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von Jost Gippert (2013).

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Chapter 12

THE GEORGIAN HAGIORITES AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE CENTRES OF GEORGIAN ERUDITENESS

Jost Gippert

University of Frankfurt, Germany

By the end of the first millennium of the Christian era, Georgian monks had for long established themselves far off their home country, in Jerusalem and on Mt. Sinai. With the foundation of the Georgian monastery on Mt. Athos by the Georgian Hagiorites, one more centre of eruditeness was added to what we may call the Georgian diaspora of that time. It is a well-known fact that the leaders of the Iviron monastery, albeit living in a remarkable distance, soon developed a strong influence on theological thought and scholarship in Georgia. The present paper is intended to show that this influence also affected the other „diaspora“ centres, in the Holy Land and on Mt. Sinai, thus presupposing close ties between the three sites and the mother country.

1. The very fact that the Hagiorites were known and honoured in the Holy Land is proven by a textual witness that has only recently become available for further study, viz. the famous Georgian palimpsest codex no. 2 of the Austrian National Library in Vienna. The first investigator of this manuscript, Gregor Peradze,¹ was with no doubt right in assuming that it originated in the (Georgian) Monastery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem;² it must still have been there in the 1880ies when Aleksandre Tsagareli prepared his catalogue of manuscripts of this library.³ As a matter of fact, the Vienna manuscript must be identical with item no. 37 in Tsagareli's catalogue, which was described as a “menaion for the month of May, on parchment, of palimpsest provenance”.⁴ Shortly after Tsagareli's visit to Jerusalem (in 1881)

¹ Cf. his article “Über die georgischen Handschriften in Österreich”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 47, 1940, pp. 219–232.

² *Ib.*, p. 222.

³ Cf. A.A. Cagareli, Katalog gruzinskix rukopisej monastyrja sv. Kresta, bliz Ierusalima (= Priloženie I of: Pamjatniki gruzinskoj stariny v svjatoj zemlě i na Sinae), *Pravoslavnyj palestinskij sbornik* 10 = IV/1, St.-Peterburg 1888, pp. 143–192 (reprinted in the same author's *Svėdėnija o pamjatnikax gruzinskoj pis'mennosti*, t. 1, vyp. 2, Sanktpeterburg 1889).

⁴ Cf. Cagareli, o.c. p. 164: “Миная за мѣсяць Май ... на пергаментѣ палимпсестнаго происхожденія”. A first short account of the same manuscript is found in the report “Opisanie Krestnago monastyrja, bliz' Ierusalima, i nėkotoryx Gruzinskix rukopisej, xranjaščixsja v nem” by N. Čubinov [Čubinašvili] of 1845, printed in A. A.

the codex must have been removed from the monastery, as it is no longer mentioned in the second catalogue of the Georgian manuscripts of Jerusalem compiled by Nikolai Marr in 1902,⁵ nor in the third one by Robert Pierpont Blake (1923-1924).⁶ The reason for its disappearance may well be seen in the fact that the library of the monastery was transferred to the Greek patriarchate of Jerusalem in those years.⁷

A first analysis of the menaion text the codex contains was undertaken by the present author in the course of the edition of the lower layer of the palimpsest.⁸ The menaion text proper begins with the second line of fol. 1r of the codex,⁹ after a usual prayer formula (“Lord Jesus Christ, God, God, forgive us and conduct our affairs”: უფალო იესუ ქრისტე ღმერთო ღმერთო შეგვიბდენ ჩვენ და წარჰმართენ საქმენი ჩუენნი), with the date of the 1st May and the name of “the Holy Prophet Jeremiah” as the saint to be commemorated. It proceeds continuously from page to page with but one omission (fol. 64v) and ends on fol. 135v within the commemoration of two saints named Nistereon and Kationos on the 31st May, thus encompassing nearly the total month of May; it is clear, however, that the ms. in its present state is incomplete, with fol. 72 and a few pages at the end missing.¹⁰

Within the sequence of saints and events commemorated in the menaion, there are but a few entries that do not match the data contained in the most ancient ecclesiastical calendar in Georgian, the translation of the pre-Byzantine calendar of Jerusalem worked out by Ioane Zosime on Mt. Sinai in the Xth century,¹¹ and the Greek synaxary of Constantinople;¹² cf. Table I which provides an overview. One peculiarity of the menaion, which is crucial for our present topic, is the commemoration, on the 13th May, of ევთჳმე მთაწმიდელი, i.e. Euthymius the Hagiorite. This is all the more important as his death in 1028 A.D. thus marks the *terminus post quem* for the emergence of the present menaion text and its being written down in the (undated) Jerusalem-Vienna codex. As there is not enough room here to provide the full text of Euthymius’ account in the menaion, a transcript of its title and the first lines (lines 20-27 of fol. 67v of the codex, cp. Image 1) may be sufficient to give an idea of the

Cagareli (ed.), Svěděníja o pamjatnikax gruzinskoj pis'mennosti, t. 1, vyp. 3, Sanktpeterburg 1894, pp. 44–52; here: p. 48 no. 5.

