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A New Treasure of Khanmeti Forms

1. Among the great many works that Aḱaḱi Šaniḱe contributed to Kartvelology, his early articles concerning the structure of the Georgian verb and the determination of the personal affixes¹ may be considered the most influential, given that they led to the distinction of the so-called *khanmeti* and *haemeti* varieties of Old Georgian and thus paved the way for a sound linguistically-based periodisation of the early centuries of Georgian literacy which is generally acknowledged today. With the first edition of *haemeti* texts (from the palimpsest ms. H-1329), of fragments from a *khanmeti* “mravaltavi” (from the palimpsest ms. S-3902), and of the so-called “Sinai Lectionary” (khanmeti with a few haemeti forms; ms. gr. 2058-1 of the University Library, Graz),² Šaniḱe laid the foundation for a thorough study of the development of written Georgian in the first millennium. Eversince, the material basis for a study of the first centuries of Georgian literacy has increased considerably, e.g., by the publication of the khanmeti Gospels contained in the lower layer of the palimpsest mss. A-89 and A-844³ and the edition of the khanmeti undertexts of the palimpsest of Vienna

¹ Šaniḱe 1915, 1915–17, 1920, 1922–23 (a and b). Building upon former observations by M. Žanašvili (1898a, 4 and 1898b, 66–67), Šaniḱe’s observations, which were first introduced to the public in a session of the “Scientific circle of Georgian students” in St Petersburg on 13 February 1912 and immediately adapted by I. Qipšize (1913, 78) and N. Marr (1913, 385–386), started from peculiarities of Georgian dialects (1915, 1915–17, 1920). The determination of *khanmeti* properties began with verbal forms of inscriptions from Mxeta and Bolnisi (1922–23a) and continued (1922–23b) with materials from relevant palimpsest manuscripts published by I. Žavaxišvili (1922–23); the palimpsests in question were the Oxford fragment (ms. Georg. C 1 = Heb. 2672 of the Bodleian Library; cf. Gippert 2019, 5) and the Tbilisi mss. (today housed in the Korneli Kekelidze National Centre for Manuscripts) A-737 (erroneously styled “373” in Žavaxišvili 1922–23, 337), A-89, A-844, and H-999.

² Šaniḱe 1923, 1927, and 1944. For S-3902 now cf. Gippert 2017, for the Sinai Lectionary cf. the online edition with colour images on <https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/cauc/ageo/xanmeti/grlekt/grlek.htm>.

³ See Kaḱaia 1984.

(Cod. Vind. georg. 2), which comprise, beyond further Gospel passages, several fragments of texts from the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 11.25–12.1, 12.30–13.6, 18.18–19.3, 19.14–21, and 22.8–16; Joshua 19.15–33; Judges 1.24–35 and 2.21–3.10; and III [I] Esr. 1.46–2.5 and 9.14–36) and of hagiographical texts (Protoevangelium Jacobi, Passions of Ss Cyprianus and Justina and St Christina).⁴ In the following pages, I intend to introduce a recently discovered palimpsest that adds a large amount of further materials to our knowledge base of *khanmeti* Old Georgian.⁵

1. In an article of 2018, T. and G. Gvantseladze together with Sh. Khapizov published a first brief report on a Georgian-Arabic palimpsest that had been detected in the Fund of Oriental Manuscripts of the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography of the Dagestan Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Makhachkala.⁶ According to the authors, the manuscript consists of 168 parchment leaves with an average size of 16.5 × 10 cm;⁷ the Arabic overtext was written in Dagestan “not later than the 17th century”⁸ and represents a work by the 11th–12th-century Persian author Abū Sa’d ‘Abd al-Malik bin Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī al-Ḥarkūšī (d. 1016 CE) that is known under the name of *Tahqīb al-asrār* (“Teaching the Secrets”).⁹

1.1 Concerning the Georgian undertext, the authors state that it is written in “beautiful, symmetric” *asomtavruli* letters, thus obeying the “oldest rules of Georgian calligraphy”;¹⁰ the original manuscript must have been cut into smaller pieces before being reused, with the result that the Georgian sentences or words were often truncated.¹¹ The Georgian text is mostly covered by the Arabic overwriting, which was applied horizontally, partly “upside down”, but wherever there is no overtext, it is well readable.¹² The article is accompanied by a colour photograph of one double page¹³ for which the authors provide a first transcript,

⁴ See Gippert / Sarjveladze / Kajaia 2007.

⁵ Cf. Sarjveladze 1971 for a preliminary index of *khanmeti* and *haemeti* verbal forms and Gippert 2009 for an extension comprising the *khanmeti* forms of the Vienna palimpsest.

⁶ My thanks are due to Sergey Kim who informed me about the article in question (e-mail of 18.1.2019, 13:46).

⁷ Gvantseladze / Gvantseladze / Khapizov 2018, 9: “Рукопись состоит из 168 листов пергамента (средний размер листов – 16,5×10 см)”; see below as to the volume of the codex.

⁸ Gvantseladze / Gvantseladze / Khapizov 2018, 9: “написан он в пределах Дageстана не позднее XVII в.”

⁹ Gvantseladze / Gvantseladze / Khapizov 2018, 9: “это сочинение по тассавуфу (суфизму), известное как «Тахзиб ал-асрар» («Обучение тайнам»), являвшееся одной из выдающихся работ шафиитского правоведа и суфия – Абу Са’да ‘Абд ал-Малика Мухаммада, сына Ибрахима ан-Нисабури, ал-Харгуши, умершего в 407 г.х.”. The author is usually known as Abū Sa’d ‘Abd al-Malik bin Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī al-Ḥarkūšī.

¹⁰ Gvantseladze / Gvantseladze / Khapizov 2018, 10: “Текст выполнен красивым почерком на основе древнейшей разновидности грузинского письма Асомтаврული. Почерк красивый, буквы выведены золотистой краской. Они симметричны и равномерно помещены в рамках воображаемого квадрата, что следует древнейшим графическим правилам грузинской каллиграфии”.

¹¹ Gvantseladze / Gvantseladze / Khapizov 2018, 10: “во многих случаях создается впечатление, что рукопись была разрезана на более мелкие части. В результате таких механических вмешательств на довольно большой части страниц грузинские предложения или отдельные слова прерваны.”

