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THE OLDEST GEORGIAN PSALTER – A PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT

Dedicated to Mzekala Shanidze on her 95th birthday

0. Introduction

The detection of a large number of unknown manuscripts in a hidden cellar of St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai by consequence of a fire in 1975 has brought to light not only the first and only manuscript remains written in the language and script of the Caucasian 'Albanians', concealed in the lower layer of two palimpsest codices with a Georgian overtext, but also a remarkable number of purely Georgian manuscripts, among them four new witnesses of the Old Georgian psalter (mss. Sin. georg. NF 15, 21, 51, and 2p). In the description she provided for the catalogue of the Georgian 'New Finds',¹ Mzekala Shanidze attributed the last one, which is on paper, to the so-called third redaction ('L') of the Psalter worked out by George the Hagiorite in the 11th century,² whereas the three others, on parchment, were grouped with the second ('Pre-Athonite') redaction ('C'),³ in its turn represented by the Sinai manuscripts georg. 22 ('D'), 29 ('C'), and 42 ('B'), ms. 2058-2 of the Graz University Library ('E'), as well originating from St Catherine's Monastery, and ms. H-1798 of the K. Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts in Tbilisi ('F').⁴

¹ Aleksidze et al., *Catalogue*. Further (minor) Psalter fragments were registered as mss. Sin. georg. NF 44, NF 82, NF 85, NF 18p, and NF 20p.

² Sin. georg. NF 2p comprises 'a piece of parchment, written in 10th-century asomtavruli,' which 'was pasted inside its cover' (Aleksidze et al. *Catalogue*, 162 / 313/ 439); the fragment can be determined to represent the first folio of Sin. georg. 36, containing the beginning of John Chrysostom's homily *De timore dei et paenitentia* (CPG 5175.1).

³ For the present article, the four new witnesses were collated for relevant passages on the basis of colour images kindly provided by the librarian of St Catherine's monastery, Father Justin, in June, 2009. The redactional assignment proposed by Mzekala Shanidze has been confirmed beyond doubt.

⁴ See შანიძე, *ფსალმუნის*, გვ. 013-022 for the three redactions of the Old Georgian Psalter and the grouping of the manuscripts used for her edition; cf. also Kharanauli, *Einführung*, S. 249-250 for a short description of the Georgian Psalter manuscripts. There is one more Georgian psalter in St Catherine's Monastery, namely, Sin. georg. 98, a papyrus codex in *nuskhuri* script of c. the 9th century, which has not yet been described in greater detail because of its bad state of preservation

Apart from the two codices containing the ‘Albanian’ (and some Armenian) undertexts (Sin. georg. NF 13 and 55), several other items of the ‘New Collection’ were determined by the cataloguers to be palimpsests, namely, Sin. georg. NF 7, 19, 52, 59, 61, 69, 71, 84, 90, and 97; the undertexts were stated to be partially in Greek (NF 19, 69, and 97), Coptic (NF 19 and 71), and Syriac (NF 19),⁵ but in the bulk of them a Georgian underwriting was detected (NF 7, 52, 59, 61, 84, 90).⁶ Luckily, most of these palimpsests have meanwhile been made accessible to scholarly investigation by the Sinai Palimpsest Project,⁷ which has provided excellent multispectral images of nearly all relevant pages,⁸ and the present authors were kindly offered the occasion to investigate and edit some of them. In the following article we intend to provide a preliminary account of our work on two of the palimpsests, namely, Sin. georg. NF 84 and 90, two heavily damaged manuscripts which were supposed to belong to one and the same codex in the catalogue.⁹ As they can be shown to contain a hitherto unknown ancient version of the Psalter in their undertexts,¹⁰ the present study is dedicated to Mzekala

and the lack of images (cf. Garitte, *Une édition*, 14-16). The only photograph we have access to, kindly provided for us by Father Justin in May, 2009, shows the folio containing Ps. 64.11-65.11; its text corresponds in all relevant cases to that of ᚠ, not ᚡ, or ᚢ: შენ added after გიგალობდენ in 65.4; ამაღლდებიან, not ამაღლდებიედ in 65.7; 65.10 beginning with განცხადენ, not with რ(ამეთუ); the title of 65 (in red ink), as far as it can be made out, reads დ(ავი)თისი ადგომისათჳს (cf. Gippert, *Georgische Handschriften*, 69 for the photograph in question). The fragment of another folio comprising Ps. 118.68-75 is reproduced in Цагарели, *Памятники*, between pp. 192 and 193; here, too, the text follows ᚠ by and large (but უფალო is missing in 118.72 as in B and E).

⁵ Instead of Coptic and Syriac, the undertexts of Sin. georg. NF 19 and 71 have meanwhile been determined to be in Christian Palestinian Aramaic; see Müller-Kessler, *Codex Sinaiticus Rescriptus and Three Early Witnesses*. Christian Palestinian Aramaic is also the undertext of two folios of Sin. georg. NF 55 (fols 19-20).

⁶ There are a few further palimpsest fragments with a Georgian overtext in the New Collection, namely, Sin. georg. NF frg 68a (undertext in Christian Palestinian Aramaic), 72a (Greek), and 73a (Arabic and Greek). There are also at least three Georgian palimpsests in the Old Collection of Mt Sinai, namely, Sin. georg. 10, 34, and 49; their undertexts are partly Georgian (Sin. georg. 10 and 34), partly in other languages (Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Greek: Sin. georg. 49). The Christian Palestinian Aramaic fragment CPA NF frg. 16 contains on its f. 2 a passage from the Old Georgian Gospel of Luke (extending from 24.27 on f. 2rb to 24.31 on f. 2va) written in a 10th-century *nuskhuri* hand with liturgical indications and remnants of a colophon, according to which the scribe was a certain Gabriel working on Mt Sinai; given that the Aramaic text must be dated to the 5th-7th centuries, the Georgian text must be the overtext even though it seems to be covered by the Aramaic.

⁷ See <http://sinaipalimpsests.org/> for details.

⁸ The images are accessible online for registered users via the project website <https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/>.

⁹ Aleksidze et al., *Catalogue*, 147 / 303 / 430. The supposition has recently been corroborated by Bernard Outtier (2018).

¹⁰ In the Sinai palimpsests, a few further fragments of the Old Georgian psalter have been detected.

Shanidze who paved the way for all investigations into the history of this text in the Georgian tradition.

1. The contents of Sin. georg. NF 84 and 90

1.1 The upper layers

Both Sin. georg. NF 84 (7 folios) and NF 90 (38 folios) contain apophthegms and homiletic materials in their upper layer, written by the same *nuskhuri* hand of ca. the 10th-11th centuries. Sin. georg. NF 84 begins on f. 1r with the final part of a sermon on the Passion, which is also present, attributed to John Chrysostom, in the *mravaltavis* of Udabno (ms. A-1109, text no. 28)¹¹ and Mt Athos (ms. Ivir. georg. 11, text no. 32);¹² the author is more likely to have been Melito of Sardis.¹³ The subsequent text fragment (f. 3rv) is as well attributed to the Chrysostom; its title (in *asomtavruli* rubrics) reads თქუმული იოვანე ოქროპირისაჲ მარხვისათჳს. The same text (with noteworthy differences) is also found in Sin. georg. 25 (fols 131v-134v), where Ephrem the Syrian is named as its author: თქმული ეფრემისი მარხვისა თუის და სინანულისა თუის.¹⁴ The remaining folios of NF 84 comprise various apophthegms.¹⁵ Sin. georg. NF 90 is

This is true, first of all, of Sin. georg. NF 61 which contains in the lowest layer (in *asomtavruli* script) of the double palimpsest folios 35 and 36 a passage extending from Ps. 73.11 to 74.9; in the given passage, the form მიიქცევი in 73.21 can be taken to indicate an affinity to ლ (vs. მოიქცევი ნ). Other psalm verses occurring in the *nuskhuri* undertexts of the same codex (e.g., Ps. 9.1, 21.3, 34.1, and 96.2 on f. 18v; 91.3 on f. 5r; 103.20 on f. 24v; 129.2 on f. 31r; or 142.12 on f. 6v) are mere quotations and do not belong to a psalter manuscript proper. The three different Psalter fragments distinguished in the underwriting of Sin. georg. NF 7 by Zaza Aleksidze ('Sinai Georgian NF 7, Psalter A / B / C', see sinai.library.ucla.edu, a publication of St. Catherine's Monastery of the Sinai in collaboration with EMEL and UCLA, accessed on 10/02/2021) have not yet been analysed thoroughly; it seems clear though that they group with ლ, too. A few relevant verses will be quoted below.

