Article

The Secondary Life of Old Georgian Manuscripts[*]

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Abstract

This article deals with two aspects of the secondary 'life' of Old Georgian manuscripts, namely a) their 'wandering' between the (autochthonous and allochthonous) centres of manuscript production and storage, and b) their reutilisation for personal blessings, rogations and prayers, and also for less 'immanent' purposes such as prescriptions, contracts and writing exercises added by later readers, users or owners. The various types of reuse are exemplified with reference to codices from Georgia and elsewhere.

1. Introduction

Amongst the manuscript traditions of the Christian Near East, that of the Georgians is one of the richest, extending from about the fifth to the nineteenth century CE and comprising approximately 75,000 surviving leaves. The role played by the production of manuscripts in the spiritual and intellectual life of the Georgian people can easily be inferred from the various forms of secondary use to which many of the codices were subjected. This is true for a large number of them that can be shown to have been the object of relocation, being moved from the place where they were originally conceived to one or several other places where they were worked upon, sometimes long before they were stored in modern depositories such as the Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts in Tbilisi. Another type of secondary use can be seen in the various functions to which many codices were subjected, aside from being merely read and copied. On the following pages, these two main types of secondary use will be illustrated by a series of examples, which should by no means be regarded as exhaustive.

2. Georgian manuscripts in motion

In comparison with the small region south of the Caucasus main ridge that is inhabited by speakers of the Georgian language today, Georgian manuscripts originated in a much broader area in the Christian East from the early beginnings of Georgian literacy on. By the end of the first millennium of the Christian era, Georgian monks had long been established in Jerusalem and on Mt Sinai, and with the foundation of the Georgian monasteries on Mt Athos and in the Rhodopes, further centres of erudition evolved in what may be termed the Georgian diaspora of the Middle Ages. However, none of the 'allochthonous' centres remained isolated. Instead, we can be sure there were close ties not only between neighbouring centres, but also across longer distances (cf. map on next page, which details the most important centres of Georgian manuscript production and the most obvious ties between them).[1] This is clearly demonstrated by both explicit and implicit evidence to be found in 'wandering' manuscripts, that is, colophons and marginal notes[2] on the one hand and textual and layout features on the other.

2.1

A famous example of a manuscript taken from one centre to another is the *Sinai mravaltavi*,[3] a homiliary codex from the second half of the ninth century, which is preserved in St Catherine's Monastery. Having become disintegrated over the course of time, the separate parts

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[1] This figure is an extended version of the map published in Karanadze et al. 2010, 6. Aside from the English place names, additional information shown includes the ties linking Mt Athos to Jerusalem and Mt Sinai, and the links between Tao-Klarjeti, Guria and Svanetia, all dealt with below.

[2] In contrast to other (secondary) notes (usually) applied to the margins, I treat scribes', owners', donors', binders' and restorers' notes that refer (explicitly or implicitly) to the manuscript itself or the text(s) contained within it as colophons.

[3] See Gippert (forthcoming) with reference to the term *mravaltavi*, lit. 'multi-headed'.
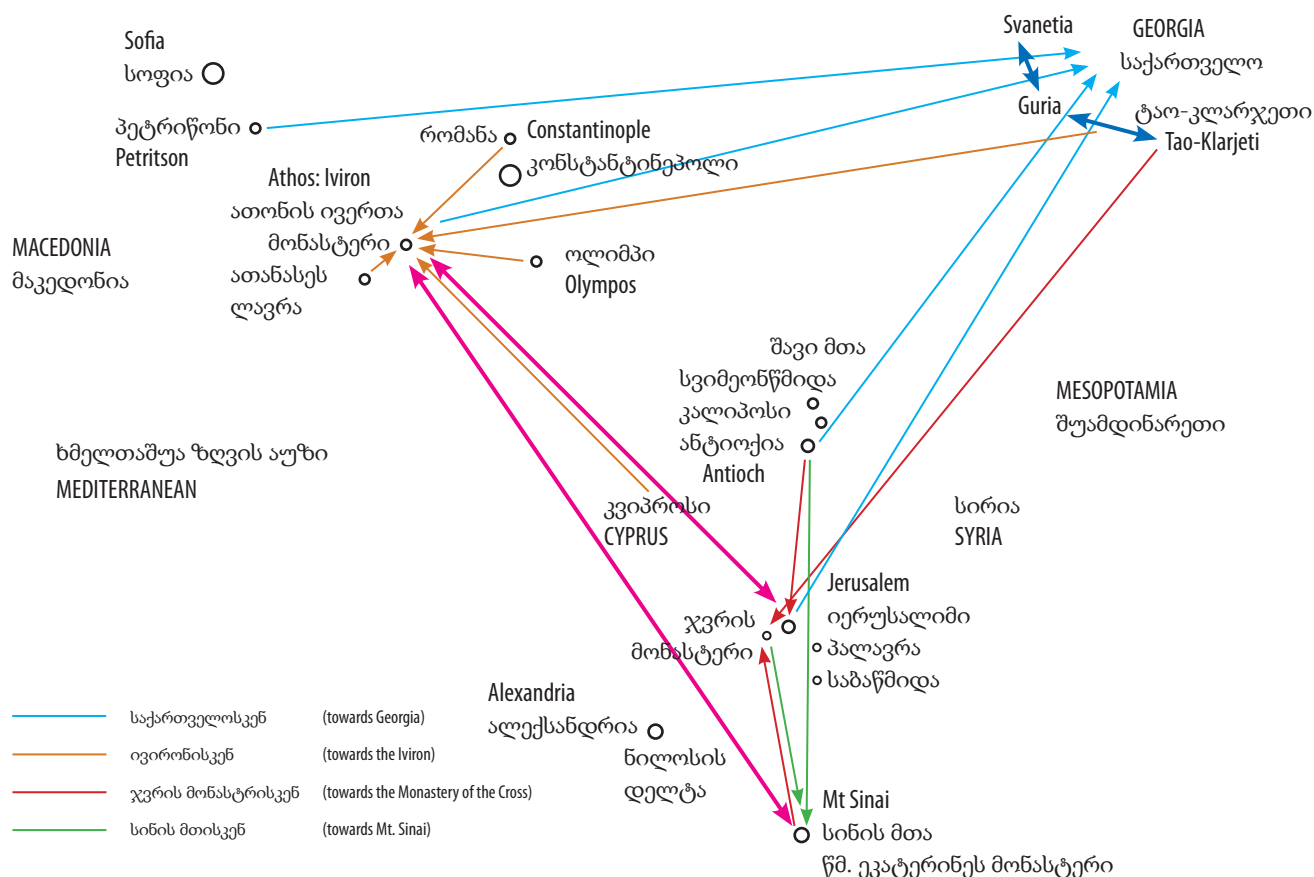
Map: Centres of Old Georgian manuscript production and their ties.

of the *mravaltavi* are catalogued under four signatures today (Sin. georg. 32, 57, 33, and N 89). The codex is peculiar not only because it is the oldest dated Georgian manuscript we know of to date, but also because it contains two verbose colophons written by its scribe, a certain Amona, son of Vaxṭang Moʒarġuli. According to the first of these colophons (written in the same majuscule hand as the main text), the codex was produced in the Great Laura of St Sabbas near Jerusalem on behalf of Maḳari Leteteli, son of Giorgi Grʒeli and maternal cousin of the scribe, under patriarch Theodosius (862–878) 'in the year 6468 after Creation and in the chronicon 84', which suggests the period from September 863 to August 864 CE as the date of its execution.[4] The second colophon, which is written in minuscule, but is undoubtedly by the same scribe, informs us that the codex was 'devoted' to Mt Sinai, 'the most holy of all, for the remembrance and benefit of ourselves and our souls', i.e. the donor (together with a 'brother in spirit' of his, Ṗimen Ḳaxa)

and the scribe. The transfer of the codex to St Catherine's Monastery, then, must have occurred before the year 982. This is clear from another colophon added 'in the year 6585 ... after Creation and in the chronicon 201', i.e. between September 980 and August 981 CE, by the most prominent Georgian conventual of St Catherine's, Iovane Zosime, who undertook the third (!) binding of the codex on site. For convenience's sake, the relevant passages of the three colophons are provided in table 1 together with an English translation (cf. also figs. 1 and 2).[5]

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[4] See Gippert (forthcoming) on the Old Georgian system of reckoning time.

[5] In the transcripts, abbreviations and punctuation marks are employed according to modern usage. Capital letters are used to represent enlarged initials within both majuscule and minuscule contexts. See Gippert (forthcoming) for information on the lines added below the end of the first colophon, which read: '*l(o)cv(a) ġ(a)vt : amona mčxreḳlisatws c(o)-dvilisa p(ria)d ç(mida)no*' ['Pray for Amona the scribe, the very sinful one, Saints!'] and the dating following them in the form of an extra line ('*za̅ çeli SE̅*', i.e. 'upper (?) year 208'. I assume that the rogation was written by Amona himself with the dating being added later (in 987–8 CE; by Iovane Zosime?). — Unless otherwise indicated, the photographs reproduced in this article were all taken by the author.

Table 1: Donor's, scribe's and binder's colophons of the *Sinai mravaltavi*.

First colophon, majuscules, initial part, fol. 273ᵛᵃ⁻ᵇ

Çq̇alobita mamisayta da ʒisayta da sulisa çmidisayta ...	By the charity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit ...
Da madlita çmidisa adgomisa saplavisa uplisa čuenisa iesu krisṭēsisayta	and the mercy of the Holy Resurrection from the grave of Our Lord Jesus Christ
da meoxebita q̇ovelta çinaçarmeṭq̇uelta, mocikulta, maxarebelta ...	and with the support of all prophets, apostles, evangelists ...
*Me, **maḳari leteteli, ʒē giorgi grʒelisay, codvili priad, ġirs ṃq̇o ġmertman šesakmed çmidisa amis çignisa mravaltavisa***	I, **Maḳari Leteteli, son of Giorgi Grʒeli, a very sinful (man), was considered worthy by God to create this holy *mravaltavi* book**
tana-šeçevnita ʒmisa čuenisa sulierad ṗimen ḳaxisayta	with the help of my brother in spirit, Ṗimen Ḳaxa,
*da **qelt-çerita dedis ʒmisçulisa čemisa amona vaxtang moʒarġulisa ʒisayta***	and **by the handwriting of my mother's brother's son, Amona, the son of Vaxtang Moʒarġuli,**
saqsenebelad sulta čuentatws da sulta mšobelta čuentatws da q̇ovelta gardacvalebulta twsta čuentatws...	as a memento of our souls and the souls of our parents and of (the souls of) all our deceased...

First colophon, majuscules, final part, fol. 274ʳᵃ

***Daiçera ese çigni ierusalems, lavrasa didsa çmidisa da neṭarisa mamisa čuenisa sabayssa** dġeta ġmrtis moq̇uarisa tevdosi ṗaṭreakisata da saba-çmidas ṗaṭiosnisa da sanaṭrelisa solomon mamasaxlisisata.*	**This book was written in Jerusalem, in the big Laura of our Holy and Blessed Father Sabbas,** in the days of the God-loving patriarch, Theodosius, and the venerable and blissful abbot of St Sabbas' (Laura), Solomon.
*Da **daiçera çmiday** ese çigni dasabamitgan çelta: X̅W̅Y̅Ē̅*	And this holy book was written in the year 6468 after Creation.
Kroniḳoni iq̇o: P̅D̅:	The chronicon was 84.

Second colophon, minuscules, initial part, fol. 274ʳᵇ

*Da **me, glaxaḳman maḳari, ševçire çmiday ese mravaltavi çmidat-çmidasa mtasa sinas** saqsenebelad da sargebelad tavta čuenta da sulta čuentatws.*	And **I, poor Maḳari, have devoted this holy *mravaltavi* to Mt Sinai,** the most holy of all, for the remembrance and benefit of ourselves and our souls.
da amas šina ars šemḳobay çeliçdisa dġesasçaulta q̇oveltay, tkumuli çmidata moʒġuartay.	And in it is the adornment of all feast days of the year (as) preached by the holy leaders.
Moec, upalo, ṗovnad çq̇alobay šeni ...	Grant, Lord, to find your compassion ...

Third colophon, minuscules, initial part, fol. 274ᵛ

|	
Ḳ(wrieelei)S(o)N saxelita ġmrtisayta	*Kyrie eleison*! In the name of God!
*Šeimosa mesamed çmiday ese çigni mravaltavi ṭq̇avita zroxisayta **sina-çmidas***	This holy *mravaltavi* book was bound for the third time in cowskin **on Holy (Mt) Sinai**
qelita iovane priad codvilisa zosimesita dġeta oden boroṭad moxucebulobisa čemisata,	by the hand of Iovane Zosime, a very sinful (man),[6] in the days of my being badly aged,
Brʒanebita da priad mosçraped moġuaçebita mikael da mikael ṗaṭiosanta mġdeltayta,	by order and under very zealous instigation of Michael and Michael, the venerable priests,
Dasabamitganta çelta kartulad: X̅P̅P̅Esa da kroniḳonsa: S̅Asa ...	in the year 6585 after Creation, Georgian style, and in the chronicon 201 ...
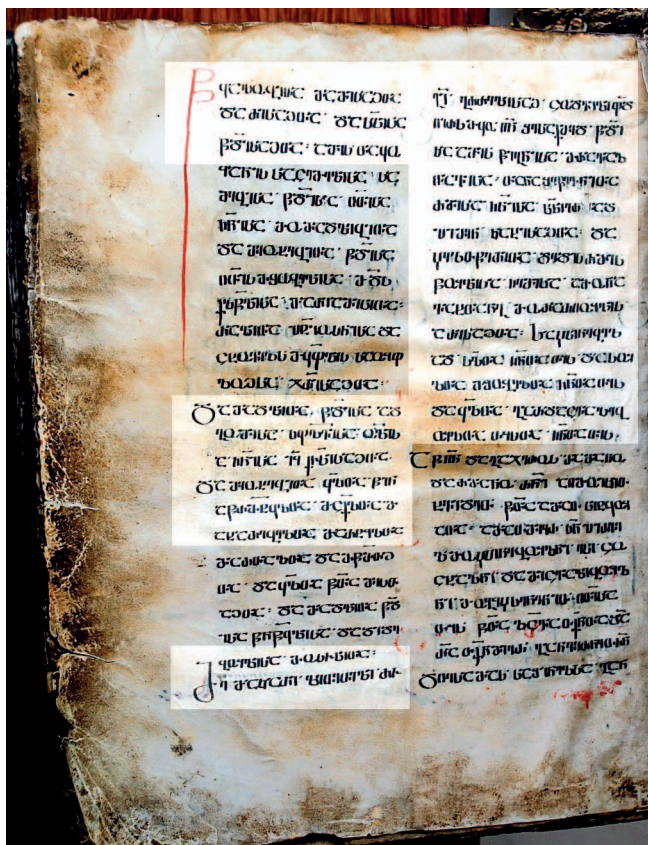
Fig. 1: Cod. Sin. georg. 32-57-33, fol. 273ᵛ and 274ʳ (quoted parts of colophons 1 and 2 highlighted).

2.2

Whilst the transfer of the *mravaltavi* from Jerusalem to Mt Sinai was intentional and planned from the start,[7] many other manuscripts of the same age were subjected to unforeseen relocation from their place of origin to other sites. A well-known example of this is the famous Gospel codex of Adiši in Svanetia, which, according to the scribe's colophon appended to the right-hand column of fol. 378ʳ, was written by him, a certain Mikael, in the chronicon 117, i.e. between September 896 and August 897 CE.[8] Cf. the reproduction of the column in question[9] together with its transliteration[10] in fig. 3 and the restored text in table 2.[11]
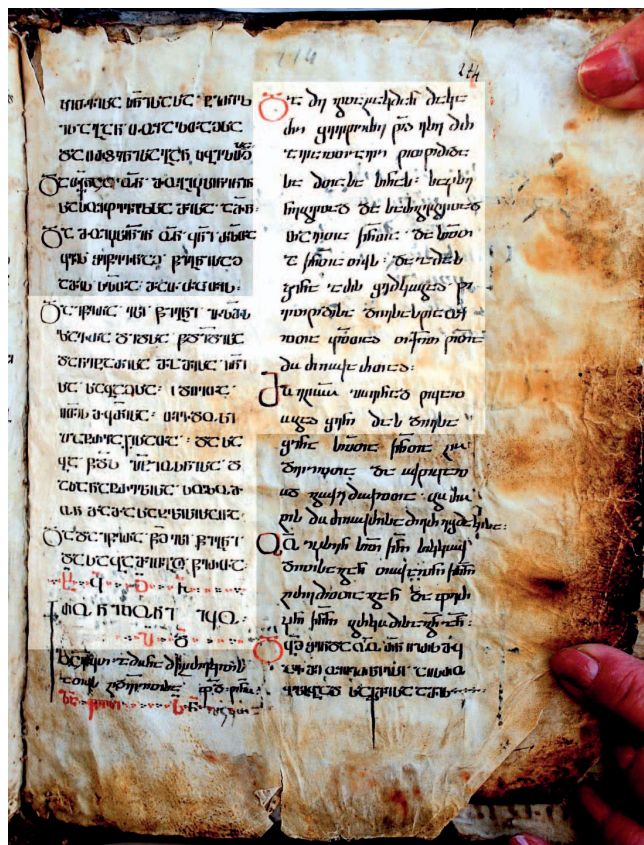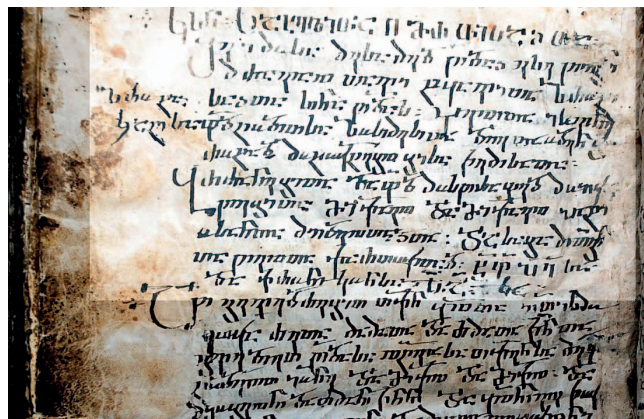

Fig. 2: Cod. Sin. georg. 32-57-33, fol. 274ᵛ (upper half; quoted parts of colophon 3 highlighted).

[6] As is visible in fig. 2, Iovane Zosime added two words (over two lines) to the left margin, viz. *zroxa* and *ķacisa*. Taking them together as a coherent gloss, they might mean something like 'the cow of man', which would remain incomprehensible even if it referred to the 'cowskin' mentioned in the text. I therefore consider the phrase *ķacisa* ('of [a] man') to relate to the following words, *priad codvilisa* ('very sinful'), and *zroxa* ('cow' – mod. Georgian 'ʒroxa') to have been added before the ending *sayta* for *zroxi* of the line above, which was probably barely legible even in Iovane Zosime's time. It is true that we would also expect to read *zroxi* in this case, but Iovane Zosime was anything but an accurate scribe.

[7] There is no indication that the second colophon (in minuscules) was added much later than the first (in majuscules). Why should the scribe have left a column for it as neatly as he did (fol. 274ʳᵇ) if it was not meant to be inserted immediately after the first colophon had been finished?

[8] See Gippert (forthcoming) for an earlier account of this codex and its history.

[9] Image taken from the facsimile edition by Taqaišvili 1916, pl. 198. Another reproduction can be found in Sarʒvelaʒe et al. 2003, opp. 433.

[10] In the narrow transliterations, any abbreviations and characters used numerically are marked by overbars. Uncertain readings are enclosed in square brackets and restorations of lost elements in angle brackets.

[11] Unlike Ekvtime Taqaišvili, who provided a first transcript of the colophons in his facsimile edition of the *Adiši Gospels* (Taqaišvili 1916, 11–14), but in

<Daiçera c̄⁻y ese çigni>

    <dasabamitḡ⁻n çe>

    lta : x̄[p̄]<a : kr̄⁻ḳ>

    nsa : r̄īz : šob[i]<tḡ⁻n>

    o̅⁻isa č̄⁻nisa i̅⁻w ḳ̄⁻si[t]

    çelta : : : č̄a : ḳ̄⁻e [m]<e>

    owpeo šegwçq̇alen [č̄]<⁻n>

    ertobit a̅⁻n :

Mçera amisi mikae[l]

    locvasa momiq[s]<en>

    et da šemindvet s[i]

    owcbe čemi :

Da mmoselica mika<el>

    diaḳoni momiqse[n]<et>

    ç̄⁻sa locvasa tḳ̄⁻n[s]<a>

    o̅⁻i mparvel gwe<ḳmn>

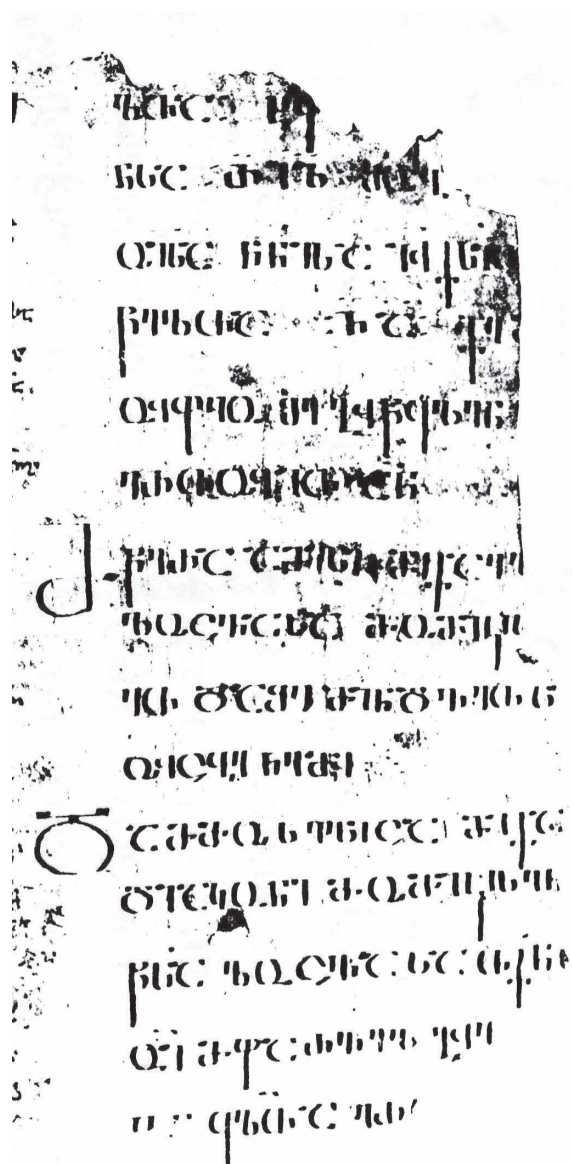   [en] q̇̄⁻lta er[t]<obit a̅⁻n>

Fig. 3 : Scribe's colophon of the *Adiši Gospels*, fol. 387ᵗᵇ, with transliteration.

