

Caucasian Albania

An International Handbook

Edited by
Jost Gippert and Jasmine Dum-Tragut

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3 The Textual Heritage of Caucasian Albanian

Abstract: The Chapter outlines the textual heritage of Caucasian Albanian, which mostly consists of the biblical texts concealed in the lower layer of the two Georgian palimpsest codices Sin. georg. NF 13 and NF 55 of St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai. On the basis of new insights gained by advanced imaging techniques, it describes the contents of the different parts of the undertexts and their structure and attempts at a codicological reconstruction of the underlying manuscripts. In addition, it provides an up-to-date survey of the few inscriptions in the Albanian language that have been preserved.

1 Introduction

In the historical account of the life of his teacher, Mesrop Mashtots, the 5th-century Armenian author Koryun reports, as one of Mesrop's many achievements, the invention of a script for the language of the *Ałowan* people:¹

Then there came and visited them an elderly man, an *Ałowan* by offspring, by the name of Benjamin. And he (Mesrop) inquired and investigated the barbarian words of the *Ałowan* language, created then, with his usual God-given vigour, letters (for it), which he, with the mercy of Christ, successfully arranged, examined and fixed.

According to Koryun, Mesrop thus paved the way for the emergence of a Christian literature in the Albanian language:²

After this then, bishop Jeremiah began soon to undertake the translation of the divine scriptures, whereby immediately, within a second, the savage, vagrant, and brutal country of the *Ałowans* became skilled in the prophets and well acquainted with the apostles, and heirs to the Gospels, and in no way ignorant of all the divine traditions.

1 Koryun, *Life of Mashtots*, ch. 16 (Abeghyan 1941: 68): Յայնմ ժամանակի եկեալ դիպէր նմա ալոմի երէց աղուան ազգաւ, Բենիամէն անուն. եւ նորա հարցեալ եւ քննեալ զբարբարոս զբանս աղուաներէն լեզուին, առնէր ապա նշանագիրս ըստ վերնապարգեւ կորովի սովորութեան իւրում եւ յաջողութեամբ Քրիստոսի Հնորհացն կարգեալ եւ հաստատեալ կռէր: – English translation after Norehad (1985: 40).

2 Koryun, *Life of Mashtots*, ch. 17 (Abeghyan 1941: 70–72): Ապա այնուհետեւ երանելոյն երեմիայի եպիսկոպոսի ի ձեռն առեալ՝ վարդապետի զաստուածային գրոց թարգմանութիւնս ի գործ արկանէր, որով անդէն յական թաւթափել վաչրենամիտ եւ դատարկասուն եւ անասնաբարոյ աշխարհն Արուանից

1.1 The alphabet list

For about 1500 years, Koryun's information remained unproven as no traces of the Albanian script and the translated texts had been discovered. The aporia ended only in 1937 when the Georgian scholar Ilia Abuladze discovered a 13th-century Armenian “collective codex of educational character” in the Matenadaran in Yerevan (ms. 7117)³ which contains, among the accounts of several other scripts (Armenian, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Latin, Georgian, and Coptic), a list of “Albanian” letters (*alowanik' girn*). The list comprises 52 characters arranged in alphabetical order in 11 lines, with the letter names added in Armenian transcription below them (see Figures 1–2 where the Albanian list, embedded between the accounts of the Georgian and Coptic scripts, is highlighted, and Chapter 4 of the present Handbook for details).⁴

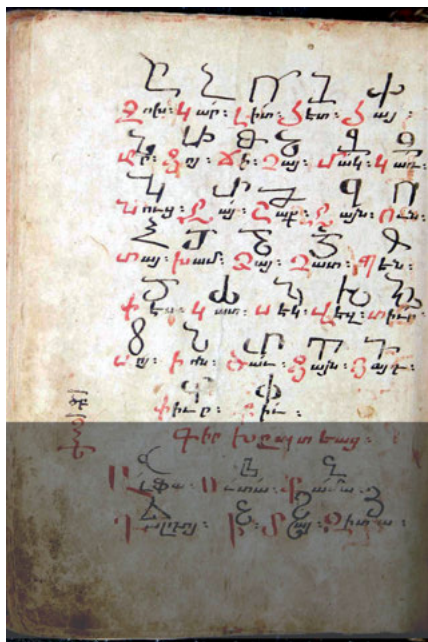
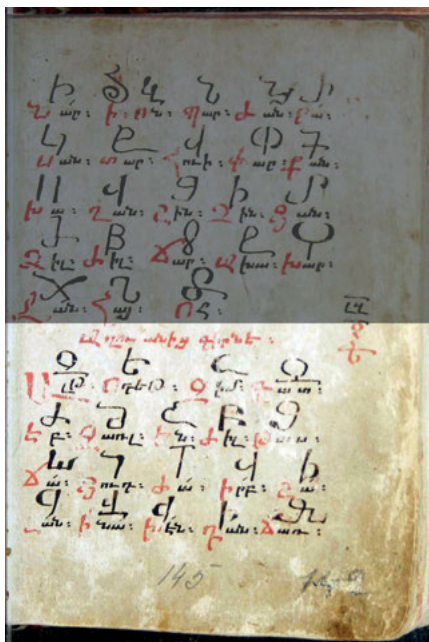


Fig. 1: Ms. Yerevan, Matenadaran 7117, fol. 145r. Fig. 2: Ms. Yerevan, Matenadaran 7117, fol. 145v.

մարգարէագէտք եւ առաքելածանաթք եւ աւետարանաժառանգք լինէին, եւ ամենայն ասանդելոցն Աստուծոյ ոչ իւրք անտեղեակք: – English translation after Norehad (1985: 41).

3 Abuladze (1938: 70): “... в одном из сборников учебного характера”.

4 A first attempt at editing the alphabet list was provided by Akaki Shanidze (1938). According to the same author (1957: 37), the manuscript emerged from the school of Thomas of Metsoph

1.2 The detection of inscriptions

A few years later (between 1946 and 1953), excavations in Sudağilan near the construction site of the hydroelectric power station at Mingachevir (Mingəçevir, Mingəçaur) in North-West Azerbaijan⁵ revealed a few artefacts with short inscriptions that were assumed to be written in the Albanian script,⁶ among them a rectangular block of appr. 70 × 70 cm which obviously represented a pedestal (or capital) used to carry a cross (see Figures 3–7); however, differences in the letter

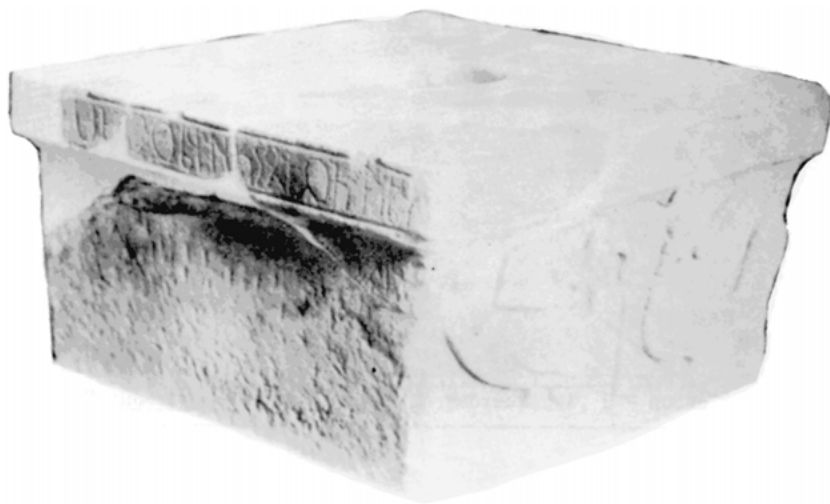


Fig. 3: The pedestal of Mingachevir, total view.

(T'ovma Mecop'ec'i) who died by 1446 CE. A late 16th-century copy of the Yerevan manuscript was described by H. Kurdian (1956: 81–83 with pl. III), who had achieved it in 1953; other Armenian manuscripts that seem to contain a similar list such as ms. 3124 of the Matenadaran are not pertinent (cf. Shanidze 1938: 47). The two lines from a note in an Armenian manuscript of 1535 published by N. Karamianz (1886: 315–319) bear no similarity to the Albanian alphabet, the given script representing a peculiar Armenian cursive instead (cf. Gippert et al. 2008: I, II-1, n. 1); the manuscript in question is today kept as Ms. or quart. 805 at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, the note is found at the bottom of p. 214 (see https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN790627981&PHYSID=PHYS_0214).

5 Situated at 40°47'01" N, 47°02'12" E on the left bank of the Kura river.

6 The discovery of the inscriptions was reported by Qaziyev (1948), Golubkina (1949), and others; cf. 4. below for details. General accounts of the archeological sites and the finds in question were published by R. Vahidov (1952 and 1961).



Fig. 4: Same, front face with inscription.



Fig. 5: Same, second face.



Fig. 6: Same, third face.



Fig. 7: Same, fourth face.

shapes between the alphabet list and the inscriptions prevented scholars from providing reliable readings⁷ (see 4.1 below for more details).

1.3 The discovery of manuscripts

It took about 40 years until more extensive text materials in the same script were discovered. Among the great number of unknown manuscripts that came to light by consequence of a fire in St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai in 1975, the Georgian scholar Zaza Aleksidze discovered in 1996 two palimpsested parchment codices (Sin. georg. NF 13 and 55) whose lower layer was determinable, at least



Fig. 8: Ms. Sin. georg. NF 13, fol. 4v: Georgian with Albanian undertext.

⁷ For attempts cf. e.g. Abrahamyan (1964: 39–50); Klimov (1967: 77–78); Gukasyan (1969: 60, no. 24 and 70–71); Murav'ev (1981: 265–270) / Mouraviev (1998–2000: 35–41); Schulze (1982: 285–291). The first interpretation that was based upon a comparison with the script as appearing in the palimpsests of Mt Sinai (see 1.3 below) was published in Gippert (2004: 107–120); all previous attempts must be regarded as obsolete.



Fig. 9: Same, ultraviolet photograph.

for parts, to be Albanian.⁸ Even though the undertexts were heavily erased, with usually only a few lines remaining discernible to the naked eye (cf. Fig. 8), Aleksidze was able to identify biblical passages mostly from the Pauline Epistles on them; the basis for the decipherment was, besides the alphabet list of the Mate-nadaran manuscript, the language of the Udi people in Azerbaijan, who have traditionally been assumed to be descendants of the Caucasian “Albanians”.⁹ The palimpsests thus turned out to be the first (and only) manuscript remains in the Albanian language available to us.

1.4 The first edition

With the aim to reveal the complete content of the Albanian palimpsests and to prepare a printed edition, a first international project was launched in 1999,¹⁰ in

⁸ Cf. Aleksidze and Mahé (1997 and 2001), and Aleksidze (1998, 1998–2000, 2003a, and 2003b).

⁹ Cf. Chapter 5 of this Handbook as to the interrelation of the Albanian and Udi languages.

¹⁰ “Digitization of the Albanian palimpsest manuscripts from Mt. Sinai”, part of the project “Kaukasische Sprachen und Kulturen: Grundlagen ihrer elektronischen Dokumentation” (“ARMAZI



Fig. 10: Same, multispectral image, digitally processed.

the course of which a large set of ultraviolet images of the palimpsest folios was taken.¹¹ In many cases, these photos enhanced the readability of the Albanian undertexts effectively (cf. Fig. 9), and the identification of the contents and the characters made considerable progress even though plenty of questions still remained open. At the same time, however, the technology of digital photographing advanced and first attempts to use a method called “multispectral imaging” for the decipherment of palimpsests had yielded some success. This technology was for the first time applied to the Albanian palimpsests in 2004 in a follow-up project;¹² the resulting images (cf. Fig. 10) served as the basis for the first scholarly edition of the Albanian undertexts, which was published in two volumes in

project”, kindly supported by the Volkswagen Foundation); cf. <https://armazi.uni-frankfurt.de/armaz3.htm>.

¹¹ The photographs were produced in summer 2002 under the direction of Z. Aleksidze.

¹² The project under the title “Neue Wege zur wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung von Palimpsest-handschriften kaukasischer Provenienz” ran, with kind support by the Volkswagen Foundation, from 2003–2007; participants were Z. Aleksidze, J.-P. Mahé, W. Schulze, M. Tandashvili and the present author. For the principles of multispectral imaging cf. Gippert (2007a).



Fig. 11: Ms. Sin. georg. NF 55, fol. 40v+35r.

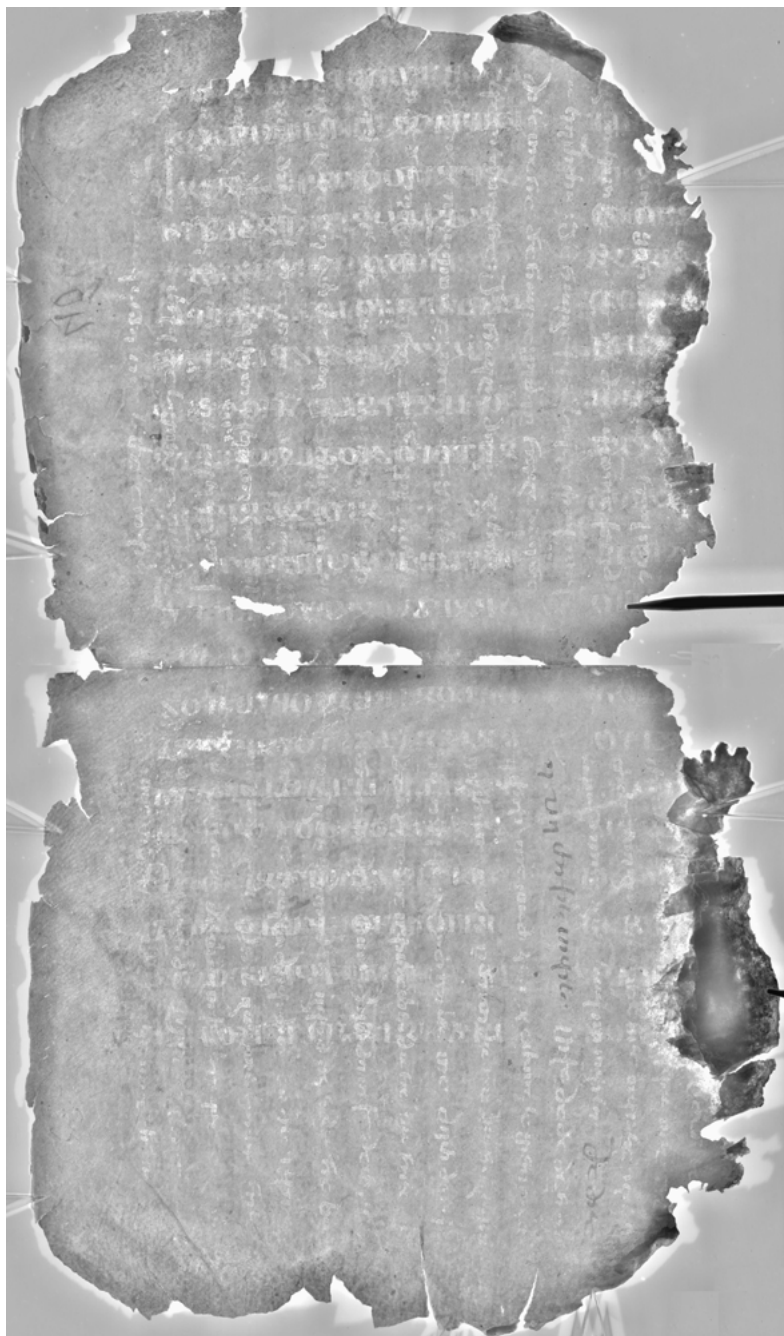


Fig. 12: Same, transmissive light image.

2008,¹³ comprising a total of 242 manuscript pages of Sin. georg. NF 13 and 55. The contents were determined to be all biblical, with 116 pages (58 folios) containing parts of the Gospel of John; the remaining 126 pages (63 folios) revealed themselves as deriving from a lectionary, with pericopes mostly from the Pauline Epistles but also from the other Gospels, the Acts of Apostles and the Catholic Epistles, plus one lection from the Old Testament (Isaiah 35.3–8). Only one double folio remained unidentified (Sin. georg. NF 55, f. 1+5), and for one more double folio, the contents could only be guessed at (Sin. georg. NF 55, f. 35+40, assumed to contain John 20.30–21.15). Especially with the Gospel of John, the average readability rate had remained rather low (max. 30 % per page), while the lectionary texts were restorable with much higher confidence (up to 99 %). Together with the fact that there are clear differences in the layout between the Gospel of John and the other texts, this led to the assumption that the Albanian palimpsests represent the remains of two different original codices.

1.5 Enhanced technology

New facilities for improving the readability of the palimpsests emerged a few years after the edition had been published, in the course of the Sinai Palimpsests Project (2012–2017),¹⁴ which attempted at providing high-standard multispectral images of all palimpsests stored in St Catherine's monastery. It was especially the new technology of “transmissive light imaging” developed during this project that brought about remarkable progress in establishing the Albanian undertexts, by increasing the readability of the Gospel of John to about 75 %. This included the hitherto unidentified double folio, which was now determined to contain John 20.30–21.16, as well as Sin. georg. NF 55, f. 40+35, now ascertained to comprise John 18.16–31 (cf. Figures 11 and 12). The large amount of new and corrected readings has made it necessary to provide a second edition, which will be published in the near future; the following summary of the textual heritage of the Albanians represents the present state of the decipherment as does the short description of the language in Chapter 4 of this Handbook.

¹³ Gippert et al. (2008); a third volume (Gippert 2010) was devoted to the Armenian undertexts of the Sinai palimpsests.

¹⁴ Cf. <http://sinaipalimpsests.org/about-project>; the project was a collaboration of St. Catherine's Monastery of the Sinai and the Early Manuscripts Electronic Library, funded by Arcadia Foundation and directed by Claudia Rapp and Michael Phelps.

2 The Gospel of John

2.1 The codicological setting

In the edition of 2008, the distribution of the 56 folios that were determined to belong to the Gospel of John was illustrated as given in Table I, which clearly shows that there were eleven sets of contiguous Gospel text scattered without any intrinsic order about the two palimpsest codices, Sin. georg. NF 13 (marked ‘A’ in the Table and hereafter) and 55 (marked ‘B’). In most cases, two folios each were found to represent one folio of the original codex, thus constituting conjugates (or bifolios) of the palimpsest (e.g., A40 + A47); for only two folios (A7 and A107), the “partner” was missing. Beyond the sequences of attested and non-attested passages, no underlying codex structure was discernible.