¹¹ The title in A 1109 reads თქუმული წმიდისა იოვანე ოქროპირისაჲ თხრობაჲ და უწყებაჲ და სახისა გამოთქუმაჲ აღესებისა ზრახვისათჳს, see Shanidze et al. 1994, 199-205; the passage present in Sin. georg. NF 84, f. 1rv corresponds to p. 204, ll. 4-15 of the edition.

¹² The title of the text in Ivir. georg. 11 (fols 89vb-94ra) reads თქუმული იოვანე ოქროპირისა ჯუარცუმისათჳს უფლისა. თხრობაჲ ზრახვისა მისთჳს ჰურიათაჲსა და ძალი ვნებისა მისთჳს ჩუენისაჲ სწისა განმზადებელი; the passage of Sin. georg. NF 84, f. 1rv corresponds to f. 93ra, l. 14-93rb, l. 5.

¹³ See Van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens*, 84. The Georgian text of the *mravaltavis* represents §§ 46-105 of the Greek text of Melito's *De Pascha* (CPG 1092; see Van Esbroeck, *Le traité sur la Pâque de Méliton* and *Les oeuvres de Méliton de Sardes*); the Georgian version of the preceding 45 paragraphs are found in text no. 34 of the Athos *mravaltavi* (Ivir. georg. 11, fols 98rb-100vb; see Birdsall, *Melito of Sardis*).

¹⁴ The text is subsumed under Ephrem's writings in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG 4145.3); for an edition see Outtier, *Une homélie*. The fragment in Sin. georg. NF 84 extends up to f. 132r, l. 8 in Sin. georg. 25 (Outtier, *Une homélie*, 115, l. 12).

¹⁵ Still unidentified in the catalogue (Aleksidze et al., *Catalogue*, 147 / 303 / 430) but see უტიე, *სინას მთის*, 318-319 for the identification of passages from the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* and other collections.

mostly filled with apophthegms, too, with some of them also found in other collections;¹⁶ on f. 25rv it provides the continuation of Sin. georg. NF 84, f. 3v,¹⁷ thus confirming the assumption that the two manuscripts once belonged to the same codex.

1.2 The lower layers

Most parts of Sin. georg. NF 90 and at least two folios of Sin. georg. NF 84 are double palimpsests, with the lowest layers exhibiting *khanmeti* and/or *haemeti* features throughout. The following undertext layers have been determined:

a) Gospel of Matthew, *khanmeti*, 6.31–8.3: lowest layer of Sin. georg. NF 90, fols 30–37 (hereafter: MT).

b) Athanasius of Alexandria (or John Chrysostom), *In natalem Christi diem* (CPG 4560), *khanmeti*, fragments corresponding to text no. 5 in the Sinai *mravaltavi*:¹⁸ lower layer of Sin. georg. NF 90, fols 19–22, 25, 28, 29 and Sin. georg. NF 84, fols 1–5 (hereafter: AA).

c) Psalter, mixed *khanmeti* and *haemeti*, fragments from Ps. 20.10 to 140.4: lowest layer of Sin. georg. NF 84, fols 6 and 7, and Sin. georg. NF 90, fols 1–18, 23, 24, 26, and 27 (hereafter: PS).

d) Legend of St Febronia, *sannarevi*, fragments corresponding to the text version in Sin. georg. 6:¹⁹ middle layer of Sin. georg. NF 90, fols 3, 6, 26, 27, 30–37 (hereafter: FB).

e) Two homilies by John Chrysostom on the Dormition of the Theotokos, *sannarevi* (probably by the same hand as that of FB), fragments corresponding to texts no. 35 (CPG 5175.21)²⁰ and 36 (CPG 5175.22)²¹ in the Sinai *mravaltavi*: middle layer of Sin. georg. NF 90, fols 1, 2, 7, 8, 11–14 (hereafter: JC).

¹⁶ See the catalogue (Aleksidze et al., *Catalogue*, pp. 152–153 / 306–307 / 433–434) and უტიე, სინას მთის, 318–319; to the identified pieces we may add the apophthegm on Ephrem on fols 17r–18r, which finds its counterpart in the *paterikon* by Teopile (19, VII, 1 in დვალის-ჩიტუნაშვილი, *თეოფილე ხუცესმონაზონი*, გვ. 605).

¹⁷ The text passage corresponds to f. 132r, l. 8 – 132v, l. 10 in Sin. georg. 25 (Outtier, *Une homélie*, 115, l. 13–24); a synopsis of 26 lines of the text has been published in უტიე, სინას მთის, გვ. 316–317. On f. 25v, Sin. georg. NF 90 adds five lines that have no counterpart in the sister codex: მარხვაჲ დედაჲ სიყუარულისაჲ და სიხარულისაჲ და მშუიდობისაჲ: მარხვაჲ გარემიმაქცეული საქმეთაგან ბოროტთაჲ.

¹⁸ Sin. georg. 32–57–33, f. 31rb, l. 6 – f. 36vb, l. 17; see შანიძე და სხვ., *სინური მრავალთავი*, 31, l. 28 – 36, l. 17. Cf. also აბულაძე, *მრავალთავი*, გვ. 280, l. 21 – 285, l. 27 for the text version in the T'beti and Parkhali *mravaltavis*.

¹⁹ Sin. georg. 6, f. 184v, l. 13 – f. 198v, l. 26.

²⁰ Sin. georg. 32–57–33, f. 188va, l. 18 – f. 189vb, l. 21; see შანიძე და სხვ., *სინური მრავალთავი*, 199, l. 1 – 200, l. 19. Cf. also მგალობლიშვილი, *კლარჯული მრავალთავი*, გვ. 425, l. 29 – 426, l. 30 for the text version of the Klarjeti *mravaltavi* (text no. 56). The palimpsest text is a bit closer to the latter, partly also to the text version of the Athos *mravaltavi* (text no. 50; Ivir. georg. 11, f. 153ra, l. 1 – f. 154ra, l. 17).

²¹ Sin. georg. 32–57–33, f. 192va, l. 11 – f. 193vb, l. 4; see შანიძე და სხვ., *სინური მრავალთავი*,

f) Fragments of unidentified texts (hagiographic, homiletic and/or apophthegmatic), *sannarevi* (probably by the same hand as that of FB and JC): middle layer of Sin. georg. NF 90, fols 4, 5, 9, 10, 15-18, 23, 24, 38 (hereafter NN).

All six palimpsested layers are written in *asomtavruli* letters, with those of the middle layer being a bit smaller (character height c. 3.5 mm) than the others (character height c. 4 mm) and slightly slanted as if representing a cursive variant. The fragments of MT are overwritten horizontally (with the overtext turned by 180° vs. the undertext), all others vertically (with the overtext turned by 90° or 270° vs. the undertext); the middle layer usually covers the lowest layer horizontally (partly turned by 180° vs. the latter), except for the fragments of FB that are written over MT. This is why the distinction of the middle and lowest layer is extremely difficult in most cases.²² Only the folios containing AA have no middle layer.

Throughout the two palimpsests, one bifolio each of the present codices represents a single folio of the palimpsested manuscripts. The ‘partners’ of fols 26, 27 and 38 of Sin. georg. NF 90 are lost, the ‘partner’ of f. 25 of Sin. georg. NF 90 is f. 1 of Sin. georg. NF 84. In the case of MT, one original folio has even yielded four folios (two bifolios); the same is possibly true of AA, which is distributed over folios of both Sin. georg. NF 84 and 90, with the quire structure of both codices disturbed. The distribution of the layers and their contents over the present folios is illustrated in Table I.²³

Quire	Folio	Partner	Middle layer	Lowest layer	Quire	Folio	Partner	Middle layer	Lowest layer
90-I	1rv	8vr	JC	PS	90-II	9rv	16vr	NN	PS
	2rv	7vr	JC	PS		10rv	15vr	NN	PS
	3rv	6vr	FB	PS		11rv	14vr	JC	PS
	4rv	5vr	NN	PS		12rv	13vr	JC	PS
90-III	17rv	24vr	NN	PS	90-IV	25rv	84-1vr	—	AA
	18rv	23vr	NN	PS	84-I	2rv	3vr	—	AA
	19rv	22vr	—	AA	90-IV	28rv	29vr	—	AA

203, l. 4 - 204, l. 8. Cf. also მგალობლიშვილი, *კლარჯული მრავალთავი*, 410, l. 39 - 411, l. 38 for the text version of the Klarjeti *mravaltavi* (text no. 52). The palimpsest text is again a bit closer to the latter, partly also to the text version of the Athos *mravaltavi* (text no. 51; Ivir. georg. 11, f. 155ra, l. 1 - 155va, l. 2); French translation: Outtier, *Deux homélies*.

