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*Scripts Beyond Borders*.

*A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro.Mediterranean World*  
(Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 62),

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Jost Gippert, Frankfurt 2015

*O EN ARŠI ANARXOS LOGOS* —  
GREEK VERSES IN GEORGIAN DISGUISE

Jost GIPPERT

0.1 It is well known that the Georgian language has been influenced by Greek in an extraordinary way since antiquity, especially since the introduction of Christianity to Georgia in about the 4th century. This is evidenced by a lot of loan words that pertain to the basic stock of Christian thought; cf., e.g., *episkopos-i* ‘bishop’ < Gk. ἐπίσκοπος, *angeloz-i* ‘angel’ < Gk. ἄγγελος, or *eklesia-y* ‘church, congregation’ < Gk. ἐκκλησία. In the course of the early centuries of Georgian Christianity, there were at least two centres of contact where Georgians met regularly with speakers of Greek, viz. Jerusalem, where Georgians founded a monastery for themselves as early as the 5th century, and St. Catherine’s Monastery on Mt. Sinai, where they were active members of the monastic life at least since the 8th century. The special influence of Greek Orthodoxy as practiced in the Holy Land has manifested itself not only in the translation of the holy scriptures and church fathers but also in Christian practice, Georgian having preserved, together with Armenian, the “Jerusalem” type of liturgy in its most ancient lectionaries.

0.2 As an integral part of its divine services, Greek Orthodoxy compiled a large amount of hymns that were arranged in accordance with the Biblical Odes; such hymns, composed by various authors, were collected in so-called *heirmologia*. These collections were translated into several languages of the Christian East, the Slavonic translations of about the 11th century being best studied in the western world. It is much less known that a large set of translations into Georgian exists as well, in manuscripts mostly from Palestine and Mt. Sinai, and that these are likely to antedate the Slavonic translations by at least one century. It was the study by Elene METREVELI of 1971<sup>1</sup> that paved the way for a thorough study of the Georgian hymnaries<sup>2</sup>, which are usually referred to, in

<sup>1</sup> E. METREVELI, *Žlispirni da gmartismšoblisani. Ori žveli redakcia X–XI ss. xelnaçerebis mixedvit*, Tbilisi, 1971.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the summary of the edition provided, together with an account of unidentified hymns, in H. MÉTRÉVÉLI – B. OUTTIER, *Contribution à l’histoire de l’heirmologion*:

accordance with their denotation in the manuscripts<sup>3</sup>, by the Georgian term *zlispirni*<sup>4</sup>. Most of these manuscripts reveal a peculiar feature that makes them interesting for the present volume in that the Greek *heirmoi* are introduced in them by a transcript into Georgian letters<sup>5</sup>; a fact that

*Anciens Hirmologia géorgiens*, in *Le Muséon*, 88 (1975), p. 331-359. The first scholarly account of this category of mss. was provided by P. INGOROQVA in his study on the outstanding Georgian writer of the 10th century, Giorgi Merčule (*Giorgi Merčule. Kartveli mčerali meate sauğunisa. Narqvevi zveli sakartvelos literaturis, kułturis da saxelmčipoebrivi cxovrebi istoriidan*, Tbilisi, 1954, p. 617-630; reprinted in INGOROQVA's Works: *Txzulebata krebuli*, t. III, Tbilisi, 1965, p. 79-92).

<sup>3</sup> The mss. used by METREVELI in her edition are referred to by the following sigla (op.cit., 0104): A = Ielis iadgari (Meštia), B = S-425; C = A-603; H = Sin. 1; h = Sin. 59; J = Jer. 48; L = Sin. 14; M = Sin. 34; O = Sin. 65. The hymnographic collection (with neumes) contained in A-603 was published *in toto* by G. KIKNAZE, *Nevmirebuli zlispirni (xelnaçeri A-603)*, Tbilisi, 1982.

<sup>4</sup> Three etymologies have been proposed for the term *zlis-pir-i* (cf. K. KEKELIDZE [K. KEKELIZE], *Ierusalinskij kanonar' VII veka (gruzinskaja versija)*, Tiflis, 1912, p. 340-341), one relating it to *sçal-i* 'bride' (quasi \**sçal-is pir-i*, lit. 'bride's mouth'), one, to *zil-i* 'sleep' (quasi \**zil-is pir-i*, lit. 'beginning of sleep'), and one, to *zal-i* 'string' (quasi \**zal-is pir-i*, lit. 'beginning of [a tune played on a certain] string'). None of these etymologies matches the rules of Old Georgian as a word-initial *s-* should not be dropped in a nominal formation, a stem-internal *-i-* should not be syncopated and the *-a-* in *zal-i* 'string' (in contrast to *zal-i* 'power') is not syncopated either as the genitive form *zal-is* occurring as early as in the so-called Sinai 'Mravaltavi' of 864 A.D. proves (cf. A. ŠANIZE, *Sinuri Mravaltavi 864 çlisa / Sinajskij mnogoglav 864-go goda*, Tbilisi, 1959, p. 186, l. 26). The most important source of the term *zlis-pir-i* is found in the 11th century vita of one of the Georgian Athonites, Giorgi, which mentions, among the works translated by the monk from Greek, 'verses' (*stikaron-ni*, < Gk. στιχηρόν) both 'with their own melody (*twt avazni*), without *zlis-pir-i* (*u-zlis-pir-o-ni*) as they are in Greek (*vitarka arian berzulad*) and 'under *zlis-pir-i* (*zlis-pirta kueše*)'. The latter wording supports the interpretation of the element *-pir-i* in the sense of 'beginning', *zlis-pir-i* referring to the εἰρμός as the hymn 'beginning' or 'introducing' the following series of 'troparia' (cf. the translation 'Stichera idiomela, a tropariis soluta, qualia graece exstant' / 'Stichera ad tropariorum modos' proposed by P. PEETERS, *Histoires monastiques géorgiennes*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 26-27 [1917-1919], p. 110-111). On the other hand, both a compound *zil-pir-i* and a corresponding genitive syntagm *zil-is-pir-i* are well attested in the sense of 'beginning of the night (< sleep)' in the secular texts of the Middle Georgian period (12th-18th centuries; cf. *Vepxistqaosani* 19: 488d; *Visramiani* 28: 122,31; 61: 240,7; *Amirandarežiani* 12: 451a; *Baamiani* 3: 447, 15; 559, 15; Arčil, *Sakartvelos Zneobani* 32a; Pešangi, *Šahnavaziani* VII, 127c); in his adaptation of the *Visramiani*, king Arčil even uses the verb *zil-pir-ob-a* 'to feel about sleeping' (*Šesavali*, 41a). It is therefore probable that *zlispir-i* in Georgian renders the Greek term ἑσπερινός as denoting the evening ('Vesper') service, the *zlispirni* representing the hymns sung in these services.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. METREVELI, *Zlispirni*, p. 031, according to whom this feature occurs in four of the mss. indicated above (LHOH), and J. GIPPERT, *Towards a Typology of the Use of Coloured Ink in Old Georgian Manuscripts*, in *Manuscript Cultures Newsletter*, 3 (2011), p. 6 with Fig. 11 displaying a specimen from N 95, 4r. The Greek incipits are written in red ink throughout in the mss. under investigation (mostly capitals, sometimes minuscules or reduced majuscules, with intermediary stages); cf. GIPPERT, *Coloured Ink*, p. 2-13 for a general outline of the use of rubrics in Old Georgian mss.

has not been taken notice of to the extent it deserves, given that it reveals much information on the pronunciation of both Georgian and Greek by the end of the 1st millennium.

0.3 When in 1975 a large amount of manuscripts that had been concealed in a cellar room for centuries were detected in St. Catherine's Monastery, the Georgian collection was enriched not only by some extremely valuable palimpsests<sup>6</sup> but also by manuscript fragments pertaining to the most ancient type of *heirmologia*. Among the 98 parchment manuscripts listed in the Catalogue of the "New Finds" by Z. ALEKSIՅԷ, M. ՏԱՆԻՅԷ and colleagues,<sup>7</sup> three items are of this type, two of them (catalogued as nos. 2 and 5) having been identified as missing parts of *zlispirni* manuscripts of the "Old collection". As these newly detected witnesses have not been published yet and as they provide much new information as to the content and shape of the *heirmoi* in Georgian disguise, the present study will focus on them<sup>8</sup>.

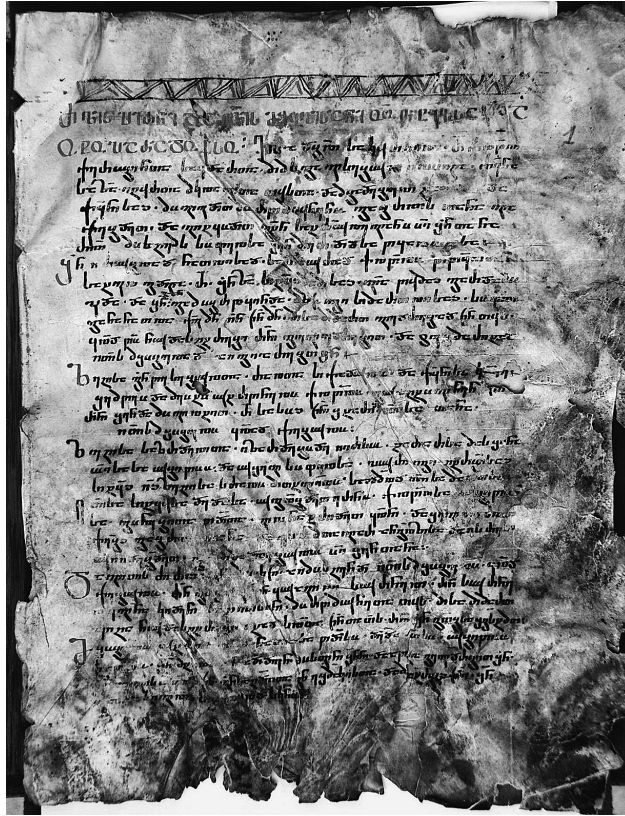
### 1. *The newly discovered heirmologion manuscripts*

1.1 According to the Catalogue, the fragments now gathered under nos. 2 and 5 of the "New finds" (hereafter referred to as N 2 and N 5) represent missing parts of mss. no. 65 and 59, resp., of the "Old collection" (hereafter referred to as O 65 and O 59), among them their initial pages. As a matter of fact, the initial pages of both N 2/ O 65 and N 5/ O 59 exhibit a nearly identical content (cf. Images 1 and 2): both manuscripts start with an indication, in capital rubrics, of the usual title of these collections, *zlispirni da ġmrtismšoblisani*, i.e., "hymns and *theotokia*"; N 5 adds *srowlni*, thus indicating that the collection was meant to be 'complete'. Both mss. continue on their first page with a set of hymns devoted to the *theotokos*, introduced by an indication of the

<sup>6</sup> This is especially true for the palimpsests representing the only manuscript remains of the literacy of the so-called Caucasian Albanians; cf. the edition by J. GIPPERT – W. SCHULZE – Z. ALEKSIՅԷ – J.P. MAHÉ, *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mount Sinai*, vols. 1–2, Turnhout, 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Z. ALEKSIDZE (ALEKSIՅԷ) – M. SHANIDZE (ՏԱՆԻՅԷ) – L. KHEVSURIANI (XEVURIANI) – M. KAVTARIA, *Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai / Katalogos geōrgianōn xeirographōn eurethentōn kata to 1975 eis tēn ieran monēn tou thebadistou orous Sina Agias Aikaterinēs / Sinis mtaze Ծմ. Էկաթերines monasteršī 1975 Ըels aġmočenił kartul xelnačerta aġčeriloba*, Athens, 2005.

<sup>8</sup> My thanks are due to Bernard Outtier who read a previous version of this article and provided valuable suggestions.

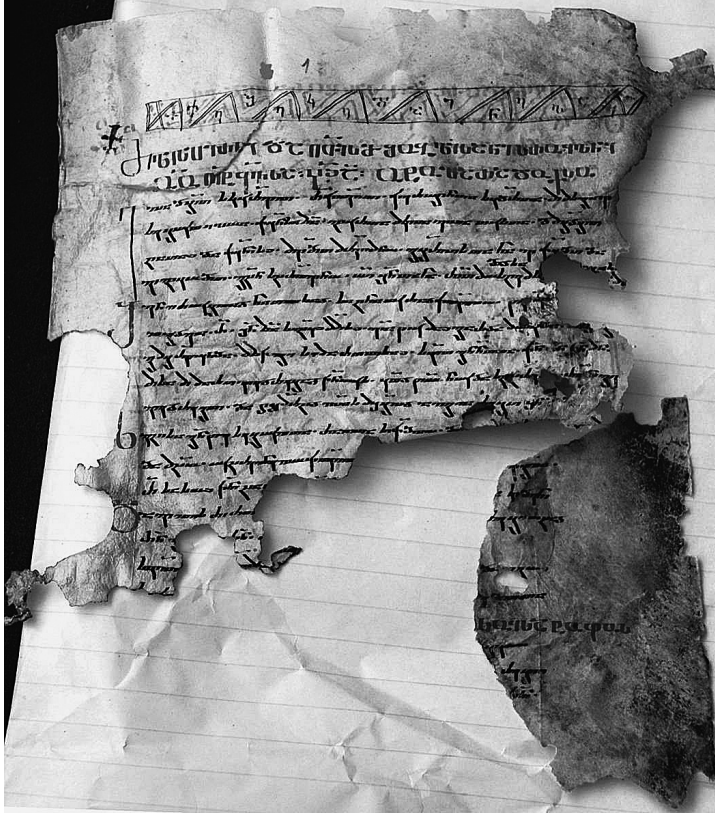


Img. 1: N 2, fol. 1r

corresponding ode and tone: *gaḡatqavsā qmay a~*, i.e., (sixth) ode ‘I cried’ (Jon. 2,3), first tone<sup>9</sup>. The subsequent element, still in capital rubrics, is the first indication of a Greek *heirmos* in both mss.: *oṭoparadokso* obviously reflects the Greek phrase ὦ τοῦ παραδόξου (θαύματος) ‘Oh what a paradoxal miracle’, which is frequently used as an introductory hymn in the Greek tradition and which is matched by the beginning of the first Georgian hymn following it, *eha diidebuli saḡwrveli* ‘look, a great

<sup>9</sup> In Old Georgian, the nine different types of hymns are named after the initial words of the Biblical Odes: *ugalobdit-* (Ex. 15,1: “We will sing”), *moixile-* (Deut. 32,1: “Look here”), *ganḡlierda-* (I Sam. / I. Kings 2,1: “(My heart) has become strong”), *upalo mesma-* (Hab. 3,1: “O Lord, I have heard”), *ḡamitgan-* (Is. 26,9: “From night on”), *gaḡatqav-* (Jon. 2,3: “I cried”), *kurtxeulars-* (Dan. 3,26: “You are blessed”), *aḡurtxevdit-* (Dan. 3,57: “Bless”), and *adidebdit-* (Lk. 1,46: “(My soul) glorifies”); cf. KEKELIDZE, *Kanonar’*, p. 324-325 and ΚΙΚΝΑΞΕ, *Ḥlispirni*, p. 11.





Img. 2: N 5, fol. 1r

miracle<sup>10</sup>. Only ms. N 5 provides a second Greek *heirmos* on its initial page; the remnants that have been preserved on the badly damaged folio, reading *ḱowśa topos*, can easily be restored to something like *τεκούσα τὸ φῶς* ‘(She) who has given birth to the light’<sup>11</sup>, a title again matching

<sup>10</sup> The list of Greek incipits provided by E. KOSCHMIEDER, *Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente, Dritte (Schluss-) Lieferung*, München, 1958, p. 111-130 and 131-162 provides a second hymn title beginning with ὦ τοῦ παραδόξου ([canon] 218 [ode] θ in S. EUSTRATIADĒS’ edition of the Greek Heirmologion (Εἰρμολογιὸν ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπο Μητροπολίτου πρ. Λεοντοπολεως Σωφρονίου Ευστρατιάδου τη συνεργασίᾳ Σπυριδωνος μοναχου Λαυριστου, Β’ ἐκδόση, ἀναθεωρημένη καὶ βελτιωμένη, Ἀθῆνα, 2006, p. 205), in this case followed by μυστηρίου.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the hymn Ὡς τεκούσα τὸ φῶς, φωτοκυῆτορ δέσποινα noted in the collection *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* (vol. 11, ed. A. ACCONCIA LONGO, Roma, 1978) for the 26 July (canon 36, ode 6; the ode number does match Georgian *ḡaḡatq̄avsā*).

the beginning of the Georgian hymn following it, *mšobelo uxrčnelo natlisa čmidisao* ‘Parent, immaculate, of the holy light’<sup>12</sup>.

1.2 In both mss., the *heirmologion* proper — arranged in the so-called “Ode order” — begins on the verso of the first folio, with hymns of the ‘first tone’ (*qmay a*~) modelled upon the first ode (*ugalobditsa*, i.e., ‘We will sing’, Ex. 15,1)<sup>13</sup>. Due to their bad state of preservation, none of the two mss. (including the parts of O 65 as continuing N 2) provides the collection in its entirety, i.e., up to the ninth ode (*adidebditsa*) of the eighth tone (*qmay d*~ *guerdi*, lit. ‘tone four — sideways’, equivalent to Gk. πλάγιος δ’ ‘four — plagal’)<sup>14</sup>. and but a few hymns are also preserved in a third ms. of the “New Finds”, N 95<sup>15</sup>. All in all, the three mss. agree to a considerable extent in both the number of hymns they contain and their arrangement; cf. the following Table which summarizes the contents of the three *heirmologion* mss. under investigation in synopsis.