Table 2: Restored and translated text of the scribe's colophon of the *Adiši Gospels*.

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Daiçera çmiday ese çigni	This holy book was written
dasabamitgan çelta x̄p̄a kroniḳonsa r̄īz	in the year 6501 after Creation, in the chronicon 117,
šobitgan uplisa čuenisa iesu krisṭēsit çelta č̄a	(and) in the year 1001 after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ.
krisṭe meupeo šegwçq̇alen čuen ertobit amen :	Christ, Lord, have mercy upon us all. Amen!
Mçera[li][12] *amisi mikael locvasa momiqsenet*	Remember the writer of this, Michael, in (your) prayer
da šemindvet siucbe čemi :	and forgive me my inattentiveness.
Da mmoselica mikael diaḳoni	And the binder, too, Michael the deacon,
momiqsenet çmidasa locvasa tkuensa	remember in your holy prayer.
upali mparvel-gwekmnen q̇ovelta ertobit amen	May the Lord protect us all. Amen!
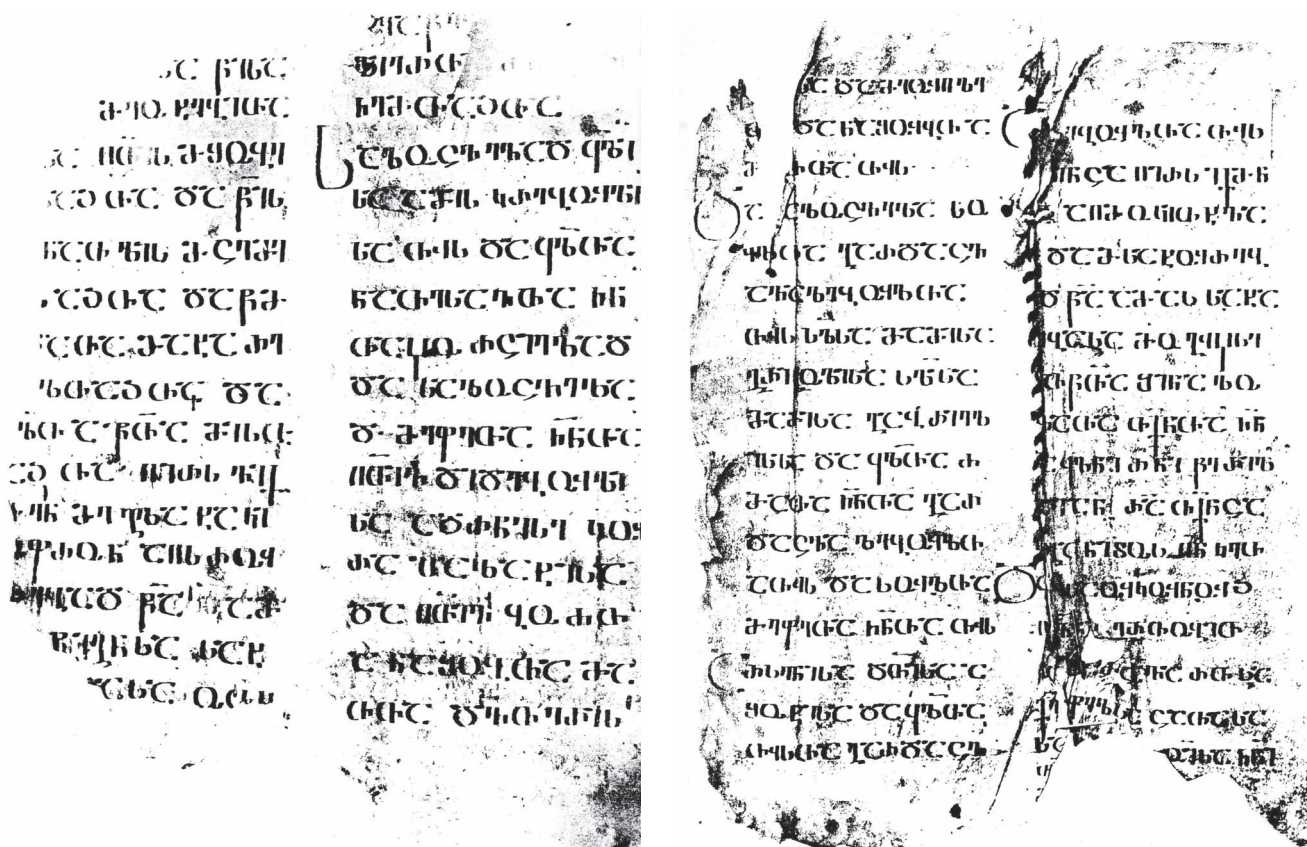
Fig. 4: *Adiši Gospels*, Sopron's colophon, fol. 387ᵛ and 388ʳ.

2.2.1

One problematical aspect of this colophon is the date: the year 1001 *post Christum natum* is given here, which does not accord with the 'chronicon' calculation that would suggest 896–7 CE. The dating 'after Creation' does not help, since only the first element of the number in question (*$\overline{xpa}$ = 6501), $\overline{x}$ = 6000 is readable with any certainty. Ekvtime Taqaišvili, who was the first person to consider this inconsistency, strongly argued in favour of accepting the earlier date. His main thrust of argumentation was that calculating dates based on the birth of Christ was extremely unusual in ancient Georgia and that it may therefore have been a miscalculation on the part of the scribe – a point that does seem to be well founded.[13] Taqaišvili further hinted at a second colophon written by

the same hand and in the same layout, which covers the two subsequent pages of the codex (387ᵛ–388ʳ; cf. fig. 4). Similarly to the donor's colophon of the *Sinai mravaltavi*, this colophon, also written in the first person, concerns the person who 'executed' the codex, that is, a certain Sopron. In addition, it mentions several contemporary dignitaries such as King Adarnase *curopalates* and his son, Davit *eristavi*, as well as two deceased fathers, named Grigol and Gabriel, all of them being easily identifiable in Georgian history during the period between 850 and 950 CE. For the sake of convenience, the essential parts of the second colophon have been transcribed and translated and are presented in table 3.[14]

accordance with the reconstruction by Silogava 1986, 47, I assume two lines to have been lost at the top of page 387, taking into account the length of the text of Mk. 14.37 that must be restored above the left-hand column of the page (387ʳᵃ, cf. below), with *çigni* ('book') instead of Silogava's *otxtavi* ('Tetraevangelion') matching the existing space.

[12] The form *mçera*, as it occurs in the manuscript, is ungrammatical and must be a *lapsus calami* for *mçerali* ('scribe').

[13] Taqaišvili 1916, 13–14; cf. 2.4.2 below as to later usage. The difference

suggested, (1001–897 =) 104 years, should be seen within the context of the discrepancy in dating between the Georgian and the Byzantine eras, which consisted of 96 years; see Gippert (forthcoming) on the subject of this discrepancy, erroneously reduced to 94 years in Iovane Zosime's *Praise of the Georgian Language*. The difference in dating remains unexplained thus far, as does the question as to whether it was arrived at by calculating on the basis of years *ante* or *post Christum natum*.

[14] In the transcripts, square brackets indicate the reinsertion of elements in lacunae. A more comprehensive – although not complete – reconstruction has been provided by Silogava 1986, 47–48.

Table 3: Restored and translated text of the compiler's colophon of the *Adiši Gospels*.

First column (fol. 387ᵛᵃ)

... meoxebita [çmidi]sa ġmrtis mšobe[li]sayta da çmidis[a ioane] natlis mceme[li]sayta da çm[id]ata maxare[be]ltayta da [ọove]lta çmidata mistayta ġirs vikmen me glaxaḳi [s]opron aġsrulebad çmidasa am[as] çignsa sax[areb]asa otx[tavsa] ..

... with the help of the holy Theotokos and St John the Baptist and the holy Evangelists and all his saints, **I, poor Sopron, have become worthy to accomplish this holy four-chapter Gospel book** ...

Second column (fol. 387ᵛᵇ)

*... [moġ]uaçe[bita su]lierta [ʒmata] čemtayta Salocvelad ọovlisa amis ḳrebulisatws da ọovelta natesavta čuenta ọorcielad da salocvelad **mepeta čuenta ġmrtiv didebulisa adrnese ḳuraḳalaṭisa da ġmrtiv boʒta našobta matta davit eris[tavisa]...***

... with the support of my spiritual brothers, to pray for all this congregation and all our carnal relatives, and to pray **for our kings, Adarnase the *curopalates*, exalted by God, and his children, gifted by God, Davit the *eristavi*** ...

Third column (fol. 388ʳᵃ)

*... da meuġlet[a] da našobta m[a]ttatws. Da [s]alocvela(d) sulta gardacvalebultatws **sulisa mamisa grigolisa sulisa mamisa gabrielissa** da ọovelta ʒmata čuenta gardacvalebultatws da **sulta mepeta čuentatws Arsenisa davitisa ašoṭisa** da ọovelta twsta gardacv\|[al]ebultatws.*

... and their wives and children, and to pray for the souls of the deceased, **the soul of father Grigol, the soul of father Gabriel**, and for (the souls of) all our deceased brothers, and for **the souls of our kings Arseni, Davit, Ašoṭ** and all their deceased.

Fourth column (fol. 388ʳᵇ)

A[ç v]inca ġirs ikmn[et] aġmoḳitxva[d] da msaxureb[a]d çmidasa amas saxa[re]basa mogwqse[ne]t çmidata šina lo[c]vata tkuenta ...

Now, whoever (of you) may become worthy enough to read and do service (with) these holy Gospels, remember us in your holy prayers...

2.2.2

The other problem with the information contained in the two colophons is that they do not indicate the place where the codex was created. In this connection, it is especially the names of royalty mentioned in the colophons that are revealing. According to Taqaišvili, the contemporary king is identical to Adarnase, son of Davit *curopalates*, who mounted the Georgian throne in 888 CE, was acknowledged as *curopalates* by the Byzantine government in 891 CE and ruled until 923 CE, before being succeeded by his son, Davit. The deceased kings mentioned in the colophons then are Davit, Adarnase's father, who ruled from 876 to 881 CE, and his younger brother Ašoṭ, who died in 885 CE; only the bearer of the third name, Arseni, has thus far remained unidentified (but may possibly represent the second son of Bagraṭ I, the father of Davit *curopalates* and Ašoṭ, who is also named Adarnase

in historical sources).[15] All of these identifications lead us to the Georgian province of Ṭao-Ḳlarǯeti, situated in present-day Eastern Turkey, which was the hereditary land of the dynasty of Bagraṭ I (the so-called 'Ṭao-Ḳlarǯetian Bagratids'). This view is further supported by the fact that the compiler of the codex, Sopron, and the two other clerics who figure in the colophon can be placed in the same province, that is, as priors of the monastery of Šaṭberdi, beginning with Grigol of Xanʒta, who founded the monastery under Bagraṭ I, and ending with Sopron himself, who is mentioned as its renewer in Grigol's vita (by Giorgi Merčule).[16]

[15] Except for the latter proposal, see Taqaišvili 1916, 17.

[16] Abulaʒe 1964, 294, l. 5–6, '*didi sopron, sanaṭreli mamay, šaṭberdisa eḳlesiisa ganaxlebit aġmašenebeli da uḳunisamde gwrgwni misi*' ('the great Sopron, the blissful father, the builder [and] renewer of the church of Šaṭberdi and its crown in eternity'). See Taqaišvili 1916, 16–17 for further details.
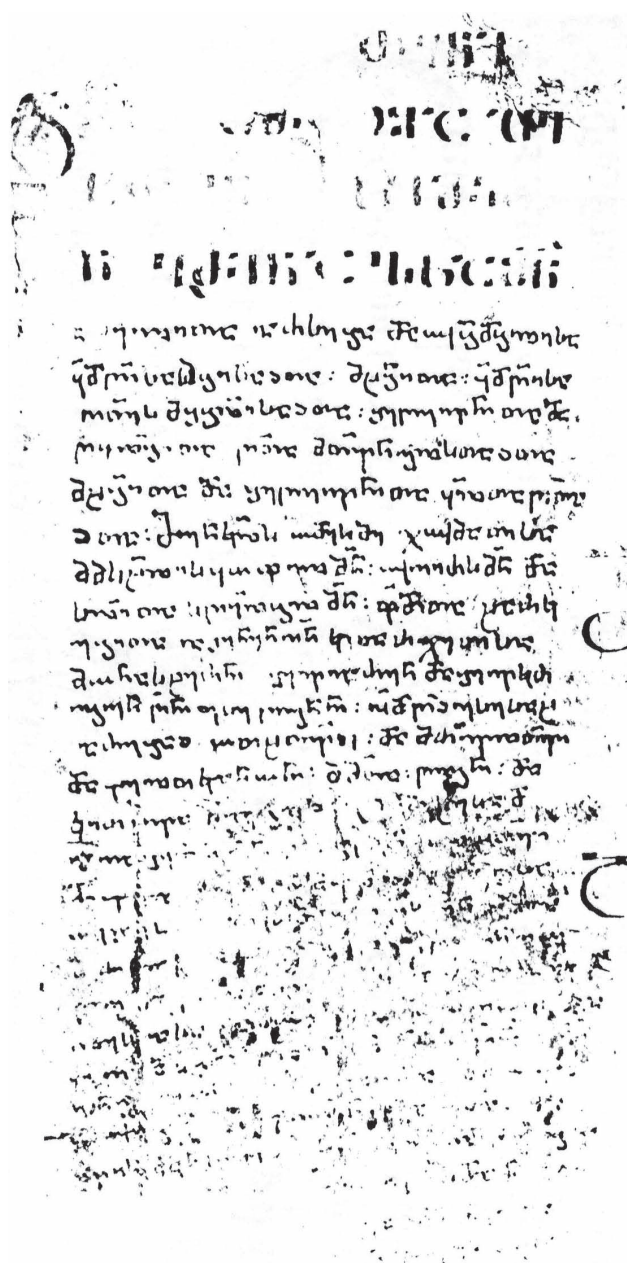
<mʒina>reni

D[a hrko]wa p̣e

ṭres　　　simeo

n gʒinavsa šn

Saxelita arseba daub̄dblisa
q̄d c̣isa smbisayta : mxbita : q̄d c̣isa
ḡtis mšb̄lisayta : šeçevnita da
cq̄lbita c̣ta mt̄vnglstayta
mxbita da šeçevnita q̄lta c̣ta
yta : Me nk̄ls odesme žumatisa
mms̄xlis q̣opilm̄n : uḡirsm̄n da
s̄lta scq̣lblm̄n : p̄dita xarḳ
ebita ašenen ḡn ḳlaržetisa
monasṭerni ševiaren da ševḳr
iben c̄ni ese c̣ignni : p̄d c̣y ese sax
arebay otxt̄vi : da mrv̄ltvi
da qelt ḳanoni : m̄mta c̣igni : da
ḳitxva migebay : Owmeṭesad
aḡašenen ḡn šaṭberdi : ese otxt̄vi
da qelt ḳanoni da m̄mta c̣igni matsa
eḳlesiasa ...

Fig. 5: Niḳolaos' colophon (fol. 387ra).

2.2.3

The assumption that the codex was compiled in the monastery of Šaṭberdi is corroborated beyond doubt by a third colophon that was inserted into the empty part of the column underneath the end of the Gospel text on fol. 386ra[17] and preceding the scribe's colophon. Despite its position, it is clear from both its writing style (in slovenly minuscules, cf. fig. 5) and its contents that it must have been

added later. It details the collection, by a certain Niḳolaos, of the *Tetraevangelion* (book containing the text of the four Gospels) together with some other codices at Šaṭberdi. The list of items assembled comprises, besides the *otxtavi* ('Tetraevangelion') itself, a lectionary (*qelt-ḳanoni*) and other 'books' as well as a *mravaltavi* that is not further specified. There is good reason to believe that the latter codex is the so-called *Udabno mravaltavi* (nowadays ms. A-1109 at the National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi), which was detected in (and named after) the monastery of Udabno in Guria in South-west Georgia.[18] This and the fact that Niḳolaos was a

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[17] The Gospel verse above is Mark 14:37, part of the passage from Mark 14:33–37, duplicated in a slightly different wording, following the Gospel of John on fol. 386^rv. The introductory line ('*sṭovasa mas aḡsamaḡlebelisasa : evangeliē marḳozis tavisay*' ('In the portico of the Ascension: from the Gospel of Mark') indicates that this text version was taken from a Jerusalem-type lectionary; cf. the so-called 'Paris lectionary' (Tarchnischvili 1959, 116–7), which has the lection of Mark 14:33–40 on Maundy Thursday (no. 650), prescribing to proceed to the *locum ascensionis* (*aḡsamaḡlebelad*) before (no. 645).

[18] See Taqaišvili 1916, 12–13, and Šaniʒe / Čumburiʒe 1994, 5 and 9–10. See Gippert (forthcoming, 2.3) for more information on the *Udabno mravaltavi*.

Table 4: Niḳolaos' colophon, restored text and English translation.

Saxelita arseba daubadebelisa ġovlad ċmidisa samebisayta :	In the name of the all-holy Trinity, substance unborn,
meoxebita ġovlad ċmidisa ġmrtis mšobelisayta :	with the help of the all-holy Theotokos,
šeċevnita da ċq̇alobita ċmidata mtavarangelostayta	with the support and mercy of the holy archangels,
meoxebita da šeċevnita ġovelta ċmidatayta :	with the help and support of all saints:
Me niḳolaos odesme žumatisa mamasaxlis-q̇opilman uġirsman da	I, Niḳolaos, formerly the abbot of (the monastery of) Žumati,
sulita saċq̇alobelman:	unworthy and pitiful with (my) soul,
*priadita xarḳebita – ašenen ġmertman – **ḳlaržetisa monasṭerni***	with much endeavour I have visited the **monasteries of Ḳlaržeti**
ševiaren da ševḳriben ċmidani ese ċignni:	– may God build (them) up – and collected these books:
p̣irvelad ċmiday ese saxarebay otxtavi :	first, this holy Tetraevangelion,
da mravaltavi da q̇eltḳanoni	and a *mravaltavi* and a lectionary,
m(a)m(a)ta ċigni da ḳitxva-migebay :	a book of the fathers and a questions-and-answers (book).
Umeṭesad aġašenen ġmertman šaṭberdi :	May God build up Šaṭberdi above all!
ese otxtavi da q̇eltḳanoni da mamata ċigni matsa	This Tetraevangelion and the lectionary and the fathers' book, in
eḳlesiasa ...	their church ...

former abbot of Žumati, another monastery of Guria, leads one to the assumption that the illegible parts of the colophon deal with the transfer of the codices to the latter region.[19]

2.2.4

What remains unresolved, then, is the question as to when the removal from Šaṭberdi to Guria took place and when, how and by whom the Gospel codex was transported to the mountain area of Svanetia. If Taq̇aišvili was right in assuming that Niḳolaos undertook his expedition to Ḳlaržeti in the second half of the sixteenth century, there was not much time remaining for the Tetraevangelion to have reached Adiši, where it was found by the Svanetian scholar Besarion Nižараze sometime before the end of the nineteenth century.[20] There are, indeed, two later notes in the codex that mention the name of Adiši (on fol. 312ʳ, between Jn. 3.32 and 4.2, and on fols. 345ᵛ–346ʳ, under Jn. 10.41); these, however, are undated (cf. the transcripts provided in figures 6a and b), so that the question must remain unresolved.[21]

2.3

Another Georgian manuscript from Mt Sinai likely to have originated in Jerusalem, namely Cod. Sin. georg. 16, a Gospel codex written in *nusxuri* minuscule, is testament to a particular type of 'wandering'.[22] The main colophon of the codex has now been lost, but it was transcribed by A. Cagareli in his catalogue of the Georgian manuscripts of St Catherine's monastery in 1888[23]. According to this transcript, the codex was executed in 992 CE (chronicon 212) by Gabriel 'the amiable' (*saquareli*) in the Monastery of the Holy Cross.[24] As a matter of fact, Gabriel does figure in other notes in the codex, too, specifically on fol. 94ᵛ at the end of St Matthew's Gospel and on fol. 243ᵛ at the end of St Luke's Gospel. However, he was obviously not the scribe who penned most of the text, given the sharp difference in the handwriting discernible in the former note. Instead, it is obvious that the main text of the Gospels as well as the additional indices contained in the manuscript were written by a 'decanus of the Cross' (*žuarisa*

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[19] The first five lines pertain to the Gospel text of Mark 14:37. For parts that are illegible today, the transcript provided here is based upon Taq̇aišvili 1916, 11.

[20] See Taq̇aišvili 1916, 7 and 12. As to B. Nižараze, see Gippert 1986, 206–7.

[21] Silogava 1986, 49 proposes (obviously on palaeographic grounds) a dating sometime during the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries for the first note and the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries for the second note; furthermore, he determines the script of Niḳolaos's colophon to be a 'straight *nusxuri* of the eleventh century' ('XI ს-ის სწორი ნუსხური').

[22] These and other manuscripts from Mt Sinai were inspected by the author and several colleagues (M. Shanidze, S. Sarjveladze, D. Tvaltvadze, B. Outtier) during a research trip to the monastery undertaken in May 2009 in connection with the international project entitled 'Critical Edition of the Old Georgian Versions of Matthew's and Mark's Gospels – Catalogue of the Manuscripts Containing the Old Georgian Translation of the Gospels' (a project kindly supported by INTAS, Brussels, ref. no. 05-1000008-8026). The members of the group are extremely grateful to the monastery librarian, Father Justin, for the kind support he provided during their stay.

[23] The last folio (fol. 332) containing the colophon must have disappeared before 1902, since I. Žavaxišvili was unable to consult it during his visit to Mt Sinai; see his catalogue (Žavaxišvili 1947, 38).