²² Usually, the lowest layer appears with sufficient visibility only in images that use the so-called ‘Transmissive Light Imaging’ (‘txratio’) method, while the middle layer stands out in pseudo-colour or greyscale images combining ultraviolet and infrared photographs. Cf. Figs. 1-4 exhibiting different aspects of Sin. georg. NF 90, f. 18r as examples (images provided by sinai.library.ucla.edu, a publication of St. Catherine’s Monastery of the Sinai in collaboration with EMEL and UCLA).

²³ Images of fols 4v, 5r, 21v, and 22r of Sin. georg. NF 90 were not made available by the Sinai Palimpsests Project because the respective folios were stuck to each other and not separable without damage. Their contents can only be inferred from the codicological assessment.

Quire	Folio	Partner	Middle layer	Lowest layer	Quire	Folio	Partner	Middle layer	Lowest layer
	20rv	21vr	—	AA	84-I	4rv	5vr	—	AA
90-V	30rv	33vr	FB	MT	90-?	26rv	—	FB	PS
	31rv	32vr	FB	MT		27rv	—	FB	PS
	34rv	37vr	FB	MT		38rv	—	FB	PS
	35rv	36vr	FB	MT	84-?	6rv	7vr	FB	PS
Table I: Distribution of layers over the folios of Sin. georg. NF 84 and NF 90									

In the following pages, we shall examine the remnants of the Psalter (PS) in more detail, given that it can be shown to have a special impact on the history of the Georgian version. A thorough analysis of the two palimpsests and their undertexts will follow in a full edition that is at present being prepared.

2. The Psalter fragments

The fragments of PS that are concealed in the two palimpsests are peculiar indeed, not only because they contain *khanmeti* and *haemeti* forms side by side in quite a similar way as the so-called Sinai Lectionary (ms. 2058-1 of the University Library, Graz), thus proving that the intermediary stage represented by the latter codex was not a unique case, but also because of the text form they contain. All in all, fragments of 17 chapters of the Psalter have been preserved in the palimpsests; their extent and their distribution is illustrated in Table II, which is arranged in accordance with the underlying folio structure. The content of the missing ‘partners’ of Sin. georg. NF 90, fols 26, 27 and 38 is induced from the codicological setting.

From	To	‘Recto’	‘Verso’	From	To
20.10	20.13	23r	23v	21.2	21.6
20.13	21.2	18v	18r	21.6	21.10
22.2	22.4	24r	24v	22.6	23.2
22.4	22.6	17v	17r	23.2	23.5
31.4	31.5	27r	27v	31.9	31.10
[31.6	31.8]	—	—	[31.11	32.2]
35.11	36.1	26r	26v ²⁴	36.5	36.7
[36.1	36.4]	—	—	[36.8	36.11]

²⁴ The content of this page has not been determined with certainty.

From	To	‘Recto’	‘Verso’	From	To
48.16	48.18	15r	15v	48.21	49.3
48.18	48.21	10v	10r	49.3	49.6
50.8	50.10	16r	16v	50.14	50.16
50.11	50.13	9v	9r	50.17	50.20
77.19	77.20	38v	38r	77.24	77.27
[77.21	77.24]	—	—	[77.27	77.31]
78.9	78.11	14r	14v	78.13	79.3
78.11	78.13	11v	11r	79.3	79.7
84.13	85.2	13r	13v	85.6	85.9
85.2	85.6	12v	12r	85.9	85.12
[88.6	88.9	5r]	5v	88.12	88.15
[88.9	88.12	4v]	4r	88.15	88.18
88.18	88.21	6r	6v	88.24	88.27
88.22	88.24	3v	3r	88.28	88.30
123.4	123.8	7r	7v	124.3	125.0
123.8	124.3	2v	2r	125.1	125.3
125.4	126.1	8r	8v	126.3	127.2
126.1	126.3	1v	1r	127.2	127.5
140.1	140.3	84-7v	84-7r	140.5	140.7
140.4	140.5	84-6r	84-6v	140.8	141.0
Table II: Fragments of the Psalter in Sin. georg. NF 90 and NF 84					

2.1 *Khanmeti* and *haemeti* forms

If we confine ourselves to forms that can be regarded as certain, the following examples of *khanmeti* and *haemeti* forms can be drawn from PS:²⁵

a) *khanmeti* forms:

²⁵ The published redactions and their witnesses are referred to with the sigla used in შანიძე, ფხალ-მუნის ძველი ქართული რედაქციები. All materials from the palimpsests are transliterated into *mkhedruli*; parentheses () indicate restitutions of abbreviations, square brackets [], damaged or badly readable characters, curly brackets {}, undiscernible but supposable characters, and angle brackets < >, restorations in holes and gaps. Line numbers are given in relation to the present

Form	Folio / Line	Psalm	Other witnesses
[გან]ხმზ{ადო}	18v, 1 (11)	20.13	განჰმზადო ᾠ, განმზადნეს ᾠD, განმზადეს BE, განმზადე C
ხ{ო}[ჰმ]{ად}[ლო]{ბ}<-დეთ>	18v, 3 (13)	20.14	ვჰმადლობდე ᾠ, ვაჰებდეთ ᾠ
ხისმინე	23v, 3	21.3	ისმინე ᾠ.ᾠ
ხნებ<ავს>	18r, 8 (16)	21.9	ჰნებავს ᾠ.ᾠ
გან[ხ]{მზ}[ა]{დ}[ა]	17r, 10 (17)	23.2	განჰმზადა ᾠ, განმზადნა ᾠ.ᾠ
[მ]იხჰე[ც]	27r, 2	31.4	მიიჰეც ᾠ.ᾠ
დ[ახოვ]{ფ}<არე>	27r, 5	31.5	დავფარე BCDᾠ, დავფარო CE
ხოვ[თ]ხრ[ა]	27r, 6	31.5	უთხრა ᾠ, აღუვარო ᾠ
[ხე]სვენ	27v, 8	31.10	ესვენ ᾠ.ᾠ
[დ]ახე[ც]{ნ}ე[ს]	26r, 5	35.12	დაეცნეს ᾠ, დაეცნენ ᾠ.ᾠ
ხოვ<ლონ>	26r, 7	35.13	უძლონ ᾠ.ᾠ
{შე}[ხ]წ{ირიან}	10r, 7 (17)	48.5	შენირიან ᾠ.ᾠ, აღმასრულებელნი ᾠ
{და}{ხბ}{ად}[ე]	9v, 4 (13)	50.12	დაჰბადე ᾠ.ᾠ
[მო]{ხც}<ეს>	13r, 1	84.13	მოსცეს ᾠ.ᾠ
გამოხ[ც]{ეს}	13r, 2	84.13	გამოსცეს ᾠ.ᾠ
[ხ]{ა}ხარე	12v, 3 (12)	85.4	ახარე BDᾠ, ახარებ CCE
{ხ}{ისმინე}	13v, 3	85.7	ისმინე ᾠ.ᾠ
[ხ]ჰმ{ენ}	13v, 7	85.9	ჰჰმენ ᾠ.ᾠ
[ხადი]<დებდენ>	12r, 1 (10)	85.9	ადიდებდენ ᾠ.ᾠ
<შე>[ხ]ჰმ{ენ}	5v, 3	88.13	შეჰჰმენ ᾠ.ᾠ
განხერ[ა]	7r, 6	123.7	განერა ᾠ.ᾠ
[შეხ]ი[მოვ]სრა	7r, 8	123.7	შეიმუსრა ᾠ.ᾠ
ხვ[ჰმე]{ე}{ნ}ი{თ}	2r, 2 (12)	125.1	ვიჰმენით ᾠ, ვიჰმენით C, ვიყვენით ᾠBDE
ხრც[ხო]{ვ}{ე}{ნ}ო[დი]ს	8v, 6	126.5	ჰრცხუენოდის ᾠ.ᾠ
[ხეში]<ნის>	8v, 9	127.1	ეშინის ᾠ.ᾠ
{ხიკოვრ}<თხოს>	1r, 6 (17)	127.4	იკუროთხოს ᾠ.ᾠ
[წარხ]{ემარ}<თენ>	84-7v, 4	140.1	წარემართენ ᾠ.ᾠ
{ნო}[ვ] მი[ხდრ]{ე}<კ>	84-6r, 1 (10)	140.4	ნუ მისდრეკ ᾠ, არა მიდრეკეს ᾠ
<ნოვ> ხო[ვ]მ<ენ>	84-7r, 3	140.5	ნუცა BE, ნუცალა ᾠ, არამედ cet.

folios and, where differing, in relation to the original folios (in parentheses). Folios of Sin. georg. NF 84 are marked by ‘84-’ preceding the folio number, all other folios treated belong to Sin. georg. NF 90.

b) *haemeti* forms:

Form	Folio / Line	Psalm	Other witnesses
[ჰი]{ღ}<ოჯანე>	23v, 4	21.3	ილუანე ოქ.ლ
<და>[აჰაფოკ]ძნ{ა}	17r, 1 (9)	23.2	დააფუძნა ო, დააფუძნა ოქ.
<და>[ჰე]{მორჩილე}	26v, 6	36.7	დაემორჩილე ოქ.ლ
[ჰემ]{ონე}	26v, 6	36.7	ემონე ოBCD, ემონეს E, დაემონე ო
ჰიკოვრთხო{ს}	10v, 2 (11)	48.18	იკურთხო ოქ.ლ
ჰო<გ>{ყ}<ო>	10v, 3 (12)	48.19	უყო ოქ.ლ
[ჰი]{ყ}{ო}	10v, 6 (17)	48.21	იყო ოქ.ლ
ჰიტყოდა	15v, 4	49.1	იტყოდა ოქ.ლ
<მო>[ჰ]ოჯნო[ღ]{ოს}	10r, 4 (14)	49.4	მოუწოდოს ო, მოუწოდის BDE, მოუწო- და C
შეჰიყოფა[რ]<ე>	16r, 1	50.8	შეიყოფარე ოქ.ლ
ჰ[ო]{კვ}{რ}{ოს}	16r, 6	50.9	უფროს ოქ.ლ
[ჰი]{ხარებ}<დენ>	16r, 9	50.10	იხარებდენ ოქ.ლ
[ჰიხარებდ]{ე}<ს>	16v, 7	50.16	იხარებდეს ო, იხარებს CE, გიგალობს ოBD
ჰო<თხრობდეს>	9r, 2 (10)	50.17	უთხრობდეს E, გითხრობდეს BD, იტყო- დეს ოC
ჰ[ოქყა]ვ	9r, 10 (18)	50.20	უყავ ოქ.ლ
<გ>[ამ]{ოჰე}{ც}{ნ}{ე}<ს>	38v, 3	77.20	გამოეცნეს ოქ.ლ
[ჰ]ოქდლო<სა>	38v, 6	77.20	უძლოსა ოქ.ლ
ჰიყავნ	14r, 6	77.21	იყავნ ო, იყავ ოBDE
{ღ}აჰითხი[ა]	14r, 10	78.10	დაითხი ოქ.ლ
<შ>[ეჰ]{ენ}იე	11v, 3 (12)	78.11	შენიე ოქ.ლ
ჰი{ხ}{ა}{რებდენ}	5v, 5	88.13	იხარებდენ ოქ.ლ
[დაჰო]{კმარხო}	3r, 3 (13)	88.29	დაუმარხო ოქ.ლ
[ჰო]{კყ}{ა}ვ	7v, 4	124.4	უყავ ოქ.ლ
აღ[ჰივსო]	2r, 4 (14)	125.2	აღივსო ოქ.ლ
[ჰოჰა]{რო}<და>	8r, 6	125.6	მოუხაროდა C, უხაროდა cet.
[ჰემინ]{ოდის}	8r, 7 (18)	127.4	ემინოდა C, ემინოდის cet.
განჰა<პო>[ხ]ებნ	84-7r, 1	140.5	განაჰოხებნ ო, შეეცხებინ CDE, შეეხებინ ოCB
[გ]{ანჰეფინა}	84-7r, 8	140.7	განეფინა ოქ, განიჰო ო
{განჰიბ}ნინეს	84-7r, 9	140.7	განიბნინეს B, განიბნინენ ოCDE

We thus have a total of 29 *khanmeti* and 29 *haemeti* forms. There is no ratio discernible off-hand that would explain the overall distribution; however, it seems that the *haemeti* prefix appears only in positions before version vowels (including the *i* of prefixal passives) whereas the *khanmeti* prefix also occurs before consonants of all sorts,

including dentals and alveolars (there is no case of a *sannarevi*-like substitution by *s* or *š* attested in PS as in the *khanmeti mravaltavi* of ms. S 3902, the *x* being preserved, e.g., in მოხცეს and მიხდრეკ).²⁶ The restriction concerning the *haemeti* prefix reminds us of the one we find in the Sinai Lectionary where in the seven *haemeti* forms it contains, the prefix always precedes a vowel, more exactly, a front vowel (*i* or *e*); a fact which led Akaki Shanidze to the assumption that the transition from *x* to *h* was phonetically conditioned.²⁷ If this is correct, the Psalter in the palimpsests shows a slightly advanced state, with the *h* also occurring before *a* (დაჰაფოვძნა, განჰაპოხებნ) and *u* (ჰოკყო, მოჰოკნოდოს, ჰოკყო, მოჰოკნოდოს, ჰოკფროღს, ჰოკთხრობდეს, ჰოკყავ, ჰოკძლოსა, დაჰოკმარხო, ჰოკხაროდა), but not (yet) before consonants. It may be important in this context that in all cases where we must assume that a given *u* was not syllabic (i.e., ‘consonantal’ *u*, represented by Ɔ in sequences of *u*+ *i* and by Ɔ.Ɔ elsewhere), we find the prefix *x*, not *h*; we thus have მიხეკეც ~ მივიქეც, ხკემნენით ~ ვიქემნენით, ხოკმადლობდეთ ~ ვჰმადლობდეთ, and დახოკფარე ~ დავფარე (*scil.* დავჰფარე). The assumption that the Psalter represents an advanced state of the transition in comparison with the Sinai Lectionary agrees with the fact that the distribution between *khanmeti* and *haemeti* forms is well balanced (29 : 29 forms) in PS while the latter still shows a strong mismatch (165 : 7 forms).

2.2 Other peculiarities of PS

The lists of *khanmeti* and *haemeti* forms already reveal that wherever there are noteworthy (i.e., not merely graphical) differences between the three redactions and their witnesses,²⁸ the palimpsest Psalter rarely agrees with Ɔ. Instead, there is an astonishingly high number of instances where PS matches Ɔ, which is rather unexpected if we consider the time span that must be assumed between the palimpsested version and George the Athonite’s redaction; cf., e.g., 140.4 with ნოკ მიხდრეკ ~ ნუ მიხდრეკ Ɔ vs. არა მიდრეკეს Ɔ; 140.5 with განჰაპოხებნ ~ განაპოხებნ Ɔ vs. შეე(ც)ხები Ɔ; 85.6 (f. 13v) with რ(ამეთოკ) ხისმინე ~ რამეთუ ისმინე Ɔ vs. და შენ ისმინე Ɔ; 125.1 with ხკემნენით ~ ვიქემნენით Ɔ vs. ვიქემნით C and ვიყვენით ƆBDE; 50.16 with ჰიხარებდეს ~ იხარებდეს Ɔ vs. იხარებს CE and გიგალობს ƆBD;²⁹ or 50.17 with ჰოკთხრობდეს ~ უთხრობდეს Ɔ (+ E) vs. გითხრობდეს BD, იტყოდეს ƆC.³⁰

²⁶ Cf. Gippert, *A Homily Attributed to John Chrysostom*, p. 911 as to forms like დასნერს or მიხსნერა occurring in S 3902.

²⁷ The forms are ჰიხილოთ (2x), ჰიცილოთ, შეჰიდრენ, ჰეტყებდენ, მიჰეხების, and ჰიყოს; cf. შანიძე, *ხანმეტი ლექციონარი*, 023.

²⁸ For a survey of characteristic differences between the published Georgian Psalter versions cf. Kharanauli, *Einführung*, S. 266-270 and *passim*; most of the text passages treated there (from Pss. 1-20, 32, 50, 72-73, 90, 118, 149-151) are not preserved in PS.

²⁹ The form გიგალობს also appears in Sin. georg. NF 21 (f. 70r); the half verse is missing in Sin. georg. NF 51 (f. 64r).

³⁰ Sin. georg. NF 51 (f. 64r) shares გითხრობდეს with BD. The reading in Sin. georg. NF 21 (f.

2.2.1 Beyond the *khanmeti* and *haemeti* forms treated above, there are many other correspondances between PS and ʾL that can be explained by the common attempt to yield a ‘mirror’ of the Greek text. To give but a few examples: In 20.11, the palimpsest has the second person optative form *წარსწყმიდო³³ in agreement with წარსწყმიდო in ʾL ~ Gk. ἀπολεῖς, while ʾC and ʾL have the third person წარსწყმიდოს, obviously taking უფალმან as the subject from the preceding verse. In 21.9, PS and ʾL have the third person imperative forms იჴსენინ and აცხოვნენ, both matching the Greek imperatives ρυσάσθω and σωσάτω; the indicative aorist forms იჴსნა and აცხოვნა in ʾC and ʾL³⁴ are unmotivated. In several cases, PS meets ʾL in rendering the Greek conjunction καί at the beginning of verses or half verses by და, which is missing in ʾC and ʾL;³⁵ this is true, e.g., of 85.5b. In 78.10, καί is replaced by არამედ in ʾC and ʾL, which also render the subsequent third person imperative γωσθήτω by განცხადებულ იყავ შენ;³⁶ PS and ʾL have და განცხადებოჴლ (ჰ)იყავენ, with the imperative form also appearing in C. As in the latter case, the ‘Greek’ wording of PS and ʾL is sometimes shared by witnesses of the second redaction, most often C and/or E; this is true, e.g.,

³¹ Cf. Kharanauli, *Einführung*, S. 269, according to whom George's method was based on the principle '*sensus e sensu*'.