<sup>12</sup> The beginning of the Georgian verse is only preserved in N 2, more than half of the line being lost in the badly damaged first page of N 5.

<sup>13</sup> The established term “Ode Order” is somewhat misleading, given that the *heirmologia* are ordered primarily according to the eight tones (in the sense of an *Octoechos*) and only secondarily, to the odes. Note that there are no hymns assigned to the second ode (*moixilesa* = ‘Look here!’, Deut. 32.1) in the *heirmologia* investigated here so that the actual matrix covered comprises 8x8 items.

<sup>14</sup> The “old” part of N 5, i.e., O 59, does not comprise remnants of the *heirmologion*, which must have been restricted to the folios separated from O 59 and now partially rediscovered as N 5. — Ms. N 2 contains, on its first but last folio (20r), a colophon that names both the scribe and the title he assigned to his work (the beginning of the colophon reads: *Saxelita ġ(mr)tisayta me iovane xuces-mona(z)<onm(a)n sax>|[eli]t oden da p(ri)adita codvita šebġaleulm(a)n d(a)<vçere> | ese iadgari sruli sag(a)lobeli ç(mida)ta moçame<tay tavad>-|tavad twnier sasq̄id(e)lisa...* ‘In the name of God! I, Iovane, a monk-presbyter by name alone and contaminated by much sin, have written this complete *iadgari* of the holy martyrs on my own, without recompense...’; cf. the *Catalogue*, p. 246–247 / 374–375 and, for the facsimile of 20r, p. 509). The colophon pertains not to the *heirmologion*, however, but to the calendar of saints which comprises the major part of O 65 (fols. 24r–220v, cf. E. METREVELI – C. ČANĶIEVI – L. XEVURIANI – L. ŽGAMAIA, *Kartul xelnaçerta aġçeriloba, Sinuri kolekcia, naçv.* 1, Tbilisi, 1978, p. 209–229), now supplied by fols. 10–21 of N 2; the title of an *iadgari sagalobeltay*, lit. ‘memorial (book) of hymns’, is in accordance with this. The colophon concluding the *heirmologion* (on fol. 22v of O 65, cf. *Aġçeriloba*, p. 208) simply speaks of a ‘book’ (*çigni*). It is therefore debatable whether a *heirmologion* of this type might have been styled an ‘*iadgari*’ in Old Georgian as the *Catalogue* suggests (in its English text, p. 374).

<sup>15</sup> According to the *Catalogue*, N 95 might be a part of O 64 (cf. the *Catalogue*, p. 435–436). — The *Catalogue* provides images of N 5, fol. 9r (p. 513) and N 95, 5v (p. 616).

Tone (Ἔχθος/ <i>qmay</i> ) Ode (Ὀδὴ)	I: α/ a		II: β/ b		III: γ/ g		IV: δ/ d	
	N 2	N 5	N 2	N 95	N 2	N 95	O 65	N 5
α/ <i>ugalobditsa</i> (Ex. 15,11)	1v	1v	3r		9r		2r	
β/ <i>moixilesa</i> (Deut. 32,1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
γ/ <i>ganzlierdasa</i> (I Reg. 2,1)			3v		9r		2v	
δ/ <i>upalo mesmasa</i> (Hab. 3,1)			4r		9v	4r	-	
ε/ <i>gamitgansa</i> (Is. 26,9)			4v		9v	4v	-	
ς/ <i>ḡaḡadqavs</i> a (Jon. 2,3)			5r	1r			-	
ζ/ <i>kurtxeularsa</i> (Dan. 3,26)		2r	6r	1v			3r	3r
η/ <i>aḡurtxevditsa</i> (Dan. 3,57)	(2r)	2v	6v	2rv			3r	3v
θ/ <i>adidebditsa</i> (Lk. 1,46)	2v		7v	3rv			4r	4v

Tone (Ἔχθος/ <i>qmay</i> ) Ode (Ὀδὴ)	V: πλ. α/ a g̃i		VI: πλ. β/ b g̃i		VII: πλ. γ/ g g̃i		VIII: πλ. δ/ d g̃i		
	O 65	N 5	O 65	N 5	O 65	N 5	O 65	N 5	N 95
α/ <i>ugalobditsa</i> (Ex. 15,11)	6r	6v	9r	9v	12r	13r	16r	16v	
β/ <i>moixilesa</i> (Deut. 32,1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
γ/ <i>ganzlierdasa</i> (I Reg. 2,1)	6r	6v	9r	9v	12r	13r	16v	17v	5r
δ/ <i>upalo mesmasa</i> (Hab. 3,1)	6v	7r	9v	10r	12v	13v	17r	18r	5v
ε/ <i>gamitgansa</i> (Is. 26,9)	6v	7r	10r	10v	13r	13v	18r	18v	5v
ς/ <i>ḡaḡadqavs</i> a (Jon. 2,3)	7r	7v	10r	10v	13v	14r	18v		
ζ/ <i>kurtxeularsa</i> (Dan. 3,26)	7v	8r	10v	11r	13v	14v	19v		
η/ <i>aḡurtxevditsa</i> (Dan. 3,57)	8r	8r	11r	11v	14r	15r	20v		
θ/ <i>adidebditsa</i> (Lk. 1,46)	8r	8v	11v	12r	14v	15v	21v		

## 2. New evidence as to the Greek hymn titles

2.1 The bulk of Greek *heirmoi* (or, rather, incipits) that are conserved in Georgian disguise in the hitherto known *heirmologion* mss. has been identified by E. ΜΕΤΡΕΒΕΛΙ in her edition of 1971<sup>16</sup>, with a few additions

<sup>16</sup> *Žlispirni*; cf. the Georgian-Greek and Greek-Georgian indexes of incipits, p. 234-245 and 245-270.



by B. OUTTIER<sup>17</sup>. The newly found witnesses from Mt. Sinai do confirm the identifications in most cases. For many items, they provide a longer or more reliable rendering of the Greek wording, which speaks in favour of their being anterior to the other mss. of the same type<sup>18</sup>; at the same time, they prove to be very close to each other, with N 5 showing the most “authentic” transcripts<sup>19</sup>. This can be illustrated by the following examples (Table II)<sup>20</sup>:

No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metr.	Κικν.	Eustr.	Hann.	Other transcripts
1	N 2, 1v	<i>asomen pantes laow</i>	ἄσομεν πάντες λαοὶ	6	6	5a	A α 8	B: <i>asomenpaṭ</i> L: <i>asomenpen</i>
2	N 2, 3r	<i>bitoane qalupsen</i>	βυθοῦ ἀνεκάλυψε	61	(23)	49a	B α 7	H: <i>bitwia</i>
3	N 2, 3v	<i>eksin tisen ierimos</i>	ἐξήνθησεν ἡ ἔρημος	70	(35)	46γ	B γ 3	H: <i>eksintisen</i> L: <i>eksitisen</i>
4	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r	<i>pros kwrion ekkitows</i>	πρὸς Κύριον ἐκ κήτους	91	111	53 ζ	B ζ 6	H: <i>proskwrion</i> L: <i>proskuirion</i>
5	N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1v	<i>oen miṭra owki</i>	ὁ ἐν μήτρᾳ οικήσας	97	121	71ζ	–	H: <i>uenmiṭraoq</i> , L: <i>oenmiṭrao</i>
6	N 2, 9v	<i>eqalowpsen owranos</i>	ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανοῦς	126	194	101δ	Γ δ 3	L: <i>eqalupseno</i>
7	N 95, 4v	<i>eboisa en sṭe</i>	ἐβόησα ἐν στεναγμοῖς	136	214	111ζ	Γ ζ 8	H: <i>eboysaensxlina</i> L: <i>eboyseensxlona</i>

<sup>17</sup> Cf. MÉTRÉVELI – OUTTIER, *Contribution*, p. 353-359. The Greek-Georgian index printed in ΚΙΚΝΑΖΕ, *Zlispirni*, p. 916-933 is based upon the former studies by METREVELI and OUTTIER.

<sup>18</sup> According to METREVELI (*Zlispirni*, p. 032), it is “clear that these mss. do not depend on one another... and are not related to one model” (“*aṣkara gaxada, rom es xelnaçerebi ertmanetisagan ar momdinareoben... da arc ert saerto dedantan arian daqavširebulni*”); the author does not come to a conclusion as to their respective age, however.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. 3.1 below as to an evaluation of the rendering of Gk. γ by g in N 2 / O 65, N 5 and N 95.

<sup>20</sup> Columns no. 4, 5 and 6 contain the references to the editions of the respective Old Georgian hymns in the editions by METREVELI (hereafter: Metr.) and ΚΙΚΝΑΖΕ (hereafter: Κικν.), the edition of the Greek heirmologion by EUSRATIADÈS (hereafter: Eustr.), and the edition of the Slavonic heirmologion by Christian HANNICK, *Das altslavische Hirmologion. Edition und Kommentar*, Freiburg i.Br., 2006 (hereafter: Hann.; different from the edition, the sixth tone is denoted by ζ, not by Στ here). For the sigla of mss. used in col. 8 cf. note 3 above. Spaces in the Georgian transcripts are indicated as they appear in the mss.

No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metr.	Κικν.	Eustr.	Hann.	Other transcripts
8	N 95, 4v	<i>os paletowsev</i>	ὡς πάλαι τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς	139	222	95ζ	Γ ζ 2	H: <i>os̄telestos</i> , L: <i>os̄talestus</i>
9	N 5, 3r	<i>oen to ori moowsi</i>	ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Μουσιῇ	202	365	146ζ	Δ ζ 7	L: <i>oen̄toori</i>
10	N 5, 4v	<i>teotoxonse</i>	Θεοτόκον σὲ	218	391	–	–	O (!): <i>teotoxonke</i> <sup>21</sup>
11	N 5, 5v	<i>moowsis<sup>22</sup> en to ori</i>	Μουσιῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει	225	411	145θ	Δ θ 13	O: <i>mousiasen̄toori</i> L: <i>mouses</i>
12	N 5, 5v	<i>to potistiko</i>	τῷ φωτιστικῷ	228	406	153εβ	–	O: <i>tōpotistiko</i> L: <i>tōpotist̄eonko</i>
13	N 5, 7r	<i>eli low tas</i>	ἐλήλυθας (ἐπι τῆς γῆς)	240	448	184δ	–	OL: <i>elidutas</i>
14	N 5, 7v	<i>oanabalomenos posos perimathonen tosko</i>	ὁ ἀναβαλ- λόμενος τὸ <sup>23</sup> φῶς ὥσπερ ἱμάτιον ἐν τῷ σκότει	244	455	185ε	–	O: <i>oanabalomenos pososperimathon</i>
15	N 5, 8r	<i>anaqazeme oteos</i>	ἀνάγαγέ με ὁ Θεός	250	464	194 ζ	–	O: <i>anaqazemeotes</i> L: <i>anaqazemio<sup>t</sup></i> <sup>24</sup>
16	N 5, 10v	<i>totio penz̄isow</i>	τῷ θεῖῳ φέγγει σου	278	531	224ε	ς ε 1	O: <i>totiopenz̄isu</i> L: <i>tolopen</i>
17	N 5, 12r	<i>k senias despoṭi kis</i>	ξενίας δεσποτικῆς	296	564	229θ	ς θ 8	O: <i>ksēniasdespoṭīkis</i> L: <i>mseniadespoṭīk̄</i>

<sup>21</sup> The assumption by ΚΙΚΝΑΖΕ, *Žlisp̄irni*, p. 59 that the intended reading of (O =) “Sin. 65” must have been not *teotoxonke* but *-se* is thus confirmed by N 5. The source of the Greek *incipit*, still listed among the unidentified items in MÉTRÉVÉLI – OUTTIER (*Contribution*, p. 357) was detected by the same author in the Sabaite ms. (Sab. 116r), cf. *Žlisp̄irni*, p. 441.

<sup>22</sup> *i* corrected from *e*.

<sup>23</sup> Both N 5 and O = O 65 presuppose a Greek text without the article τὸ preceding φῶς, thus reminding of the *incipit* of two other Greek hymns beginning with Ὁ ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὡς ἱμάτιον (Eustr. 182ε and 360ε); none of these continues with ἐν τῷ σκότει, however (but with ἀρεταῖς and πρὸς σέ, resp.).

<sup>24</sup> The difference between O and L was already treated by METREVELI (*Žlisp̄irni*, p. 032) who clearly stated that the *p̄* in L must represent a copyist’s error.

2.2 The interdependency of N 2/ O 65, N 5 and even N 95 further reveals itself in a few common errors; cf. the following examples:

No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metr.	Κίϋν.	Eustr.	Hann.	Other transcripts
18	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r	<i>eboisa enolipsi mow</i>	ἐβόησα ἐν θλίψει μου	90	110	48 ς	–	H: <i>eboisaentlipsi</i> ; L: <i>eboysaentlipsi</i>
19	N 5, 8r	<i>exma loḡows pedas</i>	αἰχμαλώ- τους παῖδας	257	478	203η	–	O: <i>exmaloguspe- das</i> ; L: <i>exmaluḡus</i>
20	N 5, 14r	<i>ḡroseortri- zokesow ravḡa</i>	πρὸς σὲ ὀρθρίζω καὶ σοὶ κραυγάζω	313	613	282ε	Z ε 2	O: <i>ḡroseortrizoke- sowralḡa</i> (!) H: <i>ḡroseortriz</i> L: <i>ḡroseortrizonke- sow</i>
22	N 5, 18r/ N 95, 5r	<i>eḡsarḡos sowmbl</i>	ἐκ σαρκός σου βολίδες θεότητος ἐξε- πορεύοντο	351	704	315δ	H δ 8	O: <i>eḡsarḡossumbl</i> HL: <i>eḡsarḡosuboyt</i>

It is clear off-hand that the substitution of Gk. θ by Georgian *o* in *enolipsi* ~ ἐν θλίψει in example no. 18 and of Greek τ by Georgian *ḡ* in *exmalogows* ~ αἰχμαλώτους in no. 19 is anything but a trivial *lapsus calami*. In the first case, we are led to the assumption that the copyist, without understanding what he read<sup>25</sup>, may have confused the majuscule letter *theta*, Θ (or its capital-shaped minuscule variant, θ), with majuscule or minuscule *omikron*, O or o (in contrast to N 5, 11r, where the same word form is rendered correctly by *tlipsi* (Metr. 285/ Κίϋν. 540/ Eustr. 226ς/ Hann. Φ ς 2). In a similar way, the scribe may have mistaken the majuscule T in -ΛΩΤΟΥΣ for a Γ, thus arriving at the common word ΛΟΓΟΥΣ (and leaving *exma-* ~ αἰχμα- incomprehensible). – In the case of κραυγάζω being deprived of its initial κ- (in both *ravḡa* in N 5 and *ralḡa* in O 65) in no. 20, the assumption of a Greek model written in majuscules has no explanatory value while the difference between *v* (as the expected substitute for Greek υ in tautosyllabic αυ) and *l* in the two

<sup>25</sup> Cf. METREVELI, *Zlispirmi*, p. 032 according to whom “it is also clear that the scribes of these mss. do not always understand the content of the Greek hymns” they transcribed (“*aḡkaraa isic, rom am xelnaçerta gadamçerebi ḡoveltvis ar iazreben berznuli zlispiris dasaçqisis ḡinaarss*”).

Georgian mss. can be adduced to a confusion of the majuscule (“Asomtavruli”) letters ჳ and ჴ, the latter being distinguished from the former only by the closed loop on the right-hand side. – In contrast to this, the occurrence of the nonce form *sowmbi* in the rendering of σου βολίδες in no. 21 can only be motivated by a misunderstanding of the Greek text again, with a word like σύμβολον or σύμβλησις interfering. Taking all this together, there is good reason to believe that the three mss. in question depend on a common model in Asomtavruli letters that was based, in its turn, on a Greek majuscule manuscript.

