

Bernard Outtier

# A Georgian Palimpsest Folio in an Athonite Greek Manuscript

**Abstract:** The paper provides the edition and translation of the content of a Georgian palimpsest folio which was overwritten in Greek in the year 1475. The folio was taken from a Georgian manuscript that must have been copied at the beginning of the twelfth century in the Holy Monastery of Iviron and rewritten in Greek in the monastery of Konstamonitou, both on Mount Athos. The Greek codex that contains it is today kept in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, under the shelf number Coislin 285. The folio contains some of the stichera for the Vespers of 26 September, devoted to St John the Apostle. It is part of the Menaion translated at the Iviron by George the Hagiorite in the middle of the eleventh century. The text of the palimpsest fragment is very close to George's autograph (Athos, Iviron [hereafter: Ivir.], georg. 57) and preserves some stichera no longer in use in the Greek liturgy today. It has not been possible to reunite this folio with another manuscript copied at the Iviron.

## Introduction

The study of palimpsests is not a novel practice. In particular, Greek and Latin palimpsests have been studied for a long time, mostly with the limited technical means of former times.<sup>1</sup>

In the first part of the 1970s, I began gathering information on, up to that point, unknown Armenian and Georgian manuscripts, beginning of course with the ones kept in Paris. As everyone would have done, I first inspected both the unpublished and published catalogues of manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Looking into the unpublished handwritten supplement to the *Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens et géorgiens* by Frédéric Macler,<sup>2</sup> kept in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts, I detected among the fragments today stored

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<sup>1</sup> Endeavours began to increase in the eighteenth century; see Albrecht 2015, 31 and Emanuel Zingg's contribution to the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> Macler 1908.

under the shelf number géorgien 30<sup>3</sup> not only one leaf of the so-called Khanmeti lectionary of Mount Sinai – the allegedly oldest non-palimpsest codex preserved in Georgian, datable to c. the seventh century<sup>4</sup> – but also four Georgian leaves that are double palimpsests, with two different Syriac layers underneath. These leaves formerly belonged to another manuscript from St Catherine's Monastery, namely, Sin. georg. 49.<sup>5</sup>

In Robert Devreesse's printed catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the Fonds Coislin, under number 285, I found the following indication: 'in 1475, the monk Nikephoros, wanting to repair the gaps, substituted what was missing in the original text by supplying one folio torn out from an Armenian manuscript (f. 9)'.<sup>6</sup> According to the first cataloguer of the Coislin collection, Bernard de Montfaucon, codex 285 ('olim 354'; Diktyon 49426) comes from 'monasterii Constantis' on Mount Athos, which means, I suppose, the monastery of Konstamonitou.<sup>7</sup>

Upon first inspection, the folio turned out not to be an Armenian palimpsest, as supposed by Devreesse, but a Georgian one,<sup>8</sup> written in *nuskhuri* minuscules in twenty-seven lines per page. In being reused, the folio was turned upside down (180°). While this was readily ascertainable with the naked eye, deciphering the Georgian undertext and its identification was anything but an easy task.

When I started working on the leaf fifty years ago, no thesaurus of the Old Georgian language was available yet, and at that time I did not know the Byzantine liturgical texts in Georgian well enough to determine the content of the undertext. Many years afterwards, I could check the TITUS database, which aims to provide a compre-

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3 See <<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc137052>> and the digitised facsimiles listed there. All web addresses (URLs) referred to in this article were last accessed on 12 June 2024.

4 Outtier 1972. The main part of the Khanmeti lectionary codex is today kept in the University Library of Graz as ms. 2058/1; see Zammit Lupi 2023 for codicological details and Erich Renhart's contribution to the present volume on another manuscript of the Graz collection that comes from St Catherine's Monastery.

5 Outtier 2022. The work on these palimpsests is still in progress; see now Outtier 2023.

6 Devreesse 1945, 269: 'en 1475, le moine Nicéphore [...] désireux de réparer les brèches suppléa par un feuillet de parchemin arraché d'un manuscrit arménien (f. 9) ce qui manquait à la pièce du commencement' (all translations mine, unless otherwise indicated). The Greek text in the upper layer is John Chrysostom's *Fifth Homily on the Incomprehensibility of God* (PG 48, 744–748; CPG 4318). In the former catalogue by Montfaucon (1715, 401), there is no mention of the added folio, nor that it is a palimpsest.

7 Montfaucon 1715, 401. On the development of the monastery's name, see Oikonomidès 1978, 10–11.

8 The confusion between the Armenian and Georgian scripts has been quite common for quite some time and still occurs today. See Gippert et al. 2008, I-2 for the Georgian manuscripts among the New Finds of Mount Sinai bearing the (Greek) siglum AP.

hensive thesaurus of Old Georgian texts,<sup>9</sup> but I did not find any match there – probably the text was not yet included. Only recently, in December 2022, when I was asked about the leaf's contents by Victor Gysembergh, causing me to check the database again, was I now able to identify it: it is part of the translation of the *Menaion* of September worked out by George the Athonite in about the middle of the eleventh century at the Holy Monastery of Iviron.<sup>10</sup> This text had been added to TITUS in 2018 based on the critical edition by Lali Jgamaia.<sup>11</sup> More precisely, it is a fragment of the *stichera* for the Vespers of 26 September, the feast day of the Repose of John the Apostle.

