

## Georgian Palimpsests in Tbilisi

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1. We are just between two centennial jubilees concerning the Georgian language: In 1920, Akaki Shanidze became the first doctor of the newly founded University of Tbilisi; in his dissertation, he had laid the foundations for the discovery of the so-called *khanmeti* texts (5<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries). In 1922, Ivane Javakhishvili published the first *khanmeti* texts on the basis of palimpsest manuscripts, to be followed one year after by the publication of the first *haemeti* texts by A. Shanidze. The periodisation of Georgian texts was thus opened, and the impulse for the publication of Georgian palimpsests was given.

The history of the decipherment of Georgian palimpsests is recalled in the introduction (pp. 13–14) of a very rich volume that was published at the end of the year 2017 in Tbilisi: *Georgian Palimpsests at the National Centre of Manuscripts. Catalogue, Texts, Album* (Kajaia et al. 2017; hereafter: *Cat.*), a big in-4° book of 808 pages (weighing nearly 2,5 kg!). The volume, which is entirely bilingual in Georgian and English (English translation by Tamar Zhghenti), describes 124 palimpsest manuscripts stored in the Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts; they include manuscripts of the so-called Svanetian collection (“Svan.”) which has not yet been catalogued, as well as two items from the collection of historical documents (“Hd”) and one from the collection of fragments (“Fr”). This important endeavour was supported by the Shota Rustaveli National Scientific Foundation and the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia. The volume was prepared by Lamara Kajaia (the Centre’s specialist of *khanmeti* palimpsests who unfortunately departed in 2016), Khatuna Gaprindashvili, Tsitsino Guledani, Natia Mirotadze, Dali Chitunashvili and Irma Khositashvili.

1.1 After an introduction by Dali Chitunashvili (pp. 7–16), the first 287 pages of the volume provide a “Catalogue”, i. e. descriptions of the overtxts and undertxts of each palimpsest under investigation (pp. 18–287). For each overtxt, we are given information as to its content, date, the number of folia, the material, the script used, the size, the colour of the ink, the place of copying (if known), and the name of the scribe(s) (if known). For each undertxt, the authors determine the number and foliation of the palimpsested folia, the reconstructed size, the colour of the ink, the script used, and the basic linguistic features (distinguishing *khanmeti*, *haemeti* and *sannarevi* texts). Three “categories” (I, II and III) seem to indicate how easy or difficult it is to read the given undertxt (there is no explanation of what exactly the categories mean). In addition, the description addresses the orientation towards the overtxt; the width of, and the space between, columns (if applicable); the number of, and the space between, lines; the number of graphemes within a line; and the margins. Beyond that, we are informed about paleographic characteristics (described in general terms such as “large irregular letters” etc.), including initials, division and punctuation marks, abbreviations, the content of the palimpsested layer, and its presumed date. Notes indicate which folios were deciphered, which text they contain and if other parts of the same manuscript are found elsewhere; finally, the authors added bibliographical references. Thus, we are by all means given a very complete description of the manuscripts.

1.2 After the “Catalogue” proper, the volume contains a second part named “Texts (and Album)” (pp. 290–789). It provides a photographic sample (51 images in colour, the rest in black-and-white) of each undertext, and facing each photograph, a transcription of the given undertext. Sometimes the original manuscript was so well erased before being overwritten that nothing can be deciphered and only the ruling appears (this is true, e. g., of A 844-4, A 845, H 1442-12, Svan 20 and Svan 21); in these cases, no photographs are given in the *Album*). It must be noted here that some palimpsests contain (parts of) several different original codices (indicated as additions to the shelf numbers as in the case of A 844-4); we are thus reminded of the famous Vienna palimpsest (Vind. georg. 2) published by J. Gippert *et al.* (2007), which contains remnants of 16 different original manuscripts.

1.3 Beyond the “Album”, the volume illustrates the ruling systems of 25 manuscripts (15 different systems) as established by Natia Mirotadze (pp. 790–794), a bibliography of published palimpsests compiled by Khatuna Gaprindashvili and Natia Mirotadze (pp. 795–801), and finally “Indices” (pp. 805–808) grouping the materials by their content (“Thematic”), the type of script used, *khanmeti* and *haemeti* features, “reunited” fragments of the same manuscript reused in several different manuscripts, and a chronological table extending from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The bibliography (pp. 798–801) shows that some texts had already been identified and edited, mainly by Georgian scholars since 1922. A few non-Georgian scholars published Georgian palimpsests as well (cf., e. g., Blake 1932, Birdsall 1969 etc., Van Esbroeck 1980, Gippert 2007, etc.). Missing in the bibliography is Rusudan Orbeli’s article “On the study of a Georgian palimpsest from the laura of St Sabbas” (1967) and Michel Van Esbroeck’s “The palimpsest *mravaltavi* of Leningrad” (1978). Besides this, the latter author identified four texts from a *mravaltavi* (homiliary) of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (1980: 18–21). In the Tbilisi volume, the item in question is now styled A 737-2, but the cross-references are not so easy to verify today since Van Esbroeck indicated pages whereas the new *Catalogue* indicates folios. The problem is that according to Van Esbroeck (1980: 19–20), the fourth identified text of A 737-2 is a homily for the Beheading of John the Baptist; however, according to *Cat.* (37), it is a homily for the Consecration, which is indeed the homily following that on the Beheading in the famous Homiliary of Sinai (*Sinuri Mravaltavi*; Sin. georg. 32-57-33, ff. 202v–206r and 206r–214r). Should this be represented in A 737-2, too, as a fifth homily?