The Sinai Palimpsest Project provided not only enhanced images permitting to ascertain the contents of the lower layer but also several fragments that had not yet been accessible to the edition project in 2004; some of these were attributable to the Gospel of John.¹⁵ Together with a more meticulous codicological investigation, which revealed that double folios of the original codex were not distributed at random in the palimpsests but according to a symmetrical (or “mirroring”) principle,¹⁶ the structure of the Albanian Gospel codex has now been established with certainty: it must have consisted of six quires of eight folios (four bifolios) each (i.e. quaternions), with the (lost) first folio being either empty or filled with paratextual material (a title page, a miniature, or a lecture index). After the end of the Gospel (John 21.15–25), the last folio contains an extra column of which only a few characters have remained; this is likely to have been a scribe’s colophon (cf. 2.3 below). Table II illustrates the structure of the Gospel codex as established today; note the symmetrical distribution of, e.g., A6 and A7 or A40+A47 and A41+A46 in quire I and of B18+21 and B17+22 in quire II. In addition, the structure clearly reveals that the codex followed Gregory’s rule, with hair sides of the parchment facing hair sides and flesh sides facing flesh sides (here indicated in green);¹⁷ every quire began with a hair side. With 35 folios of the original codex represented *in toto* or fragmentarily in the palimpsests, more than two thirds of St John’s Gospel have been preserved.

¹⁵ In the Sinai Palimpsest Project, the additional fragments were assigned to Sin. georg. NF 55, with folio numbers 60–78; this assignment has no bearing on the reconstruction of the original codex since Sin. georg. NF 13 and 55 had before been determined to represent one *codex rescriptus* on the basis of the Georgian overtexts.

¹⁶ This approach was first applied in Gippert (2012a).

¹⁷ Cf. Gregory (1900: 8–10).

Tab. I: Distribution of folios of the Gospel of John across Sin. georg. NF 13 and 55 (2008).

I		II		OIII		IV	
Jo. 1.1-25	Jo. 1.25-45	Jo. 1.45-2.15	Jo. 2.15-3.9	Jo. 3.9-26	Jo. 3.27-4.11	Jo. 4.11-31	Jo. 4.31-48
A40r	A40v	A6r	A7r	A7v	A41r		B18r
A47v	A47r	A1v	A1r		A46v	A46r	B21v
V							
Jo. 5.17-35	Jo. 5.35-6.9	Jo. 6.9-27	Jo. 6.27-48	Jo. 6.48-66	Jo. 6.66-7.17	Jo. 7.17-37	Jo. 7.37-8.14
A100r	A101r	A101v	A99r	A99v	B17r		
A97v	A96v	A96r	A107v	A107r	A98v	A98r	
VI							
Jo. 8.14-31	Jo. 8.32-50	Jo. 8.51-9.9	Jo. 9.9-27	Jo. 9.27-10.6	Jo. 10.7-27	Jo. 10.27-11.7	Jo. 11.7-30
A19r	A50r	A51r	A51v	A18r	A18v	A74r	A65r
A20r	A55v	A55r	A54v	A54r	A21v	A21r	A60v
VII							
Jo. 11.48-12.6	Jo. 12.6-26	Jo. 12.26-44	Jo. 12.44-13.11	Jo. 13.11-28	Jo. 13.28-14.7	Jo. 14.7-24	Jo. 14.24-15.13
B12r	B12v	B11r	B11v	B54r	B54v	A66r	
B9v	B9r	B10v	B10r	B55v	B55r	A59v	
X							
Jo. 15.13-16.5	Jo. 16.5-22	Jo. 16.22-17.6	Jo. 17.6-25	Jo. 17.25-18.16	Jo. 18.16-31		
A30r	A30v	A31r	A31v				
A25v	A25r	A24v	A24r				
XI							
Jo. 18.32-19.7	Jo. 19.7-22	Jo. 19.23-38	Jo. 19.38-20.14	Jo. 20.15-29	Jo. 20.30-21.15	Jo. 21.15-25 + Col.	
A61r	A17r	A17v	B13r	B13v	B14v	B14r	B39v
A64v	A22v	A22r	B8v	B8r	B7v	B7r	B36v
							B36r

Tab. II: Reconstruction of the original codex of the Gospel of John (2021).

I									
(vacat)	1.1–25	1.25–45	1.45–2.15	2.15–3.9	3.9–26	3.27–4.11	4.11–31		
	A40r	A40v	A6r	A7r		A41r	A41v		
	A47v	A47r	A1v			A46v	A46r		
II									
4.31–48	4.48–5.17	5.17–35	5.35–6.9	6.9–27	6.27–48	6.49–66	6.66–7.17		
B18r	B69v	B69r	A100v	B73v	A99r	B70v	B17r		
B21v		A97v	A96v	A107v	A98v	B60r+75r	B22v		
III									
7.17–37	7.37–8.14	8.14–31	8.32–50	8.51–9.9	9.9–27	9.27–10.6	10.7–27		
B68v		A19r	A50r	A51r	A18r	A74r	B66v		
B71r		A20v	A55v	A54v	A21v	A102v	B72r		
IV									
10.27–11.7	11.7–30	11.30–47	11.48–12.6	12.6–26	12.26–44	12.44–13.11	13.11–28		
	A65r	A65v	B12r	B11r	B54r	A66r			
	A60v	A60r	B9v	B10v	B55v	A59v			
V									
13.28–14.7	14.7–24	14.24–15.13	15.13–16.5	16.5–22	16.22–17.6	17.6–25	17.25–18.16		
			A30r	A31r					
			A25v	A24v					
VI									
18.16–31	18.32–19.7	19.7–22	19.23–38	19.38–20.14	20.15–29	20.30–21.15	21.15–25+col.		
B40r	A61r	A17r	B13r+77r	B14r+78r	A16r	B1r	B39v		
B35v	A64v	A22v	B8v	B7v	A23v	B5v	B36v		

2.2 The Albanian Gospel text

As was already pointed out in the first edition, the Albanian version of the Gospel agrees in a considerable manner with the Armenian *textus receptus* and, to a lesser extent, the Georgian version as represented in the so-called Adishi Gospels of 895,¹⁸ in a few instances, it shows affinities to a Semitic stratum as in the case of the name of the prophet Isaiah which appears as *ešaya* (John 1.23 and 12.38: A47rb, 17 and B55ra, 14) with a *š* matching Syriac *eša'yā* and opposing itself to Greek Ἰσαΐας, Armenian *ēsaya*, and Georgian *esaia* / *esaya*; another such case is the name of the lake Siloam which appears with initial *š*-, too (gen. *šilohaown* and dat. *šilohaṣ*, John 9.7 and 11, A51vb, 10 and A18ra, 9–10), corresponding to Syriac *šilūhā* and contrasting with Greek Σιλωάμ, Armenian *silovam*, and Georgian *siloam*.¹⁹ These observations have now been corroborated, and the assumption of the Albanian Gospel text witnessing to an ancient Syriac-based “Caucasian” Bible version that was shared by its Armenian and Georgian neighbours before it was remodelled upon the Greek text has gained even more ground. We can now adduce further examples of biblical names with a *š*- such as that of Samaria (dative *šamariyaṣ*, John 4.4: A41va, 8–9) and the Samaritans (singular *šamraown*, John 4.7 and 4.9: A46ra, 19–20 and A41vb, 5; plural *šamraowḡ*- in John 4.5 and 4.9: A41va, 11 and A41vb, 10), matching Syriac *šamrāye* and *šamrīn* as against Greek Σαμαρεία, Armenian *samaria*, and Georgian *samaria* etc.; similarly, the name of the prophet Moses appears as *mowše* in John 5.46 and 6.32 (A101va, 5 and A98va, 16–17) in agreement with Syriac *mūše* and contrasting with Greek Μωϋσῆς, Armenian *movsēs*, and Georgian *mose*. Another “Syriacism” can be seen in the name of Lazarus, which is *laazar* in John 11.14 and 12.1 (A65rb, 7 and B9ra, 16), as a closer match of Syriac *lā'azar* than Greek Λαζαρός, Armenian *lazaros*, and Georgian *lazare*; once we even read *laṣazar*- (John 12.17: B11va, 2–3), with the Syriac letter *Ḓ* (ܥ) rendered by the Albanian pharyngeal, **Ḓ** = ܥ.

2.2.1 The “AAA” trias

These examples notwithstanding, the assumption of a peculiar affinity of the Albanian Gospel text with the Armenian version and that of the Adishi Gospels (hereafter: Ad.) has gained further ground as well. To give but a few examples: In John 5.18 (A100ra, 4), the Albanian text has the plural form *šanbaṭowṣ* ‘sabbaths’

¹⁸ Gippert et al. (2008: I, 1-32–33).

¹⁹ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, 1-34–37); cf. also Gippert (2012b: 238–240). Former readings of the name in Albanian with word-final *-m* must be corrected.

matching Armenian *zšabat's* and *šapatta* in Ad., in contrast to the singular forms τὸ σάββατον in Greek and *šabatsa* in the other Georgian witnesses. In John 5.28, Jesus asks “Why do you marvel at this?” in Albanian (*etal ha-nan-ameç*; A100va, 12–13)²⁰ just as in Armenian (*ənd ayn ziʔ zarmanaykʻ*) and in Ad. (*ese raysa gikwrs?*) while the Greek text and the Georgian Protovulgate have a prohibitive “Do not marvel” (μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο / *nu gikwrn ese*). In the Albanian text of John 6.27 (A107rb, 16), the imperative *biya-nan* ‘do!’ (pl.) is preceded by *owkal-nan* ‘go!’ (pl.), in perfect agreement with Armenian *ertʻaykʻ gorcʻecʻek* and Georgian *čarvedit ikmodet* in Ad., while the Greek text and the other Georgian versions have only the second imperative (ἐργάζεσθε, *ikmodet*). In John 19.14 (A22vb, 21), Pilate says to the Jews *aha üwx bšefi vřax* ‘Look, your king for you’, exactly matching *aha tʻagawor jer zjez* in the Armenian text and *aha meupē tkueni tkuenda* in Ad.; the Greek and the other Georgian versions lack the (redundant) final pronoun (Ἰδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν / *aha meupē tkueni*). In the Armenian version of John 20.27, Jesus addresses Thomas in saying *ber zmatowns kʻo ew ark aysr ew tes zjers im* ‘bring your fingers and cast (them) here and look at my hands!’, closely followed by Ad. (*moqven titni šenni da šemaxe aka da ixilen qelni čemni*) and the Albanian (*heqa-n(ow)n e kašix vē baha-heqa-n(ow)n e tiš beğa-n(ow)n kowl-mowx bezi*);²¹ the second imperative is missing in the other Georgian versions as well as the Greek text, which in addition has the singular τὸν δάκτυλον instead of a plural.

In some cases, the trias of Albanian, Armenian and Ad. (hereafter styled “AAA”) is joined by peculiar witnesses of the Greek and Syriac tradition, thus suggesting the existence of a special text version as the common ancestor. This is true, e.g., of John 6.23 (A107ra, 17–20), which in most Greek and Georgian witnesses as well as the Syriac Peshitta ends with the Lord (or Jesus) having given thanks (or a blessing: εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου / *romel aqurtxa upalman da hmadlobda / kad barek yešūʻ*); this phrase is missing in the Greek codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D)²² and the two older Syriac versions preserved in the Curetonian Gospels and the Sinaiticus Palimpsest, as well as AAA. In John 8.40 (A55vb, 15–16), Jesus says “which I have heard from my father” in AAA (*ihē-h~ke-za dexoc bezi ~ zor loway hawrē immē ~ ray mesma mamisagan čemisa*), here joined by the so-called Korideti Gospels (Θ, f. 217ra) with ἦν ἡκουσα παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου, while the other witnesses have “from God” (τοῦ θεοῦ / *gmrtisagan / men ʻalāhā*).²³ A “Syriac” trait that is worth investigat-

²⁰ The former reading as thematised in Gippert (2012b: 241) must be corrected accordingly.

²¹ The Albanian text (A16vb, 7–10) is not certain in all details here but the sequence of words is beyond doubt.

²² As well as two later (minuscule) manuscripts, 69 (Leicester) and 788 (Athens).

²³ Cf. Gippert (2012b: 242) and further Chapter 4 of this Handbook, 5.2.1.

ing is the rendering of an agent by the phrase “from / by the hand of” as occurring, e.g., in John 1.17 (*e oṭanowḫ kowin mowšēi daḡē-anaḡe madil'owḫ own ṭsegen(ow)n kowyoc y~i k~i* ‘because the laws are given by the hand of Moses, graces and truth from the hand of Jesus Christ’: A47ra, 13–15); here, both *kowin* (erg. sg.) and *kowyoc* (abl. sg.) correspond to Syriac *b-yad* ‘by’ (lit. ‘in the hand’), matched by Armenian *i jeṛn* and, in the first instance, by *qelita* in Ad., whereas the Greek text and the other Georgian witnesses (including the second instance in Ad.) have a mere pre- or postposition (δὲ / *mier*). These correspondences are anything but straightforward, however; so we find, e.g., *oowk(a) kowyoc* ‘by him’ three times in John 1.3, 1.4 and 1.7 (A40ra, 6 and 9; A47va, 20), where the Syriac text of the Peshitta has two times *b-ide-hw* but once simply *be-h* ‘in him’ (1.4; in the Curetonian Gospels also in 1.3), and the Armenian text uses three times the simple pronoun *novaw* (instrumental) ‘by him’. On the other hand, the trias of AAA stands out again in John 19.17 with *ā~y kowya* ‘into their hand’ (A17va, 10) ~ *i jeṛs noc’a / qelta matta*, whereas the Syriac text (of the Peshitta) here agrees with the Greek and the other Georgian versions in having simple *l-hūn* ‘to them’ ~ αὐτοῖς / *mat*.

2.2.2 Special matches between Armenian and Albanian

In several cases, the Albanian Gospel of John suggests a peculiar relationship with the Armenian version. We must not count here the large amount of loanwords from (Middle) Iranian languages that both languages share (often also with Georgian), for these can always be independent borrowings; to the many examples gathered earlier (e.g., Albanian *vardapet* ~ Armenian *vardapet* ‘teacher’, *marḡaven* ~ *margarē* ‘prophet’, *vaṣamaḡ* ~ *varšamak* ‘cerecloth, napkin’, etc.),²⁴ we may now add *žam* ‘hour’ (John 11.9: A65ra, 8) ~ Armenian *žam* (also Georgian *žam-i*), *ašpārez* ‘stadion’ (John 11.18: A60vb, 220) ~ Armenian *asparēs* (also Georgian *ašpārez-i*), possibly also *biṭowan* ‘id.’ (John 6.19: A107vb, 17–18) ~ Armenian *vtawan* (also Georgian *uṭevan-i*), and *ašpīnza* ‘lodge’ (John 18.28: B35ra, 21–B40vb, 1) ~ Armenian *aspnjakan* ‘inn’ and Georgian *m-ašpīnž-el-i* ‘host’.²⁵ A bit more telling is the use of reduplication in producing “intensified” adjectives such as *bān’i-bān’i* (John 5.20: A97va, 18–19) and *beg-beg* (John 21.11: B5ra, 17) both meaning ‘very big’ and both mirroring Armenian *mecamec* ‘id.’. As a new Armenian loanword we

²⁴ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, I-30); Gippert (2011c: 3–8).

²⁵ Cf. also the Georgian place name *Ašpīnza* (Andronikashvili 1966: 287–288 and Gippert 1993: 119–124). The word also occurs in Acts 1.13 (A104ra, 20); in both cases, the reading of the character *z* (corresponding to Georgian *z*) is uncertain, it might also be a *ž* in accordance with Armenian *j* (cf. Gippert forthc.: I).

may note *dol* ‘vessel, bucket’ which obviously renders Armenian *doył* ‘id.’ in John 4.11 (A46rb, 20), in its turn probably a Semitism (Syriac *dawlā* ‘id.’, vs. Greek ἀντήμα and Georgian *sarçqul-i* / *savsebel-i*); another Syriacism may be concealed in *daizowzn’a* ‘denarius’ (John 6.7: A101vb, 11–12) if this is a hybrid compound consisting of *dai-* ‘green’ (> ‘silver’?) and Syr. *zūzā* ‘drachm’.²⁶ An exclusive accordance of the Armenian and the Albanian texts is met with in John 19.15 where the Jews shout two times “take him (up away) from us” (A17va, 1–2: Albanian *heqan(ow)n žaxoc* ~ Armenian *barj i mēñj*) with an explicit ablative, while the other versions only have “take (him) up” (Greek ἄρῳ, Georgian *ağāge*). Another exclusive accordance of the Albanian and the Armenian texts is found in John 19.29 (B8vb, 17–18) where only these two versions mention a “bundle of hyssop”, using even the same Iranian loanword (*mistikaloš zopəown* ~ *mštkaw zovpayi*), while all others only speak of “hyssop” alone (Greek ὑσσώπω, Georgian *usupsa*, Syr. *zōpā*) or of a mere “flower” (Georgian *quavili*, Ad.). Only in the Armenian and the Albanian texts, Jesus asks in John 21.22 “Why do you care?” (*vak ya-ne qirmir*, B36vb, 20, ~ *k’ez zi p’oyt’ ē*, lit. ‘What eagerness is (it) to you’), while the other versions have a mere “What” or “How much (is it) to you?” (Greek τί πρὸς σέ, Georgian *šenda ray* / Syr. *lākmā’ lek*). A telling coincidence is also met with in John 19.26 and 20.15 (B13rb, 5 and B7rb, 21–A16ra, 1) where Jesus talks to his mother and Mary Magdalene, respectively: to the plain address “woman!” (Armenian *kin*, Albanian *xifowyo*, ~ Greek γύναι, Georgian *dedakaco*, Syriac *’attā*), only Armenian and Albanian here add the 2nd person pronoun “you” (*dow* / *vown*). In Armenian, this may be due to the fact that the language does not have a peculiar vocative form (in contrast to Greek or Georgian) so that *kin* alone was underspecified; in Albanian, however, the vocative is clearly distinguished by the ending *-yo* so that the addition of the pronoun is redundant and only explicable as a calque of the Armenian wording.