¹² Gvantseladze / Gvantseladze / Khapizov 2018, 10: “в тех частях страниц рукописи, где нет арабского текста (между строками арабского текста, на краях страниц), грузинский текст читается без затруднения... на одной из страниц нами замечено, что страница с грузинским текстом представлена «вверх ногами».”

¹³ Gvantseladze / Gvantseladze / Khapizov 2018, 12, рис. 1. The caption of the image indicates the shelf number of the manuscript: “Фонд восточных рукописей ИИАЭ ДНЦ РАН. Ф. 14. Оп. 1. Д. 1012.”

together with the proposal to identify the text of the two pages with one passage each from a “non-canonical” version of the Old Georgian Gospels,¹⁴ viz. Mk. 16.15–16 and Lk. 7.39. Upon thorough examination of the photograph, the readings proposed by the authors can only partially be confirmed, and instead of Mk. 16.15–16, the content of the left page (with its undertext to be turned by 180°) must be determined as another passage of the Gospel of Luke (Lk. 8.12–13). In Tables I and II below, the published readings (Gv/Gv/Kh) are contrasted with an enhanced reading that was possible on the basis of the photograph.

left page	Gv/Gv/Kh: “Mk. 16.15–16”	Enhanced reading: Lk. 8.12–13
(1)	წმენესდაცხო	წმენესდაცხო[ვ]
(2)	დესდასვ(?)ი...	დენ · და რ~ლი[გი]
(3)	თ...დ...ს...სიდა	კლდესა ზედა
(4)	რ~ლითამასჟამ...	რ~ლითამასჟამ[სა]
(5)	ის.....სისა	ისმინიან · სიხა
(6)	რულითდიდითა	როვლით შეიწყნა
(7)		რიან სიტყოჳა [ი]
(8)		გი · და ძირნი ა
(9)		რა ხქონედ მათ

Table I: Georgian undertext of the left page

right page	Gv/Gv/Kh: “Lk. 7.39”	Enhanced reading: Lk. 7.38–39
(1)	ლითამით...	ლითამით :—
(2)	...იხილაფარი	[ვ~ა]იხილაფარი
(3)	სეველმანმან	სეველმანმან
(4)	რ~ნმიტჳამად	რ~ნმიხხადამას ·
(5)	ხიტყოდაგონე	ხიტყოდაგონე
(6)	ბასათვსსა...	ბასათვსსა · ე
(7)	სითთუმცაწინა	სეთოვმცაწინა
(8)	წარმეტყუელ	წარმეტყუელ
(9)	ვინმეხიოცნა	ვინმეხიოცნა

Table II: Georgian undertext of the right page

¹⁴ Gvantseladze / Gvantseladze / Khapizov 2018, 8: “грузинский текст состоит из неканонических текстов Евангелий от Марка и Луки”

1.2 For the dating of the Georgian text, the authors propose an “exclusive” time-span from the “second half of the 7th up to the 8th centuries”. Their reasoning is based upon the observation that two of the six verbal forms in their specimen contain the “prefix *x-* which performed the function of expressing the subject of a third person and the object of a third person and functioned in the Georgian written language only until the 8th century” and that the “co-existence of such verbs with verbs that do not contain the prefix can only mean that the text reflects the linguistic situation right before the disappearance of the *khanmeti* forms”.¹⁵ Leaving the misleading information on the “subject of a third person” aside (if referring to a subject, the *x-* prefix can indicate a third person only in so-called prefixal [*i-*] passives or, as a quasi-indirect object, in “inversive” constructions, otherwise it indicates second persons), the argumentation is anything but tenable: of the four non-*khanmeti* verbal forms that the authors’ transcript contains, one is truncated, lacking just its beginning (the first word of the left page, წმენეს, which represents the end of the form ჰრწმენეს “they believe” in standard Old Georgian and ხრწმენეს, with the *x-* prefix, in a *khanmeti* environment); and the other three (ცხოვდეს, recte ცხოვდენ “they are saved”; იხილა “he saw”; and ცნა “he knew”) would never have had the *khanmeti* prefix, given that they had neither a second person subject nor a third person indirect object. As a matter of fact, the Gospel text contained in the codex can be shown to represent the *khanmeti* features in a flawless way and thus be dated to the 5th–7th centuries.

2. On 15 October 2019, I received a complete set of colour images of the Dagestanian codex, kindly provided by Ramazan Abdulmashidov and Shakhban Khapizov of the Institute for History, Archeology and Ethnography in Makhachkala. All in all, the codex comprises 83 folios (166 pages), arranged and foliated in accordance with the Arabic overtext (in Arabic numbers in the upper margin of the rectos, i.e., the “left” pages). One folio has remained unnumbered between ff. 67 and 68; it will hereafter be styled “67a”. The foliation thus ends with no. 82 (the specimen provided in the article of 2018 covers ff. 82r and 81v). On the basis of the photographs, I have been able to establish the present quire structure, to identify the undertexts of every single folio and to reconstruct, to a certain extent, the structure of the original codex. The results can be summarised as follows.

2.1 The present (Arabic) manuscript consists of 11 quires, mostly quaternions (i.e., consisting of eight folios or four bifolios each). The first quire comprises only seven folios, due to the fact that the first folio (which is likely to have contained the title page of the Sufi overtext) is missing. Quires no. V (extending from f. 32 to 37) and X (ff. 69–74) are ternions.

2.2 Each bifolio of the Arabic codex represents half of a folio of the underlying Georgian manuscript. This means that in preparing the latter for re-use, every single folio of it was first cut into two parts horizontally, and then both the upper and the lower half were taken to serve as a new bifolio, being folded in the middle and heaped up to yield quires. The Georgian text was written in two columns originally, with 19 lines per column (plus 1–3

¹⁵ Gvantseladze / Gvantseladze / Khapizov 2018, 11: “... анализ 6 глаголов, представленных в вышеприведенных цитатах. Оказалось, что 2 глагола из них – ჰოცუოღა «говорил; сказал» и ჰოცო «был, являлся» сугубо архаичны, ибо они оформлены префиксом *x-*, который выполнял функцию выражения субъекта третьего лица и объекта третьего лица и функционировал в грузинском письменном языке только до VIII в. ... Присутствие таких глаголов рядом с глаголами без указанного префикса может означать только одно – текст отражает языковую ситуацию перед исчезновением ханметных форм, т.е. этот текст мог составляться исключительно со второй половины VII в. до VIII в., т.е. до стирания ханметных форм глаголов.”

extra lines in the lower margin, cf. below); in the resulting Arabic folios, it is usually only remnants of the first or the last nine–ten lines of one column that has remained (the middle line was mostly cut away). The process can be schematised as shown in Fig. 1 below.

