր խնդրելով** (փխ. «շրջելով խնդրէր»), էջ 12.20-21՝ կարդալ **պատկերի նորա** (փխ. «պատկերի (նոր)»): Հայերեն թարգմանության մեջ որոշ առաջարկվող ուղղումներ պայմանավորված չեն նոր տարրնթերցումների ի հայտ գալով, այլ դրանք հուշում են հունարեն սկզբնագիրն ու պարզ տրամաբանությունը. էջ 4.18-19՝ կարդալ **ի հատուածսն** (փխ. «ի հարուածսն»), էջ 5.18՝ կարդալ **Կելեանցն** (փխ. «կրելեանցն»), էջ 6.25 – 7.1-2՝ կարդալ **երկանց** (փխ. «երկնից»):

ЛОРЕНЦО КОЛОМБО

**ФИЛОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ЗАМЕТКИ ОТНОСИТЕЛЬНО
ДРЕВНЕАРМЯНСКОГО ПЕРЕВОДА КОММЕНТАРИЯ
ПСЕВДО-НОННА К РЕЧАМ ГРИГОРИЯ НАЗИАНЗИНА**

Ключевые слова: Псевдо-Нонн, греческая мифология, грекофильская школа, Григорий Назианзин, перевод с греческого, филология, критика текста.

Текст древнеармянского перевода комментария Псевдо-Нонна к речам Григория Назианзина нуждается в дальнейшем филологическом исследовании. При подготовке его к изданию Акоб Манандян использовал не все рукописи. Сопоставление текста с новыми списками, а также с греческим оригиналом, свидетельством Козьмы Иерусалимского и древним сирийским переводом позволяет предложить некоторые исправления в издании Манандяна: на с. 3.9-10 следует читать **երկուցեալ Ռէի** (вм. «**երկուցեալ**»), на с. 4.14-15 следует читать **եղև Ռէ** (вм. «**եղև**»), на с. 5.2-3 следует читать **շրջեալ խնդրելով** (вм. «**շրջելով խնդրել**»), на с. 12.20-21 следует читать **պատկերի նորա** (вм. «**պատկերի (նոր)**»). Некоторые предлагаемые эмендации армянского текста не обусловлены новыми разночтениями, а подсказаны греческим оригиналом и простой логикой: на с. 4.18-19 следует читать **ի հատուածն** (вм. «**ի հարուածն**»), на с. 5.18 следует читать **Կելեանցն** (вм. «**կրկեացն**»), и на с. 6.25 – 7.1-2 следует читать **երկանց** (вм. «**երկնից**»):