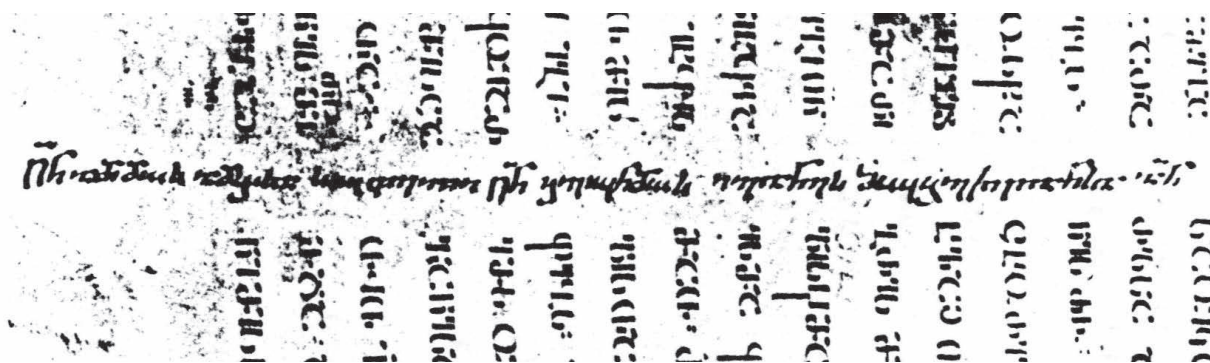[24] Cagareli 1888b, 198–9, no. 7; reproduced in Garitte 1956, 53.

Fig. 6a: *Adiši Gospels*, Ivane Mubečviani's note on fol. 312ʳ.

Ġ(mertma)n adidos ad(i)šisa supeli Ġ(mertma)n šeundos ivanes mubečviansa. a(me)n.

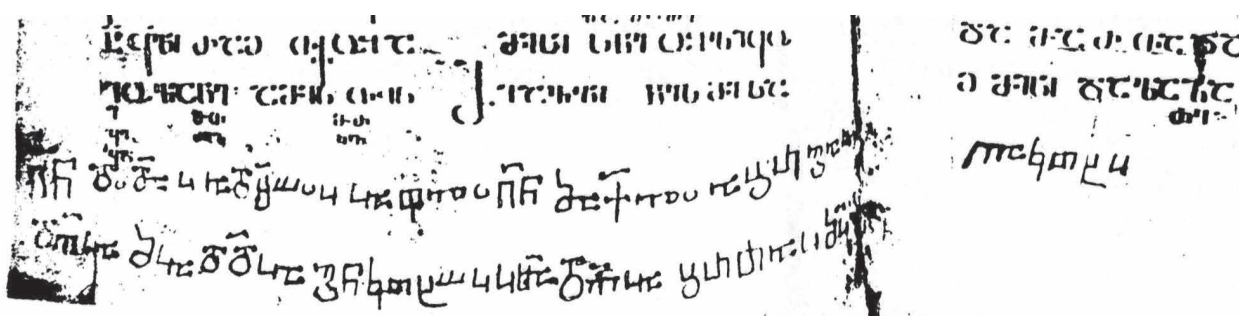God exalt the village of Adiši! God pardon Ivane Mubečviani! Amen!

Fig. 6b: Note on fols. 345ᵛ-346ʳ. [26]

Ḡn dydas aďšoys saply Ḡn mākly abrgan[s]　　　　　　　　　ġaķtxs

dğsa msa ḏdsa gnķtxosssā dğsa brʒanbs[a]

Ġmertman adidos adišis sopeli. Ġmertman mikael abregians　　　*ġmertma aķurtxos!*

dğesa mas didisa ganķitxuisasa, dğesa brʒanebisa

God exalt the village of Adiši! God bless Mikail Abregiani

on the day of the big judgement, on the day of the command.

deķanozi) named Daniel, whose name appears alongside Gabriel's in the main colophon and the two notes mentioned above, and also in several other short notes, each written in the same hand as the text to which they pertain.[25]

2.3.1

Be that as it may, the present codex is unusual in that its first quires – containing the text of St Matthew's Gospel – were obviously corrected in a second hand, the original text having been erased earlier, at least in parts. A clear example can be seen on fol. 8ᵛ where the wording of Matt. 2:2, 'Where is he who was born king of the Jews?', was changed to read *sada*

ars r(omel)i-igi išva meupe ho(w)riatay,[27] with the relative clause *romeli-igi išva* ('he who was born') replacing the participial clause *axladšobili igi* ('the newly born one' – cf. fig. 7; the erased text has remained visible in part). Comparing other witnesses to the Old Georgian Gospels, it becomes clear at once that this difference stems from a controversy about different recensions, the erased wording representing the text of the 'Protovulgate', which prevailed in the ninth and tenth centuries, whilst the 'new' text is that of the later 'Vulgate' redaction, worked out by George the Hagiorite on Mt Athos in the early eleventh century (Athonite Vulgate); cf. table 5, where the versions in question are contrasted with the Greek text, which has the participle τεχθείς in the position in question.

[25] See Ǯavaxišvili 1947, 38, and Garitte 1956, 51–2 for the full list; cf. 2.6 below for further details.

[26] Because of its idiosyncratic spelling, the text of this note is provided with both a transliteration and a (tentative) transcription.

[27] Here, and in the following transcripts, restorations of abbreviations are marked by parentheses.

Table 5: Two recensions of Matt. 2:2 represented in Sin. georg. 16, fol. 8ᵛ.

|	
Sin.georg. 16, original text	*sada ars **axladšobili igi** meupe huriatay*
Protovulgate (D,F,G)	*sada ars **axladšobili igi** meupĕ huriatay*
Sin.georg. 16, corrected text	*sada ars **romeli igi išva** meupe huriatay*
Athonite Vulgate (H,I,K; B,R,P)	*sada ars **romeli igi išva** meupe huriatay*
Greek	Ποῦ ἐστιν **ὁ τεχϑεὶς** βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων

2.3.2

However, things are not that simple. In some cases, the overwritten text does not agree with the Athonite Vulgate, but instead with the Protovulgate itself. This is true for Matt. 4:12 on fol. 13ᵛ, for example. Here, the corrector's text runs: *x(olo) esma r(a)y i(eso)ws v(itarme)d iovane mieca sap̣q̇robil(e)d ganešora da c̣arvida galilead* ('But when Jesus heard that John had been thrown into prison, he withdrew and went away to Galilee'), with *x(olo)* ('but') replacing erased *v(itarc)a* ('as') (in red ink), *v(itarme)d* ('that') replacing erased *r(ametu)* ('id.'), *r(a)y* ('as') added above the line, and *sap̣q̇robil(e)d* ('into prison') covering an erasure of the same length, with no traces of the erased wording remaining (cf. fig. 8). The resulting text is clearly that of the Athonite Vulgate again, with the exception of *sap̣q̇robiled* ('into prison'), which does not appear in this redaction. Instead, *sap̣q̇robiled* is part of the Protovulgate wording, as are the erased words *v(itarc)a* and *r(ametu)*;

the closest witness of this redaction, the Palestine Gospels (G), reads: *vitarca esma i(eso)ws, r(ametu) iovane mieca sap̣q̇robiled ganešora da c̣arvida galilead* ('When Jesus heard that John had been thrown into prison, he withdrew and went away to Galilee'). What, then, did the corrector replace by *sap̣q̇robiled* at the position specified, if not the same word? Compare table 6, which contrasts the relevant versions with the Greek text again. It proves that there is, indeed, no other candidate available for restoring the erasure, even though *sap̣q̇robiled* has no explicit equivalent in the Greek version. Note that two other Sinai Gospel manuscripts, R = Sin. georg. 15 (from 975 CE) and P = Sin. georg. 30 (tenth century), show an intermediate text with the conjunctions of the Protovulgate, but without *sap̣q̇robiled*, while the latter word does occur in the oldest redaction, represented in the Adiši and Op̣iza Gospels (C, from 897, cf. above, and A, from 913).

Table 6: Recensions of Matt. 4:12 represented in Sin. georg. 16, fol. 13ᵛ.

Sin.georg. 16, original text		***v(itarc)a** esma i(eso)ws **r(ametu)** iovane mieca ***sap̣q̇robiled** ganešora da c̣arvida...*
Protovulgate	(F,G)	***vitarca** esma iesus **rametu iovanĕ** mieca sap̣q̇robiled ganešora da c̣arvida...*
	(D)	***vitarca** esma iesus **rametu iovane** sap̣q̇robiled mieca ganešora da c̣arvida...*
Intermediate	(R,P)	***vitarca** esma iesus **rametu iovane** mieca ganešora da c̣arvida...*
Sin.georg. 16, corrected text		***x(olo)** esma **ray** i(eso)ws **v(itarme)d iovane** mieca sap̣q̇robiled ganešora da c̣arvida...*
Ath. Vulgate	(H,I,K)	***xolo** esma **ray** iesus **vitarmed** mieca ganešora da c̣arvida...*
Adiši	(C)	*[x(olo)] esma **ray uk̇ue** iesus **rametu iovane** sap̣q̇robiled mieca c̣arvida...*
Op̣iza	(A)	*esma **ray uk̇ue** iesus **rametu iovane** sap̣q̇robiled mieca ganešora da c̣arvida...*
Greek		**Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρεδόϑη** ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.
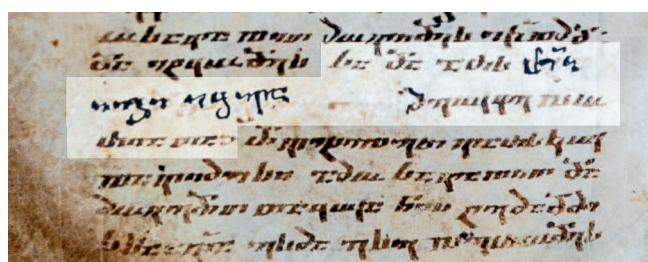
Fig. 7: Sin.georg. 16, fol. 8ᵛ, excerpt, with Matt. 2:2 highlighted.
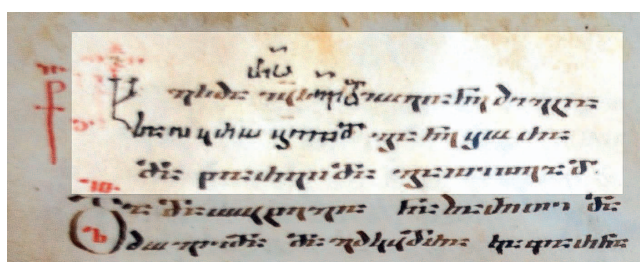
Fig. 8: Sin.georg. 16, fol. 13ᵛ, excerpt, with Matt. 4:12 highlighted.

2.3.3

A similar case is encountered in the next verse (Matt. 4:13). Here, the corrected text comprises the phrase *zġws ḳidit ḳerʒo* ('by the seashore') and the article-like pronominal form *m(a)t* ('those'), both again inserted into erasures of the same length, thus resulting in the text *movida daemḳwdra ḳaparnaums zġws ḳidit ḳerʒo sazġvarta m(a)t zabulonista* ('He came [and] settled in Capernaum by the seashore in the confines of Zabulon') (cf. fig. 9). In this form, however, the text is not compliant with the Athonite redaction, which has neither *zġws ḳidit ḳerʒo* nor *mat*, but with that of the Protovulgate, which does contain these words. So again we must assume that the 'corrections' reinstate words that had been previously erased. Table 7 contrasts the relevant versions again; note that the absence of *da* ('and') between the two verbal forms cannot be taken as a decisive feature, since it may have been omitted haplographically prior to *daemḳwdra* ('he settled'). In this verse, the Adiši and Oṗiza versions are closer to the Protovulgate in that they do have *zġws ḳide-* ('seashore') (parallelling Greek τὴν παραθαλασσίαν), but in the dative-locative case.

2.3.4

Why, then, did the corrector replace *sap̣q̇robiled, zġws ḳidit ḳerʒo* and *mat* with the same words? In my view, the perplexing picture we have can only be accounted for if we assume that the corrector first attempted to adapt the text to the 'new' Vulgate, but was then forced – for whatever reason – to re-establish the 'older' reading. There is no indication that this was performed by another person, the hand of both types of corrections being the same. However, the erasures might have been applied independently beforehand. This is suggested by Matt. 4:10 (fol. 13ʳ), where the corrector provided a contaminated text, with both the 'new' and the 'old' readings covering the same erasure, side by side (cf. fig. 10). The words in question are the vocative forms *saṭ(a)na* and *ešmaḳo*, both denoting the 'devil' ('Go away from me, devil, for it is written...'), the former appearing in the Athonite text and the latter in the Protovulgate (as well as the Adiši Gospels); and it is clear that it must have been *ešmaḳo* that was erased first (see table 8, which displays the relevant versions as a synopsis).

If the corrector had intended to simply replace the older text with the newer one here, he would certainly have written

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Table 7: Recensions of Matt. 4:13 represented in Sin. georg. 16, fol. 13ᵛ.

|		
Sin. georg. 16, original text		*movida daemḳwdra ḳaparnaums* **zġws ḳidit ḳerʒo** *sazġvarta* **m(a)t** *zabulonista...*
Protovulgate	F,G,R,P	*movida* **da** *daemḳwdra ḳaparnaums* **zġws ḳidit ḳerʒo** *sazġvarta* **mat** *zabulonista...*
	D	*movida* **da** *daemḳwdra ḳaparnaums* **zġws ḳidit ḳerʒo** *sazġvarta zabulonista...*
Oṗiza	A	*movida* **da** *daemḳwdra ḳaparnaums* **zġws ḳidesa** *sazġvarta zabulonista...*
Adiši	C	*movida daešena ḳaparnaomd* **zġws ḳidesa** *sazġvarta zabulonista...*
Sin.georg. 16, corrected text		*movida daemḳwdra ḳaparnaums* **zġws ḳidit ḳerʒo** *sazġvarta* **m(a)t** *zabulonista...*
Ath. Vulgate	H,I	*movida daemḳwdra ḳaparnaums sazġvarta zabulonista...*
	K	*movida* **da** *daemḳwdra ḳaparnaums sazġvarta zabulonista...*
Greek		ἐλθὼν κατῴκησεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ **τὴν παραθαλασσίαν** ἐν ὁρίοις Ζαβουλὼν ...
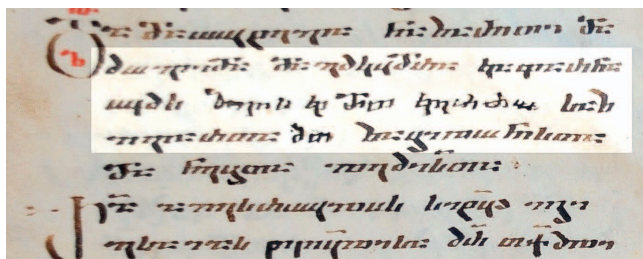
Fig. 9: Sin.georg. 16, fol. 13ᵛ, excerpt, with Matt. 4:13 highlighted.
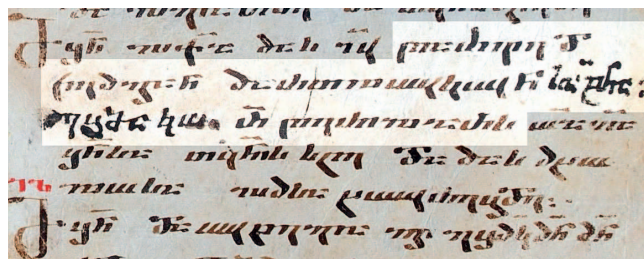

Fig. 10: Sin.georg. 16, fol. 13ʳ, excerpt, with Matt. 4:10 highlighted.

Table 8: Recensions of Matt. 4:10 represented in Sin. georg. 16, fol. 13ʳ.

Sin. georg. 16, original text		*çarved čemgan martluḳun *ešmaḳo : r(ametu) çeril ars...*
Protovulgate	(D,F,G,R,P,B)	*çarved čemgan martluḳun ešmaḳo, rametu çeril ars...*
Adiši	(C)	*vidode, ešmaḳo, rametu çeril ars...*
Sin. georg. 16, corrected text		*çarved čemgan martluḳun saṭ(a)na : ešmaḳo . r(ametu) çeril ars...*
Ath. Vulgate	(H,I,K)	*çarved čemgan martluḳun saṭana, rametu çeril ars...*
Greek		Ὕπαγε, **Σατανᾶ·** γέγραπται γάρ ...

saṭana over the erasure in the lower line, and if he had added *ešmaḳo* later, he would have squashed this in at the end of the previous line instead of *saṭana*. It thus seems that the corrector was intending from the outset to execute the 'mixed' text seen in the manuscript today – with but a slight preference for the Athonite Vulgate.

2.3.5

In any case, the codex clearly presupposes – and bears witness to – contacts between the Georgian communities on Mt Sinai and Mt Athos, where the Vulgate was established by about 1025 CE. These contacts are not precisely datable, of course, since the corrector left no colophon or other information in the manuscript on which he worked. However,

Table 9: The scribe's colophon of Sin. georg. 19, fol. 262ʳ.

K(risṭe)s moḳuareno . m(a)m(a)no da ʒmano . Vis t(a)naca moiçi-
   os : ç(mida)y ese : s(a)x(a)r(e)b(a)y : š(emdgoma)d č(ue)nsa :
   Locva ġavt
   ġ(mrt)isa t(w)s : da r(omel)i dameḳlos šemindevit .
Axal . targmnilisag(an) . dagwçera . da de-
   dad : diad . martal ars : Am(a)t ʒuelta
   sax(a)r(e)bata : Zogzogi siṭġ(ua)y : ara eçamebis :
K(risṭ)e š(eicġal)e moʒġuari . č(ue)ni d(avi)t : da m(i)k(ae)l : ucbad mčx-
   reḳali : Da mose :. Da m(i)k(ae)l : da čiṭay da s(wmeo)n
   da ʒerasime : Da grigol : Da mšobel-
   ni : da ʒm(a)ni m(a)tni : a(me)n :. X(olo) daiçera mtasa
   ç(mida)sa : sinas : Saġopelsa : ç(mid)isa da ġ(mrt)is-
   *mxilvelisa : Mosessa **Kroniḳoni iġo***
   : SŽB : Ricxw . haysten eçera²⁸ M[(i)k(ae)ls]²⁹
   eṭraṭi : da mçerali : ornive hg[ian]³⁰
K(risṭ)e aqmare . Moses : nebisaebr š[enisa]
	Lovers of Christ, fathers and brothers! To whomever
	   these holy Gospels will fall after us, pray for him
	
	   to God! And pardon me for what I have missed!
	We have written it down from the new translation and
	   it is very faithful to its mother. Of those old
	   Gospels it does not testify many a word.
	Christ, have mercy on our leader Davit and Michael, the
	   inattentive writer, and Mose and Michael and Čiṭay and Symeon
	   and Gerasime and Grigol and their
	   parents and brothers, amen! And it was written
	   on the holy Mount Sinai, in the abode of the holy
	   and God-viewing Moses. **The chronicon was**
	   number 292. My goodness! Mikael has written so much!
	   The parchment and the writer, both remain.
	Christ, let it be useful to Moses as you like!

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[28] The present formula has not yet been identified with any certainty. Garitte (1956, 58) hesitatingly read *laysten* instead of *haysten*, which remains incomprehensible and can be ruled out on closer inspection. A more promising interpretation has recently been provided by B. Outtier (2012, 19–22) who saw *haysten* as a variant of *esten* (< *esoden* < *eseoden*) ('so much'), with *e > ay* representing an otherwise unknown 'inverted development' (*ucnobia akamde p̣iruḳuǧma moʒraoba*) of the adaptation of (Greek) 'αἴσθησις to (Georgian) ესთეტიკა' (i.e. *esteṭiḳa*), with the initial *h-* being an 'addition' (*damaṭebuli*) as in *haba*, *haeri*, and *hegre*. The interpretation preferred here presupposes instead that *haysten* is a contamination of *esten* ('so much') with the interjection *hai* ('goodness me!', 'my God!'). A similar exclamation is found in a colophon in the Tbilisi manuscript S-30, the fifteenth-century 'Queen Mary' codex of the Georgian chronicle, Kartlis Cxovreba, where the scribe exclaimed: *dedasa esten eçera* ('Mother, he has written so much!')

after enumerating the texts authored by Leonṭi Mroveli; cf. Bregaʒe et al. 1959, 42 and Ḳeḳeliʒe 1980, 236. A comparable formation is *haysre* ('thus') (recorded in Sarʒvelaʒe 1995, 279a with an attestation in the thirteenth century ms. A-85, fol. 327ʳ), which is likely to consist of *hai* and *esre* ('id.'). The word *esten* itself is attested as early as the Adiši Gospels (Jn. 14.9), while *hai* appears in Šota Rustaveli's epic (Vepx. 309a) and later texts.

[29] The restoration of the name is highly uncertain, only the initial capital *M* being discernible. We might also read M(o)s(e)s if it was the Mose named previously as the writer of the present Gospels, as suggested by the last line of the colophon.