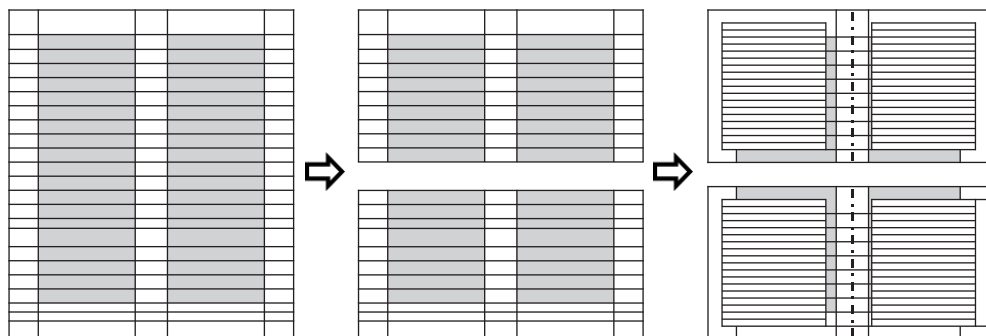


Fig. 1: Disintegration of Georgian folios and creation of Arabic bifolios

2.3 The Georgian undertext contains passages from six chapters of the Gospel of Mark (7, 11–16), four chapters of the Gospel of Luke (6–9), and two chapters of the Gospel of John (2 and 3), thus suggesting that the original Georgian codex comprised the four Gospels *in toto*. The distribution of passages across the quires of Arabic folios can be illustrated as given in Table III below; in the schemas, the content of the versos is printed in italics. The content of the missing first folio (here indicated as “[0]”) as well as f. 1r (which is unreadable) is reconstructed in accordance with the quire structure (cf. below).

	[Lk. 9.17-19]	[Lk. 9.20-22]	Lk. 9.22-23	Lk. 9.15-16		
[0]	[Mk. 16.4-5]	Mk. 16.1-3	Mk. 15.46-47	Mk. 16.6-7	7	
	1	Mk. 12.32-33	Mk. 12.25-26	Mk. 12.28-29	Mk. 12.30-31	6
	2	Mk. 12.26-28	Mk. 12.33-34	Mk. 12.31-32	Mk. 12.29-30	5
I	3					4
	Mk. 14.4-5	Mk. 14.6-7	Mk. 14.9	Mk. 14.2-3		
8	Mk. 14.8	Mk. 14.5-6	Mk. 14.3-4	Mk. 14.10-11	15	
	9	Mk. 12.2-4	Mk. 11.28-29	Mk. 11.31-32	Mk. 11.33-12.1	14
	10	Mk. 11.29-31	Mk. 12.4-5	Mk. 12.1-2	Mk. 11.32-33	13
II	11					12
	Jo. 3.16-17	Jo. 3.8-10	Jo. 3.11-12	Jo. 3.14-15		
16	Mk. 12.44-13.1	Mk. 13.8	Mk. 12.43-44	Mk. 13.6-7	23	
	17	Mk. 13.3-4	Mk. 13.1-2	Mk. 13.5-6	Mk. 13.2-3	22
	18	Mk. 7.20-21	Mk. 7.18-19	Mk. 7.14-15	Mk. 7.22-23	21
III	19					20

24	Lk. 7.40–41		Lk. 7.47		Lk. 7.45		Lk. 7.43–44		31	
	Lk. 8.32–33		Lk. 8.27		Lk. 8.28–29		Lk. 8.30			
	25	Lk. 9.1–2		Lk. 8.55–56		Lk. 8.52–53		Lk. 9.4–5		30
		26	Lk. 6.9–10		Lk. 6.12–13		Lk. 6.14–15		Lk. 6.8	
IV			27				28			

Lk. 6.23		Lk. 6.17		Lk. 6.18–19		Lk. 6.20–21			
32	Mk. 16.5–6		Mk. 16.44–46		Mk. 16.1		Mk. 16.3–4	37	
	33	Mk. 14.62–64		Mk. 14.70–71		Mk. 14.67–68		Mk. 14.65	36
V		34						35	

38	Lk. 9.33–34		Lk. 9.41–42		Lk. 9.38–39		Lk. 9.36–37		45	
	Lk. 9.34–36		Lk. 9.37–38		Lk. 9.39–41		Lk. 9.32–33			
	39	Mk. 14.49–50		Mk. 14.41–42		Mk. 14.43–44		Mk. 14.46–47		44
		Mk. 14.47–49		Mk. 14.44–46		Mk. 14.42–43		Mk. 14.50–52		
VI		41						42		

46	Lk. 6.26–27		Lk. 6.29–30		Lk. 6.32–33		Lk. 6.24–25		53	
	Lk. 9.10		Lk. 9.11–12		Lk. 9.13		Lk. 9.8–9			
	47	Lk. 6.44–45		Lk. 6.42–43		Lk. 6.41–42		Lk. 6.46–47		52
		48	Lk. 8.5–6		Lk. 8.3		Lk. 8.1–2		Lk. 8.7–8	
VII	49		50							

54	Lk. 7.33–34		Lk. 7.39–40		Lk. 7.38		Lk. 7.36–37		61	
	Lk. 7.2–3		Lk. 6.49–7.1		Lk. 6.48		Lk. 7.5–6			
	55	Lk. 6.38		Lk. 6.36–37		Lk. 6.34–35		Lk. 6.40–41		60
		56	Lk. 8.3–4		Lk. 8.2		Lk. 7.50–8.1		Lk. 8.6–7	
VIII			57				58			