⁵ Cf. the posthumous edition of Marr’s catalogue, N. Mari, Ierusalimis beržnuli šapatriarko čignsacavis kartuli xelnačerebis moķe ačgeriloba, dasabečdad moamzada E. Mečrevelma, Tbilisi 1955.

⁶ Cf. Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque patriarcale grecque à Jérusalem; [I]: *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien*, 3.sér. 3 = 23, 1922-23, pp. 345-413; [II]: 4 = 24, 1924, pp. 190-210; [III]: pp. 387-429; [IV]: 5 = 25, 1925-6, pp. 132-155.

⁷ Cf. Nikolaj Ja. Marr (ed.), Ağaṗni žowaris monaštrisani ierosalimsa šina / Sinodik Krestnago monastyrja v Ierusalimč, St.-Peterburg 1914 (Bibliotheca Armeno-Georgica, 3), p. VII and Blake, Catalogue... [I] (cf. n. 6), p. 350 for an account of this removal.

⁸ Cf. The Old Georgian Palimpsest Codex Vindobonensis georgicus 2, edited by Jost Gippert in co-operation with Lamara Kajaia and Zurab Sarjveladze, Turnhout 2007 (Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi, Series Ibero-Caucasica, 1), pp. vi-xi. – The lower layer comprises fragments from at least fourteen different manuscripts, thirteen of them written in *Asomtavruli* majuscules, and six of these pertaining to the oldest period of Georgian literacy, the Khanmeti period; all but the fragments in *Nuskhuri* minuscules have been reconstructed and published in the edition.

⁹ The (unnumbered) front and back leaves of the codex are likely to pertain to another Old Georgian menaion manuscript, viz. the one housed in the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library in Washington, D.C., which was identified by Robert Pierpont Blake with a second manuscript of the Georgian Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, viz. no. 36 in Aleksandre Cagareli’s catalogue; cf. the edition, p. xii-xvii.

¹⁰ Note that Cagareli’s catalogue still listed 145 leaves for his no. 37 (Katalog... [cf. n. 3], p. 164).

¹¹ Cf. Gérard Garitte (ed.), Le calendrier palestinogéorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X^e siècle), (Subsidia Hagiographica, 30), Bruxelles 1958.

¹² Cf. Hippolyte Delehaye (ed.), Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano adiectis synaxariis selectis (Propylaeum ad Acta Ss. Novembris), Bruxelles 1902 / repr. 1954.

way the „New Chrysostom“ (ახალი ოქროპირი), who „illuminated the Georgians by the translation of books“ (რომელმან განანათლნა ქართველნი თარგმანებითა წიგნთაჲთა), is praised here.¹³ Note that the name of the saint is spelt “Etvime” in the title but “Eptvime” (and even “Eptvimi”) in the main text.