³² Psalter 'B' in the undertext of Sin. georg. NF 7 has განმზადნა იგინი but irregular დაფუძნა იგინი (f. 107v, ll. 1-2).

³³ The first seven letters, including the *khanmeti* prefix, are lost due to a damage of the palimpsest folio (23r) but the optative ending is certain.

³⁴ The aorist forms are also used in Sin. georg. NF 21 (f. 27r) and NF 51 (f. 24r).

³⁵ Cf. Shanidze, *The Old Georgian Psalter*, p. 34 as to George's insisting on the importance of $\varrho\delta \sim \kappa\alpha\iota$ and Kharanauli, *Einführung*, 286 as to the conjunction being 'reintroduced by George'.

³⁶ $\mathfrak{d}^{\sim}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{o}$ and $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{z}$ $\mathfrak{d}^{\sim}\mathfrak{b}$ also appear in Sin. georg. NF 51 (f. 102v).

of 21.10 where ἀπὸ μαστῶν τῆς μητρὸς μου is rendered by დედის ძოჳძ<ოჳძოტგან> ჩემით in PS, matched – except for the arrangement of the postposition³⁷ – by დედის ძუძუჲთ ჩემითგან in Լ, C, and E, but strongly contrasting with დედის მუცლით ჩემითგან in Զ, B and D.³⁸ In 22.6, the Greek first person singular pronoun (με, μου, με) is correctly rendered by მე, ჩემისათა, and ჩემდა in PS and Լ, once supported by C (ჩემისათა) and once by E (ჩემდა), while the other witnesses have the corresponding plural forms (ჩუენ, ჩუენისათა, and ჩუენდა).³⁹ Ps. 50.8 is obviously introduced by რ(ამეთოჳ) ესერა ~ იძიῶ γάρ in the palimpsest⁴⁰ and Լ partly matched by ესერა in BCDE⁴¹ but contrasting with the invocation უფალო in Զ which in its turn matches Arm. տէր.⁴² A peculiar case is 31.5, where PS and Լ accompanied by E, oppose გოჳლისა / გულისა to ცოდვისა of the other witnesses. Here it is the underlying tradition itself which is divergent: instead of καρδία, the basis for გულისა, which is attested in all ancient Greek codices,⁴³ a variant ἀμαρτία ~ ცოდვისა, which resumes τὴν ἀμαρτίαν (~ ცოდვა) of the beginning of the verse and matches the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible (32.5), has been preferred for the edition of the critical Septuagint text, supported by the testimony of Jerome's Latin version (in the 'Psalterium Gallicum') and Theodoret's commentary;⁴⁴ the Masoretic wording is also followed by the Armenian and Syriac Bibles, which have 'sins' (մեղաց and ܡܠܬܐ resp.). In the same verse, Զ renders ἀσέβειαν by უმჯულოება whereas the other Georgian witnesses, including PS, have უღმერთოება. უმჯულოება occurs further up in the verse, too, as the rendering of Gk. ἀνομία in all Georgian witnesses; in PS it is repeated at the second occurrence of ἀνομία where the other witnesses have ბრალი. The complex relations are illustrated synoptically in Table III, with the keywords highlighted; note that there are two further important differences between the Georgian versions in the use of the optative instead of the aorist indicative in 31.5a and b (გაუწყო ԶԳ vs. გაუწყე Լ = ἐγώρισα and დავფარო ԶԵ vs. დავფარე BCDԼ = ἐκάλεσα) and in the addition of ყოველი 'all' in 31.5d in Զ; with both features, Զ clearly matches the Armenian version.

³⁷ There is a hole in the parchment (f. 18r, l. 10 ~ 18) between ძოჳძ- and ჩემით but the breadth of the hole enforces the given reconstruction; in addition, there is nothing following ჩემით except for, possibly, an arrow-shaped paragraph mark.

³⁸ The wording of B and D is also found in Sin. georg. NF 51 (f. 24r); Sin. georg. NF 21 (f. 27r) has დედის ძოჳძოჳძოტგან with ჩემით გ(ა)ნ added interlinearly by a second hand.

³⁹ The first person plural is also used in Sin. georg. NF 21 (f. 29v) and NF 51 (f. 26r).

⁴⁰ ესერა without preceding რ(ამეთოჳ) also appears in the undertext of Sin. georg. NF 7 (f. 114v, l. 8).

⁴¹ Cf. Kharanauli, Einführung, 257. In the Armenian text, the invocation is preceded by the pronoun դու 'you (sg.)', in its turn corresponding to Syr. 'ant.

⁴² ესერა without preceding რ(ამეთოჳ) also appears in the undertext of Sin. georg. NF 7 (f. 114v, l. 8).

⁴³ Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, II, 30: B (Codex Vaticanus), S (Codex Sinaiticus), and A (Codex Alexandrinus).

⁴⁴ Rahlfs, *Septuaginta. Societatis Scientiarum*, 126: 'Ga', 'Thp'.

31.5a	Gk.	τὴν ἄμαρτίαν μου ἐγνώρισα
	PS	ცოდვამ [ჩე]მი გაოვნყე შენ
	ⴌ	ცოდვამ [ჩე]მი გაოვნყე შენ
	ⴑ	ცოდვამ [ჩე]მი გაოვნყო შენ
	ⴒ	ცოდვამ [ჩე]მი გაოვნყო შენ
	Arm.	Զմեղս իմ ցուցից քեզ,
31.5b	Gk.	καὶ τὴν ἁνομίαν μου οὐκ ἐκάλυψα·
	PS	<და ოვშჯო>[ვ]<ლ>[ოე]ბამ ჩემ[ი არ]ა დ[ახოვფ]<არე შენგან>
	ⴌ	და უშჯულოებამ ჩემი არა დავფარე შენგან
	BCD	და უშჯულოებამ ჩემი არა დავფარე შენგან
	ⴒE	და უშჯულოებამ ჩემი არა დავფარო შენგან
	Arm.	և զանօրէնութիւնս իմ ոչ ծածկեցից 'ի քէն:
31.5c	Gk.	εἴπα 'Εξάγορεύσω κατ' ἐμὸν τὴν ἁνομίαν μου τῷ κυρίῳ·
	PS	<ვთქ>ოვ ხოვ[თ]ხრ[ა] ოვშ[ჯ]ოვლოვ[შ]<ამ ჩემი ო(ვფალს)ა :>
	ⴌ	ვთქუ: აღუვარო ბრალი ჩემი უფალსა
	ⴑ	ვთქუ: უთხრა ბრალი ჩემი უფალსა
	ⴒ	ⴒთქუ: უთხრა ბრალი ჩემი უფალსა
	Arm.	Ասացի թէ պատմեցից ինձէն զմեղս իմ
31.5d	Gk.	καὶ τὸ ἀφ᾽ ἧκας τὴν ἁσέβειαν τῆς ἁμαρτίας (καρδίας BSA) μου.
	PS	და [შენ [მო]{მიტევე} [ოვლმრთ]<ოებამ გ>[ო]{ვლილსა} {ჩ}<ემისამ>
	ⴌ	და შენ მომიტევე მე უღმრთოებამ გულისა ჩემისაჲ
	ⴑ	და შენ მომიტევე მე უღმრთოებამ ცოდვისა (გულისა E) ჩემისაჲ
	ⴒ	და შენ მომიტევე მე ყოველი უშჯულოებამ ცოდვისა ჩემისაჲ
	Arm.	և դու թողես զա(մեռայ)ն ամպարչտութիւնս մեղաց իմոց:
Table III: Synopsis of the witnesses of Ps. 31.5		

A similar affinity of ⴒ and, to a lesser extent, ⴑ to the Armenian text can also be seen in 78.10, in the substitution of და ~ καὶ by არამედ and განცხადებულ (ჰ)იყავნ ~ ᾤσθητω by განცხადებულ იყავ შენ (see above), which agrees with Arm. Այլ յայտնի ինչ լիցի.

2.2.2 Not all matches of PS and ⴌ that oppose them to the other witnesses can be motivated by a closer affinity to the Greek text. This is true, e.g., of 50.9 where PS and ⴌ meet in translating Gk. ὕσσωπα by ოვსოვპითა / უსუპითა, in contrast to საპკურებელითა in ⴒ and ⴑ,⁴⁵ it is true that უსუპ-ი is a direct loan of Gk. ὕσσωπος while საპკურებელ-ი is a genuine Georgian formation, but both words can be shown to have been interchangeable in denoting the hyssop plant from ancient times on⁴⁶ so that

⁴⁵ საპკურებელ also appears in Sin. georg. NF 21 (f. 69v) and NF 51 (f. 63v).

