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Jost Gippert, Frankfurt 2016

Jost Gippert

# *Mravaltavi* – A Special Type of Old Georgian Multiple-Text Manuscripts

Since 1971, the *Რ. ᲘეᲕელიძე* Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, now styled the Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, in Tbilisi, Georgia, has published a scientific journal devoted to ‘philological-historical studies’ under the title of ‘*Mravaltavi*’.<sup>1</sup> The title was well chosen indeed, given that the term *mravaltavi* has for long been used in Georgian to denote a special type of manuscripts. In his 1975 book on the ‘Oldest Georgian Homilies’,<sup>2</sup> the most extensive investigation on the topic so far, Michel van Esbroeck argued that it was originally conceived as the designation of ‘collections’ of homilies, sermons, and panegyrics ‘quite close to the Greek homilies’, which were used as ‘lections’ for the ‘feasts of the mobile year’.<sup>3</sup> In the following treatise, I intend to reinvestigate the usage and meaning of the term *mravaltavi* on the basis of some more recent findings.

## 1 The formation and use of the term *mravaltavi*

In an article of 2001, the Georgian scholar Tamila Mgaloblishvili equated the term *mravaltavi* with Greek ‘*polykephalon*’.<sup>4</sup> This suggests that *mravaltavi*, just as its proposed Greek equivalent, can be interpreted as an exocentric compound meaning ‘multi-head(ed)’, consisting of the elements *mraval-i* ‘many’ and *tav-i* ‘head’. As a matter of fact, this kind of formation is not alien to the Georgian language at all. As a comparable case, we may adduce the word *mraval-tuali* which appears as an epithet of the cherubs in a prayer contained in the legend of St. Arethas and his companions;<sup>5</sup>

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1 22 volumes have appeared between 1971 and 2007.

2 See van Esbroeck 1975.

3 van Esbroeck 1975, 5: ‘... un équivalent assez approchant des homéliaires grecs. Conçus pour donner les lectures de la tradition aux fêtes du Seigneur et de la Vierge, ce type de collection a pour arature l’année mobile...’.

4 Mgaloblishvili 2001, 229–236. Long before, P. Peeters had proposed that *mravaltavi* was modelled upon Greek πολυκεφάλιον (1913, 324), obviously under the influence of *Რ. ᲘეᲕელიძე* (1912, 341) who had translated the term by Russian *многочлав* in the article reviewed by Peeters; see n. 62 below as to the context in question.

5 Par. 74 of the redaction comprised in the mss. Sin.georg. 11 and (Tbilisi) H–353; see the edition by Imnaišvili 2000, 18, l. 17–21. The second redaction (from the Tbilisi ms. H–341, ib. 23–38) does not

its meaning can be determined to be ‘multi-eye(d)’, in accordance with its elements, *mraval-i* ‘many’ and *tual-i* ‘eye’, and its Greek equivalent in the legend, πολυόμματος.<sup>6</sup> See the text passage in question, which contains one more exocentric compound, *ekus-ekus-prte-* ‘with six wings (each)’, corresponding to Greek ἑξάπτερυξ as the epithet of the seraphs.

<i>upalo ḡmerto, ḡovlisa-mṙḡrobelo, šemokmedo ḡovelta zalta cisatao, xilulta da uxilavtao, romeli bevreultagan angelozta da mtavarangeloztagan imsa-xurebi, romlisa činaše dganan kerobinni mraval-tualni da ekus-ekus-prteni serabinni da daucxromelita bagita ḡaḡadeben da iṭḡwan: čmida ars, čmida ars, čmida ars upali sabaot!</i>	‘Lord, God, ruler of everything, creator of all powers of the heavens, visible and invisible ones, (you) who are served by myriads of angels and archangels, <b>in front of whom stand the cherubs with many eyes and the seraphs with six wings each</b> , shouting with tireless voices and saying: Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth!’	Δέσποτα Θεεῖ, παντοκράτορ, δημιουργεῖ τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀορατῶν, ὁ ὑπὸ μυριάδων ἀγγέλων ὑμνούμενος, <b>ὃ παρίστανται Χερουβὶμ τὰ πολυόμματα καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα Σεραφίμ</b> , ἄδοντα ἀσιγήτοις χεῖλεσιν· Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαῶθ.
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1.1 In a similar way, *mraval-tavi*, too, is attested as an adjectival attribute in several Old Georgian sources. Two attestations are met with in the Old Georgian version of John Chrysostom’s Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. In chapter 71 of this work, which relates to Mt. 22,34–46, it is used – alongside *boroṭi* ‘bad, evil’ – to mark the Pharisees’ haughtiness as being a malady or suffering (*vnebay*); the Greek text of the commentary, albeit quite distant from the Georgian version and by no means its immediate model, does confirm this expression by using δεινόν for ‘evil’ and πολυκέφαλον for ‘multi-headed’ in the same context. See the passage in question:<sup>7</sup>

<i>xolo raysatws ara inebes mčigno-barta mat da parisevelta esevitarta mat ḡmrtivšueniarta sčavlatagan sargebeli? ampṙartavanebisagan da cudadmzuaobrobisa matisa, rametu boroṭi ars vnebay ese da mraval-tavi da ḡovelsave sakmesa šina šeertvis.</i>	‘But why did the scribes and Pharisees not want to benefit from such instructions, embellished by God? Because of their pride and their haughtiness, for <b>this malady is evil and multi-headed</b> and interferes in every thing.’	Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐκέρδαινον, ὑπὸ κενοδοξίας ἀλόντες, καὶ εἰς τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτο πάθος ἐμπεσόντες. <b>Δεινὸν γὰρ τὸ πάθος καὶ πολυκέφαλον</b> · οἱ μὲν γὰρ...
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contain the prayer, nor does the Armenian version of the legend as edited in Awgerean 1813, 480–510.

<sup>6</sup> Cap. VII, 30. in the edition in *Acta Sanctorum* 1869, 747C.

<sup>7</sup> See the edition by Čamalašvili 1999, 269, 15–18, and the new edition by M. Šaniže 2014, 326, 19–22; for the Greek text see the edition in Migne 1862a, 664.

In the chapter preceding this in the Commentary (ch. 70, ‘On the monks’ life and their being soldiers’), the term *mraval-tavi* appears two times, once with *mqeci* ‘beast’ and once, with *vešapi* ‘dragon’. In addition, the notion of ‘having many heads’ is met with in the same context in a decomposed form, applied to ‘drunkenness (to which) many evil heads are attached’ (*mtrvalobay, mraval asxen tavni borotni*). In this case, too, the Georgian version matches the Greek text (ἐπὶ τῆς μέθης πολλὰς ἔστι κεφαλὰς ἰδεῖν). See the synoptical arrangement of the passages in question, which also shows that the ‘multi-headed dragon’ of the Georgian text is a periphrasis of Scylla and Hydra as appearing in the Greek:<sup>8</sup>

*amistws ara ars mat šoris mtrvalobay da naqrovanebay, rametu mtrvalobay moqlul ars çq̄lisa sumita da naqrovanebay momçq̄dar ars marxvita. neřar arian igi mqedarni, romelta mouqlavs mraval-tavi igi mqeci, romel ars mtrvalobay. rametu vitarca zğaparta mat šina saçarmartota gamosaxul ars mraval-tavi igi vešapi, esret ars çešmaritad mtrvalobay, mraval asxen tavni borotni: ert qerzo sizvay, meored mrisxanebay, amier ginebani, imier t̄rpialebani bilçni, simravle cudadmețquelebisay ...*

‘For among them, there is neither drunkenness nor voraciousness, for drunkenness is killed by drinking water, and voraciousness is killed by fasting. Blessed are those soldiers, **who have killed that multi-headed beast**, which is drunkenness. For just like **the multi-headed dragon** is shaped in heathenish fairy-tales, such, verily, is drunkenness, (which) **has many evil heads**: on the one hand adultery, on the second, rage, here revilement, there shameless flirtation, a plenitude of evil talking...’

Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ μέθη, οὐδὲ ἀδηφαγία. Καὶ δεῖκνυσιν ἢ τράπεζα, καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ ἑστηκός. Ἡ γὰρ μέθη καὶ ἡ ἀδηφαγία κεῖται νεκρὰ διὰ τῆς ὑδροποσίας τροπωθεῖσα, τὸ πολυειδὲς τοῦτο καὶ πολυκέφα-λον θηρίον. Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς μυθοποιουμένης Σκύλλης καὶ “Υδρας, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μέθης πολλὰς ἔστι κεφαλὰς ἰδεῖν-ἐντεῦθεν πορνείαν, ἐκεῖ-θεν ὀργὴν, ἄλλοθεν βλακειάν, ἐτέρωθεν ἔρωτας ἀτόπους φουομένους...

1.2 With *mraval-tavi* ‘multi-headed’ appearing as an epithet of sufferings, drunkenness, beasts, and dragons, we are still far from the use of the term in referring to a special type of manuscripts. In this context, we must first of all consider that *tavi* ‘head’ has been used in Georgian since olden times to denote parts of texts (and books), possibly based as a loan translation on Greek κεφάλαιον, in the same way as Latin *capitulum*, which yielded German *Kapitel* and English *chapter*. In particular, *tavi* was the designation of the four individual Gospels, which were usually referred to in the form *saxarebay matēs tavi* = ‘Gospel, Matthew’s chapter’ etc. in the manuscripts. It is on this basis that we have to analyse *otx-tavi*, lit. ‘four-head(ed)’, the Georgian equivalent of the Greek term *Tetraevangelion* denoting Gospel manuscripts (see the examples given below). As an exocentric compound (lit. ‘having (the) four

<sup>8</sup> See Çamalašvili 1999, 263, 5–12 and M. Šaniže 2014, 320, 10–17; Migne 1862a, 659.

‘heads’ = chapters’), this is built in exactly the same way as *mraval-tavi*, except for the cardinal number *otx-i* ‘four’ representing its first member.<sup>9</sup> By the way, this type of compound formation with numerals was in no way restricted to the figurative use of *tavi* denoting ‘chapters’, as *or-tavi* ‘two-headed’ proves which appears as the epithet of a dragon in another context.<sup>10</sup>

1.3 The use of the term *mravaltavi* in denoting manuscripts can be documented since the Middle Ages, too. A striking example is found in the typicon of the Georgian monastery of Petritson (Bačkovó) in Bulgaria, which was founded in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century by Grigol Bačurianisze, a Georgian nobleman from the province of Țao-Țlaržeti in East Anatolia, who executed the office of a μέγας δομέστικός τῆς Δύσεως in the Byzantine Empire.<sup>11</sup> Ch. 34 of this text, which is likely to have been authored by the founder himself, summarises the precious items that were donated by him to the monastery, among them several manuscript codices. In the enumeration, which comprises 16 such items, there is one entry that names a ‘big *mravaltavi* book’, listed between ‘St. Basil’s Ethics’ and the ‘Life of St. Symeon’; see the following extract from the inventory which begins with several Gospel codices (*saxarebay*; note that the term *otxtavi* is used for the evangeliaries under nos. 22 and 23):<sup>12</sup>

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21) <i>saxarebay erti beržuli okroyta da šemeptonita šekazmuli romelsa zeda sxenan tualni did-pasisani:</i>	21) one Gospel (codex), in Greek, adorned with gold and coloured glass, with precious stones embedded;
22) <i>sxuay saxarebay erti kartulad çerili oxtavi vecxlita šečedili okro-curvebuli:</i>	22) another Gospel (codex), a <b>Tetraevangelion</b> written in Georgian, forged with silver, gold-plated;
23) <i>sxuay saxarebay erti mcire oxtavi vecxlita mocuaruli:</i>	23) another Gospel (codex), a small <b>Tetraevangelion</b> , forged with silver;

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<sup>9</sup> M. van Esbroeck even proposed that *mraval-tavi* might have been modelled upon *otx-tavi* (‘1’adjectif «polycéphale» paraît calqué sur celui de «tetracéphale»); 1975, 7).

<sup>10</sup> In the Georgian chronicle *Kartlis Cxovreba* (ed. Qauxčišvili 1955–1959, vol. II, 68: *ortavi igi vešap̄i*). – Note that the reduplication of the numeral *ekus-i* ‘six’ in the formation of *ekus-ekus-prte-* ‘six-winged’ (see p. 48 above) conveys the meaning of distributionality (‘six each’).

<sup>11</sup> In Georgian: *sevastosman da didman demestiškosman qovlisa dasavaletisaman*; see the edition by A. Šaniže 1970 / reprinted in A. Šaniže 1986, chap. 1, 2 (p. 63, l. 33), and the edition by Tarchnišvili 1954, chap. 1, 10 (p. 8, l. 15); other occurrences *ib.*, Ind., 2 (p. 55, l. 12 / p. 1, l. 14), and chap. 36, 1 / 109 (p. 119, l. 31 / p. 79, l. 28). As to the person see A. Šaniže 1971, 133–166; as to the title, Gippert 1993, 109 n. 6. In the chronicle *Kartlis Cxovreba*, the same person is styled a ‘commander of the East’ (*zorvari aqmosavalisa*; ed. Qauxčišvili 1955–1959, vol. I, 318, l. 8).

<sup>12</sup> Chap. 34 in the edition A. Šaniže 1970 / 1986, 113–114 / chap. 33, 102 in the edition Tarchnišvili 1954, 74.

...	...
27) <i>ḥigni erti targmanebay saxarebisa iovanes tavisay:</i>	27) one book, the Explanation of the Gospel ('chapter') of John;
28) <i>ḥigni erti ḡmrtis-metḡueli:</i>	28) one book, (by Gregory) the 'Theologos';
29) <i>ḥigni erti ḥmidisa basilis itikay:</i>	29) one book, St. Basil's Ethics;
30) <i>sxuay ḥigni erti didi mravaltavi:</i>	30) one more book, a big <i>mravaltavi</i> ;
31) <i>sxuay ḥigni erti cxoreba ḥmidisa swmeonisi:</i>	31) one more book, the Vita of St. Symeon;
32) <i>sxuani orni ḥignni ḥmidisa maksimesni:</i>	32) two more books, (by) St. Maximus;
33) <i>sxuani orni ḥignni ḥklemaksni ...</i>	33) two more books, (by) John Climacus.

The typicon has not only survived in Georgian but also in a Greek version of which at least two copies are known.<sup>13</sup> This version does contain the inventory, too, but with a peculiar difference just at the position under concern, given that it shows but one entry between 'St. Basil's Ethics' and the books of St. Maximus:<sup>14</sup>

(21) Εὐαγγέλιον ῥωμαϊκὸν διὰ λίθων πολυτίμων καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ χειμεύσεως.	(21) one Gospel (codex), in 'Roman', <sup>15</sup> with precious stones and gold and enamel;
(21) <b>Τετραεὐαγγέλιον</b> ἀργυρὸν διάχρυσον ἰβηρικόν.	(22) a <b>Tetraevangelion</b> , silver, gold-plated, in 'Iberian';
(22) Ἄτερον <b>τετραεὐαγγέλιον</b> μικρὸν μετὰ ἀργυρῶν μικρῶν καρφίων.	(23) another small <b>Tetraevangelion</b> , with small silver inlets;
...	...
(27) Βιβλίον ἔχον τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην.	(27) a book containing the Explanation of St. John's Gospel;
(28) Βιβλίον ὁ θεολόγος.	(28) a book (by Gregory) the 'Theologos';
(29) Βιβλίον ἔχον τὰ Ἠθικά τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου.	(29) a book containing the Ethics of St. Basil;
(30-31) Βιβλίον <b>ἐκλογάδιον</b> ἔχον τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου Συμεῶν.	(30-31) an <b>eklogadion</b> book containing the miracles of St. Symeon;
(32) Βιβλία τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου δύο.	(32) two books of St. Maximus;
(33) Βιβλία οἱ Κλίμακες δύο.	(33) two books (by John) Climacus.

<sup>13</sup> For details see Gautier 1984.