2.3 In some cases, the three mss. of the New collection seem to represent a Greek text form that diverges from what has been taken to be the equivalent of the other Georgian *heirmologia*. Here again, the wording of the three mss. (including O = O 65) speaks in favour of their common origin. Cf. the following examples:

No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metр.	Қiқn.	Eustr.	Hann.	Other transcripts
22	N 5, 3r	<i>abramiaow- poṭe</i>	Ἀβραμιαῖοι ποτέ ἐν βαβυλῶνι παῖδες	199	364	144ζ	Δ ζ 5	L: <i>abramiaupedes</i>
23	N 5, 6v	<i>teose pani ensa</i>	Θεὸς ἐφάνη ἐπὶ γῆς λυτρωσάμενος	234	431	204α	E α 5	O: <i>teosepaniensa</i>
24	N 5, 7v	<i>ortriz onṭe s im</i>	Ὁρθρίζοντες βοῶμέν σοι, Κύριε	245	456	183ε	E ε 2	O: <i>ortrizontesim</i> L: <i>ortrizontisimon</i>
25	N 5, 10r	<i>ostereosas ṭows</i>	ὁ στερεώσας οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν	273	520	243γ	–	O: <i>ostereostasun</i> L: <i>ostereostasos</i>
26	N 5, 10r	<i>xristos mowdina mis</i>	Χριστὸς μου δύναμις Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος	274	524	224δ	ς δ 1	O: <i>xristosmu- namis</i> L: <i>xriṭeoteos</i>
27	N 5, 12r	<i>ṭinba ṭon ṭ in oe ran</i>	τὴν βάτον τὴν νοητὴν τὴν πάλαι	295	565	2350 = 2420	–	O: <i>ṭinbaṭonṭi- noeran;</i> L: <i>ṭinbaṭonṭino</i>
28	N 5, 14v	<i>oston ṭropiṭin ionan</i>	ὡς τὸν προφήτην ἐκ βυθοῦ ἀνήγα- γες Ἰωνᾶν	317	622	285ς = 296ς	–	O: <i>ostonṭropiṭi- nionan;</i> L: <i>ostonṭropiṭin;</i> H: <i>ostonṭropiṭini</i>

No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metr.	Κικν.	Eustr.	Hann.	Other transcripts
29	N 5, 15r	<i>to nm onon e vspl a</i>	Τὸν μόνον ἄναρχον βασιλέα τῆς δόξης	327	641	289η	Z η 5	O: <i>tonmononevspla</i> ; L: <i>tonmon</i> ; H: <i>tonmonon</i>
30	N 5, 17v	<i>owkestin agion sow</i>	Οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος ὡς ὁ Κύριος	344	691	323γ	H γ 8	O: <i>ukestinagionsu</i> H: <i>ukestinažios</i>
31	N 5, 18r/ N 95, 5r	<i>denowranoslogos tereosas</i>	Ὁ στερεώσας λόγω τοῦς οὐρανοῦς	348	695	324γ	H γ 9	O: <i>oenuranoslogostereos</i>

It is obvious that in no. 22, the difference in the transcripts of N 5 and L (= O 14) relies upon a metathesis of the words παῖδες and ποτέ (> \*Ἀβραμιαῖοι παῖδες ἐν βαβυλῶνι ποτέ; compare the incipit Ἀβραμιαῖοι παῖδες ἐν καμίνῳ ~ *abrameanta ħrmata saqumilsa mas šina*, Metr. 40/ Κικν. 78/ Eustr. 11ζ/ Hann. A ζ 8), just as the transcript of N 5 and O (65) in no. 28 presupposes the name of the prophet, Iona, to have followed immediately after προφήτην (> \*Ὡς τὸν προφήτην Ἰωνᾶν ἐκ βυθοῦ ἀνήγαγες; compare Ὡς τὸν προφήτην Ἰῶναν τοῦ κήτους ἀνήγαγες; Eustr. 330zb and 347c); in the latter case, the final *i* of *ostonpropitini* in ms. H may be a remnant of the prophet's name, too. A major metathesis must be assumed in the case of no. 31 where all three mss. suggest a wording like \*Ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς λόγω στερεώσας instead of the proposed incipit. – In no. 27, N 5 and O (65) agree in reading *noeran*, thus witnessing to a variant of the Greek verse with νοεράν instead of νοητήν (> \*Τὴν βάτον τὴν νοεράν τὴν πάλαι); the abbreviated *no* in L remains ambiguous in this respect. Similarly, the transcript of N 5 and O (65) ends in *ensa* in no. 23, not matching the Gk. ἐπὶ γῆς of the hymn quoted; however, a variant with ἐν σαρκὶ instead of ἐπὶ γῆς is attested for the text in question<sup>26</sup>. In no. 30, N 5 and O (65) force us to assume ἅγιόν σου instead of ἅγιος<sup>27</sup>, and in no. 24, both N 5 and O (65) agree in adding *-im* after *ortrizonτες*, which is likely to represent ὑμνοῦμεν instead of βοῶμεν (compare the two hymns beginning with ὀρθρίζοντες ὑμνοῦμέν σε in Eustr. 349ε and 308ε = 283ε). It is true that ms. L suggests ἡμῶν (or ὑμῶν) for this incipit (*imon*) but a genitive

<sup>26</sup> In mss. H (= Athos Iviron 470) and S (= Hieros. Patr. Sabas 83) according to HANNICK, *Hirmologion*, p. 155 n. and p. 339-41.

<sup>27</sup> As to the difference of *g* (in N 5, O) vs. *ž* (in H, L) in rendering Greek *γ* cf. 3.1 below.

plural pronoun cannot be motivated here. – In no. 26, N 5 and O (65) provide a transcript that is fairly close to the Greek text (the omittance of *di-* ~ *δύ-*ναμις in O, if reported correctly, must be a mere scribal error), while the reading of L (= O 14) forces us to assume that the Greek verse underlying it began with the (well attested) vocative formula, \*Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός, instead<sup>28</sup>. – In no. 29, N 5 and O (65) prove that the Greek model must have continued not with *ἄναρχον* but with another word after τὸν μόνον, εὐσπλαγχνον as appearing in a *theotokion* quoted for the 29th October in the *Analecta Hymnica* (Τὸν μόνον εὐσπλαγχνον προαιώνιον λόγον, τὸν ἐκ παρθένου ἐπ’ εσχάτων τεχθέντα) being a good candidate, all the more since this is registered under the eighth ode, in its turn headed by the *heirmos* Τὸν μόνον ἄναρχον (canon 37, ode 8). It must be noted, however, that the wording of the Georgian hymn in question is much closer to the latter verse than to that containing εὐσπλαγχνον<sup>29</sup>. – In no. 25, N 5 seems to coincide with L rather than O (65) in providing evidence for the plural article, τοὺς, preceding the word for ‘heaven’, which in this case must be an accusative plural, οὐρανοῦς, too; for this wording, we may compare the incipit of the hymn Ὁ στερεώσας τοὺς οὐρανοῦς καὶ ἐδράσας γῆν (Eustr. 217γ). In contrast to this, the reading of O, *-tun*, seems to reflect a singular article, τόν, instead, but as the substitution of Greek ο by Georgian *u* = <ow> is rather exceptional (cf. 3.4.2 below), we might rather suspect a misreading here.

## 2.4. Completing the picture: Newly attested hymn titles

All three newly found mss. provide (fragments of) transcripts of Greek *heirmoi* (or incipits) that have not been attested so far. Most of them provide new evidence as to the identification of the hymns in question. In the following Tables, this evidence is summarized *in toto*.

### 2.4.1. Identified hymn incipits

In several cases, the three mss. confirm the incipit of a Greek hymn already identified by METREVELI but not witnessed to by transcripts in other mss<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> The collection *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* (ed. G. SCHIRÒ et al., Roma, 1966–1983), contains 60 attestations of the formula, but not at the beginning of a hymn.

<sup>29</sup> The incipit Τὸν μόνον εὐσπλαγχνον Βασιλέα, which is attested in some menologies (MR III 92; MV V 48) according to E. FOLLIERI’s index of hymn titles (*Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, vols. 1–5/2, Roma, 1960–1966), may be a candidate here.

<sup>30</sup> It is remarkable that most of the instances listed here are found among canons no. 50 and 53 of the Greek *heirmologion* edited by EUSTRATIADÈS.



No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metr.	Κικν. <sup>31</sup>	Eustr.	Hann.	Georgian incipit <sup>32</sup>
32	N 2, 2r	<i>imnownsow</i>	Ἕμνον σοι προσφέρομεν	50	[8]	22η	A η 10	<i>G(a)l(o)bit vaḡ(u)-rtxevdet v(itarc)a ḡrmani saqumilsa</i>
33	N 2, 2v	<i>miṡtran apleḡtos</i>	Μήτραν ἀφλέκτως	43	[1]	9η	A η 4	<i>Qrmani babilons šeuçvelni</i>
34	N 2, 3v	<i>šibitalasis</i>	Στείβει θαλάσσης κυματούμενον	60	[22]	50α	B α 8	<i>Zḡwsa ḡelvata. mžwnvareta</i>
35	N 2, 4r	<i>osospaleon</i>	Ἵοσοι παλαιῶν ἐκλελύμεθα βρόχων	68	[33]	50γ	B γ 5	<i>G(a)nqsnilni zuelta ḡrulebata č(ue)-ntag(a)n</i>
36	N 2, 4v	<i>ḡowrsoḡatar-tis</i>	Πυρσῶ καθαρθεῖς μυστικῆς θεωρίας	75	82	50δ	B δ 4	<i>Sakmeni š(e)nni v(itarc)a g(a) nicadna</i>
37	N 2, 5r	<i>ektrowzopodikebebor</i>	Ἐχθοροῦ ζοφώδους καὶ βεβορβορωμένου	80	94	50ε	B ε 4	<i>G(a)nvibanenit qorcita sulta tana</i>
38	N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1v	<i>imertoneks epine</i>	Ἰμερτόν ἐξέφηνε συνπανολβίω ἦχῳ	86	106	50ς	B ς 4	<i>Č(ina)ç(arme)ṡḡ(ue)-lm(a)n man muclisa simqurvalē</i>
39	N 2, 6v/ N 95, 2r	<i>eplekseritron</i>	Ἐφλεξε ῥείθρω τῶν δρακόντων	93	117	50ζ	–	<i>R(ome)lman ḡirvel ali saqumilsay mis</i>
40	N 2, 7v/ N 95, 2v	<i>ṡodoḡmati</i>	Τῶ δόγματι τῶ τυραννικῶ	107	136	53η	B η 11	<i>Brzanebasa ušžuloysa mis mžlavrisasa</i>

<sup>31</sup> Items in parentheses indicate related but not identical hymns; items in brackets, hymns that are attested in Sin. (O) 3 according to the edition of Α–603 by ΚΙΚΝΑΖΕ, *Žlispirni*, p. 880 ff.

<sup>32</sup> In the transcripts provided hereafter, restituted abbreviations are indicated by parentheses ( ) and hardly discernible characters, by square brackets [ ]. Angle brackets < > indicate passages lost by damages. If the text is available in more than one ms., the better preserved text is quoted.

No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metr.	Κίκν. <sup>31</sup>	Eustr.	Hann.	Georgian incipit <sup>32</sup>
41	N 2, 7v/ N 95, 2v	<i>elevtera men</i>	Ἐλευθέρα μὲν ἢ κτίσις	99	127	50η	B η 5	<i>Dabadebulni gamočndes tavisuplad</i>
42	N 2, 8v	<i>emeğalow- nassoṭir</i>	Ἐμεγάλυ- νας, Χριστέ, τὴν τεκοῦσάν σε	117	150	530	B θ 9	<i>Adide šen m(a)- cx(oa)r ġ(mr)- tismš(o)b(e)li</i>
43	N 2, 8v/ N 95, 3v	<i>oionow ḡernown</i>	Ἦ τῶν ὑπὲρ νοῦν τοῦ τόκου σου	108	145	500	B θ 4	<i>Owzeštaes ars bunebasa k(a)ctasa</i>
44	N 5, 4r	<i>ṭon basi l ea k(rist)e</i>	Τὸν βασιλέα Χριστὸν ὄν ὁμολόγη- σαν	212	386	146η	Δ η 11	<i>Meupesa k(risṭes)a ġ(merts)a č(ue)nsa r(ome)lsa ġirs ykmnes (!)</i>
45	N 5, 4r	<i>ḡanṭa ṭa erga</i>	Πάντα τὰ ἔργα	213	387	150ηb	Δ η 13	<i>Q(ove)lni d(a)b(a)- d(e)b(u)lni zalit urt</i>

For no. 32, we may note that the title matches that of the preceding hymn (*galobasa ševšciravt šenda upalo*; Metr. 49/ Κίκν. [7]); interestingly enough, the latter is spelt out in more detail in N 2 (*owmmonsow-ḡros*, vs. *ummonsui* in L; as to the different rendering of ὑ- by *i-* and *ow-* cf. 3.2 below). This type of “reduced repetition” is met with elsewhere in the *heirmologion* mss., too, as in the case of *oen arši* ~ ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ in N 5, 3v/ O 65 (and *oenaršianarxo* in L; Metr. 205/ Κίκν. 368) repeating *oenaršianarxos logos* (O: *u-*) ~ ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἄναρχος λόγος of the preceding hymn (Metr. 204/ Κίκν. 367; cf. also no. 50 below). – In no. 42, the title, which is attested only in N 2, clearly indicates that the underlying verse contained the word for ‘saviour’ instead of the name of Christ; the spelling preserved (*soṭir*) seems to reflect a nominative (σωτήρ) rather than the vocative (σῶτερ) corresponding to Χριστέ (but cf. 3.5.2.3 below as to similar cases). – In no. 43, N 95 has *ḡernon* instead of *ḡernown*; cf. 3.4.2 below as to this kind of variation. – In no. 44, the transcript (only preserved in N 5) contains the usual Georgian abbreviation of the name of Christ, *k(rist)e*, instead of the Greek word form, Χριστὸν. Similar cases are found in N 95 which shows *isakiḡoa*

*k(rist)e* as the transcript of εἰσακήκοα, Χριστέ on fol. 5r (vs. “regular” *isakiko a xris te* in N 5, 18r; Metr. 353/ Ḳiḱn. 702) and *prose ortrizomen k(rist)e* as the rendering of πρὸς σὲ ὀρθρίζομεν Χριστέ on fol. 4r (Metr. 132/ Ḳiḱn. 205). In the latter case, ms. H seems to have *ke* instead<sup>33</sup>; this is likely to represent the (Greek) abbreviation for Κύριε ‘Lord’ which is also attested elsewhere in the Georgian transcripts (N 5, 18v/ N 95, 5r, ~ Metr. 354/ Ḳiḱn. 705), as well as *k̇re* (N 5, 17r) and *k̇ro* (ib.) reflecting the dative κυρίῳ (Metr. 338; 339; 337/ Ḳiḱn. 657; 658; 659). Two further *nomina sacra* that appear abbreviated in the transcripts are the names of Jerusalem and Israel; here, again, the mss. exhibit the usual Georgian forms<sup>34</sup> (*iē̇lm*; N 5, 4v: Metr. 217/ Ḳiḱn. 389; *iē̇l*; N 5, 17r: Metr. 336/ Ḳiḱn. 656). Apart from these cases, abbreviations are rather rare in the transcripts<sup>35</sup>; only N 5 provides a single instance of *pṙṗṫn* ~ *pṙṗiṫn* ~ προφήτην (vs. Georgian *çç̇q̇li* ~ *ç(inays)ç(armet)q̇(ue)li*) on fol. 8r (Metr. 251/ 466) and a sequence of isolated cases on fols. 17 and 18 (*pṅts* ~ *paṅtes* ~ πάντες; Metr. 338/ Ḳiḱn. 657; *aṡmn* ~ *asomen* ~ ἄσωμεν; Metr. 337/ Ḳiḱn. 659; *isk̇ka* ~ *isakikoa* ~ εἰσακήκοα: Metr. 354/ Ḳiḱn. 705).

#### 2.4.2. Identifiable hymn incipits

In many cases, the three mss. provide transcripts of Greek incipits that have not been identified yet, or even entire hymns that have not been attested elsewhere in the Georgian *heirmologia*. The following Table summarizes the proposals as to their identification that can be arrived at by comparing the relevant sources.

No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metr.	Ḳiḱn. <sup>31</sup>	Eustr.	Hann.	Georgian incipit <sup>32</sup>
46	N 2, 1v	<i>opsos os eote</i>	Ἐψώσω σε ὁ θεὸς	7	7	23a	–	<i>Zğwsa gely[a]ni g(a)mvlna i(sra)- ēlm(a)n</i>
47	N 5, 2r	<i>ikoni lat[r] &lt; &gt;</i>	Εἰκόνι λατρεύειν μουσικῆς συμφωνίας	–	80	5ζ	A ζ 9	<i>Xaṭsa mas hmonebd[es] &lt; &gt; g(a)l(o)b(a)y sionisay</i>

<sup>33</sup> Cf. METREVELI, *Zlispirni*, p. 92 who notes *proseortrizonenke* (sic!) for H and *pro-seortrizo* for L.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. J. GIPPERT, *The Old Georgian Palimpsest Codex Vindobonensis georgicus 2 (Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi: Series Ibero-Caucasica, 1)*, Turnhout, 2007, p. xxix-xxx.

<sup>35</sup> In contrast to the Georgian main text which abounds in abbreviations, esp. in N 5.