Right before this paper was presented at the workshop 'Removed and Rewritten: Palimpsests and Related Phenomena from a Cross-cultural Perspective II', held in Hamburg in July 2023, I received the first multispectral photographs of this folio, thanks to the kind support of Gysembergh and the team at the Early Manuscripts Electronic Library (EMEL), directed by Michael Phelps.<sup>12</sup> Having these images<sup>13</sup> and the critical edition at hand, it was now finally possible to render the text in full. It begins on fol. 9<sup>v</sup>, continuing on fol. 9<sup>r</sup>. The leaf was clipped to fit into the Greek codex, so one to four letters are lost at the beginning of the lines on fol. 9<sup>v</sup>, and one to four letters at the end of the lines on fol. 9<sup>r</sup>; the missing letters are reconstructed in accordance with the critical text and indicated by angle brackets in the following diplomatic edition. Note that the fragment bears the quire number 28 on fol. 9<sup>v</sup>, which therefore is likely to have been the initial page of the given quire.<sup>14</sup>

9 See <<https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/texte2.htm#georgant>>.

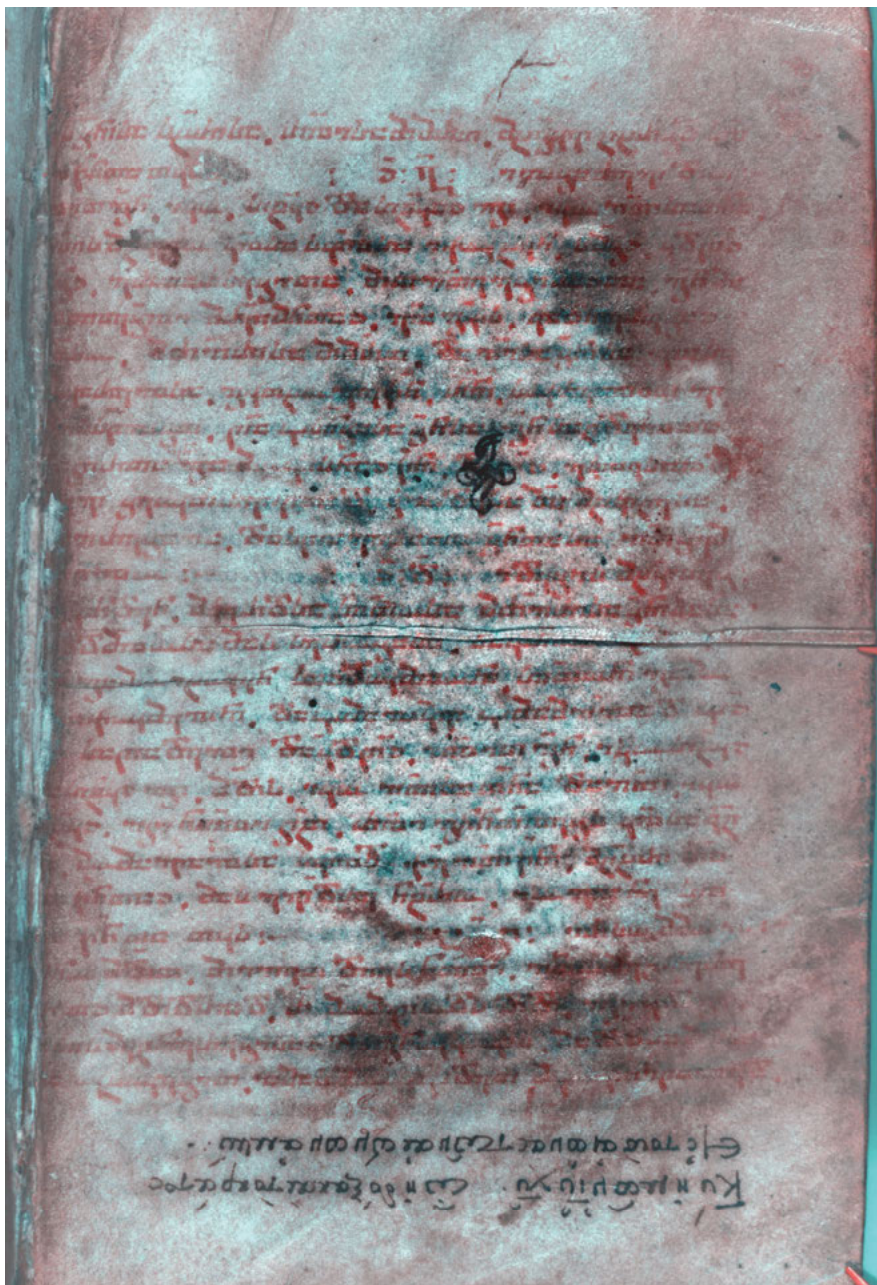
10 See Gippert, Outtier and Kim 2022, xii, as to the Athonite and his work.