<sup>14</sup> Chap. 33: p. 121, l. 1700 sqq. in the edition provided by Gautier 1984 and p. 53, l. 6 sqq. in the edition by Petit 1904; chap. 34: p. 240, l. 27 sqq. in the edition by Qauxčišvili 1963.

<sup>15</sup> There is no doubt that ῥωμαϊκός means 'Greek' here, given that the Georgian text has *berzuli* 'id.'.

It seems likely off-hand that the Greek version has conflated the two entries no. 30 and 31 of the Georgian text by omitting the beginning of the latter, the *mravaltavi* and the Vita of St. Symeon thus merging into one ‘book’.<sup>16</sup> If this is right, we are led to assume that the Greek term (Βιβλίον) ἐκλογάδιον is the exact equivalent of (*çigni*) *mravaltavi* ‘multi-head(ed) book’ here; see the following synopsis where compliant elements are printed in bold:

Βιβλίον ἐκλογάδιον	<i>sxuay çigni erti didi mravaltavi:</i>	‘one more <b>book</b> , a big <i>mravaltavi</i> ;
ἔχον τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου Συμεών.	<i>sxuay çigni erti cxoreba çmidisa swmeonisi:</i>	one more book, the <b>Vita of St. Symeon;</b>

1.3.1 What, then, does the term ἐκλογάδιον mean? According to a dictionary of 1835 (Fig. 1),<sup>17</sup> ἐκλογάδιον, as well as its variant ἐκλογάριον, was primarily used in the sense of French ‘extrait’, denoting collections of pericopes from the four Gospels to be read in church throughout the ecclesiastical year and thus being equivalent to εὐαγγελιστάριον, i.e. ‘Evangelary’. Secondarily it could be synonymous to the term ἀπάνθισμα, lit. ‘florilegium’, used metaphorically in the sense of French ‘recueil’.<sup>18</sup>

ἘΚΛΟΓΆΔΙΟΝ, καὶ ἘΚΛΟΓΆΡΙΟΝ, οὐδετ. Δ. (ex-  
trait) ὠνόμαζαν οἱ Γραικοὶ. (ἀπὸ τὸ Ἐκλογή, Ἑλλ.) τὴν  
ἀπὸ τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια συναγωγὴν τῶν ἀναγιγνωσκομένων  
εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καθ’ ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν περικοπῶν. Πιθανὸν  
ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Εὐαγγελιστάριον, Δ.  
Ἡ λέξις δύναται νὰ μᾶς χρησιμεύσῃ ὡς συνών. τοῦ συνήθως  
μεταφορ. λεγομένου Ἀπάνθισμα (recueil).

Fig. 1: ἐκλογάδιον in the ‘Atakta’ dictionary 1835.

<sup>16</sup> In the edition by Qauxčišvili 1963, [Βιβλίον] is supplied in square brackets at the given position (p. 242, l. 10), obviously on the basis of the Georgian text.

<sup>17</sup> Atakta 1835, 61; the formation is missing in all modern dictionaries (Pape, Liddell-Scott, etc.).

<sup>18</sup> It is this latter term that is used by Gautier in rendering ἐκλογάδιον in the Greek version of Baḳuri-anisze’s Typicon (1984, 120: ‘Un livre: un recueil des miracles de saint Syméon’). The Modern Greek translation by Musaeus 1888, 206 omits the term (‘βιβλίον τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου Συμεών’).

Both these usages are well attested in Medieval Greek sources. For *ἐκλογάδιον* in the sense of *εὐαγγελιστάριον* we may quote a typicon from the Vatopedi monastery on Mt. Athos which contains a similar list of books as part of an inventory as that from Petritson. Here, the edition provides the alternate spelling *ἐκλογάδην*:<sup>19</sup>

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ἕτερον κατὰ Ματθαῖον δευτέρον·	another (book), a second (Gospel of) Matthew;
ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) <b>ἐκλογάδην</b> ·	another one, the Gospel of John, <b>eklogadēn</b> ;
τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια διὰ τοῦ Βουλγαρί(ας) ἐρμηνευμένα·	the four Gospels, explained by (Theophylact of) Bulgaria;
ἕξαήμερος τοῦ Χρυσσοστόμου·	the Hexaemeron of (John) the Chrysostom;
ἕτερα τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου·...	other (books), of Basil the Great ...

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Apart from this attestation, where *ἐκλογάδην* is clearly connected with a Gospel text, the word could be used in a wider sense, relating to other parts of the Bible, too. This is true, e.g., for another monastery inventory where *ἐκλογάδην* appears in connection with the term *ἀπόστολος* which usually denotes the lections from the Epistles of the New Testament (or, in the sense of *πραξαπόστολος*, the ensemble of Acts plus Epistles):<sup>20</sup>

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Βιβλίον ἀπόστολος τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ καθημερινός, καὶ	An <i>apostolos</i> book for all days of the year, and
ἕτερον βιβλίον ἀπόστολος <b>ἐκλογάδην</b> ·	another <i>apostolos</i> book <b>eklogadēn</b> ·
Προφητικὰ βιβλία δύο τῆς ἀκολουθίας·	Two books of the prophets for the <i>acolouthia</i> ·
Πραξαπόστολος βιβλίον ἐν μετὰ κεφαλαίων...	One <i>praxapostolos</i> book with (large) initials...

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1.3.2 While this usage still complies with the basic notion of ‘collection of pericopes’, there are other occurrences of *ἐκλογάδιον* which suggest that the word had the more general meaning of ‘collective volume’. For this we may adduce an example from the Greek version of Grigol Bakurianisze’s Typicon again. At the end of the list of manuscripts he had donated to his monastery, we find *ἐκλογάδιν* (sic!) used in connection with *μηνῶν*, i.e. a term denoting the collections of liturgical prescriptions for every single month:<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The typicon (of the monastery of the Theotokos at Skoteine / Boreine in Lydia) of CE 1247 is edited in Bompaire et al. 2001, here: 157; a former edition was provided by Gedeon 1939, 271–290 (here: 280).

<sup>20</sup> The typicon of the Monastery of the Theotokos Eleousa in Stroumitza, ed. by Petit 1900, 114–125 (here: 121).

<sup>21</sup> Ed. Gautier 1984, 123 l. 1721–23; ed. Petit 1900, 53, l. 18–21; ed. Qauxčišvili 1963, 242, l. 24–27.



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Βιβλίον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσαάκ.	A book of St. Isaac;
Ἄτερον <i>μηνᾶιον ἐκλογάδιον</i> ἔν.	another (book), one <i>mēnaion eklogadin</i> .
Ἐπιλώρικα βασιλικά ὀξυκάστορα τέσσαρα, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ἓν χρυσοῦν.	Four royal gowns, from violet silk, one of them with gold...

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Here again, we observe a mismatch between the Greek version of the Typicon and the Georgian text, the latter adding one more item. See the following synopsis which suggests the equivalence of *gamokrebuli iadgari* with *μηνᾶιον ἐκλογάδιον*, as *davitni ertni* following this clearly represents an entry in its own right (one ‘David’s’, i.e. one ‘Psalter’ book):<sup>22</sup>

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44) <i>sxuay cigni erti cmidisa isaḡisi:</i>	44) one more book, of St. Isaac;
45) <i>sxuay cigni erti, gamokrebuli iadgari:</i>	45) one more book, a <i>gamokrebuli iadgari</i> ;
46) <i>davitni ertni:</i>	46) one Psalter.
47) <i>duray sameupoy oksikaḡtori otxi, erti matgani okro-ksovili ars:...</i>	47) Four royal gowns, from violet silk, one of them is interwoven with gold...

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As Greek *μηνᾶιον* can be equated with Georgian *iadgari*,<sup>23</sup> we are left with the correspondance of *ἐκλογάδιον* and *gamokrebuli-i* here. Within Georgian, the latter term has a clear structure, being the regular passive participle of the root *kreb-* ‘collect’ with the preverb *gamo-* ‘out’; a structure that matches well with the formation of Greek *ἐκλογαδι(ο)ν* which contains the preverb *ἐκ-* ‘out’ and the root *λεγ-* ‘collect’. Both terms may thus be taken to have denoted ‘collective’ volumes containing materials that were ‘extracted’ for liturgical purposes.<sup>24</sup> However, we must underline here that the usage of *ἐκλογαδι(ο)ν* was wider in that it could be used both with *μηνᾶια* and with *εὐαγγέλια* and the like, while Georgian had to apply different terms in these cases; at least, *mravaltavi* was obviously not usable in connection with *iadgar-i*.

<sup>22</sup> Ed. A. Šaniže 1970 / 1986, 114; ed. Tarchnišvili 1954, 74 l. 28–30.

<sup>23</sup> See the explanation given in Aleksidze et al. 2005, 480, according to which *iadgari* is ‘the name of ... an universal collection, including chants for the whole ecclesiastical year – (for the Menaia, the movable feasts and the Octoechos)’; according to Lomidze 2015, 74, the term *Iadgari* denoted ‘eine hymnographische Sammlung ..., die im altjerusalemmer Gottesdienst vor dem 8. Jh. in Gebrauch war und vom 8. bis zum 11. Jh. von der georgischen Kirche übernommen wurde’, *Iadgari* being ‘eine Übersetzung des liturgischen Tropologions der Kirche von Jerusalem’. The term itself is of Iranian origin (Middle-Persian *ayādgār* ‘memoir’).

<sup>24</sup> In the passage quoted above, Gautier translates *ἐκλογάδιον* by ‘recueil’ again (1984, 122: ‘Un autre ménée: un recueil’); Musaeus simply uses the term ‘ἀνθολόγιον’ (1888, 206).

1.3.3 That Greek ἐκλογάδιον had a wider usage is also proven by some attestations in juridical contexts. Here, too, it seems to have had, as an attribute of βιβλίον ‘book’, the meaning of ‘collective (volume)’, but in this case referring to laws and decisions. From the edition of such texts by D. Simon and Sp. Troianos,<sup>25</sup> we may quote the following title:<sup>26</sup>

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**Τίτλος ιζ΄ τοῦ β(ιβλίου) ἐκλογαδίου.**

1. Μηδεὶς τὸν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφεύγοντα βία ἀφαιρέσθω, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πρόσφυγος κατὰδῆλον ποιείτω τῷ ἱερεὶ καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαμβανέτω τὸν πρόσφυγόντα...

**Title no. 17 from the ‘ἐκλογάδιον book’**

1. Nobody shall lead away by force a (person) that has fled into a church. Instead, he shall report the guilt of the refugee to the priest and seize the refugee together with him...

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1.3.4 All in all, Greek ἐκλογάδιον proves to have had a much wider distribution as a *terminus technicus* in referring to ‘collective’ codices or books than Georgian *mravaltavi* had. It is important in this context to note that there is no witness available yet that would attest the equivalence of *mravaltavi* and Greek πολυκέφαλον (or -κεφάλιον) in relation to written materials, in spite of the pursuant formation of both terms. To determine the exact meaning of *mravaltavi* in this sphere, it is therefore necessary to investigate its autochthonous usage in more detail.

## 2 The Old Georgian *mravaltavis*

According to Michel van Esbroeck’s definition quoted above, *mravaltavi* books were ‘collections’ of homilies, sermons, and panegyrics which were used as ‘lections’ for the ‘feasts of the mobile year’, a definition that complies but for parts with the usage of ἐκλογάδιον in the examples discussed so far. Nevertheless, van Esbroeck’s definition can be shown to be well founded, all the more since it agrees with the autochthonous tradition. As a matter of fact, the term *mravaltavi* has been applied by Georgian scholarship<sup>27</sup> to a restricted set of codices only, most of them matching the concept of ‘homiliaries’ in the sense of van Esbroeck. This is true, first of all, for the most famous of these *mravaltavis*, viz. that of Mt. Sinai (ms. Sin. georg. 32–57–33), which is the oldest dated Georgian codex known so far (of 864 CE, see below).<sup>28</sup> Besides this, the

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<sup>25</sup> See Simon and Troianos 1977, 58–74 (l. 307t).

<sup>26</sup> The edition contains seven further titles of this type.

<sup>27</sup> At least since the investigation by I. Abulaze published under the title of ‘Mravaltavi’ (Abulaze 1944, 241–316 / 1982, 32–106).

<sup>28</sup> The texts of the codex were edited by A. Šaniže 1959. As to (undated) older mss. see below.

set usually comprises the *mravaltavis* of Mt. Athos (ms. Ath. 11, 11<sup>th</sup> c.), Udabno (ms. A-1109, 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> cc.), K̄lar̄ḡeti (ms. A-144, 10<sup>th</sup> c.), Ṭbeti (ms. A-19, 10<sup>th</sup> c.), and P̄arxali (ms. A-95, 10<sup>th</sup> c.). Common to all these codices is that

- a) they contain various individual texts, intrinsically linked to calendar dates that are indicated in the respective titles (e.g., *ttuesa deḡembersa*  $\overline{\text{k v}} = 26.12.$ , or *ttuesa ianvarsa ā ḡmidisa basilisi* = 1.1., (day) of St. Basil),<sup>29</sup>
- b) the texts they contain are mostly homilies authored by Church Fathers (e.g., *tkmuli iovane okrop̄irisay natlis-ḡebisatws up̄lisa ḡuenisa iesu krist̄ḡsa* ‘Speech by John Chrysostom on the baptism of our Lord Jesus Christ’),<sup>30</sup> and
- c) more rarely, they may also contain hagiographical accounts (this is especially true for the P̄arxali *mravaltavi*), but
- d) they contain no pericopes or lections from the Holy Scriptures.

It is especially the last-mentioned feature that distinguishes the ‘canonical’ *mravaltavis* from εὐαγγέλια ἐκλογάδια and the like as mentioned in the Greek typica.

2.1 The Georgian tradition, which styles these codices ‘*mravaltavis*’, is well-founded, too, as it is based upon authentic attestations of this term in the codices in question. The most striking testimony is provided by the ‘Sinai Mravaltavi’ as the most prominent representative of this class of multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs). This codex, stored under three numbers (32–57–33) in the library of St. Catherine’s Monastery after having broken into three parts<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 2 showing its outer appearance of today),<sup>32</sup> comprises on 279 pages (140 fols.), written in beautiful majuscule letters in two columns, 50 different texts extending from the ‘Speech of St. Gregory, Bishop of Neocaesarea, on the Annunciation of the holy Mother of God’ (*tkumuli ḡmidisa grigoli neoḡesariel ep̄iskop̄osisa xarebisatws ḡmidisa ḡmrtis-m̄ḡobelisa*), to be read as the first

<sup>29</sup> See the edition of the Sinai Mravaltavi by A. Šaniḡe 1959, 55, l. 1 and p. 70, l. 1 (fols. 54r and 67r of the codex).

<sup>30</sup> See the edition of the Sinai Mravaltavi by A. Šaniḡe 1959, 74, l. 2–4 (fol. 70v of the codex).

<sup>31</sup> The codex was first described by Cagareli 1888, 193–240 (also printed in Cagareli 1889), in two parts: Cagareli’s no. 83 (pp. 234–5) comprises the present nos. 32 and 33, and no. 86 (pp. 236–7), the present no. 57. The same distribution is still found in Marr’s catalogue (1940), which describes no. ‘32–33’ on pp. 1–26 and no. ‘57’, on pp. 93–97. Garitte in his *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinai* was the first to join the three parts (1956, 72–97).

<sup>32</sup> My thanks are due to the librarian of St. Catherine’s Monastery, Father Justin, who made the codex accessible to me in May, 2009, during a sojourn on Mt. Sinai in connection with the international project ‘Critical Edition of the Old Georgian Versions of Matthew’s and Mark’s Gospels – Catalogue of the Manuscripts Containing the Old Georgian Translation of the Gospels’ (project kindly supported by INTAS, Brussels, under ref.no. 05-1000008-8026).

of three lections on this topic (*saḳitxavni xarebisani*, ‘Lectures of the Annunciation’) on March 25th (*t(tues)a marṡsa*  $\bar{k}e$ : fol. 1r, Fig. 3), up to the account of the ‘Life of the holy and blessed Fathers who were killed by the Barbarians on Mt. Sinai and in Raita’ by one St. Ammonios (*cxorebay ḳmidata da neṡarta mamatay romelta moisrnes mtasa sinasa da raits barbarostagan, aḡḳera ḳmidaman amonios*: fol. 255v),<sup>33</sup> which is followed by a set of colophons (see below).