No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metр.	Κικν. <sup>31</sup>	Eustr.	Hann.	Georgian incipit <sup>32</sup>
48	N 5, 2r	<i>s[e]&lt; &gt;</i>	Σέ νοητήν θεοτόκε κάμινον κατανοοῦ- μεν	–	(81)	1ζ	A ζ 1	<i>š(e)N cecxlad sacnaurad ġ(mr)tis mš(o)b(e)lo</i>
49	N 5, 2r	<i>owpēdes enḡamino</i>	Ὁ παῖδας ἐκ καμίνου ῥυσάμενος γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ... ἀφθαρσίας ἐνδύει..	–	–	6ζ	A ζ 6	<i>&lt;R(omelma)&gt;[n q]rmani iqsnna s(a)- q(u)m(i)lis(a)g(a)n. &lt; &gt;m(a)n. g&lt; šeh&gt;mosa xrçinelel&lt;bay&gt;</i>
50	N 2, 4r	<i>ēpterameῖtis</i>	Ἐν πέτρῃ με τῆς πίστεως στερεώσας	–	–	51γ	–	<i>Ḳlidesa mas z(ed)a damamḡicen č(ue)n</i>
51	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r	<i>ēḡtowbitomi<sup>36</sup></i>	Ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ με ἀνάγαγε	92	113	55ς	B ς 8	<i>Siġrmetag(a)n aġmomiq̄vane</i>
52	N 95, 1r	<i>tinekbatosḡar</i>	Τὴν ἐκ βάθους καρδίας	–	112	54ς	–	<i>&lt;Ġ(a)ġ(a)d(e)b(a)sa m(o)&gt;n(a)ta š(e)nta nu ug(u)l(e)b(e)ls- hḡ(o)p</i>
53	N 2, 6v/ <N 95, 1v>	<i>ōperḡimeno</i>	Ἐπερκει- μένῳ θαύματι	–	126	54ζ	–	<i>Owzeštaes saḡwrve- lebata ipovnes q̄rmani</i>
54	N 2, 7v/ N 95, 2v	<i>rimaḡwranow</i>	Ῥῆμα τυράννου ἐπεὶ ὑπερίσχυ- σεν	–	135	53ης	B η 12	<i>Siḡ(ua)y mḡlavrisay çinaysçar g(a)n- zlierda</i>
55	N 95, 2v	<i>ženon mowsiḡ</i>	Γενῶν μουσικῶν τῆν ἀντίθεον	–	143	54η	–	<i>šemz(a)deb(a)y saxiobita. da g(a)n- cxr(o)m(a)y m(e)pisa ušž(u)loysa</i>

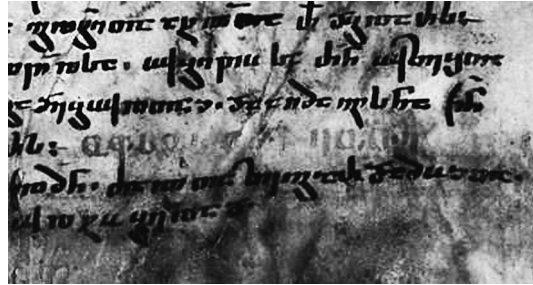
<sup>36</sup> The item is listed among the unidentified hymns in MÉTRÉVELI – OUTTIER, *Contribution*, p. 355; ΜΕΤΡΕΒΕΛΙ (*Žlisḡirni*, p. 74) states that this *heirmos* (as well as the accompanying *theotokion*) is only attested in ms. A and that its Greek model could not be found (“*es žlisḡiri da ġmrtismšoblisa danarçen xelnaçerebši ar dašurdeba. ver daižebna am žlisḡiris beržnuli dedanic.*”)

No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metr.	Κικν. <sup>31</sup>	Eustr.	Hann.	Georgian incipit <sup>32</sup>
56	N 2, 8v	<i>psowšeka tares</i>	Ψυχαῖς καθαραῖς καὶ ἀρρυπώ- τοις	–	–	530b	B θ 11	<i>Movedit erno sulta g(a)nçmedilta</i>
57	N 2, 8v/ N 95, 3v	<i>semeğa lwno men þartena þi ro ġa me</i>	Σὲ μεγαλύνο- μεν παρθένε ἀπειρό- γαμε	–	825	226 θ	–	<i>Š(e)n g(a)d(ide)bt ġ(mr)tis mš(o)b(e)lo uszlo</i>
58	N 95, 4r	<i>i saķiķo a x ri sþe</i>	Εἰσακήκοα Χριστέ	–	–	321δα	–	<i>Mesma me smenay</i>
59	N 95, 4r	<i>eto þrosimas</i>	Ἔθου πρὸς ἡμᾶς κραταῖαν ἀγάπησον κύριε	–	198	95δ	Γ δ 1	<i>Hqav siqvaruli. simķicisay č(ue)n- tana</i>
60	N 95, 4r	<i>epi tisþis</i>	Ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὁ ἀόρατος ᾧφθης	–	204	96ε	Γ ε 1	<i>K(ue)q(a)nasa z(ed)a uxilavo ixilve da. ķ(a)cta</i>
61	N 95, 4v	<i>þrose ortr&lt;i&gt;zon</i>	Πρὸς σὲ ὀρθρίζω τὸν τοῦ παντὸς δημιουρ- γόν	–	207	95ε	Γ ε 2	<i>Š(e)nda aġvimstobt. čaru[valis]&lt;a natlisa&gt;</i>
62	N 95, 4v	<i>abososes amarþia</i>	Ἄβυσσος ἐσχάτη ἀμαρτιῶν	–	216	95ς	Γ ς 1	<i>Siġrmeta. codvisata momieves</i>
63	N 5, 3v	<i>s owm ponon edrosi</i>	Σύμφωνων ἐθρόησεν	–	369	140ζ	Δ ζ 6	<i>Mzļavrm(a)n mimzļ(a)vr(e)b(u)l- m(a)n qma-ġo</i>
64	N 5, 4v	<i>aķweķori</i>	Ἄκούε, κόρη Παρθένε ἀγνή	–	393	141ηβ	Δ η 10	<i>EṬġoda g(a)br(iē)l ġ(mr)tis mšo)b(e)lsa</i>
65	N 5, 4v	<i>loīþa desma</i>	Λύει τὰ δεσμά	–	392	140η	Δ η 9	<i>Samsaxeobay s(a)- m(e)bisay</i>

No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metr.	Κικν. <sup>31</sup>	Eustr.	Hann.	Georgian incipit <sup>32</sup>
66	N 5, 5v	<i>osen psowxo teowki boṭos</i>	Ἦς ἐμψύχω θεοῦ κιβώτω ψαυέτω	–	412	1410b	Δ θ 8	<i>Ḳidobansa mas šžulisasa ver šeexeboda</i>
67	N 5, 6r	<i>setin aḡiro ḡamon</i>	Σὲ τὴν ἀπειρόγα- μον Θεοτόκον τὴν οὐράνιον παστάδα	–	418	1370	Δ θ 16	<i>Šen ukorčin(e)b(u)lo ḡ(mr)tis mš(o)b(e)lo zecisa szalo</i>
68	N 5, 6r	<i>teos ḡwrios</i>	Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν συστή- σασθε ἐορτὴν	–	(413)	1420	Δ θ 5	<i>Ġ(mer)ti o(wp)ali da gamogwēnda č(ue)n dḡes ḡ(a)n-mzadet dḡes(a)-sč(au)li</i>
69	N 5, 6r	<i>še rows anasa</i>	Χαίριος ἄνασσα, μητροπάρ- θενον κλέος	230	414	1400	Δ θ 3	<i>G(i)x(arode)n š(e)n č(mida)o d(e)d(o)-p(a)lo d(e)d(a)ta d(i)d(e)b(a)o</i>
70	N 5, 9r	<i>še rowspa rimon</i>	Χαίριος παρ' ἡμῶν	265	489	–	–	<i>G(i)x(arode)n ḡ(mr)-tis mš(o)b(e)lo m(o)-rčm(u)n(en)i ḡ(i)-ḡ(a)ḡ(a)d(e)bt</i>
71	N 5, 9v	<i>ḡwmaṭi talasis</i>	Κύματι θαλάσσης τὸν κρύψαντα πάλαι	–	509	231a= 232a	ς α 2	<i>R(omelma)n dapara siḡrmesa mdevari</i>
72	N 5, 10r	<i>epiṭina s alevxon k(rist)je</i>	Ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσάλευτον, Χριστέ, πέτραν	–	–	240γb	ς γ 11	<i>Ḳidesa šeuзravsa k(rist)je mcn(e)b(a)ta m(a)t š(e)nt(a)sa</i>
73	N 5, 10v	<i>proseortri zo</i>	Πρὸς σὲ ὀρθρίζω τὸν δι' εὐσ- πλαγχνίαν	–	535	230a	ς ε 6	<i>Šenda aḡvimstobt r(omelma)n čḡ(a)-l(o)bit miec</i>



No.	Fol.	Transcribed incipit	Greek	Metr.	Κικν. <sup>31</sup>	Eustr.	Hann.	Georgian incipit <sup>32</sup>
74	N 5, 11r	<i>sownes šeti</i>	Συνεσχέθη ἀλλ' οὐ κατεσχέθη	–	542	231ζ	ς ζ 4	<i>Muclad-iḡo iona v(e)š(a)ḡm(a)n da ara g(a)nxcḡna</i>
75	N 5, 11v	<i>aprasṡon tavma</i>	*Ἀφραστον θαῦμα ὃ ἐν καμίνῳ ῤυσάμενος	–	549	232ζ	ς ζ 6	<i>Ō s(a)sc(au)li r(omelma)n s(a)q(u)- m(i)lsa daicvna</i>
76	N 5, 12r	<i>ikštitip ri ṡṡon</i>	*Ἐκστηθι φρίττων οὐρανέ και σαλευ- θήτωσαν	–	557	231η= 232η	ς η 2	<i>Cay vrceli g(a) ncwbr(e)b(u)l (a)rs da zḡis s(a)p(u)zḡv(e)- li k(ue)ḡ(a)n(i)s(a)y</i>
77	N 5, 12r	<i>ṡṡi lin ka kias</i>	Στήλην κακίας ἀντιθέου παῖδες θεῖοι	–	556	230η	ς η 6	<i>Qḡmata s(a)ḡmrt(o)- ta ḡ(i)rv(e)l(a)d arcxwnes</i>
78	N 5, 12v	<i>ṡṡin ṡṡimioṡer[a] ṡonše</i>	Τὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν χερουβίμ και ἐνδοξοτέ- ραν	–	566	230θ	ς θ 5	<i>R(ome)l um(a)ḡl(e)s xar kerobinta da udidebules</i>
79	N 5, 12v	<i>mieḡpodow- romimiṡir</i>	Μὴ ἐποδύρου μου μήτερ καθορῶσα	–	567	231θ	ς θ 2	<i>Nu mṡir me d(e)- d(a)o r(a)z(am)s mixilo me</i>
80	N 5, 13r	<i>ṡoekritrone- rowtras</i>	Τῷ ἐκ ῤείθρων ἐρυθράς	–	577	281α	–	<i>R(omelma)nca upsḡr(u)lta siḡrmē k(ue)ḡ(a)nay ḡacta</i>
81	N 5, 14r	<i>oṡopoṡos</i>	*Ὁ τοῦ φωτὸς	–	615	144ε/ 51εβ	–	<i>Natlisa momcemeli ḡ(ove)lta nat(e)lt(a)y</i>
82	N 5, 14r	<i>ḡwrie o teo s i mon</i>	Κύριε ὃ θεός μου ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίσας	–	610	280εβ	Z ε 7	<i>O(wpal)o ḡ(mert)o čemo. ḡ(a)m(i)tg(a)n aḡvimstobt</i>



Img. 3: N 2, 1v  
(excerpt)

Some of these items require further comments. This is true, first of all, for no. 46 which was listed among the unidentified transcripts by MÉTRÉVÉLI – OUTTIER (*Contribution*, 353) with the reading *ulusis* appearing in ms. B (= S-425). The transcript now available in N 2 (*opsos os eote*, cf. Image 3) differs remarkably from this; nevertheless, *ulusis* may derive from it, as a distorted copy, compare the Asomtavruli spellings  $\text{Q}\Phi\text{L}\text{Q}\text{L}$  - (*opsos*-) and  $\text{Q}\Psi\text{L}\text{Q}\text{L}$  - (*owlos*-). The incipit can then be identified with that of the *heirmos* Ὑψώσω σε ὁ θεός (Eustr. 23a), even though the content of the Georgian hymn (*Zǵwsa ǵelv[a]ni g(a)n-vlna i(sra)ēlm(a)n* ‘Israel crossed the waves of the sea’) does not match this. – In no. 49, the Georgian transcript seems to suggest a Greek nominative plural syntagm οἱ παῖδες rather than the sequence of the singular article ὁ (relating to ῥυσάμενος following later on) with the accusative παῖδας (denoting the object of ῥυσάμενος), and ἐν καμίνῳ instead of ἐκ καμίνου; the former confusion must be seen in the context of similar ungrammaticalities in the transcripts (for which cf. 3.5.2 below), while the latter may depend on a distorted Greek model<sup>37</sup>. – For the peculiar deformation visible in no. 50 (*eḫtera*- rendering ἐν πέτρῃ), we have to take into account that this is another case of a repetition (cf. no. 32 above), the preceding hymn (*Ḳllesa z(ed)a sarçmunoebisasa*; Metr. 39;  $\text{Ḳi}\kappa\text{n}$ . 74) being introduced by the same incipit but in a much more exact shape (*enḫetra meḫisp*). – For no. 70, a matching incipit is found in the *theotokion* Χαίροις παρ’ ἡμῶν ἅγια θεοτόκε often appearing in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* (e.g., Nov. 4, can. 10, ode 4), whose text does not match that of the Georgian hymn, however. – In no. 62, the reduction of Gk. Ἄβυσσος ἐσχάτη to *abososes* in the transcript contrasts with the full rendering of the same syntagm as

<sup>37</sup> HANNICK, *Hirmologion*, p. 33 n. notes the readings ἐκ καμίνῳ and ἐν καμίνου (sic!) for mss. La = Athos Lavra Γ 9 and O = Paris Coislin 220 (cf. *ib.*, p. 340-341).

*abowsosesxati* met with in N 5, 11r (Metr. 284/  $\text{K}\dot{\iota}\kappa\eta\text{n}$ . 539/ Hann.  $\zeta\ \zeta\ 2$ ). It is but a vague idea that the omittance of *xati* in no. 60 might be due to an interference of the homonymous Georgian word meaning ‘icon’. – For no. 71, two hymns beginning with  $\text{K}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\iota\ \theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma$  are possible sources (Eustr. 231*a* and 232*a*; Hann.  $\zeta\ \alpha\ 2$  and  $\zeta\ \alpha\ 7$ ); the second one is less likely as it contains a reference to Herod and the magis which has no correspondent in the Georgian hymn. Similarly, of the two possible sources of no. 76 ( $\text{E}\kappa\sigma\tau\eta\theta\iota\ \phi\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\omega\text{n}$ , Eustr. 231*η*a and 232*η*; Hann.  $\zeta\ \eta\ 2$  and  $\zeta\ \eta\ 12$ ), only the first one provides a match for Georgian *saplav-i* ‘grave’ (Greek  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ). – For nos. 52, 53 and 55, we may note that the underlying Greek texts all appear among the *heirmoi* of April 1 (canon 2, odes 6–8) in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* (vol. 9, 1970). – For no. 58, a matching incipit seems to be found in the *heirmos allos* Eustr. 321*δα*  $\text{E}\dot{\iota}\sigma\alpha\kappa\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\alpha, \text{X}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}, \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta\gamma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$ . We must admit, however, that incipits beginning with  $(\text{i}\sigma)\alpha\kappa\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\alpha \sim \text{Gk.}$   $(\text{e}\dot{\iota}\sigma)\alpha\kappa\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\alpha$  ‘I have heard’ as in no. 58 are extremely frequent throughout the Georgian *heirmologia* (cf., e.g., Metr. 78/  $\text{K}\dot{\iota}\kappa\eta\text{n}$ . 85; 79/ 86; 241/ 449; 242/ 450; 275/ 525; 352/ 700; 354/ 705; 356/ 703), and the combination with the vocative of the name of Christ,  $\text{i}\sigma\alpha\kappa\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\alpha\ \text{x}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon} \sim \text{E}\dot{\iota}\sigma\alpha\kappa\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\alpha, \text{X}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}$ , is met with at least one more time in the Sinai mss. (N 5, 18r/ N 95, 5r; Metr. 353/  $\text{K}\dot{\iota}\kappa\eta\text{n}$ . 702). The latter hymn is not identical with no. 58, as it continues with  $r(\text{ametu})\ m(\text{a})\text{mis}(\text{a})\text{g}(\text{a})\text{n}\ \text{aray}\ \text{daa}\kappa\lambda\text{di}$  ‘because you did not miss (your) father’, not with  $\text{qorct-}\dot{\text{s}}\text{e}\text{x}\text{misa}\ \dot{\text{s}}\text{enisa}\text{y}$  ‘your incarnation’. For the attestation in N 95, 4r, we must take into account that it is preceded by yet another hymn beginning with  $\text{mesma}\ \text{me}\ \text{smenay}$  ‘I have heard the news (lit. hearing)’ (N 95, 4r ~ N 2, 9v; Metr. 128/  $\text{K}\dot{\iota}\kappa\eta\text{n}$ . 196/ Eustr. 110*δ*/ Hann.  $\Gamma\ \delta\ 7$ ). – For no. 81, KOSCHMIEDER’s list provides two candidates distinguished only by the word following  $\phi\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$  ( $\text{d}\dot{\iota}\alpha\tau\mu\acute{\eta}\xi\alpha\varsigma/\ \chi\omicron\rho\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ ; Eustr. 144*ε*/ 51*ε*b). – Note that no. 67 is one of the few hymns in N 5 that are accompanied by neumes (besides Metr. 257/  $\text{K}\dot{\iota}\kappa\eta\text{n}$ . 478  $\text{Q}\text{rmani}\ \text{cari}\acute{\eta}(\text{ue})\text{n}(\text{u})\text{lni}\ \text{ver}\ \dot{\text{s}}\text{eazr}\text{cunna}$ : N 5, 8r, and Metr. 357/  $\text{K}\dot{\iota}\kappa\eta\text{n}$ . 708/ Hann.  $\text{H}\ \delta\ 7, \text{C}(\text{inays})\text{c}(\text{armet})\acute{\eta}(\text{ue})\text{lm}(\text{a})\text{n}\ \text{s}(\text{ai})\text{d}(\text{um})\text{loy}\ \dot{\text{p}}(\text{i})\text{rv}(\text{e})\text{l}\ \text{ixila}$ : N 5, 18v).