62	Lk. 8.20–21		Lk. 8.23–24		Lk. 8.25		Lk. 8.18		68	
	Jo. 3.2–3		Jo. 3.1–2		Jo. 2.23–24		Jo. 3.4–5			
	63	Lk. 9.14		Lk. 9.22		Lk. 9.19–20		Lk. 9.16–17		67a
		Jo. 3.7–8		Jo. 3.15–16		Jo. 3.12–14		Jo. 3.10–11		
IX	64		65		66		66			

A New Treasure of Khanmeti Forms

Lk. 9.11		Lk. 9.9–10		Lk. 9.7		Lk. 9.12–13				
69	Lk. 7.41–42		Lk. 7.49–50		Lk. 7.46–47		Lk. 7.44–45		74	
	70	Lk. 8.8–10		Lk. 8.15		Lk. 8.13–14		Lk. 8.11–12		73
X	71							72		

Lk. 8.16		Lk. 8.10		Lk. 8.12–13		Lk. 8.14				
75	Lk. 7.37		Lk. 7.34–36		Lk. 7.32–33		Lk. 7.38–39		82	
	76	Lk. 8.25–26		Lk. 8.30–32		Lk. 8.29		Lk. 8.27–28		81
	77	Lk. 6.33–34		Lk. 6.38–39		Lk. 6.36–37		Lk. 6.35–36		80
IX	78							79		

Table III: Distribution of Gospel passages across the Arabic quires

2.4 On this basis, the Georgian folios and their sequence in the original codex can be reconstructed to a certain extent, as illustrated in Table IV below. In many cases, both the upper and the lower part of a folio have been re-used, in other cases, only one of them. As no Georgian quire number has been preserved, the original quire structure cannot be determined; the given arrangement only reflects the relative distance of the existing folios. Fig. 2 shows the reconstruction of the folio containing Lk. 8.8–16, which includes the present f. 82, with the readability of the individual images enhanced by digital processing.

Mark																			
										7.14–23									
										20r	19v	19r	20v						
11.28–12.5										12.25–34					12.43–13.8				
10v	13r	13v	10r							2v	5r	5v	2r		21r	18v	18r	21v	
11r	12v	12r	11v							3r	4v	4r	3v		17r	22v	22r	17v	
					14.2–11										14.41–42				
					15v	8r	8v	15							40v	43r	43v	40r	
					14r	9v	9r	14v							42r	41v	41r	42v	
										15.44–16.6									
										33v	36r	36v	33r						
										6r	1v	[1r]	6v						

Luke																							
				6.17–23				6.24–33				6.33–41				6.41–47				6.48–7.6			
												78r	79v	79r	78v	51r	48v	48r	51v	60r	55v	55r	60v
				28v	27r	27v	28r	32v	37r	37v	32r	53v	46r	46v	53r	59r	56v	56r	59v				
				7.33–40				7.40–50				7.50–8.8				8.8–16				8.16–25			
				81r	76v	76r	81v	24r	31v	31r	24v	58r	57v	57r	58v	71r	72v	72r	71v			77r	80v
				54r	61v	61r	54v	70r	73v	73r	70v	50r	49v	49r	50v	75v	82r	82v	75r	68v	62r	62v	68r
				8.52–9.7				9.7–13				9.14–23				9.32–42							
				29r	26v	26r	29v	74r	69v	69r	74v	64r	67v	67r	64v					44v	39r	39v	44r
								52v	47r	47v	52r	7v	[0r]	[0v]	7r					38r	45v	45r	38v

John																							
								2.23–3.7				3.7–17											
								67ar	63v	63r	67av	65r	66v	66r	65v								
												6v	23r	23v	16r								

Table IV: Folios of the original codex as represented by Arabic folios

3. The palimpsest gains immense importance not only by its age but also by the peculiar text version of the Old Georgian Gospels it conceals. This is especially true of the passages from Luke that are contained in it. Whereas the text of Mark and John agrees quite well with that preserved in the so-called Adishi Gospels of 879, the text of Luke is strikingly different from that of all other versions known so far, thus suggesting that it represents the only extant witness of a text form that was substituted by a revised redaction even in the Adishi codex (which does not deviate much from the so-called “Protovulgate” in the book of Luke). To illustrate this, the text of the folio containing Lk. 8.8–16 is contrasted below with that of the later witnesses, among them the Adishi Gospels (“C”) as well as the *khanmeti* text of Lk. 8.14–16 as contained in the palimpsest A-89 (“X”),¹⁶ which fully agrees with the “Protovulgate”. Note that f. 75 clearly exhibits Ammonian section numbers above the initial letters of sections 77–79, with the corresponding Eusebian canon number added in red ink below the initial letters;¹⁷ the folio also shows the Eusebian apparatus, for which the “extra” lines in the bottom margin were applied.¹⁸

¹⁶ Ms. A-89, ff. 382r and 389v; cf. the edition in Kažaia 1984, 92. In the edition, the undertext of many folios of A-89 and A-844 was omitted because it was not readable; with modern photographic technology, at least some more passages can be identified (e.g., Mk. 14.44–51 on ff. 343–344).

¹⁷ The transcript renders the Georgian text as exactly as possible, with the only exception of abbreviations being resolved (in parentheses). Bold printing indicates differences in the given word forms, underlining marks differences in the word order. Rubrics (only used for the Eusebian canon numbers) are printed in italics. In the column that renders the “Protovulgate” witnesses, minor orthographical variation is ignored (including the spelling of /u/ as <ᲗᲗ> in X).

¹⁸ The apparatus of f. 75v correctly joins Lk. “77” (8.10b) with Jo. “109” (12.39), Mt. “133” (13.13) and Mk.