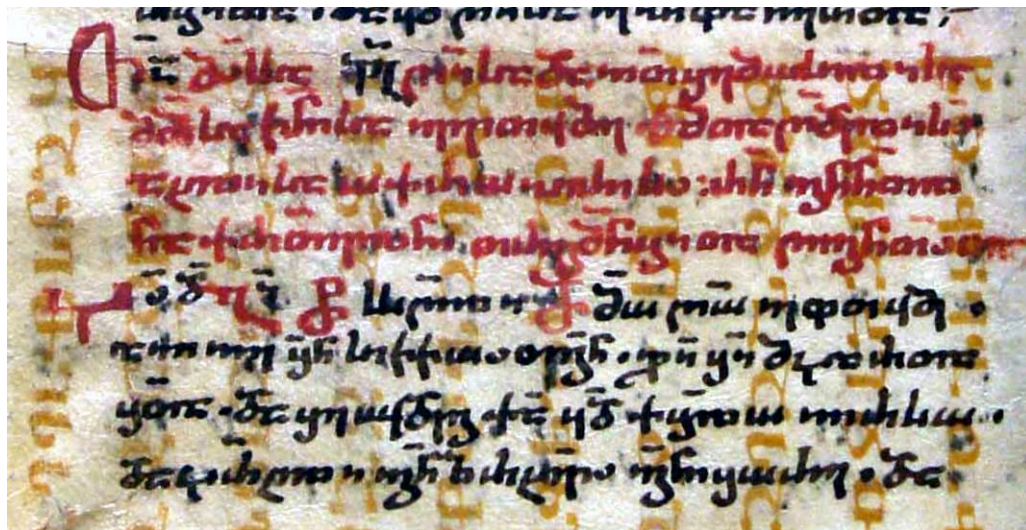


Image 1. fol. 67v, bottom lines, of the Jerusalem-Vienna Menaion of May

თთუესა მასისა ი გ. წმიდისა და ღმერთშემოსილისა
 მამისა ჩუენისა ევთვიმე მთაწმიდელისა
 ახლისა ოქროპირისა . რომელმან განანათლ-
 ნა ქართველნი თარგმანებითა წიგნთაჲთა
 ჳმად დ გუერდი . მ სასწაული . მამაო წმიდაო ევთვიმი .
 ალილე შენ სიჩხოთგან . ჯუარი შენი მკართა
 შენთა . და შეუდეგ ქრისტესა ყოვლად ქებულო ღირსო .
 და ჳორციელი განზრახვაჲ განიშორე . და ...

Another remarkable peculiarity of the menaion¹⁴ that may be related to the Hagiorite, is the commemoration of ოდასავ ჳინდოთა მეფე, i.e. Jodasaph King of India, on the 19th May. The inclusion of this saint must be seen in relation with the fact that the Georgian tradition possesses a very old version of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, the so-called *Balahvariani*,¹⁵ which was translated by Euthymius into Greek as his *Vita*¹⁶ states: რამეთუ

¹³ The (well readable) lower text underlying the menaion at the given position belongs to the Protevangelium Iacobi; cf. the edition, pp. 5–6–7.

¹⁴ One more peculiarity consists in the commemoration, on the 26th May, of Ss. *Davit* and *Tiričan*, two brothers who died as children in Armenia in the late VIIth century and whose legend seems to exist only in Old Georgian.

¹⁵ Cf. the edition by Ilia Abulaze, *Balahvarianis kartuli redakciebi* (Zveli kartuli enis zeglebi, 10), Tbilisi 1957.

¹⁶ Cf. the edition in *Zveli kartuli agiograpiuli literaturis zeglebi, čigni II* (XI–XV ss.), dasabečdad moamzades II. Abulazem, N. Atanelišvilma, N. Goguazem, M. Dolakizem, C. Kurciķizem, C. Čankievma da C. Žgamaiam, Ilia Abulazis xelmžvanobita da redakciit / Pamjatniki drevnegruzinskoj agiografičeskoj literatury, kniga II (XI–XV vv.), podgotovili k pečati I. Abuladze, N. Atanelišvili, N. Goguadze, M. Dolakidze, C. Kurcikidze, C. Čankieva i

ბალაჰვარი და აბუკურად და სხუანიცა რაოდენნი-მე წერილნი ქართულისაგან თარგმნა ბერძულად (41,20). It is the second half of this legend that is devoted to the “Life and ministry of blessed Iodasap, son of the king, who was converted by our father Balahvar, and (who) converted his (own) father Abenes, the king, and the land of India to serve Christ”¹⁷ (ცხორება და მოღუაწება ნეტარისა იოდასავისი, ძისა მეფისა, რომელი მოაქცია წმიდამან მამამან ბალაჰვარ, და მან მოაქცია მამად თჳსი აბენეს მეფე და ქუეყანად ჰინდოეთისად მონებად ქრისტესა). It may be significant in this context to note that the most important manuscripts of the two redactions of the Georgian *Balahvariani* are found in Jerusalem, which again presupposes a close tie between the Holy Land and Euthymius’ work on Mt. Athos.¹⁸