The most intriguing feature that joins the Albanian text with the Armenian version is the list of languages in which the inscription on the Cross was written (John 19.20). According to the Greek tradition, these were Hebrew (Ἑβραϊστί), Latin (~ Roman, Ῥωμαϊστί), and Greek (Ἑλληνιστί), with the order of the second and third one varying among the witnesses. The Georgian versions agree with this in naming *ebraelebr* ‘Hebrew’, *hromaelebr* ‘Roman’,²⁷ and *berzl* ‘Greek’; the same is true, with a different order, for the Syriac Peshitta which has *’ebrā’ūt*, *yawnā’ūt*, and *rawmā’ūt*, with *yawnā’ūt* referring to Greek (‘Ionian’). In contrast to this, the Armenian text has *ebrajec’erēn*, *dalmtatarēn*, and *yownarēn*, with the last

²⁶ For further details cf. Chapter 4 of this Handbook, 5.2.2.

²⁷ Ad. has the remarkable variant *prominebr*; cf. Blake (1923: 83–88) and Peeters (1926: 76–77) for other attestations of Georgian *promin-* ‘Roman’.

word matching Syriac *yawnā'īt*; the peculiar term is the second one, which obviously refers to Dalmatia instead of Rome. This is now matched by the Albanian version, which can be established to read *ebraowneš, dalmataowneš, yovnaowneš* (A17vb, 12–13),²⁸ including the specific reference to Dalmatia, which has been convincingly motivated for Armenian as an indication of the Christianisation of Armenia during the reign of the Roman emperor Diocletian, of Dalmatian origin, between 284 and 305 and the acknowledgement of his suzerainty over Armenia by the Sassanid kings in 298 CE.²⁹ The mentioning of Dalmatia instead of Rome in the Gospel of John may thus yield a *terminus a quo* for its first translation into Armenian; for the Albanian text, we may safely assume that it depends on the Armenian tradition established then.

As a matter of fact, the dependance of the Albanian version on the Armenian one manifests itself not only in peculiar words and expressions as discussed above, but overall in the wording which follows the Armenian text wherever possible. This includes the sentence-internal word order, but also the use of the definite article.³⁰ The text passage of John 19.13–22 printed synoptically in Table III is meant to illustrate this by way of example.³¹

²⁸ The reading proposed in Gippert et al. (2008: I, V-97) must be given up.

²⁹ Cf. Künzle (1984: II, 177), arguing against Macler (1919: 638–642).

³⁰ Cf. Chapter 4 in this Handbook, 3.3.2 and 4.1.

³¹ The representation of the Albanian text in the Table follows the principles established in the *editio minor* part of the first edition (Gippert et al. 2008: I, III-1–46), with round parentheses marking resolved abbreviations, curly brackets indicating uncertain readings and angle brackets, characters missing in lacunae.

Tab. III: John 19.13–20 in synoptical arrangement.

Jo.	Caucasian Albanian	English	Armenian	Georgian (Ad.)	Georgian (vulg.)	Greek	Russian	Udi	Syriac
19.13 (193)	Pont'e pilaṭ(o)sja iñe-an'ke	Then when Pilate heard	Իսկ պիլատոս իրիւն լրտաւ	ხოლო პილატეს ვითარცა ეგმა	ხოლო პილატეს რა ეძიებენ	Ὁ οὖν Πιλάτος ἀκούσας	Пилат, услышав это слово,	Plata, me alta ibaki,	ܡܬܝܢ ܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ
12	e il'owx . ξε-he-boḷē-n-o-len	these words, he brought	զան բառսովիւ ան	სიტყუა ეზე, გმობევრან	სიტყუა ეზე, გმობევრან	τὸν λόγον ταύτων ἤγαγεν	вывел вои	činečeri	ܡܬܝܢ ܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ
13	y'sax ' acari-na-va e	Jesus outside; he sat down	զի ս արտաք, Ես նստաւ	იესუ გარე და დავად	იესუ გარე და დავად	ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν	Иисуса у сел арреци	Isusax toš va' arreci	ܡܬܝܢ ܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ
A22vb, 14	b'axe-xown'tex e xown'tex ci-	on the judgement seat at the place that is named	ի վրայ թախի ի տեղի որ կոչէր ինքն	სადგარა მას ზედა, ადგარა მას, რამდენა ერქმის	სადგარა ზედა, ადგარა მას, რამდენა ერქმენ	ἐπὶ βήματος εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον	на судилище, на месте, на называемом	duvan botal ganu, te ganu matuxte exqun	ܡܬܝܢ ܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ
15	-ka-hanaytowke {zemoj}-	the stone-	քարաստով	ქვაგინელი	ქვაგინელი	λίθοστρωτον,	Лифостротон,	lifostroton,	ܡܬܝܢ ܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ
16	-at(š)al ' ebraowne(š-al)	ground and in Hebrew,	Եւ եբրայեցիկն	რომელ არს ებრაელები	ხოლო ებრაელები –	Ἑβραῖοι δὲ	а по-еврейски	žuhutun muzin gena	ܡܬܝܢ ܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ
19,14	kaṛpata ' bow-ne-he {pla-	Karpatha. It was the prepa-ration	կապարտա՛ էր ուղարկն	კაპპათა, და იყო პარასკევი	კაპპათა, და იყო პარასკევი	Γαββαθα. Ἦν δὲ παρασκευή	Гаввафа. Тогда была пятница	ganwafa. řevaxta buney paraski	ܡܬܝܢ ܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ
18	{řas(t)ei axšibay(own h)ē-	day of the passover, it was	գասկի Եւ էր	ზეფიკასა მის და იყო	ზეფიკასა მის და იყო	τοῦ πάσχα, ὥρα ἦν	перед Паскою, у час	axšimin beš bu, va' sahadun	ܡܬܝܢ ܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ
19	ne-y(a ūwχ)aro(wn žam-a)ñke '	about the sixth hour.	իրիւն ժամ՝ կեցիրդ:	ვითარ ექუს შემოდენ,	ვითარ შექექლდა,	ὥς ἔκτεη.	иешетый.	uqo'	ܡܬܝܢ ܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ
20	pē-n-oen (e) vačarow'agos ' aha ūwχ b'ēfi řvax '	He said to the Jews, 'Look, your king for you!'	Եւ ան գրիւսյոնս իրիւն թաղաւոր ձեր զեղի:	და პეტეა ჰუერათა მათ: აჲ, მუდგე თქვენმა თქვენმა!	და პეტეა ჰუერათა მათ: აჲ, მუდგე თქვენმა!	καὶ λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, Ὕδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν.	И сказал [Пилат] Иудеям: мигля, пасчаг ефи.	va' pine plāten žuhutgo:	ܡܬܝܢ ܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ
19.15 (194)	A-ñ(hay)-p(ē-n-ā'n) heqa-n'n	They cried, 'take him	Եւ նրկա արտախիկն բարձ	და იგანი დავადებენ: ადევ,	და იგანი დავადებენ: ადევ,	ἦκουσαν οὖν ἐκείνου, Ἄρον ὁ βουζυμι,	Но они закричали: арга, бозыми,	anna šotjon haraiqunbi: aqa,	ܡܬܝܢ ܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ

Tab. III (continued)

Jo.	Caucasian Albanian	English	Armenian	Georgian (Ad.)	Georgian (vulg.)	Greek	Russian	Udi	Syriac
2	žaxoc heqja-n žaxoc ze xa-	away from us, take him from us, put	ի մէջէ լիւմի՛ժ ի մէջէ եւ՛ան	ахалцэ ла ахалцэ жэ ла	ахалцэ жэ ла	ἀπὸν,	возьми, распу	aqa. čairčairäzba	ܐܩܬܐܬܝܐܒܐ
3	n̄-oowx ihālas	him on the cross, '	գրա ի խաչ.	ჯუკრის-აცე!	ჯუკრის-აცე!	σταυρώσον αὐτόν,	Его!	šotux!	ܫܘܬܝܚ
4 (195)	P(ē)n-ä's {pi}lat{tsen zo(w)	Plate said to them: 'Am I	Ասէ ցիտա պիլատոս: Խ	პილტუ მათ პილტუ:	პილტუ მათ პილტუ:	λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος,	Пилат говорит им:	Platen pine šotgo.	ܩܠܬܝܢ ܥܝܢܐ ܫܘܬܝܚ
5	ūwx bēfi ihālas ze(xa-zow)	to put your king on the cross?	գրադարդը ձեր ի խաչ հանիցիմ:	მეუფემ ჰმა თქვენზე მე ჯუკრის-აცე?	მეუფემ თქვენზე მე ჯუკრის-აცე?	Τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν σταυρώσω;	Царя ли вашего распу?	ef pasčaxax čairčairäzba?	ܐܦܫܥܚܐܝܬܐܒܐ
6	I'ow-kor-biyay-ne {e} kahan{aow}goy-	The chief priests answered,	Պատմաւորի կառն քահանայապետքն:	მთუგის მღვდელთმძღვანის მათ	მთუგის მღვდელთმძღვანის მათ	ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς,	Первосвященники ответчали:	kala be'insgon žugábqunbi:	ܟܠܐ ܒܝܢܫܝܢ ܝܘܓܒܩܘܢܒܝ
7	-bāni'ā'n { 'tē- {ne} bešlī	'We have no	չկը մի	და პეტელის არა გვეყის ჩუენ	და პეტელის არა გვეყის ჩუენ	Οὐκ ἔχομεν	нет у нас	beši tenebu	ܒܝܫܝܢ ܬܢܝܒܐ
8	ūwx k(ē)saras čohoc { '}	king except for the Coesar, '	թագարդ լաւք ի կայսրի:	მეუფემ, გარდა კეისარი.	მეუფემ, გარდა კეისარი.	βασιλέα εἰ μὴ Καίσαρα.	царя, кроме кесаря.	pascağ kesariaxo žok.	ܩܥܫܐܝܬܐܝܬܐܒܐ
19,17 (196)	Emočen dagē-n- oen-oo{w 'x'}	Then he gave him	Յայնժամ Խո գրա ին	მაშინ მიეცა იგი მას	მაშინ მიეცა იგი მას	τότε οὖν παρέδωκεν αὐτόν	Тогда наконец он предал Его	šet'in tannedi šotux	ܫܬܝܢ ܬܢܝܕܝ ܫܘܬܝܚ
10	ä'y kowya ihāl(al h)ay-bālal-	into their hand(s) so that on the cross he	ի ձեռքս նոցա գր ի խաչ	ვეყისა მათისა, რათსა	მათ, რათსა	αὐτοῖς ἵνα	им	šotgo	ܫܘܬܝܚ
11	-an'ke-va '	would go.	եւ լաւիցի:	ჯუკრის-აცევის,	ჯუკრის-აცევი,	σταυρωθή.	на распятие.	čairčairäzbesuna	ܥܐܝܪܥܝܬܐܒܝܬܐ
12 (197)	čāē A' n heqay boka- oowx-he .	They took him and were leading him (away).	Եւ նոցա առեալ տանին զաւ' (away).	და მათ წარყვებენ იგი.	და მათ წარყვებენ და წარყვებენ.	[+ οἱ δὲ παράρῳντες αὐτόν ἀπήγαγον. f' 565]	И взяли Иисуса и повели.	va' aqunqī Isusax va' taqun- seri;	ܝܩܝܢܝܬܐܝܬܐܒܝܬܐ ܝܫܘܫܐܝܬܐܒܝܬܐ

13	heḡay-n-oya-hē ič̣n̄cōw	He himself had taken	Եւ իւրաձաւ էր իւնքիւն	და მაცვენიდა, და უპოვო მას თვის თვით ჰკუპდა,	და ვერო მას თვით ჰკუპო თვის,	και βασιτάζων αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν	И, неся va', ič̣	წმინდა ადამიანი
A22ra, 14	e ihāloun dowrowd žē- bālla-	the beam of the cross, he was going out	գիւղացականն Եւ Ելանէր	და ადგილიდა გადავიდა	და გვერდიდა გადავიდა	ἐξήλθεν	крестъ Свой. Онъ вышелъ	ხაჩნი თაშირი, sono žerine
15	-va-hē e xownel č̣i-ka-	onto the place that was named	ի սიḡიւն որ անուանէր	ადგილის მას, რომელსა ჰქვამდა	ადგილის მას	εις τὸν λεγόμενον	на место, называемое	მე განუ, matuxte exōpun
16	-hanay(β)owke-hē bliin ' ebvraownēš	'of the head', which in Hebrew	Գաղական.	თხუიშ	თხუიშისას,	Κρανίου Τόπον,	Лобное,	კოდოხია, ჰა- რბან-ხაჩა
17	č̣i-ka- hanayč̣'w(č̣)e-	was named	Եւ Լորէր Երբայեղիւն	რომელსა ერქმეობა ერბაიელენ	რომელსა ჰქვამდა	ὁ λέγεται Ἑβραϊστὶ	но-ебрейску	ჰუჰუტუნ მუზინ
18	-hē golgota . ihālas-	Golgotha, where	გოლგოთა . აქ	გოლგოთასა, სად	გოლგოთასა, სადა- თვით	Γολγοθα, ὅπου	Голгофа; гѡм	გოლგოთა; metār
19	-hamay(ke-oowx- zexay-hē ')	they had put him on the cross.	Եւ Ի խաչն իսկ Հանին դիւս:	ჰკუპრეს-სევსეს თვით, ჰკუპრეს-სევსეს	აქ, ჰკუპრეს-სევსეს	αὐτὸν ἐσταύρωσαν,	распѡли Езо	č̣arč̣arāzāqunbi šotux
(198)	20	Oowxoš heḡala-al e'n'eḡ	Together with him another	და მის თანა	და მის თანა სხუდა	και μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους	и с Ним	va' šotuxoal
21	pšāā 'r . eto(w- e)štow	two here-and- there,	Երկուս Եւս ապա, ասი	ორნი სხუდა, იმდევრ	ორნი, იმდევრ	δύο ἐντρεῦθεν	მეჩხ ორგუხ, ნო my	va' qeiriqtu so teč̣o,
A17vb, 1	büwga-al y'sax ' 1	and in the middle Jesus.	Ի միջի դիւս:	საშუალოდ იქეთ.	შორის იქეთ.	μέσον δε τὸν Ἰησοῦν.	ა ნორედუ Исуса.	qāti gena Isusax.
19,19	2	Cam-pē-ne sa daxtaḡ pi-latosen	And Pilate wrote a tablet	დაწერა ფიცისა პლატა	და დაწერა ფიცისა პლატა	ἐγραψεν δὲ και τίτλον ὁ Πιλάτος	Пилатъ же написаѡ и надписъ,	Pilaten gena camperi cam
3	zexay-n-oen e	and he put it	Եւ Ե	და დადგა	და დადგა	και ἐθηκεν	и постави	va' lanexi
4	ihā(ḡa) hala ' 1 b(ow-n)e-(hē)	on the cross. And it was	იქ ფიცაჲ ჰადა	სად ჰკუპრეს მას, და	სად ჰკუპრეს მას, და იქეთ	ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἦν δὲ	на кресте.	ხაჩნა laxo. წმინდა

Tab. III (continued)

Jo.	Caucasian Albanian	English	Armenian	Georgian (Ad.)	Georgian (vulg.)	Greek	Russian	Udi	Syriac
5	cam-pē (y-s) nazoreow(n)	written: 'Jesus of Nazareth,	գրվալ յ ս նազորեղի	წერალ იესო: ნაზარეული,	წერალ იესო: იესუ ნაზარეტელი,	γεγραμμένον, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος	Написано было: Иисус Назореи,	camney: Isus Nazorei,	ܡܬܬܠܡܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܢܙܪܝܐ
6	u(w)x va(čarowigow 'y)	the King of the Jews.'	թագաւոր հրեից:	მეფემ პირქათათ,	მეფემ პერქათათ,	ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.	Царь Иудейский.	pascağ žuhutun.	ܡܬܬܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܢܙܪܝܐ
19,20	7 3 Ič (e) daxtak zač(w)-bi(ya'-n')	The same tablet was read	Ձայն տախտակը ընկերցան	იგი ფიცადი წარკეთილებს	ესე ფიცადი მწკვლავთა ადმოკეთილებს	τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τίτλον	Эту надпись читали	me camnu kalqunexay	ܡܬܬܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
8	avēlā'n vačarowgo(y)	by many of the Jews	բազումք ի հրեից.	პირქათათა მწკვლავთა,	პერქათათ,	πολλοὶ ἀνέγνωσαν τὸν τίτλον.	многие из Иудее,	göbüntigön žuhutgoxo,	ܡܬܬܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
9	iħa-anake-hē e kalaka e	because close to the city was	գի մասու էր ի քաղաք անդր	რამეთუ მაშლიდელ იყო ქალაქს მას	რამეთუ მაშლიდელ იყო ადგილი იგი	ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως	потому что место, где был распят Иисус,	šetabaxtinte ga, mate čairčazbakiney Isus,	ܡܬܬܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܢܙܪܝܐ
10	xowm' ihālas zexay-hama'y\ke-	the place where Jesus was put on the cross.	անկիս ուր խաչեցան	ადგილი იგი, სადა ჯუჯროს-ქცუა	ქალაქსა, სადა-იგი ჯუჯროს-ცუეს	ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη	было недалеко от города,	axalteney šaharaxo,	ܡܬܬܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܢܙܪܝܐ
11	-hē y'sax 'bow-ne-(hē e čam-	It was written	յ ւ. ե. էր գրվալ	იესუ, და წერალ იყო	იესუ, და იყო წერალი	ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἦν γεγραμμένον	и написано было	va' cameciney	ܡܬܬܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܢܙܪܝܐ
12	-pē ebraowneš . dalmat(a')-	in Hebrew, 'Dalmatian',	Երրամեկերէն դալմատիէն.	ქრებულენ, ფრებანენ	ქრებულენ, ქრებულენ	Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαϊστί,	no-ebreiskui, no-zrecksui,	žuhutun, berdze-nun	ܡܬܬܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܢܙܪܝܐ
13	owneš . yovnaowneš '	Greek	և. յունարէն վերին.	და ბერძელ:	და ბერძელ.	Ἑλληνιστί.	no-rimski.	va' rimma muzur-gon.	ܡܬܬܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܢܙܪܝܐ

2.3 Layout and paratexts

The Gospel of John is written in two columns throughout, with 21 lines per column and an average of 17–18 characters per line. The characters have a height of 4 mm; initials of paragraphs are enlarged (up to 9 mm) and slightly outdented. At the line break, words are usually divided (without any hyphenation mark) at syllable boundaries; characters that would exceed the line are often placed, in minor size, above or (at the end of pages) below the line. The only punctuation mark used regularly is a dot placed at the top of the line after the last character of sentences or larger units. Abbreviations (elisions) are marked with a tilde-shaped line above. The beginning of Ammonian sections is indicated to the left of the initial character of the section with the respective number represented alphanumerically by the corresponding characters written in minor size (appr. 1 mm, often extremely difficult to make out), originally probably in red ink (e.g., *çdē* for 197, John 19.16b: A17va, 12) and partly with horizontal lines above and below (e.g., *çzz̃* for 137, John 15.16b: A25va, 19). In addition, sections and minor paragraphs are often separated from each other by a lengthy horizontal stroke (slightly tilde-shaped) to the left of the column (a similar divider appears, e.g., in the Armenian Gospels of Moscow of 887 CE, now ms. 6200 of the Matenadaran, Yerevan). The division into sections and paragraphs (and, depending on it, the use of enlarged initials) corresponds by and large to that applied in the Armenian Gospels of Moscow and Ejmiatsin (of 989 CE, now ms. 2374 of the Matenadaran, Yerevan), with but a few exceptions (e.g., sections 213 and 214 being indicated at the beginning of John 20.19 and within 20.20, A16rb, 7 and A23vb, 17, not in 20.20 and at the beginning of 20.22 as in the latter). On a few folios, remnants of a Eusebian apparatus are discernible, arranged in up to four columns (headed by *y* = John, *m* = Matthew, *m(r)* = Mark, and *l* = Luke) in tiny characters (appr. 1 mm) below the columns, possibly also in red ink (best visible on fol. A25v, John 136–141 ~ 15.14–21).³²

In several cases, the beginning of a text passage is accompanied by a marginal gloss in minor characters (appr. 2 mm) left of it indicating the use of the passage as a pericope, i.e. a lection read during liturgy. This is true, e.g., of the gloss *powriā~y gāen* ‘for the dead’ pertaining to John 5.19 (A100ra, 8). In some cases, the pericopes indicated by these glosses have a counterpart in the Armenian and / or Georgian lectionaries of the Jerusalem rite (hereafter LA / LG, cf. Chapter 6 of this Handbook [Renoux]) as in the case of a lection beginning with John 12.24, which is glossed *istepanosi* ‘of Stephen’ (B11vb, 10), thus matching the pericopes

³² Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, I-32).

of John 12.24–26 and 12.24–41 attested in LA and LG for 27 December, the commemoration day of the Protomartyr; similarly, John 20.24 is glossed by *tomas* ‘Thomas’ (A16va, 8), thus supposing a lection of John 20.24–31 as prescribed in LA for 23 August or John 20.24–25 as noted in LG for 1 November, both days being devoted to the eponymous Apostle.³³ The more verbose gloss accompanying John 21.20 on fol. B39r (ll. 6–8) probably reads *yakobi hebiyayoya own yohannēsi žowlowgaloya* ‘of James the Apostle and John the Evangelist’, matching both LA and LG which prescribe John 21.20–25 on 29 December, the commemoration day of John and James the Great. A lection beginning with John 8.31, indicated by the gloss *abrahami* ‘of Abraham’ in the palimpsest (A20rb, 17), is attested in the Latal manuscript of LG as a lection of the Friday of the 5th week after Easter, covering John 8.31–59.³⁴

Other marginal glosses are rather explanatory. This holds, e.g., for *pasek* added, in a frame of dotted lines, in the right margin of fol. B9v (l. 16) at the beginning of John 11.55, obviously meant to explain the word *axsibay* ‘Easter’ it faces, one of the few Georgian borrowings in Albanian;³⁵ exactly the same gloss (*pasek*) is found at exactly the same position in the Armenian Gospels of Ejmiatsin (fol. 204vb) rendering *zatikn* ‘id.’, and Ad. glosses the Georgian equivalent, *zatiḳi*, at the same position by *vnebatay*, i.e. ‘of the Passion(s)’.³⁶ A similar gloss is found in the right margin of fol. A66r (l. 11), with *pasekown* rendering the genitive form *axsibayown* of John 13.1; this, too, is matched by a corresponding gloss (*pasek*) in the Ejmiatsin Gospels (fol. 208r). Two marginal glosses on fol. A98r were obviously added as corrections for the text of John 6.42 at positions marked by obelos-like signs, namely, *y*’s in line 17 indicating the name of Jesus to be inserted between *te o-ne* ‘is not this’ and *o ġar yosepi* ‘the son of Joseph’, and *nex* ‘mother’ in line 19 as an addition to the phrase *ža aa-hanayoyake-ža o dex* ‘of whom we know the father’; in both cases, the omissions are a common feature of the Albanian and the Armenian versions,³⁷ thus again witnessing to their close relationship.

³³ There is no pericope beginning with John 5.19 in the Armenian or the Georgian lectionaries; however, John 5.17–24 is contained as a lection for the Deceased to be read on Mondays in the (later) Constantinopolitan lectionary.

³⁴ Cf. Tarchnišvili (1959a: 164–165 / 1959b: 131, no. 856m).

³⁵ Cf. Chapter 4 of this Handbook, 5.2.5.

³⁶ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, 1–35–36).

³⁷ The gloss *nex* for ‘mother’ was not yet identified in the edition. The equivalent of ‘mother’ is also missing in the Syriac text of the Curetonian Gospels and the Sinaiticus Palimpsest but present in the Peshitta; among the Georgian versions, it is the Protovulgate that lacks the equivalent while Ad. does have *deday da mamay* ‘mother and father’. The name of Jesus is present in all Georgian and Syriac versions. Cf. Gippert (2012b: 241–242) as to the wording of the Greek Codex Sinaiticus.

A peculiar paratext is contained after the end of the Gospel, John 21.25, in the second column of the last folio of the original codex consisting of fol. B39vb+36rb. Although only a few letters of lines 9–21 of the column have remained, we may safely assume that this was the colophon of the scribe of the codex who, beginning with *zow* ‘I’ (line 9), refers to the Lord (*ž̃e*, ergative or dative), and later supplicates for his parents and his relatives (<*be*>*zi dex* <*own nex own qar*>*n’aã~<x>*, lines 16–18); the last line obviously addresses the Mother of God (*Marya<m>*, line 21). Unfortunately, neither the scribe’s name nor any detail as to the date and place of his endeavour have been preserved.

3 The “Lectionary”

3.1 Layout and paratexts

Except for the fact of being arranged in two columns as well, the layout of the “Lectionary” part of the Albanian palimpsests differs remarkably from that of the Gospel of John. The characters of its main text are slightly larger (appr. 5 mm) than those of the latter; the same is true for the initials (appr. 11 mm). The most frequently used punctuation mark is a colon indicating the end of sentences or longer phrases; a long arrow-shaped horizontal stroke is sometimes used as a line-filler at the end of sections or paragraphs (e.g. after I Thessalonians 2.9: A38ra, l. 19). Abbreviations and numerical values are indicated in a similar way as in the Gospel of John. A peculiar diacritic found in the Lectionary part is a dot placed above characters that denote vowels in word-initial or syllable-initial positions as on the first *o* of *ič-ořom* ‘the same’ and the first *e* and the second *a* of *efa-anake-edğon* ‘that they have’ in Romans 12.4 (A32vb, 1–2).³⁸ All in all, the text of the Lectionary part is written less diligently than that of the Gospel of John, with many haplo- and dittographies; e.g., the text of Romans 12.4 just cited begins erroneously in the upper margin, from which it was erased before the preparation of the palimpsest, while other such errors remained uncorrected (e.g. dittographic *mowç’owç’owr-* for **mowç’owr-* ‘pure’ in *mowç’owç’owr-baal-anke-oen* ‘that he might purify’ on fol. A29va, ll. 10–12).

Usually, each column has 22 lines, with an average of 15–16 characters per line; on eight folios, there is one more line per column (B25 and *sqq.*, cf. below). In contrast to the Gospel, enlarged initials are not only found at the beginning of

³⁸ Cf. the comparable use of a diaeresis-like symbol in the Armenian Gospels of Ejmiatsin (Künzle 1984: 100*/101*).

lines, more or less outdented, but often also within lines, thus yielding the impression of a more continuous text. This, however, is frequently interrupted by titles that precede, in much smaller characters (appr. 2.5 mm) but as well with enlarged initials (appr. 9 mm), the beginning of individual pericopes; an example is the title of the lection of I Corinthians 15.51–58 which covers lines 12–13 of fol. B34rb and reads (with large initials rendered by capital letters) *Ɔorintaowgoy Serbaown D'ipnowxoc Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpesown*, i.e. 'Lection from the First Epistle (lit. Writing) to (lit. of) the Corinthians of Paul the Apostle'. It was these titles that paved the way for the decipherment of the Albanian language and script as contained in the palimpsests.

Another important type of paratext that is characteristic for the Lectionary part is glosses that accompany the titles, usually to the left of them in the margins or in the space between the columns. Written in even smaller letters (appr. 1.8 mm), they indicate the occasion on which the respective lection was meant to be read as in the case of I Corinthians 15.51–58, which is styled *owpes(ow)n mowç'(ow)rã~y*, i.e. a 'Lection (*scil.* for the commemoration) of Saints' (B34rb, 11–12). In some cases, the glosses contain the indication of a "Psalm-refrain" or antiphon (*salmos korbaale*) or an "Alleluia psalm" (*alēlowya salmos*) as they were usually sung before and between lections; this is true, e.g., of the lection of Ephesians 2.4–8, which is introduced by the title *Epesaowgoy D'ipnowxoc Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpesown* 'Lection from the Epistle to (lit. of) the Ephesians of Paul the Apostle' (B23va, 10–11), together with a gloss referring to Psalm 66.2 [67.2]:³⁹ *owpes(ow)n besesownowgoy salmos korbaale l̄z b~e ix-qa-žan-hē*, i.e. 'Lection for (lit. of) the Supplications; Psalm-refrain 66: "God, may we be pitied!"'.

In two cases, the indication of the liturgical purpose has been integrated with the title of a lection. One of them is the lection of Luke 7.1–10, which is introduced on lines 17–20 of fol. A8rb as *E xown' üwxRoy hüwkel-balnaxoštay Lowkasi Mowç'owr žowdağesownaxoc owpesown*, i.e. 'At this place, from the commemoration of Kings: Lection from the Holy Gospel of Luke'; in addition to the information present here, there is still a gloss accompanying the title which can be made out as *žowdağes(ow)n üwxr(o)y own goeã~y alēlowya salm(o)s y ž~e mil'anownen vē hüwķ-hē-qa-n* 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of Kings and Rulers. Alleluia-psalm 20: "Lord, by your strength may rejoice"' (Psalm 20.2 [21.2]). Considering the fact that immediately preceding the title, we read the name of Jerusalem as the last word of the pericope of Mark 15.39–41, the strange wording "at this place" may be taken to refer just to the Holy City. The second case concerns the lection of I Timothy 3.14–16, which is introduced as follows (A28rb+27vb, 11–16):

³⁹ As in the neighbouring traditions of Eastern Christianity, psalms are numbered in accordance with the Septuagint, not the Hebrew Bible as in the West (here referred to in brackets).

Müwḡen(ow)n mowç'(ow)r Ihâlown own eklesiowğoy Salmos Korbaale : yē ž̃e bowqana-biyay-zow cegowown kod'in vē : Ṭimoteosi Serbaown d'ipnowxoc Pawlosi Hebiyayoya owpesown 'Of the feast of the Holy Cross and the Churches. Psalm-refrain 25: "Lord, I love the splendour of Your house" (Ps. 25.8 [26.8]). Lection from the First Letter to (lit. of) Timothy of Paul the Apostle.' Here, too, we find an additional gloss, which reads *owpes(ow)n müwḡenownax eklesiowğoy* 'Lection (read) on the feast of the Churches'.

A peculiar arrangement is found on fol. A12r with the lection of Matthew 10.16–22 of which both the title and the gloss are placed in the margins; the former reads *Mateosi Mowç'owr žowdağesownax(o)c* 'From the Holy Gospel of Matthew' and the latter, *žowdağesown mowç'(ow)rā~y alēlowya salm(o)s yčā bam-gen-ne bartay-hanayoenke čomeown(ow)x* 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of Saints. Alleluia-psalm 31: "Blessed is (he) who has given up (his) transgressions"' (Ps. 31.1 [32.1]). All these titles and glosses are extremely important for the reconstruction of the liturgy of the Caucasian Albanians (see Chapter 6 of this Handbook [Renoux]); they are therefore listed *in toto* in Table IV.⁴⁰

In two cases, a pericope is preceded or followed by a sequence of several Psalm verses, written in minor letters (appr. 2.5 mm) but within the given lines. This is true, first of all, of lines 12–22 of the bifolio A73vb+70rb where a sequence of five Psalm verses follows after the end of the Old Testament lection (Isaiah 35.3–8), each introduced by an indication of its use; the sequence begins with Psalm 25.8 [26.8], assigned here, too, as a 'Psalm-refrain, 25' for the 'Feast of the Churches' (*Mowḡenownax eklesiowğoy : Salm(o)s ko<rbaale :> yē*). The verses following it are Ps. 35.10 [36.9] (*Ḳačioya Salmos yčē* 'Psalm of the blind one, 35'), Ps. 6.3 [6.2] (*Salmos marmin-rara-hēoya : z̃* 'Psalm of the one having become weak-bodied [i.e. the paralytic], 6'), and Ps. 22.1 [23.1] (*Salmos asefown yb̄* 'Psalm of the shepherd, 22'). The last verse in the sequence is probably Ps. 118.132 if the number and the text are established correctly (*Salmos besesownowğoy : çčž̃ : Beğa-n(ow)n zas ž̃e hüwḡ-iha-nown-al zas* : 'Psalm of the Supplications, 118: "Look upon me, Lord, and have pity for me"'). The second sequence of Psalm verses is found preceding the lection of I Corinthians 12.26–14.2 on the first lines of fol. B26r of which, unfortunately, only a few characters have survived; here we can tentatively restore and identify the following verses: Ps. 103.3 [104.3] (*<Aci-faxē-n-o>en xenaloš* 'He roofed on the water'), Ps. 115.6 [116.15] (*Oṭan-<biṭē-ne ž̃~ē būwa ow>p̄*

⁴⁰ The entries in the Table are ordered after the Biblical lections, not their appearance in the palimpsests. Square brackets indicate presumable verse numbers of lost beginnings or ends of lections in the first column and numbers of Hebrew (~ western) Psalm verses in the fourth column. Titles and glosses are rendered in a simplified transcription, with abbreviations resolved (in parentheses) wherever possible.

Tab. IV: Lections with titles and glosses.

Lection	Title	Gloss	Psalm	Position
Mt. 2.16–18	<i>Mateosi Mowč'owr žowdağesownax(o)c</i> – 'From the Holy Gospel of Matthew'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n ġarmoy alēlowya s(almo)s cčb afre-pa-nan ġar-mo</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of Children. Alleluia-psalm 112: "Praise, children!"	112.1 [113.1]	A34rb, 9
Mt. 5.13–16	(lost)	(lost)	–	(A14ra)
Mt. 5.17–20	<i>Mateosi Mowč'owr žowdağesownax(o)c</i> – 'From the Holy Gospel of Matthew'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n margavenowč(o)y bowcalowğoy : alēlowya sal-mos xg ya bowqana-he xoranowx vē ž'e</i> : – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of Prophets (and) Altars. Alleluia-psalm 83: "How amiable are your tents, Lord!"	83.2 [84.2]	A10va, 18–19
Mt. 5.17–24	<i>Mateosi Mowč'owr žowdağesownax(o)c</i> owpes-own – 'Lection from the Holy Gospel of Matthew'	–	–	A14rb, 3–4
Mt. 10.16–22	<i>Mateosi Mowč'owr žowdağesownax(o)c</i> – 'From the Holy Gospel of Matthew'	<i>žowdağesown mowč'(ow)rā~y alēlowya salm(o)s yčā bāngen-ne bartay-hanayoenke čameown(ow)x</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of Saints. Alleluia-psalm 31: "Blessed is (he) who has given up (his) transgressions"	31.1 [32.1]	A12r, 0–4
Mt. 10.24–32 [10.24–36]	<i>Mateosi Mowč'owr žowdağesownax(o)c</i> – 'From the Holy Gospel of Matthew'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n mowč'(ow)rā~y</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of Saints'	–	A11vb, 19
Mt. 10.41–42 [10.37–42]	(lost)	(lost)	–	(A13r)
Mt. 14.2–12 [1–12]	(lost)	(lost)	–	(A103v)
Mt. 16.16–20 [16.13–20]	(lost)	(lost)	–	(A103r)

Mt. 17.1–5 [17.1–9]	<i>Mateosi Mowč'owr žowdağesownaḥ(o)c</i> – 'From the Holy Gospel of Matthew'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n en'eğ-lam-batḱown : alēlowya salmos : iā : ašō-lax(o)c yordanan(ow)n hermonax(o)c bowax(o)c maletx(o)c</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the feast) of Transfiguration. Alleluia-psalm 41: "From the land of Jordan and the mountain Hermon, the small one (i.e. Mizar)"	41.7 [42.6]	A13va, 11
Mt. 19.27–30	(lost)	(lost)	–	(B4ra, 18)
Mt. 20.1–16	<i>Mateosi Mowč'owr žowdağesownaḥ(o)c</i> – 'From the Holy Gospel of Matthew'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n pawlosi</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of Paul'	–	B4v, 10
Mt. 22.23–33	<i>Mateosi Mowč'owr žowdağesownaḥ(o)c</i> – <i>pes(ow)n</i> : – 'Lection from the Holy Gospel of Matthew'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n aharani yešoi</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of Aaron (and) Joshua'	–	A42vb, 2–3
Mt. 23.34–38 [23.34–24.1]	< <i>Ma-teosi Mowč'owr žow<dağesownaḥ(o)c</i> – 'From the Holy Gospel of Matthew'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n marğavenowāğy zakariyay</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of the Prophets (and) Zechariah'	–	B3va, 5–6
Mt. 24.29–35	<i>Mateosi Mowč'owr žowdağesownaḥ(o)c</i> – <i>owpesown</i> – 'Lection from the Holy Gospel of Matthew'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n iñālown : alēlowya salmos d'e ž'g üwx hē-ne age-čale-qa-n-pē ašalen</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of the Cross. Alleluia-psalm 95 (!): "The Lord has become king, may the earth rejoice!"	96.1 [97.1]	A15ra, 6–7
Mk. 15.39–41	<i>Markosi Mowč'owr žowdağesownaḥ(o)c</i> – <i>owpesown</i> – 'Lection from the Holy Gospel of Mark'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n čibğ(o)ly</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of Women'	–	A15va, 11–12
Lk. 1.57–80	<i>Lowkasi mowč'owr žowdağesownaḥ(o)c</i> – 'From the Holy Gospel of Luke'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n bixēown(ow)n yohanēši : alē(ow)wya salm(o)s č'yg hatenke ž'g te-en'e-hē</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of the Nativity of John (the Baptist). Alleluia-psalm 123: "If the Lord had not been"	123.1 [124.1]	A35vb+A36rb, 12–13
Lk. 2.1–7	<i>Lowkasi Mowč'owr žowdağesownaḥ(o)c</i> – <i>OwpeSown</i> : – 'Lection from the Holy Gospel of Luke'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n maryami</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of Mary'	–	A36vb, 14–15