Verse		The Dagestanian Palimpsest					The “Protovulgate”	
8.8		(50v)	და სხოვად დავარდა ქოვეყანასა კეთილსა და პოხილსა და აღმოცენდა · და გამოიღო ნაყოფი ასი წილი · ესე ვ(ითარც)ა თქოვა				და სხოვად დავარდა ქოვეყანასა კეთილსა და აღმოსცენდა და ყო ნაყოფი ასი წილი. ამას ეტყოდა	
		71r	ვმაყო · რ(ომელს)ა ხასხენ ყოვრ სმენად , ისმინენ ·				ვმითა: რომელსა ასხენ ყურნი სმენად, ისმინენ!	
8.9			ხკითხვიდეს მას მოწაფენი · რადმე არს ესე იგავი				ჰკითხვიდეს [ჰკითხვს C] მას მოწაფენი [მოწაფეთა C], ვითარმედ [< C]: რად არს იგავი ესე?	
8.10			და მან თქოვა თქოვენდა მიცემოვლ არს ცნო				ხოლო თავადმან ჰრქვა მათ: თქუენდა მოცემულ არს ცნო-	
			<ბად საიდოვმოლოდ>				ბად საიდუმლოდ [< C]	
			მის სასოფევეელისა ღ(მრთისა)დ :				სასუფევეელისა ღმრთისად,	
	77	ოზ	(ოლო) სხოვასა იგავით რ(ადთ)ა ხხედვიდენ და არა იხილონ · და ხესმოდის და არა გოვლისხმა ყონ : —				ხოლო სხოვათა – იგავით, რადთა ჰხედვიდენ [ხედვიდენ C] და ვერ იხილონ, და ესმოდის და ვერ გულისხმა-ყონ.	
8.11	78	ოწ	(ოლო) იგავი იგი ესე არს				ხოლო იგავი იგი ესე არს:	
		ბ ო ბ	ლ ოზ ოწ	ი რთ	მ რლვ რლუ	ლ ოზ ოწ		
8.12		72v	თესლ სიტყოვად ღ(მრთისა)დ არს ·				თესლი იგი არს სიტყუად იგი ღმრთისად	
			და რ(ომე)ლ იგი გზასა თანა იგი არიან რ(ომე)ლთა ხესმინ · და მერმე მოვიდის ეშმაკი · და აღმოხოვლის სიტყოვად იგი გოვლთა მათთავან				ხოლო გზასა ზედა იგი არიან, რომელთა ესმის, და მერმე მოვიდის ეშმაკი და მოულის სიტყუად იგი გულისაგან მათისა,	
			<რ(ადთ)ა ივინი არა ხრ>				რადთა არა ჰრ-	
		82r	წმენეს და ცხოვნდენ ·				წმენეს და ცხოვნდენ	
8.13			და რ(ომე)ლ იგი კლდესა ზედა რ(ომე)ლთა რასჟამს ისმინიან · სიხაროვლით შეიწყნარიან სიტყოვად <ი>გი · და ძირნი არა ხქონედ მათ				ხოლო რომელ-იგი კლდესა ზედა, – [+ იგი C] რომელთა-იგი [< C] რაჟამს ისმინიან, სიხარულით შეიწყნარიან სიტყუად იგი [<< C], და ამათ ძირი არა უბნ,	

“37” (4.11), and Lk. “78” (8.11) with Mt. “135” (13.18) and Mk. “38” (4.14). On f. 75r, Lk. “79” (8.16) is connected with Mt. “32” (5.14) and Mk. “39” (4.21).

Verse		The Dagestanian Palimpsest			The “Protovulgate”
		72r		რ(ომე)ლთა ჟამ ერთ ხ(ოლო) ზრწამნ · და ჟამსა განსაცდელისასა განდგიან ·	რომელთა-იგი ჟამ ერთ ჰრწამნ [ჰრწმენა C] და ჟამსა განსაცდელისასა განდგიან [განაგდიან C]
8.14				ხ(ოლო) რ(ომე)ლ იგი შოვრის ეკალთა დავარდა · იგი არიან · რ(ომე)ლთა გ(ითარც)ა ხესმინ სიტ	ხოლო რომელ-იგი [რ(ომელ)ი იგი X] ეკალთა შინა დავარდა, ესენი არიან, რომელთა ისმინიან სიტ-
				<ყუანი იგი · და>	ყუად და
		82v		ზროვნებასა და სიმდიდრესა · და გოვლისთქოვმასა ამის სოფლისასა შესოვლებოვლნი ვლენედ · <შ> ეხიმდოვნიან და ოვნაყოფო ხიქმნიან : —	ზრუნვათაგან [ზროვნებისაგან X] და სიმდიდრისა და გემოთაგან ამის სოფლისათა ვლენედ და შეაშთვიან და არა ნაყოფიერ იქმნიან [ხიქმნიან X].
8.15		71v	ხ	(ოლო) რ(ომე)ლ იგი ქოვეყანასა პოხილსა რ(ომე)ლთა კეთილად და მხიარულითა გოვლითა სიტყუად იგი ისმინიან · შეიწყნარიან · და გამოხციან ნაყოფი	ხოლო რომელ-იგი [რ(ომელ) ი იგი X] კეთილსა ქოვეყანასა, – რომელთა გულითა კეთილითა და სახიერითა ისმინიან სიტყუად და შეიკრძალიან და ნაყოფი გამოილიან
				<მოთმინებთა : —>	მოთმინებთა.
8.16	79 2	75r	ოთ ა ბ	რა ვინ აღხნთის სანთელი და დახმალის ჭოვრჭერსა ქოვეშე · გინათოვ ცხედარსა ქოვეშე · ა(რამე)დ ზედა სასანთლესა დადგის · რ(ადთ)ა რ(ომე)ლი შევიდოდიან	არა ვინ სანთელი აღანთის და დაფარის [დახფარის X] ჭურჭრითა, გინა ცხედარსა ქოვეშე [ქოვეშე ცხედარსა X] შედგიან , არამედ სასანთლესა ზედა დადგიან, რადთა შემავალნი
				ოთ ლ	მ ლბ
				მრ ლთ	
				<i>not preserved</i>	
					იგი ნათელსა ჰხედვიდენ [ხხედვიდენ X].