**Table I: Saints commemorated in the Jerusalem-Vienna Menaion of May
(Cod. Vind. georg. 2)**

Fol.	Date	Saint / event commemorated	Io. Zosime	Gr. synaxary
1r	1.5.	იერემია	Jeremias propheta	=
4r	2.5.	ათანასი	Athanasius episcopus Alexandriae (†373)	=
15v	3.5.	სევასტიანე	Sebastiana martyr (ca. †90 sub Domitiano)	–
		ტიმოთე და მავრა	Timotheus diaconus et Maura (†286 in Thebaide)	18.3., 3.6.
24v	4.5.	ირინე	Irene martyr (ca. †310 sub Licinio)	–
27v	5.5.	პელაგია	Pelagia martyr Tarsi (ca. †300)	4.5.
29v	6.5.	იობ	Iob iustus (patriarcha Veteris Testamenti)	=
32r	7.5.	ჯუარი	Apparitio Sanctae Crucis (A.D. 351)	=
39r	8.5.	არსენი	Arsenius Magnus anachoreta (ca. †450)	=
47r	9.5.	ესაია	Isaias propheta	5.5. / 9.5.
		ქრისტეფორე	Christophorus martyr (et sociae; ca. †250)	18.4. / 27.4.
52v	10.5.	სიმონ	Simon zelota, apostolus	=
53r		ალფიოს, ფილადელფოს, ცირინე	Alphius, Philadelphus, Cyrinus (ca. †250 in Sicilia)	–
56v	11.5.	სატყუარება კონსტანტინეპოლისად	Foundation of Constantinople (A.D. 330)	–
57r		მუკიოს	Mocius martyr (ca. †304 in Amphipoli)	=
61r	12.5.	ეპიფანე კვიპრელი ეპისკოპოსი	Epiphanius episcopus Salaminae in Cypro (†403)	13.5., 12.5.
67v	13.5.	ევთიმე მთაწმიდელი	Euthymius abbas Hagiorita (†1028)	–
71r	14.5.	ისიდორ	Isidorus martyr (†249 in insula Chio)	=
[72]	15.5.	ზაქარია	Zacharias propheta	16.5., 8.2.

C. Džgamaja, pod rukovodstvom i redakciej I.V. Abuladze, Tbilisi 1967, pp. 38–100 (here quoted by page and line).

¹⁷ Redaction A; pp. 90 ff. in the edition by Abuladze, 1957.

¹⁸ Thus according to the editor of the text, Il. Abuladze (Jer. 36 and 140: p. 08).

74v	16.5.	ანდრონიკე (და იუნა)	Andronicus et Iunias apostoli ¹⁹	–	17.5.
		დავით და ტირიჭან	David et Tiricianus martyres (ca. †693 in Armenia)	–	–
80v	18.5.	თეოდოტე (და შვნი ქალწულები)	Theodotus et virgines VII (ca. †303 in Ancyra)	3.8.	18.5., 7.6.
84v	19.5.	პატრიკი, პოლვენოს, აკაკი, მენანდროს	Patricius ep. Prusensis, Polienus, Acacius, Menander (ca. †100)	=	19.5.
88v		იოდასაფ ჰინდოთა მეფე	Jodasaph rex Indiae	–	–
91r	20.5.	იერუსალჰმის წარტყუენვა	Devastatio Hierosolymae (A.D. 614)	17.5., 20.5.	–
93v		თალელე	Thalelaeus martyr (ca. †284 in Aegis)	=	=
99r	21.5.	კონსტანტინე და ელენე	Constantinus I imperator et Helena (†330/337)	22.5., 21.5.	21.5.
103r	22.5.	ვასილიკოს	Basiliscus martyr (ca. †310 in Comanis)	3.3., 30.4.	22.5.; 3.3.
106v	23.5.	მიქაელ სვანაღელ ებისკოპოსი	Michael episcopus Synnadorum (ca. †821)	24.5.	23.5.
109r	24.5.	სიმეონ საკრველიმოქმელი	Symeon stylita iunior (ca. †592)	24.5., 23.5.	24.5.
119v	25.5.	მესამე პონა თავისა იანე ნათლისმცემლისა	Inventio tertia capitis Iohannis Baptistae (ca. 850)	–	=
122r	26.5.	კარპო მოციქული	Carpus apostolus ²⁰	–	=
124r		იუდა ღმრთისმეტყუელი	Iudas apostolus	14.5., 22.5.	16.5., 22.5.
125r	27.5.	ელადი / კლიმი	Helladius episcopus martyr (saec. VI–VII)	16.5., 17.5.	27.5.
127r	28.5.	თერაპონ მღვდელი	Therapon martyr ²¹	25.5., 26.5.	26.5.
128v	29.5.	თეოდოსია	Theodosia martyr (†308 in Caesarea)	=	=
130v	30.5.	ისაკ	Isaak monachus (†383)	26.3., 3.8.	30.5., 3.8.
132v	31.5.	ერმი	Hermias martyr (saec. III in Comanis)	=	=
135r		ნისთერონ და კატიანოსი	Nistherous et Catianus monachi ²²	30.5., 31.5.	–