11 Jgamaia 2007. See <<https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcg/cauc/ageo/liturg/gmmensep/gmmen.htm>>.

12 The project website is at <<http://emel-library.org/>>.

13 The EMEL team took the raw images at the Bibliothèque nationale de France on 27 June 2023. The red-cyan pseudo-colour images reproduced as Figs 1 and 2 were processed by Jost Gippert using the Hoku software by Keith Knox (see <<http://www.cis.rit.edu/~ktpci/Hoku.html>>) on 10 July 2023.

14 The text corresponds to Jgamaia 2007, 355a, l. 15–356b, l. 29, and 454a, l. 1–455a, l. 1. In the transcript, abbreviations are restituted and marked by round parentheses; curly braces indicate reconstructed letters within the text area, mostly from original rubrics, and angle brackets, reconstructed letters outside of the preserved text area. Hyphens are added where line breaks fall within a given word.



**Fig. 1:** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 285, fol. 9v; pseudo-colour rendering of multispectral images (UV, 365 nm and IR, 735 nm); © Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

9<sup>v</sup> ზი

<მის შ(ენ)ისა ს(ა)ხ(ი)ერისა. რ(ო)მლისა მიმ(ა)რთ. მ(ე)ოხგ(უ)ყ(ა)ვ ცხ(ო)რ(ე)ზ(ა)დ ს(უ)ლ-  
 <თ>ა ჩ(უ)ენთათჳს : {Υ}(მა) : Ἦ : {Χ}იჰბადევედით  
 <Π>(ირვე)ლითგ(ან). იყო. სიტყ(უ)აჲ და სიტყ(უ)აჲ იგი. იყო ღ(მრ)თისა თ(ა)ნა.  
 <ღ(მრ)>თისმ(ე)ტყ(უ)ელო ყ(ოვე)ლსა ს(ო)ფ(ე)ლსა იქუხენ. ს(ა)მ(ე)ზ(ა)ჲ. ყ(ოველ)ად წ(მიდა)ჲ  
 <დ(იდე)>ზ(ა)ჲ. ერთარსებითა. მით ღ(მრ)თეებისაჲთა. გ(ა)ნმა-  
 <ნ>ათლუმ(ე)ლი მ(ო)რწმ(უ)ნ(ე)თაჲ. ვ(ითარცა) გ(ა)ქ(უ)ს. კადნიერებაჲ.  
 <ნეტ>არო. მ(ო)მდ(უ)რისა მიმ(ა)რთ. და ღ(მრ)თისა შ(ენ)ისა ვ(ითარცა) ს(ა)-  
 <ყ>უარელსა. გვთხოვე ჩ(უ)ენ რ(ომელ)ნი სურვილით ვ-  
 <დ>ედ(ე)ს(ა)სწ(ა)ლ(ო)ბთ. წ(მიდა)სა ჳს(ენ)ნ(ე)ზასა შ(ენ)ისა გ(ა)ნსაცდელთა  
 <და> ჰირთაგ(ან)<sup>15</sup> გამოჳსნაჲ ჩ(უ)ენი. და წ(მიდა)ჲ ეკლესიაჲ და  
 <ი>ვევ შუჳდრველად. კლდესა ზ(ე)და მტკიცესა.  
 <მო>ძლ(უ)რებათა. და სწავლათა შ(ენ)თასა. ღ(მრ)თეებ-  
 <ო>სილო : {ხუ}ჲ {Υ}(მა) : Ἦ : {Ψ}იდებისმ(ე)ტყ(უ)ელ(ე)ბ.  
 <შ>იეგრდენ. მკერდსა ს(ა)ლ(მრ)თოსა მ(ო)მღურისა შ(ენ)ისასა  
 <ს>აჲდ(უ)მლოსა მას სერობასა. საყ(უ)არ(ე)ლო ქ(რისტ)წსო<sup>16</sup>  
 <და მ(ი)ერ> გამოიხუენ საჲდუმლონი ს(ა)ლ(მრ)თონი გამო-  
 <უ>თქუმელნი. და ჳმაჳყ(ა)ვ ჳმამლად ჳ(მა)ჲ  
 <ი>გ> საწადელი და ყ(ოველ)ად წ(მიდა)ჲ. პ(ირვე)ლითგ(ან). იყო სიტყ(უ)აჲ  
 <და> სიტყ(უ)აჲ იგი. მ(არა)დის იყო ღ(მრ)თისა თ(ა)ნა და ღ(მერ)თი იყო  
 <ს>იტყ(უ)აჲ. იგი ნათ(ე)ლი ჳ(ე)მმარიტი. რ(ომე)ლი გ(ა)ნ(ა)ნ(ა)ლუმს ყ(ოვე)ლსა კ(ა)  
 <ც>ს>ა მომავალსა ს(ო)ფლ(ა)დ. ქ(რისტ)ე ღ(მერ)თი ჩ(უ)ენი. მ(ა)ცხ(ვა)რი  
 <ს(უ)ლ>თა ჩ(უ)ენთაჲ. მას ევ(ე)დრე ნ(ე)ტ(ა)რო. იოვანე ს(უ)ლ  
 <თ>ა ჩ(უ)ენთა თჳს : – {ხუ}ჲნი : Ἦ გ(უერ)დი : {Π}ირსო მ(ა)მ(ა)ო  
 <Ἦ>ნო მ(ოვე)დით. მიიღეთ დღეს ნ(ა)თელი. ღ(მრ)თისმეცნიერე  
 <ბ>ი>საჲ მდიდრად. რ(ამეთუ) მომიწოდს დიდი იგი ქ(ა)დაგი  
 <ღ(მრ)>თისმეცნიერებისაჲ და გ(ა)ყუოფს მადლსა მისსა  
 <წ(მიდა)სა> უხუებით. ამას მოუხდეთ მჳურვალედ.