1.4 As can be seen, we are indeed facing a monumental work: a description as complete as possible of 124 manuscripts<sup>1</sup> containing palimpsested folia, with a total of 10,630 of palimpsested pages resulting from the re-use of 270 different original manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> This implies that sometimes, parts of the same codex were re-used in different later manuscripts. This fact is of course indicated in the *Catalogue*; e. g., the common basis of A 89 and A 844-1 has been known since long (the *khanmeti* Gospels edited by Kajaia 1984), as has that of H 1329 and Q 333 (the *haemeti* Lectionary edited by Shanidze 1923). To these we may add A 203-6 with A 203a-1 and A 203a-2; A 1390-1 with H 3189 and Svan 12; A 1390-2 with Svan 1; H 523-3 with S 3902-2 (with letters written below the ruling lines, not above); H 528-2 with Svan 22-7; H 528-4 with Svan 22-2; H 536-1 with Svan 21; H 529 with Svan 22-4; and the following parts of H 999: 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22; probably also 4, 13 and 15 (my suggestion).

<sup>1</sup> We have to note that one fragment consisting of a single folio, Svan 18-3, is no palimpsest, as indicated in the volume (p. 267).

<sup>2</sup> The totals given here need verification.

Here are some figures concerning the distribution of original codices in the palimpsests:

- 2 manuscripts reused in 1: 28
- 3 manuscripts reused in 1: 9
- 4 manuscripts reused in 1: 4
- 5 manuscripts reused in 1: 6
- 6, 7, 8, 9 or 12 manuscripts reused in 1: 1
- 10 manuscripts reused in 1: 1.

In addition, there are eleven double palimpsests, with all three layers in Georgian:

- A 203-4 (*nuskhuri*, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cc.), 2 ff.: *nuskhuri*, unidentified / *nuskhuri*, 12<sup>th</sup> c., liturgical (Prophetologion ?)
- H 526-1 (*nuskhuri*, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cc.), 38 ff.: unidentified / *asomtavruli*, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Psalms
- H 526-2 (*nuskhuri*, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cc.), 38 ff.: *asomtavruli*, 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> cc., Psalms (my identification: Ps. 5.5–6, cf. below) / *nuskhuri*, 14<sup>th</sup> c.
- H 528-2 and Svan 22-7 (*nuskhuri*, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cc.), 6 + 11 ff.: *asomtavruli* / *nuskhuri*, 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> cc., Psalms (H 528-2, my identification, cf. below) and other text (Svan 22-7, no Psalms) / *nuskhuri*, unidentified.
- H 536-1 (*nuskhuri*, 14<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> cc.) and Svan 21 (*nuskhuri*, 14<sup>th</sup> c.), 2 + 2 ff.: *nuskhuri*, 12<sup>th</sup> c., Gospels / *nuskhuri*, 13<sup>th</sup> c., unidentified.
- H 1332-5 (*nuskhuri*, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cc.), 1 page (!): *asomtavruli*, unidentified / *asomtavruli*, 10<sup>th</sup> c., Exodus
- H 1439-3 (*nuskhuri*, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cc.), 6 ff. (?): unidentified / *nuskhuri*, 11<sup>th</sup> c., hymns
- H 1442-12 (*nuskhuri*, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cc.), 6 ff.: unidentified, no photographs given
- H 1871-3 + 3098ab-1 (*nuskhuri*, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> cc.), 8+1 ff.: unidentified / *asomtavruli*, 11<sup>th</sup> c., *iadgari*
- H 3189 (*nuskhuri*, 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> cc.), 2ff.: *asomtavruli*, 9<sup>th</sup> c., Lectionary / *nuskhuri*, 13<sup>th</sup> c., unidentified

It remains unclear which technical means were used in deciphering the texts – it is only mentioned in passing in the introduction that ultraviolet light was applied (p. 15). Of course, more advanced technology will provide more insights, but there are more than 5000 folia still to be deciphered – where is the end?