2. According to his Vita, Euthymius' activity in translating ecclesial texts („თარგმნა წიგნი საღმრთონა“: 62,4) was not confined to the Holy Mountain (and Mt. Olympos in Bithynia: „არა თუ ულუმბათა და მთა-წმიდას ოდენ თარგმნა“, 62, 7-8) but also undertaken „at the royal court“, i.e., in Constantinople, and „underway and in other such places“ („სამეუფოსცა და გზასა და სხუათა ესევითართა ადგილთა“: 62,9). Among the works he translated, the Vita lists, in the first place, the complete Gospel of John

¹⁹ Contemporarians of St. Paul (cf. Rom. 16,7).

²⁰ Contemporarian of St. Paul (cf. 2. Tim. 4,13).

²¹ It is unclear which saint of this name is meant here, that of Cyprus or that of Sardes (IIIrd c.).

²² Cf. Garitte, Le calendrier... (cf. n. 11), p. 237 for the two saints.

(„თარგმნა უკუე ვითარცა ვთქუთ: თარგმანებად იოვანეს თავისა სახარებისაჲ“: 62, 10-11), but also, later on, the complete Gospel of Matthew („თარგმანებად წმიდისა მათეს თავისა სახარებისაჲ“: 64,2).

Euthymius' successor on Mt. Athos, Giorgi, is famous for his translational work, too, and information as to this in his Vita²³ is ample albeit not always exact. In the list of works he translated, it is just the Gospels that are missing (128,14 ff.): „კუალად თარგმნა წმიდამან მამამან გიორგი შემდგომად სვანაქსრისა გამოკრებული საწელიწდომ, პავლე გამოკრებული საწელიწდომ, საწინაწარმეტყუელომ საწელიწდომ“. That the synaxary mentioned here („სვანაქსრისა“) was a „big“ one („დიდი“) and that the first „yearly collection“ „გამოკრებული საწელიწდომ“ was in fact a collection of Gospel pericopes („სახარებად გამოკრებული“), is only clear from the list of „works translated by him during his deanship and abbotship he left to the church“ (142,16 ff.): „წიგნნი, რომელნი ეთარგმნეს დეკანოზობასა შინა გინა წინამძღურობასა, ყოველნივე ეკლესიასა დაუტევნა: სვანაქსარი დიდი, სახარებად გამოკრებული, პავლე გამოკრებული, კურთხევანი, სტუდიელი და სხუანი რაოდენნი-მე წიგნნი.“²⁴ On the other hand, the Vita clearly states that Giorgi „completed and expanded other works that were translated by Eptvime but had remained unaccomplished“ and that he „compared some further works with their Greek (models) and freed them from all deficiencies, from ugliness and awkwardness and embellished them, among them the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles“ (146,11 ff.): „ხოლო კუალად სხუანი წიგნნი წმიდისა მამისა ჩუენისა ეფთვმის მიერ თარგმნილნი და წუთ უცალოებისაგან ვერ სრულ-ქმნულნი, არამედ სულმცირედ აღწერილნი, განასრულნა და განავრცელნა. კუალად სხუანი რომელნიმე ბერძულსა შეაწამნა და ყოვლისა ნაკლულევანებისაგან განასრულნა და სიტყუადუხჭირობისა და ვერაგობისაგან განაშუენნა და განაბრწყინვნა, ვითარცა თვთ თავადი სახარებად და პავლე.“

It has for long been accepted that it is Giorgi's redaction of the Gospels that has spread all over Georgian Orthodoxy as the definite Old Georgian Vulgate, with witnesses such as the Vani, Echmiadzin, and Gelati Gospels of the XIIth-XIIIth centuries²⁵ as well as some Jerusalem²⁶ and Sinai manuscripts, the codex Sin. 19 of 1074 A.D.²⁷ representing one of the oldest examples of Giorgi's text. It is significant that the scribe's colophon of this codex (on

²³ Cf. the edition in *Zveli kartuli agiografiuli literaturis zeglebi, čigni II (XI-XV ss.), dasabečdad moamzades II. Abulazem, N. Atanelišvilma, N. Goguazem, M. Dolakižem, C. Kurciķižem, C. Čankievma da C. Žgamaiaim, Iliia Abulazis xelmzgvnobia da redakciit / Pamjatniki drevnegruzinskoj agiografičeskoj literatury, kniga II (XI-XV vv.), podgotovili k pečati I. Abuladze, N. Atanelišvili, N. Goguadze, M. Dolakidze, C. Kurcikidze, C. Čankieva i C. Džgamaja, pod rukovodstvom i redakciej I.V. Abuladze, Tbilisi 1967, pp. 101-207 (here quoted by page and line).*

²⁴ The restoration of სახარებად in the given place (128,15) in the edition is thus well justified.