‘(towards) your good teacher, with Whom intercede for us, for the life of our souls.

3<sup>rd</sup> mode, (after) ‘Imitate’: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God. Theologian, in the whole world you burst out the all-holy Trinity, the glorification<sup>17</sup> with the consubstantiality of the divinity. An illuminator of the believers, since you have audacity, O blessed one, with your teacher and God, as beloved, beg for us who with desire celebrate your holy memory so that we may be delivered from tentations and plagues, and keep unshaken the holy Church on a firm rock by your teachings and learnings, O godly one!

Another (hymn). 4<sup>th</sup> mode, (after) ‘He glorifies’: You lent on the divine bosom of your teacher during the mysterious Last Supper, Christ’s beloved, and from there sprouted divine unutterable mysteries, and you shouted loud this desirable and all-holy sentence: In the beginning was the Word and the Word was always with God and the Word was God. He (is) the true light, who enlightens every man coming in the world, Christ our God, Saviour of our souls. Beseech Him, blessed John, for our souls.

Other (hymn)s. 1<sup>st</sup> mode plagal, (after) ‘Estimable father’: People, come, receive today the light of the knowledge of God opulently, because the great preacher of the knowledge of God calls me and divides generously his holy grace. Let us come to him fervently’

15 გ(ან) *g(a)n*) is added in smaller characters above the line; see below.