#### 2.4.3. Unidentified hymn incipits

A dozen transcripts of Greek incipits remain unidentified, among them eleven that are recorded for the first time in the mss. under investigation; cf. the following Table where proposals as to the underlying Greek wording are indicated with a question mark:

No.	Fol.	Incipit	Greek	Metr.	Κίθν.	Other transcripts	Georgian incipit
83	N 2, 2r/ N 5, 2v	<i>pronimaa</i>	φρόνημα?	47	[5]	L: pronima	<i>Sibrznit simqnē ačuenes ǵrmata (&lt; N 5) mʒl(a)- vrsa mas</i>
84	N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1r	<i>keanabiṭoa- marṭia</i>	Κ(rist)ε ἀνά βυθῶ ἄμαρ- τημάτων?	–	114	–	<i>Aǵmomiǵvane codv(a)- ta čemtag(a)n mxrçneltag(a)n</i>
85	N 2, 6v/ N 95, 1v	<i>oḗedasteose- bisen lampron</i>	Ὁ παῖδας θεοσεβεῖς ἐν λαμ- πρὸν?	–	124	–	<i>Ǵrmani maǵlisa mimart s(a)q(u)milit</i>
86	N 95, 3v	< >[r]ona	?	–	155	–	<i>Owproys b(u)nebisa da zešt&lt;a&gt; [si]&lt;tǵwsa&gt;</i>
87	N 2, 9r	<i>xristosi paži</i>	Χριστὸς ὕπαγη?	120	(172)	H: xristos- iḗpaži; L: xristosipa	<i>K(rist)e r(a)ž(am)s daemšç(ua)l(a) Ǵ(merts)a r(omelma)n iqsna ḗ(i)rvel eri zǵwsag(a)n</i>
88	N 95, 4r	<i>poṭison apṭow</i>	Φώτισον αὐτοῦς?	–	208	–	<i>[Na]&lt;t&gt;[el]&lt;sa mas&gt; mcn(e)bata š(e)ntasa</i>
89	N 5, 6r	<i>ikexariṭow meni</i>	Ἡ κεχαριτω- μένη?	–	–	–	<i>Š(e)nda momart movilocit ubiçoo l(o)- cv(a)sa č(ue)n̄sa</i>
90	N 5, 9r	<i>panagia teotokon</i>	Παναγίαν θεοτόκον?	–	–	–	<i>Owbiçoo ḡ(mr)tis mš(o)- b(e)lo nusada g(a)n- mišoreb</i>
91	N 5, 10v	<i>eḡtōwḡiṭows ton ḗropi</i>	Ἐκ τοῦ κῆτους τὸν προφήτην?	283	541	O: eḡtuḡi- tuṣtonḗroit; L: eḡtuḡi- tuṣtonḗro	<i>V(itarc)a ve.ša.ḗis(a) g(a)n iqsen</i>
92	N 5, 12v	<i>ṭise ḗaksios</i>	Τῖς ἐπαξίως?	–	–	–	<i>Rayme geçcoros š(e)n s(a)n(a)ḗr(e)lo ḡ(mr)tis mš(o)b(e)lo</i>
93	N 5, 15v	<i>ṭoarxanželo</i>	Τῶ ἀρχαγγέ- λω?	–	–	–	<i>Gaxara š(e)n dǵes g(a)br(ie)l. mt(a)var ang(e)l(o)zm(a)n</i>
94	N 5, 18r/ N 95, 5r	<i>ṭondownas- sow</i>	Τὸν δυνάς σου?	347	688	O: ṭoniownas- sow	<i>Žlierebita š(e)nita daamṭiḡice guli čemi</i>

Greek φρόνημα as supposed to be concealed in no. 83 would meet the meaning of Georgian *sibrznit* ‘with wisdom’. An oblique case form like φρονήματι is excluded now as the Sinai mss. provide a second *a* following *pronima*. The same is true for the incipit Φρόνημα τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς attested in some menologies<sup>38</sup>. – For the reconstruction of no. 84 cf. the title Βυθῶ ἁμαρτημάτων συνέχομαι σωτήρ (Eustr. 57ς) representing the source of the Slavonic hymn Hann. B ζ 7. The “reduction” of ἁμαρτημάτων to *amartia* (< synonymous ἁμαρτία?) is also visible in the incipit *abowsosamaritia* (< Ἄβυσσος ἁμαρτημάτων ἐκύκλωσέ με) in N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r (Metr. 89/ Κῖκν. 109/ Eustr. 59ς/ Hann. B ζ 2) as well as N 95, 4v (Ἄβυσσος ἐσχάτη ἁμαρτιῶν > *abososes amartia*, cf. no. 59 above). The initial sequence *ke* may represent the Georgian abbreviation of the name of Christ (as in no. 44 above) or, less likely, the conjunction καὶ ‘and’ (compare the spelling *ki* in *mesitis teowki ant* ~ Μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων: N 2, 4v; Metr. 82/ Κῖκν. 96/ Eustr. 53ε/ Hann. B ε 2, but also *ke* in *ipon keana ba tin* ~ Ἰππων καὶ ἀναβάτην: N 5, 6v; Metr. 231/ Κῖκν. 428/ Eustr. 182α/ Hann. E α 1). – No. 85 resembles the *heirmos allos* Eustr. 57ηα which begins with Ὁ παῖδας θεοσεβεῖς; the continuation with ἐν καμίνῳ ῥυσάμενος does not match the Georgian transcript, however. The same is true for the phrase Παῖδες θεοσεβεῖς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι appearing several times as the title of hymns of the seventh ode in the *Analecta Hymnica* (Oct. 18, can. 23; Jan. 3, can. 9; Apr. 28, can. 33; May 13, can. 15), translated by *q̇rmata ġmrtis-msaxurta babilons šina* ‘the God-serving boys in Babylon’ in the Georgian hymns published by METREVELI (Metr. 382). – In no. 87, N 2 confirms the transcript provided by mss. H and L; it must be noted, however, that N 2 contains but the first verse of the hymn beginning with *K(rist)e r(a)ž(am)s daemšč(ua)l(a)* (Metr. 120), continuing with another hymn immediately after these words (*Ġ(merts)a r(omelma)n iqsna ṗ(i)rvel eri zġwsag(a)n* ‘God who first released the people from the sea’: Κῖκν. 172; Eustr. 98α). The Greek incipit disguised as *xristosi paži* remains unidentified; ὑπάγη (or ὑπάγει) seems to be a better candidate for the verbal form contained in it than *epagi* (= ἐπάγει?) as proposed by MÉTRÉVELI – OUTTIER (*Contribution*, 355). – For no. 88, KOSCHMIEDER’s list<sup>39</sup> provides several instances of incipits beginning with Φώτισον, but none that would match the characters following in N 95, all continuing with ἡμᾶς, με or μου instead (Eustr. 321ε, 218ε, 353ε, 273ε, 355ε, 204ε = 196εb).

<sup>38</sup> MR V 58 and MV IX 29 according to E. FOLLIERI’s index.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. note 10 above.

It is but a mere guess that we might have the pronoun αὐτοῦς here as the rendering of *av* by *ap* would be exceptional (cf. 3.4.1 below). – No. 89 might conceal either one of the incipits Ἡ κεχαριτωμένη, εὐλογημένη and Ἡ κεχαριτωμένη, μεσίτευσον attested elsewhere<sup>40</sup>; for nos. 92 and 93, there are even three candidates available (Τίς ἐπαξίως ἀνευφημήσει/ ἀνυμνήσει τοὺς τῆς πίστεως ἀγῶνας/ τῶν ἀρετῶν; Τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Γαβριὴλ ἀκολουθήσωμεν/ δεῦτε καὶ συμπορευθῶμεν/ συνέλθωμεν Γαβριήλ)<sup>41</sup>. – For no. 91, a comparable incipit is found in the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* (Jan. 11, can. 21, ode 6) reading Τοῦ κήτους τὸν προφήτην ἐλυτρώσω; the match is not exact, however. The incipit Ὡς ἐκ τοῦ κήτους ἐλυτρώσω τὸν προφήτην σου (Eustr. 348ς) is not identical either<sup>42</sup>. – The transcript *ṭondownassow* appearing in N 5, 18r and N 95, 5r contradicts the assumption by MÉTRÉVELI – OUTTIER (*Contribution*, 357) that no. 94 might reflect Greek Τὸν Ἰωνᾶν, which was based upon the reading *ṭoniownassow* of O (65) published by ΜΕΤΡΕΒΕΛΙ (*Žlispirni*, 179). Any word form that is related to Greek δύναμις can be taken to match Georgian *zliereba* ‘power’ in the hymn *zlierebita š(e)nita daamṭkice guli čemi* ‘Strengthen my heart with your power’ but the exact model remains unclear (the incipit Τὸν δυνατὸν ἐν ἰσχύϊ κηήσασα<sup>43</sup> is too different to be assumed here).

### 3. The rendering of Greek in the Georgian transcripts

The substitution of Greek sounds by Georgian letters in the transcripts is governed by clear-cut rules, with but few exceptions. We can also prove that the rendering was based on the pronunciation of sounds, rather than rules of transcribing letters. Nevertheless it is more convenient to summarize the regular correspondences on a graphematic basis. The following Table contrasts both plain Greek letters and characteristic digraphic units representing historical diphthongs (including *iota subscriptum*) with their regular Georgian equivalents in the transcripts, with

<sup>40</sup> FOLLIERI’s index lists PaR 574; PaV 282; PID ρμη’ and MR II 462; MV IV 79; TR 540, 568\*; TV 301, 315\*, resp.

<sup>41</sup> TRM II 209\*/ PKA I 131/ MR I 297; MV I 173; NS 33 (1938) 629\* and TRM II 180/ KA 576\*; TRM I 310, II 182\*; BZ 51 (1958) 57\*/ ETH 283 according to FOLLIERI’s index.

<sup>42</sup> Note the unusual insertion of dots in the word *ve.ša.pis(a)g(a)n* ‘from the monster’ which reminds of the arbitrary distortion of words meaning ‘satan’ or ‘devil’ in other manuscript traditions of the Near East.

<sup>43</sup> Attested in HC 208 and PID ρπε’ according to FOLLIERI’s index.



one example each for a word-initial, word-internal and word-final position (as far as available)<sup>44</sup>.

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\text{ჴიჴნ.}$
α	a	άνω	<i>ano</i>	N 2, 2v	54/ [12]
		άπαντες	<i>apanτες</i>	N 2, 3r	63/ [25]
		έβόησα	<i>eboisa/ eboesa</i>	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r	90/ 110
α	a	άσωμεν	<i>asomen</i>	N 2, 1v	N 2, 3r; N 2, 3v; 6/ 6; 64/ [26]; 67/ [28]
		μήτρα	<i>mitra</i>	N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1v	97/ 121
αι	e	αίχμαλώτους	<i>exmalogows</i>	N 5, 8r	257/ 478
		τροπαιούχος	<i>tropeoxos</i>	N 2, 1v/ N 5, 1v	3/ 4
		παλαι	<i>pale</i>	N 2, 9r	119/ 171
αι	ay	Ίσαΐας/ Ίσαΐα	<i>isaya/ esaya</i>	N 2, 9v/ N 95, 4r	N 5, 8v; 130/ 203; 261/ 485
αυ	av	σταυροῦ	<i>stavrow</i>	N 5, 7r	237/ –
β	b	βάθος	<i>batos</i>	N 95, 1r	–/ 112
		στείβει	<i>stibi</i>	N 2, 3v	60/ [22]
δ	d	δεῦτε	<i>devte</i>	N 2, 3r	65/ [27]
		εἶδεν	<i>iden</i>	N 2, 9v/ N 95, 4r	130/ 203
ε	e	έφλεξε	<i>eplekse</i>	N 2, 6r/ N 95, 2r	93/ 117
		ποτέ	<i>poṭe</i>	N 2, 6v/ N 95, 2r	101/ 129
ει	i	εἰσακήκοα	<i>isakikoa</i>	N 2, 4v	78/ 85; 79/ 86
		θείω	<i>tio</i>	N 5, 10r	278/ 531
		άπορει	<i>apowri</i>	N 2, 7v	109/ 147
ει	ei	θεικήν	<i>teiki</i>	N 5, 8r	253/ 471
ευ	ev	εὐλογητός	<i>evlogitos</i>	N 5, 8r	255/ 473
		έλευθέρα	<i>elevtera</i>	N 2, 7v/ N 95, 2v	99/ 127
		χόρευε	<i>xoreve</i>	N 5, 8v	261/ 485
ζ	z	ζωής	<i>zois</i>	N 2, 4v	81/ 95
		ορθρίζομεν	<i>ortrizomen</i>	N 95, 4r	132/ 205
η	i	ήμας	<i>imas</i>	N 2, 3v	71/ [36]
		μήτηρ	<i>mitir</i>	N 5, 8v	263/ 487

<sup>44</sup> For each word form, a maximum of three attestations is quoted.

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ <i>Ḳiḳn.</i>
		φωνή	<i>poni</i>	N 2, 5r	87/ 107
η	<i>i</i>	τῆ	<i>ṭi</i>	N 2, 2r/ N 5, 2v	46/ [4]
		Μουσιῆ	<i>moowsi</i>	N 5, 3r	202/ 365
θ	<i>t</i>	θαλάσση	<i>talasi</i>	N 2, 3v	67/ [28]
		θαλάσσης	<i>talasis</i>	N 2, 3v	60/ [22]
		ἐλήλυθας	<i>elilowtas</i>	N 2, 4v	77/ 84
ι	<i>i</i>	ἰμερτὸν	<i>imerṭon</i>	N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1v	86/ 106
		κάμινος	<i>ḱaminos</i>	N 2, 6v/ N 95, 2r	101/ 129
		φλόγι	<i>ploḟi</i>	N 2, 2r	48/ [6]
κ	<i>ḱ</i>	καθαρθεις	<i>ḱatartis</i>	N 2, 4v	75/ 82
		ἀκήκοε	<i>aḱiḱoen</i>	N 2, 4r	76/ 83
		ἐκ	<i>eḱ</i>	N 2, 5r; N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r (2×)	84/ 98; 91/ 111; 92/ 113
λ	<i>l</i>	λόγος	<i>loḡos</i>	N 5, 3r	204/ 367
		ἀφλέκτως	<i>apleḱtos</i>	N 2, 2v	43/ [1]
μ	<i>m</i>	μῆ	<i>mi</i>	N 2, 2r/ N 5, 2v	46/ [4]
		ἔρημος	<i>erimos</i>	N 2, 3v	70/ [35]
ν	<i>n</i>	νυκτὸς	<i>nowḱtos</i>	N 2, 5r	84/ 98
		ἐξήνησεν	<i>eksintisen</i>	N 2, 3v	70/ [35]
		ἄσωμεν	<i>asomen</i>	N 2, 1v; N 2, 3r; N 2, 3v	6/ 6; 64/ [26]; 67/ [28]
ξ	<i>ks</i>	ξένον	<i>ksenon</i>	N 2, 2v; N 2, 9v	52/ [10]; 127/ 195
		πῆξας	<i>ḱiksas</i>	N 5, 6v	235/ 440
		νῦξ	<i>nowks</i>	N 5, 14r	311/ 611
ο	<i>o</i>	ὀρθρίζοντες	<i>ortrizontes</i>	N 95, 4r; N 5, 18v/ N 95, 5v	133/ 206; 359/ 715
		θεόπτης	<i>teoptis</i>	N 2, 1v/ N 5, 1v	4/ 3
		φωτὸς	<i>poṭos</i>	N 2, 5r	83/ 97
		τὸ	<i>ṭo</i>	N 2, 9r; N 2, 9v/ N 95, 4r; N 95, 4v	122/ 186; 27/ 195; 141/ 224
ου	<i>ow</i>	κῆτους	<i>ḱitows</i>	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r	91/ 111
		ἐχθροῦ	<i>eḱtrow</i>	N 2, 5r	80/ 94
π	<i>p</i>	πᾶσα	<i>pasa</i>	N 2, 7v	109/ 147

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ <i>Ḳiḳn.</i>
		τροπαιοῦχος	<i>trōpeoxos</i>	N 2, 1v/ N 5, 1v	3/ 4
ρ	<i>r</i>	ῥεῖθρον	<i>ritron</i>	N 5, 13r	-/ 577
		μυστήριον	<i>mowstirion</i>	N 2, 2v	N 2, 6v/ N 95, 2r; 52/ [10]; 100/ 128
		μήτηρ	<i>miṭir</i>	N 5, 8v	263/ 487
σ	<i>s</i>	σοφία	<i>sopia</i>	N 2, 7r/ N 95, 2r; =;	102/ 130; 103/ 131
		μεσίτης	<i>mesit̃is</i>	N 2, 4v	82/ 96
		πρὸς	<i>pros</i>	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r	91/ 111
τ	<i>t̃</i>	τροφή	<i>tr̃opi</i>	N 2, 2r/ N 5, 2v	46/ [4/
		τμάται	<i>t̃mate</i>	N 5, 9v	268/ 507
φ	<i>p</i>	φάραω	<i>parao</i>	N 5, 16v	332/ 652
		σοφία	<i>sopia</i>	N 2, 7r/ N 95, 2r; =;	102/ 130; 103/ 131
ψ	<i>ps</i>	ψυχῆ	<i>psowši</i>	N 2, 9r	123/ 187
		ἐκάλυψε/ ν	<i>eḱalowpsen</i>	N 2, 9v; N 5, 13r	126/ 194 298/ 572
ω	<i>o</i>	ὠς	<i>os</i>	N 2, 9v/ N 95, 4r; 05, 9v; N 5, 14v	130/ 203; 266/ 505; 317/ 622
		γλῶσσα	<i>glosa</i>	N 2, 7v	109/ 147
		ῶ	<i>o</i>	N 2, 8v/ N 95, 3v	108/ 145
ου	<i>oow</i>	Μουσιῆ	<i>moowsi</i>	N 5, 3r	202/ 365
φ	<i>o</i>	βυθῶ	<i>bito</i>	N 2, 3r; N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r; N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1r	62/ [24]; 92/ 113; -/ 114

As the Table shows, there is no distinction between vowels with and without *iota subscriptum* and between *o* and *ω*, both being rendered by *o*. *I*, *η* and *ει* are all represented by *i*, while *ε* and *αι* appear as *e*. *Y* in *υ* and *ευ* is replaced by (consonantal) *v*, while *ου* yields *ow*, i.e., [u], as does *v* in *ωυ*. Disyllabic sequences of vowels plus *ι* (= *ĩ*) are preserved as such, with *y* being used in front of a following vowel. Among consonants, the voiced stops *β* and *δ* are always substituted by the corresponding voiced stops in Georgian (*b* and *d*). The plain voiceless stops (*κ*, *π*, *τ*) are regularly represented by their glottalized equivalent (*ḳ*, *p̣*, *ṭ*), whereas the voiceless aspirates of Georgian (*t*, *p*) regularly stand for *θ*

and  $\phi$ .  $Z$  is rendered by  $z$ , while  $\xi$  and  $\psi$  are substituted by sequences of  $k$  and  $p$  plus  $s$ . All these substitutions are in agreement with our knowledge of both the pronunciation of early Medieval Greek and the sound system of Old Georgian; we may underline in this context that there is no indication whatsoever of a spirantization of  $\beta$  (which would have yielded  $v$  instead of  $b$ ).