⁴⁶ Cf. Gippert 1993, pp. 11-13 with notes. In Old Georgian texts, უსუპ-ი is more frequent than

the evidence of PS and Դ is not decisive here. However, in the same context we find another divergence that agrees with our former observations: in Ե and most witnesses of Գ, the Greek future forms ῥαντιεῖς, πλυνεῖς and ἀκουτιεῖς are rendered by imperatives (მასხურე, განმზანე, and მასმინე) while PS and Դ have the corresponding optative forms (მასხურო, განმზანო, მასმინო, all shared by E, the last one also by C),⁴⁷ thus matching the Greek forms better. In 140.5 (140.4c LXX), PS (f. 84-7r, l. 1-2) and Դ translate Gk. λυπανάτω by გან(ჰ)აპოხებდნ, contrasting with შეეცხებინ in Ե and Գ;⁴⁸ the same verbs are also used for ἐλίπανας in 22.5, with the form გან(ჰ)აპოხე in PS (f. 17v, l. 5 = 13)⁴⁹ and Դ, contrasting with (ჰ)სხცე in Ե and Գ.⁵⁰ It seems that გან-პოხება was preferred in the Old Georgian Bible translation as the equivalent of Gk. λυπαίνω,⁵¹ but (შე)ცხება was likewise adequate, so the choice was open.⁵² A peculiar case is Ps. 85.1 where PS (f. 13r, l. 8) and Դ render πτωχὸς καὶ πένης by გლახაკ და დავრდომილ, whereas Ե and Գ have მხოლოდ-შობილ და გლახაკ. While the former seem to simply have inverted the order of the two adjectives, with დავრდომილ clearly corresponding to Gk. πτωχός, the use of მხოლოდ-შობილ for the same word is astonishing. However, both effects can be motivated by a text-internal influence: in Ps. 24.16, we read μονογενὴς καὶ πτωχός, which in all Georgian versions is correctly translated by მხოლოდ-შობილ და გლახაკ; in 85.1, this wording was obviously ‘quoted’ as such in Ե and Գ, and provoked the second position for დავრდომილ in Դ. Unfortunately, Ps. 24 is not preserved in the palimpsest.

საპკურებელ-ი (41 vs. 21 attestations in the TITUS corpus); the latter word is used, e.g., in the quotations of Ps. 50.9 in the Paris Lectionary (Tarchnišvili, *Le grand lectionnaire*, 15, no. 84 and others) and in the Georgian version of Theodoret’s commentary (გიგინეიშვილი-გიუნაშვილი, *შატბერდის კრებული*, გვ. 412, l. 6) and also appears in the Sinai *mravaltavi* (შანიძე, *ჰაემე-ტობის გადმონაშთები*, გვ. 83, l. 4).

⁴⁷ In the palimpsest (Sin. georg. NF 90, f. 16r), the endings of მასხურო and განმზანო are missing due to a hole in the parchment but the ending of მასმინო is certain.

⁴⁸ The variant შეეცხებინ in A and B is by all means a mere scribal error. The verse is quoted with შეეცხებინ in the Georgian version of a homily by Ephrem the Syrian on Self-reprehension and Confession (CPG 3913; აბულაძე, *მამათა სწავლანი*, გვ. 260, l. 17).

⁴⁹ Due to a hole in the parchment, only გა and ე are preserved in PS, but it is clear that the given form must be reconstructed here.

⁵⁰ სცხე in BCE as well as Sin. georg. NF 21, f. 29v and Sin. georg. NF 51 (f. 26r); D has სცხეს. The verse is quoted with სცხე in the Georgian version of a homily by Martyrius Monachus on Repentance and Humility (აბულაძე, *მამათა სწავლანი*, 173, l. 33) and in Euthymius the Athonite’s translation of the Commentary on Matthew by John Chrysostom (ch. 70; შანიძე და სხვ., *წმ. იოანე ოქროპირი*, II, გვ. 322, l. 14).

⁵¹ E.g., ἐλίπαι in Hab. 1.16 is translated by განაპოხა in the Oshki and Jerusalem Bibles, and λυπαίνει in Sir. 35.5 by განაპოხის in the Oshki and განაპოხებს in the Bakar Bible.

⁵² Probably, the form ხოვცხე corresponding to ვსცხე in Ե and Դ is used in 88.21 in the palimpsest (f. 6r, l. 10) as the equivalent of Gk. ἔχρισα; however, the reading is not certain enough to be reliable.

2.2.3 To prevent wrong expectations, it must be stated that the text of \mathcal{C} is not always the most distant from that of the palimpsest and that the latter does not always agree with George the Athonite's redaction. A few examples may suffice to demonstrate this. In 49.4, Gk. διακρίναι is translated by განკითხვად in PS, agreeing with both \mathcal{C} and \mathcal{D} , while \mathcal{L} has განრჩევად. In 85.6, PS translates both προσευχῇ and δεήσεως by ვედრებისა,⁵³ while \mathcal{L} has ლოცვა in the first instance, and $\mathcal{C}\mathcal{D}$, ლოცვისა in the second;⁵⁴ the duplication in PS may represent a scribal error here, possibly caused by the page break between the two instances. In the following verse, 85.7, PS (f. 13v, l. 3) renders the verbal form ἐκέκραξα adequately by გხადე, which is closer to გხადოდი in $\mathcal{C}\mathcal{D}$, than to ღალად-ყავ in \mathcal{L} . In 50.19, PS agrees with $\mathcal{C}\mathcal{D}$ in substituting καρδίαν συντετριμμένην καὶ τεταπεινωμένην by გოვლი წმიდა და სოვლი მდაბალი, with the latter two words copied from the preceding verse;⁵⁵ \mathcal{L} has the more adequate expression გული შემუსრვილი და დამდაბლებული instead.

2.2.4 As in the latter case, PS reveals several singularities in its wording that are worth mentioning. E.g., in Ps. 79.3 (f. 14v, ll. 8-9) it is the only witness that inflects all three names, Εφραῖμ, Βενιαμιν and Μανασσῆ, after the preposition წინაშე ~ ἐναντίον, yielding ეფრემისა და ბენიამენისა და მანასშისა; in \mathcal{L} (and \mathcal{D}), only the last name is inflected (ეფრემ, ბენიამენ და მანასესსა),⁵⁶ in the other witnesses it is the last two (ეფრემ, ბენიამენისა და მანასესსა). At the end of the same verse, PS opposes itself to all other witnesses in reading ხოვრად, probably to be restored to <მაც>ხოვრად at the beginning of the line where three characters have been cut off (f. 11r, l. 1 = 11), instead of ცხორებად⁵⁷ ~ σῶσαι. On the same folio, at the beginning of l. 8 = 18, PS reads მსხენ ჩ(ოვე)ნ in Ps. 79.7, probably to be restored to <და>მსხენ ჩოვენ, in rendering ἔθις ἡμῶν εἰς ἀντιλογίαν; the other witnesses have მყვენ ჩუენ საყუედრებელ,⁵⁸ obviously copying Ps. 43.14 where the same phrase stands for ἔθις ἡμῶν ὄνειδος. Unfortunately, the remainder of the given line in the palimpsest remains unclear; it seems to read საყოვარელ- instead of საყოვ(ე)დრელ, which might be due to a copying error. In 85.9, only PS (f. 13v, ll. 7-8) shows the plural imperative forms მოვიდედ and თავყანის გცემდედ in correspondance to Gk.

⁵³ F. 12v, l. 9 = 18 – f. 13v, l. 1; the beginning of the word is missing in both cases due to a hole in the parchment but the restoration is beyond doubt.

⁵⁴ ლოცვისა also appears in Sin. georg. NF 51 (f. 109v). The text form of $\mathcal{C}\mathcal{D}$ is quoted in the legend of St Panteleimon (იმნაიშვილი, ქართული ენის ისტორიული ქრესტომათია, გვ. 62, l. 15). – Cf. Kharanauli, *Einführung*, S. 276 as to the interrelation of ლოცვა and ვედრება in the Georgian Psalter.

⁵⁵ Cf. Kharanauli, *Einführung*, S. 280.

⁵⁶ This is also the wording of Sin. georg. NF 21 (f. 112r), NF 51 (f. 103v), and the undertext of Sin. georg. NF 7 (f. 127v, l. 2).

⁵⁷ \mathcal{D} has ცხორება, which is syntactically odd.