2.1.1 Albeit the beginning and the end of the codex seem to have survived, it has not been preserved in its entirety as several folios must be lacking in the breakages between the three parts.<sup>34</sup> Luckily, the four pages missing between fol. 84v, the last folio of the part assigned no. 32, and fol. 85r, the first folio of no. 57, have recently been rediscovered in the so-called ‘New Collection’ of Mt. Sinai, i.e. the bulk of manuscripts detected in St. Catherine’s Monastery after a severe fire in 1975.<sup>35</sup> That the two folios constituting the manuscript now catalogued as ms. Sin.georg. N 89<sup>36</sup> do pertain to the *mravaltavi*, can easily be proven even though they have been damaged and some characters of the text are missing, given that they provide first the end of the Third *Catechesis in Illuminandos* by Cyril of Jerusalem,<sup>37</sup> which begins on fol. 77v in no. 32, and second, the beginning of the (Third) *Sermo in Hypapanten* by Hesychius of Jerusalem, which continues on fol. 85r, the first folio of no. 57. In both cases, the transition from the one codex to the other falls into a given word. The two letters *eṡ-* at the end of fol. 84v of no. 32 with no doubt pertain to the verbal form *eṡḡodes* ‘they said (to him)’, corresponding to λέγουσι of the Greek text of the sermon; on fol. 1r of Sin.georg. N 89, the subsequent letters have been lost (Fig. 4), but the context clearly continues at the given position as shown in the following transcript:

32,	<i>r(ome)ni-igi mouqdes peṡres</i>	those 3000 who came to	Τοῖς γὰρ προσελθοῦσι
84v,	<i>samatasni</i>	Peter,	τρισχίλιος
20-24	<i>da eṡḡoda mat,r(ome)lta</i> <i>-igi žuars-ecua k(rist)ē.</i>	and he talked to them, who had crucified Christ.	ἔλεγεν ὁ Πέτρος, τοῖς σταυρώσασιν τὸν Κύριον

<sup>33</sup> Apart from A. Šaniže’s edition 1959, 266–279, the Georgian text was published, alongside an Arabic version, by Gvaramia 1973, 3–19. A metaphrastic Greek version can be found in Τσάμης / Κατσάνης 1989, 194–236.

<sup>34</sup> Šaniže assumes a lacuna of ‘ca. 75 leaves’ (*daaxloebit 75 purclis ṡekṡṡi*) for the breakage between fols. 57 and 33 (see the edition 1959, 151).

<sup>35</sup> See *Ιερά Μονή και Αρχιεπισκοπή Σινά*, Αθήναι 1998, 8–24 and 25–49, and Gippert et al. 2009, p. 1–2 as to the circumstances of the finding.

<sup>36</sup> See the *Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts Discovered in 1975* by Aleksidze et al., p. 432 f. (in English) / p. 305 f. (in Georgian) / p. 149 ff. (in Greek).

<sup>37</sup> Chaps. 15–16, corresponding to the Greek version as edited by Reischl / Rupp 1848 / 1967, 82–86, and in Migne 1857, 445–48.

	<i>Hk̄itxivdes</i> <sup>38</sup> <i>mas da eṭ-</i>	They asked him and <b>sa&lt;id</b>	πυνθανομένοις καὶ λέ-
N 89,	<b>&lt;ḡodes: ray&gt;</b> [ <i>v</i> ]ḡot, <i>kačno</i>	to him: What> shall we	<b>γουςι·</b> τί ποιήσομεν ἄνδρες,
1r,	<b>&lt;zmano&gt;</b> , [ <i>r(ametow)</i> ] <i>didi</i>	do, men, <brethren,> for a	ἀδελφοί; μέγα γὰρ τὸ τραῦ-
1-4	<i>çālow&lt;lebay še&gt;</i> [ <i>sm</i> ]ine, <i>ḡetre</i> ,	big wou<nd> you have	μα ἐπέστησας <sup>39</sup> ἡμᾶς, ὦ
	<i>c&lt;adv&gt;</i> [ <i>ata</i> ]<ç(ow)e>[ <i>n</i> ]ta	added, Peter,	Πέτρε,
	<i>z(ed)a ...</i>	upon our sins ...	τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πτώματι...

In the same way, the transition from fol. 2v of Sin.georg. N 89 to the first folio of ms. no. 57 (fol. 85r of the Mravaltavi codex according to the pagination applied earlier) can be proven to be consistent. In a passage alluding to the miracle of Jesus healing the blind man (Jo. 9.1–18), the text of the newly found manuscript ends in the middle of the name of the lake *Siloam*, which continues with its third syllable on fol. 85r (Fig. 5). The homily is not available in any other language;<sup>40</sup> however, it is contained in the Udabno Mravaltavi, which is collated here for the passage in question.<sup>41</sup> It is obvious from this collation that there are but minor differences between the two *mravaltavi* versions:

N 89,	<i>Ow̄kowetow vinme korīkozi</i>	If someone were an unedu-	<i>Ūk̄uetu vinme kurēkozi</i>
2v, 19-	<i>iḡos ow̄sçavleli</i> ,	cated (U: ignorant) lands-	<i>iḡos umecari</i> ,
25		man, <sup>42</sup>	

**38** Written with a large initial indicating a new sentence.

**39** The edition by Reischl/Rupp (repr. 1967, 84) as well as that in the Migne 1857, 445) inserts a full stop after τραῦμα and begins a new sentence with ἐπέστησας, which yields an awkward wording.

**40** The *Sermo in Hypapanten* printed in Migne 1865, 1468–78) and re-edited by Aubineau 1978, 1–43 is too distant to be compared here.

**41** See the edition by A. Šanize and Z. Čumburiže 1994, 117, l. 5–8.

**42** The term *korīkoz-i* / *kurēkoz-i* seems not to be attested elsewhere in Old Georgian. The proposal by Z. Čumburiže (in the lexicon attached to his edition of the *Udabno Mravaltavi* 1994, 329) to take this as a corrupted form of *korepiskopozi* ‘local bishop’ is now rendered improbable by the attestation in the Sinai Mravaltavi. As *korepiskopozi* clearly reflects Greek χωρεπίσκοπος ‘id.’, *korīkoz-i* may accordingly be identified with Greek χωρικός ‘rural’ (Abulaze 1967, 84: ‘paysan, campanard, rustique’), which could well be used to denote a ‘village idiot’ here; see, e.g., the script ‘De sacris imaginibus contra Constantinum Cabalinum’ ascribed to John Damascene (but allegedly authored by Joannes IV of Jerusalem) in Migne 1864, col. 329 line 17, for a similar usage (ἐὰν ἀπαντήσῃ ἄνθρωπος χωρικός, ἄγνωστος τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀξίας καὶ τιμῆς, ἄνθρωπον τοῦ βασιλέως...). – In his dictionary, the 17<sup>th</sup> century founder of Georgian lexicography, Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani defines *korīkozi* as a ‘king’s deputy who would not dare to name himself a ‘king’, but translates as a ‘shepherd’ (*monacvale mepisa, romelman ver ikadros meped saxelis-deba, aramed gamoitargmanebis mçq̄emsad*; Orbeliani 1966, 232). The passage quoted in mss. D and E of his dictionary, ascribed to one ‘Eusebius presbyter’ (*evsebi xuci*), is the one from Hesychius of Jerusalem in the wording of the Udabno Mravaltavi, which proves that Saba must have known this codex (or a copy of it): *uk̄etu vinme* (< E) *korīkozi iḡos* (*iḡo* D) *umecari, mived* (*movides* E) *betlemad da isçav[os]* (<< D). The definition ‘(king’s) regent (in Kakhétia)’ provided

	<i>mivedin betlemd da isçaven:</i>	he should go to Bethlehem and study;	<i>mivedin betlemd da isçaven.</i>
	<i>owk̄owetow vinme brmay iq̄os šobitgan, mivedin silo-</i>	if someone were blind from birth, he should go to (lake)	<i>uq̄uetu brmay iq̄os šobitgan, mivedin silo-</i>
57,	<b>amd mis p̄irvelisaebr</b>	<b>Siloam</b> like that first one,	<b>vamd mis p̄irvelisaebr</b>
85r, 1-	<i>sarçmownoebit</i>	with faith, and he will	<i>sarçmunoebit</i>
3	<i>da manca igive xedvay moiṗoven.</i>	find (U: receive) the same sight, too.	<i>da manca igive xedvay miiḡos.</i>

The close relationship between the two versions of the text is also visible in the title of the sermon, which is now available for collation on fol. 1v to 2r of Sin.georg. N 89 (Fig. 2).<sup>43</sup> In the following synopsis, elements that are written in rubrics in Sin.georg. N 89 are printed in bold; elements that are missing in either one of the two versions are printed in italics, elements that differ otherwise (except for mere graphical differences) are underlined.

		In the month (of) February,	ttuesa peberval̄sa <u>ḡ</u>
		<u>3<sup>rd</sup></u>	
<b>S(a)k̄(i)tx(a)vni migebebisani</b>	<i>Lections of the</i>	Hypapante	migebeba <u>v</u>
	<i>On the day when Symeon</i>	took	<i>dḡesa, romelsa miikua swmeon</i>
	<i>the Lord upon his arms</i>		<i>mḡlavta twsta zeda upali,</i>
Tk(owmow)li, ç(mi)disa <i>da neṡaris</i>	Sermon of the holy and	blessed	tkumuli çmidisa
<i>mamisa, ç(owe)nisa, evswki, xow-</i>	<i>Father of ours,</i>	Hesychius,	evsuki xucisay
<i>cisa,</i>	Presbyter		
iē(rowsa)l(ē)misay, meormeoc <u>esa</u>	of Jerusalem, <u>on/of</u> the	twentieth	ierusalēmelisay meormeoc <u>isa</u>
<u>dḡesa</u> , šobitg(a)n k(a)lç(ow)lisay <u>t</u> ,	day from the virgin birth		<u>dḡisa</u> šobitgan kalçulisa

for *koriḡozi* in Rayfield 2006, vol. II, 2092 is clearly based upon Saba's entry, as is that of Tschenkeli 1970, Bd. II, 1576 ('Stellvertreter des Königs'); the addendum 'in Kakhetia' is likely to reflect the occurrence of the term in the 18<sup>th</sup> century 'Description of the Kingdom of Georgia' by prince Vaxuṡṡi Bagraṡioni (Qauxčišvili 1973, 524, l. 5-6 and 557, 18-21: *grigoli... iḡoda ḡaxta mtavrad anu koriḡozad* 'Grigol ... named himself a ruler of the Kakhetians or a *koriḡozi*'; further attestations ib. 129,18, 130,23, 798,18, and, for the derived verb *koriḡozoba* 'be / act as a k.', 558,7 and 16).

**43** The title clearly indicates that the homily is by Hesychius, not Timotheus of Jerusalem as still presumed (in accordance with Marr 1940, 93) in Garitte's Catalogue (no. 17, 1956, 78). In A. Šaniḡe's edition (1959.90), the title was supplied from the Udabno Mravaltavi.

o(wp)lisa, č(owe)nisa i(eso)w k(rišt)ěsa,	of our Lord Jesus Christ,	uplisa čuenisa iesu kristěsa,
odes miiqvanes țazrad :	when they brought him to the temple.	odes miiqvanes țazrad,
<b>V(ita)r-igi, aqortxevda mas</b>	How he was blessed	uitar-igi aqurtxevda mas
<b>* ç(mida)y swmeon . *</b>	by St. Symeon.	çmiday swmeon .
<b>T(towes)a : p(e)b(e)rv(a)lsa : ĩ:</b>	In the month (of) February, <u>2<sup>nd</sup></u>	

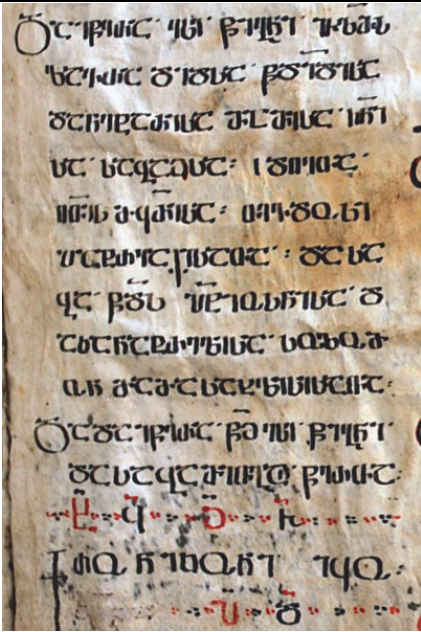
2.1.2 The transition from fol. 2v of the newly found manuscript N 89 to fol. 85r of the Mravaltavi is all the more evident if we take into account that the two pages bear coherent quire numberings, in the given case nos.  $\bar{1}a = 11$  and  $\bar{1}b = 12$ . The numberings are applied, as usual in Old Georgian manuscripts, in the middle of the bottom margin on the last page of one quire, and in the middle of the top margin on the first page of the next; see Fig. 7 where the respective numbers are highlighted in contrast to each other. Sin.georg. N 89 can thus with confidence be regarded as part of Sin.georg. 32–57–33, representing the last two folios of its 11<sup>th</sup> quire.

2.2 Returning to the question of the original meaning of the term *mravaltavi*, the Sinai codex becomes especially important because of its colophons. All in all, it is four individual colophons that were added after its last text, the first of them written down by the scribe immediately after the completion of his work, in the same majuscule characters as the main text (fols. 273v–274ra); it tells us that the codex was written by a certain Amona, son of Vaxtang ‘the Sinewy’ (?),<sup>44</sup> on behalf of a donour named Mağari Leteteli in the Laura of St. Sabbas in Jerusalem. At the bottom of the same column (fol. 274ra), the scribe added a second colophon, in minuscules, which is on his own behalf. The third colophon, written by the same hand in minuscules again (fol. 274rb), must have been added some time later as it is about the donation of the codex to Mt. Sinai (Fig. 8). The fourth colophon (on fol. 274v) is as well written in minuscules, but by a different hand and at a much later time. Its author is Ioane Zosime, one of the most productive Georgian scribes who lived and worked in St. Catherine’s Monastery in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century; in the present colophon, he reports about the fact that he accomplished the third binding of the codex. On the leaf following this (fol. 275r), Ioane Zosime added the ‘Praise and Exaltation of the Georgian Language’, a hymn-like text possibly authored by himself, which is found in a few other manuscripts from Mt. Sinai as

<sup>44</sup> The epithet *mozarğuli* is not attested elsewhere; the assumption that it may be derived from *zarğvi* ‘sinew, vene’ is tentative.

well (Fig. 9 and App. 1 below). As the present binding of the codex (Fig. 2) is likely to be Ioane’s, he is also likely to have applied the front and back flyleaves, which stem from a Palestinian-Aramaic Gospel manuscript (Fig. 10).<sup>45</sup>

2.2.1 One important feature of the colophons is that they provide us with at least two remarkable dates – that of the completion of the codex and that of its third binding. As in many other Old Georgian manuscripts, both dates are styled in two ways, once in counting the years since Creation, and once, according to the reckoning of ‘chronicons’, i.e. cycles of 532 (= 19 × 28) years. In the following transcript of the first dating, characters that are in red in the original are printed in bold again:

<i>Dačera ese čigni i(ero- wsa)lêms,</i>	This book was written in Jerusalem,	
<i>lavrasa didsa č(mi)disa</i>	in the big Laura of our Holy	
<i>da nețarisa mamisa č(owe)nisa</i>	and Blessed Father	
<i>sabay(s)sa dġeta</i>	Saba, in the days	
<i>ġ(mr)tis m(o)ġ(owa)risa tevdosi</i>	of the God-loving Theodosius,	
<i>pățreakisata da saba- č(mi)d(i)s p(a)țiosnisa da sanațrelisa solomon mamasaxlisisata.</i>	the patriarch, and the venerable and blissful Solomon, abbot of St. Saba’s (Laura).	
<i>Da daičera čmiday ese čigni</i>	And this holy book was written	
<i>dasabamitgan čelta.</i> <sup>46</sup>	in the year(s) after Creation	
<i>xwyē</i>	6468,	
<i>Kroniķoni iķo:</i>	The chronicon was	
<i>p̄d:</i>	84.	