[30] The last word has not been identified yet, but the two first letters seem quite clear.
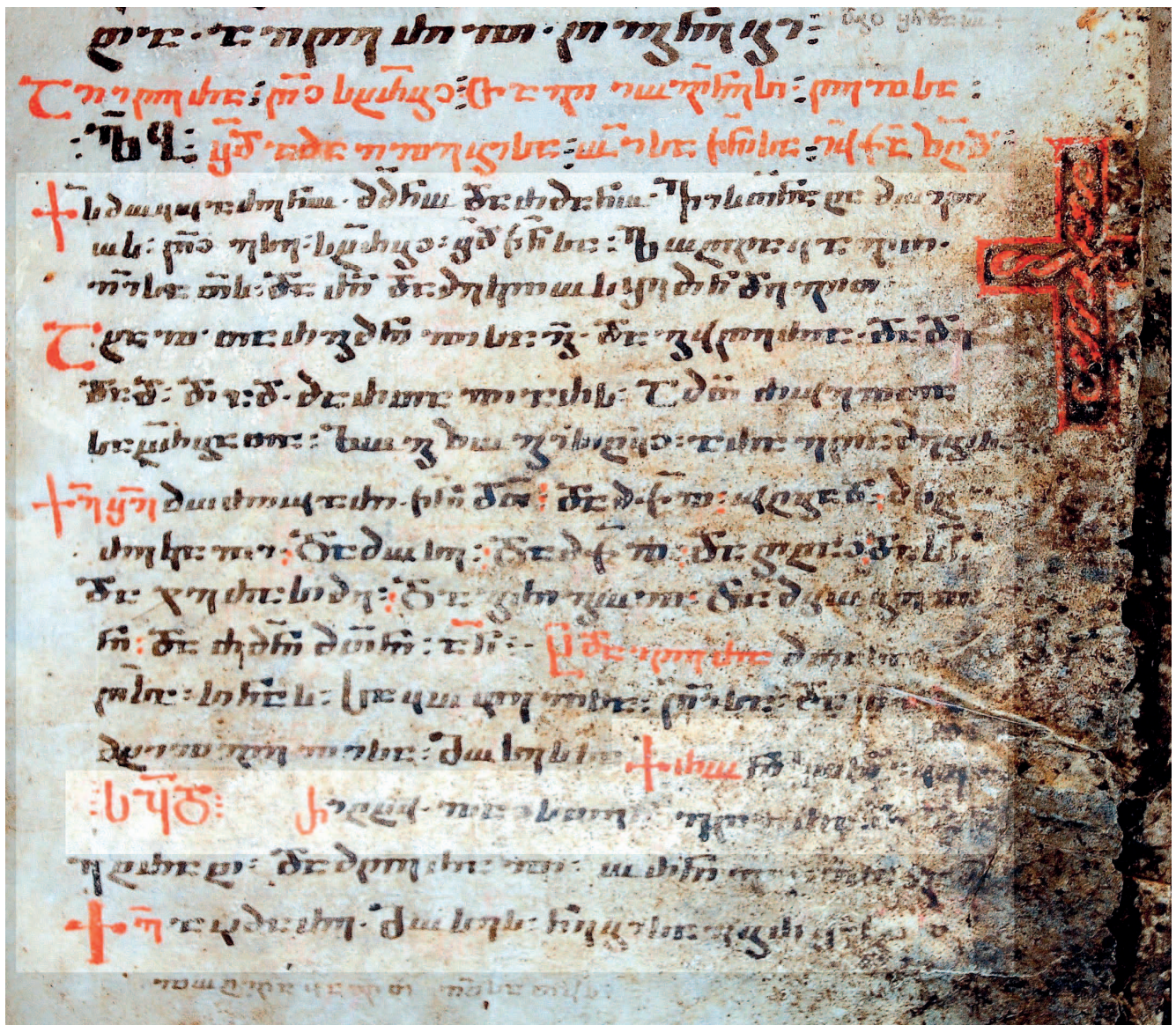
Fig. 11: Sin. georg. 10, fol. 262ʳ, excerpt, with date within colophon highlighted.

there is another witness among the Georgian manuscripts from St Catherine's monastery that provides evidence of the existence of such contacts during the eleventh century, shortly after the execution of the Vulgate. This is Cod. Sin. georg. 19, another Gospel manuscript written in *nusxuri* minuscules, which represents the Athonite Vulgate text throughout. The scribe's colophon has been preserved in this manuscript (on fol. 262ʳ), and it records that it was written in the year 1072 (chronicon 292), possibly by a certain Mikael, whom it mentions as an 'inattentive writer'.[31] What

is more, it explicitly states that it contains the text of the 'new translation', whilst some of the 'old words' no longer appear. Given its importance for the history of Georgian manuscript culture, I have reproduced the colophon *in toto* in table 9, in as far as it is legible today (cf. fig. 11).[32]

2.3.6

The very fact that Cod. 19 was written on Mt Sinai presupposes that the Gospel text from Mt Athos must also have been

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[31] In Modern Georgian, *ucbad*, an adverbial form of the adjective *uceb-i*, means 'suddenly, unexpectedly, quickly' (Rayfield 2006, 1263), which would suggest Mikael was considered to 'write fast'. Within the present context, however, we may assume a pejorative meaning ('negligent, inattentive') if we consider that the writer of the *Adiši Gospels* begged

forgiveness for his *si-ucb-e*, i.e. 'inattentiveness' (cf. 2.2 above); Rayfield 2006, 1188 translates *siucbe* as 'ignorance', which seems hard to justify.

[32] The photo taken *in situ* in 2009 shows that the ends of the last four lines have been largely obliterated. Multispectral analysis would be necessary to enhance the legibility.
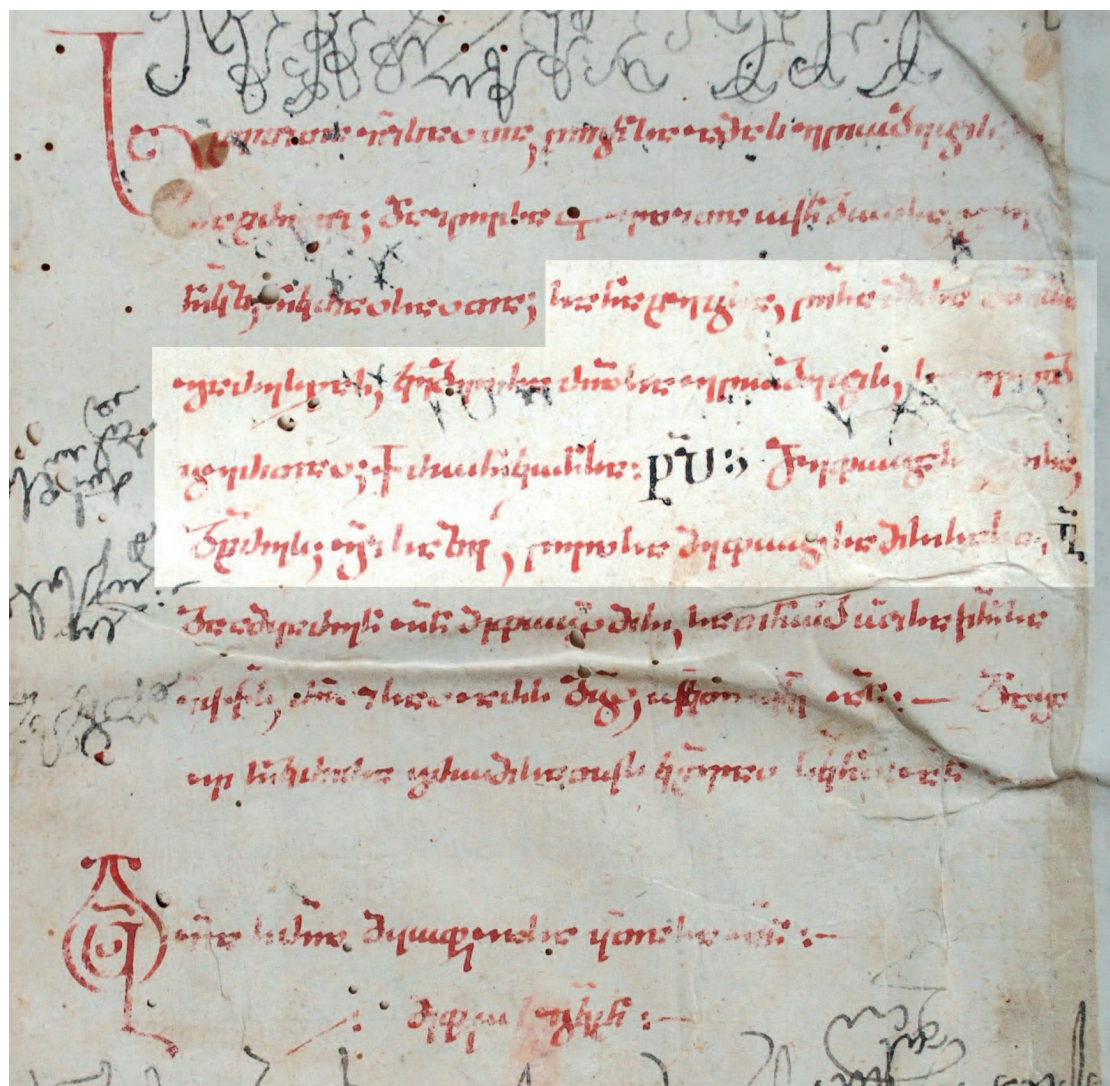
Fig. 12: Cod. Vind. georg. 4, scribe's colophon on fol. 304ᵛ, with place and date highlighted.

Table 10: Scribe's colophon of Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 304ᵛ.

Saxelita ġmrtisayta, çignsa amas eçodebis sa-
  naṭreli; daiçera qelita undoysa, šavisa
*niḳ(olao)z niḳraysayta; **sanaxebsa ç(mid)isa mamisa***
d(avi)tissa
gareẑas, ḳedvasa r(ome)lsa eçodebis soplad
bertay; Kroniḳonsa : T̄P̄ :, Mepobasa ẕisa,
d(eme)ṭres; g(iorg)isa ze, çelsa mepobisa misisasa Ḡ.
daamqaren ġ(mertma)n mepob(a)y misi, satnod o(wpl)isa č(ue)nisa
i(eso)w ḳ(risṭe)s, r(om)lisay ars d(ide)b(a)y; uḳ(uni)ti
uḳ(unisamd)e a(me)n : — Da ša-
v niḳrasa šromisatws ḳ(urt)x(e)vay s(au)ḳ(u)n(o)y : a(me)n

D(ide)b(a)y ġ(merts)a sr(u)l-mḳop(e)lsa q̇(ovel)tasa a(me)n: —
  — : me(u)peo³³ g(ua)ḳ(urt)x(e)n : —

In the name of God! This book is named 'the blissful
  one'; it was written by the hand of the unapt 'Black'
Niḳolaoz 'the Niḳra', ***in the vicinity of the (monastery of)***
the holy Father David
in Gareẑa, in Ḳedva, which as a village is named
Berta; in the chronicon 380, under the reign of the son
of Demeṭre, Giorgi, in the third year of his reign.
May God consolidate his dominion, to the delight of our Lord
Jesus Christ, whose is the glory forever and ever.
— And for the
black Niḳra eternal benediction for his endeavour! Amen!

Glory to God, the accomplisher of all! Amen!
    Ruler, bless us!

present there as the 'mother', i.e. the template from which it was copied. We do not know whether there was a direct route leading from the Iviron monastery to St Catherine's or whether the contact indicated went via Jerusalem. The latter proposal is suggested by the fact that the founder of the Georgian monastery on Mt Athos, Eptwme the Hagiorite, is commemorated in the *menaion* of May (i.e., the liturgical book containing the varying parts of the liturgy for that month), which represents the overwriting of the palimpsest codex, Vind. georg. 2, another codex that originated in Jerusalem (cf. 2.5).[34]

2.4

The Georgians in Jerusalem were not only in contact with their compatriots on Mt Sinai and Mt Athos, but also with the centres of manuscript production in their Caucasian homeland. Cod. Vind. georg. 4, a large, illuminated homiliary

codex in *nusxuri* minuscule now kept in the Austrian National Library, Vienna, is testament to this.[36] According to the scribe's colophon written in red ink on fol. 304[v] (cf. fig. 12), the codex was produced in the year 1160 CE (chronicon 380) by Niḳoloz Niḳra at a place called Berta, which was close to the monastery of St David of Gareʒa in South-east Georgia; compare the transcript with its English translation in table 10.[37]

2.4.1

Sometime after its completion, the codex must have been moved to Jerusalem. This is implied by another colophon added on the subsequent page (305[r]) by Vlasi, archbishop of Urbnisi, who visited Palestine between 1570 and 1572 to restore the Georgian manuscripts of the Monastery of the Holy Cross.[38] His colophon (fig. 13) clearly states that he undertook the restoration of the present codex in the year 1570 (chronicon 258); cf. the transcript provided in table 11.

Table 11: Vlasi's colophon of Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 305[r].

Didebay ǧmrtisa srul-mǯopelsa ǫovlisa ḳetilisasa:	Glory to God, the accomplisher of everything good!
ǧirs-vikmen me **urbnel mtavarebisḳoṗosi. vlasi** . šeḳazmad çmidisa amis çignisa sanaṭrelisa: rametu žamta sigrʒisagan ganrǯunil, da uqmar-kmnil iǫo.	I, the **archbishop of Urbnisi, Vlasi,** have become worthy of restoring this holy 'blissful' book. For due to the length of time, it has become rotten and unusable.
da čuen axlad brʒanebita da žerčinebita mamisa čuenisa ṭpilel mtavarebisḳoṗosisa barnabaysita qel-vǯav šeḳazmad salocvelad codvilisa sulisa čemisa da codvata čemta šesandobelad. da ǫovelta čuenta twsta da natesavta micvalebulta šesandobelad.	And upon the order and regulation of our father, the archbishop of Tbilisi, Barnaba, I have undertaken to restore it to receive prayers for my sinful soul and forgiveness of my sins, and forgiveness for all our deceased kin and relatives.
da aç gevedrebi ǫovelta romelnica ikitxwdit çmidasa amas çignsa, rayta qsenebit vikmnebdet çmidata šina locvata tkuenta, rayta tkuenca moiǧot sasǯideli uxuvad mimničebelisa mis ǫoveltatwsgan, da ertobit ǧirs vikmnnet sasupevelsa catasa amen : locvay ǯavt mamisa barnabastws da čuen sulierta ʒmatatws.	And now I beg all of you who read this holy book that we may be remembered in your holy prayers, that you, too, may receive ample reward from Him who gives to all, and that we may become worthy of the kingdom of the heavens. Amen!
da čem codvilisa vlasestws romelman çmiday ese çigni ševhḳazme. mravali čiri vixile, upalman uçǯis.	Pray for Father Barnaba and for us, the brethren in spirit, and myself, sinful Vlase, I who have restored this holy book. I have seen many hardships, as God knows!
Šeiḳazma[35] *çmiday ese çigni kroniḳonsa : $\overline{SNE}$:*	**This holy book was restored in the chronicon 258.**

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[33] The colophon has *mepeo* without an abbreviation mark, which would mean 'King!'; *meupeo* ('Ruler!') is preferred here as it is more commonly used to address God.

[34] See Gippert 2013b as to further details.

[35] The colophon reads *šeiḳazmay* with a hyper-archaising addition of the suffix ' y', typical of post-Old Georgian writers.

[36] My thanks are due to the staff of the Austrian National Library, who made the Cod. Vind. georg. 4 and several other manuscripts in its collection available to the members of the aforementioned INTAS project during a stay in Vienna in June 2008.

[37] A German translation of the colophon can be found in Peradze 1940, 226.
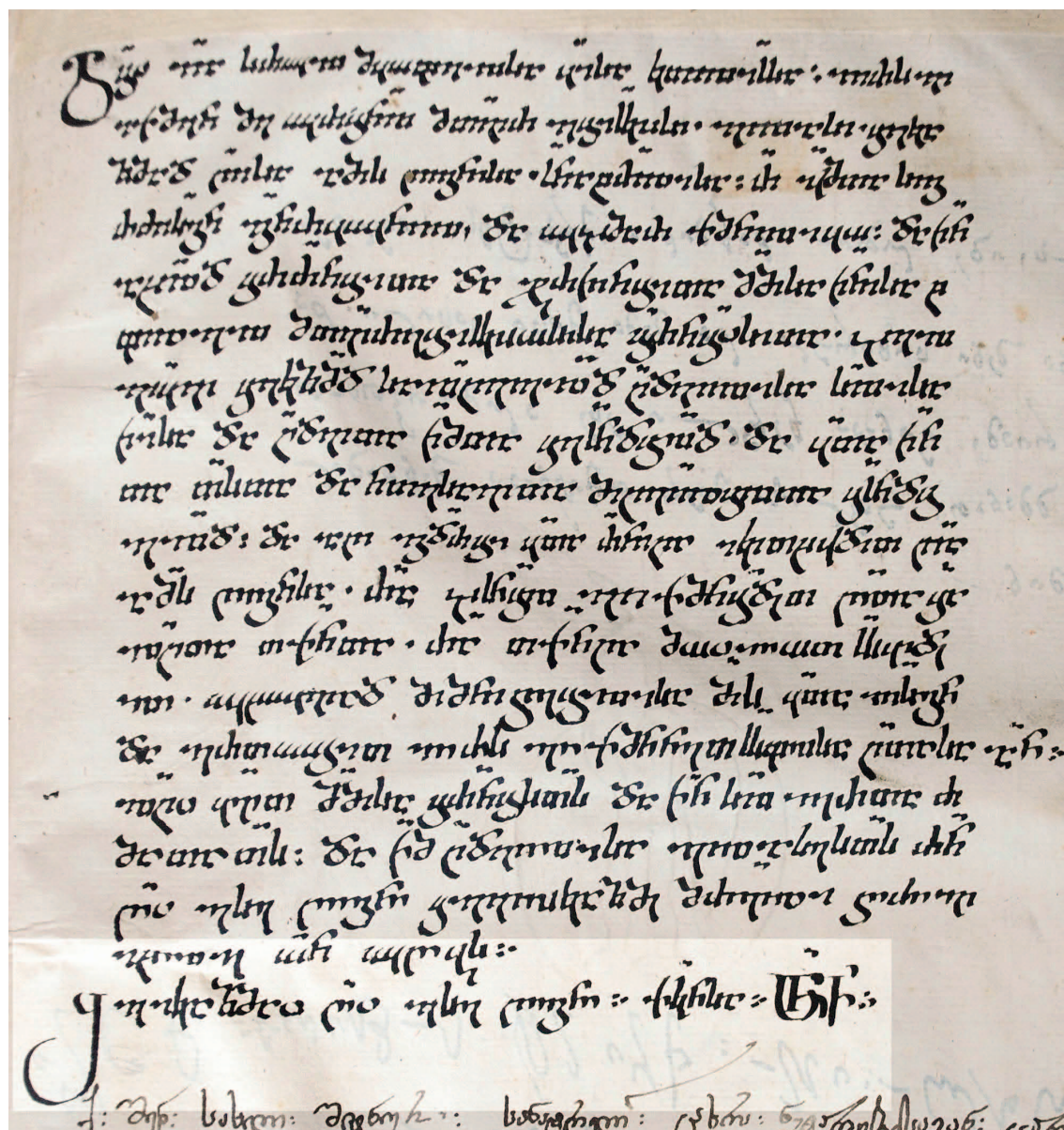
[38] See Peradze 1940, 227 following Cagareli.

Fig. 13: Cod.Vind.georg. 4, Vlasi's colophon on fol. 305ʳ, with date highlighted.

Table 12: Besarion's colophon and note on Cod. Vind. georg. 4, fol. 8ʳ.

|	
çmindano mamano[39] vinac ixilet çminda da sasuliero çigni	Holy fathers, you who have seen this holy and spiritual book (before):
ese bevrgan damġiluli iġo. mravalgzis vtvale davaḳazme. meca vevedre	it was extensively eaten by worms (?). Many times I have considered restoring it. And I have implored
u(pals)a amis mçerlis da mḳitxvelisatvis. meca šendobas (?) mibʒanet r(ayt)a tkuenca šen-	God for its writer and reader. Grant me forgiveness so that you, too, may
dobil iġvnet u(pli)sa mier. Ġ(mert)o da cxovels-mḳopelo, ǯvaro krisṭeso, saplao krisṭe-	achieve forgiveness from the Lord. God and Redeemer, **Christ's Cross, Christ's Sepulchre,**
[so], ********, saplao krisṭeso, s(eiçḳal)e besario- ni k(risṭe)s (?) č\overline{ḳ}yd	********, **Christ's Sepulchre, have mercy on me, Besarion, (in the year) of Christ 1864.**
ġme(rt)o š(eiçḳal)e besarion saçḳali da codvili, amin.[40]	God, have mercy on Besarion, poor and sinful. Amen!
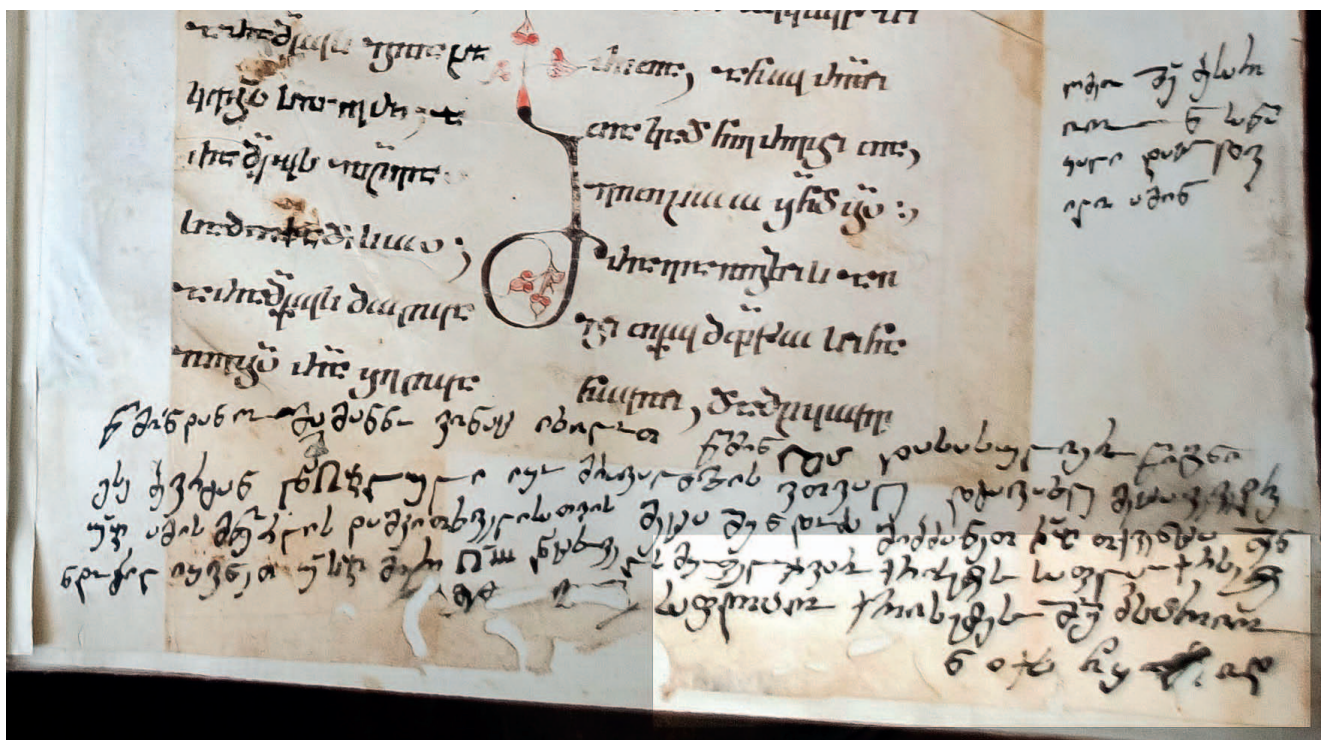
Fig. 14: Cod. Vind. georg. 4, Besarion's colophon on fol. 8ʳ, with date and place highlighted.

2.4.2

It is true that the colophon does not indicate the place where the restoration – which is styled *šeḳazma* here, lit. 'decoration' – took place. However, the codex contains the colophon of a second restorer named Besarion Kioṭišvili,[41] which clearly refers to the Holy Cross and the Sepulchre of Christ. This text, written in a fugitive *mxedruli* cursive, was added at the bottom of fol. 8ʳ, with an additional note in the right-hand margin of the same page (fig. 14), being dated 1864.[42] The transcript and translation provided in

table 12 is tentative, since parts of the colophon are no longer legible.