2. Having this bulk of information at hand, two general questions arise:

2.1 Where and when did the palimpsesting take place? Unfortunately, there are only twelve colophons preserved in the palimpsests which, with no surprise, indicate some of the main known scriptoria: Tskarostavi, Shatberdi and Xandzta in Tao-Klarjeti, Gethsemane and the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, Svanetia, Constantinople, and the Black Mountain near Antioch. The time span covered is remarkable, extending from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

2.2 Why were so many pages palimpsested? The answer may be a double one:

a) The Georgian written language changed considerably between the second part of the 7<sup>th</sup> up to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, best visible in certain (verbal) prefixes that developed from *x* in the 5<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries (styled the *khanmeti* period after the letter name, *khan*) via *hae* from the second part or end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (the *haemeti* period, after the letter

name *hae*) to *s*, *š*, or *Ø* from the 9<sup>th</sup> century up to now (the *sannarevi* period, after the letter name *san*). Among the palimpsests investigated by Kajaia *et al.*, there are 12 *khanmeti* manuscripts, with H 1442-1 and 1442-4 (Gospels) as well as Svan 23-3 (a *mravaltavi*) newly identified. We thus gain a small but significant image of the oldest layer of Georgian literacy, with texts from the Old Testament (Isaiah), the Gospels (6 fragments), homiliaries (4 manuscripts) and lectionaries (2), all necessary for liturgical use. With 687 folios, this is an important heritage. In contrast to this, there is only one *haemeti* palimpsest preserved, in H 1329 + Q 333, a Gospel Lectionary (partly edited by Shanidze 1923) of which there are 104 folios left.

b) The second reason why so many palimpsests were produced is the changes that occurred not in the Georgian language but in liturgy. Up to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Georgian liturgical books mirrored, as translations, the Greek liturgy of Jerusalem. After the numerous and precise new translations of the liturgy of Constantinople that were produced by George the Athonite († 1065), older liturgical books, mainly lectionaries and hymnaries (*iadgari*), became obsolete and were thus prone to be overwritten, all the more since lectionaries were usually large manuscripts and provided a big amount of parchment.

3. In the following, I will give a general survey of the content of the Georgian palimpsests catalogued by Kajaia *et al.*, especially of those items for which I can add new information by the identification of texts or their liturgical use as lectionaries; this is not a complete list, however.

### 3.1 Bible<sup>3</sup>

#### 3.1.1 Old Testament

##### 3.1.1.1 Genesis

- Svan 18-3 (2.5–18): according to the redaction of the text, it should stem from a lectionary; cf. Tarnischvili (1959–60; hereafter: *T*), nos. 13 and 722.

##### 3.1.1.2 Exodus

- H 1332-5 (10.23–11.1) and H 1830 (12.10–15): ditto (cf. *T* 547 and 724).

##### 3.1.1.3 Job

- H 999-24 (38.33–38): ditto (cf. *T* 728/734), as indicated by variants in verse 36.

##### 3.1.1.4 Isaiah

- A 844-2 (7.20–23; 9.6, 49.8 50.6): *khanmeti* but note the post-*khanmeti* form ღაჰყუნობს in l. 6 and the restitution of [ჰჰჰ]ღეს in l. 12.<sup>4</sup> Except for the *khanmeti* features, this text version of the book of Isaiah is the same as that preserved in the Oški Bible (Ivir. georg. 1).
- Q 267-2 (58.9–13).

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. the index in *Cat.* (805) which does not indicate the actual text passages.

<sup>4</sup> *Cat.* (336); according to A. Kharanauti, L. Kajaia did read the *khanmeti* form in l. 6 and a form without prefix in l. 12 (personal information, for which I express my gratitude).

### 3.1.1.5 Ezekiel

- H 999-5 (18.9–17).
- H 999-8 (unidentified): stems from a lectionary as indicated by the title in rubrics.

### 3.1.1.6 Daniel

- H 1830 (Dan. 3.19): stems from a lectionary, cf. Exodus (cf. *T* 735).

### 3.1.1.7 Psalter

At least 28 fragments; the Psalter used to be a separate book.

#### 3.1.1.7.1 Pre-Athonite:

- H 526-1 (135.13–21; also remnants of Pss. 5, 6, 17, 39, 50, 87, 88, 108, 137).
- H 526-2 (double palimpsest, cf. above): the older layer, *asomtavruli*, unidentified in the *Catalogue*, is Ps. 5.5–6 (identification via TITUS).
- H 528-1 (104:36–44).
- H 528-2 (also a double palimpsest, cf. above): the middle layer, unidentified in the *Catalogue*, is Ps. 108.28 – 109.3 (identification via TITUS); the image must be turned by 180°.
- H 1397 (49:16–22; also remnants of Pss. 30, 31, 41, 44, 48, 54): text form very close to that of Sin. georg. 29 (C in the edition Shanidze 1960), though said to differ from the pre-Athonite redaction (*Cat.* 109).
- H 2090-1 (Ps 84.12–85, 88. 6–9).
- Svan 23-5 (103:23 – 104.1): pre-Athonite redaction not indicated in the *Catalogue*.

#### 3.1.1.7.2 Athonite vulgate:

- A 146 (43.2–11) the date given (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> cc.: *Cat.* 25) must be corrected to 11<sup>th</sup> c., the text form is that of George the Athonite's revision; in l. 3 of the edition (*Cat.* 300), ვითარ ჰოვე სო must be suppressed.
- H 2091-1 (70.22 – 71.11): omitted in the index.