²⁵ The three codexes are represented as H, I, and K in the online edition of the Athonian redaction worked out within the ARMAZI project (“Caucasian Languages and Cultures: Electronic Documentation”, subproject „Critical edition of parts of the Old Georgian Bible (Four Gospels)“, kindly supported by the Volkswagen Foundation; cf. <http://armazi.uni-frankfurt.de> and <http://armazi.uni-frankfurt.de/armaz7a.htm>) by Elguja Giunashvili, Manana Machkhaneli, Sophio Sarjveladze, Darejan Tvaltadze, Zurab Sarjveladze, and the present author; cf. <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/nt/giornt/giornt.htm>.

²⁶ The online edition comprises Jer. 49 (XIth c.) = Q, Jer. 103 (XIIIth c.) = Z, Jer. 153 (XIIth c.) = Y, Jer. 102 (XIIth-XIVth cc.) = U, Jer. 93 (XIIth c.) = X, and Jer. 122 (XIIIth-XIVth cc.) = J.

²⁷ N in the online edition.

fol. 262r, cf. Image 2),²⁸ which is dated to the ქრონიკონი სჲდ, explicitly states that the text “was written down on Holy Mt. Sinai” (დაიწერა მთასა წმიდასა სინას) „from the new translation“ (ახალ თარგმნილისაგან დაგვწერია) and that it is „very true to its model“ (lit. „mother“: დედად დიად მართალ არს), “not testifying to some of the words of those old Gospels“ (ამათ ძუელთა სახარებათა ზოგ-ზოგი სიტყუად არა ეწამების). All this presupposes that Giorgi’s work must have reached St. Catherine’s Monastery soon after it was accomplished.

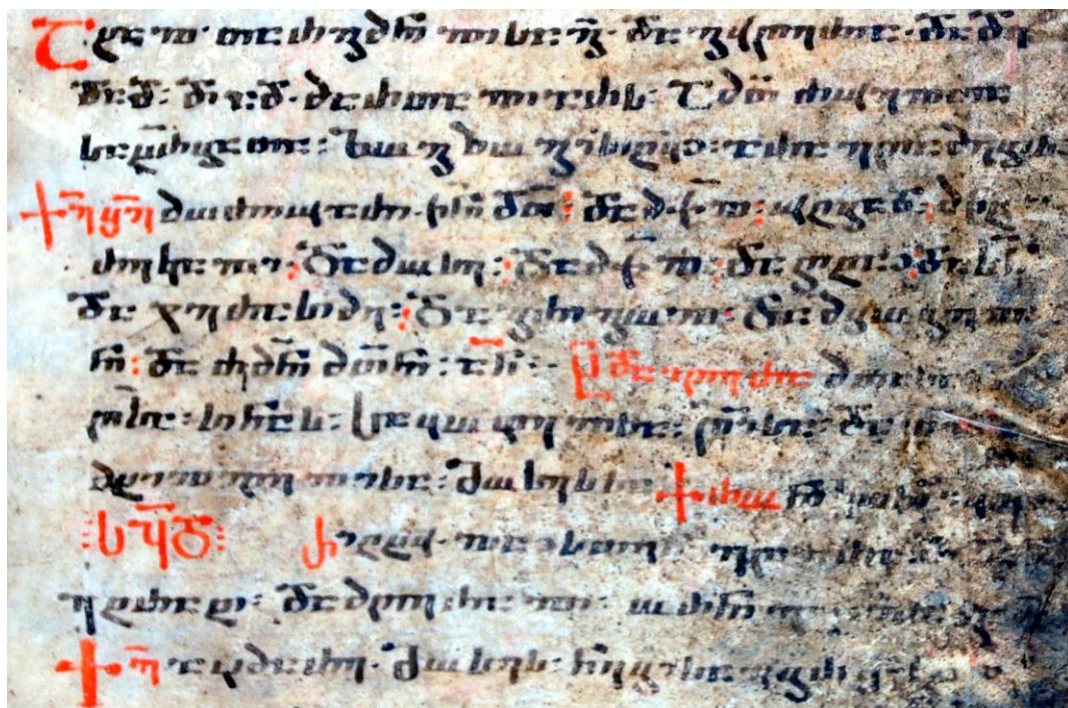


Image 2. Cod. Sin. 19, fol. 262r (colophon, excerpt)