16 This word is illegible due to the parchment being folded at the given line.

17 The edition has the adverbial form დიდებად (*didebad*) ‘for glorification’, which works better here.



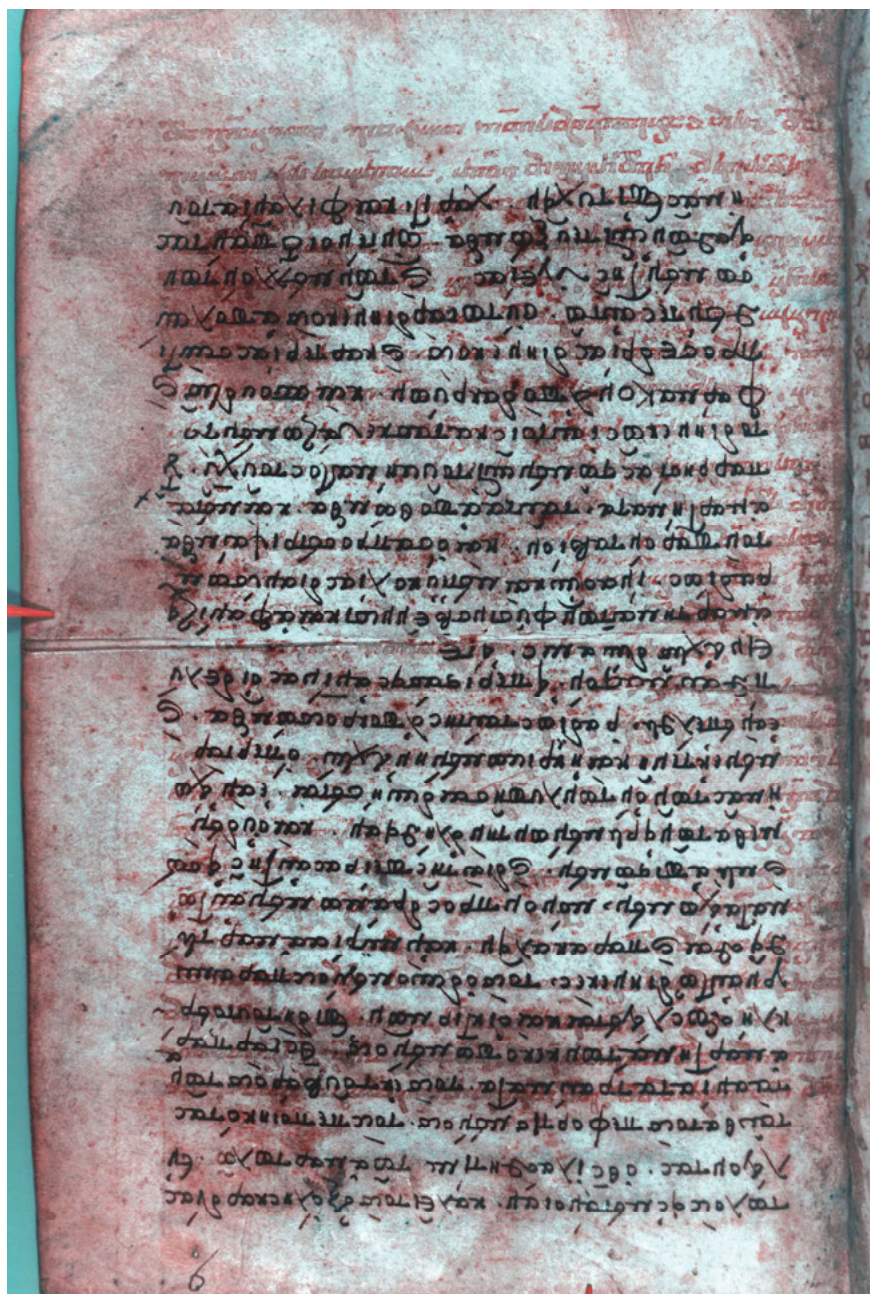


Fig. 2: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 285, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>; pseudo-colour rendering of multispectral images (UV, 365 nm and IR, 735 nm); © Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

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და გ(ა)ლბითა. ვაჟთ ღ(მრ)თისმ(ე)ტყ(უ)ლელზად მისი. და ჳ(მა)  
 ვყოთ ქ(რისტ)ს საყ(ვა)რ(ე)ლო. რ(ომე)ლი მიეყრდენ მკერდსა მ(ის)სა  
 ი(ოვან)ე მ(ეო)ხ გ(უ)ეყ(ა)ვ. ცხორებისათჳს. ს(უ)ლთა ჩ(უ)ენთასა:- <წი>-  
 დო მნათობო. ჳ(ე)შ(მარი)ტი იგი სიბრძნე ქ(რისტ)ს ღ(მრ)თ(ისა)დ შეიყ(უ)არ<ე>  
 და კუალსა მისსა შეუდეგ. რ(ა)ჟ(ამ)ს ს(უ)ლისა. შ(ე)ნისა <სი>-  
 წრფოვზამ(ან) ღირსო. და ჳორცთა შ(ე)ნთა უბიწო<ე>-  
 ზამ(ან) საყ(ვა)რ(ე)ლგყო მ(ე)უფ(ი)სა. და ნ(ა)თ(ე)ლსა მას ღ(მრ)თე<ე>ბი>-  
 ს(ა)სა შეგიყვანა. ამისთჳსცა ღ(მერ)თშ(ე)მ(ო)სილო. ყ(ოვე)ლი ქ(უ)ეყ(ა)ნ(ა)დ>  
 შ(ე)ნ გნატრის ი(ო)ვ(ან)ე მ(ეო)ხგ(უ)ეყ(ა)ვ ცხ(ო)რ(ე)ბისათ(ჳ)ს ს(უ)ლთა ჩ(უ)ეთა<სა>  
 {ჲ(მა)}ი იგი დიდი ღ(მრ)თისა ს(ი)ტყვს(ა)დ. და ძე ქუბილისად <ქრისტ)ს>  
 მ(ო)ც(ი)ქ(უ)ლი ს(უ)ლ(ი)ერსა ამას კრებასა მომიწოდს მმანო შე>-  
 მოკერბით უჴუე ტაბლასა ამას ზ(ე)ცისასა ჳ(ს)ენ(ე)ზ(ა)>-  
 სა მისსა და ვიშუებდეთ შუებითა მით ს(უ)ლ(ი)ერ<ითა>  
 და ვადიდოთ მიცვალებად მისი და მჴურვალ(ე)დ <იდა>-  
 ჭ(ა)დებდეთ ღ(მრ)თისმ(ე)ტყ(უ)ლელზისა წყ(ა)როო. ი(ოვან)ე. მ(ეო)ხ გ(უ)ეყ(ა)ვ  
 {ქ(რისტ)ს} ქ(ა)დაგო. ქ(ა)ლწ(უ)ლო ღ(მრ)თისმ(ე)ტყ(უ)ლო. შ(ე)ნ  
 ვ(ითარ)ცა ჳ(ე)შ(მარი)ტ(ი)სა <ქ(ა)ლწ(უ)ლ(ე)>-  
 ბისა ყუავილსა. ქ(ა)ლწ(უ)ლი წ(მი)დად. უბიწოდ ღ(მრ)თისმშ<ო>-  
 ბელი შეგვედრა ქ(რისტ)ემან ჯ(უარ)სა ზ(ე)და რად იყო რ(ომ)ლისა<ცა>  
 ძედ გიწოდა. ზ(ე)ცისა კ(ა)ცო. და ქ(უ)ეყ(ა)ნისა ანგ(ე)ლ(ო)ზო-  
 ნესტო ღ(მრ)თისმ(ე)ტყ(უ)ლელზისაო. წ(მი)დისა ღ(მრ)თისმშოზ(ე)ლისა<ა>  
 თ(ა)ნა მ(ა)რ(ა)დის მეოხგუეყავ. მგალობელთ<ა>  
 შ(ე)ნთათჳს ნ(ე)ტ(ა)რო {ჲ(მა)დ}: Ⴀ გ(უერ)დი {წ}აღაცათუ ღ(მრ)თისა მ(ი)ერ  
 {ქ(ო)ც(ი)ქ(უ)ლო ო(ჯვ)ლისაო ღ(მრ)თისმ(ე)ტყ(უ)ლო. და მახარებელ<ო>  
 მაღალთა მ(ა)თ სად(უ)მლოთა. გამომთქუმელ ი<ქ>-  
 მენ და სიბრძნისა. დაფარულნი. სიტყ(უ)ანი იქუზ<ენ>  
 ჳ(ი)რ(ველ)ითგ(ა)ნი. განუცხადე. მ(ო)რწმ(უ)ნეთა და მწვ(ა)ლებ<ელ>-  
 თა არა იყოდ წარსწყმიდე. და ზრ(ა)ხვანი მ(ა)თ<ანი>