### 3.1.2 Gospels:

#### 3.1.2.1 *Khanmeti*

- A 89 (188 ff. out of 438) and A 844-1 (58 ff. out of 107): edited in part by Kajaia (1984).
- A 844-3: not Mk. 14.36–42 but Mt. 26.42–46.
- H 999-2 (Lk. 19.8; 11–12; also Mt. 5–7, Lk. 18): all 13 ff. are edited in Kajaia (2014). The reference to “Kajaia 2013” in the *Catalogue* is not verifiable as it is missing in the bibliography (p. 797).
- H 999-9 (Mt. 6.4–5): text form of the Protovulgate, probably *khanmeti*.
- H 1442-1 (Mk. 1.45 – 2.3) and H 1442-4 (Mk. 1.24–27): likely stemming from the same original manuscript.
- H 1445-2: the text passage is from the Gospel of John (20.19–22), not Luke as indicated in *Cat.* (133); the text is closer to the text of the lectionaries (cf. დამსლოჯლ in Jo. 20.19), so it may represent a manuscript similar to the *Khanmeti lectionary* of Mt. Sinai (ms. Graz, UB, 2058-1).
- Svan 4 (Mt. 19.20–21, 23–24, 26–28).

### 3.1.2.2 *Protovulgate*

- H 528-5 + Svan 22-3 (Mt 14.17–19, 16.4–5).
- H 999-25 (Lk 10.26–27).
- H 1395 + H1871-1 + H 3098ab-1 (Mt 26.26–36, 44–53, 27.8–19).
- H 1442-3 (Lk 23.26–28).
- H 1871-2 + H 3098ab-3 + Svan 7 (Lk 8.39–46, 23.53 – 24.8, Jo 2.26-36).
- H 2090-2 (Lk 3.3–8).
- H 2092ab-2 (Mt 28.5–15).
- H 2401 (Mt 13.7–19).

### 3.1.2.3 *Vulgate*

- A 203-3 (?): too short to know which version it contains; certainly not that of Hädiš, probably the vulgate (Jo 7.28–48).
- H 536-1 + Svan 21 (no photo in the Album) (Mt 19.10–18).
- H 2091-4 + Svan 23-1 (Mt 5.33–46, Jo 2.8–14).
- H 2091-5 (Mt 5.36–45).
- S 3949-2 (Jo 5.20–23).
- Hd 1390 (? but photo 1359a) (Mt 27.27–33 and index).

### 3.1.3 Acts

- Svan 2-2: 9<sup>th</sup> century, said to contain “an unknown version of the Acts”, but the text is very close to the older version, C, edited by Ilia Abuladze (1950); there are many errors in the transcription (Acts 7.21–29).

### 3.1.4 Pauline Epistles

- Svan 15-3: (II Cor. 9.6–7, vulgate).

## 3.2 Lectionary of Jerusalem

Very precious material since we do not have any complete lectionary in Georgian; here we have valuable additions to what is already known. 52 fragments, some rather large; still 2612 pages remain to decipher!

### 3.2.1 *Haemeti*

- H 1329 + Q 333 (Gospels).

### 3.2.2 *Sannarevi*

- A 136: 3<sup>rd</sup> Saturday – 3<sup>rd</sup> Sunday after Easter (not 1<sup>st</sup> week of Lent as indicated in *Cat.* 22) = T 828-830; the text begins with Jo. 6.49–51 (end of the lection of Jo. 6.41–51), then continues with Ps. 64.2–3 and ends with the lection of Acts 5.21–24, which is the only one indicated in *Cat.*
- A 203-4: unidentified lectionary material.
- A 737-3: T 333.
- A 737-4: the assumption that the manuscript was a lectionary is confirmed by the identification of the two first lines of f. 40v, end of the lection T 761 = Acts 8.40; identified via TITUS, searching the attestations of ვ(იღრ)ე მოსლკვადმდე მისა.