As an example of the new wording, we may quote the last verse of St. Luke’s Gospel (Lk. 24,53) which in Sin. 19 renders Gk. εὐλογοῦντες by both „they praised“ and „they blessed“ (აქებდეს და აკურთხევდეს: fol. 199v, cf. Image 3), thus opposing itself to older Sinai Gospel manuscripts such as cod. Sin. 15 which was written by Ioane Zosime about 100 years before and which has only „they blessed“ (აკურთხევდეს) in the given place (fol. 224v, cf. Image 4).²⁹

²⁸ Cod. Sin. 19 as well as some other Georgian Gospel manuscripts of Mt. Sinai were studied by a group of scholars consisting of M. Shanidze, S. Sarjeladze, D. Tvaltadze, B. Outtier and the present author during a research trip to St. Catherine’s monastery in May, 2009, in the framework of 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” (kindly supported by INTAS, Brussels, under ref.no. 05-1000008-8026). The members of the group are extremely grateful to the monastery librarian, Father Justin, for the kind support he provided during their stay.

²⁹ Other witnesses of the older („Protovulgate“) text form are the minuscule codexes Sin. 16 (fol. 243v) and Cod. Vind. georg. 1 (p. 168).

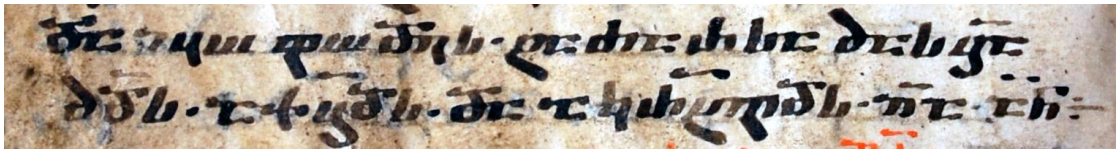


Image 3. Cod. Sin. 19, fol. 199v (excerpt: Lk. 24,53)

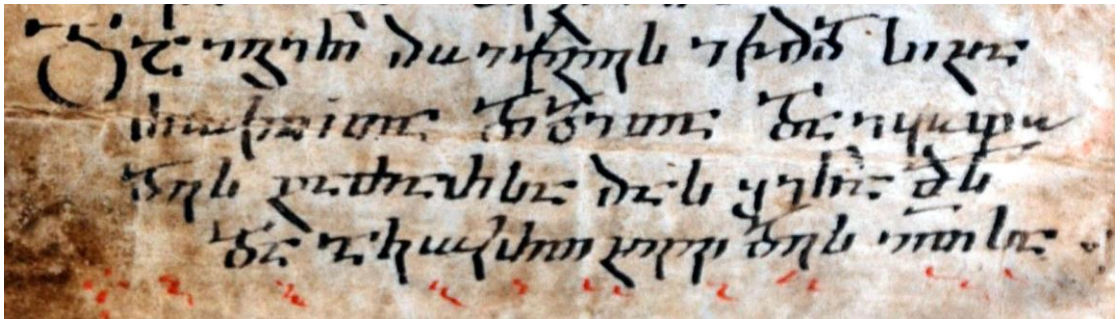


Image 4. Cod. Sin. 15, fol. 224v (excerpt: Lk. 24,52–53)

Outside of Mt. Sinai, the same feature of Giorgi’s translation has recently been detected in one of the Svanetian Gospel manuscripts that are still kept in village churches, viz. the one of Kurashi, an undated, much damaged codex of presumably the XIIth-XIIIth centuries also written in *Nuskha-Khutsuri* minuscules; cf. Image 5 which shows the passage containing აქებდეს და აკურთხევდეს (on fol. „38v“).³⁰