3.1 The given specimen yields a total of eight *khanmeti* verbal forms (counting only forms that do contain the prefix) which have not yet been attested so far. These are the forms ხესმოდის “they might hear” (with 3rd person subject in inversive construction) in Lk. 8.10 (vs. ესმოდის in the later witnesses); აღმოხოვლის “he takes up from them” (with 3rd person indirect object in objective version) in 8.12 (vs. მოუდის); ხქონედ “they use to have” (~ later ჰქონედ, with 3rd person subject in inversive construction) in 8.13 (vs. უბნ “they have”); ზრწამნ “they use to believe” (with 3rd person subject in inversive construction) in 8.13 (vs. ჰრწამნ / ჰრწმენა); შეხიმდოვნიან “they perish” (prefixal passive with 3rd person subject) in 8.14 (vs. შეაშთვიან “they ruin”, cf. below); გამოხციან “they give out” (with 3rd person object) in 8.15

(vs. გამოდიან “they take out”); აღნთის “he lightens” (with 3rd person object)¹⁹ in 8.16 (vs. აღანთის “id.”); and დახმაღის “he hides” (with 3rd person object) in 8.16 (vs. დაფარის, X დახფარის “id.”).

3.2 To reveal the other peculiarities of the Gospel version contained in the present passage of the Dagestanian palimpsest, a few examples may suffice.

3.2.1 The addition of the second adjective in ქოვეყანასა კეთილსა და პოხილსა “on good and fertile soil” in Lk. 8.8 (contrasting with Greek εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν) is in agreement with the Armenian text (յերկիր բարի և պարարտ “on good and fertile soil”)²⁰ and the Syriac version of the Curetonian Gospels (ܐܝܬܐ ܒܗܘܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ “on good and fruit-giving soil”);²¹ the Greek variants γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ καλὴν of the codex Bezae Cantabrigensis (“D”) and γῆν τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν of the Korideti Gospels (“Θ”) are less specific, as is the Syriac text of the Peshitta (ܐܝܬܐ ܒܗܘܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ “on good and beautiful soil” matching them,²² vs. plain ܪܒܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ “on good soil” in the Sinaitic palimpsest²³). Similarly in Lk. 8.15, the Dagestanian palimpsest has ქოვეყანასა პოხილსა “on fertile soil” (vs. კეთილსა ქოვეყანასა “on good soil” in the Protovulgate ~ Gk. ἐν τῇ καλῇ γῇ / εἰς τὴν καλὴν γῆν), again matching the Armenian text (յերկիրս պարարտ “on the fertile soil”) but here differing from the Syriac versions, which have “on good soil” (ܪܒܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ) throughout.

3.2.2 ესე ვ(ითარ)და თქოვა კმა ყო “When He said this, He shouted” vs. ამას ეტყოდა ჳითა “This He said with shouting” (Lk. 8.8): in having “He shouted” as the principal verb, the text of the palimpsest is closer to Gk. ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει; however, in rendering the Gk. participle by a subordinate clause, it agrees with Arm. Չայս իբրեւ խօսեցաւ աստ “When He said this, He said” and Syriac ܘܪ ܠܝ ܠܒܠܐ ܥܠܐ ܘܪ ܕܐ “When He said this, He said with a high voice” (Cureton, Sinai) / ܘܪ ܠܝ ܕܥܠܐ ܘܪ ܕܐ “When He said this, He cried” (Peshitta).

3.2.3 და მან თქოვა “And He said” (Lk. 8.10) agrees perfectly well with Arm. Եւ Լա՛ աստ “And He says” and is much closer to Gk. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν as well as Syr. ܠܐܠܐ ܘܪ “He said to them” (Cureton, Sinai) and ܠܐܠܐ ܘܪ ܕܐ ܐܪ “He then said to them” (Peshitta) than the explicit ხოლო თავადმან ჳრქუა მათ “But the Master told them” in the Protovulgate, with the secondary introduction of თავადი (similarly in Lk. 4.24 and elsewhere).

3.2.4 In contrast to ხოლო გზასა ჳედა იგი არიან, რომელთა ესმის “But (those) on the road are those who hear” (Lk. 8.12), matching Gk. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰσιν οἱ ἀκούσαντες, the sentence is introduced in the palimpsest by a verbless relative clause, და რ(ომე)ლ იგი გზასა თანა იგი არიან რ(ომე)ლთა ჳესმის “And (those) who (scil. are) on (lit. at) the road, they (lit. he) are (those) who hear”, again in perfect agreement with the Armenian text: Եւ որբ ան ճանսպարհաւս, այսոքիկ են՝ որ լսենս “And (those) who (scil. are) on (lit. at) the road, they are (those) who hear”.²⁴ In the following verse (Lk. 8.13),

¹⁹ The form is highly unexpected as the finite forms of აღნთება “lighten” usually have the neutral version vowel, a (cf. აღნთებს in X), but the given reading (on f. 75r, l. 1) is beyond doubt. Even *აღნანთის would not be better as the verb is two-personal without indirect object.

²⁰ This is the text of the Zohrab Bible (Zōhrapēan 1805); the Moscow and Ejmiatsin Gospels (Xalat‘eanc’ 1899 / Macler 1920) have և ի պարարտ “and on fertile” (ff. 125r / 132r).

²¹ Mss. Add MS 14451 of the British Library, cited after Cureton 1858, [N4a]; cf. ib., lii as to the passage in question.

²² Cited after Kiraz 1996.

²³ Ms. Sin. syr. 30, cited after Smith Lewis 1910, 142. The Harklean version as edited by Hill 2002 was not accessible to me.

²⁴ The relative clause may well have been triggered by the *d*-construction in Syriac where we have ܕܠܐܠܐ ܘܪ ܕܐ “And those who (scil. are) on the road, these are they who hear” (Cureton, Sinai) / ܕܠܐܠܐ ܘܪ ܕܐ ܐܪ “Those then who (scil. are) on the road, they are those who hear.”

the relative construction is matched by the Protovulgate, too, again in agreement with the Armenian text: **და** (ხოლო *P*) **რ(ომე)ლ იგი კლდესა ზედა რ(ომე)ლთა რასჟამს ისმინიან** · სიზაროვლით შეიწყნარიან სიტყოვად <ი>გი – **Եւ որբ յապառաძիս, որբ յորժամ լսիցեն, իսկուլթեամբ ընդունիս զբանս** “And (but *P*) (those) who (*scil.* are) on the rock (*scil.* are those) who, when they hear, accept the word with joy”.