- A 836: *T* 332.
- A 1390-1: *T* 312, 314 and 316.
- A 1390-2: *T* 388.
- A 1390-3: *T* 856.
- A 1695-1: *T* 273, 340, 410 and 533.
- A 1695-2: *T* 272 and 273. I could decipher also *T* 271 on f. 58r.
- H 523-1: *T* 1358–1361; instead of Mt. 16.24–27 (= *T* 1362) as proposed in *Cat.* (57), we have Mk. 8.31 – 9.1 = *T* 1487 (martyrs’ common), and the service for 15 November is not contained on the page as indicated in *Cat.*
- H 523-2: *T* 418, lection from Genesis, not Exodus as printed in *Cat.* (58).
- H 523-3: unidentified in the *Catalogue*; we find Ps. 138.8 and 1; I Tim. 3.14–16; Mk. 12. 35–?; Mt. 19.3–4. The sequence does not correspond to known celebrations in the Lectionary of Jerusalem but the dates indicated seem consistent: I Tim. 3.14–16 = *T* 552 6<sup>th</sup> Thursday of Lent (ⲓ “3” must be corrected to ⲓ “6”) > 6<sup>th</sup> day after *Enkainia*; Mk. 12.28–44 = *T* 1253g (6<sup>th</sup> day after *Enkainia*).
- H 523-4: *T* 274.
- H 525: *T* 84, 138, 160, 334, 335, 342 and 456.
- H 527-1: *T* 35 and 36. *T* 35 is from II Kings, not II Chronicles, as printed in *Cat.* (64).
- H 999-1: *T* 612 and 615; the text passage edited (*Cat.* 388) is not Wisdom of Solomon 9.1–4 but Proverbs 9.1–4, *T* 612b (present in the lectionaries of Kala and Sinai).
- H 999-3: *T* 729.
- H 999-5: *T* 442.
- H 999-6: *T* 98 or 727.
- H 999-7: 31<sup>st</sup> January –3<sup>rd</sup> February, partly different from *T*.
- H 999-8: washed off except for one title (Ez.).
- H 999-10: *T* 1225; in the second column an unknown lection of Exodus and *T* 458.
- H 999-11: *T* 730, 731.
- H 999-12: *T* 728.
- H 999-14: *T* 725.
- H 999-16: *T* 727–728.
- H 999-17: *T* 725 and 343?
- H 999-18: *T* 486.
- H 999-21: *T* 1457, 1467 and 1478 (probably not 12<sup>th</sup> but 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> cc.).
- H 999-24: *T* 728 or 734 (Job, unidentified as lectionary text).
- H 999-26: *T* 291, plus two unattested lections.
- H 1338 (col. a: Acts 1.9–14 (not Lk. 1.10–14 as in *Cat.* 106); col. b: Lk. 24.41–50 = *T* 856z (Ascension, not 27 September).
- H 1830: see 3.1.1.6 above.
- Q 1375: unidentified first column = *T* 856z (Acts 1.11–14, Ascension).
- Hd 1554a: *T* 572–574k.

### 3.3 Apocrypha

- Svan 23-2: unidentified Adam’s story. Unknown in any other language.
- A 737-1: travels of the Apostles / *Peregrinatio Apostolorum* (*khanmeti*, no Greek text known, only partly edited).

### 3.4 Homiletics

#### 3.4.1 *Mravaltavi* (for these books and the sigla used hereafter see Gippert 2019: 81 and 92–103).

- A 737-2: Finding of St Stephen’s relics (S10, T23, P20); Panegyric of St Stephen (T25); Justinian’s Letter on Christmas (T16, P11); John Chrysostom, *On the Beheading of John the Baptist* (S37, S38).
- H 999-4: “unidentified [Homiletics]” with reference to John Chrysostom, *On Lent and Jonah* in *Cat.* (75), = John Chrysostom, *On the Resurrection IV* (Shanidze *et al.* 1994: 258, 20–21; U39, K15) (identified via TITUS).
- H 999-13 and -15: = John Chrysostom, *On the Sealing of the Sepulchre* (Shanidze *et al.* 1994: 219, 17–21 and 21–28; U32), unidentified for H 999-13 in *Cat.* (84) (identified via TITUS).
- H 999-19: = Meletius of Antioch, *On the Resurrection* (Shanidze *et al.* 1994: 238, 1–4; A36, S27, U35, K10); the end of the preceding homily is still unidentified.
- H-999-22: same original codex as H 999-19; f. 3v = John Chrysostom, *On the Resurrection II* (Shanidze *et al.* 1994: 252, 22–28; U37, K13) (identified via TITUS); the homily on f. 4r (*Cat.* 430) fills part of the lacuna between ff. 149v and 150r within the homily *On the Resurrection* attributed to Epiphanius of Salamis in the *Udabno mravaltavi* (Shanidze *et al.* 1994: 261; U41), which rather pertains to Amphilochius of Iconium (homily 7, cf. Bonnet 2012: 98).
- Svan 23-3: unidentified in *Cat.* (281); John Chrysostom, *On the Baptism of Christ* = Shanidze (1959: 77, 10–19 and 30 – 78, 2; S14, T52, P47, U7).

#### 3.4.2 Ioane Bolneli

- H 1816a-1.

#### 3.4.3 John Chrysostom

- H 1403-2: “unidentified [Homiletic collection]” in *Cat.* (111); *Margaliti* (the Pearl), ch. 18 and ch. 13 (identified via TITUS).
- Q 267-7: “unidentified [Homiletics]” in *Cat.* (211); *On penitence* (CPG 4614; PG 59, 757), unedited in Georgian (identified after translation into Greek and query in TLG).

#### 3.4.4 Gregory of Nyssa

- A 737-6: *On the Making of Man* (CPG 3154).