### 3.1. Velar consonants

Among the consonants, a special treatment is required for the velars ( $\gamma$  and  $\chi$ ), given that they are rendered differently depending on their phonetic environment, thus witnessing to the impact of contemporary pronunciation in the transcripts. For  $\chi$ , we note a clear-cut distinction of two renderings, Georgian  $x$  appearing in the position preceding sonantic consonants and back vowels, and Georgian  $\check{s}$ , preceding front vowels. Cf. the following examples:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\check{K}$ ikn.	
$\chi$	$x$	$\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$	<i>xristos</i>	N 2, 1v N 5, 10r	2/ 2 274/ 524	
		$\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\eta\varsigma$	<i>xrowsis</i>	N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1v	96/ 120	
		$\alpha\chi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu$	<i>axl<sup>45</sup></i>	N 2, 5r	85/ 99	
		$\tau\rho\pi\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$	<i>tropeoxos</i>	N 2, 1v/ N 5, 1v	$\frac{3}{4}$	
		$\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$	<i>anarxos</i>	N 5, 3r	204/ 367	
	$\check{s}$		$\acute{\epsilon}\mu\psi\acute{\upsilon}\chi\phi$	<i>enpsowxo</i>	N 5, 5v	-/ 412
			$\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$	<i>šerows</i>	N 5, 6r N 5, 9r	-/ 414 265/ 489
			$\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon$	<i>šere</i>	N 5, 12r	297/ 563
			$\chi\epsilon\check{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma$	<i>širas</i>	N 5, 3v	208/ 383
			$\chi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\mu$	<i>šerobim, še<sup>45</sup></i>	N 5, 15r N 5, 12v	322/ 630 566
$\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{o}\tau\mu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$			<i>aširoṭma<sup>45</sup></i>	N 5, 4v	219/ 403	
$\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\check{\eta}$			<i>arši</i>	N 5, 3r	204/ 367	
$\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$			<i>arši<sup>45</sup></i>	N 2, 4v	81/ 95	
$\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta$			<i>sownesšeti</i>	N 5, 11r	-/ 542	
$\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$			<i>psowši</i>	N 2, 9r	123/ 187	
$\psi\upsilon\chi\alpha\check{\iota}\varsigma$	<i>psowše</i>	N 2, 8v	(B 0 11)			

<sup>45</sup> Abbreviated at the end of the transcript.

When followed by the dental stop  $\theta$ ,  $\chi$  is rendered by  $k$  or  $k$  (without any further rule discernible):

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\text{K}\dot{\text{i}}\text{k}\dot{\text{n}}$ .
$\chi$	$k$	ἐχθροῦ	<i>eḱtrow</i>	N 2, 5r	80/ 94
	$k$	κατεφλέχθη	<i>kaṭeplekti</i>	N 5, 15r	326/ 637

The rendering of  $\gamma$  is quite similar though not parallel to that of  $\chi$ <sup>46</sup>. First of all, we usually find  $\dot{g}$  when  $\gamma$  is followed by a sonantic consonant or a back vowel as in the following examples:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\text{K}\dot{\text{i}}\text{k}\dot{\text{n}}$ .
$\gamma$	$\dot{g}$	γαστέρα	<i>ḡasṭera</i>	N 5, 7v	248/ 462
		ἐμεγάλυνας	<i>emeḡalownas</i>	N 2, 8v/ N 95, 3v	117/ 150
		ἀπειρόγαμον	<i>aḡirowamon</i>	N 5, 6r	–/ 418
		πλόγος	<i>plōḡos</i>	N 5, 11v	290/ 552
		ἀπόγονοι	<i>aḡogoni</i>	N 5, 15r	321/ 629
		γλῶσσα	<i>ḡlosa</i>	N 2, 7v	109/ 147
		δόγματι	<i>doḡmaṭi</i>	N 2, 7v/ N 95, 2v	107/ 136
		ἀγνοίας	<i>aḡnows</i>	N 95, 5v	362/ 716
		στηριγμός	<i>stiriḡmon</i>	N 5, 9v	271/ 518
		σκιογράφον	<i>sḡionḡrapin (!)</i>	N 2, 5r	85/ 99
		παντουργῶ	<i>paṇṭowrḡon</i>	N 5, 8r	256/ 477
		ὄγραν	<i>owḡran</i>	N 5, 16v	333/ 653

In a position preceding front vowels, the transcripts usually show  $\dot{z}$ , thus reflecting a palatalized pronunciation sometimes ascribed to Arabic influence<sup>47</sup>.

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\text{K}\dot{\text{i}}\text{k}\dot{\text{n}}$ .
$\gamma$	$\dot{z}$	γεννᾶται	<i>ḡenata</i>	N 2, 1v	2/ 2
		γενῶν	<i>ḡenon</i> <sup>48</sup>	N 95, 2v	–/ 143
		γεννήτορος	<i>ḡeniṭoros</i>	N 2, 8r	110/ 147

<sup>46</sup> For a first account of the rendering of  $\gamma$  cf. METREVELI, *Zlispirmi*, p. 035–037.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. METREVELI, *Zlispirmi*, p. 036 quoting N. MARR and II. ABULAṢE.

<sup>48</sup> The representation of  $\gamma\eta\gamma\epsilon\omega\acute{\nu}$  by *ḡenonon* (instead of *\*ḡeḡenon*) in N 5, 5r (Metr. 220 /  $\text{K}\dot{\text{i}}\text{k}\dot{\text{n}}$ . 410) is a mistake obviously caused by anticipation; cf. 3.4.2 below.

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ Қіқн.
		γῆς	<i>žis</i>	N 95, 4r	–/ 204
		γηγενής	<i>žizenis</i>	N 5, 5r	221/ 404
		γηθόμενοι	<i>žitomeni</i>	N 5, 3v	209/ 382
		παγιωθεῖσα	<i>pažeotisa/ pažiotisa</i>	N 2, 1v/ N 5, 1v	5/ 5
		ἀγγέλου	<i>anže<sup>45</sup></i>	N 5, 4r	215/ 388
		εὐαγεῖς	<i>evažis</i>	N 5, 3v	210/ 384
		πέγγει	<i>penži</i>	N 5, 10v	278/ 531
		φλόγι	<i>ploži</i>	N 2, 2r N 5, 4r	48/ [6] 211/ 385

This also implies sequences of γγ preceding a front vowel:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ Қіқн.
γγ	<i>nž</i>	ἀφεγγής	<i>apenžis</i>	N 5, 14r	311/ 611
		*ἀρχαγγέλω	<i>arxanželo</i>	N 5, 15v	–

One example shows both ḡ and ž side by side:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ Қіқн.
γ	<i>ḡ/ ž</i>	ἀνάγαγε	<i>anaḡaže</i>	N 5, 8r	250/ 464

In contrast to the clear rules exposed above, there are six items where γ is replaced by the Georgian stop *g*, thus presupposing the pronunciation as a plosive. Four of them are based on the adjective ἅγιος ‘holy’ which, as a central term of religion, might have been introduced early enough into Georgian to have persisted in a “traditional” transcription. That we have a conflict of divergent influences here, is proven by the fact that the “regular” representation by *ž* occurs in the same word as well (in *ažios* ~ ἅγιος, N 5, 9v: Metr. 147/ Қіқн. 270).

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ Қіқн.
γ	<i>g</i>	ἅγιος	<i>agios/ agion<sup>49</sup></i>	N 5, 9v 05/ 17v	270/ 517 344/ 691
		παναγία	<i>panagia</i>	N 5, 12r	297/ 563
		*παναγίαν	<i>panagia</i>	N 5, 9r	–

<sup>49</sup> For the unexpected accusative ending cf. 3.5.2 below.



The two remaining cases are not so easy to account for. In *agnis* ~ ἀγνῆς (N 2, 2v; Metr. 53/ Қіқн. [11]) we might have to consider the special pronunciation of a velar nasal [ŋ] in the position preceding *n*; this seems not to have been obligatory as *aġnows* ~ ἀγνοίας in N 95, 5v (Metr. 362/ Қіқн. 716) shows. For *evlogiŋtos* ~ εὐλογητὸς in N 5, 8r (Metr. 255/ Қіқн. 473), no such explanation is available.

### 3.2. Front rounded vowels

Another peculiar case is the rendering of the vowel *υ* and the “diphthong” *οι*. In the majority of examples, both these units are represented by the digraph <ow>, i.e. the vowel [u], in the Georgian transcripts; cf. the following examples:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ Қіқн.
υ	ow	ὕπερ	<i>owper</i>	N 2, 8v/ N 95, 3v; N 5, 9r	108/ 145; 264/ 488
		ὕγραν	<i>owgran</i>	N 5, 16v	333/ 653
		ὔδατα	<i>owdata</i>	N 2, 9r	119/ 171
		ὔμνον	<i>owmnon</i>	N 2, 2r	49/ [7]
		ὔψους	<i>owpsis</i>	N 5, 13r	302/ 589
		ὑπερψούμενος	<i>owperowp-sowme</i> <sup>45</sup>	N 5, 8r	252/ 470
		δυνάμει	<i>downami</i>	N 5, 7r	237/ –
		ἐποδύρου	<i>epodowro</i>	N 5, 12v	–/ 567
		ἐκύκλωσε	<i>ekowklose</i>	N 5, 7v	249/ 463
		ἐρυθρῶ	<i>erow</i> <sup>45</sup>	N 5, 9v	267/ 506
		ἐρυθρῶς	<i>erowtras</i>	N 5, 13r	–/ 577
		λυτρωτὰ	<i>lowtrota</i>	N 5, 4r	216/ 381
		μυστήριον	<i>mowstirion</i>	N 2, 2v; N 2, 6v/ N 95, 2r	52/ [10]; 100/ 128
		νῦξ	<i>nowks</i>	N 5, 14r	311/ 611
		νυκτὸς	<i>nowktos</i>	N 2, 5r; N 5, 10v; N 95, 5v	84/ 98; 281/ 534; 361/ 714
		πυρὶ	<i>powri</i>	N 95, 4v; N 5, 3r; N 5, 15r	138/ 221; 203/ 360; 324/ 635
		πυρὸς	<i>powros</i>	N 5, 8r	254/ 472

		πυρίφλεκτος	<i>ṛowr</i> <sup>45</sup>	N 2, 6v/ N 95, 1v	98/ 122
		πυρίφλεκτον	<i>ṛowri</i> <sup>45</sup>	N 5, 14v	320/ 628
		πυρσῶ	<i>ṛowrso</i>	N 2, 4v	75/ 82
		κλύδωνι	<i>ḳlowdoni</i>	N 5, 7v	247/ 461
		ἐλήλυθας	<i>elilowtas</i>	N 2, 4v; N 5, 7r	77/ 84; 240/ 448
		ἀνεκάλυψε	<i>aneḳalowpsen</i>	N 2, 3r	61/ [23]
		ἐκάλυψε/ ν	<i>eḳalowpsen</i>	N 2, 9v; N 5, 13r	126/ 194; 298/ 572
		ψυχαῖς	<i>psowše</i>	N 2, 8v	(B 0 11)
		ψυχῆ	<i>psowši</i>	N 2, 9r	123/ 187
		ἐμψύχῳ	<i>enpsowxo</i>	N 5, 5v	–/ 412
		χρυσῆς	<i>xrowsis</i>	N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1v	96/ 10
		ἄβυσσος	<i>abowsos</i>	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r; N 5, 7v; N 5, 11r	89/ 109; 249/ 463; 284/ 539
		ἐμεγάλυνας	<i>emeḡalownas</i>	N 2, 8v/ N 95, 3v	117/ 150
		σύμφωνων	<i>sowmponon</i>	N 5, 3v	–/ 369
		συνεσχέθη	<i>sownesšeti</i>	N 5, 11r	–/ 542
		τυραννικοῦ	<i>ṭowraniḳow</i>	N 5, 11v	291/ 555
		σύ	<i>su</i>	N 5, 9v; N 5, 17v; N 5, 18r	270/ 517; 349/ 690; 350/ 699
οι	<i>ow</i>	οἶ	<i>ow</i>	N 2, 2r/ N 5, 2v; N 5, 11r; N 5, 14v	46/ [4]; 288/ 546; 319/ 627
		τοῖς	<i>ṭows</i>	N 5, 11v; N 5, 14r	290/ 552; 311/ 611
		κοιλίας	<i>ḳowlas</i>	N 5, 14v	381/ 620
		οἰκήσας	<i>owḳi</i> <sup>45</sup>	N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1v	97/ 121
		σοι	<i>sow</i>	N 2, 2r (2x); N 95, 4v; N 5, 8r	49/ [7], 50/ [8]; 134/ 212; 256/ 477
		λαοὶ	<i>laow</i>	N 2, 1v; N 2, 3r; N 5, 17r	6/ 6; 63/ [25]; 65/ [27]; 335/ 655
		οἱ ὄσιοι	<i>iosiow</i>	N 5, 12r	293/ 554
		χαίροις	<i>šerows</i>	N 5, 6r; N 5, 9r	–/ 414; 265/ 489
		ἄβραμιαῖοι	<i>abramiaow</i>	N 5, 3r	199/ 364

The representation of  $\chi$  by  $\check{s}$  when followed by  $\upsilon$  proves that the pronunciation of the Greek vowel must have been fronted, i.e., of the [i $\ddot{u}$ ] type:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ .
χ	ძ	ἰσχὺν	<i>isšows (!)</i>	N 2, 3v	69/ [34]

3.2.1 While the substitution by *ow* seems to be the rule, there are several other representations of both *υ* and *οι* observable in the transcripts, some of them contrasting with *ow* in other attestations of the same words or word forms. This is true, first of all, for the occurrence of *i*, which seems to be regular in the word forms of  $\beta\upsilon\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$  rendered by *bito-* with no exception. In most other cases, *i* contrasts with *ow* as in *imnown* ~ ἴμνον (N 2, 2r; Metr. 50,  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . [8]) vs. *owmnon* (preceding immediately in the context: N 2, 2r; Metr. 49,  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . [7]), *piros* ~  $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  (N 2, 2r; Metr. 48,  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . [6] and elsewhere) vs. *powros* (N 5, 8r; Metr. 254/  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . 472), *abiso* ~  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omega$  (N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r; Metr. 88/  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . 108) vs. *abowsos* ~  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  (N 2, 5v; Metr. 89/  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . 109 and elsewhere) and *abosos* ~  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  (N 95, 4v;  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . 216), or *eritras* ~  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  (N 5, 17r; Metr. 340/  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . 660) vs. *erowtras* (N 5, 13r;  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . 577); cf. also *dinamis* ~  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$  (N 5, 10r; Metr. 274/  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . 524) vs. *downas* (N 5, 18r/ N 95, 5r; Metr. 347/  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . 688; cf. 2.4.3 above). For *i* representing *οι*, there are but two examples available, one in the nominative plural ending of  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\iota$  ~ *apogoni* (N 5, 15r; Metr. 321/  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . 629) and one, in the article form  $\omicron\acute{\iota}$  appearing as *i* in *iosiw* (N 5, 12r; Metr. 293/  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . 554); note that here, the same nominative plural ending is represented by *ow* in *osiw* ~  $\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$ , just as the article  $\omicron\acute{\iota}$  itself in other cases (N 5, 11r; Metr. 288/  $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ . 546 and elsewhere). The following Table summarizes the attestations:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\text{ᲘᲗᲗ᲏Თ}$ .
υ	<i>i</i>	ἴμνον	<i>imnown</i>	N 2, 2r	50/ [8]
		$\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$	<i>piros</i>	N 2, 2r; N 2, 7r/ [N 95, 2v]	48/ [6]; 106/ 134
			<i>pir</i> <sup>45</sup>	N 5, 14v	319/ 627
		$\beta\upsilon\theta\acute{o}\nu$	<i>biton</i>	N 2, 2v	54/ [12]
		$\beta\upsilon\theta\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$	<i>bitow</i>	N 2, 3r	61/ [23]
		$\beta\upsilon\theta\tilde{\omega}$	<i>bito</i>	N 2, 3r; N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r; N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1r	62/ [24]; 92/ 113; -/ 114
		$\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omega$	<i>abiso</i>	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r	88/ 108
		$\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$	<i>dinamis</i>	N 5, 10r	274/ 524

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ Қiқn.
		πανύμνητε	<i>panimniṭe</i>	N 5, 15v	331/ 645
		ἐρυθρᾶς	<i>eritras</i>	N 5, 17r	340/ 660
οι	<i>i</i>	οἱ ὄσιοι	<i>iosiw</i>	N 5, 12r	293/ 554
		ἀπόγονοι	<i>apogoni</i>	N 5, 15r	321/ 629