<sup>45</sup> The text of the flyleaves has been edited by Smith-Lewis 1894, 118–120 (no. 54); it comprises passages from Matthew (14.5–13) and John (2.23–3.2). For the Arabic note overwritten on the back fly-leaf see Garitte 1956, 97 (‘*Liber habens homilias, cuius prima de Annuntiatione. Excommunicatus qui amovebit eum e Monte Sina*’).

<sup>46</sup> The ms. has *čelta* instead of *čelta*, probably by perseveration of (*dai*-)*čera* ‘was written’.

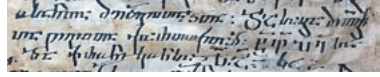
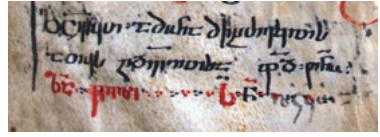


2.2.1.1 To account for this dating, it is necessary to consider that the Georgian tradition used a peculiar calculation for the date of Creation, which differed from that of the Byzantine Era by 96 years, the first year of our era (1 CE) falling together with year no. 5605, not 5509 as in the latter. The year indicated in the colophon, 6468, is thus equal to 863 CE or, to be more correct, 863–864 CE as the year began on the 1<sup>st</sup> September as in the Greek tradition. The same information is also contained in the ‘chronicon’ calculation: by subtracting 84 from 6469, we arrive at 6384 (=  $12 \times 532$ ), which equals 779–780 CE as the last year of the 12<sup>th</sup> cycle of 532 years after Creation. Ioane Zosime even addresses the Georgian time reckoning explicitly, in dating his binding to the ‘years after Creation, **in Georgian**, 6585, and the chronicon 201’, i.e. 980–981 CE (*dasabamitganta çelta kartulad: xp̄p̄e-sa da kroniḡonsa: s̄ā-sa*). That he was well aware of the peculiarity of the ‘Georgian style’, is proven by the ‘Praise of the Georgian Language’ because according to this text, Georgian ‘has 94 (recte: 96) years more than the other languages since the coming of Christ up to the present day’ (*akus otxmeoc da atotxmeḡi çeli umetḡes sxuata enata kristḡes moslvitgan vidre dḡesamomde*; see App. 1 below for a transcript of the complete text).

2.2.1.2 A third dating seems to be contained in the scribe’s personal colophon, which is appended like a signature to the main colophon at the bottom of fol. 274ra. This remains obscure though, as it is introduced by an otherwise unknown formula which combines *çeli* ‘year’ with preceding *z̄ā*, usually the abbreviation of the postposition *zeda* ‘on, up, above’. Georgian does know a compound *zedaçeli* but this cannot be meant here as it denotes some kind of ‘jacket’, in accordance with its being built upon the homonymous word *çeli* meaning ‘waist, loins’ (lit. ‘above-the-loins’). The number, if read correctly as *s̄ē*, would mean 208, i.e. the year 987–8 CE if falling into the same chronicon; this, however, would be much too late to fit into the scribe’s lifetime.<sup>47</sup> It seems rather possible that the dating might have been added by Ioane Zosime as he may still have lived by that year, even though the ornamentation of the line is quite the same as that of the main dating while Ioane Zosime’s dating in the binder’s colophon is without any peculiar decoration (see the excerpts provided with the transcripts below). And possibly, Ioane Zosime left his trace another time on this colophon, in writing *l(o)c(va) ḡ(av)t* ‘pray!’ over the closing dots of its last line.

<sup>47</sup> It would be less promising if the number were to be read as *s̄n* which would yield 250, i.e. the year 1029 CE

<i>l(o)cv(a) ḡ(a)vt : amona mčxreklisatws</i>	Pray for Amona the scribe,
<i>c(o)dvilisa p(ria)d ḡ(mida)no:</i>	the very sinful one, Saints!
<b>z̄ā: : ḡeli ::::: s:ē :::</b>	<b>upper (?) year ::::: 208::</b>
<i>dasabamitg(a)nta</i>	from Creation
<i>ḡelta kartulad: xp̄p̄e-sa</i>	years, in Georgian: 6585
<i>da kroniḡonsa: s̄ā-sa</i>	and in the chronicon: 201



2.2.2 The datings are crucial indeed for our topic as the colophons provide several attestations of the term *mrvaltavi* in referring to the codex itself, thus constituting a *terminus a quo* for its use. This is true, first of all, for the main colophon provided by Maḡari Leteteli through the hand of the scribe, Amona, in the year 863–4. The following extract covers about one half of the text (three fourths of fol. 273v):

<i>Ḣḡalobita mamisayta da zisayta da sulisa ḡmidisayta ...</i>	By the charity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit ...
<i>Da madlita ḡmidisa adgomisa saplavisa uplisa ḡuenisa iesu krist̄esisayta</i>	and the mercy of the Holy Resurrection from the grave of Our Lord Jesus Christ
<i>Da meoxebita ḡovelta ḡinaḡarmetḡuelta, mocikulta, maxarebelta ...</i>	and with the support of all prophets, apostles, evangelists ...
<i>Me, maḡari leteteli, z̄ē giorgi grzelisay, codvili priad, ḡirs m̄āo ḡmertman ḡesakmed ḡmidisa amis ḡignisa mrvaltavis</i>	I, Maḡari Leteteli, the son of Giorgi Grzeli, a very sinful (man), was considered worthy by God to create this holy <b>mrvaltavi book</b>
<i>tana-ḡeḡevnita z̄misa ḡuenisa sulierad p̄imen ḡaxisayta</i>	with the help of my brother in spirit, P̄imen Ḳaxa,
<i>da qelt-ḡerita dedis z̄miḡulisa ḡemisa amona vaxtang mozarḡulisa zisayta ...</i>	and by the hand-writing of the son of my mother's brother, Amona, the son of Vaxtang 'the Sinewy' ...

The term is taken over in unaltered form by Ioane Zosime in his colophon of 980–81 CE:

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<i>Ʒ(wrie elei)S(o)N saxelita ġmrtisayta</i>	Kyrie eleison! In the name of God!
<i>Šeimosā mesamed Ʒ(mi)day ese Ʒigni mrvaltavi</i>	This holy <b>mrvaltavi</b> book was bound ( <i>lit.</i>
<i>ťqavita zroxisayta<sup>48</sup> sina-Ʒ(mi)das</i>	clad) for the third time in cowskin on Holy (Mt.) Sinai
<i>qelita iov(a)ne priad cod(vi)lisa zosimesita dġeta</i>	by the hand of Iovane Zosime, the very sinful
<i>oden boroťad moxuceb(u)l(o)bisa Ʒemisata,</i>	(man), in the days of my being badly aged,
<i>Brzanebita da p(ria)d mošƷraped moġuaƷebita</i>	by order and under very zealous instigation
<i>Mlkael da Mlkael řaťiosanta mġdeltayta,</i>	of Michael and Michael, the venerable
	priests,
<i>Dasabamitġ(a)nta Ʒelta kartulad: XPPĒ-sa da</i>	in the year 6585, Georgian style, after Crea-
<i>kroniķonsa: SĀ-sa.</i>	tion and in the chronicon 201.

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In his second colophon, which reports about the transfer of the codex to Mt. Sinai, Maķari uses the term once more himself. Here, however, he adds explicit information on the contents of the book, in a form that may well be taken as a definition of the meaning of *mrvaltavi*:

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<i>Da me, glaxaķman maķari, řevġire Ʒmiday ese</i>	And I, poor Maķari, have offered this holy
<i>mrvaltavi Ʒmidat-Ʒmidasa mtasa sinas</i>	<b>mrvaltavi</b> to Mt. Sinai, the most holy of all,
<i>saqsenebelad da sargebelad tavta Ʒuenta da</i>	for the remembrance and benefit of ourselves
<i>sulta Ʒuentatws.</i>	and our souls.
<i>da amas řina ars řemķobay Ʒeliġdisa dġe-</i>	And in it is the adornment of all feast days of
<i>sasķaulta řoveltay, tkumuli Ʒmidata</i>	the year (as) preached by the holy leaders.
<i>mozġuartay.</i>	
<i>moec, upalo, řovnad Ʒqalobay řeni mas dġesa</i>	Let, Lord, our sinful souls find your compas-
<i>řina sulta Ʒuenta codvilta...</i>	sion on that day...

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2.3 The information provided by the colophons of the Sinai Mrvaltavi is by and large confirmed by two later witnesses. One is the Mrvaltavi of Udabno, which was already referred to above. For this codex, which is datable to the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> cc. as well,<sup>49</sup> a scribe's colophon has not been preserved; however, it does contain several later notes in the margins, two of which mention a *mrvaltavi mrguloani*, i.e. a '*mrvaltavi* (written in) round (letters, i.e. majuscules)', obviously in referring to the codex itself. The

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<sup>48</sup> The binder's colophon contains a rather enigmatic marginal gloss at the given position, which reads *zroxā ķacisa* (in two lines). Probably the first word mirrors *zroxi-* in *zroxisayta* 'of the cow' of the text, while *ķacisa*, gen. of *ķaci* 'man', will pertain to Iovane's self-designation as being 'very sinful' appearing just to the right of it. Taking it in isolation, the gloss would mean something like 'the cow of man', which barely makes any sense. See Gippert 2015, 102 with no. 6.

<sup>49</sup> See Z. Ćumburiže in the preface to the edition by A. řaniže and Z. Ćumburiže 1994, 9.

following transcripts are quoted from Zurab ĆumburiŹe’s introduction to the edition of the Mravaltavi, according to which they were written by the same hand in an early Mkhedruli script (*adrindeli p̄eriodis mxedrulit*: p. 13). It will be evident off-hand that the second note is an extension of the first one, possibly showing the complete text of what was meant to be an aphorism.<sup>50</sup>

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75v	<i>k(ris̄te) mravaltavi mrguloani da se-pis p̄iri</i> <i>ġmertman ućis da natlis mcelman</i>	Christ! The <b>mravaltavi in round (letters)</b> and noble ( <i>lit.</i> noble person) God and the Baptist knows.
126r	<i>k(ris̄te) mravaltavi mrguloani da se-pis p̄iri</i> <i>ġmertman icis da natlis mcelman,</i> <i>romel razom ĵargi ars</i>	Christ! The <b>mravaltavi in round (letters)</b> and noble ( <i>lit.</i> noble person), God and the Baptist knows how nice it is.

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The second witness is the famous Gospel manuscript of Adishi which, according to the scribe’s colophon appended on fol. 387r, was written in 897 CE (6501 after Creation / chronicon 117). A secondary note on the same page, written by a much later hand in *nuskhuri* minuscules, reports the removal, by a certain Niĵolaos, of the Tetraevangelion together with some other codices from ŒaŒberdi, one of the centres of Georgian eruditeness in Œao-ĶlarŒeti in East Anatolia, to Guria (Fig. 11). The list comprises, besides the *otxtavi* itself, a lectionary (*qelt-ĵanoni*) and other ‘books’, a *mravaltavi* that is not further specified. There is good reason to believe, however, that it is just the Udabno Mravaltavi that is meant here as this is likely to have been written in Œao-ĶlarŒeti and was detected in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Gurian monastery of Udabno.<sup>51</sup> The following transcript comprises lines 6–14 of the note.<sup>52</sup>

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**50** Interestingly enough, a comparable wording is found in the introduction to the Visramiani, i.e. the Georgian prose translation of the Persian epic *Vis u Rāmīn*, which was compiled by the 12<sup>th</sup> c.; here we read (p. 34, ll. 19–21 in the edition by A. Gvaxaria and M. Todua 1962): *me ĵuela vici da masmia siĵete da sepišpiroba mati, romel ĵargi hamo ambavia brŒenta da mecniertagan tkumuli da Œeĵĵobili palaurita enita* ‘I know all (that) and I have heard (of) their goodness and nobleness, which is a nice (and) pleasant story, told and arranged by wise and learned (people) in the Pahlavi language...’. Together with several other attestations of *sepiš p̄iri* (e.g., in the chronicle of Queen Tamar’s age by Basili Ezosmozĵuari in QauxĉiŒvili 1955–1959, vol. II, 149, l. 27; the chronicle of the Mongol invasions by an anonymous ‘Œamtaaġmĉereli’ = ‘Chronicler’, ib. p. 196, l. 4; or the Georgian prose translation of the Persian Œāhnāme, *Œah-Names anu mepeta ĉignis kartuli versiebi*, vol. III, ed. ĶobiŒe 1974, p. 510, l. 21), this seems to suggest the note in the Mravaltavi to have been added after the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

**51** See TaĵaiŒvili 1916, 12 in the preface to the facsimile edition of the Adishi Gospels, and A. ŒaniŒe and Z. ĆumburiŒe 1994, 5 and 9–10.

**52** See TaĵaiŒvili 1916, 12, and A. ŒaniŒe and Z. ĆumburiŒe 1994, 9.

*Me n(i)k(o)l(ao)s odesme žumatisa  
m(a)m(a)s(a)xlis-ḡopilm(a)n uḡirsman da  
s(u)lita s(a)çq̇(a)l(o)belm(a)n:  
p(ria)dita xarḡebita – ašenen ḡ(mertma)n –  
klaržetisa monašterni ševiareni da ševḡriben  
ç(mida)ni ese çignni:  
ṗ(irvela)d ç(mida)y ese saxarebay **otxtavi** :  
da **mr(a)v(a)lt(a)vi** da qeltḡanoni  
m(a)m(a)ta çigni da ḡitxva-migebay...*

I, Niḡolaos, formerly the abbot of (the mon-  
astery of) Žumati, unworthy and pitiful with  
(my) soul,  
with much endeavour I have visited the  
monasteries of Ḳlaržeti – may God build  
them up – and collected these books:  
first, this holy **Tetraevangelion**,  
and a **mravaltavi** and a lectionary,  
a book of the fathers and a questions-and-  
answers (book)...

### 3 Taking all this information together, we arrive at the following conclusions:

- a) the term ‘*mravaltavi* book’ was in use in Old Georgian as early as the late 9<sup>th</sup> century and continued to be used in the following centuries, and
- b) it denoted codices that primarily contained texts authored by Church Fathers for the feast days of the year.

This agrees well with van Esbroeck’s definition according to which *mravaltavis* were ‘collections’ of homilies, sermons, and panegyrics ‘quite close to the Greek homiliaries’, which were used as ‘lections’ for the ‘feasts of the mobile year’. The question remains, however, whether and to what extent *mravaltavis* could also contain hagiographical texts. This question has recently been raised anew by M. Šanize<sup>53</sup> according to whom the incorporation of hagiographical accounts was but a later feature of the Old Georgian *mravaltavis*.

3.1 First of all, it must be stated here that all *mravaltavis* treated so far do contain hagiographical materials. In the case of the Sinai codex, this concerns St. Stephen the Protomartyr, St. James, St. Peter, St. Paul, the 40 martyrs of Sebaste, and, at the end of the codex, the fathers of Sinai and Raita.<sup>54</sup> The Udabno and Ṭbeti *Mravaltavis* con-

<sup>53</sup> See the entry ‘*Mravaltavi*’ in the list of ‘Some Georgian terms used in the text’ added to the English part of the Catalogue of the ‘New Collection’ of Georgian manuscripts in St. Catherine’s Monastery, Aleksidze et al. 2005, 482; for a more thorough discussion see Esbroeck 1975, 5.