⁵⁸ Also in Sin. georg. NF 21 (f. 112r), NF 51 (f. 104r), and the undertext of Sin. georg. NF 7 (f. 127v, l. 14).

ἡξουσιν and προσκυήσουσιν; the other witnesses have the singular forms მოვიდენ and თაყუანის-გცენ in agreement with the collective plural ყოველი თესლეები ~ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη which, however, is also used in the palimpsest.⁵⁹ A few verses later, in 85.12, PS (f. 12r, l. 10 = 19) is likely to read საოკკოვნ<ოდ> ~ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα instead of უკუნისამდე as the other witnesses. In 88.29, PS (f. 3r, l. 4 = 14) seems to have მოთმინება⁶⁰ as the equivalent of Gk. ἔλεος while the other witnesses show the usual term, წყალობა (see below). In 125.2, PS alone translates ἀγαλλιάσας by ქებითა (f. 2r, l. 5 = 15), not by გალობითა as in Ը, Գ, and Լ.⁶¹ And a few verses later, in 125.6, it is the only witness to show the subjunctive form მოვიდოდიან as the equivalent of the Gk. future ἡξουσιν in the paronomastic phrase მოსლვით მოვიდოდიან ~ ἐρχόμενοι δὲ ἡξουσιν; this is no doubt better than the imperfect form მოვიდოდეს of ԸԳԼ, which obviously copies the ‘correct’ imperfect მივიდოდეს from მისლვლით მივიდოდეს ~ πορεύμενοι ἐπορεύοντο preceding in the same verse in all witnesses, including the palimpsest. In 126.1–2, only the palimpsest renders Gk. εἰς μάτην not by ცუდად as the other versions⁶² but by ამაოდ,⁶³ an equivalent that also appears, e.g., in Mt. 15.9 in the manuscripts of the so-called Protovulgate, including the *khanmeti* palimpsest A-89;⁶⁴ here it is the Adishi Gospels that have ცუდად. In the wording of Ps. 126.2, the palimpsest reveals some more peculiarities, which are best illustrated in a synopsis again:

126.2a	Gk.	εἰς μάτην ὅμιν ἐστὶν τοῦ ὁρμήζειν,
	PS	<ამა>{ო}[დ] არს თქვენდა აღმსობაა
	Լ	ცუდად არს თქუენი იგი აღმსობაა
	ԸԳ	ცუდად არს თქუენი იგი აღდგომაა მსთუად
	Arm.	Դ նանիր է ձեզ յարմել կանխալ.
126.2b	Gk.	ἐγείρεσθαι μετὰ τὸ καμῆσθαι...
	PS	<აღდეგით დ>{ა} {ხდო}მისა მაგისგან
	Լ	აღდეგით შემდგომად დასხდომისა...
	ԸԳ	Ըნ აღდეგით კიდრე დაძინებამდე...
	Arm.	արդ արիրք մինչև էք ննջեցեալ...

⁵⁹ Cf. Kharanauli, *Einführung*, S. 289–291 as to differences between the Georgian versions and the Greek text in the number assignment; the peculiar problem of the collective plural is not treated there.

⁶⁰ The first two letters are cut off at the edge of the folio but the restoration is highly probable.

⁶¹ Cf. Kharanauli, *Einführung*, S. 276 as to the interrelation of გალობა and ქება in the Georgian Psalter.

⁶² Including Sin. georg. NF 51 (f. 161r) and the undertext of Sin. georg. NF 7 (f. 125r, ll. 10–13).

⁶³ 3×: f. 8r, l. 10, f. 1v, l. 1 = 11, and f. 1v, l. 3 = 14. In all three cases, the word is only partially preserved (ამა{ოდ}, <ამაოდ> and <ამა>{ო}[დ]) but the restitutions are beyond doubt.

⁶⁴ ქაჯაია, *ხანმეტი ტექსტები*, გვ. 37: f. 87v1.

It is obvious here that the palimpsest is much closer to ̄, again and that both are closer to the Greek text than ̄ and ̄, in rendering ὀρμίζειν by the simple masdar აღმსობაჲ and in translating καθῆσθαι by დასხდომა. In contrast to this, ̄⁶⁵ show a clear affinity to the Armenian text again, in using the ‘analytic’ formation აღდგომაჲ მსოუად ~ კაინსკ კანსაჲ, in replacing the ‘sitting’ by ‘sleeping’ (დაძინება ~ სნესე), and in using the preposition ვიდრე ~ მინჯს instead of an equivalent of Gk. μετὰ. PS nevertheless has two singularities here, in rendering ὑμῖν by თქოვნდა, not by the possessive pronoun, and in expressing the notion of ‘after’ by the postposition გან in connection with the (postponed) demonstrative pronoun, მაგის. A remarkable singularity in the text of PS is also found in 140.5, where ἔλαιον ἀμαρτωλοῦ as the object of ‘anointing’ (განჰაპოვებენ, see above) is not ზეთი ცოდვილისაჲ as in ̄⁶⁶ but წყალობაჲ ცოდვილისაჲ (f. 84-7r, l. 1). This strange rendering might be invoked by the mere occurrence of წყალობითა in the verse before (140.4: f. 84-6r, ll. 8–9 = 17-18), which is matched by the other witnesses;⁶⁷ however, it seems more probable that a confusion of Gk. ἔλαιον and ἔλεος was decisive here, given that the same confusion also yielded *misericordia* instead of *oleum* in one Latin version of the Psalter.⁶⁸

2.3 Psalm Titles

As in all Georgian versions, the individual Psalms are introduced by titles⁶⁹ in the palimpsest, written in slightly smaller asomtavruli letters and possibly in red ink, which makes them even harder to establish than the main text; in addition, the titles are usually indented towards the middle of the folios which is characterised by a large hole throughout most of the folios under concern so that many letters of them are lost. Nevertheless, a few observations can be set forth. The title that is best preserved is that of Ps. 49 (f. 15v, l. 3), which can be read as გალობაჲ ასაფისი; it thus match-

⁶⁵ Again including Sin. georg. NF 51 (f. 161r) and the undertext of Sin. georg. NF 7 (f. 125r, ll. 13–15).

⁶⁶ Including Sin. georg. NF 15 (f. 110v) and Sin. georg. NF 51 (f. 172v).

⁶⁷ ̄CD have the shorter form წყალობით.

⁶⁸ The codex in question is the 6th-century psalter of St.-Germain-des-Prés (ms. Lat. 11947 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, f. 277r, l. 12; cf. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta. Societatis Scientiarum Gottingensis auctoritate*, 326 n.: ‘La^o’). A similar confusion is also found in the same codex in Ps. 108.24 (Lat. 11947, f. 224r, l. 17; cf. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta. Societatis Scientiarum Gottingensis auctoritate*, 276 n.) and in several Greek and Latin codices at some further places (88.21, 91.11, 151.4; cf. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta. Societatis Scientiarum Gottingensis auctoritate*, 234 n. ad 88.21, 55 ad 91.11, and 73 in general); in Ps. 91.11, the ‘Psalterium Gallicum’ or ‘duplex’ (ms. Reg. lat. 11 of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana) shows *misericordia* in Jerome’s translation from the Septuagint and *oleo* in his translation from Hebrew side by side (fols 141v, l. 16 and 142r, l. 16). In Ps. 88.21, PS is likely to have საცხებელი like the other Georgian witnesses but the reading (f. 6r, ll. 9-10) is not certain.

⁶⁹ Cf. Shanidze, *The Old Georgian Psalter*, for a survey of the highly divergent tradition of psalm titles in Georgian, and Thirtle, *The Titles of Psalms* and Fraser, *The Authenticity of the Psalm Titles* for the titles in general.

es the title of BDE, which adds the number (მ^თ). Whether or not PS indicated the number, too, cannot be decided as it would have been lost in the hole. With the use of გალობაჲ instead of ფსალმუნი, PS and BDE oppose themselves to C, C, and L; C even substitutes Asaph by David. In the palimpsest, გალობაჲ seems to be the primary term used; it also occurs in the title of Ps. 85 (f. 13r, l. 6), where the other versions have ფსალმუნი and/or ლოცვაჲ; in contrast to this, all other witnesses agree with the palimpsest in the title of Ps. 127 (f. 8v, l. 8) which reads გალობაჲ აღსავალთაჲ, but probably without the number and other information following as in C, B, and E. The longest title preserved in the palimpsest is that of Ps. 79, which extends over two lines (f. 14v, ll. 3-4). In the second line, we clearly read სანამგებელი, probably followed by ასაფ<ისი>, which finds its counterpart in ნამეზაჲ ასაფისი ~ μαρτύριον τῷ Ἀσαφ in all other versions except E. In the beginning of the same line, we can make out the sequence თათ, probably from the word ცვალებოვლათჳს ~ ἀλλοιωθισομένων, which is also present in L and, reduced to ცვალებულთა, in C.⁷⁰ The first line of the title seems to begin with დასა, possibly of დასასრულსა which we find in many psalm titles throughout the witnesses; however, in the title of Ps. 79, only აღსასრულსა is attested (in C).⁷¹ As in C⁴, and in contrast to L, there is no mention of the Assyrians (ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου) discernible in the title.⁷² The most remarkable feature of the psalm titles in the palimpsest is the fact that the name of King David appears not as დავით (or, abbreviated, as დ^თ) but as დავიდ. This spelling is clearly discernible in the title of Ps. 85 (f. 13r, l. 6), which reads დავიდისი გალობაჲ, with a noteworthy inversion of the two elements contrasting with ლოცვაჲ დავითისი and ფსალმუნი დავითისი in the other versions. In the title of Ps. 36 (f. 26r, l. 9 = 18), we seem to read დავიდისა, not -სი as in the other versions, which have ფსალმუნი დავითისი throughout; but possibly, დავიდისი once more appears in the title of Ps. 21 (f. 18v, l. 5 = 15), and დავიდ, within Ps. 88.21 (f. 6r, l. 9).