Different from Giorgi’s, traces of Euthymius’ translational (or, rather, redactional) work are much harder to determine, and it has been argued that the Gospel manuscripts of Urbnisi (XIth century), Ṭbeti (995 A.D.), Mest̄ia (1033 A.D.) and Palestine (1048 A.D.) might be representatives of this.³¹ It is all the more astonishing, then, that the Kurashi codex, apart from several other features that may be regarded as archaisms, coincides with the Palestinian Gospels in at least one important element, viz. the arrangement of the pericope on Jesus and the woman taken in adultery within the Gospel of John. While in most Old Georgian Gospel mss. the pericope is found in its „canonical“ place (i.e., as Jo. 7,53–8,11), both the Palestine and the Kurashi Gospels place it between Jo. 7,44 and 7,45 (fol. „53rv“). It is true that the authenticity of the pericope has been much debated as it is missing *in toto* in the oldest Greek Gospels (codd. Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, papyri 66 and 75) as well as most of the Georgian

³⁰ The Kurashi gospels were examined by a group of scholars consisting of B. Outtier, M. Tandashvili, E. Kvirkvelia, G. Partskhaladze and the present author during a research trip to Svanetia in September, 2010, in the framework of the international project “Old Georgian Palimpsest Manuscripts” (kindly supported by the Volkswagen Foundation). The members of the group are extremely grateful to the village inhabitants for the kind support they provided during their stay. – The (recent) pagination of the highly disintegrated codex is misleading as it begins with Lk. 6,49 (numbered fol. „1r“) albeit all preceding passages of St. Luke’s Gospel as well as most of St. Matthew’s and Mark’s Gospels have been preserved. A more detailed study of the codex, which contains two palimpsest folios with an *Asomtavruli* underwriting, has appeared in *Le Muséon* 126 (2013), 83–160 (“The Gospel Manuscript of Kurashi. A preliminary account”).

³¹ Cf. M. Machkhaneli (ed.), *Anbandidi. Saxareba–Otxtavisi IX saukunis xelnaçeri*, Tbilisi 2010, pp. 8–11 with references to former studies. The two codexes of Urbnisi and Palestine, which were first published by Ivane Imnaišvili in the edition *Kartuli otxtavisi ori bolo redakcia* (Tbilisi 1979), are subsumed (as F and G) in the online edition of the Protovulgate redaction worked out within the ARMAZI project (cf. n. 25) by Elguja Giunashvili, Manana Machkhaneli, Sophio Sarjveladze, Zurab Sarjveladze, Darejan Tvaltvadze, and the present author; cf. <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/nt/cinanti/cinan.htm>.

“Protovulgate” manuscripts³² and many other archaic witnesses, and other arrangements of the pericope are wide spread (e.g., before the beginning or after the end of St. John’s Gospel). However, for the peculiar arrangement we find in the two Georgian codexes the question remains whether it was due to Euthymius’ work, taking into consideration that he provided a complete new translation (or redaction) of the Gospel of John. To distinguish the redactional work of the two Hagiorites more precisely remains a task of high importance indeed for Kartvelology.

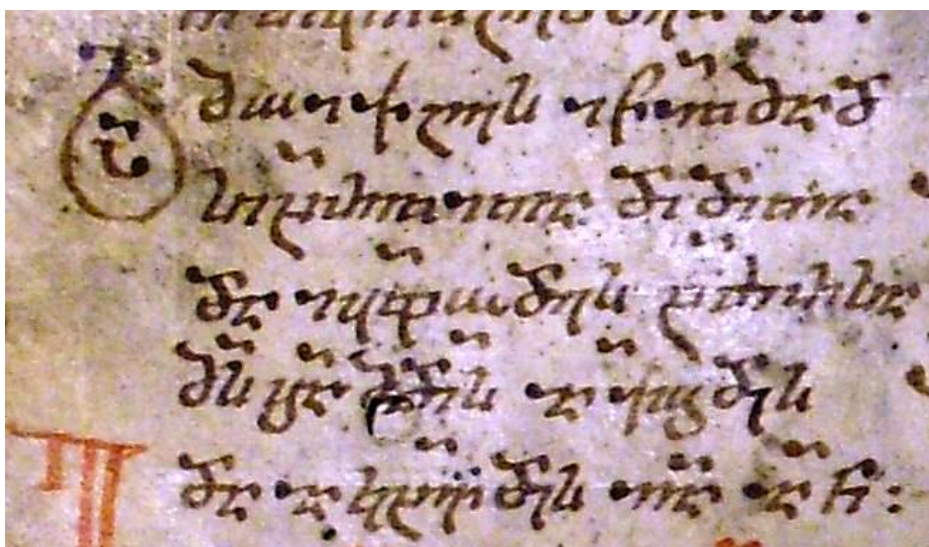


Image 5. The Kurashi Gospels, fol. 38v (excerpt: Lk. 24,52–53)

³² Cf. Machkhaneli, Anbandidi, p. 17