<sup>54</sup> Texts no. 9 (fols. 56ra–59vb), 8 (54ra–56rb), 44 (234ra–239vb), 45 (239vb–244rb), 21 (109va–119va), and 50 (255vb–273rb) of the Sinai *Mravaltavi*. There are also two anonymous texts on St. Basil the Great in the codex, viz. nos. 11 (67ra–68va) and 12 (68va–70vb).

tain one of the few autochthonous hagiographical texts from first millennium Georgia, viz. the legend (by Ioane Sabanisze) of St. Habo of T̄p̄ilisi, as well as accounts of the life of St. Anthony.<sup>55</sup> To all these we may add the legends on the Apparition of the Holy Cross, the Finding of the nails used in the crucifixion, or the Finding of the relics of St. Stephen, which are represented in most of these codices.<sup>56</sup>

3.2 The *mravaltavi* of P̄arxali, allegedly the latest of the ‘homiliaries’ investigated by van Esbroeck, adds about 50 lives and legends after the last homily it contains (i.e. the sermon by Ioane Bolneli on ‘Lazarus and the Lord’s sitting down on the donkey’s foal and his entering Jerusalem and meeting the children’, to be read on Palm Sunday),<sup>57</sup> among them the autochthonous legend of the 5<sup>th</sup> century Georgian martyr, St. Šušaniḡ.<sup>58</sup> The arrangement suggests that this set of texts is not part of the *mravaltavi* proper but represents a peculiar type of martyrology added to it secondarily;<sup>59</sup> this is all the more likely as the hagiographical texts that are met with in the other *mravaltavis* are not included in the ‘extra’ collection of the P̄arxali codex but in its first part.<sup>60</sup> We may therefore assume that there was a fix reservoir of ‘basic’ hagiographical texts that did pertain to the *mravaltavi* materials traditionally and that the *mravaltavis* were thus not restricted to homilies in the proper sense right from the beginning. In this respect, we may adapt the wider definition given by Z. Ćumburize according to whom

<sup>55</sup> In the Udabno Mravaltavi, texts no. 9 (fols. 7r–11v, followed by an ‘Eclogue of the holy martyr Habo’, *Kebay ĉmidisa moĉamisa Haboysi*, as no. 10, 11v–14r), and 11–13 (fols. 14r–36v); in the T̄beti Mravaltavi (A–19, see the descriptions by Gorgaḡe 1927, 1–35, and Bregaḡe et al. 1973, 58–71), texts no. 62 (402b–432b / 202v–203r, including the ‘Eclogue’) and 63 (433a–451b / 218r–224r).

<sup>56</sup> Texts no. 42 (fols. 225rb–232rb), 43 (232va–234ra), and 10 (59vb–67ra) in the Sinai Mravaltavi.

<sup>57</sup> *Tkumuli ioane bolnel ep̄iškoĉosisay lazarestws da daḡdomisatws uplisa ĳicusa zeda da šeslvisatws iērusalemad da šesxmisatws ĳrmataysa*; see Bregaḡe et al. 1973, 380, no. 97. The text of the homily is printed with a French translation in Verhelst 2015, 430–453.

<sup>58</sup> No. 107 (fols. 353r–359v), see Bregaḡe et al. 1973, 382.

<sup>59</sup> See Esbroeck 1975, 57 who stated clearly that ‘il ne s’agit pas en réalité d’un seul manuscrit, mais de deux codices qui ont été reliés ensemble’. It may also be noted that there is a lacuna at the beginning of the ‘martyrology’ part, which suggests that some peculiar title may have been lost there; see Bregaḡe et al. 1973, 380 and Esbroeck 1975, 55.

<sup>60</sup> E.g., legends of St. Stephen and the finding of his relics (nos. 20–24: fols. 52v–71v), St. Peter and Paul (nos. 25–26: 71v–77r), St. Habo of T̄p̄ilisi (incl. the ‘Eclogue’, no. 53: 145v–159v), the 40 martyrs (no. 82: 212v–217v), the Finding of the Cross and the nails (nos. 75–76: 197v–201v), or the Vita of St. Anthony (nos. 54–55: 159v–169r); see Bregaḡe et al. 1973, 361–380.

*mravaltavis* were ‘collective volumes which comprise works used as lections on certain feast days in church’,<sup>61</sup> as this encompasses homilies as well as hagiographical accounts and the like.<sup>62</sup>

**4** Another question that remains open is whether the term ‘*mravaltavi* book’ might have been coined before the Sinai codex was written. As a matter of fact, the very existence of *mravaltavi*-like codices that antedate Sin.georg. 32–57–33 by some time has been claimed for long, especially for the lower layer of the palimpsest manuscripts A–737 of Tbilisi and M–13 of St. Petersburg, which are believed to go back to the early 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>63</sup>

**61** *Udabnos Mravaltavi, 7: mravaltavis saxelit cnobili krebulebi, romlebic ama tu im dğesasçaulis dros eklesiaši saqitxvad ganqutvnil txzulebebs šeicaven...*

**62** In contrast to this, the definition given by E. Taqaišvili in the preface to the facsimile edition of the Adishi Gospels (1916, 12), is disbalanced as it foregrounds hagiography (‘«многоловъ» (мраваль-гави). Подъ этимъ названіемъ въ дрѣвнегрузунской письменности исвѣстны жизнеописанія святыхъ и слова и рѣчи отцовъ церкви.’); it may well have been influenced by the occurrence of the term in the compiler’s colophon of a 13<sup>th</sup> c. menology (of April) which contrasts the ‘metaphrastic’ versions of Saints’ lives (*cxorebata da mokalakobata, da çamebata da gvaçlta* = ‘lives and ministries, martyrdoms and toils’) with ‘the old *Keimena*, which are also called *mravaltavi* by some’ (*çuelisa kimenisagan, romelsa vietnime mravaltavadca uçoden*; see Keçeliçe 1912, 340–1; note that the adverbial case in *-ad* attested here was erroneously taken to constitute a stem *mravaltavad-i* by P. Peeters 1913, 324). The first attempt to define the term *mravaltavi* is probably Al. Cagareli’s who in his account of the Sinai Mravaltavi (1888, 235: no. 83 ~ Sin. georg. 32–33) styled it a ‘святооуческій сборникъ’, i.e. a ‘collective volume of Holy Fathers’. – Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani in his 17<sup>th</sup> century dictionary (1965, 522 /1966, 516) records only the abstract noun *mravaltaoabay* that might be derived from *mravaltavi* (in the sense of ‘*mravaltavi*-ness’ or ‘being a *mravaltavi*’), glossed by him as *mravaltannaçilebulivit*, i.e. ‘like (something) much divided’. The addition of ‘*katiğ*.’ in mss. ZAa of the lexicon obviously refers to the ‘Categories’ of Aristotle, as *mravaltaoabay* occurs in the Georgian version of the commentaries of Aristotle by the Neoplatonian Ammonios Hermeiou, produced by the so-called Gelati school in the 12<sup>th</sup> c., where it translates Greek τὸ κατὰ πλείονων (within the text ‘In Porphyrii isagogen sive quinque voces’, see the edition by A. Busse 1891, 61, ll. 20–23 and the edition of the Georgian text by Keçağmaze and Rapava 1983, 49, ll. 27–33): φησὶ γὰρ· γένος ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ πλείονων καὶ διαφερόντων τῷ εἶδει ἐν τῷ τί ἐστὶ κατηγορούμενον· τὸ γὰρ κατὰ πλείονων διακρίνει αὐτὸ τῶν ἀτόμων (ἐκείνων καθ’ ἑνὸς λεγομένων), τὸ δὲ διαφερόντων τῷ εἶδει διακρίνει αὐτὸ εἶδους καὶ ἰδίου... ~ *rametu itqws: natesavi ars mravalt da saxita ganqopiltad rayarsobisa šoris šesmenili. rametu ‘mravaltaoabay’ ganarçevs mas ganuqueteltagan (igini ray ertisad itkumodin), xolo ‘saxita ganqopiltaoabay’ ganarçevs mas saxisagan da gantwsebulisa ...* It is clear that *mravaltaoabay* is not derived from *mravaltavi* here but directly from (the gen.pl.) *mravalt* ‘of the many’ occurring in the sentence before, thus meaning something like ‘the *mravalt*-ness’ in the sense ‘the (use of the) word *mravalt*’.

**63** For the former see Esbroeck 1980, 18–21; for the latter, Orbeli 1967, 125–134 (see Esbroeck 1975, 35).

4.1 An even more archaic *mravaltavi* has been preserved in the lower layer of the palimpsest manuscript S-3902, which must go back to the so-called Khanmeti period, i.e. the first period of Georgian literacy extending from the 5<sup>th</sup> to ca. the 7<sup>th</sup> cc. A first attempt at editing its fragments was undertaken by Akaḳi Šaniḳe as early as 1927.<sup>64</sup> Depending on the readability of the lower script, the amount of text Šaniḳe was able to restore varies considerably from page to page; in some cases, it is but a few characters per line that could be made out in his days. This is especially true for the homily on the ‘Envy of the Pharisees’,<sup>65</sup> which is usually ascribed to John Chrysostom.<sup>66</sup> Besides the Khanmeti version represented by the palimpsest, the homily is preserved in Old Georgian in the Jerusalem manuscript Jer. 4,<sup>67</sup> as well as in two Greek recensions, an Old Church Slavonic version available in two codices, and one Coptic version.<sup>68</sup> Of the Greek recensions, it is the one represented by the codex Ottobonianus graecus 14 of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana<sup>69</sup> which comes closest to the Khanmeti text;<sup>70</sup> together with the Old Church Slavonic version as represented in the famous Codex Suprasliensis of the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>71</sup> and, with minor deviations, in the so-called Uspenskij Sbornik (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> cc.),<sup>72</sup> it provides a good basis for reconstructing the Khanmeti text even where it has been thoroughly erased in the palimpsest. In Appendix 2 below, a

64 A. Šaniḳe 1927, 98–159; re-edited (together with a Latin translation) in Molitor 1956, 65–90.

65 *Parisevelta mat šurisetws*, relating to the passage *xolo parisevelni igi gamovides da zraxva-ḳves mistws, rayta čarčqmidon igi* (Mt. 12,14). See Gippert (forthc.) for a thorough study of the homily in question.

66 In the palimpsest, the author is simply named *iohane episkoposi*, ‘John the Bishop’: fol. 3vb, l. 5 =A. Šaniḳe 1959, 135: 11b, l. 5. See Gippert (forthc.), 1. for a survey of other proposals as to the authorship.

67 Text no. 12 (fols. 65r–66v); see the catalogues by Blake 1922–23, 367, and Mari [Marr] 1955, 48 (ms. ‘18, 12.’). The text was used by M. Šaniḳe 2009 in her article “Homilia ‘Parisevelta šurisetws’ xanmeḱ mravaltavši” (“The Homily ‘On Jealousy’ in *Khanmeti* Homiliary”) to establish a ‘complemented and reconstructed’ version of the homily; see Gippert (forthc.) 2. with n. 28 for further details.

68 See Geerard 1974, 582, no. 4640, where the Georgian Khanmeti version is not referred to explicitly. As to the Coptic text, which was published by Rossi 1889, 49–152<sup>bis</sup>, and in 1888 [1892], 3–104), see Gippert (forthc.), 1.3.

69 Fols. 123–126v; the text as edited by M. Capaldo (= Kapaldo) is available via the facsimile edition of the Old Church Slavonic Codex Suprasliensis by Zaimov and Kapaldo 1983, 395–404. See Voicu 2012 as to other witnesses pertaining to the same recensions, and Gippert (forthc.), 1.1 and passim as to important shibboleths.

70 The Greek text as printed in Migne 1862b, 705–710 represents the other recension and is a bit less close.

71 Text no. 35, 395–405 in the facsimile edition; see also the edition by Severjanov 1904 / 1956, 395–405.

72 See the edition by Knjzjevskaja et al. 1971, 330–336.



diplomatic rendering of the reading is contrasted with a photo collage (11 multispectral images) of the recto of the bifoliate consisting of fols. 2 and 7<sup>73</sup> of S-3902, and with four Tables that display the lower text of the recto and verso of the same bifoliate as re-established now,<sup>74</sup> contrasted with A. Šaniže's reading and collated with the Greek and Slavonic versions.<sup>75</sup> Whether or not this palimpsest may have been styled a *mravaltavi* when it was written down, is not decidable, however, as no colophon has been preserved.<sup>76</sup>

4.2 As another candidate for a Khanmeti *mravaltavi*, we might regard one of the six Khanmeti manuscripts that were re-used in the Georgian palimpsest codex of the Vienna National Library (Codex Vind. georg. 2).<sup>77</sup> The original manuscript in question, of which 38 bifoliate have been preserved, contains parts of the legends of Ss. Cyprianus and Justina and St. Christina;<sup>78</sup> four additional bifoliate of the same original have been detected in the Tbilisi palimpsest A-737.<sup>79</sup> It is not very probable, though, that the two hagiographical texts might be the remnants of a former *mravaltavi*, albeit

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73 Several different pagination systems have been applied in the descriptions of S-3902: according to pages of the upper layer, folios of the upper layer, and folios of the original manuscripts. The folios here addressed as 7r and 7v represent pages 13 and 14 according to the first pagination applied, and fols. 2r and 2v, pages 3 and 4. For a rough survey of the codicological structure of S-3902 see Esbroeck 1975, 60.

74 On the basis of a multispectral analysis undertaken by the author together with L. Kajaia, D. Tvaltvadze, and S. Sardjveladze in Tbilisi, 2005.

75 The present reading was first proposed publicly in a paper read on the *1st International Symposium 'Georgian Manuscripts'* in Tbilisi, Oct. 21, 2009 ('New Prospects in the Study of Old Georgian Palimpsests'; see the abstract in <<http://www.manuscript.ge/uploads/symposiumi/tezisebi.pdf>>, p. 182). The conference volume has not yet appeared in print. – See Gippert 2009 for a similar account of the bifoliate page consisting of fols. 3r and 6v (instead of 3ra-6va read 3rb-6vb on p. 182). See Gippert (forthc.), 4. for a more comprehensive treatment of the four folios.

76 Apart from the remnants of the Khanmeti *mravaltavi*, S-3902 comprises fragments of another manuscript written in Asomtavruli script in its lower layer. This – hitherto unpublished – manuscript, which can hardly be dated earlier than the 10<sup>th</sup> century, represents a lectionary with lectures from New Testament books. Different from the *mravaltavi*, the lines of the original manuscript were overwritten horizontally in this case, which makes the reading more difficult here and there although the letters have been preserved more clearly throughout than those of the Khanmeti original. The edition of two of its pages (fols. 56r and 49v) was part of the paper read in Tbilisi, Oct. 21, 2009 and has been prepared for being published in the conference volume (see n. 75 above).

77 See Gippert et al. 2007.

78 See the edition, 6-1 – 6-90 (ms. no. VI).

79 Fols. 134-141, see the edition, p. 6-1. The assumption that the fragments from the Tbilisi and the Vienna palimpsests pertain to one original manuscript was first published hesitatingly by Kažaia 1974, 419; it has been approved beyond any doubt by the edition project.

they are also present in the Parxali codex;<sup>80</sup> for here, they pertain to the ‘martyrological’ extension, not to the *mravaltavi* proper. In a similar way, the legend of St. Christina occurs in a Sinai manuscript that may be styled ‘hagiographical’ as it contains mostly legends of saints (Sin. georg. 6); as a matter of fact, none of the texts it comprises is met with in any one of the ‘classical’ *mravaltavis*.<sup>81</sup> It seems therefore preferable to regard the Khanmeti original of the Vienna codex as a prototype of a martyrology.<sup>82</sup>

## 5 Conclusions

To sum up, it seems well founded to assume that manuscripts of the *mravaltavi* type existed in Old Georgian from Khanmeti times on, as collective volumes comprising homilies, sermons, and a few ‘basic’ hagiographical texts used as lections in the liturgy of certain feast days, thus constituting a special genre of MTM of unarbitrary content. It is especially those *mravaltavis* whose remnants have been preserved in palimpsest form that deserve to be studied more intensively. Not only in the Khanmeti palimpsests but in general, the Georgian *mravaltavis* contain texts or text versions that are either unique or archaic in comparison with other versions, which renders them important for textological studies far beyond Georgia.