3.2.5 In Lk. 8.14, the palimpsest again uses a subordinate clause to render the Greek participle (οἱ τοῖς εἰσὺν οἱ ἀκούσαντες), in agreement with the Armenian text: **იგი არიან რ(ომე)ლთა ვ(ითარც)ა ზესმინ სიტყოვანი იგი**<²⁵ – **სიყა ხს, որ იქრეს ესეს ღვანს** “... are those who, **when they hear** the word(s)...”; the Protovulgate here has a coordinate construction: **ესენი არიან, რომელთა ისმინიან სიტყუად** “... are these who hear the word...”.

3.2.6 The second Greek participle in Lk. 8.14, πορευόμενοι, translated by ვლენედ “they use to go” (finite in coordination with ისმინიან “they hear”) in the Protovulgate, is rendered twofold in the palimpsest, with the same ვლენედ accompanied by the participle შესოვლებოვლნი. The latter word occurs three times in the Adishi Gospels, in Mt. 5.22 (matched by X), where it stands for the invective ῥακά, and in Mk. 6.52 and 8.17, which are about the “hardened hearts”; the witnesses of the Protovulgate have რაკა in Mt. 5.22, დასულებულ in Mk. 6.52 and დაბრმობილ in Mk. 8.17. The fact that in both verses of Mark, the Greek text has πεπρωαμένη, the perfect participle of παρώ “petrify”, suggests that the occurrence in the palimpsest of შესოვლებოვლნი, which may best be rendered as “bewildered, baffled, dumbdounded”,²⁶ was caused by a confusion of πορευόμενοι and *πεπρωαμένοι, possibly intruded into the text in form of a gloss.²⁷ The Armenian text of Lk. 8.14 has only a participle, **գրաղես**, which may be translated as “occupied” and does not bear the negative connotation of შესულებულ; it matches the Syriac form ܩܪܐܠܝܬܐ “are occupied” in the Curetonian and Sinaitic Gospels.²⁸ The notion of “walking” (πορευόμενοι) is not reflected at all in the Armenian and Syriac texts.

3.2.7 In the same verse, the Dagestanian palimpsest shows several further important differences as against the Protovulgate. First, it has გოვლისთქოვმა “longing, desire” as the equivalent of the Gk. ἡδονῶν, which are much better represented by the გემოთა “tastes” of the Protovulgate; the palimpsest clearly agrees again with the Armenian version, which has **ցასկილქის** “desire”.²⁹ Second, it uses the negative adjective **ოვნაყოფო** to render the “fruitlessness” (Gk. οὐ τελεσφοροῦσιν), which in the Protovulgate is expressed analytically by **არა ნაყოფიერ**; the text in the palimpsest may here be influenced by the parallel in Mt. 13.22 where **უნაყოფო** is used as the general equivalent of Gk. ἄκαρπος. Third, the palimpsest in Lk. 8.14 exhibits the khanmeti passive form <შ>ეხიშდოვნიან in rendering Gk.

²⁵ The reconstruction of a plural form in the lost middle line is necessary for alignment with the plural form of the verb.

²⁶ Rayfield (2006, II-1424) gives “hardened (heart)” for შესულებული (obviously based upon the attestations in the Gospel of Mark) and “amazed”, “dumbfounded” for დასულებული (I-557); დაბრმობილი is translated by “turning blind; blinded” (I-476).

²⁷ Further attestations of შესულებულ in the Georgian Bible are found in Is. 24.20, where the Greek text has οἰκονομῶν “hut of a garden-watcher” (Arm. տաղասար սրգասպահաց), and Is. 44.18, where a Greek (and Armenian) equivalent is missing. Beyond the Bible, შესულებულ- occurs in various homiletic and hagiographical texts.

²⁸ Cf. Cureton 1858, lii who suspects a “mistaking of the Greek πορευόμενοι, and confounding it with that of πορος or some other word”.

²⁹ Among the Syriac witnesses, it is the Peshitta here that has the closest equivalent, with *rḡḡḡā* meaning “desire”; the Curetonian and Sinaitic versions have *bassimūā* “sweetness” instead.

σμπνίγονται, whereas the Protovulgate has the active შეამთვიან which, again in accordance with Mt. 13.22, presupposes the “word” as the object (σμπνίγει τὸν λόγον “chokes the word”: შეამთვის [შეამდვის C] სიტყუად იგი). In contrast to this, the passive in the palimpsest would mean something like “they are choked, drowned”, another possible (and maybe better) interpretation of Gk. σμπνίγονται, which is matched by the Armenian (հեղձնուս “they are choked, suffocated”) and the Syriac versions (ܩܬܠܝܢܗܘܢ “they are strangled”).

3.2.8 In Lk. 8.15, the Greek phrase ἐν καρδίᾳ καλῇ καὶ ἀγαθῇ ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον is translated in a straightforward way in the Protovulgate: გულითა კეთილითა და სახიერითა ისმინიან სიტყუად “with a good and kind heart they hear (the) word”. In contrast to this, the palimpsest shows not only a different word order but also other words and forms: კეთილად და მხიარულთა გოვლითა სიტყუად იგი ისმინიან “in a good way and with a joyful heart they hear the word”. A similar wording is found in the Armenian Gospels again, which have բարև եւ գուարթագիս սրտիւ լուսալ զբասն, with the adverb բարև matching Georgian კეთილად and the adjective გუარթაგის “joyful”, Georgian მხიარული. The Syriac versions agree with the Greek here in having two adjectives depending on the “heart”, ܫܪܥ “pleasant” and ܬܒ “good” (ܫܪܥܐ ܬܒܐ “pleasant and good”).