3.2.2 Another treatment of υ is the rendering by the plain character <w>, which, as the historical offshoot of Greek υ, is regarded to represent a diphthongal sequence [wi] in Old Georgian. Among the examples, we find, first of all, the *nomen sacrum* κύριος ‘Lord’, whose stem is represented by *kwri-* throughout (six attestations) where it is not abbreviated (in the vocative *k̄e*, cf. 2.4.1 above). Other instances of υ being represented by <w> are rare. Among them, *kwmati* ~ κύματι (N 5, 9r: Қiқn. 509) exhibits a similar structure as κύριος word-initially and has no other representation either, while *ṭwranow* ~ τυράννου (N 2, 7r/ N 95,2v: Қiқn. 135) contrasts with *ṭwranikow* ~ τυραννικοῦ (N 5, 11v: Metr. 291/ Қiқn. 555) and *meḡalw[no]men* ~ μεγαλύνομεν (N 2, 8v/ N 95,3v: Қiқn. 825), with *emeḡalownas* ~ ἐμεγάλυνας (N 2, 8v/ N 95, 3v: Metr. 117/ Қiқn. 150) and *emeḡalonti* ~ ἐμεγαλύνθη (N 2, 8r: Metr. 114/ Қiқn. 154). The following Table gives the complete picture; note that instances of οι being substituted by <w> are not attested:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ Қiқn.
υ	<i>w</i>	κύριος	<i>kwrios</i>	N 5, 6r; N 5, 10r	–/ (413); 272/ 519
		κύριω	<i>kwrio</i>	N 2, 3r	64/ [26]; 67/ [28]
		κύριε	<i>kwrie</i>	N 2, 4r; N 2, 4v N 5, 10r	73/ [38]; 76/ 83; 78/ 85; 277/ 527
		κύματι	<i>kwmati</i>	N 5, 9r	–/ 509
		τυράννου	<i>ṭwranow</i>	N 2, 7r/ N 95, 2v	–/ 135
		μεγαλύνομεν	<i>meḡalw[no] men</i>	N 2, 8v/ N 95, 3v	–/ 825
		ἐκφυεῖσα	<i>ekpw</i> <sup>45</sup>	N 5, 5r	220/ 410

3.2.3 In but a few cases, υ and οι are represented by a plain <o> in the Georgian transcripts. Besides *abosos* ~ ἄβυσσος and *emeḡalonti* ~ ἐμεγαλύνθη that have been mentioned above, we here find τύπον represented by *ṭopos*, possibly induced by the more frequent word τόπος (N 2, 2v: Metr. 53/ Қiқn. [11]; cf. 3.5.2 below as to the ending), and

λύει represented by *loi* (N 5, 4v:  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 392), as well as πεποικιλμένη rendered by (defective)  $\langle\text{p̄ep̄}\rangle\text{okilmeni}$  (N 5, 1v: Metr. 5/  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 5) and ὄσοι, by *osos* (N 2, 4r: Metr. 68/  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . [33]). Cf. the following Table:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ .
υ	o	τύπον	<i>ᲚᲟᲑᲟᲑ</i> (!)	N 2, 2v	53/ [11]
		ἐμεγαλύνθη	<i>emeḡalonti</i>	N 2, 8r	114/ 154
		ἄβυσσος	<i>abosos</i>	N 95, 4v	–/ 216
		λύει	<i>loi</i>	N 5, 4v	–/ 392
οι	o	πεποικιλμένη	$\langle\text{p̄ep̄}\rangle\text{okilmeni}$	N 5, 1v	5/ 5
	<i>os</i> (!)	ὄσοι	<i>osos</i> (!)	N 2, 4r	68/ [33]

3.2.4 Taking all this variation into account, we are led to the assumption that we have divergent attempts here to cope with the integration of an [ü]-type rounded front vowel, with <ow> being the first choice and <i>, the second one, possibly imposing itself in the position after labials (as in βυθός) as the result of a dissimilation. The graphical representation by plain <w> in *kwrios* may again be due to the preservation of a traditional spelling as in the case of *agios* treated above (3.4.1); *kwmaṭi* ~ κύματι might have been influenced by it. In the case of ὄσοι being replaced by *osos*, we may assume the interference of the singular ending, -ος (cf. 3.5.2 below for similar deviations). All other cases where υ or οι are represented by plain <w> or <o> may be explained by supposing a reduced spelling of the diphthong <ow> rather than a peculiar pronunciation. The proposal that we have to deal with a rounded front vowel even in the case of the former diphthong, οι, is further supported by the special appearance of ποιήτην transcribed as *p̄iviṭin* (N 5, 8v: Metr. 260/  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 481), which may disguise a pronunciation such as [p̄iütin].

### 3.3. Geminated consonants

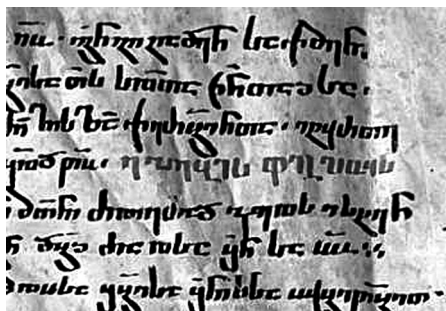
As another clear-cut rule, double consonants are represented by but one letter in the transcripts, again in agreement with the predispositions of Georgian phonology which does not know geminates<sup>50</sup>. This holds true even for identical consonants meeting at a word break. The following table comprises all relevant attestations.

<sup>50</sup> Equal consonants and vowels can only co-occur at morpheme boundaries in peculiar constellations.

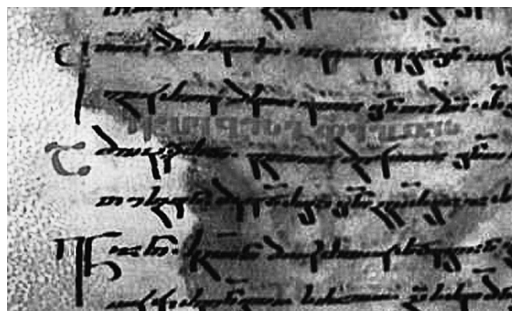
Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ Қiқn.
λλ		ἀναβαλλόμενος	<i>anabalomenos</i>	N 5, 7r N 5, 7v	243/ 454 244/ 455
		ἄλλον	<i>alon</i>	N 95, 5v	363/ 717
μμ	<i>m</i>	κεκομμένη	<i>kekomeni</i>	N 5, 17r	334/ 654
νν	<i>n</i>	γεννᾶται	<i>zenate</i>	N 2, 1v	2/ 2
		γεννήτορος	<i>zenitoros</i>	N 2, 8r	110/ 147
		ἐννόησας	<i>enoisa</i>	N 5, 7r	239/ 447
		τυράννου	<i>twranow</i>	N 2, 7r/ N 95, 2v	–/ 135
		τυραννικοῦ	<i>towraniḱow</i>	N 5, 11v	291/ 555
		τὴν νοητὴν	<i>tinoeran</i> <sup>51</sup>	N 5, 12r	295/ 565
ππ	<i>p</i>	ἵππων	<i>ipon</i>	N 5, 6v	231/ 428
ρρ	<i>r</i>	ἀρρήτω	<i>areton</i> (!)	N 2, 7r/ N 95, 2r	102/ 130
σσ	<i>s</i>	θάλασσα	<i>talasa</i>	N 5, 14v	316/ 621
		θαλάσσης	<i>talasis</i>	N 2, 3v N 5, 9v	60/ [22] –/ 509
		θαλάσση	<i>talasi</i>	N 2, 3v N 5, 9v	67/ [28]
		γλῶσσα	<i>glosa</i>	N 2, 7v	109/ 147
		ἄνασσα	<i>anasa</i>	N 5, 6r	–/ 414
		ἀβύσσω	<i>abiso</i>	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r	88/ 108
		ἄβυσσος	<i>abowsos</i>	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r	89/ 109
		πρὸς σέ	<i>prose</i>	N 95, 4v N 5, 10v N 5, 14r	132/ 205 –/ 535 313/ 613
		ὡς σύ	<i>osu</i>	N 5, 9v	270/ 517

There are but few examples of geminates that have been transcribed as such, viz. *prittōn* mirroring φρίττων (N 5, 12r: Қiқn. 557) and, at the word boundary, *ekkitōws* representing ἐκ κήτους (N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r: Metr. 91, Қiқn. 111), or *sarkos sowmbl* standing for σαρκός σου βολίδες (N 5, 18r/ N 95, 5r: Metr. 351/ Қiқn. 704; cf. 2.2 above as to the unexpected shape of the second word). – The simplification rule seems also to have been valid for double vowels as in *patron* rendering πατρώων in N 5, 11v (Metr. 292/ Қiқn. 553); however, we do meet *katanoon* rendering κατανοῶν in N 5, 13v (Metr. 306/ Қiқn. 599). – A special case is provided by N 95, 5v which, in rendering ἐφ’ ἵππους (Metr. 355/ Қiқn. 701), exhibits a hitherto unknown L-shaped letter pre-

<sup>51</sup> Cf. 2.3 above as to the divergent wording.



Img. 4: N 95, 5v (excerpt)



Img. 5: N 5, 18v (excerpt)

ceding the  $\dot{p}$  (quasi *piLpows*, cf. Image 4), at the same time omitting the initial *e*; both features are not shared by N 5, 18v which reads *epiṛows* in the same incipit (cf. Image 5). Whether the extra character of N 95 was meant as a gemination mark must remain open.

### 3.4. Deviant renderings

Other deviations from the general correspondences established above are rare and mostly due to specific phonetic environments.

#### 3.4.1. Special treatment of consonants

Among consonants, we may note the rendering of  $\kappa$  by aspirated *k* occurring in two peculiar environments, viz. preceding a front vowel and preceding another stop. The following Table summarizes the attestations.

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\text{ᲘᲗᲗᲗ}$ .
$\kappa$	<i>k + i/ e</i>	καὶ (+ $\alpha$ -)	<i>ki</i> (+ $\alpha$ -)	N 2, 4v	82/ 96
		καὶ (+ $\alpha$ -)	<i>ke</i> (+ $\alpha$ -) <sup>52</sup>	N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1r	-/ 114
		καινήν	<i>kem</i> <sup>45</sup>	N 5, 13r	300/ 574
		κιβότω	<i>kibotos</i>	N 5, 5v	-/ 412
		θεικήν	<i>teiki</i>	N 5, 8r	253/ 471
		πεποικιλμένη	< <i>pep</i> > <i>okilmeni</i>	N 5, 1v	5/ 5
	<i>k + C</i>	ἐκ (+ $\beta$ -)	<i>ek</i> (+ $\beta$ -)	N 95, 1r	-/ 112
		ἐκ (+ $\delta$ -)	<i>ek</i> (+ $\delta$ -)	N 5, 17r	336/ 656

<sup>52</sup> Uncertain example; cf. 2.4.3 above.

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\text{Ḳiḳn.}$
		ἐκ (+ θ-)	<i>ek (+ t-)</i>	N 2, 8r/ N 95, 3r	115/ 149
		ἐκ (+ φ-)	<i>ek (+ p-)</i>	N 5, 11v	290/ 552
		ἐκτινάξαντι	<i>ekṭinaksanti</i>	N 5, 13r	301/ 575

In all these cases, the use of *k* seems to be facultative as there are several counterexamples with  $\kappa$  rendered by  $\text{ḳ}$  in similar environments; cf. the following Table:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\text{Ḳiḳn.}$
$\kappa$	$\text{ḳ} + i/ e$	καὶ (+ α-)	<i>ḳe (+ a-)</i>	N 2, 9v/ N 95, 4r; N 5, 6v	127/ 195; 231/ 428
		κεκομμένη	<i>ḳeḳomeni</i>	N 5, 17r	334/ 654
		κῆτους	<i>ḳētows</i>	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r	91/ 111
		ἀκήκοε	<i>akḱoēn</i>	N 2, 4r	76/ 83
	$k + C$	ἐκ (+ π-)	<i>ek (+ ḑ-)</i>	N 5, 8v	258/ 479
		ἐκ (+ κ-)	<i>ek (+ ḳ-)</i>	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r	91/ 111
		ἀφλέκτως	<i>apleḳtos</i>	N 2, 2v	43/ [1]

The substitution of  $\kappa$  by *k* in the position preceding front vowels may be an early indication of the palatalization with slight aspiration we find in modern Greek in such instances (καὶ = [k<sup>h</sup>iε]; cf. 3.4.2 below). For  $\kappa$  in consonant groups, it seems conceivable that at least in combinations with a following voiced or aspirate stop, (aspirated) *k* is the first choice in Georgian. However, there may be some kind of neutralization involved, too, as the case of θεόπτης rendered by *teoptis* shows, where both plain stops are substituted by aspirates (N 2, 1v/ N 5, 1v: Metr. 4/  $\text{Ḳiḳn.}$  3). Whether *p* in *apṭow* (N 95, 4r:  $\text{Ḳiḳn.}$  208) might stand for *v* in the “diphthong” *av*, thus witnessing to a voiceless pronunciation [aftu] of the modern type, remains doubtful (cf. 2.4.3 above).

There are but few other deviations from the general distribution of stops. The rendering of  $\phi$  by glottalized  $\text{ḑ}$  is attested two times, in the element *ḑo* occurring at the end of incipits as the abbreviated beginning of  $\phi\omega\sigma\tau\eta\rho\alpha$  and  $\phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\nu\omicron$  (N 2, 8r/ N 95, 3r: Metr. 112/  $\text{Ḳiḳn.}$  148; N 5, 14r: Metr. 310/  $\text{Ḳiḳn.}$  609); it may be essential here that the word forms are not transcribed in their entirety. Inversely,  $\tau$  is two times rendered by aspirated *t*, in *ḱates* standing for  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\omega\sigma\epsilon$  (abbreviated at the end of the incipit; N 2, 3r: Metr. 62/  $\text{Ḳiḳn.}$  [24]), and *ekṭinaksanti* ~  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\nu\tau\iota$



(N 5, 13r: Metr. 301/  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 575), with no ratio discernible. In contrast to this, the replacement of  $\theta$  by  $d$  in *edrosi* ~  $\epsilon\theta\rho\acute{o}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  (N 5, 3v:  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 369) may witness to a voiced pronunciation in the position preceding  $r$ .

Other exceptional substitutions of consonants are probably due to a copyist's confusion of Greek or Georgian (majuscule) characters as in the case of  $\Theta$  being rendered by  $o$  (< O) in *olipsi* ~  $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi\epsilon\iota$ , T being rendered by  $\acute{g}$  (< Γ) in *exmalogows* ~  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\chi\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (cf. 2.2 above), or  $t$  being replaced by  $x$  (cf. the *asomtavruli* letters  $\text{Ⴒ}$  and  $\text{Ⴓ}$ ) as in *asalevxon* ~  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron\nu$  (N 5, 10r: Eustr. 240b/ Hann.  $\zeta$   $\gamma$  11) or *xi* ~ (the article)  $\tau\acute{\eta}$  (N 2, 7r/ N 95, 2r: Metr. 104/  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 132). On the other hand, the appearance of  $n$  instead of  $m$  in *enpsowxo* ~  $\epsilon\mu\psi\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omega$  (N 5, 5v:  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 412) may reflect both an alternative Greek spelling ( $\epsilon\nu\psi\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omega$ ) and a (graphical) dissimilation within Georgian<sup>53</sup>.

#### 3.4.2. Special treatment of vowels

In the rendering of vowels (incl. former diphthongs), there are but few deviations that are explainable. One such special case is the replacement of  $e$  ( $\epsilon$  or  $\alpha\iota$ ) by  $i$  in the monosyllabic words *καί* and *με*, in the first case combined with the substitution of  $\kappa$  by  $k$ . As this feature is only met with if the following word begins with a vowel (*teowki ant*<sup>45</sup> ~  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  *καὶ* *ἀνθρώπων*; N 2, 4v: Metr. 82/  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 96; *ektowbitomi* ~  $\text{Ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ με ἀνάγαγε}$ ; N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r: Metr. 92/  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 113),  $i$  might indicate a palatal glide here (accompanied by a palatalization of a preceding  $\kappa$ , cf. 3.4.1 above), rather than a syllabic vowel. For other cases of  $\epsilon$  or  $\alpha\iota$  being substituted by  $i$ , there is no such explanation available. In the case of *iksṭiti* ~  $\text{ἔκστῆθι}$  (N 5, 12r:  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 557), we may have to deal with an anticipation of the following vowels, while *aplikṭos* ~  $\text{ἄφλεκτος}$  (N 5, 15r: Metr. 324/  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 635) may be due to a confusion of the Georgian letters  $e$  and  $i$  ( $\text{Ⴒ}$  and  $\text{Ⴓ}$ ) in copying. As for *apinon* ~  $\text{ἔπαινον}$  (N 2, 1v/ N 5, 1v: Metr. 4/  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 3), we may note the twofold distortion indicating a major scribal error. As to *abramiaow* and *abrame*, both reflecting  $\text{ἄβραμιαῖοι}$ , cf. 3.5.1.2 below.

An interchange of  $i$  and  $e$  is also met with in the rendering of  $\eta$  and  $\iota$ . In cases like *eboesa* contrasting with *eboisa* in the rendering of  $\epsilon\beta\acute{o}\eta\sigma\alpha$  in N 2 (5v) and N 95 (1r; Metr. 90/  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 110) or *pazeotisa* vs. *paziotisa* for  $\text{παγιοθεῖσα}$  in N 2 (1v) and N 5 (1v; Metr. 5/  $\text{ᲘᲓᲕ᲏Მ}$ . 5), this may

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Z. SARՅVELAՅԷ, *Kartuli saliteraturo enis istoriis šesavali*, Tbilisi, 1984, p. 313–314 as to such cases.

again be due to a confusion of the respective *Asomtavruli* letters. The close relationship of the two letters is also witnessed to by *moowsis* ~ Μουσις (N 5, 5v: Metr. 225/ Қикн. 411), whose *i* was obviously corrected from *e*, and *evsebies* contrasting with *evsebis* in rendering εὐσεβεῖς in N 2 (6r) and N 95 (1v: Metr. 94/ Қикн. 118). Different from this, the spelling *iesws* for the name of Jesus (N 2, 4v: Metr. 81/ Қикн. 95) is likely to have retained the older pronunciation of η as an *e*, preserved in the *nomen sacrum* Ἰησοῦς as an early borrowing. For *areton* ~ ἀρρήτω (N 2, 7r/ N 95, 2r: Metr. 102/ Қикн. 130), there is no such explanation available.