3. Conclusions

The preliminary observations put together above will have sufficed to show that the psalter version concealed in the palimpsests Sin. georg. NF 84 and NF 90 deserves peculiar attention, not only because it stems from the transition period between the *khanmeti* and *haemeti* times but also because of its special wording: it clearly reveals itself as the most straightforward translation of the Greek psalter before the redaction elaborated by George the Athonite in the 11th century (L), which shares some remarkable

⁷⁰ Cf. Shanidze, *The Old Georgian Psalter*, p. 29 as to the rendering of ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθισομένων throughout the psalter titles in C⁴.

⁷¹ Cf. Shanidze, *The Old Georgian Psalter*, pp. 28-29 as to the distribution of აღსასრულსა and დასასრულსა in the titles.

⁷² Cf. Shanidze, *The Old Georgian Psalter*, pp. 28 and 37; L has ფსალმუნი ასურისათჳს.

accordances with it; the other two redactions (C and D) deviate much more, sometimes suggesting a secondary influence of a text version that was closer to the Armenian translation. The palimpsest thus arouses several questions: Did George the Athonite have a text version at hand for his work that was similar to the palimpsest? Did the other redactions emerge as revisions of the 'Hellenoid' text that is present in the palimpsest (e.g., by collation of the Armenian text) or do they represent a different translation off-hand (from Armenian, as supposed earlier)?⁷³ A meticulous investigation into every single verse is required before these questions can be answered. In any case, the history of the Georgian psalter translation will have to be re-written.

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⁷³ Cf. შანიძე, *ფსალმუნის*, გვ. 159 as to the assumption that the archetype of C and D had an Armenian basis, and ჭელიძე (*წმინდა ნერილის*) for the proof that C 'was corrected in accordance with the Armenian version in the first half of the eleventh century' (Outtier, *Georgian Translations*, p. 133). The traces of *haemeti* forms that are found in B (Sin. georg. 42; cf. შანიძე, *ჰაემეტოზის გადმონათქმის*, გვ. 146) seem to speak in favour of CD, depending on an older translation like the one represented in the palimpsest; unfortunately, none of the forms adduced by M. Shanidze is preserved in PS (the equivalents of ჰჱამთ, 126.2, and ჰჱამო, 127.2, are lost in the holes of fols 1v, l. 5 = 16 and 8v, l. 11).

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Figures



Fig. 1: Sin. georg. NF 90, f. 18r (colour image)

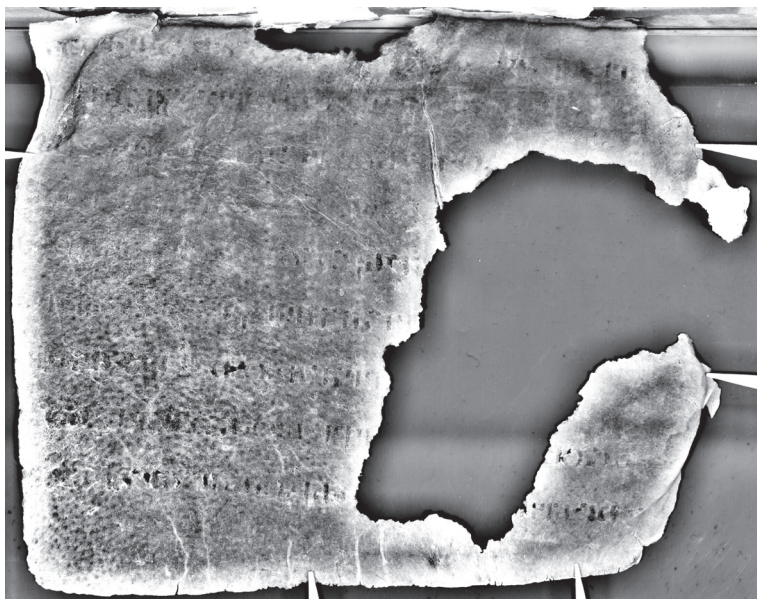


Fig. 2: Same, transmissive light image, processed



Fig. 3: Same, pseudo-colour image



Fig. 4: Same, reduced to greyscale, processed

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ქველი ქართული ფსალმუნი – წინასწარი ანგარიში

რეზიუმე

წინამდებარე კვლევა წარმოადგენს წინასწარ ანგარიშს ფსალმუნის ფრაგმენტებისა, რომელთაც შეიცავს სინას მთაზე წმინდა ეკატერინეს მონასტრის ქართული ხელნაწერების ახალი კოლექციის ორი პალიმფსესტი: Sin. Georg. NF 84 და 90. ეს ორი ხელნაწერი ერთი კოდექსის ნაწილებია და უმეტესად ორმაგ პალიმფსესტებს წარმოადგენს: უძველესი ფენა შეიცავს სახარების (მათეს) და *მრავალთავის ხანმეტ* ფრაგმენტებს, ასევე ფსალმუნს, როგორც *ხანმეტი*, ისე *ჰაემეტი* მახასიათებლებით. შუა ფენაში ვხვდებით *ფებრონიას ცხოვრებას*, იოანე ოქროპირის ორ ჰომილიას და ჯერ კიდევ დაუდგენელ ტექსტ(ებ)ს, *სანარევი* ფორმით.

ფსალმუნის ფრაგმენტები, რომლებიც პირველად ქვეყნდება, მეტად თავისებურია ენობრივი თვალსაზრისით, ვინაიდან ამ ფრაგმენტებში წარმოდგენილია *ხანმეტი* და *ჰაემეტი* ფორმების ზუსტად თანაბარი რაოდენობა, კერძოდ, თითოეულში 29, მსგავსი ფენომენი ჯერ არ დადასტურებულა სხვა ხელნაწერებში. მაშასადამე, ფსალმუნი გადანიშნული უნდა იყოს გარკვეული პერიოდის შემდეგ სინას მთის (ამჟამად გრაციის) ლექციონერისა, რომელშიც *ჰაემეტი* ფორმები ჯერ კიდევ საკმაოდ იშვიათია *ხანმეტ* ფორმებთან შედარებით.

ფსალმუნის ახალი ფრაგმენტები ასევე საკმაოდ თავისებურია ტექსტუალური თვალსაზრისით: ხშირ შემთხვევაში ფორმულირება ემთხვევა გიორგი ათონელის რედაქციას, ორივე მათგანში არის მცდელობა, ბერძნული ტექსტი რაც შეიძლება სრულად აისახოს ქართულში. ზოგჯერ აღნიშნული ფრაგმენტები კიდევ უფრო ახლოსაა ბერძნულ მოდელთან, ვიდრე გიორგის რედაქცია. ფსალმუნის სათაურები, რომელთა გაშიფვრა საკმაოდ რთულია, რადგან ისინი, სავარაუდოდ, სინგურით იყო შესრულებული, როგორც ჩანს, უფრო ახლოსაა მეორე რედაქციის ხელნაწერებთან (BDE), და არა C ან L რედაქციებთან.

პალიმფსესტური ფსალმუნის ეს აქამდე უცნობი თავისებური ფორმა, ბევრ კითხვას ბადებს ფსალმუნის ქართული თარგმანების მდიდარ და რთულ ისტორიაში, მათ მოდლებთან და რევიზიებთან, მათ შორის, გიორგი ათონელის ტექსტთან დაკავშირებით. წინამდებარე კვლევა შეუძლებელი იქნებოდა მზექალა შანიძის ფუნდამენტური ნაშრომის – ფსალმუნის ტექსტის გამოცემისა და გამოკვლევის გარეშე; სწორედ ქალბატონი მზექალას 95 წლის იუბილეს ეძღვნება წარმოდგენილი კვლევა.

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