2.4.3

An explicit reference to Jerusalem, then, is found in a lengthy note, again in *mxedruli* script on the verso of the front flyleaf of the Vienna codex (fig. 15). This note, by a mute monk named Ioane, reports on the deposition of several printed books in the Monastery of the Holy Cross and is dated 25 March 1772[43] (cf. the transcript and translation in table 13). It is true that the flyleaf may have been added later, but it seems obvious that this was also done in Jerusalem.

2.4.4

Although it seems clear, then, that the codex was in the possession of the Monastery of the Holy Cross at least from the middle of the sixteenth century until the second half of the nineteenth, it did not find its way into the catalogue of the Monastery library compiled by A. Cagareli during his stay in Jerusalem in 1883. G. Peradze was certainly right in

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[39] The colophon reads *mamanno* with a hyper-archaising repetition of the plural suffix.

[40] A similar wording is found in other marginal notes by Besarion, e.g. on fol. 81ʳ: *ġmerto samebit didebulo da cxovels-mq̇opelo, ǯvaro krisṭeso, š(eiçq̇a-l)e besarion saçq̇ali am çerilis mxilveln|ni š(eundo)s ġ(mertma)n da šendobis-bʒanebeli š(eundo)s ġ(mertma)n amin*, i.e. 'God, exalted with the Trinity and Redeemer, Christ's Cross, have mercy on pitiful Besarion! May God pardon the reader|s of this note and may God pardon him who grants forgiveness. Amen!' See also the notes on fol. 129ʳ and 180ʳ (right margin, dated 10 Oct. 1863).

[41] The family name is not contained in the present colophon, nor in most of the other notes written by (or referring to) Besarion (on fols. 4ʳ; 39ʳ; 41ᵛ–42ʳ; 56ʳ; 81ʳ; 128ᵛ–129ʳ; 180ʳ, right margin; and fol. 292ᵛ). However, a note in the bottom margin of fol. 180ʳ does contain the family name; cf. 3.1 below.

[42] The dating *post Christum natum* is usually only encountered in Georgian manuscripts after the fifteenth century. The note referring to Besarion on fol. 4ʳ of the present codex bears the date *tvesa deḳembersa t ḳ(risṭe)s čq̇yg*, i.e. 'in the month of December, 9; (in the year) of Christ, 1863'.

[43] Peradze 1940, 231, erroneously gives the date as 1770 ('*čḡo*'), omitting the last character; his transcript (*ibid.*, note 3) has '*čḡom*', with *b* (= 2) misinterpreted as *m* (= 40). A second note on the same page, which refers to that of Ioane, bears the date *čḡoē oḳṭombers ḳe*, i.e. '1778, October 25'.
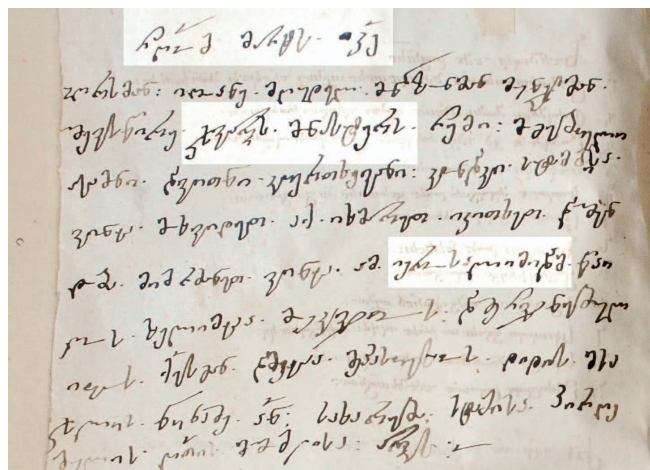
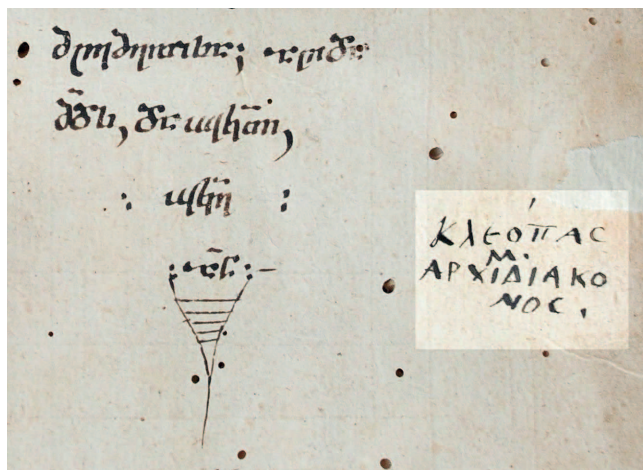Fig. 15: Cod. Vind. georg. 4, Ioane's note on the verso of the front flyleaf, with date and places highlighted.

Fig. 16: Cod. Vind. georg. 4, owner's mark on fol. 303ʳ (highlighted).

Table 13: Ioane's note on the front flyleaf of Cod. Vind. georg. 4.

čq̄ob marṭs k̄e	1772, March 25
uġirsman : ioane . mġdeli . monazonman munžman . ševsçire . **žvars monasṭers** . čemi : m(o)gebuli	I, Ioane the mute, the unworthy priest (and) monk, have donated **to the Monastery of the Holy Cross** the (following books) acquired by me:
žamni . davitni . ḳurtxevani : ḳondaḳi . sṭambisa . vinca . moxvidet . ak . ixmaret . iḳitxet . da šen- doba . mibrʒanet . vinca . am . **ierosalimidam** . çai- ġos . xelimca . moeḳvetos . da šečvenebul iḳos . k(risṭ)esgan . da meca . meṗasuxos . didis . msa- žulis . çinaše . a(me)n . saxareba . sṭabisa . ṗirġe- bulis . ġ(mr)tis mšobelisa : aris :—	a book of hours, a psalter, a *euchologion*, (and) a *kontakion*, printed. [45] You who come here, use them, read them and grant forgiveness to me. Whoever takes them away **from Jerusalem** here – his hand shall be cut off and he shall be cursed by Christ! And he shall have to answer to me before the great judge. Amen! The printed Gospels belong to the Theotokos 'with a coloured face'. [46]

assuming that the codex had previously been transferred to the private library of an archdeacon named Kleopas, who left his own name in the codex in the form of an owner's mark on fol. 303ʳ (fig. 16). As Peradze further proposed, an heir to the archdeacon,[44] who later became the Archbishop of Nazareth, may have sold the codex to an antiquarian at Alexandria, from where it was acquired by the Austrian National Library in 1931, thus ending its journey from South-east Georgia via Jerusalem to Central Europe.

2.5

Kleopas's codex is not the only Georgian manuscript to have found its way from Jerusalem to Vienna via an anti-quarian in Alexandria.[47] According to G. Peradze, the National Library acquired two further Georgian codices at the same time and place, among them the large palimpsest volume styled Cod. Vind. georg. 2,[48] which was the object of an international edition project undertaken between 1997

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[44] Recte: Grand Archdeacon. The 'M.' in the note is likely to stand for Μέγας and may have been added later (with the archdeacon climbing up the greasy pole).

[45] The word in question is the genitive of *sṭamba* ('press'), while further down in the text it is spelled *sṭabisa*. It is unclear whether it refers to all four books mentioned or just to the *kontakion*.

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[46] The word *ṗirġebul-i* is unattested elsewhere, and it remains unclear which icon or statue of the Theotokos, i.e., the Mother of God, is meant here, cf. Peradze 1940, 231, n. 4. The translation is tentative.

[47] In a similar way, several manuscripts from St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai, including a *xanmeṭi-haemeṭi* lectionary, were removed and taken to Austria, where they ended up in Graz University Library; for details, see Imnaišvili 1977 and 2004.

[48] Peradze 1940, 222. The third codex is Cod. Vind. georg. 3, a *menaion* for the month of February.
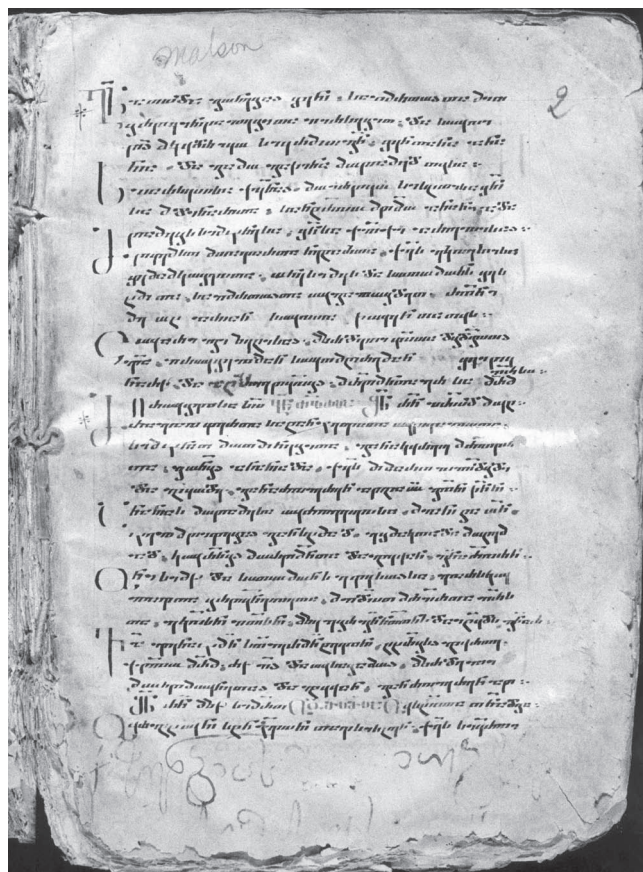
Figure 17: Verso of front flyleaf of Cod.Vind.georg. 2 and fol. 2ʳ of Dumbarton Oaks *menaion* BZ.1952.1 in contrast.

and 2007.[49] Different from Vind.georg. 4, the palimpsest codex was included by A. Cagareli in his catalogue of the library of the Monastery of the Holy Cross, appearing as no. 37 in the collection. Cagareli described it, in accordance with its overtext, as a *menaion* of the month of May.[50] As the manuscript was no longer present in Jerusalem when N. Ja. Marr and Iv. Ĵavaxišvili undertook their inspection of the Georgian manuscripts of the Monastery in 1902,[51] it must have disappeared from the collection before this date, possibly in the course of the removal of the Monastery library to the Greek patriarchate in the 1890s.[52]

2.5.1

In the course of the editing work on the palimpsest, it came to light that the front flyleaf (and perhaps the back flyleaf as well) belonged to another codex from the Monastery of the Holy Cross, that is, the one described by Cagareli as no. 36, which contains a *menaion* of the months of December, January and February. This codex had also disappeared from the collection when Marr and Ĵavaxišvili visited the site; it did not go to Vienna, however, but to Dumbarton Oaks Library in Washington, DC, where it bears the access signature BZ.1952.1.[53] There is no room for doubt that the front flyleaf of the Vienna palimpsest codex is the first leaf of the Dumbarton Oaks *menaion*, which must have become detached from it during the move.[54] Fig. 17 contrasts the verso of the flyleaf with fol. 2ʳ of the *menaion*.

[49] The edition (Gippert et al. 2007) focuses on the undertexts in *asomtavruli* majuscules; work on undertexts in *nusxuri* minuscules is continuing.

[50] Cagareli 1888a, 164, no. 37. Cf. 2.3.6 above for the commemoration of Eptwme the Hagiorite in the *menaion*.

[51] See the catalogue posthumously published as Marr 1955.

[52] See Gippert et al. 2007, V with n. 13 for further references.

[53] Other signatures mentioned in the literature are D.O. 53.60.1 and WAS.1.2; see http://www.doaks.org/library-archives/library/mmdb/microfilms/2207 for information on a microfilm of the manuscript.

[54] See Gippert et al. 2007, xii–xvii for further details. Note that the Graz lectionary (cf. note 46 above) was detached in a similar way, its first leaf being found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (ms. géorgien 30, fol. 1); cf. Outtier 1972.

Figure 18: Cod.Vind.georg. 2, fols. 25ᵛ-31ʳ and ms. A-737, fols. 134ʳ-135ᵛ+141ᵛ-140ʳ in contrast.

Table 14: Distribution of leaves from ms. A-737 among the leaves of Cod. Vind. georg. 2.

25ʳ	25ᵛ	A134ʳ–A141ᵛ	A141ʳ–A134ᵛ	21ʳ	21ᵛ	71ʳ	71ᵛ
31ᵛ	31ʳ	A135ᵛ–A140ʳ	A140ᵛ–A135ʳ	20ᵛ	20ʳ	63ᵛ	63ʳ
70ʳ	70ᵛ	22ʳ	22ᵛ	A136ʳ–A139ᵛ	A139ʳ–A136ᵛ	26ʳ	26ᵛ
64ᵛ	64ʳ	19ᵛ	19ʳ	A137ᵛ–A138ʳ	A138ᵛ–A137ʳ	30ᵛ	30ʳ

2.5.2

Another remarkable case of disintegration of the Vienna codex concerned one of the manuscripts that were reused in it in palimpsest form. Of the twelve original manuscripts in *asomtavruli* majuscules that have been identified in it so far,[55] one contains the legends of St Christina and Sts Cyprianus and Justina in an archaic linguistic form datable to the fifth to seventh centuries (the so-called *xanmeṭi* period of Old Georgian). As early as 1974, L. Kaẑaia proposed that some leaves from the same original

manuscript might be included in another palimpsest codex, viz. ms. A-737 of the Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts (today the National Centre of Manuscripts) in Tbilisi,[56] a multiple-text manuscript rewritten by around the fourteenth century.[57] As a matter of fact, the eight leaves of the Tbilisi codex in question fit exactly into two lacunae in the Vienna palimpsest within St Christina's legend, as illustrated in table 14 above (where the pages from A-737 are marked

[55] See Gippert et al. 2007, 18–25 for details.

[56] See Kaẑaia 1974, 419.

[57] See Žordania 1902, 198.

with an 'A' and a grey background). Note that when reused, the folios belonging to the original manuscript were prepared in different ways, so that they yielded one bifoliate each of the Vienna codex (turned round by 90°), but two bifoliates each in the Tbilisi codex (cut horizontally and folded in the middle). The resulting effect is illustrated in fig. 18.[58]

2.5.3

The question now is where and when the disintegration of the leaves of the original *xanmeṭi* codex took place and how the two different sets resulting from it came to be reused in the production of two different palimpsests. Several scenarios can be drawn up here. The original codex might have been kept in Georgia before it was divided up there, with parts of it being taken to Jerusalem prior to being palimpsested, or vice versa. On the other hand, both palimpsests may have been produced in the same location, in Jerusalem or in Georgia, with one of them being moved to the other site later. The palimpsests may even have been produced at a third site such as Mt Sinai or Antioch. As no hints have been found as yet in the upper layers of the palimpsests, which would indicate where they were written, the question must be left open until other (possibly scientific) means have been devised to determine the provenance of the individual layers.

3. Secondary use of manuscripts

Regardless of their place of origin and their later whereabouts, Georgian manuscripts were subjected to various types of reuse. Leaving aside the special case of palimpsests, this was especially true for blessings, rogations and prayers added by later readers, users or owners, and also for less 'immanent' additions such as prescriptions, contracts or writing exercises. A few examples will again suffice to illustrate this.

3.1

It was, indeed, quite common throughout the history of Georgian manuscript production for blessings, rogations and prayers to be added by readers and users, both for their own and for others' purposes. A good example of this is the Vienna codex no. 4, discussed above, to which Besarion Kioṭišvili added not only a restorer's colophon (on fol. 8ʳ; cf. 2.4.2 above), but also, as marginal notes, a whole set of
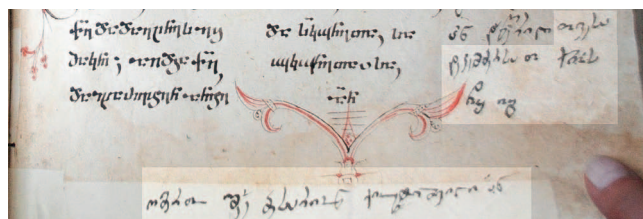

Fig. 19: Cod.Vind.georg. 4, Besarion Kioṭišvili's note on fol. 180ʳ (name and date highlighted).

ġmerto še(ic̣q̇al)e besarion kioṭišvili. a(mi)n
'God, have mercy on Besarion Kioṭišvili. Amin!'

rogations of the type *ġme(rt)o š(eic̣q̇al)e besarion sacq̇ali da codvili, amin* ('God, have mercy on Besarion, poor and sinful. Amen!').[59] This type is also encountered in Besarion's last note, applied to the lower margin of fol. 180ʳ, the only note that contains his family name (cf. fig. 19 where the note is highlighted).[60]

3.2

The interplay of (primary) colophons with (secondary) notes can easily be demonstrated with one of the three manuscripts from Svanetia (northwestern region of Georgia) that have not been transferred to the Museum of Mesṭia or the National Centre of Manuscripts, that is, the Laxamula Gospels, a Tetraevangelion written in *nusxuri* minuscules dating to around the twelfth century.[61] The codex, which is still preserved in the village church of Laxamula,[62] has been dismantled in part and considerably damaged by moisture and other harmful effects, with the result that many pages are now only partly legible. Some important colophons have survived, however. This is true, above all, for two notes that provide us with the name of the scribe, a certain Grigol, and a deacon of his, named Sṭepane (on fol. 36ᵛ, at the end of the index of lections from St John's Gospel, and on fol. 52ʳ, following another liturgical index; cf. figs. 20a and b).

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[58] Edited multispectral images taken from Gippert et al. 2007, 6–36 and 6–38.

[59] See the list in note 41 above.

[60] The right-hand margin of the same page shows a lengthier note by Besarion, dated 9 September 1683 (the date is also highlighted in fig. 19).

[61] For an earlier discussion, see Silogava 1986, 59–60. The codex was inspected by the present author and several colleagues during two trips to Svanetia in 2007 (as part of the above-mentioned INTAS project) and in 2010 (as part of the 'Old Georgian palimpsests' project, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, 2009–14). My thanks are due to the inhabitants of the village for allowing us access to this important codex.

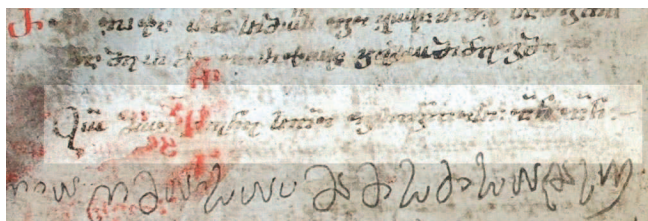[62] Located at 43°3'6" N and 42°26'27" E.

Fig. 20a: Laxamula Gospels, scribe's note on fol. 180ʳ (highlighted).

O(wpal)o moiqsene s(u)li grigolisi : a(me)n a(me)n :—
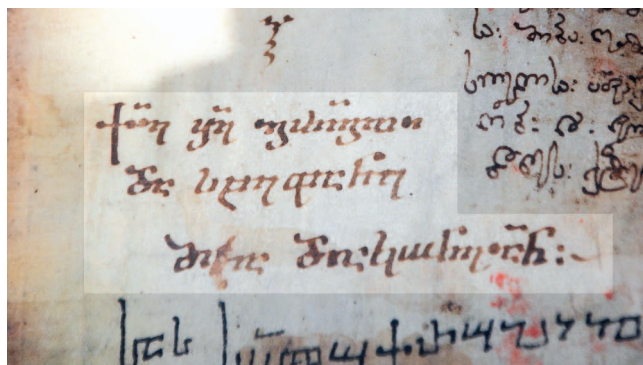'Lord, remember the soul of Grigol! Amen, amen!'

Fig. 20b: Laxamula Gospels, scribe's note on fol. 52ʳ (highlighted).

K(rist)e š(eiçq̇al)e grig(o)li | da sṭepane | misa diaḳone a(me)n :—
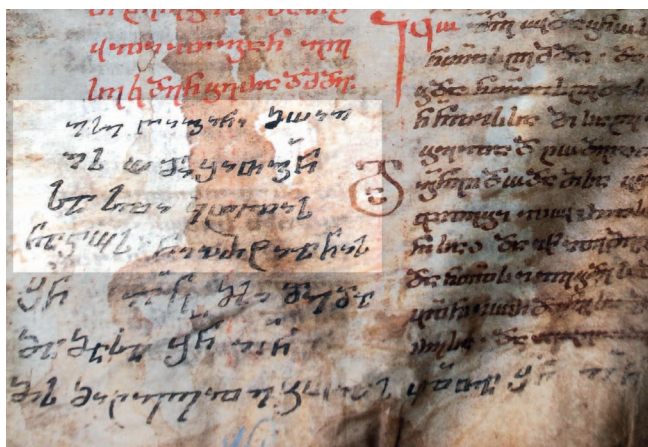'Christ, have mercy on Grigol | and Stepane | his deacon! Amen!'

Fig. 21: Laxamula Gospels, Naču Niṗarṭiani's colophon on fol. 79ʳ (highlighted).

ese çigini[63] **moiġ|es odišitg(a)n | s(uls)a suli-ḳ(urt)x(e)v(u)lis |
načus niṗ(a)rṭianis | š(eiçq̇ale)n ġ(mertma)n**
*m(i)si deda | mamasa š(eiçq̇ale)n ġ(mertma)n | mis micv(a)-
lebuls q̇(ove)lta š(eiçq̇ale)n ġ(mertma)n*

'**This book was brought here from Odiši.** | God have mercy
on the soul | **of Naču Niṗarṭiani, blessed by the (Holy) Spirit**;
God have mercy on his mother | and father; | God have mercy
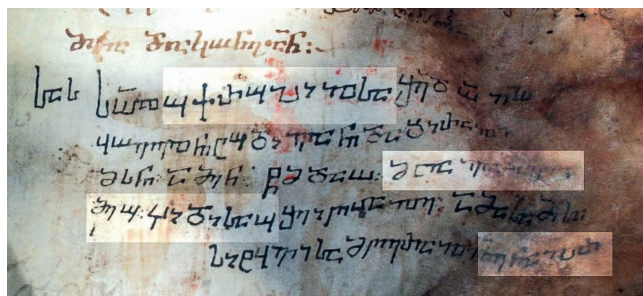on all his deceased!'