#### 3.4.5 *Mamata șavłani*

- H 1741-2: unidentified in *Cat.* (138); John Chrysostom, *On Patience* (CPG 4693; PG 63, 937–942) = Abuladze (1955: 24, 2–8 and 13–18).

#### 3.4.6 Wisdom of Balavar

- Q 829-1: this is a fragment of the long redaction, in *asomtavruli*, 10<sup>th</sup> century. I. Abuladze thought it could be from the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries; the spelling of ႠႣႣႣ without 3 in lines 8 and 10 is in favour of a model of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.



### 3.5 Hagiography

#### 3.5.1 Lives and legends

- A-44: Life of Maximus the Confessor, edited by K. Kekelidze in his *Keimena* (1918: 84, l. 30 – 85, l. 6; missing in the bibliography of *Cat.*).
- A 203-1: unidentified Martyrdom.
- A-737-1: Martyrdom of St Christina.
- H-999-20 and H-1239-2: unidentified.
- H 1403-1: Life of Ephrem the Syrian.
- H 3247: Life of Euthymius the Great.
- Q 637a: unidentified in *Cat.* (217); Life of St Symeon the Stylite, edited by Kekelidze (1918: 308, 16–35).

#### 3.5.2 Great Synaxarion

- Fr 184-2: unidentified in *Cat.* (285); = 28–29 January (161a, 14 – 161b, 24 in the edition by Dolakidze / Chitunashvili (2018) (identified via TITUS).

### 3.6 Hymnography and other liturgical matter

Here too, I do not intend to be complete: I present mainly manuscripts for which I have some new identification or information to provide.

#### 3.6.1 *Iadgari*

##### 3.6.1.1 *Uzvelesi iadgari*

We receive a new image of the diffusion of the hymnody from Palestine to Georgia, with stanzas of the *Uzvelesi iadgari* in an order different from that in the Palestinian manuscripts, with new stanzas, and mixed with compositions found in Mikael Modrekili's work; there is also one fragment with hymns by Ioane Minchkhi and stanzas reused by George the Athonite: the liturgy is a living corpus! And it is also the field where many editions have still to be worked out: the *saçeliçdo iadgari* (the later form of the Palestinian Greek hymnody), and the translations of the Byzantine books by George the Athonite.

- A 147: note that on l. 6 of the manuscript, there is a theotokion, missing in the edition (the last word is not  $\partial(\varsigma)\partial(\varsigma\omega)$  but  $\partial(\varsigma\omega\omega\varsigma)\partial$ ).
- A 1390-4: *Cat.* (52) refers to 531, l. 12, 328, l. 33 and 329, l. 1 of the edition (Metreveli *et al.* 1980; hereafter: *ed.*); but lines 1–8 are not found in the edition, lines 10–17 correspond to *ed.* 373, 9–25 (Paschal troparia, 1<sup>st</sup> mode; identified via TITUS), and lines 18–21 to *ed.* 328, 32 – 329, 1 (Hymns for the dead): this is clearly a different liturgical context.
- H 528-4.
- H 1436-1: lines 7–14 = *ed.* 166, 9–17 (identified via TITUS); lines 1–6 and 15–21 unidentified.
- H 1436-2: lines 1–6 = *ed.* 186, 14–18 (identified via TITUS); lines 7–15 unidentified.
- H 1436-4: according to *Cat.* (115) an unidentified prayer, but lines 2–8 = *ed.* 157, 17–23 (identified via TITUS); lines 1 and 9–17 unidentified.
- H 1442-6: corresponds to *ed.* 368, 7–31.

- H 1442-8: unidentified “Collection of Chants – Iadgari” in *Cat.* (127); hymns for the 40 Martyrs of Sebaste but I could identify (via TITUS) only lines 19–20 = *ed.* 143, 24–25.
- H 1442-11: unidentified “Collection of Chants” in *Cat.* (130); = *ed.* 165, 3–20.
- H 1872: unidentified “Collection of Chants – Iadgari” in *Cat.* (166); lines 1–2 = *ed.* 68, 8–10; lines 9–11 = *ed.* 68, 23–26 (with textual variants); lines 15–17 = *ed.* 69, 7–9; lines 18–23 = *ed.* 68, 34 – 69, 6.
- H 2084v-2: it is possible to identify lines 7–8 = *ed.* 209, 20–23; lines 12–13 = *ed.* 209, 35–37; l. 25 = *ed.* 210, 18; lines 26–27 = *ed.* 210, 20–22; lines 27–28 = *ed.* 210, 24–25.
- S 3949-1: the information in *Cat.* can be given more precisely: *ed.* 326, 16–17; 29–35; 327, 5–8; 400, 10–13.
- S 4999-2: lines 1–3: *ed.* 394, 10–13; the other parts unidentified.
- Svan 13-1: = *ed.* 403, 21–23; 402, 10–13; 403, 8–9 and 24–25.
- Svan 22-2: lines 1–8 = *ed.* 371, 9–14; lines 9–12 = 357, 23 (?); lines 13–17 = 371, 25–27.