Tab. IV (continued)

Lection	Title	Gloss	Psalm	Position
Lk. 4.14–22	<i>Lowkasi Mowč'owr žowdağesownaxoç owpesown</i> – 'Lection from the Holy Gospel of Luke'	<i>žowdağesown isai marğaven(ow)n</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of the prophet Isaiah'	–	A34va+A37ra, 13–14
Lk. 4.25–36 [4.25–37]	<i>Lowkasi Mowč'owr žowdağesownaxoç</i> – 'From the Holy Gospel of Luke'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n marğaven(ow)ğoy aləlowya salm(o)s qalec'a-nan</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of prophets. Alleluia-psalm: "You ..."	unde-terminated	A44va, 19–20
Lk. 7.1–10	<i>E xown' üwəRəy hüwkel-balnaxəštay Lowkasi Mowč'owr žowdağesownaxoç owpesown</i> : – 'At that place, from the commemoration of Kings. Lection from the Holy Gospel of Luke'	<i>žowdağes(ow)n üwəR(o)ly own gočə'ıy aləlowya salm(o)s ı ž'e mi'anownen və hüwkel-hə-qa-n</i> – 'Gospel (lection for the commemoration) of Kings and Rulers. Alleluia-psalm 20: "By your strength may rejoice"	20.2 [21.2]	A8rb, 17–20
Acts 1.13–14 [1.1–14]	(lost)	(lost)	–	(A104r)
Acts 12.1–10 [12.1–24]	<i>Ašroxə hebiyayə-y Owpesown</i> – 'Lection from the Acts of the Apostles'	<i>owpes(ow)n petrosi own yağa(bi hebiyayoya gare ze(bedıay))</i> – 'Lection (for the commemoration) of Peter and James the Apostle, the son of Zebedee'	–	A57rb, 5–6
Acts 13.17–42 [13.16–42]	(lost)	(lost)	–	(B27r)
Jac. 1.1–11	<i>Yəkobi kətoliğeowğoy D'ipnowx(o)c biyex-oštay owpes(ow)n</i> : – 'Lection from the Catholic Letter of James, from the beginning (<i>lit.</i> 'head')	<i>owpes(ow)n yakobi hebiyayoya</i> – 'Lection (for the commemoration) of James the Apostle'	–	A3ra, 16–17

II Pet. 1.12–19	<i>petrosi katalikeowğoy powran(ow)n d'ipnow- xoc owpesown</i> : – 'Lecture from the Second Catholic Letter of Peter'	<i>owpes(ow)n petrosi own čibğoy</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemora- tion) of Peter and the Women'	–	A4ra, 3–5
I John 1.1–9	< <i>Yohanani katal>ike<owğoy serbaown d'>ipnowxoc owpe<e>s<own></i> – 'Lecture from the First Catholic Letter of John'	(lost)	–	A104rb, 13–14
Rom. 8.9–27	< <i>Hrovmaowğoy d'ip>nowğox Pawlosi <hebiyayoya Owpe>sown</i> : – 'Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Romans of Paul the Apostle'	(lost)	–	B25ra, 1–2
Rom. 8.28–39	<i>Hromao<wğoy d'ipnowxoc Pawlosi he>biyayoy<a owpesown></i> – 'Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Romans of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(ow)n mowč'(ow)rã'y</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemora- tion) of Peter and the women'	–	B34vb, 7–8
Rom. 12.1–17	<i>Hrovmaowğoy d'ipnowxoc Pawlosi hebiyay- oya Owpesown</i> : – 'Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Romans of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(ow)n mowč'(ow)rã'y</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemora- tion) of Saints'	–	A39vb, 17–19
I Cor. 15.51–58	<i>Korintaowğoy Serbaown d'ipnowxoc</i> : <i>Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpesown</i> – 'Lecture from the First Letter to (lit. of) the Corin- thians of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(ow)n mowč'(ow)rã'y</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemora- tion) of Saints'	–	B34rb, 10–12
I Cor. 12.26–14.2	< <i>Korintaowğoy serba>own dip<nowxoc Pawlosi hebiyayoy>a ow<pesown</i> :> – 'Lecture from the First Letter to (lit. of) the Corinthians of Paul the Apostle'	(lost)	–	B26ra+ B31va, 13–15

Tab. IV (continued)

Lection	Title	Gloss	Psalm	Position
II Cor. 4.7–18	<i>Ʒorintaowǵoy Powran(ow)Ʒn D'ipnowxoc Pawlosi Hebiy(al)yoya owpeSown</i> – ‘Lecture from the Second Letter to (lit. of) the Corinthians of Paul the Apostle’	<owp>es(ow)Ʒn <now>Ʒ'(ow)r <ǎ>y – ‘Lecture (for the commemoration) of Saints’	–	A69va, 17–18
II Cor. 5.1–10	<i>Ʒorintaowǵo<y> P<owra>Ʒ(ow)Ʒn D'ipnowxoc Paw<losi hebiy(al)yoya owp>esown</i> – ‘Lecture from the Second Letter to (lit. of) the Corinthians of Paul the Apostle’	<i>owpes(ow)Ʒn m<ow>Ʒ'(ow)rǎ'y</i> – ‘Lecture (for the commemoration) of Saints’	–	A68vb, 12–13
II Cor. 9.4–15 [9.1–15]	(lost)	(lost)	–	(A56r)
II Cor. 11.23–31	<i>Ʒorintaowǵoy Powran(ow)Ʒn D'ipnowx(o)c Pawlosi hebiy(al)yoya owpeSown</i> : – ‘Lecture from the Second Letter to (lit. of) the Corinthians of Paul the Apostle’	<i>owpes(ow)Ʒn hebiyǎǎ'y</i> – ‘Lecture (for the commemoration) of Apostles’	–	A77va, 6–8
Gal. 1.11–20	< <i>Galata>owǵoy D'ipnow<xoc Pawlosi hebiya>yoya owpesown</i> – ‘Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Galatians of Paul the Apostle’	(lost)	–	B15va, 18–19
Gal. 4.4–6 [3.24–4.7]	(lost)	(lost)	–	(B65v)
Eph. 2.4–8	<i>Epesowǵoy D'ipnowxoc Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpesown</i> : – ‘Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Ephesians of Paul the Apostle’	<i>owpes(ow)Ʒn besesownowǵoy salmos korbaale l̄ b'e ix-qa-žan-hē</i> – ‘Lecture for (lit. of) the Supplications. Psalm-refrain 66: “God, may we be pitiful!”	66.2 [67.2]	B23va, 10–11

Eph. 4.11–16 [4.7–16]	(lost)	(lost)	–	(B67r)
Eph. 5.25–30 [5.25–32]	<i>Epesaowǵoy D'ipnowxoc Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpesown</i> : – 'Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Ephesians of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpesown mluwǵenax eklesowǵoy</i> – 'Lecture (read) on the feast of the Churches'	–	A27ra, 16–18
I Thess. 2.5–12	<i>Tesalalikowǵoy (!) Serbaown d'ipnowx(o)c Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpes(ow)n</i> : – 'Lecture from the First Letter to (lit. of) the Thessalonians of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpesown hebiy(o)ǵǵ'y</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemoration) of Apostles'	–	A33rb, 8–10
I Thess. 4.12–17	<i>Tesalanok-saowǵoy (!) serbaown d'ipnowxoc Pawlosi <heb>iyayoya owpesown</i> – 'Lecture from the First Letter to (lit. of) the Thessalonians of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(ow)n helegiyax hēǵ'y</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemoration) of (those) having been in hope' (?)	–	A75vb, 20–22
II Thess. 2.13–3.3	<i>Tesalanikaowǵoy Powran(ow)n d'ipnowx(o)c : Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpesown</i> : – 'Lecture from the Second Letter to (lit. of) the Thessalonians of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(ow)n hebiyǵǵ'y own margavenowǵ(o)y</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemoration) of Apostles and Prophets'	–	A38rb, 14–16
Heb. 2.14–18	(lost)	(lost)	–	(B65r)
Heb. 3.1–6	<i><Ebraowǵoy D'ipnowx>oc : Paw<losi hebiyayoya owpe>Sawn</i> : – 'Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Hebrews of Paul the Apostle'	(lost)	–	B16va, 16–17
Heb. 9.1–7	<i><Ebraowǵoy d'ip<nowxoc Pawlosi hebi>yayoya <owpes(ow)n :></i> – 'Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Hebrews of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(ow)n aharon kahaown own tapan(ow)n</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemoration) of Aaron the Priest and the Ark'	–	B16rb, 15–17

Tab. IV (continued)

Lecture	Title	Gloss	Psalm	Position
Heb. 11.17–27 [11.17–31]	<i>Ebraowgoy D'ipnowxoc Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpeSown</i> : – 'Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Hebrews of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(own) derigoy bân'iã'y yešoi</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemoration) of the Patriarchs (lit. great fathers) (and) Joshua'	–	A5rb, 5–7
Heb. 11.32–40	<i>Ebraowgoy D'ipnowxoc Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpesown</i> : – 'Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Hebrews of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(own) hebiyayã'y own marǵavenowgoy</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemoration) of Apostles and Prophets'	–	B42ra, 19–21
Heb. 12.1–5 [12.1–11]	<i>Ebraowgoy D'ipnowxoc Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpesown</i> : – 'Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Hebrews of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(own) mow'(ow)rã'y own pǵaǵarowgoy</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemoration) of Saints and the Forty'	–	A67va, 1–2
Heb. 12.18–19 [12.18–28]	<i>Ebraowgoy D'ipnowxoc Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpesown</i> : – 'Lecture from the Letter to (lit. of) the Hebrews of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(own) besesownowgoy</i> – 'Lecture for (lit. of) the Supplications'	–	A78vb+ A75rb, 13–15
Heb. 13.10–16	<i>Ebraowgoy D'ipnowx(o)c : Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpeSown</i> :	<i>owpes(own) besesownowgoy</i> – 'Lecture for (lit. of) the Supplications'	–	A56vb, 9–11
I Tim. 2.1–7	<i>Timotiosi serbaown D'ipnowxoc Pawlosi hebiyayoya owpes(own)</i> : – 'Lecture from the First Letter to (lit. of) Timothy of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(own) iuxxoy</i> – 'Lecture (for the commemoration) of Kings'	–	A26ra, 20–22
I Tim. 3.14–16	<i>Müwxen(own) mowç(ow)r İhâlown own eklesowgoy Salmas İorbaale : ye š'e bowǵana-biyay-zow cegowown ħadın vê : Timoteosi Serbaown d'ipnowxoc Pawlosi Hebiyayoya owpesown</i> 'Lecture) of the feast of the Holy Cross and the Churches. Psalm-refrain 25: "Lord, I love the splen-	<i>owpes(own) müwxenownax eklesowgoy</i> 'Lecture (read) on the feast of the Churches'	25.8 [26.8]	A28rb+ A27vb, 11–16

dour of Your house". Lection from the First Letter to (*lit.* of) Timothy of Paul the Apostle'

II Tim. 4.1–8	<i>Ṭimot<easi ṙowran(ow)ṇ D'ṙipnowxoc Ṗa<wlosi hebiyayoya owpes(ow)ṇ></i> – 'Lection from the Second Letter to (<i>lit.</i> of) Timothy of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(ow)ṇ ṙawlosi own iskapos(o)wǵ(o)ly</i> – 'Lection (for the commemoration) of Paul and the Bishops'	–	B24vb, 5–6
Tit. 2.11–15	<i>Ṭiṭosi D'ṙipnowx(o)c ṙawlosi Hebiyayoya owpesown</i> : – 'Lection from the Letter to (<i>lit.</i> of) Titus of Paul the Apostle'	<i>owpes(ow)ṇ aḱowḱ-hēown(ow)ṇ</i> – 'Lection (for the feast) of Epiphany'	–	A29rb, 7–8
Isaiah 35.3–8	<i>Owple(s(ow)ṇ) isai marǵavenaxoc</i> : – 'Lection from the Prophet Isaiah'	<i>owpes(ow)ṇ ḱaṭiōya own marmin-ra(ra)-hēōya</i> : – 'Lection (for the commemoration of the healing of) the Blind (man) and the Paralytic (<i>lit.</i> having become weak-bodied)'	–	A70vb, 18–19

moŋč'(ow)r-<â~y ičē> 'Revered is before the Lord the death of His saints'), and Ps. 18.5 [19.4] (*Lowś<ow aśalaḫ ta-bâhē-ne il'ow> [â~]y* : 'Their word goes out into all the world').

Other paratextual elements are rare in the Lectionary part of the palimpsests. We do find Ammonian and Euthalian section numbers such as $\overline{dā}$, $\overline{d̄b}$ and $\overline{d̄g}$ = 91, 92 and 93 for Matthew 10.25b, 26b and 27 (A12va, 6, 12, 17) or $\overline{c̄b}$ = 12 for Romans 8.18 (B25va, 7); the numbers are not always reliable as in the case of $\overline{xē}$ = 87 which appears two times on f. A12ra+A11va, for both Matthew 10.17 and 10.18 (recte: \overline{xz} = 88).⁴¹ In two cases, a Euthalian section number which is dividable by 50 is introduced in the margin by the word *koḏ'owr*, lit. 'houses', matching the Armenian term *townk'* and, furtheron, the Semitic tradition which denotes text sections as 'houses' (Syr. *baytā* etc.); this is \overline{f} = 50 for I Thessalonians 2.9b (A38ra, 17)⁴² and $\overline{3f}$ = 250 for Ephesians 5.29b (B67va, 3). A correction of the text may be intended with the gloss *çin'a* appearing in the left margin of fol. A11va (l. 16) facing Matthew 10.18. If this is the genitive of *çin* 'tribe, kind', it might indicate this word to be inserted between *bezi* 'my' and *gāen* 'because of' yielding **bezi çin'a gāen* 'because of my kind' or, alternatively, after *powlaygana ā~y* 'to witness for them' yielding **powlaygana ā~y çin'a* 'to witness for their kind'; however, these amendments find no counterpart in other text versions. Unclear is the gloss readable as *xt*: (or *xa*?) in the left margin facing Mark 15.39 (A8ra, 14); it might conceal a number 89 (or 81) but this matches neither the Ammonian section (225) nor other numbers known for this verse (e.g., 47 in the Armenian Bible).⁴³

The most important paratext in the lectionary part is a single text line written in characters of minor size (appr. 3 mm) that is visible in the upper margin of fol. B25r, originally extending over both columns of which the left one has mostly been burnt off. In the edition, its remnants were tentatively read as *<*****>{*}<*>ra(l)i zo(w) [ai]-bah[~]k(e) [k]a(na)[y] p̄ṣiya-al e[le] žja* and rendered as '... .. which I fulfil all the time, that for us',⁴⁴ without any relation discernible

⁴¹ Other attested section numbers for the Gospel of Matthew are 32: 5.14 (A14ra, 8); 35: 5.19 (A13rb, 13 and A9vb, 21); 99, 100: 10.41, 42 (A13ra, 1, 10); 145: 14.6 (A103vb, 14); 167: 16.17 (A34ra, 2); 198: 16.20 (A34rb, 4; recte: 168); 199: 19.30 (B4va, 7); 240: 23.34 (B3va, 7); 258: 24.29b (A15ra, 8); for the Gospel of Luke: 17: 4.14 (A37ra, 15); 19: 4.22 (A44va, 14); 22: 4.25 (A44va, 21); 24: 4.32 (A43va, 15); 67: 7.10 (A45ra, 20; recte: 66); for the Pauline Epistles: 4: I Tim. 2.1 (A29vb, 1); 17: Heb. 12.1 (A67va, 1).

⁴² Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, I-34).

⁴³ The facing verse contains the strange misspelling *bāhn'i* for *bān'i* 'great' (influenced by the variation in the spelling of the two verbs *bā(h)esown* 1. 'think' 2. 'go?') in *xo-qāaray-bān'ioow* dat. 'centurion', lit. 'great one of the five (times) twenty' but this seems not to have a relation to the gloss.

⁴⁴ Gippert et al. (2008: II, VII-43).

to the text on the page which begins with a lection of Romans 8.9–27. On the basis of the new images available now, the line, which was probably written in red ink, can be restored as <üwġa-biyesown hüw>{k}[el]-bali[ġ]o[y] {ba}[il]-ba-h~ke kanay p̄fiya-al e[r]~ma,⁴⁵ with the last word representing the name of Jerusalem in abbreviated form (dat. *erowsalema). In the way indicated, the line can be taken to be a close match of the headings of the Armenian and Georgian lectionaries of the Jerusalem rite if it meant ‘Collection of the commemorations that are fulfilled all the time in Jerusalem’ (cf. Chapter 6 of the present Handbook [Renoux] for more details). If this is correct, fol. B25, with the lection from Romans 8 it contains, must have been the first folio of the “Lectionary” codex preserved in the palimpsests.

3.2 The codicological structure

The assumption that fol. B25 represented the first folio of the lectionary part is supported by one more observation. Below the middle of the heading but still above the text columns, fol. B25r exhibits the single letter **Ĭ** = *ē* encircled by dots, probably written in the same hand and ink as the heading. Its position (in the middle of the upper margin) and its design suggest that we have a quire number here, with *ē* representing ‘7’. This of course would not fit off-hand with the suggestion of fol. B25 being the first folio of the lectionary part; however, if we consider that the codex containing the Gospel of John must have comprised exactly six quires, we arrive at another assumption: the lectionary part might have been added secondarily to the Gospel part, beginning with the 7th quire of the composite codex thus produced. Even though the resulting composition of an entire Gospel of John with a collection of lections from other Biblical texts following it remains strange, this would easily explain why the contents of both parts are intermingled without any guiding principle in the Sinai palimpsests. It may be noteworthy in this context that in contrast to the codex containing the Gospel of John, the alleged first quire of the lectionary begins with a flesh side; one more indication that the composite codex was piled up secondarily from two originally independent manuscripts. For the quire number, this implies that it was added after the two manuscripts were put together.⁴⁶ This assumption is further corroborated by a second quire number appearing in the lectionary part, namely, in the

⁴⁵ A few characters appear on a scrap of B25 that was photographed together with B27.