Fig. 22: Laxamula Gospels, Zenahar's note on fol. 52ʳ (name highlighted).

s(ul)sas[64] *sōl ukruṗilsa še(un)d(ven) o(wpalo) ġ(mert)o |
q̇ovelni cudivani da birali*[65] *| m(i)sni : amen:
çm(i)dao : mtavarm(o)ça|meu : qidisau šeiçq̇ale : ama samisa |
siṭq̇visa mçerali zenah(a)r*

For the soul of **Okroṗiri**, forgive, Lord, God, all | his sins and
guilt! Amen!
Holy **Archimartyr of the Bridge**, have mercy on the writer of
these three words, **Zenahar**!

3.2.1

On fol. 79ʳ, below the colophon (in red), which provides
details about the execution of the Gospel of Matthew, the
much later hand of Naču Niṗarṭiani informs us that the codex
was brought (to Svanetia?) from Odiši, i.e. Mingrelia (cf. fig.
21, where the important parts of the note are highlighted).

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[63] The correct form would be *çigni*; the insertion of the anaptyctical *i* can be
taken as an influence of spoken *Svan*.

[64] The usual form would be *s(ul)sa* 'for the soul'. Possibly the word was
added in the left margin to correct the spelling *Sōl* (for *so(w)l(sa)*?) at the
beginning of the line; but cf. Naču Niṗarṭiani's note treated above.

3.2.2

Another note written in a clumsy late *nusxuri* minuscule,
added below the scribe's note on fol. 52ʳ by a certain Zenahar
on behalf of one 'Chrysostom' (*ukruṗil*, a Svanicised variant
of Georgian *okroṗiri* ('golden-mouthed')), addresses the
church of St George in Laxamula by its traditional name,
mtavarmoçame qidisa, i.e. 'the Archimartyr of the Bridge'
(cf. fig. 22, where the names are highlighted again).

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[65] The correct forms would be *codvani* and *brali*; again we have Svanicized
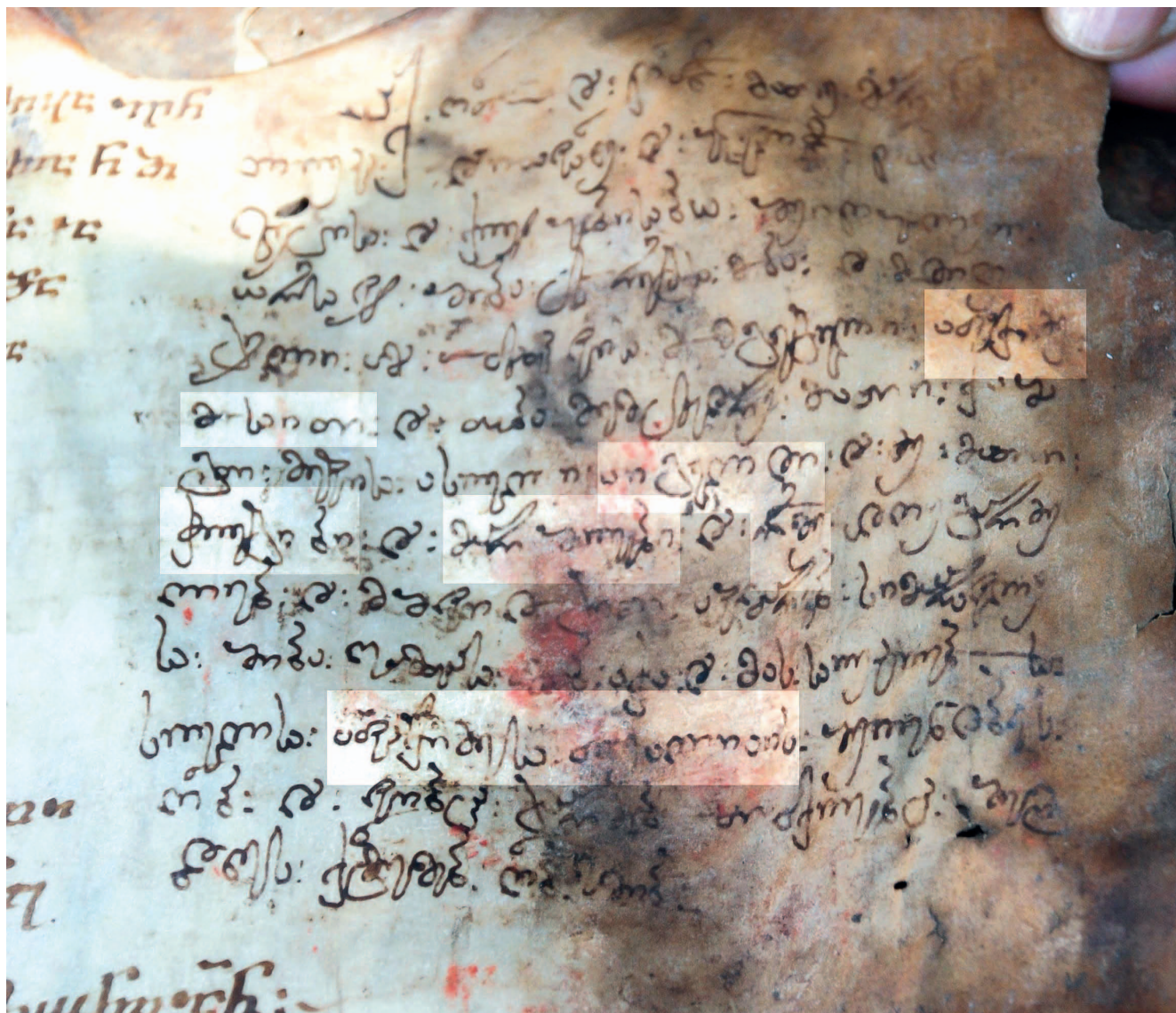forms here.

Fig. 23: Laxamula Gospels, the Apakiʒes' note on fol. 52ʳ (names highlighted).

Table 15: Laxamula Gospels, the Apakiʒes' note on fol. 52ʳ.

K(risṭe) : ġ(mer)to da : ç(mid)ano : mate . marḳoz	Christ, God and Sts Matthew, Mark,
luḳa : da iovane : da : ġovelno ġ(mrtisan)o	Luke and John and all God's (crowd)
zecisa : da : kueġanisano : šeiçq̇alet :	in heaven and on earth, have mercy
orsave : šina : cxorebasa : mona : da madide-	in both worlds on (your) servant and praiser,
beli : am : otxtavisa : momgebeli : **apakiʒe**	the acquirer of these Gospels, **Apakiʒe**
mosaiti *:da tanamemcxedre : mati : kaša-*	**Mosaiti**, and their (!) bedfellow, the Circassian
gi : mepisa : asuli : **aigeldi**[66] *: da : ʒe : mati :*	king's daughter **Aygeldi**, and their son(s)
čubini *: da :* **maršueni**[67] *: da :* **rome**[68] *: adġegrʒe-*	**Čubini** and **Maršueni** and **Rome**! May they live
len : da : mšvidobit : aq̇maren : simravle-	long and may they be supportful in peace for plenty
sa : šina : žamtasa : amin : aka : da : mas : sauḳunosa	of times, amen, now and in eternity!
sulsa : **apakiʒesa tualiaisa** *: šeundnes :*	May God pardon the soul of **Apakiʒe Tualia**,
ġ(mertma)n : da : vinca brʒan[debi]t . tkuenca : šegi-	and whoever you deign to be, may you be pardoned
ndes : k(ris)ṭeman : ġ(mertma)n : amin :	by Christ the God, too! Amen!

3.2.3

The same page features yet another colophon that is legible, but unlike the notes mentioned above, it is written in a *mxedruli* cursive (cf. fig. 23).[69] Its subject (and author?) is Apakiӡe Mosaiti, who is styled as an 'acquirer' (*momgebeli*) of the Gospel codex, together with his wife (of Circassian origin) and his family. It may be important within this context to note that the name Apakiӡe is well known in both Svanetia and Mingrelia, the most prominent family members being known as the 'princes of Odiši'. However, neither Mosaiti[70] nor his deceased relative, Tualia, can be identified historically. The transcript given in table 15 is again tentative.

3.2.4

Apart from the rogations discussed thus far, the codex contains at least three notes that can be categorised as treaties or oaths, either uttered by the village community (addressing themselves as *laxamlelni*) or by individual persons.[71] For this kind of text, the Gospel codex obviously served as a guarantee of their validity. The following example (from fol. 35ʳ; fig. 24) even addresses the subject of blood feuds, a practice upheld in Svanetia at least until the nineteenth

century. Again, the church of Laxamula is mentioned by its traditional name (cf. table 16). Note that in applying the note, the codex was turned 90°.
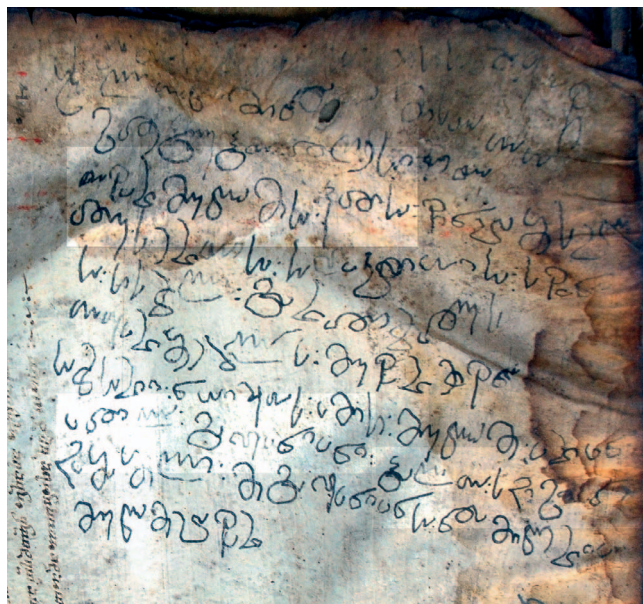

Fig. 24: Laxamula Gospels, Gažaniani's note on fol. 52ʳ (names highlighted).

Table 16: Laxamula Gospels, Gažaniani's note on fol. 35ʳ.

K(risṭe) ġ(mr)tisa dedisa misisa da q̇ove-	At the will of Christ God, his mother and all
lta çmindata mista tau-	his saints!
sdebubita : dġes iḳita	If from now on someone should sin
tavarmuçamesa : q(i)disa : *vinca šesco-*	against the **Archimartyr of the Bridge**,
dus ertisa : saṗaṭioisa : svani-	he should pay with the blood
sa : sisxli : gardixadus	of one noble Svan.
tu ar šeezlos : muvarčvna<t> :	If he is not able, we will suffocate him,
saxsari : no iq̇os : amisi : muçame : arian :	there will be no redemption. Witnesses of this are:
adila : gažaniani : balta : sḳiziani	**Adila Gažaniani, Balta Sḳiziani,**
ḳašašeli : me, **gažaniansa** *damiçeria .*	from Ḳašaši. I, **Gažaniani**, have written it,
muçameca var	(and) I am a witness, too.

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[66] Silogava 1986, 59, reads *aiageldi*. However, there is no second *a* in the name, and *Aygeldi* is a perfect Turkic name formation (lit. 'the moon has come').

[67] Silogava 1986, 59, reads *maršuebi*; however, the first from last character is clearly the same as the first from last, not the third, of the preceding name, *čubini*. The name is otherwise unknown.

[68] Silogava 1986, 59, reads *romi*. However, the curved descender of the final *e* is clearly visible and interferes with the *r* of *aqmaren* in the line below.

[69] A fourth note (in large *mxedruli* letters) added under Zenahar's note at the bottom of the page is too faint to be deciphered.

[70] The name probably reflects Arabic *musāʿid* ('helper'), cf. Turk. *müsait* ('apt'). In the Georgian chronicle of the Mongol period (by the anonymous 'chronicler', *Žamtaaġmçereli*), Musait is the name of the Ilkhanid ruler, Öljaitü, who is otherwise known as Abu Saʾid Bahadur Khan (Qauxčišvili 1959, 324, l. 22 and 325, l. 4).

[71] These 'documentary' texts were first edited by P. Ingoroq̇va (1941, 19, no. 17, and 72, nos. 73 and 74) and, secondly, by V. Silogava (1986, 121–122, nos. 16–18); the notes in question, dated by Silogava to the fifteenth century, are on fols. 35ʳᵛ and 36ᵛ.

Table 17: Laxamula Gospels, Pipia's colophon on fol. 20ʳ.

çaviḳitxe ese çmida	I have read this holy
otxtavi saxareba uġirsma	*Tetraevangelion*, (me), the unworthy
deḳanozma daviti pipiam	decanus Davit Pipia.
1975 ç. 19–20 ivlisi.	Year 1975, 19–20 July.
ar šeiʒleba çm(ida) saxarebis	It is not allowed in front of the holy Gospels
çinaše pici cru da ukmi da	to swear a false oath and to pronounce idle and
ušveri siṭqvis geba, rac aris	obscene word(s), which is
didi šeçuxeba çm(ida) saxarebisa	a great torment for the holy Gospels.
arca šeuʒleba çm(ida) saxarebas	Nor is it allowed that the holy Gospels
xeli šeaxos dedaḳacma arca	be touched by a woman, or
q̇ovelsa ḳacsa tu ar aris	by any man if he is not
çmidad da monatluli	clean and baptised.

3.2.5

The habit of adding notes to the Laxamula Gospel codex lasted at least until 1975, when a decanus named Davit Pipia inspected it, leaving his handwritten comments on several pages. On fol. 20ʳ, he provided a clear statement as to further usage of the codex (fig. 25), including the practice of swearing oaths before it (cf. table 17).[72]
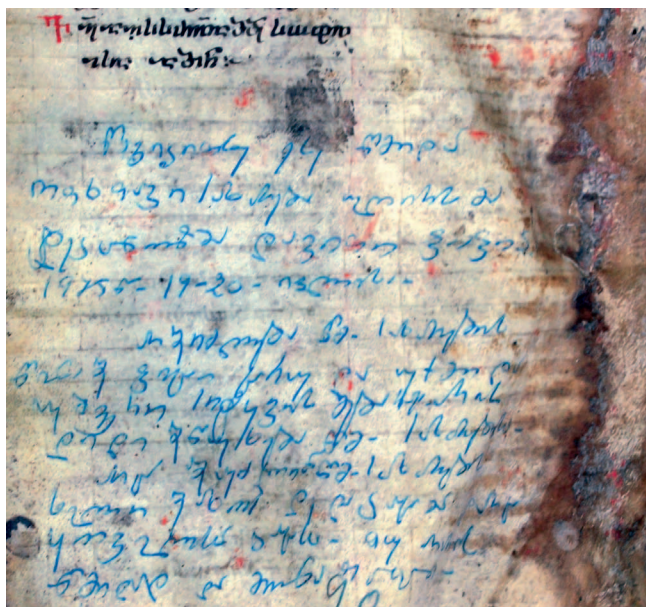
Fig. 25: Laxamula Gospels, Pipia's note on fol. 20ʳ.

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[72] Pipia's note is written in blue ink, possibly the same ink used for the page numbering of the codex (which deviates enormously from the original order). Further notes by Pipia are found on the inner sides of the (wooden) front and back covers of the Laxamula Gospels.

3.3

The custom of using Gospel codices for blessings, rogations and other personal notes was not restricted to Laxamula, however. The same type of notes occurs, in even greater variety, in another codex kept in a village church in Upper Svanetia, viz. the *Tetraevangelion* of Kurashi, another Gospel manuscript dating from around the twelfth century and written in *nusxuri* minuscules. This codex, too, contains a scribe's colophon (by a certain Giorgi; fol. 138ʳ), as well as one by its donor (Inay Xešṭinisʒe; fol. 85ʳ). Additionally, there is a note by the 'rulers of Kurashi' who possessed the 'cemetery in front of the Archimartyr of Kurashi', stating that they deposited the book there (fol. 161ᵛ). Furthermore, the codex abounds in rogations of priests, deacons and other people. A remarkable example of this is one by Deṭo (Gurčiani), who styles himself the priest of 'St George of Ṭexiši' (fol. 113ʳ), thus using the traditional name of the church in question. What is peculiar about this codex is the occurrence of at least three notes in the Lower-Bal dialect of the Svan language, obviously written by the same Deṭo Gurčiani in the same *nusxuri* hand as the above-mentioned rogation, which dates to around the seventeenth century, and thus represent the oldest extant specimens of written Svan. Moreover, these notes deviate considerably from the 'usual' type of rogation-like notes; instead, they represent rather personal reproaches addressed to the priest's deacon (and, probably, nephew), Guṭu Gurčiani. The latter, on the other hand, is likely to have been responsible for a good many notes consisting of nothing more than characters in their alphabetic sequence, with or without their numerical values,
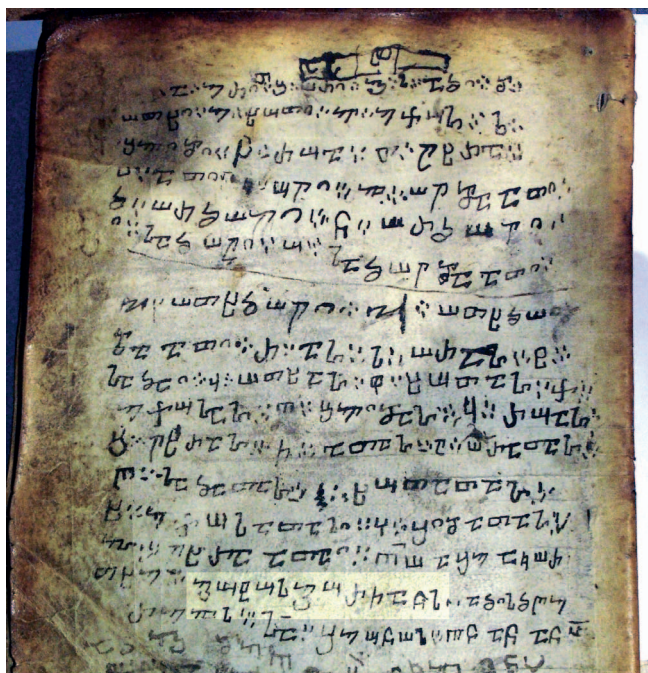
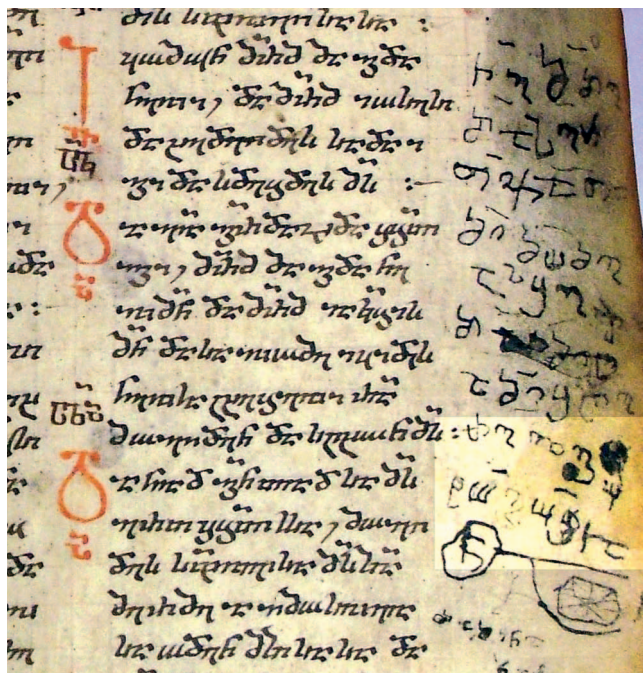Fig. 26: Kurashi Gospels, Guṭu Gurčiani's writing exercise and rogation on fol. 85ᵛ (name highlighted).

Fig. 27: Kurashi Gospels, Guṭu Gurčiani's writing exercise on fol. 84ᵛ (name highlighted).

Table 18 : Kurashi Gospels, Guṭu Gurčiani's rogation on fol. 85ᵛ.

ġ(mert)o aše(ne) aḳurtxe	God, build up (and) bless (the home)
guṭus gurčans	of **Guṭu Gurčiani**,
amis mčerels	the writer of this!
s(uls)a šeundos o(wpalma)n	May the Lord forgive (his) soul,
a(me)n a(me)n o(wpalo)	amen, amen, Lord!

spanning the complete alphabet or parts of it, as well as other unintelligible material. Considering Guṭu's clumsy hand, it seems highly conceivable that most of his 'notes' were mere writing exercises. As the Kurashi Gospel codex, which also comprises one palimpsest bifoliate, has been the subject of a comprehensive study recently,[73] it should suffice if only a few examples of notes of this type are cited here.

3.3.1

More than half of fol. 85ᵛ (fig. 26), originally a *vacat* between the Gospels of Mark and Luke, comprises a nearly complete *nusxuri* alphabet (from a to h; only the last letter, ō, is missing), with the numerical value of every character added in full. The last item, *h = cxraata(s)i* ('9,000'), is followed by two and a half lines which read *ḡo aše aḳort|xe : guṭus*

gurčans : amis mče|rals : s̄a ; šeunos : on an an ō̄. This can easily be interpreted as a rogation of the writer, Guṭu Gurčiani, for himself, as proposed in table 18. At the bottom of the page, we find one more alphabetic sequence (from *a* to *s*, with no numerical values), but obviously written in another hand, thus suggesting that it was not only Guṭu Gurčiani who used the codex for his writing exercises.