### 3.6.1.2 Intermediary *iadgari*

- A 137: on l. 20, St Theodore is invocated; this is not the text of the *Udzvelesi iadgari*.
- H-528-3: unidentified “Collection of Chants – Menaion [?]” in *Cat.* (67); Mikael Modrekili (edition by Gvakharia *et al.* 1978, hereafter *Modr.*), 133, 6–11 (identified via TITUS).
- H 1439-3: unidentified “Collection of Chants” in *Cat.* (119); lines 18–21 = *Uzvelesi Iadgari* (*ed.*) 384, 11–14, and l. 22 = *Modr.* 413, 17 (identified via TITUS); lines 1–17 unidentified.
- H 1851a: unidentified “Iadgari” in *Cat.* (150); = *Saçeliçdo iadgari* (unedited), Sin. georg. 65, f. 166v.
- H 2092ab-1: unidentified “Collection of Chants” in *Cat.* (190); col. 1 lines 13–14 = Kiknadze (1982: 421), hirmos 366; col. 2: *Modr.* 255, 13–21 (identified via TITUS).
- Q 267-9: unidentified “Collection of Chants” in *Cat.* (213); = *Modr.* 413, 36 – 414, 7 (identified via TITUS).
- Svan 17: “Unidentified [Collection of Chants]” in *Cat.* (264); lines 4–11 = *Modr.* 334, 2–5 (identified via TITUS).

### 3.6.1.3 *Ioane Minchkhi*

- S 3949-3.

### 3.6.1.4 *George the Athonite*

- S 3477a-5: unidentified “Collection of Chants” in *Cat.* (224); lines 1–7 = 8 September, 145a, 33 – 146b, 12 in the edition Jghamaia (2007) (identified via TITUS).
- Svan 22-5: unidentified “Collection of Chants” in *Cat.* (276); lines 1–7 = 8 September, 138b, 37 – 139a, 17 in the edition Jghamaia (2007) (identified via TITUS).

### 3.6.1.5 Unidentified

- H 520: hymns for Eastertide.
- H-1239-1: St Thomas.
- H 1332-1: “Horologion with chants” in *Cat.* (101); lines 2–6: Ps. 129.3–7; lines 7–8: Ps. 116.1–2 (identified via TITUS); lines 9–14 no psalms.
- H 1396: unidentified but H 1872 as its second part = *Uzvelesi iadgari* (see above).

All these manuscripts, especially those which are testimonies of the reception of the Byzantine liturgy of Jerusalem in Georgia, with the hymnal of Mikael Modrekili and the hymns of Ioane Minchkhi, will permit to gain a better view of the development of the hymnography in Georgian.

### 3.6.2 Heirmologia

- H 1332-4: l. 7 = Ps. 118.109; l. 12 = Ps. 118.143 (identified via TITUS), not found in Greek heirmologia.
- H 1896-1: lines 1–3 = theotokion no. 151 in the edition Metreveli (1971); lines 4–5 = heirmos and theotokion no. 156; lines 6–11 = heirmos and theotokion no. 153; lines 12–18 = heirmos and theotokion no. 160; lines 19–26 = heirmos and theotokion no. 159.

### 3.6.3 Theotokarion

- Svan 22-1.

### 3.6.4 Troparion-Kontakion

- Q 267-1: no identification offered.

### 3.6.5 Festal Menaion (*sadḡesasçaulo*)

- H 526-2.

### 3.6.6 Liturgy of St James

- Svan 6.

### 3.6.7 Prayer of St Basil for the communion

- Svan 15-2.

### 3.6.8 Euchologion

- A 203-6 (+ A-203a-1 and A-203a-2, from the same original).
- A 737-5 (unidentified).
- H 529 + Svan 22-4.
- H 1442-9: rite for marriage, but the reference to the edition (Chelidze 2006: 51) is incorrect.
- H 1853b.
- H 1858-2: redaction different from that edition by Chelidze (2006: 71).
- Q 21.
- Svan 9-2 (no reference to an edition).

### 3.6.9 Horologion

- H 1893b (no reference to any edition).
- S 4938 (reference to an edition of 1899 is incorrect).

### 3.7 Other materials

#### 3.7.1 Apostles' creed

- Svan 8-3.

#### 3.7.2 Nomocanon

- H 1856-1.

#### 3.7.3 Synodal records

- H 191, third sheet.

#### 3.7.4 Medical book

- S 4939.

#### 3.7.5 Miniature

- A194.

### 3.8 Unidentified

- A141.
- A 203-2.
- A 203-4.
- A 203-5: no photo; washed out.
- A-257e (ascetics).
- A 844-4: no photo; washed out.
- A 845: no photo (illegible).
- H 999-23: no photo (illegible).
- H 1332-2.
- H 1332-3.
- H 1436-3.
- H 1442-2.
- H 1710.
- H 1724.
- H 1816a-2.
- H 1816a-3.
- H 1821b.
- H 1853a.
- H 1866a-1.
- H 1871-3.
- H 1893a-1.
- H 1896-2.
- H 1900d-2.
- H 1900ē.
- H 2085a-1.
- H 2085a-2.
- H 3168.
- H 3178.