3.2.9 In the remaining parts of the passage under study, the palimpsest differs from the Protovulgate not only by using other, more or less synonymous, words (შეიწყნარიან “they approve, accept” vs. შეიკრძალებიან “they hold, retain”: Gk. κατέχουσιν, Arm. ընդունիս; გამოზციან “they give, bring out” vs. გამოიღიან “they take out”: Gk. [καρπο]φοροῦσιν, Arm. տաս; დახმალის “he hides, conceals” vs. და(ხ)ფარის “id.”: Gk. καλύπτει, Arm. թաքուցալէ), but also by a peculiar use of the adpositions ქოვემე “under” and ზედა “on”. In the palimpsest, ქოვემე is used twice in Lk. 8.16, connected with both ჭურჭერ- “vessel” and ცხედარ- “bed”, whereas the Protovulgate has the former noun in the pure instrumental case (ჭურჭერ/ლითა “with a vessel”), which matches the Greek dative σκευῖ. With ჭურჭერსა ქოვემე “under a vessel” and ცხედარსა ქოვემე “under a bed”, the palimpsest again comes closer to the Armenian version, which has the preposition ընդ twice (ընդ կարասեսა “under a vessel” and ընդ մահճոք “under beds”), while the Syriac versions exhibit ܕܠܝܬ “under” only once (ܕܠܝܬ ܕܠܝܬ ... ܕܠܝܬ “in/with a vessel ... under a bed”). In the case of ზედა “on”, it is its use as a preposition (ზედა სასანთლეხა “on a candle holder”; Gk. ἐπὶ λυχνίας, Arm. ի վերայ աշտասակի) that is remarkable in the palimpsest; the Protovulgate shows the usual postposition (სასანთლეხა ზედა).

3.2.10 The last peculiarity of the palimpsest in the given context is the use of a relative clause, რ(ომე)ლი შევიდოდიან “who enter”, instead of the participle შემავალნი “entering” matching Gk. εἰσπορευόμενοι. This is again in agreement with the Armenian text, which provides the relative clause որ մտասես, and with the Syriac *d*-construction (ܕܠܝܬ).

4. The examples adduced above clearly show that in the Gospel of Luke, the Dagestanian palimpsest exhibits a text form that is much closer to the Armenian Gospels than to the Greek text. In this way, the palimpsest is likely to have preserved a state of the Old Georgian NT translation which antedates the redactional interventions on the basis of the Greek text that led to the emergence of the Protovulgate; a state that is otherwise only preserved partially in the in the Adishi codex, in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and John. A full edition of the palimpsest is therefore of utmost importance for the history of the early centuries of Georgian literacy.³⁰

³⁰ The present writer intends to publish the full edition, together with other Old Georgian palimpsest materials, in a new volume of the series Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi (Series Ibero-Caucasica).

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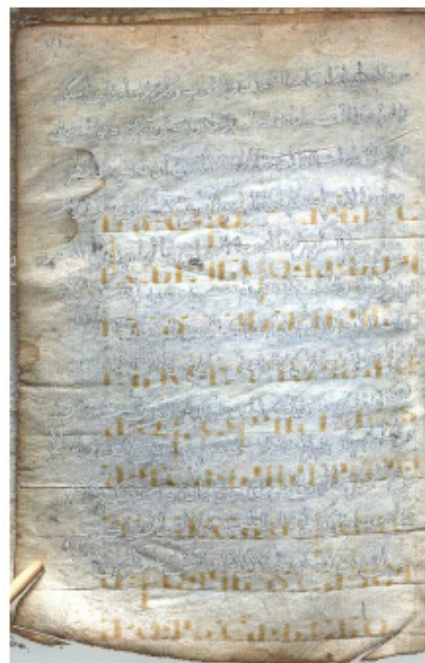
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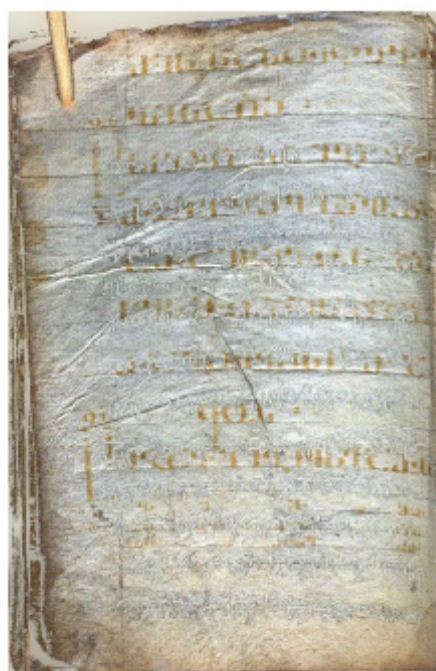
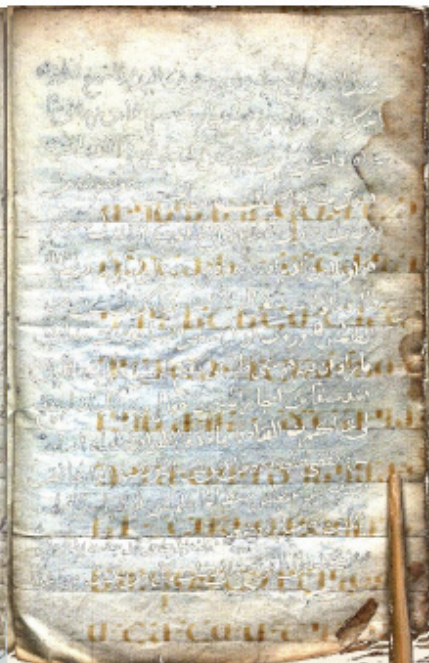
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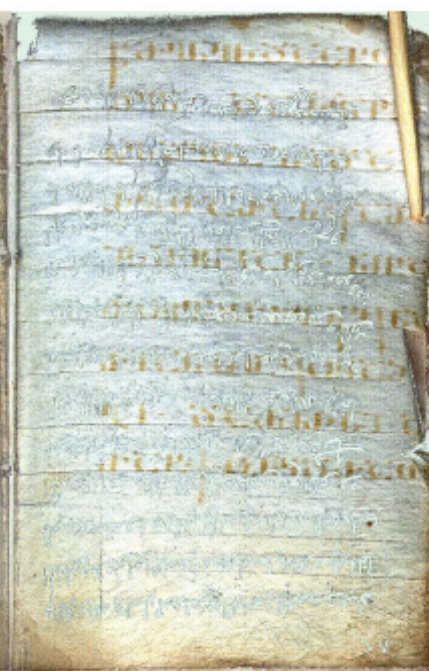
71v



72r



75v



82r

Fig. 2: Lk. 8.8–12

72r



71v



82v

75r

Fig. 3: Lk. 8.12–16