⁴⁶ In this context it may be noted that the usual abbreviation for Jerusalem is not *er~m-* as in the heading but *e[r]~m-* as in B15ra, l. 14 (Galatians 1.17); this might indicate that the heading was also added secondarily, by a later hand.

upper margin of fol. A77r where we find the single letter **P** = *ž* representing the number '8', thus obviously indicating the eighth quire of the composite codex.

If we further consider that there are eight folios with 23 lines per column in the lectionary part which contain contiguous text beginning with fol. B25r and exhibiting a "mirroring" distribution in a similar way as the quires of the Gospel of John, we are now able to clarify the internal structure of the underlying codex in a much better way than before. In the edition of 2008, the content of the Lectionary part was described as consisting of six contiguous sets of lections from the Gospels and four contiguous sets of lections from Acts, Epistles, and the Old Testament; the arrangement of the sets was not determined. In both groups, two sets each can now be merged due to new readings (the remnants of the right column of fol. A103rb contain not Matthew 14.15–16 but Matthew 16.13–16, a lection immediately continued on fol. A34ra, and the two newly found fragments B67 and B65 represent the folios missing between A27rb and A29ra), and on the basis of codicological observations. The resulting structure is straightforward indeed: the Lectionary part can now be shown to have consisted of five quires (i.e. quires VII–XI of the composite codex), arranged in quaternions (with but one exception: the fourth quire must have been a quinion); it first comprised the 29 lections from the Pauline Epistles, then the 6 lections from Acts and Catholic Letters, then the Old Testament lection, and at its end, the 22 lections from the synoptical Gospels. The first Gospel lection must have been Matthew 10.16–22, which begins on fol. A12ra with the title appearing in the upper margin (cf. above), possibly an indication that this title, too, was added secondarily; it must have followed the lection from Isaiah and the sequence of Psalms concluding fol. A70rb. The only inconsistency is found in the fifth (or last) quire (quire *XI), where some text must be missing between Luke 4.36 on fol. A44rb and Matthew 5.13 on fol. A14ra. Here we have to assume either one (or several) extra folios to have been inserted outside of the quaternion structure of the quire or, alternatively, that the bifolium consisting of A14+A9 and A15+A8 (containing Matthew 5.13–16, 5.17–24, 24.29–35, Mark 15.39–41, plus the title and the *incipit* of Luke 7.1) was secondarily substituted for another bifolium. An indication of this might be the fact that the title of Luke 7.1 on fol. A8rb is the only one among the Gospel lections that contains the indication of the occasion (commemoration of Kings, cf. 3.1 above); in addition, the last line is not filled, thus leaving some space before the continuation of the lection on fol. A42ra. The complete structure as established now is illustrated in Table V, with the problematical bifolio marked by light blue colour.

In spite of the heading now determined, it is clear from this reconstruction that the Lectionary part of the Albanian palimpsests was anything but a typical representative of its genre: the sequence of lections does not follow the liturgical

year, and in contrast to the other witnesses of the Jerusalem rite, it does not group lections from the “Apostolos” with Gospel lections read on the same date. What we do find is sequences of lections that pertain to the same “general” type of commemoration; e.g., the first five lections (from the Pauline Epistles) all concern the commemoration of Saints, the following ones are associated with either the Apostles or Prophets. This strongly reminds us of the groups of “common” commemorations that we find in the Georgian Lectionary (LG);⁴⁷ here we have, e.g., a group for the Martyrs with Epistle lections beginning with Romans 8.10–17 and ending with Hebrews 12.1–11,⁴⁸ thus corresponding in a remarkable way to the first quire of the Albanian lectionary. The correspondence appears even stronger if we consider that after the (defective) lection of Hebrews 12.1–11 in the palimpsest (fol. A67vb) we have the first list of psalm verses (on fol. B26ra), just as in LG where seven “alleluia-psalms” follow after Hebrews 12.11.⁴⁹ And interestingly enough, the first Gospel lection following the psalms in LG, Matthew 10.16–22, is also the first of the Gospel lections in the palimpsested codex according to the reconstruction now proposed. Nevertheless, the codex that was re-used in the palimpsests cannot represent a lectionary in its proper sense but must have been a selection from lectionary materials re-arranged after a different purpose; this question is dealt with in extenso by Charles Renoux in Chapter 6 of this Handbook.

3.3 The text of the Albanian lectionary

In addition to the divergences in the layout, the Lectionary part differs from the Gospel of John by some peculiar traits. E.g., the word for ‘teacher’ is here spelt *vartapet-* throughout, not *vardapet-* as in the Gospel; a similar variation is found in Armenian manuscripts, too. As in the Gospel of John, there are several peculiarities in the Albanian text that correspond to the Armenian Bible; this is true, e.g., of abstract nouns appearing in the plural such as *gorowx* ‘sins’ matching Armenian *z-mels* in Hebrews 12.1 (fol. A67va, 9) vs. sing. Greek ἀμαρτίαν, Georgian *codvay*, and Syriac *ḥtītā*, or *biyayownowx* ‘creatures’ matching Armenian *ararack’n* in Romans 8.19–21 (B25va+32ra, 12–13, 17 and 22–23) vs. sing. Greek κτίσις, Georgian *dabadeba-* / *dabadebul-i*, and Syriac *brītā*. In II Corinthians 4.17 (A68vb, 2), the Albanian text agrees with the Armenian in speaking of a “temporary increase of the slight distress” (*e pfiyown owxa-ariyen e owsī qač-aķesownown ~ aržamayn yačaxowt’iwn t’et’ew nelowt’eans*), while the other versions only denote a “temporary

⁴⁷ Cf. Galadza (2018: 342–347) as to the “general commemorations” in the Jerusalem liturgy.

⁴⁸ Cf. Tarchnišvili (1960a: 80–71 / 1960b: 64–65, nos. 1475–1484).

⁴⁹ Ps. 88.8, 33.9, 114.1, 115.12, 149.5, 100.6, 86.1, cf. Tarchnišvili (1960a / 1960b: no. 1484).

Tab. V: Reconstruction of the ‘Lectionary’ codex.

VII									
Rom. 8.9–25	Rom. 8.25–27; II Cor. 4.7–18; II Cor. 5.1–2	II Cor. 5.2–10; Rom. 12.1–9	Rom. 12.9–17; I Cor. 15.51–58; Rom. 8.28–30	Rom. 8.30–39; Heb. 11.32–35	Heb. 11.35–40; I Thess. 2.5–12; II Thess. 2.13	II Thess. 2.13–3.3; Heb. 12.1–5 [11]	Ps. 18.5 etc.; I Cor. 12.26–13.6		
B25r	A68r	A32r	B34r	B33r	A33r	A67r	B26r	B26v	B31r
B32v	A69v	A39v	B41v	B42v	A38v		B31v		
VIII									
I Cor. 13.6–14.2; II Cor. 11.23–27	II Cor. 11.27–31; Gal. 1.11–19; II Tim. 4.1–3	II Tim. 4.3–8; Ps. 25.8; I Tim. 3.14–16; Eph. 5.25–29	Eph. 5.29–30 [32]; Eph. 4.[7] 11–12 [14]	Eph. 4.14–15 [16]; Gal. [3.24] 4.4–6 [7]; [Heb. 2.14]	Heb. 2.14–18; Tit. 2.11–15; I Tim. 2.1–5	I Tim. 2.5–7; Heb. 3.1–6; Eph. 2.4–8; Heb. 9.1–2	Heb. 9.2–7; I Thess. 4.12–17; Heb. 12.18–19		
A77r	B24r	A28r	B67r	B65v	A29r	B23r	A78r	A78v	
A76v	B15v	A27v			A26v	B16v	A75v	A75r	
(IX)									
[Heb. 12.19–28]; [II Cor. 9.1–4]	II Cor. 9.4–15; Heb. 13.10–11	Heb. 13.11–16; Heb. 11.17–27	[Heb. 11.27–31]; [Act. 1.1–10]	Act. 1. [10] 13–14; I Jo. 1.1–9	I Jo. 1.9; II Pet. 1.12–19; Jac. 1.1–5	Jac. 1.5–11; Act. 12.1–10	[Act. 12.10–24] [Act. 13.16–17]		
	A56r	A5r			A4r	A57r			
	A49v	A2v		A104r	A3v	A48v			
(X)									
Act. 13.17–34	Act. 13.34–42; Is. 35.3–8; Ps. 25.8 etc.	Mt. 10.16–22; Mt. 10.24–32	[Mt. 10.32–36]; Mt. 19.27–30; Mt. 20.1–7	Mt. 20.7–16; Mt. 23.34–38	[Mt. 23.38–24.1]; [Mt. 10.37–41]	Mt. 10.41–42; Mt. 5.17–20; Mt. 17.1–5	[Mt. 17.6–9]		
B27r	A73v	A12r	B4r	B3r		A13v			
B30v	A70v	A11v	B2v	B6v		A10v			

(XI)															
Mt. 14.[7]–[12]; Mt. 16.[13]–16	Mt. 16.16–20; Mt. 2.16–18; Lk. 4.14–19	Lk. 4.19–22; Lk. 4.25–36	Mt. 5.13–16; Mt. 5.17–24	Mt. 5.24; Mt. 24.29–35; Mk. 15.39–41; Lk. 7.1	Lk. 7.1–10; Mt. 22.23–25	Mt. 22.25–33; Lk. 2.1–7; Lk. 1.57–58	Lk. 1.58–80								
	A34r	A34v	A43r	A43v	A14r	A14v	A15r	A15v	A42r	A42v	A35r	A35v	A105r + B62r	A105v + B62v	
A103v	A103r	A37v	A37r	A44v	A44r	A9v	A9r	A8v	A8r	A45v	A45r	A36v	A36r	A106v	A106r

distress” (Syriac *ʾulṣāneh d-zabnā*), a “temporary light distress” (Georgian *saçutroy ese mcire çiri*) or a “temporary lightness of the distress” (Greek τὸ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρόν τῆς θλίψεως).⁵⁰ In Matthew 16.19, only the Armenian and the Albanian texts (A37va, 20) add “once” (*miangam ~ som čar*) to “whatever you will bind on earth”, and in Hebrews 13.14, they agree with the Syriac in rendering the Greek participle μένουσαν ‘remaining’ by a modal relative clause “that is to remain” (*or mnaloc’ ē / bowresown-h~ke*).⁵¹ A clear agreement of the Albanian and Armenian texts with the Adishi Gospels can be seen in Mark 15.41 where the AAA trias speaks about “many other women” following Jesus (*en’eğ avel čibowx-al ~ ew ayl bazowm kanayk’ ~ da sxuebica mravalni dedani*; A15vb+A8rb, 13–14), the other versions having only “many others” (καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαί / *da sxuani mravalni*).⁵²

A remarkable coincidence can also be seen in I Corinthians 15.51 where the Albanian text agrees with the Armenian and the older Georgian redaction of the Pauline Epistles⁵³ in commuting the distribution of positive and negative clauses in the mystery thematised by Paul, thus contrasting with the younger Georgian redaction and the Greek and Syriac versions. While the latter texts read “We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed”, the former invert this into “We shall all sleep, but we shall not all be renewed” (B41vb, 14–16). In a similar way, the three versions go together in Hebrews 12.19 in using a relative clause “where the trumpet was sounding” (A75rb, 21–22), thus contrasting with the nominalised expression “in the sound of the trumpet” of the other texts; here as in many other cases, we may further note the co-occurrence of an Albanian imperfect with its Armenian counterpart. Another remarkable coincidence is met with in II Thessalonians 3.1 where it is only the Albanian, Armenian and Syriac texts that append a phrase “in all places” to “(that the word) may be glorified” (A67rb, 6). An important case is provided by I Corinthians 12.28 where the Albanian text adds *e targowman(ow)n mowzroy*, i.e. ‘this translation of tongues’, to the list of functions and gifts God has appointed (B26rb+B31vb, 13–14). This addition is only matched by the Armenian text which has *t’argmanowt’iwns lezowac*; all other versions end the verse with the preceding item of the list, which is “diversities” or “kinds of tongues” throughout. The peculiarity of the Albanian text is the demonstrative pronoun *e* ‘this’, here combined with the singular abstract noun *targowmanown* ‘translation’, which is only explicable if it reflects the final -s of Arm. *t’argman-*

50 Several witnesses add προσκαιρον και after παραυτίκα, which simply underlines the notion of ‘temporary’.

51 The Georgian text has the adverbial form *saçoplad* ‘for residing, remaining’.

52 In contrast to the Peshitta, which matches the Greek text, the Syriac Sinaiticus Palimpsest adds *māšammašān* ‘ministers, assistants’; this peculiarity requires further investigation.

53 Redaction AB in the edition by Dzotsenidze and Danelia (1974).

owt'iwns understood as the proximal definite article, not as the accusative plural ending ('translations of tongues', thus anticipating the content of the second verse to follow) as in all preceding objects of God's "appointment" (*zōrowt'iwns* 'powers' ~ Albanian pl. *mil'anownowx*, *šnorhs* 'gifts of mercy' ~ *madil'owx*, *azgs lezow-ac* 'kinds of tongues' ~ *qarmowx mowzroy* etc.).⁵⁴

Calques of Armenian formations can be seen in the reduplicative *qar-qar* 'di-verse', lit. 'sort (by) sort', which renders *pēs-pēs* 'id.' in James 1.2 (A4vb, 3), also matched by Georgian *pirad-pirad-i* but opposing itself to Greek *ποικίλος* and Syriac *mšahlpē*, and in the denotation of the sun as *břegown powl*, lit. 'eye of the sun', corresponding to Armenian *areg-akn* in Matthew 17.2 and 24.29 (A10ra, 21–22 and A15ra, 10) vs. plain ἥλιος, *mze-*, and *šamšā* in Greek, Georgian, and Syriac. In some cases, the Albanian text agrees with variants of the Armenian tradition; this is true, e.g., of II Corinthians 9.5 (A56ra, 10) where it reads *būwabiṭ-al of-biyay-baal-al-anke-ā~n* 'and that beforehand they should also make prepared', which corresponds to the Armenian variant reading *patrastesc'en* 'they should prepare', not to the form *patmesc'en* 'they should inform' of the *textus receptus* which also stands against Greek *προκαταρτίσωσιν*, Georgian *gangakṛzalnen*, and Syriac *w-an'atdūn*. A peculiar critical value can be assigned to the placement of the sentence "and he stood up to read" (*hay-zari-na-va owpesa*, A34vb, 9–10) in Luke 4.16–17; here we see a clear correspondence of the Albanian text with the Armenian, the Georgian, and specific Greek and Syriac witnesses (cf. the synoptical arrangement in Table VI).⁵⁵

As in the Gospel of John, we find Semitisms here and there, partly matched by the Armenian text. This is true, e.g., for constructions with *kowyoc* 'by the hand of' indicating agents or instruments which are as frequent as in the Gospel of John; cf., e.g., Matthew 2.17 with *e kowyoc eremiya margavenown* 'by the hand of Jeremiah the Prophet' matching Syriac *b-yad 'eramyā nbiyā* and Armenian *i jeṛn eremiayi margarēi* vs. Greek *διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου* and Georgian *ieremia činačarmetṭquelisay*. The correspondances are not always straightforward, however; cf., e.g., II Corinthians 9.11 (A56va, 7–8) with *žaka kowyoc* 'by us' ~ Syr. *b-īda-n* vs. Arm. plain instrumental *mewk'*, Greek *δι' ἡμῶν* and Georgian *čuen mier*, II Cor. 9.12 (A49ra, 15) with *avelā~k kowyoc* 'by many' vs. Arm. *bazmōk'*, Greek *διὰ*

⁵⁴ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, 1-36); the other peculiarities mentioned ib. must now be given up: in Matthew 14.6, the name of Herodias is *herodia-*, not *herodiow-*, and in II Corinthians 9.13, *žow-dagesown* 'Gospel' is not combined with *al'e* 'old'.

⁵⁵ The Table contrasts the Greek text of the Codex Vaticanus (B, p. 1315) with that of the Korideti Gospels of Tbilisi (Θ, f. 133v) and the Syriac text of the Sinaiticus Palimpsest (S, f. 72v) with that of the Peshitta (P). The peculiar text form of the Korideti Gospels is also attested in some minuscule manuscripts (f¹).

Tab. VI: Luke 4:16–18 in synoptical arrangement, with the major difference highlighted.