‘and praise with hymns his theology, and shout to Christ! Beloved, who leant on His bosom, John, intercede for us, for the life of our souls.

O great luminary, you loved the true wisdom of Christ God and you followed Him when, worthy one, the purity of your soul and the innocence of your body made the King love you and He introduced you into the light of divinity. For this reason, godly one, the whole universe blesses you, John; intercede for us, for the life of our souls.

The great voice of God’s Word and the son of thunder, Christ’s apostle, calls me to this spiritual assembly. Brethren, gather already to the heavenly table for His memory and let us rejoice with a spiritual joy and glorify His death and cry out to Him: source of theology, John, intercede for us [for the life of our souls].

Preacher of Christ, virgin theologian, Christ entrusted to you as to a flower of true virginity the immaculate Theotokos when He was on the cross, and He called you her son. Heavenly man and terrestrial angel, trumpet of theology, intercede always with the holy Theotokos for those who sing for you, O blessed one!

2<sup>nd</sup> mode plagal, (after) ‘Although by God’: Lord’s apostle, theologian and evangelist, you expressed the high mysteries and you burst out the hidden words of wisdom. You revealed ‘In the beginning’ to the believers, and you destroyed the ‘He was not’ of the heretics, and their thoughts’

Some questions arise. Given that the stichera are usually the most variable part of the canon for the commemoration of a saint, the first question is to what extent these hymns are still in use in the service today. Three of the stichera can indeed be identified. One is the first sticheron, of which only the end is preserved here and which is attributed to Theophanes the Branded, according to Jgamaia's edition;<sup>18</sup> it corresponds to the Greek hymn Τὴν τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἀκρότητα, attributed to the same author (*MR* I, 260). Similarly, the sticheron of the 4<sup>th</sup> mode, unassigned in the edition, can be identified with the hymn Ἀναπεσῶν ἐν τῷ στήθει τοῦ Διδασκάλου Χριστοῦ of Byzantios (*MR* I, 260), and the sticheron of the 2<sup>nd</sup> mode plagal, indicated as a work by Leontius (of Constantinople) in the Georgian edition,<sup>19</sup> with the hymn Ἀπόστολε Χριστοῦ, Εὐαγγελιστὰ Θεολόγε attributed to John the Monk (*MR* I, 261). The five other stichera are unknown in the Greek liturgical books used today; this fact underlines the great significance of George's translation for the history of the Byzantine liturgical monuments.