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**80** Texts no. 110 (part III of the legend of Ss. Cyprianus and Justina; fols. 380v–385v) and 106 (legend of St. Christina; fols. 343v–353r); see Bregazze et al. 1973, 382–3.

**81** Apart from the vitae of St. Symeon the Stylite, Julian-Saba the Syrian, Epiphanius, and Zosime, and the legends of St. Febronia, Christina, and Catherina, it contains the Protevangelium Jacobi, the Teachings of St. Stephen the Sabaite, and, by the hand of Ioane Zosime again, the ‘Praise of the Georgian Language’; see Garitte 1956, 15–26.

**82** It may be important in this context to note that both the Vienna palimpsest and the ms. Sin.georg. 6 contain the Protevangelium Jacobi alongside the legend of St. Christina; it is not likely, however, that the former text was written by the same hand in the palimpsest (see the edition, p. xxvi) and it was therefore treated as representing another original manuscript (no. V; 5–1 – 5–26).

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Fig. 2: Sin. georg. 32–57–33, outer appearance.

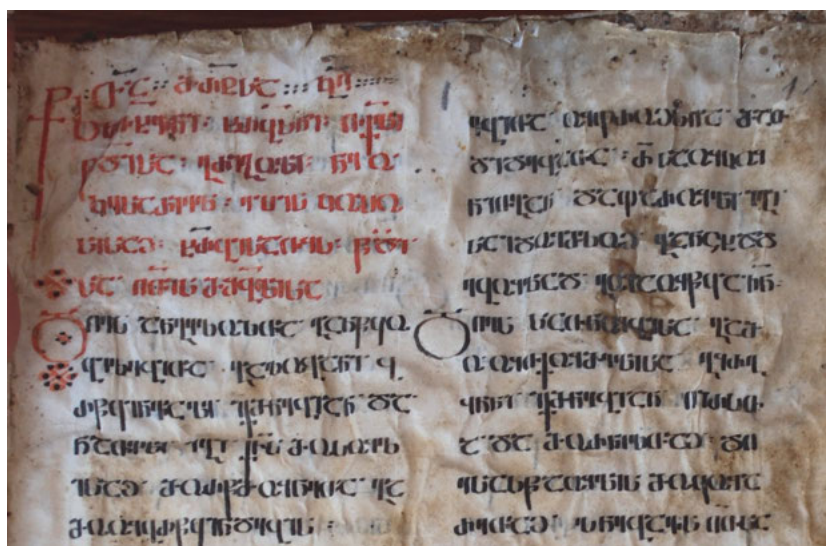


Fig. 3: id., fol. 1r (upper half).

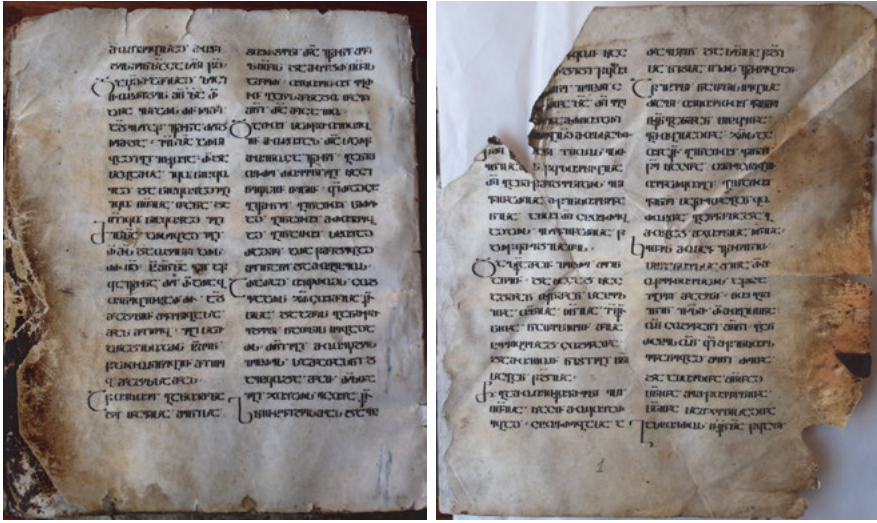


Fig. 4: Transition from Sin.georg. 32(-57-33), fol. 84v to Sin.georg. N 89, fol. 1r (within Cyril of Jerusalem).

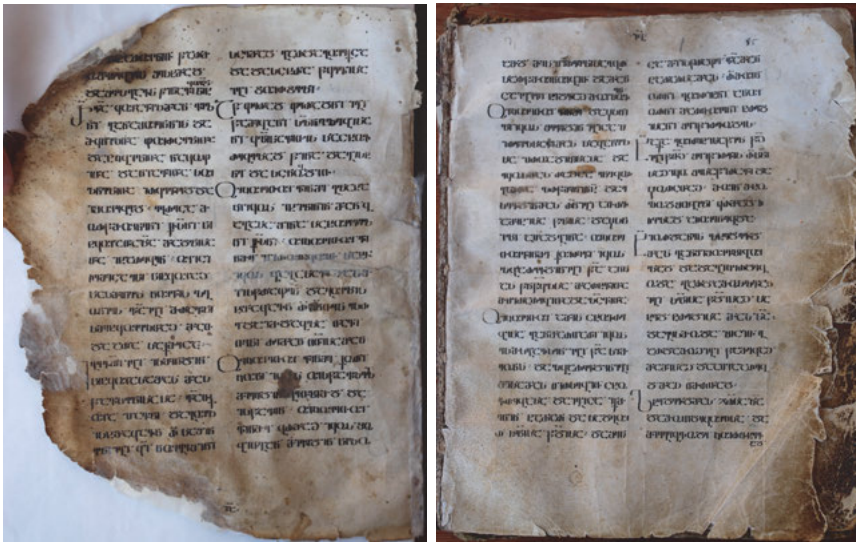


Fig. 5: Transition from Sin.georg. N 89, fol. 2v to Sin.georg. (32)-57(-33), fol. 85r (within Hesychius of Jerusalem).



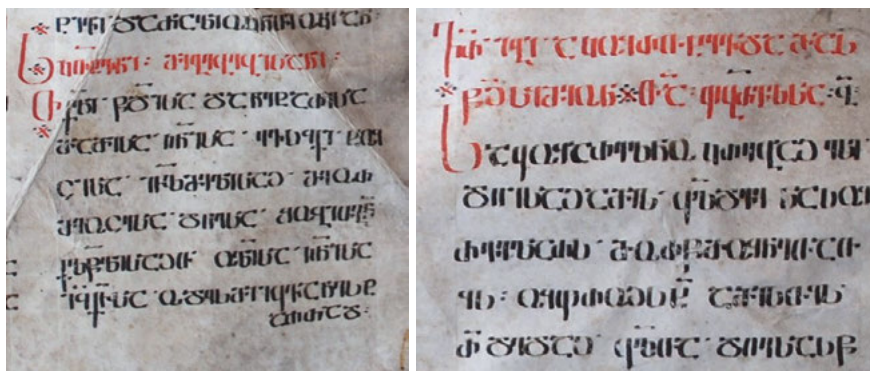


Fig. 6: Title of Hesychius' Sermon (Sin.georg. N 89, 1vb-2ra).

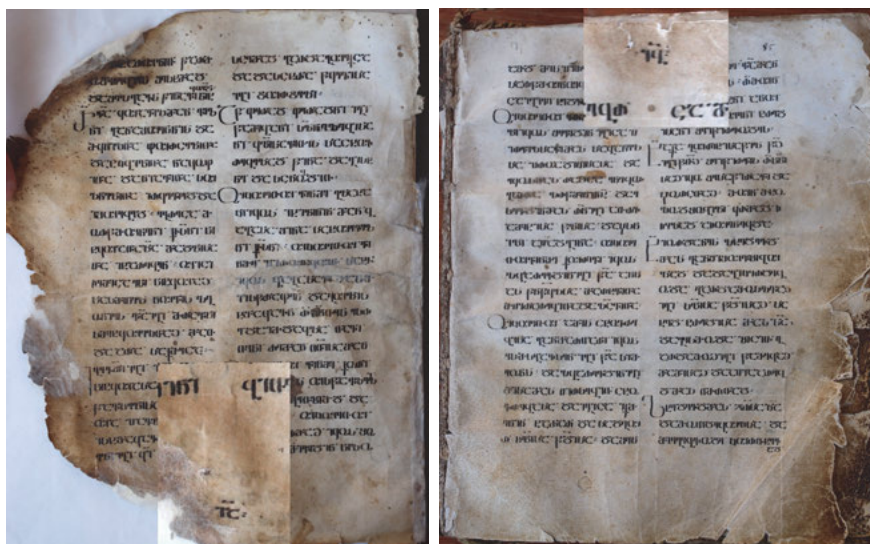


Fig. 7: Transition from Sin.georg. N 89, fol. 2v to Sin.georg. (32-)57(-33), fol. 85r (with quire numbers highlighted).





Fig. 8: The scribe's colophons of Sin.georg. 32–57–33 (fols. 273v–274r).

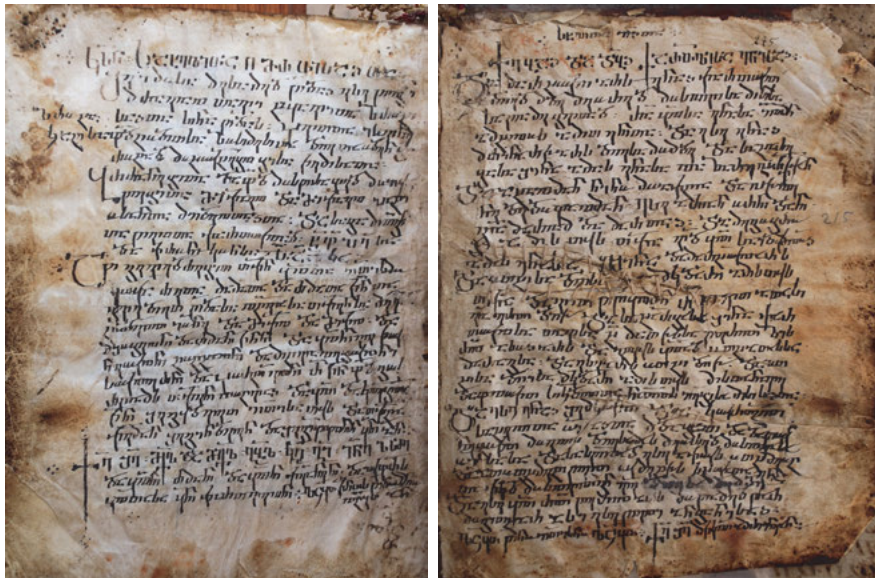


Fig. 9: The binder's colophon and the 'Praise of the Georgian Language' (Sin.georg. 32–57–33, fols. 274v–275r).

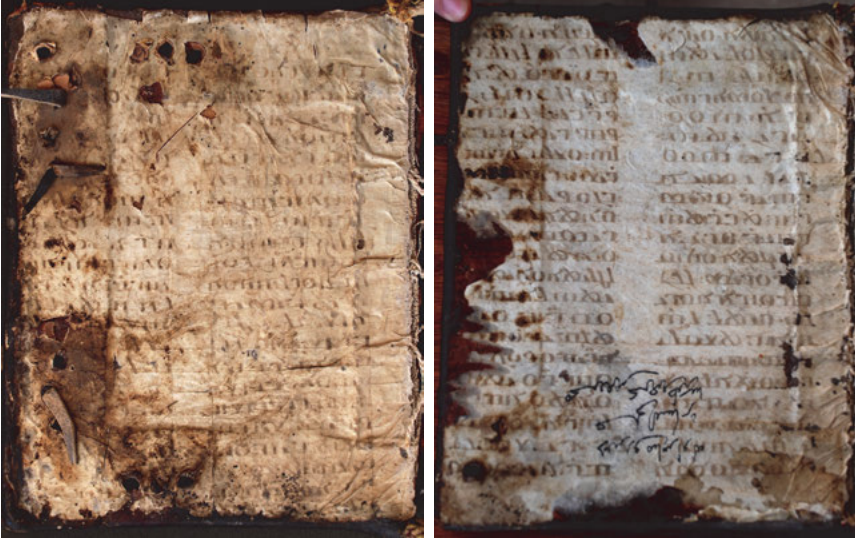


Fig. 10: Front and back fly-leaves of Sin. 32–57–33.

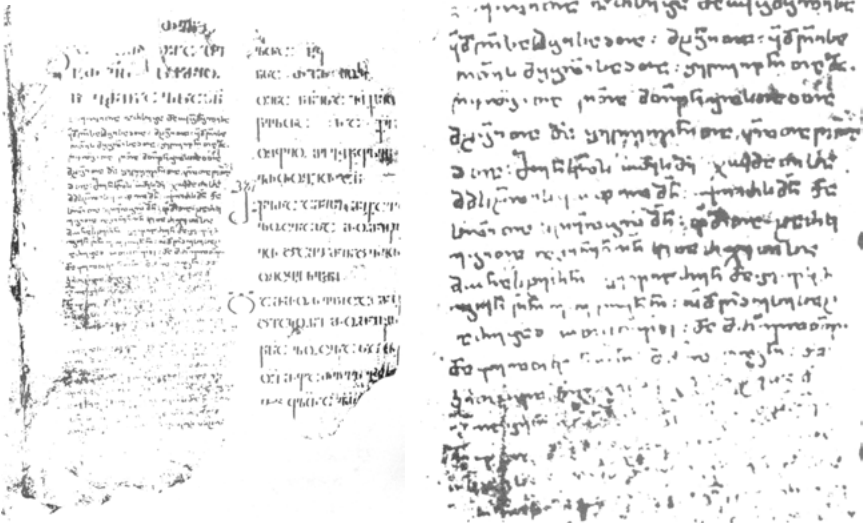


Fig. 11: Scribe's colophon and additional note of the Adishi Gospels (fol. 387).<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Reproduction from the facsimile edition by Taqaišvili 1916.

## App. 1: The ‘Praise and Exaltation of the Georgian Language’ (Sin. 32–57–33, fol. 275r)<sup>84</sup>

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<i>Kebay da d(ide)b(a)y kart(u)lisa enisay:</i>	Praise and Exaltation of the Georgian Language
<i>Damarxul ars enay kartuli</i>	The Georgian tongue is buried
<i>dğedmde meored moslvisa misisa saçame-belad:</i>	until the day of his second coming, to witness,
<i>r(ayt)a ğ(ove)lisa enasa ğ(mer)tm(a)n amxilos amit enita:</i>	so that God may convict every tongue through this tongue. <sup>85</sup>
<i>da ese enay mżinare ars dğesamomde</i>	And this tongue is sleeping until today,
<i>da saxarebasa řina amas enasa lazare hrkwan.</i>	and in the Gospels this tongue is called Lazarus. <sup>86</sup>
<i>Da axalman nino moakcia da hēlene dedopalman:</i> <sup>87</sup>	And it was converted by the new Nino and by Queen Helena,
<i>ese arian orni dani, v(itarc)a mariam da martay:</i>	these are two sisters, like Mary and Martha. <sup>88</sup>
<i>da megobrobay amistws tk(u)a v(itarme)d ğ(ove)li saidumloy amas enasa řina damarxul ars</i>	And ‘friendship’ he said <sup>86</sup> because every mystery is preserved in this language,

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**84** For the text version of Sin.georg. 6 (fol. 223v) see Garitte 1956, 21; for that of Sin.georg. 38 (fol. 144r), Cagareli 1888, 203 (no. 12). The version in Sin.georg. 6 is the only one in Asomtavruli script. The text of Sin. 32–57–33 was first published by Marr 1940, 26.