A similar fluctuation is observable with the back vowels, *o* and *ow*. We find a handful of examples each for Greek *o* (or ω) represented by *ow*, Greek *ou* represented by *o*, and both represented by plain *w*, with no ratio determinable off-hand. Cf. the following Table:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ Қикн.
ο/ ω	<i>ow</i>	ῥμνον	<i>imnown</i>	N 2, 2r	50/ [8]
		ἀπορεῖ	<i>apowri</i>	N 2, 7v	109/ 147
		ἐβόησα	< <i>e</i> > <i>bowisen</i>	N 95, 4v	134/ 212
		κεχαριτωμένη	<i>kexaritow meni</i>	N 5, 6r	–/ –
		ἀκοήν	<i>aƙown</i>	N 5, 18v	354/ 705
	<i>w</i>	ἀκοήν	<i>aƙw<sup>45</sup></i>	N 5, 7r	241/ 449
ου	<i>o</i>	διδούς	<i>didos</i>	N 2, 3v	69/ [34]
		νοῦν	<i>nown/ non</i>	N 2, 8v/ N 95, 3v	108/ 145
		χερουβιμ	<i>šerobim</i>	N 5, 15r	322/ 630
		τοῦ	<i>to</i>	N 2, 5r	83/ 97
		ἔθου	<i>eto</i>	N 95, 4r	–/ 198
		ἀνάρχου	<i>anarxo</i>	N 2, 8r	110/ 147
		ἐποδύρου	<i>epodowro</i>	N 5, 12v	–/ 567
		οὐρανούς	<i>owranos</i>	N 2, 9v	126/ 194
	<i>w</i>	ἰησοῦς	<i>iesws</i>	N 2, 4v	81/ 95
		ἀκούε	<i>aƙwe</i>	N 5, 4v	–/ 393

In the given examples, the rendering of ἀκούε, ἀκοήν and ἐβόησα by *aƙw-*, *aƙow-* and <*e*>*bowisen* might indicate a non-syllabic pronunciation of *o* and *ou* preceding another vowel. In *apowri*, the *ow* may

be due to an interference of the word for ‘fire’; cf. forms like *powros* ~ *πυρός* treated in 3.2.1 above. Of the other examples, we may exclude *to*, *eto*, *anarxo*, *epodowro*, *owranos* and, possibly, *didos* as these may show the effect of a confusion of endings (cf. 3.5.2 below). The same is true for *skiongrapin* rendering *σκιογράφον* (N 2, 5r: Metr. 85/ *Ḳiḵn.* 99) and even cases like *ikonis* replacing *εικόνοσ* (N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1v: Metr. 96/ 120), *zopodi* replacing *ζοφώδοσ* (N 2, 5r: Metr. 80/ *Ḳiḵn.* 94), and *owpsis* replacing *ὔψοσ* (N 5, 13r: Metr. 302/ *Ḳiḵn.* 58). In the remaining cases, the omittance of *o* or *w* in the expected digraph *ow* may be due to a minor scribal simplification as the doublet of *nown* and *non* rendering *νοῦν* (N 2, 8v/ N 95, 3v: Metr. 108/ *Ḳiḵn.* 145) suggests.

As isolated cases we once meet with an *o* replaced by *a* in the abbreviated rendering of *ἀπόρητον* by *apa* (N 2, 9v: Metr. 127/ *Ḳiḵn.* 195), which may again be due to the word-form not being spelt out in its entirety (cf. 3.4.1 above for similar effects), and once, with *o* (i.e., the article *ὁ*) being substituted by the Georgian letter *hoe* (*ō*). As the usage of this letter is otherwise restricted to the rendering of Greek *ω* in foreign names and in the vocative particle *ὦ*, it may have been the latter that has interfered here, all the more since the *ō* stands in the beginning of the incipit in question (*ōenowranoslogos tereosa* ~ \**ὦ ἐν οὐρανοῖσ λογωσ στερεώσασ*, cf. 2.3, no. 31 above).

### 3.5. Other irregular cases

The transcripts of Greek hymn titles in the three Georgian mss. of the “New collection” exhibit several further peculiar features that must be considered to be deviations. The instances can roughly be divided into misspellings that are due to the phonetic shape of the underlying term, and reshaping that reflect grammatical variation or errors. All these cases speak in favour of the scribes’ knowledge of Greek being insufficient.

#### 3.5.1. Phonetically based deviancies

Apart from misspellings that match more general types of errors such as the haplographic-dittographic deformation of *ženonon* (instead of \**žeženon*) representing *γηγενῶν* (N 5, 5r: Metr. 220/ *Ḳiḵn.* 410), we mostly meet with omissions and additions (insertions) of single characters.

3.5.1.1. *Omission of consonants*

The omission of a Greek consonant is attested two times word-initially, the result being incomprehensible word forms in both cases. The reduction of *παρθενίαν* to *arteni*<sup>54</sup> in N 95, 3r (Metr. 111, *Ḳiḱn.* 152) may be a copyist's mistake as the sister ms., N 2 (8r) has *parteni*. On the other hand, the omission of the initial *κ*- of *κραυγάζω* yielding *ravḡa*<sup>55</sup> in N 5, 14r (Metr. 313/ *Ḳiḱn.* 613) is matched by O 65 (i.e., the second part of N 2) which reads *ralḡa*<sup>54</sup>.

3.5.1.2. *Omission of vowels*

In two instances, the omega vowel of the name of the prophet Jonas has no counterpart in the Georgian transcript (*inas* ~ *Ἰωνᾶς*; N 95, 4v and N 5, 14v: Metr. 135 and 381/ *Ḳiḱn.* 213 and 620). As the regular spelling occurs elsewhere (*iona* ~ *Ἰωνᾶς*, N 5, 7v: Metr. 248/ *Ḳiḱn.* 462; *ionan* ~ *\*Ἰωνᾶν*<sup>55</sup>, N 5, 14v: Metr. 317/ *Ḳiḱn.* 622), the omission can hardly be motivated phonetically. That we have a case of mere negligence here, is further suggested by the fact that *inas* is followed by (*eḡ*) *ḡowlas* rendering (*ἐκ*) *κοιλίας* in N 5, 14v, which is spelt defectively in its turn, contrasting with, e.g., *abramiaow* ~ *ἀβραμιαῖοι* (N 5, 3r: Metr. 199/ *Ḳiḱn.* 364). However, there are other instances of *ia* being represented by a reduced spelling in the transcripts as in the case of *abrame* representing the same Greek word in N 5, 15r (Metr. 321/ *Ḳiḱn.* 629) or *owranows* representing *οὐρανίας* in N 5, 17v (Metr. 343/ *Ḳiḱn.* 689) so that we may also assume phonetic variation here, the post-consonantal *ι* being reduced to a mere glide. Note that in the form *abrame* quoted above, the complete ending is omitted (~ *ἀβραμιαῖοι*), the transcript continuing directly with *apogoni* ~ *ἀπόγονοι*; here we may see an influence of the incipit of the corresponding Georgian hymn, which begins with *abrameanni* (~ *ἀβραμιαῖοι*).

3.5.2. *Additions and Insertions*

In a few cases, the transcripts add or insert unexpected vowels. This is true, e.g., for *estereoson* rendering *στερέωσον* in N 2, 9r (Metr. 124/ *Ḳiḱn.* 188). As Georgian does not show protheses of this type elsewhere, the form may rather be explained by the anticipation of the following incipit which begins with *estereoti* ~ *Ἐστερεώθη* (N 2, 9v; Metr. 125/ *Ḳiḱn.* 189). A different explanation may hold for *powrin* rendering *πρὶν*

<sup>54</sup> Cf. 2.2 above as to the differing characters.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. 2.3 above as to the restitution of *Ἰωνᾶν* in the Greek text.

in N 95, 4v (Metr. 141/  $\text{ᲘiᲕn. 224}$ ): this may be due to an influence of the word for ‘fire’ again, compare forms like *აჰოვრი* ~ *ἀπορεῖ* dealt with above (3.4.2). The additional *e* in *owp̄ere n*<sup>45</sup> standing for *ὑπὲρ νοῦν* in N 5, 9r (Metr. 264/  $\text{ᲘiᲕn. 488}$ ) may be due to a perseveration of the second syllable, either graphically or even phonetically. Different from this, the first *n* in *skionḡrapin* representing *σκιτογράφον* in N 2, 5r (Metr. 85/  $\text{ᲘiᲕn. 99}$ ) may be an anticipation of the word-final *n*, all the more since *skion-* thus seems to have acquired the vowel of the ending, *ov*, too. The superfluous *m* in *ortrizmonḡi* replacing *ὀρθρίζοντες* in N 2, 5r (Metr. 83/  $\text{ᲘiᲕn. 97}$ ) remains unexplained, as does the unexpected ending if it is not a mere replacement of the *-ες* by (thematical) *-οι*.

### 3.5.2. Grammatical errors

As in the last case mentioned, endings were especially prone to be confused in the transcripts of the Greek incipits. This is true for both verbal and nominal endings, including the monosyllabic forms of the article and the like. In most cases, we cannot decide to what extent these errors were produced by the Georgian transcribers and copyists or were part of the textual variation of the Greek originals they were confronted with.

#### 3.5.2.1. Verbal endings

Among the discrepancies met with in verbal endings, we must exclude those consisting of a mere addition of the *ν ἐφελευστικόν* as in *epriksen* rendering *ἔφριξε* in N 2, 7r/ N 95, 2v (Metr. 105/  $\text{ᲘiᲕn. 133}$ ) or *eḡalowpsen* rendering *ἐκάλυψε* in N 5, 13r (Metr. 298/  $\text{ᲘiᲕn. 572}$ ) as these may reflect Greek originals with the corresponding spelling; cf. *eḡalowpsen* ~ *ἐκάλυψεν* in N 2, 9v (Metr. 126/  $\text{ᲘiᲕn. 194}$ ). The other discrepancies imply an ungrammatical change of person (1<sup>st</sup> sg. *-α* > 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. *-ε(v)*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. *-av* > 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. *-ε(v)*) or less obvious alternations. Cf. the following Table:

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ $\text{ᲘiᲕn.}$
-α	-en	ἐβόησα	<e>bowisen	N 95, 4v	134/ 212
-av	-en	ἐλάτρευσαν	elaṭrevsen	N 5, 3r	200/ 363
-εν	-i	ἐθρόησεν	edrosi	N 5, 3v	-/ 369
-ω	-on	ὀρθρίζω	ortrizon	N 95, 4v	-/ 207

3.5.2.2. *Nominal endings*

In nominal endings, the Georgian transcripts show a remarkable variation in comparison with the Greek originals. We meet with a confusion of gender forms, singular and plural forms, case forms and stem formations, sometimes even disintegrating the sequence of article and noun as in *to sowndesmow* rendering τῷ συνδεσμῶ (N 5, 10r: Metr. 280/ *Ḳiḳn.* 533) or even *ṭow ḱ̃re* (with abbreviation) replacing τῷ κυρίῳ (N 5, 17r/ Metr. 338/ *Ḳiḳn.* 657). The following Table summarizes the relevant examples; cases where -oi- is substituted by -ows- are exempted as this is considered to be the regular correspondence (cf. 3.2 above).

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ <i>Ḳiḳn.</i>
-α	-i	στείρα	<i>sṭiri</i>	N 2, 9r	123/ 187
-αν	-a	τιμιωτέραν	<i>ṭimioṭera</i>	N 5, 12v	-/ 566
-ας	-an	ἄπας	<i>aṗan</i>	N 5, 5r	221/ 404
-αις	-e	ψυχαῖς	<i>psowše</i>	N 2, 8v	(B 0 11)
-ες	-i	ὀρθρίζοντες	<i>ortrizmonṭi</i>	N 2, 5r	83/ 97
-η	-in	τῆ	<i>ṭin</i>	N 5, 4r	211/ 385
-ην	-i	μαινομένην	<i>menomeni</i>	N 5, 7v	247/ 461
		θεικῆν	<i>teiki</i>	N 5, 8r	253/ 471
-ημα-	-ia-	ἁμαρτημάτων	<i>amartia</i> <sup>45</sup>	N 2, 5v/ N 95, 1r; N 2, 6r/ N 95, 1r	89/ 109; -/ 114
-ιας	-ows	οὐρανίας	<i>owranows</i>	N 5, 17v	343/ 689
		ἀγνοίας	<i>aḡnows</i>	N 95, 5v	362/ 716
-ος	-on	στηριγμὸς	<i>sṭirigmon</i>	N 5, 9v	271/ 518
		ἄγιος	<i>agion (+ sow)</i>	N 5, 17v	344/ 691
-ου	-on	θεοῦ	<i>teon (+ teon)</i>	N 2, 8r/ N 95, 3r	115/ 149
-ον	-in	σκιτογράφον	<i>sḱionḡrapin</i>	N 2, 5r	85/ 99
	-i <sup>45</sup>	τὸν	<i>ṭi</i> <sup>45</sup>	N 5, 15v	329/ 643
-οι	o	οἱ (+ ἐν)	<i>o (+ en)</i>	N 5, 4r	214/ 390
	-os	ὄσοι	<i>osos</i>	N 2, 4r	68/ [33]
	-ows	νέοι	<i>neows</i>	N 5, 3r	201/ 361
-οις	-ows	τοῖς	<i>ṭows</i>	N 5, 11v; N 5, 18v/ N 95, 5	290/ 552; 360/ 713
		ἐνθέοις	<i>enteows</i>	N 5, 15v	330/ 644
	-os	ἄνθρωποις	<i>antropos</i>	N 5, 12r	294/ 562

Greek	Georgian	Example	Transcript	N 2/ N 5/ N 95	Metr./ Κῖκν.
		οὐρανοῖς	<i>owranos</i>	N 5, 18r	348/ 695
-ους	-i	ζοφώδους	<i>zopodi</i> (!)	N 2, 5r	80/ 94
	-is	ὑψους	<i>owpsis</i>	N 5, 13r	302/ 589
	-os	οὐρανοῦς	<i>owranos</i>	N 2, 9v	126/ 194
-φ	-ow	τῷ κυρίῳ	<i>ṭow ḵwriow</i>	N 2, 9r	121/ 173
		τῷ συνδεδεσμῷ	<i>ṭo sowndesmow</i>	N 5, 10r	280/ 533
	-ow/ -e	τῷ κυρίῳ	<i>ṭow ḵ˘re</i> (!)	N 5, 17r	338/ 657
	-os	κιβώτῳ	<i>kibotos</i>	N 5, 5v	-/ 412
		ἡπίρῳ	<i>īpiros</i>	N 5, 9v	266/ 505
	-on	παντουργῷ	<i>ṗantowrgōn</i>	N 5, 8r	256/ 477
-ων	-es	παίδων	<i>ṗedes</i>	N 2, 7r [N 95, 2v]	105/ 133

The case of *ṗartena*, which obviously represents a vocative \*παρθένε in N 2, 8v (Κῖκν. 825), is not due to a substitution of the case ending but to the elision of the word-final vowel in front of the following ᾶ- of ἀπειρόγαμε ~ *ṗi ro ḡa me* (cf. 2.3.4, no. 81 above).

### 3.5.2.3. Other grammatical deviations

A variation that may be due to some variation in the original text is the replacement of ἐν by *i*, obviously standing for the feminine article, ἡ, which together with the substitution of παρθένοις by *ṗartenos* leads to another acceptable text structure in Ἐν παρθένοις μήτηρ, *īṗartenos m iṭir* presupposing Ἡ παρθένος μήτηρ instead (N 5, 8v; Metr. 263/ Κῖκν. 487). In the case of the replacement of the vocative μήτηρ by *miṭir*, quasi μήτηρ, in N 5, 12v (Κῖκν. 567) the corresponding replacement is attested in some Greek mss., too<sup>56</sup>. In contrast to this, the quasi-vocative *ṗater* substituting the gen.pl. πατέρων in οἶτον *ṗateri mon* ~ Ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν (N 5, 3v Metr. 206/ Κῖκν. 366) is not likely to have occurred in a variant of the Greek text itself.

## 4. Conclusion

The Georgian transcripts of the incipits of Greek hymns appearing in the Sinai mss. N 2, N 5 and N 95 of the “New collection” provide a

<sup>56</sup> Cf. HANNICK, *Hirmologion*, p. 77, n. to B 0 4.

picture that is by and large consistent with regard to the representation of the Greek wording. In many cases, the three mss. are decisive in determining the Greek source of a given Georgian hymn or in establishing a more reliable text form in comparison with other witnesses of the same tradition. In the rendering of Greek sounds, the three mss. exhibit clear traces of the pronunciation of Greek in the period and area in question.

*Abstract*

The article examines the Georgian transcripts of Greek hymn titles occurring in several *heirmologion* manuscripts of the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries. On the basis of a thorough investigation of three manuscripts of the “New collection” of St. Catherine’s Monastery on Mt. Sinai, the transcripts are analyzed with respect to the information they provide for the identification of the hymns under concern as well as the regulations prevalent in rendering Greek words by Georgian letters and the consistency of the rules involved.