3.3.2

A strange note abounding in unusual abbreviations in the right margin of fol. 84ʳ (fig. 27) may also have been intended as a writing exercise. It was written in the hand of Guṭu and 'signed' by him again. It reads: *č̄emde|d̄aser|tikat|mimome | asšek|miaymiç | amīš çe|rel gu|ṭo gurča|n*. It is clear that the last four words once more stand for *amis mčeral(i) guṭu gurčian(i)* ('the writer of this, Guṭu Gurčiani'), with amiš (instead of *amis*) and the missing nominative endings clearly stemming from the influence of spoken Svan. If we ignore the abbreviation marks

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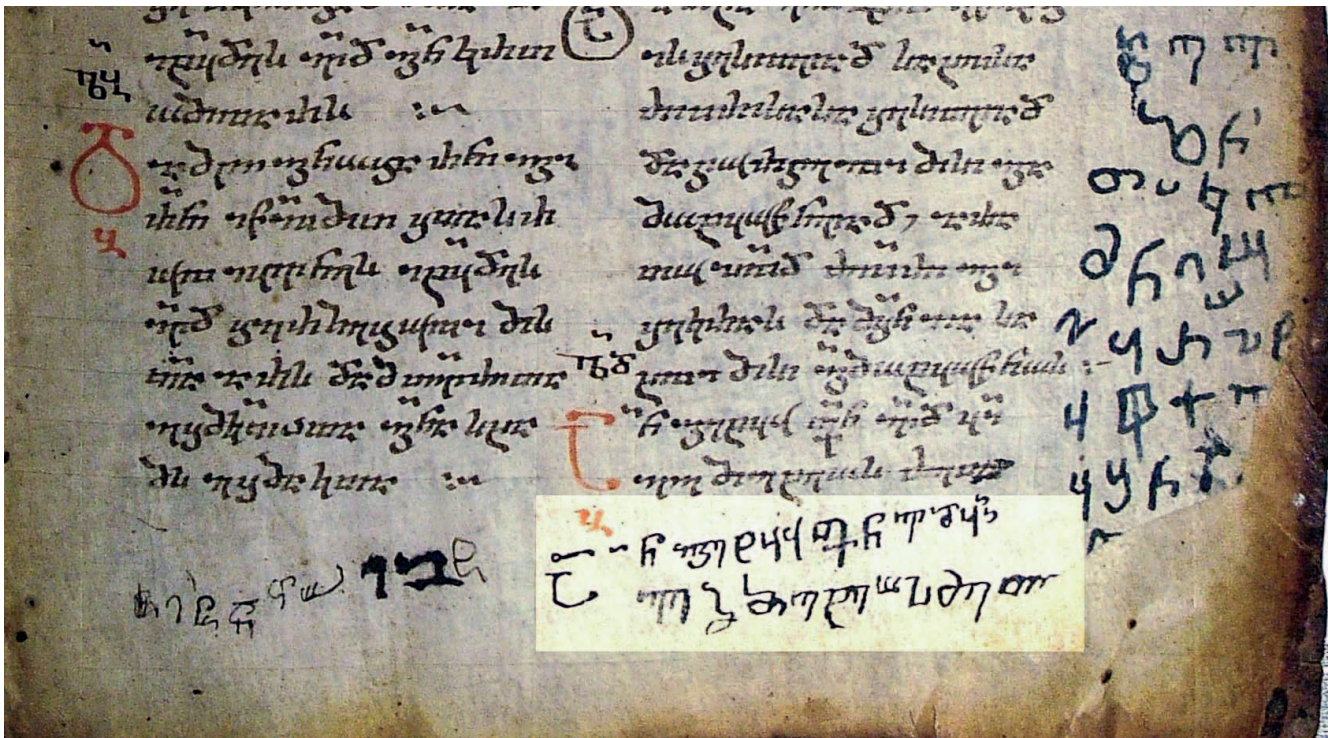[73] See Gippert 2013a, which includes reproductions of the main colophons and the Svan notes.

Fig. 28: Kurashi Gospels, writing exercise on fol. 59ʳ (text copy highlighted).

Table 19: Cod. Sin. georg. 16, anonymous complaint on fol. 5ᵛ.

š(eiçqale)n . s(a)šinelo : m(a)::q̇(u)l(o)v(a)nis :::: ġ(mrt)is-mšob(e)lo ese . o͞rni ʒm(a)ni damemṭer-nes da š(e)n d̄a š(e)ni ʒē x(a)rt mebrč̣ve . tu rays memartlebian.	Have mercy, frightful Theotokos of the (Unburnt) Bush, on these two brethren. They have become hostile to me, and you and your son are (my) judges as to what they want from me.

in the first half of the note, we may tentatively read it as *čem(s) dedas erti kat(a)mi mome(c),* which would mean something like 'give me one hen for my mother'. The 'word' in the middle, which may read *asšekmiaymiç,* remains enigmatic,[74] as do the characters preceding and following the note (*a|ṭyš|gud|d* and *ʒamina|nar|ai?).*

3.3.3

Another type of writing exercise is encountered for instance on fol. 85ʳ, where somebody (not necessarily Guṭu Gurčiani) copied the first four lines of the donor's colophon, including the outdented initial letter,[75] or on fol. 59ʳ, where the last two lines of the Gospel text on the page (Mark 3:29) were copied into the lower right-hand margin (alongside an almost

complete *nusxuri* alphabet spelled out in another hand in the right-hand margin and an unintelligible sequence of characters added in yet another hand in the bottom margin below the first column and turned round 180°;[76] fig. 28). Conversely, we find that the Gospel text of Matthew 28:16–18 in the lower margins of fols. 71ʳ and 70ʳ (again turned 180°; fig. 29) is not a copy of the 'main' text of the pages in question, which contain Mark 9:18–10:1. Instead, it is likely that this is a copy from a lectionary manuscript, given that Matt. 27:58–28:20 is missing in the Kurashi Gospels and the 'quotation' begins with a typical introductory formulation, *mas žamsa šina* ('by that time').[77]

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[74] It is possible that the *k* does not belong to the note, since it is written in a different style. It may simply be a sign of the cross.

[75] See Gippert 2013a, 92 with fig. 7.

[76] This note might represent a (Turkic) personal name ending in *beg* in the dative case, given that it ends in *bgs* (names like *zaurbeg* were quite common in Svanetia).

[77] See Gippert 2013a, 102–103 for further details and *ibid.* 103–104 for another 'quotation' of this type (from Mt. 1.1–11), which appears on fol. 116ʳ.
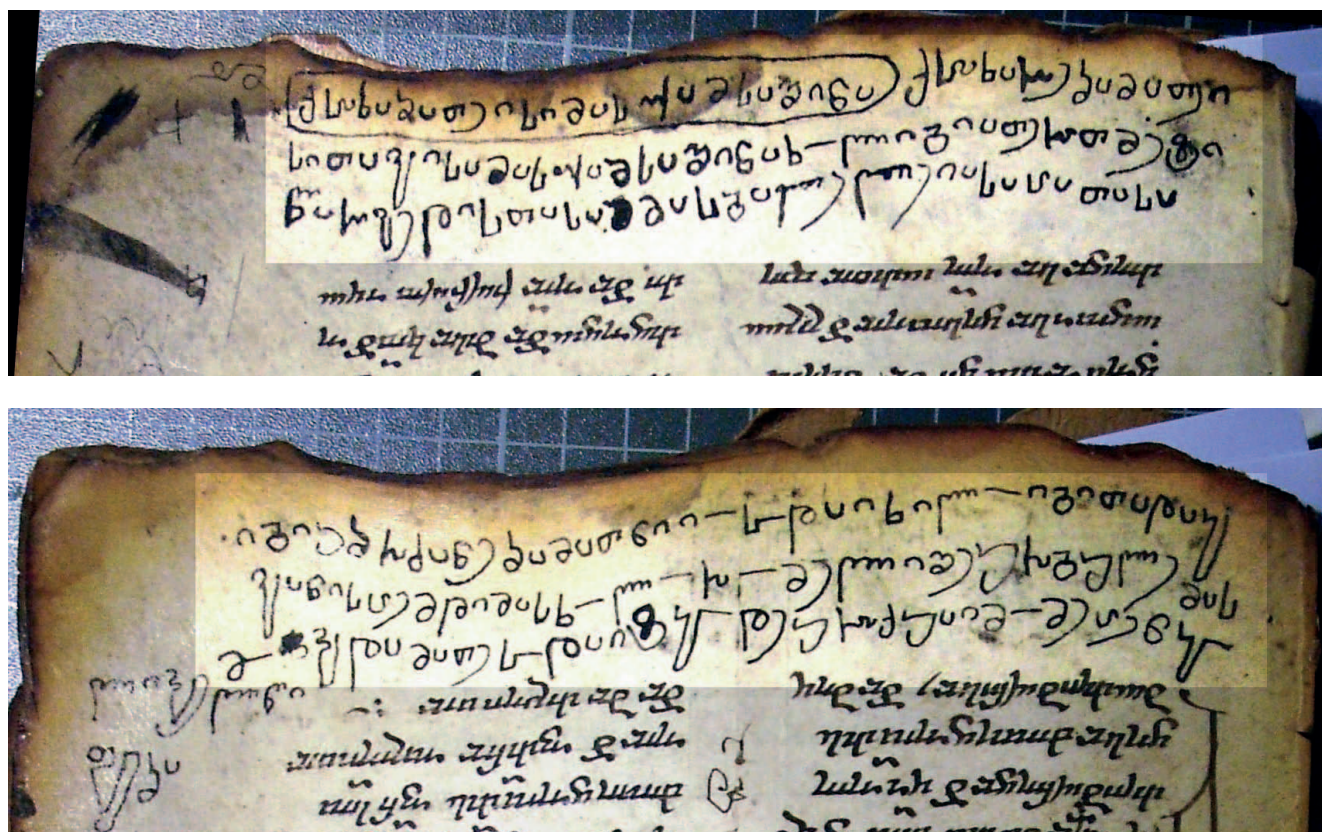
Fig. 29: Kurashi Gospels, Lectionary quotation on fols. 71ʳ–70ʳ (highlighted).

Table 20: Cod. Sin. georg. 16, Davit's rogation on fol. 5ᵛ.

dvitas[78]	*d(a)vits,*	Davit
Codvilsa	*Codvilsa*	the sinful
Šeondnes	*Šeundvnes*	may be pardoned
nḡn d vinc	*ǧ(mertma)n d(a) vinc*	by God and (you) whoever
šndoba q̇vtan	*š(e)ndoba-q̇avt. a(me)n*	practice forgiveness. Amen![79]

3.4

Most of the 'secondary' types of notes dealt with above are not limited to manuscripts from Svanetia. This is true, first of all, of rogations added by laymen or other uneducated people, discernible by the clumsy and faulty way in which they are written. A series of good examples of this is to be found in the Gospel codex, Sin. georg. 16, mentioned above. On fol. 5ᵛ (fig. 30a) after the short rogation *k(riṣṭ)e š(eiċq̇al)e d(a)n(i-e)l, a(me)n,* ('Christ, have mercy on Daniel, amen!'), added by the scribe in red ink after the index of miracles taken from the Gospel of Matthew, there is, firstly, a four-line complaint made by an anonymous person, also in red ink, addressed to the Theotokos 'of the (Unburnt) Bush'[80] (see the transcript in table 19), and, secondly, another rogation by one Davit, written in extremely large and awkward *nusxuri* characters with many additional dots (cf. the transliteration and the transcript in table 20).

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[78] The cross-shaped symbol at the end of the line might be taken to be the letter *k* (an abbreviation for *kriṣṭe*, 'Christ'), but this seems unlikely when placed between the name of Davit and his epithet, 'sinful'.

[79] A sixth line at the bottom edge of the page, beginning with *ō*, i.e. an abbreviated form of *upali* ('Lord'), is no longer decipherable today.

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[80] The Unburnt Bush of Mt Sinai is a symbol of the Virgin birth of Jesus in Eastern Orthodoxy. The mention of the bush as part of the present complaint speaks in favour of the text having been written down on Mt Sinai. For a previous discussion of this note, see Žavaxišvili 1947, 38.
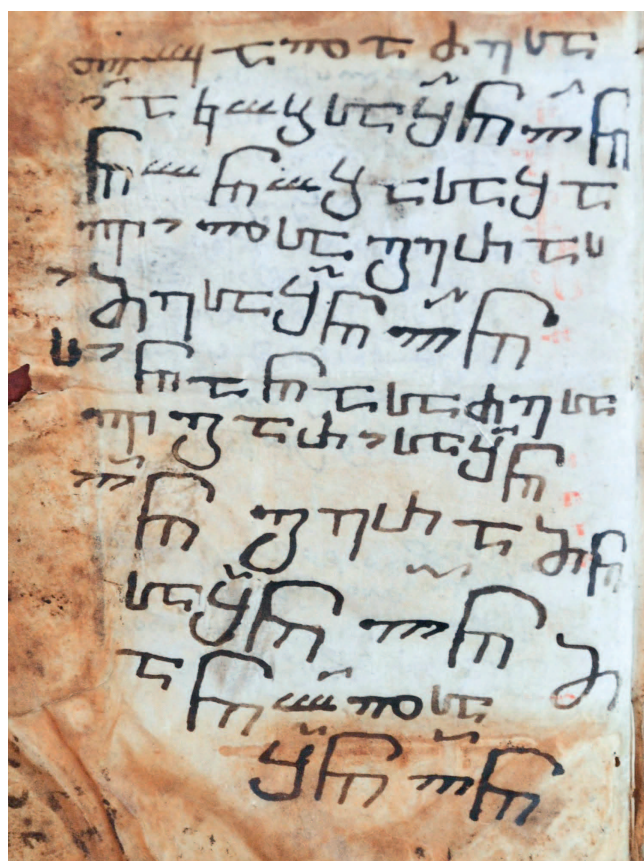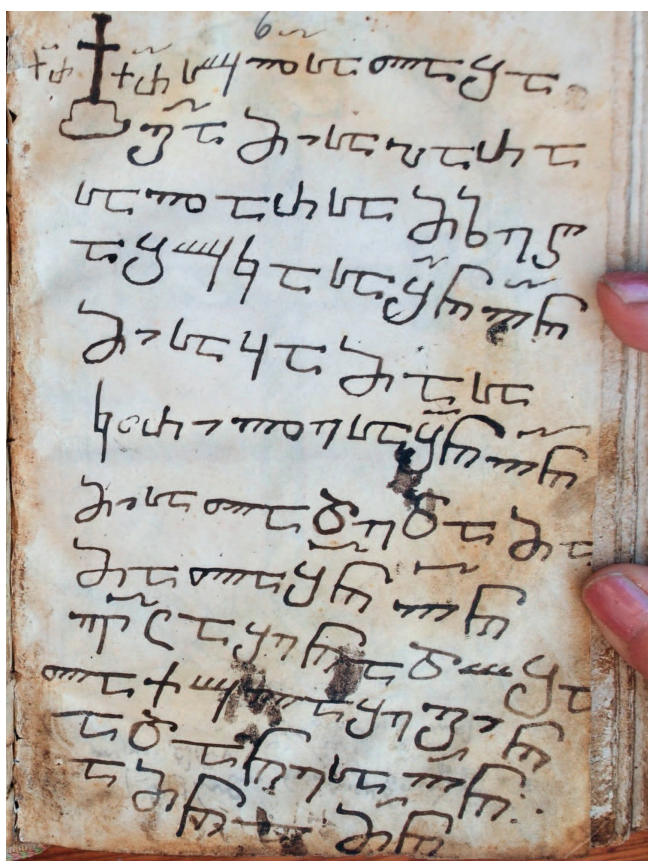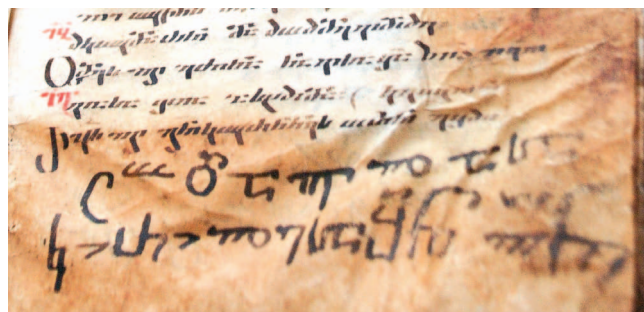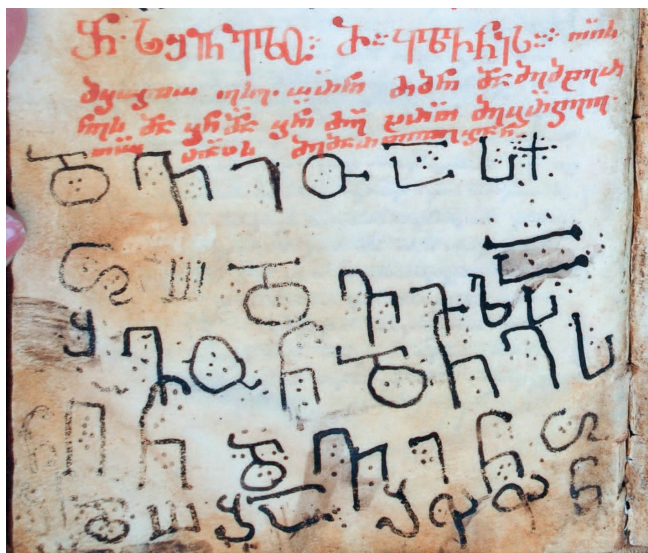
Fig. 30a-d: Cod.Sin.georg. 16, rogations on fols. 5ᵛ, 6ʳ, 2ʳ, 1ᵛ.

3.4.1

In the same codex, there are at least three further lengthy rogations of this sort, possibly written in the same hand (on fols. 1ᵛ, 2ʳ and 6ʳ; figs 30c, 30d and 30b).[81] Of the persons

mentioned in them, at least one seems to occur twice: Ḳirile, who is likely to have been the author of the note on fol. 2ʳ and is introduced as the 'page' (q̇ma-) of Mzeč̣abuḳ on fol. 6ʳ. The latter person, if his title is correctly restored

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[81] Garitte 1956, 51, also considered the note on fol. 5ᵛ to be in the same hand. This is unlikely, however, given the peculiar extension of the *m* and *n* characters and the acute form of the *i* character in the other three notes.

Cagareli 1888b, 198–9, no. 7, does not mention these notes, nor does Žavaxišvili 1947, 36–8, no. 16.
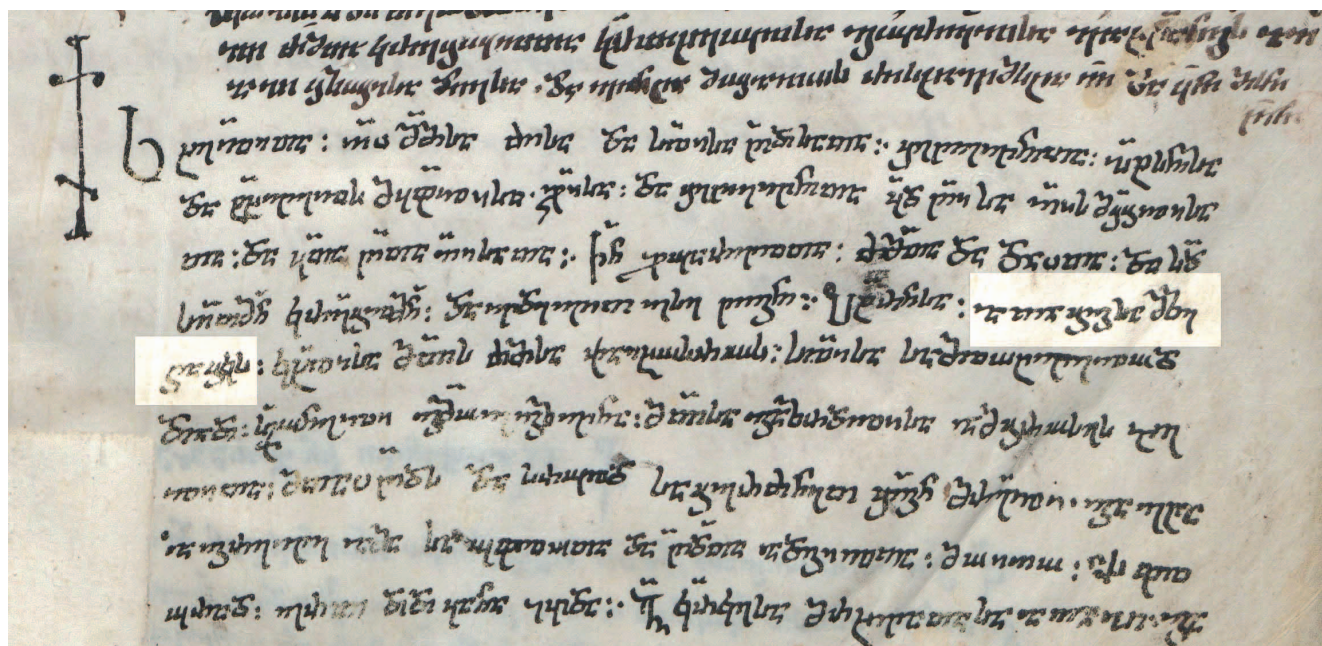
Fig. 30e: Leipzig Cod. no. V 1095, fol. 15ʳ (name of Atabag Mzečabuḳ highlighted).

as *atabag-amirsṗasalari*, i.e. 'atabag (and) commander-in-chief', can be identified as the son of Quarquare II (the Great), ruler of the south-western Georgian province of Samcxe in the second half of the fifteenth century. Mzečabuḳ, who bore the title of *atabag* from 1500 to 1515 CE, adopted the name of Iaḳob after retreating from the secular world.[82] He is not identical, however, with a Iaḳob who is mentioned in the note on fol. 1ᵛ of the present codex, given that this person bore the patronym Tualaʒe (lit. 'son of Tuala'). There is no information available as to whether Mzečabuḳ ever visited Mt Sinai. However, he is

mentioned in a codex from Jerusalem, which was brought to the University Library of Leipzig by C. Tischendorf (Cod. V 1095, fol. 15ʳ; fig. 30e) in an *aġaṗi* (a requiem-like record of deceased persons).[83] This suggests that he may well also have been the object of commemoration at St Catherine's Monastery.[84] Due to the orthographical inconsistencies, the transcripts given in tables 21a–c on the following page are again tentative.

3.4.2

An attempt to copy a previously added note can be seen on fol. 146ᵛ of the Gospel manuscript, no. 76 from the Historical-Ethnographical Museum of Kutaisi[85] where, after the end of the Gospel of Mark (fig. 31), Ioane Kaselaʒe begs for mercy for his deceased parents using the same words as a relative of his, Manavel Kaselaʒe, had previously done on

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[82] This is clear from the Tbilisi codex Q-969, which mentions a 'Iaḳob who was Mzečabuḳ before' (*mzečabuḳ-ǧopilisa iaḳobisi*) in a series of notes concerning the *atabag*s of Ṭao, amongst the 'orthodox kings' (*martlmadidebli mepeebi*) of Georgia, beginning with the *atabag-amirsṗasalari* Quarquare, his wife Dedisimedi and his first son Kaixosro, the elder brother of Mzečabuḳ; cf. Bregaʒe et al. 1958, 381–2 and Šarašiʒe 1961, 15–6. The name *mzečabuḳ*, lit. 'sun-squire', first occurs within the Georgian tradition in the twelfth-century epic *Amirandareǯaniani*, where it is borne by one of the protagonists. This Mzečabuḳ is mentioned in the anonymous chronicle of Queen Tamar, *Isṭoriani da azmani šaravandedtani* ('Histories and praises of the garlanded'; thirteenth century) together with the 'sun of the Khazars', i.e. the daughter of the Khazar king, whom he married according to the epic (ch. 10; Lolašvili 1968, 432: *xvasro xazarta mepeman ... šerto asuli misi colad mze-čabuḳsa* ['Khosrow the king of the Khazars ... gave Mzečabuḳ his daughter in marriage']), in a list of amorous couples compared to Tamar and her first husband (Qauxčišvili 1959, 36: *vitar mzečabuḳ mzisatws xazartasa* ['like Mzečabuḳ for the sun of the Khazars']). Remarkably enough, the next couple in the list are Jacob and his wife, Rachel (*vitar iaḳob rakelistws* ['like Jacob for Rachel']). One wonders if this was the reason for the *atabag*'s choice of *iaḳob* as his second name.