Lk.	A34vb	Caucasian Albanian	English	Armenian	Georgian (Ad.)	Georgian (vulg.)	Greek (Θ, f. 133v)	Syriac (S, f. 72v)	English	Greek (B, p. 1315)	Syriac (P)
4.16	2	Aŕi-na-va nazarētax	He came to Nazareth,	Եւ Նզրէ Նազարէթ	ღა ძმუგდა ნაზარეთა,	ღა ძმუგდა ნაზარეთა,	καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαράτ,	ܕܢܙܪܬ ܐܬܝܬ (S, f. 72v)	And he came to Nazareth,	καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαράτ,	ܕܢܙܪܬ ܐܬܝܬ (P)
	3	bān'i-hamayke-	where he grew	ուր մեկայն էր.	სადგა აზრდილ იყო,	სადგა აზრდილ იყო	ὅπου ἦν ἀνα- τετραμμένος,	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ	where he had been brought up:	οὗ ἦν τετραμμένος,	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ
	4	-va-hē : baha- bāhē-n'a-	up. He went inside,	եւ նիստ	ღა შვედი,	ღა შვედი,	καὶ εἰσῆλθεν	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ	and,	καὶ εἰσῆλθεν	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ
	5	-va zahown- anke-v'a-	as he was used to,	լսա սովորութեան իւրում	ვითარცა ჩვეულ იყო იგი,	ვითარცა ჩვეულ იყო იგი,	κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτοῦ	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ	according to his custom, he went	κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτοῦ	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ
	6	-hē šambatown g'y'a-	on the day of sabbath	դատին շաբաթուոց	დღეს შაბათის დღეს შაბათის	დღეს შაბათის დღეს შაბათის	ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ	on the sabbath day	ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ
4.17	7	e z'dax : dagē-n-oo'w'-	into the syna- gogue. To him was given	ի ժողովարդին Եւ նստեա նմա	შესაკრებელს მოსს, ღა მოსეს მას	შესაკრებელს მოსს, ღა მოსეს მას	εἰς τὴν συν- αγωγὴν. καὶ ἐπέδωκε αὐτοῦ	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ	into the syna- gogue and stood up to read. And to him was given	εἰς τὴν συν- αγωγὴν. καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι. καὶ ἐπέδωκε αὐτῷ	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ
	8	xow d'ip isai mar'gavennown:	the book of the prophet Isaiah.	գիրս զԻսայայի մարգարէի.	წიგნი ელიას წინამარებ- მეულისა,	წიგნი ელიას წინამარებ- მეულისა;	βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου 'Hsaiaou,	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ	the book of the prophet Isaiah.	βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου 'Hsaiaou,	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ
	9	hayz-a'vri-	He stood up	եւ ցարխա.	ადგა	ღა ადგა	καὶ ἀνέστη	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ	And	καὶ	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ
	10	-na-va ow- pesa :	to read (it).	ընթերնում.	გთხოვდა	გთხოვდა	ἀναγνῶναι	ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ			ܐܬܝܬ ܕܥܝܪܐ

11	axay-pē-anke- oen	When he had opened	in lqrlun lrlawg	და გდყო	και ἀναπτύξας	ახა და	when he had opened	ἀνοίξας	ⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛⲁⲥ
12	e d'ip ' baxē-n- oow	the book, he found	qqlrw'n lqlhwn qqlrw'n qqlhwn qr	წიგნი იგი კითხვად და პოვა	τὸ βιβλίον εὗρεν	ახარ ოხაბ	the book, he found	τὸ βιβλίον εὗρεν	ⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲁⲃ
13	e xown' cam- pē-hama'y' \ke-	the place where it was written,	qqlw'n uqlqlh qqlrw'n qqlhwn qr	აფცილო, ხად წერად იყო;	τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἦν γε- γραμμένον,	ⲁⲭⲁⲃⲁⲣ Ჟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲛ	the place where it was written,	τὸν τόπον οὗ ἦν γεγραμμένον,	ⲁⲭⲁⲃⲁⲣ Ჟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲛ
4.18 14	-hē hel ʒ' ē zal ha'la...	'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me'...	Հոգի տ'ն ի վրայ իմ' ...	სული უფლისა ჩემ ზედა...	Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐστ' ἐμέ...	ⲁⲭⲁⲃⲁⲣ Ჟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲛ ...ⲁⲭⲁⲃⲁ...	The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,	Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐστ' ἐμέ,	ⲁⲭⲁⲃⲁⲣ Ჟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲛ ⲁⲭⲁ

πολλῶν, Georgian *mravaltatws*, and Syriac *sagiyātā*, or Galatians 1.15–16 (B24va, 5–6) with *madil'owḡok kowyoc* ‘by the (lit. hand of) graces’ ~ Arm. *i jeṛn šnorhac* vs. Greek διὰ τῆς χάριτος or Georgian plain instrumental *madlita*, but also *zaka kowyoc* ‘by me’ (B24va, 7) vs. Arm. plain instrumental *inew*, Greek ἐν ἐμοί, and Georgian *čem mier*.⁵⁶

An interesting picture is provided by name forms again. We do find clear instances of a Semitic tradition as, e.g., in the name of the Sadducees, which appears as *zadoḡaowx* (erg. *zadoḡaowḡon*) with an initial voiced *z* matching Syriac *zadūqāyē* and thus opposing itself to Armenian *sadowkec'ik*, Georgian *saduḡev-el-ni*, and Greek σαδδουκαῖοι (Matthew 22.23: A42vb, 5), or in the names of the prophet Eliseus (Elisha) which is written *eliša* (Luke 4.27: A44vb, 15) as in Syriac *'elišā* vs. Greek Ἐλισαίου, Armenian *eliseiw*, and Georgian *elises*; the patriarch Jesse which appears as *yešē* (gen.; Acts 13.22: B27rb, 5–6) as in Syriac *Yišay* vs. Arm. *Yesse*, Gk. Ἰεσσαί, and Georg. *Iese*; and, probably, that of Joshua which we find twice written *yešoi* (genitive) in glosses (A42vb, 2–3 and A5r, 7, pertaining to Matthew 22.23–33 and Hebrews 11.17–27) matching Syriac *Yešu* vs. Arm. *Yesow*, Gk. Ἰησοῦς, and Georg. *Iso*. To these cases, we can further add the name of the Judge Samson whose initial letter is now discernible as a *š*- (Hebrews 11.32: B33vb, 2), thus supposing a name form **šamšon*- matching Syriac *šemšūn* vs. Greek Σαμψών, Armenian *samp'sovn*-, and Georgian *sampson*-. On the other hand, the name of the mother of John the Baptist occurs as *elisabet*- (Luke 1.57: A36rb, 14) in agreement with Greek Ἐλισάβετ, Armenian *elisabet* and Georgian *elisabet/d*- but opposing itself to Syriac *'elišba*, just as *simon* (John 13.6: A59ra, 17 etc.) matches Arm. *Simovn*, Gk. Σίμων and Georg. *Simon* vs. Syr. *Šām'ūn*; and the name of Jerusalem is *erowsalem*.⁵⁷ with an *s* as in Greek Ἱεροσόλυμα, not an *š* as in Syriac *'urīšlem*. In contrast to the Gospel of John, the name of the prophet Isaiah appears not as *ešaya* but as *isai* (genitive) in the Lectionary part of the palimpsest, both within a pericope (Luke 4.17: A34vb, 8) and in paratexts (the gloss pertaining to the lection of Luke 4.14–22: A37ra, 14, and the title of the lection of Isaiah 35.3–8: A70vb, 19). In a similar way, the name of Moses occurs not as *mowšē* as in the Gospel of John but as *mowsēs* throughout (Matthew 17.3–4: A13vb, 3–4 and 12; Acts 13.39: A73rb, 3; Hebrews 3.2: B23rb, 6; Hebrews 3.5: B16vb, 19).

⁵⁶ The Syriac text of the Peshitta has plain *b*- ‘in’ in both these cases (*b-taybūte-h*, *b-iy*). No corresponding Syriac expression is found for *kahanaowḡoy-bān'ioowk kowyoc* ‘by (the hand of) the highpriest’ in Hebrews 13.11 (A49rb, 20–21) ~ Arm. *i jeṛn k'ahanayapetin*, vs. Gk. διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως and Georgian *mḡdeltmozḡurisa mier*.

⁵⁷ Spelt out only once, in Mark 15.41 (A8rb, 16–17) at the very end of the pericope (see above); in all other places, the name is abbreviated as in the Armenian and Georgian Gospels (cf. n. 45 above).

All this suggests that the translations of the Gospel of John and of the Lectionary were undertaken under different circumstances, by different persons, with a different model, at a different place and/or a different time: the Lectionary underlying the palimpsested codex may indeed have been translated in a more “Hellenic” environment in Jerusalem while the Gospel of John may have emerged in a rather “Syro-Armenian” milieu in the Caucasus. However, even within the Lectionary part we find divergences that have a bearing on this question; this is true of the name of John which occurs both in a “Semitic” form, as *yohanan*, and in the “Greek” form *yohan(n)ēs* which, remarkably enough, is also the form used in the Gospel of John (1.6: A47va, 16; 4.1: A46vb,21 – A41va, 1; 5.36: A101ra, 5; probably also in 1.19: A47ra, 19–20; 5.33: A97rb, 15–16; and the gloss pertaining to 21.19: B39rb, 7). The co-occurrence cannot be motivated as reflecting the different persons meant: both *yohanan* and *yohan(n)ēs* can refer both to John the Baptist (*yohanan*: Acts 13.24–25, B30vb, 14, 19; *yohan(n)ēs*: Luke 1.61 and 63, A105ra, 11–12 and A106va, 21, and A35vb, 12 in the gloss indicating the lection for his Nativity, Luke 1.57 *sqq.*, as well as all attestations in the Gospel of John) and to John the Evangelist (brother of James, son of Zebedee; *yohanan*: Matthew 17.1, A10ra, 15; Acts 12.2, A57rb, 12; *yohan(n)ēs*: Acts 1.13, A104ra, 22). This seems to suggest that the circumstances of the translation may have been different even for individual lections.⁵⁸

4 The Albanian inscriptions

The work on the palimpsests also paved the way for a consistent decipherment and analysis of the few inscriptions in the Albanian language and script, which were therefore included in the first edition of the palimpsests in 2008. Of the total of ten artefacts dealt with there,⁵⁹ the first seven were excavated at Sudağulan near Mingachevir in Azerbaijan (cf. 1.2 above) and are now preserved in the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan, Baku where they were examined in greater detail by the present author during a visit in 2011; for some of the remaining inscriptions, new insights have meanwhile been gained via scholarly communica-

⁵⁸ A more thorough investigation of the remnants of the Albanian Bible translation is one of the tasks of the research project “The Development of Literacy in the Caucasian Territories” (“DeLiCaTe”) that has started in Hamburg in April, 2022.

⁵⁹ Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-85–94). The remnants of a few further inscribed fragments from Mingachevir with max. five characters each as reproduced in Qaziyev (1948: 399, Fig. 4) and Vahidov (1958: 114–115 with Figures 9–10) have remained undeciphered so far.

tion. In the following pages, all ten inscriptions are revisited in order to illustrate the present state of knowledge.⁶⁰

4.1 The cross pedestal

The longest inscription in Caucasian Albanian known so far is that on the four faces of the rectangular block from Sudağilan that has been determined to represent the pedestal (or a capital) for a cross (cf. 1.2 above and Figures 13a–d). Older pictures show that the beginning of the inscription (first and second faces) was still more complete when the monument was unearthed, but even then, most of the text of the third and fourth faces was missing (cf. Figures 4–7).⁶¹

Meanwhile, important parts from the first faces have been lost, too, as illustrated in Figures 14a–d. The essentials of the inscription have nevertheless been established with confidence: it commemorates the erection of a cross, obviously on the monument itself,⁶² by a Christian bishop in the 27th year of a king named Khosrow. Considering the fact that the autonomy of the Albanian church developed in the 6th century,⁶³ the king in question may well have been Khosrow I Anushirvan, the ruler of the Sasanian empire from 531 to 579; the event would in this case have taken place in 557.⁶⁴ The second Sasanian king of the same name, Khosrow II Parviz (r. 590–628), might also be taken into account; in this case, the year in question would be 616 CE.⁶⁵ In contrast to the name of the king,

⁶⁰ The following pages are a revised version of Gippert (2016b), which was printed without images, without the application of the correct fonts and without any proofs submitted to the author.

⁶¹ Cf. Qaziyev (1948: 399–401) and Vahidov and Fomenko (1951: 97–98) for the first publications of the find. The images provided in these publications show the monument in the state of its detection; they prove that the remnants of the third and the beginning of the fourth line were discovered later and applied to the monument only after its restoration (cf. Figures 13c–d).

⁶² Cf. Vahidov (1958: 110 with Fig. 2) for a drawing showing the reconstruction of the monument with the cross; the hole for the insertion of the cross is preserved in the middle of the upper plane of the block.

⁶³ Cf. Chapter 7 of this Handbook (Dum-Tragut), 4.2 as to the circumstances.

⁶⁴ Cf. Gippert (2004: 117–118) as to details concerning this identification.

⁶⁵ The fact that datings referring to Khosrow II are also found in the Armenian inscription of Bagaran and abound in Armenian literary sources and colophons (cf. Greenwood 2004: 42–43 with notes) may be taken to speak in favour of the latter identification. – Remnants of an Armenian inscription on plaster fragments found in a later layer of the Sudağilan complex (“VIII–IX әрсләрә аид олан дөрдүнчү мә’бәд – the fourth temple, which belongs to the VIII–IX centuries”; Vahidov 1961: 142) have no relation to the Albanian inscription; the attempt of a reconstruction by A. Abrahamyan (1956a: 66–72), who assumes the “35th year of (the Byzantine emperor) Heraclius” (*ի ժամանակի երեսներորդի Հինգերորդի ամին երակի*) has no basis as the

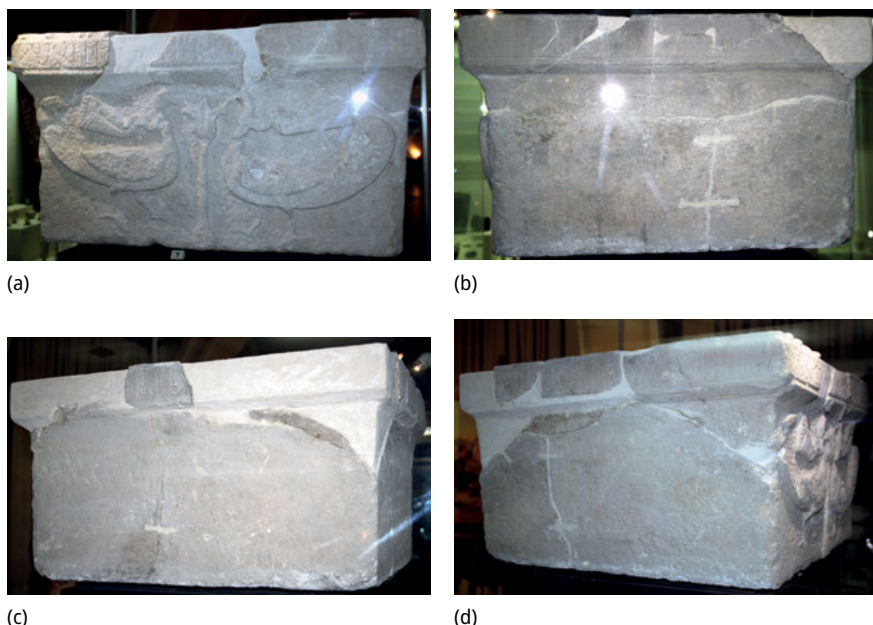


Fig. 13a-d: The four faces of the Mingachevir pedestal (2011).

still readable as *xosroow-* in the older photographs of face 2 (cf. Fig. 5)⁶⁶ of which only *xosro* has remained today (cf. Fig. 14b), the name of the bishop, which may have covered the beginning of face 4 (cf. Figures 7 and 14d), is anything but certain. The proposal to restore it as *[ab]âs*, thus matching the name of the Albanian patriarch Abas who, according to Armenian sources, transferred the ecclesiastical throne from Derbent to Partaw under Khosrow I,⁶⁷ must now be given up as the last character cannot be maintained to be an *s*. Instead we seem to read *-ây* at the given position, which would best be taken to represent the usual pronominal (“referentialised”) genitive plural ending (more precisely *-â~y*, with an abbreviation mark);⁶⁸ the word the ending belonged to must be left open, however. Another slight difference as to the reading published in the edition concerns the right-hand part of face 1 where instead of *ara-hêne*, past tense form of an

name of the emperor has not been preserved. The question of the dating of these fragments thus remains open (cf. Vahidov 1961: 148).

⁶⁶ Cf. Trever (1959, pl. 34); Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-85, Fig. 6). The reading *xosro(u)* was first proposed by G. A. Klimov (1967: 78).

⁶⁷ Cf. Gippert (2004: 118–119).

⁶⁸ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-29–30) and Chapter 4 of this Handbook, 3.2.



Fig. 14a–d: The inscription on the four faces of the Mingachevir pedestal (2011).

otherwise unattested verb **ara-ihesown* with the meaning ‘to be erected’, it now seems more likely that we have to read *ala hēne*, with *ala* representing the postposition *hala* ‘(up)on’.⁶⁹ Third, it seems clear now that the final word of the inscription, comprising the four letters added on the surface of face 4, reads *biyayn*, not *biyayne*, thus lacking the final *-e* as part of the third person clitic marker which usually appears as *-ne*;⁷⁰ the meaning remains the same though (‘he made it’). Whether the four extant letters of the third face, *serb*, represent the ordinal number *serb[aown]* ‘first’ or *serb[esown]* ‘build’ or another form of the same verb, must remain open; the same is true for the identification of *čōs-* on the fourth face with the name of Derbent, *Čor/Čol*. The resulting reading is displayed, together with a close transliteration, a simplified transcription and an English translation, in Table VII.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Whether or not there once was a letter 𐌆 = <h> in the given fissure remains unclear.

⁷⁰ Cf. Chapter 4 of this Handbook, 3.5.2.

⁷¹ In the transcripts of the inscriptions, characters that were still discernible in older photographs are marked with a light grey background in the original script and with round parentheses in the Latin transliteration; characters that are barely readable in any photograph, by a dark grey background in the original script and with square brackets in the Latin transliteration. Characters that are supplemented *in toto* are printed white on a black background in the original script and in angle brackets in the Latin transliteration.



Fig. 15: Mingachevir Pedestal, front side (2011).



Fig. 16: The silver bowl of Bartym.

manuscripts, Cod. 847 of the Austrian National Library, Vienna, of about the 6th century from Ravenna, the peacock symbol occurs even more prominently on its initial page preceding the Eusebian prologue, in a decorative ornament with a cross inside (cf. Fig. 20a–b),⁷⁶ and the earliest complete Bible manuscript in Latin, the Codex Amiatinus (ms. Amiatino 1 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence), contains a miniature of Ezra sitting in front of a book case whose triangular pediment shows two peacocks facing each other with a cross on a

⁷⁶ Drawing reproduced from Nordenfalk (1938: 157–158 and 190); the colour photograph is accessible at https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7688876&order=1&view=SINGLE.



Fig. 17: Eusebian Prologue of Ms. Yerevan, Matenadaran 2374, fol. 1r (Ejmiatsin Gospels of 989 CE).

pedestal in between.⁷⁷ All this suggests that the image we see on the Mingachevir pedestal was meant to symbolise the Christianisation of the Albanians via the introduction of the Gospels as the principal texts of Christian faith.

⁷⁷ Cf. Ramirez (2009) and the digital colour image at https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_20150/?sp=8.



Fig. 18: Portal of the Gospel of Mark, Vani Gospels.



Fig. 19: Evangelists' Miniature, Jruchi Gospels.

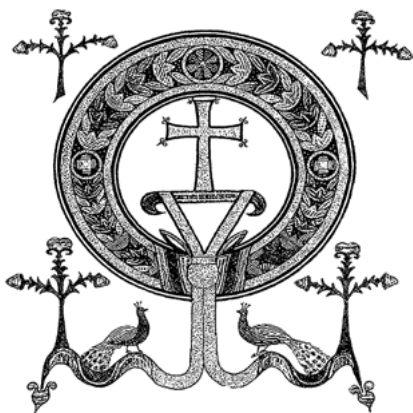


Fig. 20a-b: Title page of Ms. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 847 (ca. 6th c.).