The next question is: how to assess the quality of the text? In her edition, Lali Jgamaia published, along with the critical edition, the wording of George the Athonite's autograph (Ivir. georg. 57, a selective sticherarion from September to May),<sup>20</sup> which aligns with our folio from fol. 5<sup>v</sup>, l. 25 to fol. 6<sup>v</sup>, l. 3. In a few readings, our folio differs from the critical text of the edition; e.g. in adding მ(არა)დის (*maradis*) 'always' in the quotation of John 1:1 (fol. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 19).<sup>21</sup> The reading of the palimpsest here agrees with that of the autograph (Ivir. georg. 57, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>, l. 6; see Fig. 3), thus suggesting that this is the original wording and that the critical text should be emended accordingly. A peculiar case is the phrase განსაცდელთა და ჭირთა გამოჯსნაჲ ჩუენი (*gansacdelta da čirta gamoqsna čueni*), literally, 'our deliverance of tentations and plagues', appearing in the critical edition in the second sticheron.<sup>22</sup> Here, the autograph contains the extended form ჭირთა გ(ა)ნ (*čirta gan*), which yields the better expression 'deliverance *from* the plagues' (Ivir. georg. 57, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>, l. 33), and this is again confirmed by the palimpsest (fol. 9<sup>v</sup>, l. 10), albeit in a peculiar way: the postposition გ(ა)ნ (*gan*) 'from' was here added secondarily above the line, thus witnessing both traditions at the same time. We may therefore conclude that our palimpsest fragment stems from a manuscript which had a very good text.

<sup>18</sup> Jgamaia 2007, 354b, l. 27: თეოფანე.

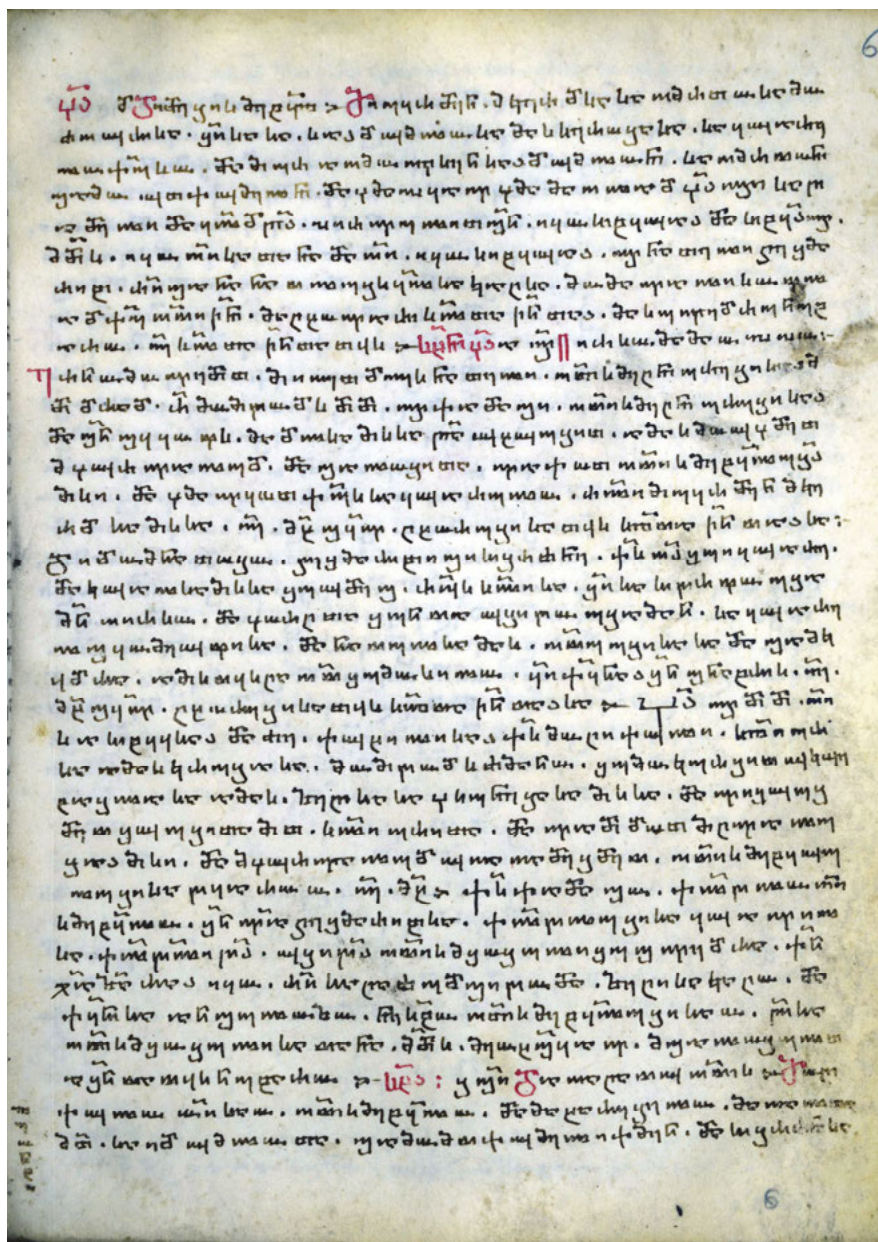
<sup>19</sup> Jgamaia 2007, 356b, l. 13: ლეონტი.

<sup>20</sup> Jgamaia 2007, 453a–454b. See Gippert, Outtier and Kim 2022, 517–523 as to the codex.