**85** See Jo. 16.8: *da igi movides da amxilos sopelsa codvatatws da simartlisatws da sasřzelisatws* ‘and he will come and will convict the world because of sins and justice and judgment’.

**86** See Jo. 11.11: *lazare, megobarman čuenman, daiřina, aramed me mivide da ganvağwžo igi* ‘Lazarus, our friend, is sleeping, but I will go and wake him up’.

**87** For Sin.georg. 38, Cagareli notes *elinni dedupalman elene*, obviously by interference of *elin-i* ‘Helene, Greek person’; however, the manuscript has plain *helene dedopalman*.

**88** See Jo. 11.1–3: *da iřo vinme sneul lazare betaniayt, dabit mariamisit da martaysit, disa misisa. ... miavlines misa data mista da hrkues...* ‘And there was one sick (person named) Lazarus, from Bethania, from the village of Mariam and Martha, her sister. ... His sisters sent (a message) to him and said ...’. – St. Nino, according to the legend coeval with St. Helena, the mother of King Constantine I, is regarded as the converter of Georgia.

*Da otxisa dġisa mḵ(u)dari amistws tk(u)a  
davit ḥ(ina)ḥ(armet)ḡ(ue)lm(a)n, r(ametw)  
ḥeli atasi v(itarc)a erti dġē.*

*da saxar(e)basa šina kartulsa tavsa x(olo)  
matēssa*

*ḥili<sup>91</sup> zis, r(ome)l asoy ars*

*da iṭḡws ḡ(ov)lad otxatassa maragsa:*

*da ese ars otxi dġē: da otxisa dġisa mḵ(u)dari*

*amistws mis tanave dapluli siḵ(u)dilita natlis-  
ġebisa misisayta:*

*Da ese enay, šemḵuli da ḵurtx(eu)li saxelita  
o(wpl)isayta*

*mdabali da daḥnebuli*

*moelis dġesa mas meored moslvasa*

*o(wpl)isasa*

*da sasḥ(au)lad ese akus*

*otxmeoc da atotxmeḡi ḥeli umeḡēs sxuata enata*

*k(ri)st)ēs moslvitg(a)n v(i)dr)e dġesamomde*

*Da ese ḡ(ove)li r(ome)li<sup>95</sup> ḥeril ars*

*moḥamed ḥarmogitxar*

*asoy ese ḥili<sup>96</sup> anbanisay.*

and ‘dead for four days’ (he) said<sup>89</sup>  
(because) David the Prophet (said) that  
‘1000 years (is) like one day’.<sup>90</sup>

And in the Georgian Gospels, only in the Gos-  
pel (lit. chapter) of Matthew,  
sits a *ḥili*, which is the letter (P = ḥ),<sup>92</sup>  
and it means all in all the number 4000.<sup>93</sup>

And this is the four days and he who is dead  
for four days,

therefore it is buried with him through the  
death of his baptism.<sup>94</sup>

And this tongue, adorned and blessed by the  
name of the Lord,

(yet) humiliated and reviled,

is waiting for the day of the second coming of  
the Lord.

And this it has as a miracle:

94 years more than the other tongues  
since the coming of Christ up to the present  
day.

And all this, which is written,  
I have told you as a witness,  
I, the letter *ḥili* of the alphabet.

**89** See Jo. 11.17: *movida iesu da ḡova otxdġisay samaresa šina* ‘and Jesus came and found (him having been) in the grave for four days.’

**90** See Ps. 89 [90].4: *rametu atasi ḥeli tualta ḥinaše uplisata vitarca gušindeli dġe, romel ḥarqda da vitarca saḡumilavi erti ḡamisay* ‘for 1000 year(s) before the eyes of the Lord (are) like yesterday’s day that has passed, and like one night watch.’

**91** All three manuscripts have *ḥerili* ‘writing, script’ instead of *ḥili* ‘part; (name of the) letter ḥ’.

**92** In Georgian, the Gospel of Matthew begins with the word *ḥigni* ‘book’ ~ Greek Βιβλος ‘id.’.

**93** The letter ḥ = *ḥili* has the numerical value of 4000 in the Georgian alphabet.

**94** See Rom. 6.4: *da tana-daveplenit mas natlis-ġebita mit siḵudilsa missa* ‘and we were buried together with him in his death by being baptised’.

**95** According to Cagareli’s transcript (1888), Sin.georg. 38 omits *romeli* ‘which’; this information is wrong, however.

**96** The Sinai Mravaltavi and Sin.georg. 38 have *asi ese ḥeli*, which would mean something like ‘these 100 years’ instead; Sin.georg. 6 has *moḥamed ḥarmogitxras ese ḥili anbanisay*, which means something like ‘it will tell you as a witness, this (letter) *ḥili* (or part) of the alphabet’. Together with the restitution of *asoy* ‘letter’ for *asi* ‘hundred’, this yields the most coherent text version.

## App. 2: The ‘mravaltavi’ palimpsest S-3902

Ms. S-3902, fol. 7r-2v<sup>97</sup>

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7rb

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2va

2vb

<sup>97</sup> The marking system used here is that developed for the edition of the Vienna palimpsest (see Gippert et al. 2007, p. xxxv), except for curly braces denoting reconstructed text passages, and angle brackets, restored abbreviations here.

(John Chrysostom, On the Envy of the Pharisees)

7ra

1 ეცნადღობ:⋯

2 **ღ**ცა-ღ-ჩ-რ-ი-გ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 3 ჩ-რ-ი-გ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 4 ჩ-რ-ი-გ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 5 ყ-მ-ი-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 6 **ჟ**ღ-მ-ი-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 7 ჩ-რ-ი-გ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 8 ს-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 9 რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 10 წ-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 11 მ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 12 ზ-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 13 ნ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 14 თ-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 15 ბ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 16 დ-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 17 **ქ**რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 18 წ-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 19 ლ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 20 ჰ-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 21 დ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 22 თ-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-

7rb

1 ე-ბ-ღ-ღ-მ-ი-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 2 ჩ-რ-ი-გ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 3 ნ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 4 ჩ-რ-ი-გ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 5 რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 6 **წ**ღ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 7 ს-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 8 თ-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 9 ლ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 10 დ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 11 ნ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 12 ს-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 13 თ-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 14 მ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 15 ბ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 16 ჯ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 17 **ჭ**რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 18 ლ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 19 თ-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 20 **ღ**რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 21 ლ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-  
 22 თ-რ-ი-ბ-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-ფ-რ-ი-ს-

2va

2vb

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1	ხანიჭოს : __ : __ : __	ხანიჭოს : __ : __	κομίζει.
2	[გ]ამოვიდეს ფარისეველნი (,) გამო		Καὶ ἐξεληθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι
3	რ<ადთ>ამცა განიზრახეს	ვე	συμβούλιον ἔλαβον,
4	და წარ(წ)ყმიდეს	ნი	ὄπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν.
5	ი<ესო>ჯ (: __)	ყმ	{“Ὁ συμβουλία κακίστη διὰ φθόνου σπειρομένη, καὶ διὰ φθόνου ἐλεγχόμενη! ὦ ματαῖα βουλή! Ἄγνοοῦσι γάρ, ὅτι Θεὸς οὐκ ἀπόλλυται. Τὸν μὲν γάρ ὀστράκινον λύχνον τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ διαλύσουσι, τὴν λαμπηδόνα τῆς θεότητος σβέσαι οὐ δύνανται.]
6	[ḡ] ოვცხოდა და ზავ[ოვ]ველი		
7	დიდებოვლი	ვე	
8	საქმ(ფ) [ : ] მო[ვი](და)	სა	Ἰησὺν
9	ი<ესო>ჯ , რ<ადთ>ამცა მო(ი)ძია	იჯ	ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀναζητήσαι
10	და აცხოვ(ნ)ა წარწყმედოვლი და		καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός,
11	ნათესავი {!}	წყმ	
12	კაცთაჲ [ : ] ხ<ოლო>	ვი კაცთაჲ	καὶ
13	(ესენ)[ი] (მეძიებე)ლსა	ენენ	οὗτοι τὸν
14	მას და მაცხოვარსა	მას და	
15	წარწყ(მე)დოვლთა[სა]	სა	τῶν ἀπολωλῶτων εὐεργέτην
16	[ხეძიებენ]	თ	
17	წარწყ(ყ)[მე](და)[დ : ]	წა	ἀπολέσαι ζητοῦσι.
18	[რ]<ომ>ლის(ა) [ზრ](ალ)[ისათვს]		Διὰ ποῖαν αἰτίαν,
19	[გვთხ](ა)[რთ ჩ(ოვ)ენ ჰოვ](რ)იან(ნ)[ო]		εἶπατε ἡμῖν, ὦ Ἰουδαῖοι,
20	[რ<ომ>ლისა ზრალისა]თ(ვს)	რი	ἐβουλεύσασθε κατ' αὐτοῦ;
21	(შ)[ეხიზრახენით]		
22	მი[ს ზ<ედ>]ა [ : და აწ მათ]	მი	Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν
2va	S-3902	Šanize BUT 7	BAV Ottob.

Table 1



PG 61

ἀνατεῖλαι.

Καὶ ἐξεληθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι  
συμβούλιον ἔλαβον,  
ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσι.

{᾿Ω συμβουλίᾳ κακίστῃ διὰ φθόνου  
σπειρομένη, καὶ διὰ φθόνου ἐλεγχομένη! ὦ  
ματαῖα βουλή! Ἄγνοοῦσι γὰρ, ὅτι Θεὸς οὐκ  
ἀπόλλυται. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὀστράκινον  
λύχνον τοῦ σώματος διαλύσουσι, τὴν  
ἄσβεστον αὐτοῦ λαμπάδα τῆς θεότητος  
σβέσαι οὐ δύνανται.  
Ἐξεληθόντες δὲ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι} συμβούλιον  
ἔλαβον, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν.}  
᾿Ω θαυμαστοῦ πράγματος,  
καὶ μυστηρίου

καινού! Ἦλθεν  
ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀναζητῆσαι

καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός,

καὶ  
οὔτοι τὸν

τῶν ἀπολωλότην εὐρέτην

ἀπολέσαι ζητοῦσι.  
Διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν,

εἶπατε ἡμῖν, Ἰουδαῖοι,  
κατ' αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα  
βουλεύεσθε;

Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν

PG 61

Cod.Supr. (402,11)

ДАЕΤЪ ·  
И ИЗЛѢЗЪШЕ ФАРИСΕΪ  
СЪВѢТЪ ВЪЗАША ·  
ДА И ПОГОУБАТЪ ·  
{Ѹ СЪВѢТЕ ЗЪЛЪИ ЗАВИСТІИЖ  
СЪЕМЪ · И ЗАВИСТІИЖ ОБЛИЧАЕМЪ ·  
ИЛЕ ПОУСТОШЪНЪИ СЪМЪИСЛЪ · НЕ  
ВЪДАТЪ ВО ІАКО ВОГЪ НЕ  
ПОГЪБЕНЕТЪ · ГОТОВО ГНИЛЬНОЕ  
СВѢШТИЛО ТЪЛЕСЕ ЕМОУ  
РАЗОРАТЪ · НЪ СВѢЩА  
БОЖЕСТВА ЕМОУ ОУГАСИТИ НЕ  
МОЖТЪ ·}  
Ѹ ЧΟΥДЪНОЕ И ДИВЪНОЕ

Дѣло · приде  
іс възискатъ

и направитъ изгъвъшѣе

· а  
си

изгъвъшнимъ благодѣтелиа

погубити иштжтъ ·  
Коеа дѣльма вины

повѣдите ми Ѹ жидове  
сѣвѣтъ  
сътвористе

на него · нъ они обаче

Cod.Supr. (402,23)

Usp.Sb.

ДАЕΤЪ ·  
И ИЗЛѢЗЪШЕ ФАРИСΕΙ  
СЪВѢТЪ ВЪЗАША ·  
ДА И ПОГОУБАТЪ ·  
{Ω СЪВѢТЕ ЗЪЛЪИ ЗАВИСТІО  
СЪЕМЪ · И ЗАВИСТІО ОБЛИЧАЕМЪ ·  
· УЛЕ ПОУСТОШЪНЪИ СЪМЪИСЛЪ ·  
НЕ ВЪДАТЪ ВО ІАКО БЪ НЕ  
ПОГЪБЕНЕТЪ · ГОТОВО ГЛИНЪНОЕ  
СВѢТИЛО ТЪЛЕСЕ ЕМОУ  
РАЗОРАТЪ · НЪ СВѢЩА  
БОЖЕСТВА ЕМОУ ОУГАСИТИ НЕ  
МОГОУТЪ ·  
Ω ЧУДЪНОЕ И ДИВЪНОЕ

Дѣло · приде  
іс възискатъ

и направитъ изгъвъшѣе ·

а  
си

изгъвъшнимъ бл̄годѣтелиа

погубити ищютъ ·  
коею дѣльма вины

повѣдите ми ω жидове  
сѣвѣтъ  
сътвористе

на него · нъ они обаче

Usp.Sb.



7rb	S-3902	Šanize BUT 7	BAV Ottob.
1	ბრცხოვენიან , და	ბრცხუენიან და	αἰσχύνονται
2	ვერ გვთხრობენ (:) ხ<ოლო>	გვთხრობენ ხ`	λέγει·
3	(ჩ<ოვე>ნ ვთქ)[<ოვ>](ათ) [და]	ამო	ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν
	(გ)ამოვაცხადოთ		
4	მათი	მათი	αὐτῶν
5	(იგი) გესლი , [ : —]		αἰσχύνην, τὴν αὐτῶν ἦτταν
			ἐκπομπέσωμεν.
6	[რ<ამეთოვ>] ხიტყოდეს (.)	ვ`დ რად	Διὰ τί γὰρ, φησί,
	ვ<ითარმე>დ რად/სათვს		
7	(შ)აბათსა	ო ათსა	νεκρούς ἐγείρει,
8	მ(კ)ოვდართა აღხად/გინებსო [:]	ო აღხად	καὶ ἀσθενούντας
9	და წყლოვლთა	ო და წყლ	καὶ ἰάται;
10	განხკოვრნებსო [:]	ო კურ	διὰ τί καλὰ λαλεῖ, καὶ
11	ანოვ რად/სათვს ,	კურა _	θαυματοῦργει;
12	სასწაოვლთა	სასწაულ	διὰ τί δὲ καὶ διδάσκει;
13	ხიქმს და ხას/წავებსო [:]	ო ა ხას	
14	ესევ[<ითა>]რსა	წავებ ესევრ	Διὰ ταῦτα
15	(ბ)რალსა დახკ/რ[ებ]დ[ეს]	და ხკ	
	(ზ<ედ>)ა		
16	(ო<ესო>ვს : _)	(ოთხა?)	πάντα τὰ ἐγκλήματα
17	(ა) წ ესევ<ითა>რი(სა ა)მისთვს	მისთვს	βουλεόμεθα αὐτὸν
18	გო(ვ)ნებავს ჩ<ოვე>ნ	ჩ`ნ რ`ა	
	რ<ადოთ>ა[მ]ც(ა)		
19	წარ(ვ)წყმიდეთო (, :)	მიდეთ ო	ἀπολέσαι.
20	(ო)დ(ეს)-იგი ყრმანი	მმანი(?)	”Ὅτε νήπιοι παῖδες
21	ბაიად[თა მი](ხ)ეგებო/დეს (.)	ბაიად ეგებო	βαῖα λαμβάνοντες, καὶ διὰ
			τῶν βαίων τὴν νίκην
			προαναφωνοῦντες ...
22	(ხოვგ)ა(ლ)ობდეს ,	ობდეს	
2vb	S-3902	Šanize BUT 7	BAV Ottob.