[83] For a complete transcript of the *aġaṗi*, see Meṭreveli 1962, 77, no. 90. The first edition of the *aġaṗi*s by N. Ja. Marr (1914) does not contain the present text.

[84] See Šarašiʒe 1961, 94–7 for more information on Mzečabuḳ's 'ecclesiastical politics'. Further details of Mzečabuḳ's life are provided in Šarašiʒe 1954, 198–203.

[85] My thanks are due to the staff of the Kutaisi Museum, who made this manuscript available to the members of the above-mentioned INTAS project in April 2007.

Table 21a: Cod. Sin. georg. 16, rogation on fol. 2ʳ.

codavlasa	*Codvilsa*	May God pardon the sinful
ḳirilesa šn ǧn	*Ḳirilesa š(eundve)n ǧ(mertma)n*	Ḳirile!

Table 21b: Cod. Sin. georg. 16, rogation on fol. 6ʳ.

kr k kr sulsa taba	*Kr(isṭe), kr(isṭe)! sulsa ataba-*	Christ, Christ! May God pardon the soul of the
gamisaṗara	*g-amirsṗa-*	Atabag (and) Commander-in-Chief,
salarsa mzeč	*salarisa mzeč-*	Mzečabuḳ!
abuḳasa šn ǧn	*abuḳissa š(eundve)n ǧ(mertma)n*	
misa q̇amasa	*missa q̇(r)masa*	May God pardon his page,
kyrilesa šn ǧn	*ḳirilesa š(eundve)n ǧ(mertma)n*	Ḳirile!
misata dedama	*mista deda-ma-*	May God pardon their
mata šn ǧn	*mata š(eundve)n ǧ(mertma)n*	mothers and fathers!
vca šenadoba	*v(in)ca šendoba-*	May God pardon
t akuta šegin	*t akut šegin-*	you whoever grant (lit. have)
adanes ǧn	*dnes ǧ(mertma)n*	forgiveness!
amn amn	*am(e)n am(e)n*	Amen, amen!

Table 21c: Cod. Sin. georg. 16, rogation on fol. 1ᵛ.

tuala ʒesa	*Tualaʒesa*	May God pardon Iaḳob
iaḳobsa šn ǧn	*Iaḳobsa š(eundve)n ǧ(mertma)n*	Tualaʒe!
nonobasa ša	*Nonobasšvilsa*	May God pardon
vilsa geras	*Geras-*	Gerasime
imesa šn ǧn	*imesa š(eundve)n ǧ(mertma)n*	Nonobašvili!
inanasa ʒesa	*Inanaʒesa*	May God pardon Avgari
vgarisa šn	*Avgarisa š(eundve)n*	Inanaʒe!
ǧn geramn	*ǧ(mertma)n Gerasime-*	May God pardon
sa šn ǧn m	*sa š(eundve)n ǧ(mertma)n M-*	Gerasime!
anoḷsa	*ano(we)lsa*	May God pardon
šn ǧn	*š(eundve)n ǧ(mertma)n*	Manoel!

his own behalf (cf. the transcripts in table 22).[86] Note that in addition to the two rogations (both of which are faulty in their grammar), the page contains the drawing of a rectangular object, which may be identified as a scribe's writing tablet, strongly reminiscent of a similar image added to the grave inscription of Lauritius, which is exhibited in the cloister of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura in Rome (fig. 32).[87]

3.4.3

An attempt at copying some of the original text of a manuscript into the margins can be seen on fol. 36ʳ of the fragmentary Gospel ms. A-1699 held by the National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, where the heading (in red ink), *sašabatoy,* i.e. 'Sabbath service', and the words, *quvilisasa* ('of the ear'), *tavsa* ('the head') and *da* ('and') of Mark 2:23 seem to be repeated (in black ink and in a clumsy hand) in the lower margin of the page (fig. 33). As it stands, the gloss may be taken to serve

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[86] Both Ioane and Manavel Kaselaʒe, and other members of the family, are also the subject of a lengthy rogation on fol. 7ʳ of the same codex.

[87] See Becker 1881, 27 and Greeven 1897, 53, which reads *Lauricio con(iu) g(i) benemerenti | uxor pientisima posuit q(ui) v(ixit) an(nos) XXV*. The

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images contained in the plate were first published by Perret (1851, pl. LXXIII/6) as part of a series of wall paintings in the catacombs, which may indicate the origin of the monument; cf. also Martigny 1865, 368 and Reusens 1885, 98 as to the interpretation of the images.
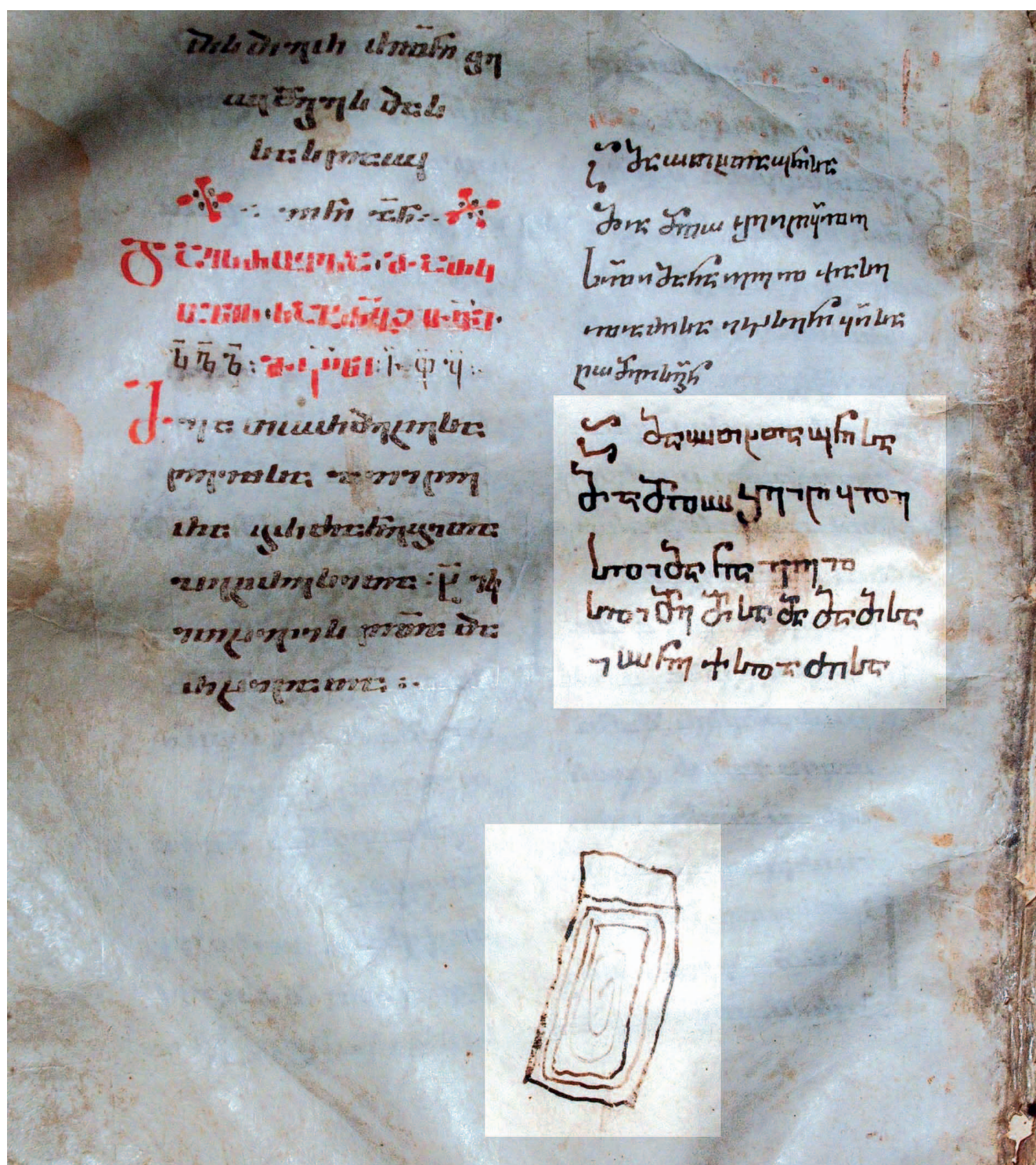
Fig. 31: Kutaisi Gospel Cod. no. 76, fol. 146ᵛ ('copied' note and drawing highlighted).

Fig. 32: Grave inscription of Lauritius, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura (drawing highlighted).

Table 22: Cod. Kut. 76, rogations on fol. 146ᵛ.

ama otxtavni sa-	May he have mercy on these Gospels
madlo šeiçq̇(a)le	charitably!
s(u)li manavel kase-	May the soul of Manavel Kase-
laʒisa iq̇seni q̇(ovl)isa	laʒe be freed of all
codvis(a)g(a)n	sin!
ama otxtavni sa-	May he have mercy on these Gospels
madlo šeiçq̇(a)le	charitably,
s(u)li manavel	on the soul (of) Manavel,
s(u)li dedisa mamisa	on the soul of the mother (and) father of
io(a)ne k(a)s(e)laʒisa	Ioane Kaselaʒe!
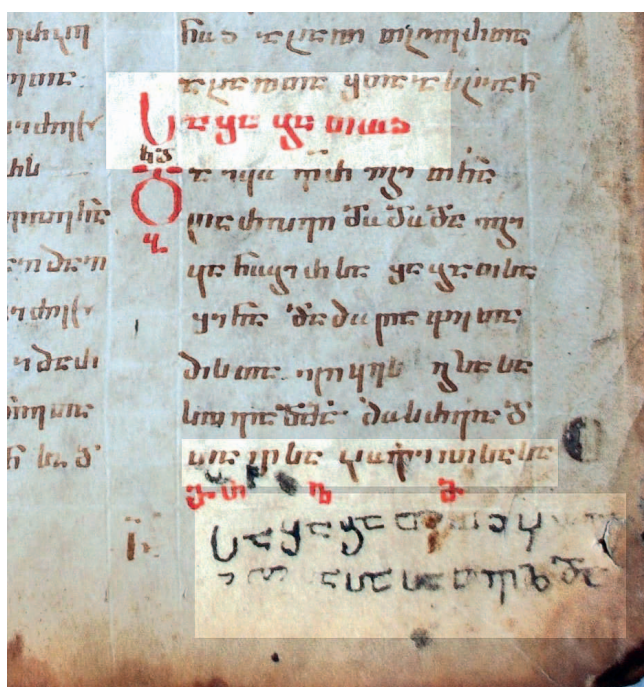
Fig. 33: Cod. A-1699, fol. 36ʳ ('copy' and 'source' highlighted).

the purpose of clarifying the day on which the Gospel passage was to be read ('Sabbath of the ear heads'). However, Mark 2:23 sqq. seem not to have been a usual lection in the Georgian tradition,[88] and in its given form, the note is too faulty to be taken seriously as a piece of liturgical advice (cf. the transcript of both the Gospel passage and the note in table 23).

3.4.4

Unlike this, the lengthy (and very faulty) note in the left-hand margin of fol. 1ʳ of the fragmentary Tbilisi Gospel ms. H-1887 (fig. 34) is not a copy of the main text of the page, which cites Matt. 17:9–18, but another quotation from a lectionary, in this case comprising the very end of the Gospel, Matt. 28:16–20, which was usually read on the Holy Saturday, according to the Jerusalem rite. Due to the bad state of the folio in question, not all of it can be restored with any certainty, as indicated in table 24; the intended text seems clear enough, though.

3.4.5

In rare cases, the authors of secondary notes deemed it appropriate to use a secret script for their 'private' texts. One such case is encountered in Cod. H-372 held by the National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, a fragmentary Gospel codex considered to date from the twelfth century.[89] The note in question is found after the index of lections from the Gospel of Matthew (fig. 35).[90]

[88] That the Gospel passage in question is Mark 2:23 and not one of its syn-optical parallels (Matt. 12:1; Luke 6:1) is clear from the last word of the previous passage, štaasxian ('they pour in'), which closes Mark 2:22. The Gospel text is that of the Protovulgate. The passage taken from Mark 2:23 sqq. is not contained in the Paris Lectionary (ed. Tarchnischvili 1959–60), whereas the Greek lectionary (in the Byzantine style) has it on the Saturday of the first week of Great Lent. The Paris Lectionary does include Matt. 12:1–8 amongst the lections for Saturdays (Tarchnischvili 1960, 106, no. 1674).

[89] My thanks are due to Teimuraz Jojua of the National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, for drawing my attention to this note and to Bernard Outtier, Paris, who discussed its deciphering with me in July 2013.

[90] There is no information on this peculiar note in the catalogue by Kutatelaʒe and Ḳasraʒe 1946, 273.

[91] Sic; note the dittography of the syllable do.

[92] Corrected from slva da (for slvad da?)

[93] Between the last text line and the marginal note, the abbreviations MR = Mark, L = Luke, and M =Matthew appear in the codex as headings to the Eusebian apparatus (in red).

Table 23: Cod. A-1699, 'liturgical note' on fol. 36ʳ.

Sašabatoy	Sabbath service
Da iǧo v(ita)r igi t(a)na-	And it was, when he
çarhvidododa (!)[91] *igi*	went along
ǧanobirsa šabatsa	in the corn field on the Sabbath,
šina da moçapeta	and his disciples
mista içǧes gzasa	began on the way
slvay da[92] *mosrvad*	to walk **and** to pluck
tavsa qovilisasa[93]	**the head of the ear (of grain).**
sašabatoy quv	**Sabbath service of**
ilsasasa tvz da	**the head of the ear (of grain) and (?)**

Fig. 34: Cod. H-1887, fol. 1ʳ (marginal note highlighted).

Table 24: Cod. H-1887, lectionary passage of Matthew 28:16–20 on fol. 1ᵛ.

|		
sxrebyma	*saxarebay ma-*	Gospel of Matthew.
teysa mas	*teysay mas*	In those
žisa ša	*žamsa šina*	days:
x̄igi	*xolo igi[ni ...*	But the[y...
... brʒa	*... brʒa-*	... Jesus
nebamat	*nebda mat*	ordered them
iso da eṭǫo	*iesow da eṭǫo-*	and said to
des hkra mo	*da (da) hrkua: mo-*	them and spoke:
mec me ǫly ǫe	*mec(a) me ǫoveli ǫe-*	'All authority has been given to me
lçypa cata	*lmçipebay cata*	in the heavens
da k̄eǫanasa	*da kueǫanasa*	and on earth.
[z̄a çarva]	*zeda. çarve-*	Go (and)
dis moimo	*dit, moimo-*	make
çapenlta	*çapenit*	Disciples
mamsata sx	*mamisata sax-*	of the Father in the
ilta ʒisa	*elita (mamisayta da) ʒisa-*	name of the (Father and the) Son
saa da sa	*yta da suli-*	and the Holy
sa çmsa d	*sa çmidisayta, da*	Spirit, and
asçave	*asçave-*	teach
bdt mt	*bdet mat.*	them.'
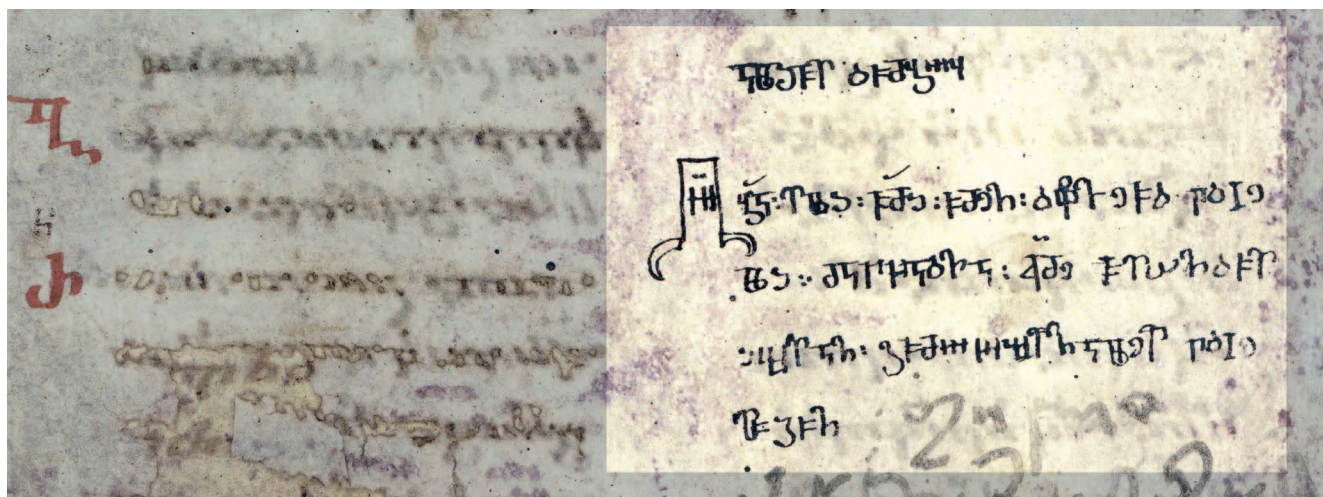
Fig. 35: Cod. H-372, Elia's note (highlighted).

Table 25: Cod. H-372, Elia's note in secret script.

O(wpal)o š(eiçǫal)e : s(u)li : a(braa)m(is)i : amin :	Lord,[94] have mercy on the soul of Abraham, amen!
d(a) priad . c(o)dvi-	And the very sin-
li : mecxedre : č(e)mi aswrdas	ful spouse of mine, Asordas,[95]
iqsen : gamouqsnelis c(o)dvi-	resolve from the unresolvable
sagan	sin!

Its author is likely to be a certain Elia, who, however, mentions himself only in a single defective line that can be read as *elias damšo,* possibly restorable as *elias da mšobelta mista* ('for Elia and his parents').[96] In the more verbose text that follows, he prays for two other persons whose names are, however, not certain. The transliteration printed in table 25 is tentative, given that there is no other example of the secret script that has become available to date.

4.

The examples given above were intended to show how and to what extent Georgian manuscripts from the Middle Ages were reused in later times by people seeking support, health or welfare, or just trying to work in accord with the tradition of writing and reproducing 'holy' scriptures. Not all of those who left their personal traces in the manuscripts were as certain of the durability of their notes as the scribe of Sin. georg. 19, who stated with confidence in his colophon that 'The parchment and the writer, both remain' (cf. 2.3.5 above). One hundred years before him, the scribe of another Gospel codex of Mt Sinai (Sin. georg. 30), a certain Ezra Kobuleani, added the following words to his colophon in a much less optimistic vein after completing his transcription of the Gospel of Matthew (on fol. 75ʳ, fig. 36 and table 26): *nakmari egos, xolo*
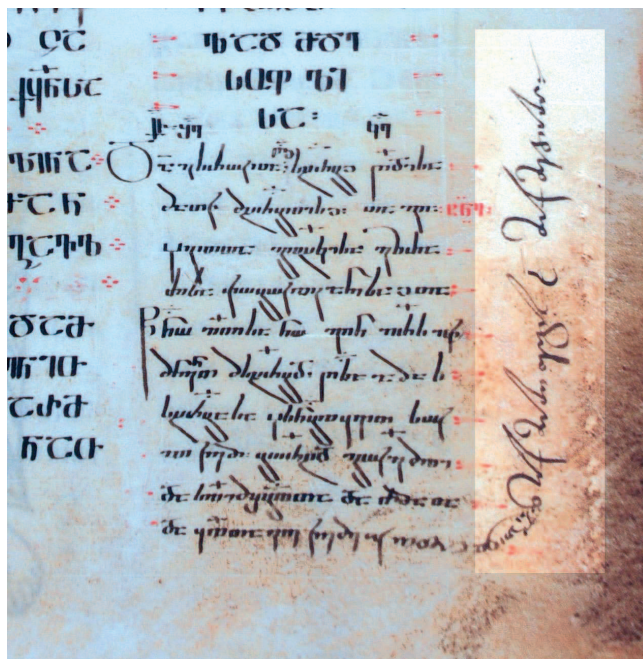

Fig. 36: Cod.Sin. georg. 30, fol. 75ʳ, scribe's colophon (personal note highlighted).

mokmedi ara ('The work will remain, but not the creator'). His endeavour produced not just the Gospel codex itself, but also one of the very first specimens of the *mxedruli* cursive, employed by him as if to increase its personalising effect.

Table 26: Cod. Sin. georg. 30, scribe's colophon on fol. 75ʳ.

Daesrula : ç(mida)y s(a)x(a)r(e)b(a)y ç(mi)disa :—	It has been accomplished the Holy Gospel of St
matē m(a)x(a)r(e)b(e)lis(a)y : tavi : t̄ne :	Matthew the Evangelist, chapter 355,
qelita g(la)x(a)ķisa ezra :—	by the hand of poor Ezra,
ʒisa kobuleanisayta :—	the son of Kobuleani.
Ç(mida)no ġ(mr)tisano vin ġ(i)rs ik- :—	Holy ones in God, you who will become
mnenit ms(a)x(u)r(e)b(a)d : ç(mida)sa amas :—	worthy of doing service with this holy
s(a)x(a)r(e)basa qs(e)n(e)b(u)l-ġ(a)vt su- :—	Gospel, keep remembrance of my
li čemi : bor(o)ț(a)d guem(u)li :—	soul, badly tortured,
da s(u)li mš(o)b(e)lta da ʒmata :—	and of the soul(s) of my parents and brothers
da ġ(ove)ltave čemeultay am(e)n l(o)cv(a) ġ(av)t	and of all my (relatives), amen! Pray a prayer!
nakmari egos x(olo) mokmedi ara	**The work will remain, but not the creator.**

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[94] Ġ(mert)o ('God') would also be possible. The initial letter only occurs here.

[95] B. Outtier (letter of 31 July 2013) drew my attention to the family name, *asrdašvili,* which is listed in Ķldiašvili et al., 1991 as documented from 1692 onwards. This might stem from the name present in this note.

[96] On fol. 78ᵛ of the same manuscript, we find another note by one Elia (in a hand dating from the fifteenth or sixteenth century, in black ink), saying that he had tried to 'revive' obscure passages of the manuscript; see Ǯoǯua 2014, 370-372 and 380 with fig. 6. This Elia is likely to be the same person as the author of the 'secret' note.

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