- Q 34.
- Q 267-8.
- Q 829-2.
- Q 829-3.
- Q 1461.
- S 3949-4.
- S 4999-3: the note in *Cat.* (236) must belong to S 4999-1. The photo shows the colophon of the copyist.
- Svan 8-1.
- Svan 8-2.
- Svan 9-1: seems to stem from a Triodion.
- Svan 14.
- Svan 23-4.
- Fr 184-1.

A great part of these contain liturgical hymns. There will be many interesting discoveries when new technical means can be applied (multispectral analysis). Forty years ago, I donated a UV lamp to the then Institute of Manuscripts...

### 3.9 Unidentified double palimpsests

- A-203-4 (middle layer: Lectionary or Prophetologion, unidentified).
- A-203-5.
- H-528-1.
- H-528-2 + Svan 22-7 (H-528-2 is not declared to be double palimpsest)
- H-536-1 (third layer unidentified).
- H 1442-12 (no photo).
- H 1900d-2 (not declared to be double palimpsest, *asomtavruli/nuskhuri/nuskhuri*).
- Svan 21 (no photo).
- Svan 22-6: the second layer can be read on the photo; text not identifiable in TITUS. The first layer could be Ps. 88.43.
- Svan 22-7.

## 4. Two Case Studies

4.1 The identification of Svan 23-3, the last *khanmeti* text that was not yet identified in *Cat.*, with a Homily of (Pseudo)-Chrysostom *On the Baptism of Christ* (Shanidze 1959: 76–79, here 77, 10–19 and 77, 30 – 78, 2 and Shanidze *et al.* 1994: 53, 23–32 and 54, 13–21; S14 and U7) allows to correct the decipherment; for instance, f. 3ra l. 10 განა[... ..]ლისა must be read as განასვეტაკეს ‘ ო. We may also note that the identification of the text by G. Peradze (1931: 97, 7c, reprinted in 2015: 59) as PG 59, 535–542 (CPG 4581) is false; K. Kekelidze (1957: 72, no 24) was more prudent and did not attempt any identification. According to Laurence Mellerin of Biblindex, whom I thank, there is no Greek text with these biblical quotations known today (e-mail of 27.9.2021).

It is also very interesting for the history of the text to see that in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, there were already variants present: our fragment goes sometimes with the Sinai *Mravaltavi* of 864, sometimes with that of *Udabno*, also of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, sometimes with the inedited Athos

*Mravaltavi* (Ivir.georg. 11, 10<sup>th</sup> century). With the *Udabno Mravaltavi* it shares an error reading სურვილი instead of ურვილი.<sup>5</sup> So it proves that there is no manuscript without any copyist's error, even among the oldest manuscripts available!

The fragment also illustrates that you have to be patient when searching in TITUS: the first word in the given passage that you might want to look for is ეშპაკეული, which yields no hit in the homily. The reason is that the three manuscripts all differ at the given point, at the same time demonstrating the incredible capacity of the Georgian language to create new words; we read in:

- Svan 23-3: სოული იგი ეშპაკეული
- Udabno *Mravaltavi*: სოულნი იგი შემწიკოულნი
- Sinai *Mravaltavi*: სოული იგი შემწიკოულეზული
- Athos *Mravaltavi*: ს(ო)ული იგი შემწინკულევანებული.

4.2 The fragment Svan 23-2 offers text on two pages – the only legible one of the two folios it consists of. The text is apocryphal, describing the revolt of angels, the creation of man and the beginning of the tentation through Samael. I asked the best connoisseur of Adam's apocrypha, my friend Michael Stone, but he could not find any close parallel, in neither the Jewish nor the Christian tradition. So we have here once more a very precious testimony of a lost tradition. The translation runs:

- f. 1r ... The Lord thought: I shall not make such a brilliant creature anymore, which would make think of divinity, but I shall make it from something as humble as mud. and He made Adam stand...
- f. 2r ... And the serpent had feet and it addressed man with words. Samael said thus to the serpent: You are not <inferi>or to man ...

These fragments are also very useful to get a richer view of the historical development of the Georgian language, including its orthography, as well as the theory of language in general and so on. I cannot go into details here.

## 5. Conclusion

There are still many questions to be asked, but, to conclude, we have been offered a very rich treasure which enlightens centuries of early Georgian manuscript culture. We must be deeply grateful that the colleagues of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts have made this treasure accessible to us. And we must keep hoping that very soon, they will be able to use multispectral analysis, which can offer far better results than mere UV rays: more than ten thousand pages remain to be deciphered and published. And sure, this will take some time!

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## თბილისში დაცული ქართული ხელნაწერები

ბერნარ უტიე (სენ მარტინ დე ლა მერი)

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