Table 2

PG 61	Cod.Supr. (402,23)	Usp.Sb.
αἰσχύνονται λέγειν· ἡμεῖς τὴν	срамъӣа̄ѣжтъ с̄а глаголати · нъ мы срамомъ	срамла̄ю̄тъ с̄а ҃лати · нъ мы срамъмъ
αὐτῶν αἰσχύνην πανταχῆ στηλιτεύσωμεν.	т̄ѣхъ сам̄ѣхъ ӣхъ пр̄ѣдол̄ѣнӣе ѡбличимъ ·	т̄ѣхъ сам̄ѣхъ · ӣхъ пр̄ѣдол̄ѣнӣе обличимъ ·
Διὰ τί γὰρ, φησί,	почто во рекоша	по чьто во рекоша
νεκρούς ἐγείρει; καὶ διὰ τί ἀσθενοῦντας ἰᾶται; διὰ τί καλὰ λαλεῖ; διὰ τί καλὰ πράττει; διὰ τί καλὰ διδάσκει;	мр̄ѣтвѣа в̄ъстав̄ѣа̄ѣтъ · ӣ нед̄жжън̄гъа ц̄ѣлитъ · почто ӣ глаголетъ ӣ чоудеса творитъ · почто же ӣ о̄читъ ·	мр̄ѣтвѣа в̄ъставла̄ѣтъ · ӣ нед̄оужжън̄гъа ц̄ѣлитъ · по чьто ӣ г̄летъ ӣ чоудеса творитъ · по чьто же ӣ о̄читъ ·
Διὰ ταῦτα	с̄ихъ д̄ѣлъма в̄ьс̄ѣхъ винъ	с̄ихъ д̄ѣлъма в̄ьс̄ѣхъ винъ
πάντα τὰ ἐγκλήματα βουλεύονται αὐτὸν	χοшт̄емъ	χοш̄емъ
ἀπολέσαι. “Ὅταν ἐξέρχονται νήπιοι παῖδες βαία λαμβάνοντες, διὰ τῶν βαίων τὴν νίκην αὐτοῦ προαναφωνοῦντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐφημίᾳ αὐτοῦ	погоувитӣ ἔго · ѣгда м̄лады д̄ѣти в̄ѣӣе в̄ъз̄м̄ше ӣ в̄ѣӣемъ̄ ἔмоу пов̄ѣдж	погоувитӣ е̄го · егда м̄лады̄а д̄ѣти в̄ѣӣемъ̄ е̄моу пов̄ѣд̄ж
PG 61	Cod.Supr. (403,1)	Usp.Sb.

7va	S-3902	Šanize BUT 7	BAV Ottob.
1	და ხიტყოდეს ' ) ოს(ა)ნა	და ხიტყოდეს ოსა	Ἰησωνά
2	რ<ომელ>ი ხარ (მა)[ღალ]თა	ნა რ̃ ი ხა(რ მ)აღალ	ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις,
3	შ[ინა კ](ოვრო)ხეოვლ	თა შინა კურთ	ἐνλογημένος
4	(არს) [მომავ]ალი	არს მომავა	ὁ ἐρχόμενος
5	სახ(ელ)[ითა] (ო<ვფლისა>ათა)	ლი სახელითა ო̃ ათა	ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου,
6	მეოვფ[ჭ] (ი<სრა>)[ჭ](ლისა)[მ]	მეუფჭ (ი̃ჭ)ლისამ	βασιλέως τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.
7	[ხ<ოლო>] ი[გ]ინი მ(ათს)[ა] (მას)	ხ̃ იგინი	Ἐκεῖνοι καθάπερ ὑπὸ ζβήνων
8	გალოზ(ა)სა [ვ(ითარ)ც]ა სა](მ)ჭოვ(ლი)[თა]	გალოზასა მას(?)	
9	[ხიწ](ე)[როთე](ზო)დ(ეს) (')	მჭუე	κενοῦμενοι
10	(და კ)[ზი](ლო)სა	ზოდის	τοὺς ὀδόντας
11	[იდ](რჭენდ)[ე](ს) [[რ<ამეთოვ>]] [გალო][ზან](ი)	ლრჭე	ἔβρουχον·
12	(ი)[გ](ი) ოვშო(ვ)[რე](ლი)\[სანი]	ზადეს(?) უშურ	οἱ γὰρ ἔπαινοι
13	[ი](სა)[რ ხიქმწე]ზო(დ)[ეს]	ნი ასა	τῶν φθονουμένων,
14	(მოშ)ოვრწე)თა	ზოდეს მოშურწე	βέλη
15	მ(ათ)	თა მათ	τῶν φθονούντων εἶσι.
16	და მო(ხ)[ოვ](კდ)[ეს] (ი<ესოვ>)[ს]	და მო	Καὶ προσέρχονται
17	და ხ<რ>ქ<ოვ>ეს არა გეს'მისა	და	τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Οὐκ ἀκούεις,
18	რ[ასა-ესე ხი](ტ)\ყვან [:]	მისა	τί οὐτοὶ λέγουσι;
19	[რ<ამეთოვ> იგი](წ)[ი] (სიტ)ყო(ვ)ასა)	ყვან რ̃ (ი)გინ(ი) სიტ	οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι
20	(წ)[ინა](წა)[რ]-	ყუასა წინაწარ	προφητικῶς
21	მე(ტყოვ)[ელი](ს)[ა](ს)[ა]	მეტყუელისასა	ἐπληροῦτο
22	აღ[ხ]ა[სრ](ო)[კ]ლ(ე)[ზდ](ეს) (')	აღხასრულეზდეს	τὸ γεγραμμένον.
2ra	S-3902	Šanize BUT 7	BAV Ottob.

Table 3

PG 61

λέγοντες, Ὡσαννά  
ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις,

ἐκεῖνοι ἀπὸ τῶν ζιβήνων  
σφαττόμενοι

ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου κεντοῦνται·

οἱ γὰρ ἔπαινοι  
τῶν φθονουμένων,  
βέλη εἰσὶ  
τῶν φθονούντων.  
Καὶ προσέρχονται  
τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ·  
Οὐκ ἀκούεις,  
τί οὗτοι λέγουσι;  
Καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον, ὅτι

προφητικῶς  
ἐπληροῦτο  
τὸ γεγραμμένον,

PG 61

Cod.Supr. (403,1)

ГЛАСАШТЕ · ὩΣΑΝΝ  
ВЪ ВЪШЫ̄ННІХЪ  
БЛАГОСЛОВІЕНЪ  
ГРΑΔЪИ  
ВЪ ИМА ГОСПОДЬНЕ ·  
ЦРЬ ИЗДРАІЛЕВЪ ·  
ТЪГДА ὄНИ ἄКТЫ  
ὄСТЪНЫ

ВОДОМИ  
ЗЖВЪ  
СКРЪЖЪ ТААХЪ ХВАЛЪ ВО

ЗАВИСТЬ ИМЪИЖШТИИМЪ ·  
ὄРЖЖИЕ  
ЗАВИДАШТИИМЪ  
СЖТЬ ·  
И ПРИШЪДЪШЕ  
КЪ ἸСОУСОУ ГЛАГОЛАША ἔМОУ · НЕ  
СЛЪШИШИ ЛИ  
ЧТО СІИ ГЛАГОЛЖТЬ ·  
НЕ ВЪСТЕ̄ ЛІ ІАКО

ПРОРОЧЪСКО  
КОНЪЧАВАШЕ СΑ  
ПИСАНИЕ ·

Cod.Supr. (403,9)

Usp.Sb.

ГЛАСАШТЕ · ὩΣΑΝΝΑ  
ВЪ ВЪШЫННІХЪ  
БЛГСНЪ  
ГРΑΔЪИ  
ВЪ ИМА ГНЕ  
ЦРЬ ИЗЛЕВЪ ·  
ТЪГДА УНИ АКЪ  
ОСТЪНЫ

ВОДОМИ  
ЗОУВОУ  
СКРЪЖЪ ТААХОУ · ХВАЛЪ ВО

ЗАВИСТЬ ИМЪЮЩИИМЪ  
УРОУЖИЕ  
ЗАВИДАЩИИМЪ  
СОУТЬ ·  
И ПРИШЪДЪШЕ  
КЪ ἸСОУ ГЛАША ΕΜΕ · НЕ  
СЛЪШИШИ ЛИ  
ЧЪТО СІИ ГΛΙΟΥΤ ·  
НЕ ВЪСТЕ ΙΑΚΟ

ΠΡΟΡΧΕΣΚΥ  
ΚΟΝΧΑΒΑШЕ СΑ  
ΠИ(С)ΑНИЕ ·

Usp.Sb.

7vb	S-3902	Šanize BUT 7	BAV Ottob.
1	ვ<ითარმე>დ [პ](ირ)ითა	ვ̣დ პირითა ყრმათა	Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων
	ყ[რმ](ათ)[ა]		
2	(ჩჩვლთა მწო)[ვართ](ა)[ღ](თა)	ჩჩვლთა მწოვართაჲ	καὶ θηλαζόντων
3	(დახემტკიცო)[ს]	თა დახემტკიცოს	κατηρίτω
4	[ქებაჲ]	ქებაჲ	αἶνον.
5	[ოდეს-ი](გი იეზ)[აბ](ე)[ლს]	ოდეს იგი იეზაბელს	“Ὅτε Ἰεζάβελ
6	ხე[გ](ო)[ჯლ](ე)[ბ]ო(და	ხეგულეზოდა და	
	დ)[ა]\(პ)ყ(რ)[ობა](დ)		
7	[ვე](ნა)[ჯი]	პყროზად ვენაჯი	τὸν ἀμπελῶνα
8	[იგი ნაბოვთჴსი]	იგი ნაბუთჴსი	τοῦ Ναβουμὲ ἀρπαῖσαι
			ἐβούλετο πλαστὰ
9	[დ](ა წიგნი) [სიცი](როჯვისა)[ღ]	და წ̣ი სიცრუვისაჲ	γράμματα
10	(მი)[ს](წ)[ერა : ] ვ<ითა>რ	მიგიწერა ვ̣რ ერთ	γράμματα, ἡδέως
	(ე)[რ](თ)[გ]ოჯლ(ო)ზი(თ)		
11	შე[ხი](წყნ)[ა]\რე(თ :)	გულობით შეხიწყნა	ἀνείχεσθε·
12	ხ<ოლო> (ო)[დეს პი]\[ლატე]	რეთ ხ̣ოდეს პი	ὅτε καὶ Πιλάτος
13	[ჯოჯარსა მას]	ლატე ჯოჯარსა მას	ἐπὶ τοῦ τίτλου
14	[ზ<ედ>ა] დასწერს	ზ̣ა დასწერს ჭემმა	τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔδειξε,
	[ჭ](ე)შ[მა](რიტ)[ს](ა)		
15	(ფი)[ც](ა)[რსა მას]	რიტსა ფიცარსა მას	
16	(მა)შინ (გო)[ჯლი	მაშინ გული გიწყერე	ἀγανακτεῖτε,
	[გი](წ)ყრ[ე](ბ)ის		
17	და [ხაყე](ნ)[ე](ბთ)	ბის და ხაყენებთ	καὶ κωλύετε γράφειν.
18	და [ხე](ტ)ყვ[თ]	და (ხეტყვთ)	Τί γὰρ ἔλεγον;
19	ნოჯ დასწ(ერ მ(ე)ოჯფე[დ]	ნუ დახწერ მეუფედ	Μὴ γράφει, ὁ βασιλεὺς
20	ჰო(ჯრ)იათად (: ) და	ჰურიათად და	τῶν Ἰουδαίων,
21	ნ(ო)ჯ [გა]შ[ო]ხაჩინე(ბ)	ნუ გ(ამ)ოხაჩინებ	ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖξῃς
22	ჭემ(მარი)ტ(სა : ) ნოჯ	ჭ(ე)შ(მ)ა(რიტ)სა ნუ	τὴν ἀλήθειαν μηδὲ
2rb	S-3902	Šanize BUT 7	BAV Ottob.

Table 4

PG 61	Cod.Supr. (403,9)	Usp.Sb.
τὸ, Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων	იჰ ოცტ <sup>ჲ</sup> მლადენი <sup>ჲ</sup> ც <sup>ჲ</sup>	იჰ ოცტ <sup>ჲ</sup> მლადენი <sup>ჲ</sup> ც <sup>ჲ</sup>
καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον. Ὅτε Ἰεζάβελ	ი ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ჯ <sup>ჲ</sup> შ <sup>ჲ</sup> ტი <sup>ჲ</sup> ჩ <sup>ჲ</sup> ხ <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> რ <sup>ჲ</sup> ში <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ეს <sup>ჲ</sup> ხ <sup>ჲ</sup> ვალ <sup>ჲ</sup> · ე <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> და ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ე <sup>ჲ</sup> ზ <sup>ჲ</sup> ავ <sup>ჲ</sup> ელ <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ინ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> რ <sup>ჲ</sup> ად <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ფ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ე <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ტი <sup>ჲ</sup> ხ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup>	ი ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ცი <sup>ჲ</sup> ნი <sup>ჲ</sup> ხ <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> რ <sup>ჲ</sup> ში <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ეს <sup>ჲ</sup> ხ <sup>ჲ</sup> ვალ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> · ე <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> და ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ე <sup>ჲ</sup> ზ <sup>ჲ</sup> ავ <sup>ჲ</sup> ელ <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ინ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> რ <sup>ჲ</sup> ად <sup>ჲ</sup> (ა) ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ფ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ე <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ტი <sup>ჲ</sup> ხ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup>
κατὰ τοῦ Ναβουθὲ τὰ πλαστὰ		
ἐποίει γράμματα, γράφει καὶ ἠδέως	მ <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> ყ <sup>ჲ</sup> კ <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> ყ <sup>ჲ</sup> პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ის <sup>ჲ</sup> ა ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ად <sup>ჲ</sup> ჯ <sup>ჲ</sup> კ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო	მ <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> ყ <sup>ჲ</sup> კ <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> ყ <sup>ჲ</sup> პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ის <sup>ჲ</sup> ა ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ად <sup>ჲ</sup> ჯ <sup>ჲ</sup> კ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო
ἀνέχεσθε· ὅτε Πιλάτος γράφει ἐπὶ τοῦ τίτλου τὰ χρηστὰ γράμματα,	პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ოს <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> შ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ე · ა <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ე <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> და პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ატ <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა დ <sup>ჲ</sup> ეს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტი <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ჲ <sup>ჲ</sup> პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> კ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ჯ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა ·	პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ოს <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> შ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ე · ა <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ე <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> და პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ატ <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა დ <sup>ჲ</sup> ეს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტი <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> კ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ჯ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა ·
ἀγανακτεῖτε,	გ <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ებ <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ე ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ა	გ <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ებ <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ე ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ა ·
καὶ κωλύετε γράφεσθαι. Τί γὰρ λέγουσι; Μὴ γράφε, ὅτι Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Μὴ γράφε, ἀντὶ τοῦ, Τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τοῦ Μηδεῖς	ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ავ <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ე პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ის <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ტი · ჩ <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო გ <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> აგ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ხ <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ე პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ში <sup>ჲ</sup> ც <sup>ჲ</sup> რ <sup>ჲ</sup> ჯ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> დ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> კ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> რ <sup>ჲ</sup> ებ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ე კ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ჯ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტი <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> ყ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი	ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ავ <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ე პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ის <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ტი · ჩ <sup>ჲ</sup> ტ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო გ <sup>ჲ</sup> ლ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ხ <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ე პ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ში <sup>ჲ</sup> ც <sup>ჲ</sup> რ <sup>ჲ</sup> ჯ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> დ <sup>ჲ</sup> ო <sup>ჲ</sup> ვ <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> კ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> რ <sup>ჲ</sup> ებ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ე კ <sup>ჲ</sup> ა <sup>ჲ</sup> ჯ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი <sup>ჲ</sup> ს <sup>ჲ</sup> ტი <sup>ჲ</sup> გ <sup>ჲ</sup> ყ <sup>ჲ</sup> · <sup>ჲ</sup> ნ <sup>ჲ</sup> ი
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