4.2 Yog's candleholder

The second longest Albanian inscription is engraved in several lines on the four sides of a clay candleholder, as well from Sudağlan, measuring appr. 8 cm in height (cf. Figures 21a–d).⁷⁸ It names a certain Yog who obviously was its engraver:

⁷⁸ The artefact was first published by R. M. Vahidov (1951: 83–84 with Fig. 2).



Fig. 21a–d: Yog's candleholder with inscription.

z(o)w yog gokarxē naiřow b(ixařowǵ)ē eřowx beleǵa-haķe e hūwķen aķowx-biyay 'I, Yog, the sinful servant of God, have made this appear with the heart as it is decent.' In contrast to the published edition,⁷⁹ a minor correction concerns the arrangement of the lines across the four faces (cf. Figs. 10a–d), caused by the fact that the individual *e* character on the front face has now been identified as pertaining to the verb form *beleǵa*, a hitherto unattested present tense form with *l*-infix of the verb *beǵesown* 'be necessary, have to', or of the homonymous verb *beǵesown* 'look' which would yield a slightly different meaning ('what the heart looks at').⁸⁰ In addition, the *e* assumed in the third line within the verbal form *-karxē* (quasi **-karexē*) has turned out to be a mere scratch. The corrected reading is illustrated in Table VIII.

⁷⁹ Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-88).

⁸⁰ Cf. Chapter 4 of this Handbook, 3.5.3 as to this type of present stem formation.

Tab. VIII: Yog's candleholder inscription.

	I	II	III	IV		I	II	III	IV
1	ՏԻԻՕ-					zw yo			
2	ՏՏՕ-					g go			
3	ԺԶԼ	ԳԸԳԶ	ԳԽՕԻԻ	ԵԸԵԻԼ		kar	xē na	ifow	bē eṭ
4				ՕԻԻԽԵԵԻԵԻ					owx bele
5a				ՏԶՅԶՏԵԻ					gahake
5b	ՅՍԻԵԵԻ	ԳԶՏՕԻԻԽԵԻ	ԶԶԻ			hūwke	n ak[ow]xbi	yay	

4.3 Potsherd inscription

For the defective four-line inscription on a potsherd of appr. 10.5 × 10 cm (Figures 22a–b),⁸¹ the inspection has brought about only little new insight. It now seems



Fig. 22a–b: Potsherd inscription (twofold view).

⁸¹ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-88–9); the find was first published by T. I. Golubkina (1949: 234–236). Readings were proposed by Vahidov (1958: 111–112), Abrahamyan (1964: 60–62), Gukasyan (1969: 61 no. 31 and 72), and Murav'ev (1981: 273–274 / 1998–2000: 45–47).

Tab. IX: Four-line potsherd inscription.

1	ՏՕԻ Զ	<i>zow m[a]... ...</i>
2	ԲՄԻՏ	<i>būwǵa... ...</i>
3	ՀՏԶՕԻ	<i>hke-zow</i>
4	ԵԼԻ	<i>[b]ē he[l]... ...</i>

more likely that the first character is not a *ǵ* (of *ǵowm* ‘palace’) but the *z* of the personal pronoun *zow* ‘I’, which is then followed by an *m* as the initial letter of a personal name, given the similarity with the fourth letter of line 3. Of the name itself, the remnants of an *a* as its second letter seem discernible at the right-hand edge. For the first character of the fourth line, it has become slightly more probable that it is a *b*, thus yielding the (abbreviated) form of the genitive of the word for ‘God’, *bē*, to be read as *b(ixaǵowǵ)ē*. There are no traces of a sixth letter in the same line. Cf. Table IX for the revised reading of the inscription, which might mean something like ‘I, M(a)..., who was pledged ..., with the hope of God ...’.

4.4 Candleholder foot

The reading of the inscription on two faces of a lengthy, slightly pyramidal clay artefact of appr. 16 × 4.5 cm that is likely to have been the foot of a candleholder⁸² (Figures 23a–b) has been slightly improved, at least in its first part, which presumably mentions the addressee of the text. Instead of *nīqe* or the like, we now seem to read *kiye* as the person’s name. It is true that *kiye* is not attested as a personal name elsewhere and only occurs as an word meaning ‘rich(ness), wealth(y)’;⁸³ in the present context, however, it might also be a vocative form of the underlying noun, *ki* ‘wealth’ (in the sense of ‘treasure, darling’).⁸⁴ This is suggested by the word following it if this is the vocative form *bowqanayo* ‘beloved one!’ as proposed now, instead of the syntactically unmotivated attributive form, *bowqana*. For the second part of the inscription, there are no new insights available; it seems clear though that the text means something like ‘Darling, beloved, I made the candle(holder) for you’. Cf. Table X for the updated reading.

⁸² In Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-89) erroneously described as two separate feet of the same size.

⁸³ In James 1.10 (A48va, 15) and Hebrews 11.26 (fol. A2rb, 14); cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, IV-23).

⁸⁴ The noun *ki* itself is not attested but contained in the privative formation *ki-nowt* ‘poor’, lit. ‘wealthless’ (cf. Gippert et al. 2008: I, IV-23). – Alternatively we might read *hiye*, which is not advantageous as this form is unknown elsewhere.



Fig. 23a–b: Candleholder foot with inscription on two faces.

Tab. X: Inscription on the two faces of a candleholder foot.

1	ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ	[k]iye bowqan[a]
2	ΤΟ	yo
3	ΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ	zow va bala...
4	ΒΙΛΛΗ	biya<y>

4.5 Candleholder with defective alphabet

For the inscription on a quadrupedal, slightly conical candleholder (Figures 24a–d), which consists of appr. 16 characters of the Albanian script in alphabetic sequence,⁸⁵ no new insights have been gained. There is a slight chance that the two characters *y* and *z* that are missing between *ç* (no. 10, last character in the horizontal row) and *i* (no. 13, first character clearly visible on the foot below *d*) may once have been present at the bottom of the foot before the sequence *ifl*. The distribution of the characters is illustrated in Table XI.

85 Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-90).



Fig. 24a–d: Candleholder with alphabet inscription.

Tab. XI: Alphabet inscription on candleholder.

I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
ԶԵ	ՏԳ	ԵԾԷ	ԲՅԼ	a b	g d	e z ē	ž t ċ
	ԼԼԼԼ		ԿԿԿ		ԼԼԼԼ		ՇՇՇ

4.6 One-line candleholder inscription

For the one-line inscription running up vertically on one side of a candleholder of a height of appr. 18 cm (Fig. 25),⁸⁶ the inspection has brought about an improved reading. The sentence *zow kin-pe* proposed now can be understood as ‘I made it by hand’, with *kin* representing a later form of the instrumental case of *kowl* ‘hand’ which still appears as *kowin* in the palimpsests (in John 1.17, cf. 2.2.1

⁸⁶ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-91).

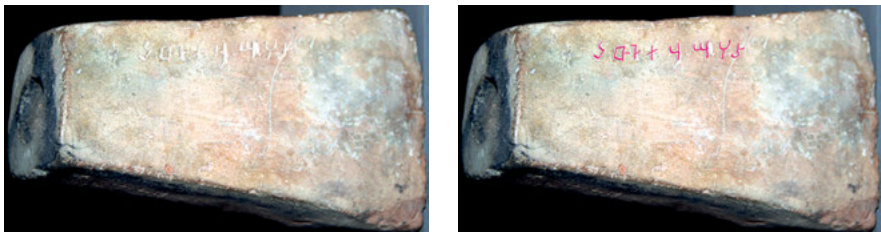


Fig. 25: Candleholder with vertically applied single-line inscription.

Tab. XII: Single-line inscription on candleholder.

ՏՕԴ ԺԿԿ ՍԵ	<i>zow kin pe</i>
------------	-------------------

above, and *kowin nowt-biyay* ‘not made by hand’ rendering Greek ἀχειροποίητον, Armenian *ařanc’ jeragorci*, Georgian *qelit-ukmneli* in II Corinthians 5.1, A69rb, 20) but as *kin* in Vartashen Udi (twice in Luke 7.8 where the Albanian text has other forms of *kowl* ‘hand’), even though a compound verb *kin-pesown* for ‘manufacture’ is attested in neither Albanian nor Udi. The proposed reading is illustrated in Table XII.

4.7 Single-name potsherd inscription

For the potsherd inscription consisting of a single name (Fig. 26), the reading *manas* (standing for the beginning of a name like *manase*) proposed by G. A. Klimov as early as 1967⁸⁷ seems now preferable to the alternative reading *manan* (standing for a name like *manana* ‘Manna’),⁸⁸ cf. the rendering in Table XIII.



Fig. 26: Potsherd with single-name inscription.

⁸⁷ Klimov (1967: 78): “чтение хорошо известного из истории Агвании собственного имени Манаса « Манасэ »” (“the reading of the personal name Manase, well-known from the history of Albania”).

⁸⁸ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-91).

Tab. XIII: Single-name inscription on potsherd.

𐌕𐌆𐌔𐌆𐌔𐌆	<i>manas...</i>
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4.8 The Derbent wall inscription

Since its first publication, the inscription discovered in the last decade of the 19th century in the northern wall of tower “B” of the Derbent fortress (Fig. 27a) has been supposed to be Albanian,⁸⁹ and there were even attempts to read it.⁹⁰ With a recent article in a Derbent newspaper,⁹¹ the view that the inscription might be Albanian has become obsolete. Instead, we may now gladly accept the proposal by A. R. Šixsaidov quoted in the article,⁹² according to which the inscription represents a fragment from Surah 2, verse 255 of the Qur’an,⁹³ written in a Kufic ductus of about the 11th–12th centuries. On the basis of photographs that have meanwhile become available, we can restore the text as outlined in Table XIV; it is important to note that the inscription must be turned by 180° as against its present position in the wall (cf. Figures 27b–c).

**Fig. 27a:** The Derbent wall inscription (drawing).

⁸⁹ Barkhutareants (1893: 119): Հաւանական է որ լինին Արուսնից լեզուի գրերից... – “It is probable that it is (written) in letters of the Albanian language”.

⁹⁰ Murav’ev (1981: 281–283 / 1998–2000: 53–55); cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-92).

⁹¹ Musaev, Yusufov and Mirzoev (2011); my thanks are due to T. Maisak who made the article accessible to me on 22 June 2011.

⁹² Also quoted in Hajiev and Yusufov (2011: 57).

⁹³ Actually, the verse fragment in question occurs elsewhere in the Quran, too (e.g., Surah 4.42); however, 2.255 is the most probable on statistical grounds (Ludwik Kalus, personal communication of 21 November 2013).



Fig. 27b–c: The Derbent wall inscription as of today (current view / turned by 180°).

Tab. XIV: Surah 2.225 of the Qur'an as represented in the Derbent wall inscription.

allāhu lā ilāha illā huwa al-ḥayyu al-qayyūmu.
lā tā'ḥuḍuhu sinatu⁹⁴ wa lā nau-
mu⁹⁵ lahu mā fī al-samāwāti
wa mā fī al-arḍi

الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم
 لا تأخذه سنة ولا نو
 م له ما في السموات
 وما في الأرض

‘Allah – there is no deity except Him, the Ever-Living, the Sustainer of existence.

Neither drowsiness overtakes Him nor sleep.

To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens

and whatever is on the earth.’

4.9 The Upper Labko tablet

It has for long been proposed that the inscription engraved on both sides of a flat stone tablet found in Upper Labko (Verkhniy Labkomakhi) in Dagestan⁹⁴ and published in 1971⁹⁵ is a fake, the sequence of letters it contains being a mere calque of the alphabet list of the Matenadaran manuscript (cf. 1.1 above), beginning with the second page of the list (cf. the images contrasted in Fig. 28a–f).⁹⁶ The proposal can be maintained, all the more since there are neither up-to-date photographs nor other new insights available that would contradict it.

⁹⁴ 42°20'27" N, 47°26'10" E.

⁹⁵ Arslanbekov (1971: 70–72).

⁹⁶ Cf. Murav'ev (1986), Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-92–3), and Gippert (2020a) for details.

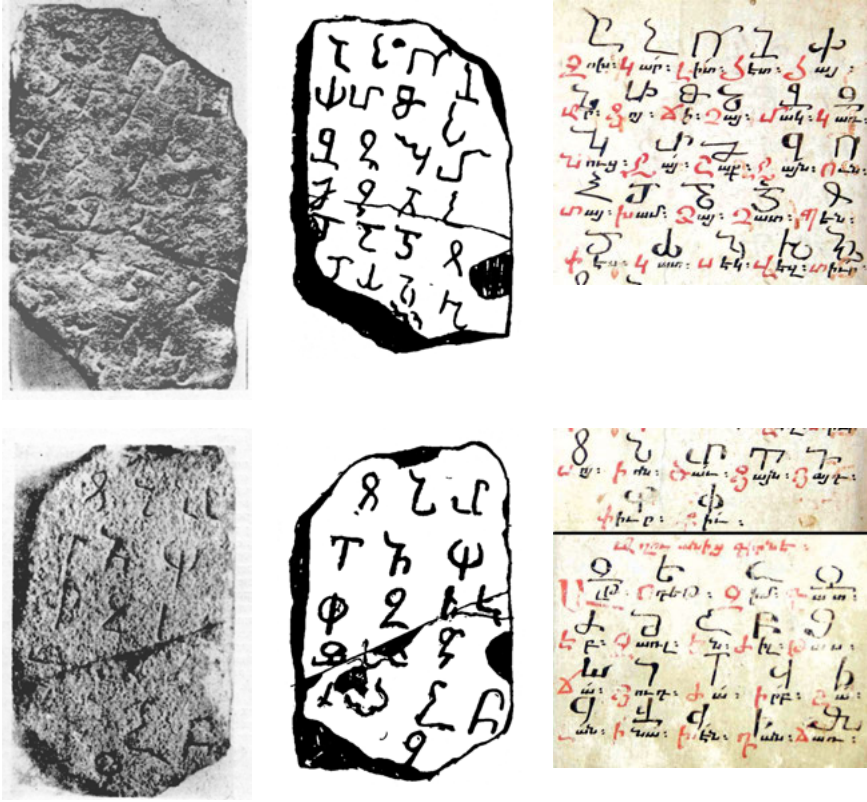


Fig. 28a–f: The Upper Labko tablet (contrasted with the alphabet list).

4.10 The Tkhaba-Yerdy roof tile

It has been disputed for long as well whether the five characters discernible on the fragment of a clay roof tile found in Tkhaba-Yerdy in Upper Ingushetia⁹⁷ in 1901 (cf. Figures 29a–b) can be considered as Albanian or, rather, Georgian (*asomtavruli* majuscules), but no trustworthy interpretation has been possible so far.⁹⁸ It is important to note, however, that the fragment bears the relief of two deer facing each other, with a (date?) tree in between, an image in some way reminding us of the peacock symbol on the Mingachevir pedestal (cf. 4.1 above).

⁹⁷ 42°48'33.9" N, 44°56'21.9" E. Cf. Trever (1959: pl. 29); Murav'ev (1981: 293).

⁹⁸ Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-93–4) for details.

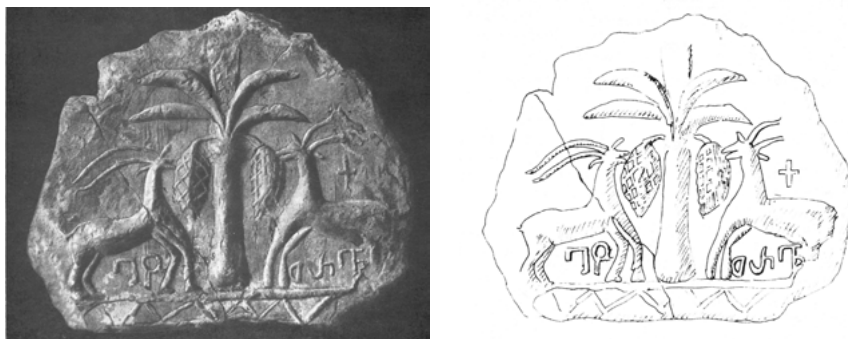


Fig. 29a–b: The Tkhaba-Yerdy plate (photograph / drawing).



Fig. 30a–b: The deer symbol on the roof of the church of Gethsemane, Jerusalem.

Indeed, the image of two deer is known in Christian contexts as well, taken to symbolise Psalm 41.2 [42.2] (“As the deer pants for streams of water, so my soul pants for you, my God”) as on the roof of the church of Gethsemane in Jerusalem (cf. Figures 30a–b). The image of two deer was also used in illuminations of Gospel manuscripts, in a similar way as the symbols comprising peacocks or other birds;⁹⁹ the “portals” of the 12th-century Gospel codex no. 182 from the Kutaisi State Historical Museum (Figures 31a–d) may give an idea of this even though they contain other animals.¹⁰⁰ It thus becomes conceivable that the “unintelligible” characters on the Tkhaba-Yerdy plate might represent not a name¹⁰¹ but elements from the Eusebian canon tables; cf., e.g., Fig. 32 which shows an

⁹⁹ Cf. Nordenfalk (1938: 244–245).

¹⁰⁰ The portals pertain to the Gospels of Matthew (fol. 6r), Mark (81r), Luke (129r), and John (206r).

¹⁰¹ I. A. Orbeli (*apud* Marr 1947: 8) proposed to regard the five letters as rendering the personal name *gotarz* in Georgian *asomtavruli* script (abbreviated as *gotrz*); cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-94 with n. 208).



a)



b)



c)



d)

Fig. 31a-d: Gospel portals with animal symbols from ms. Kutaisi, State Historical Museum 182.

<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>
<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>
<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>	<p> ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ ԵԻԻ </p>

Fig. 32: Canon table from ms. Kutaisi, State Historical Museum 76, fol. 4r.

extract from the table comprising the second and third canon from the Kutaisi Gospel codex no. 76 (fol. 4r). However, the character sequence visible on the Tkhaba-Yerdy plate remains unidentifiable so far.¹⁰²

4.11 Conclusion

Summing up, we may state that the closer inspection of the artefacts containing Albanian inscriptions has brought about considerable new insights into their contents and background. However, many a riddle has still to be solved, and we cannot but hope that more material of this kind will come to light.

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¹⁰² Another inscription from Dagestan in Old Georgian characters that was regarded as Albanian (Marr 1947: 8–14) has meanwhile been determined to be in the Avar language; cf. Khapizov (2015: 65–70).

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