<sup>21</sup> The word is missing in Jgamaia 2007, 355b, l. 20.

<sup>22</sup> Jgamaia 2007, 355b, l. 2.





**Fig. 3:** Athos, Ivir. georg. 57, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>; © Ιερά Μονή Ιβήρων Αγίου Όρους.



The last question is whether it is possible to find out which codex the palimpsest folio was taken from. As a possible candidate we might think of Ivir. georg. 46, a selective all-year Menaion, which is defective in its initial part, today beginning with 23 October. Considering that sticheraria usually begin with September and that a few other fragments have been identified on Mount Athos that might stem from the missing part of Ivir. georg. 46,<sup>23</sup> our palimpsest might well fit into this lacuna, and the outer dimensions (Ivir. georg. 46: 230 × 175 mm; our folio: 223 × 153 mm) and the layout (Ivir. georg. 46: 28–31 lines per page; our folio: 27 lines) seem to support this. However, Ivir. georg. 46 usually has more letters per line than our palimpsest (37–43 vs 31–34 letters), and the hands can hardly be regarded as identical (see Fig. 4, showing Ivir. georg. 46, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>). What is more important is the quire number ԵԻ (= XXVIII), which appears centred at the top of fol. 9<sup>v</sup> of our fragment; today, Ivir. georg. 46 begins with quire number VI, thus leaving no space for more than five missing quires before it, and its quire numbers appear not in the centre but in the right corner of the top of the first recto (and, additionally, the lower left corner of the last verso) of each quire; furthermore, they are not written in bold *asomtavruli* majuscules but in thin *nuskhuri* minuscules. The idea that Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 285, fol. 9 stems from Ivir. georg. 46 must therefore be abandoned. Other Georgian sticheraria that cover the month of September can also be ruled out, as they cover 26 September, partly with the same stichera.<sup>24</sup>

To conclude, it is interesting to note that the monastery neighbouring Konstamonitou, Zographou, also possesses a (half-)folio taken from a Georgian manuscript of the Iviron, namely, the famous Oshki Bible, dated 978 (Ivir. georg. 1),<sup>25</sup> as well as a folio taken from Ivir. georg. 51, a Menaion of December and January, datable to 1080–1081.<sup>26</sup> A folio that might have derived from Ivir. georg. 46 has been detected bound as a flyleaf to the Greek Gospel manuscript no. 12 (formerly

<sup>23</sup> These portions concern 8–13, 21–22, and 24 September. See Gippert, Outtier and Kim 2022, 441–442.

<sup>24</sup> This is true of Ivir. georg. 71, fols 13<sup>f</sup>–16<sup>v</sup> (with the end of the first and beginning of the second sticheron on fol. 15<sup>v</sup>, ll. 11–21, including the reading ჰორთა ჳ(ა)6 in l. 20; one folio is missing between fols 15<sup>v</sup> and 16<sup>f</sup>, the information in Gippert, Outtier and Kim 2022, 608 must be corrected accordingly); Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, georg. 124, fols 102<sup>f</sup>–106<sup>v</sup> (with our passage extending from fol. 104<sup>f</sup>, l. 15 to fol. 104<sup>v</sup>, l. 23 (with ჰორთა on fol. 104<sup>f</sup>, l. 21); and Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, georg. 137, fols 1<sup>v</sup>–4<sup>v</sup> (with the sticheron in the 2<sup>nd</sup> mode plagal contained on fol. 2<sup>v</sup>, ll. 18–26).

<sup>25</sup> See Gippert, Outtier and Kim 2022, 2 as to the fragment containing nos 2.10–19 and 24–32.

<sup>26</sup> See Gippert, Outtier and Kim 2022, 472 as to the fragment (covering 5 December).

48; Diktyon 29412) of the monastery of Philotheou,<sup>27</sup> the monastery neighbouring the Iviron, and a set of eight fragments from the Iviron comprising sixty-three folios found their way into the monastery of Simonopetra, from which they have recently been returned to the Iviron.<sup>28</sup>

How and when were these folios removed from the Iviron, and how did some of them come to be rebound in Greek manuscripts? It has been reported that during the Turkish occupation of Mount Athos, the library was the object of vandalism, resulting in the disintegration of many codices.<sup>29</sup> Even as late as the 1980s, after the Georgian collection of the Iviron had been microfilmed, Niphon, a hierodeacon of the Koutloumousiou *kellion* of St Euthymios, was busy binding Georgian manuscripts of the Iviron, and for some reason or other, he left out some leaves, which found their way into other Athonite monasteries.<sup>30</sup> The Georgian palimpsests preserved at the Iviron itself have been rewritten in Georgian,<sup>31</sup> but in the Greek-determined environment of Mount Athos, we may not be surprised to find palimpsests with a second layer in Greek, too.

## Abbreviations

CPG = Maurits Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 2: *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1974.

MR = Μηναία τοῦ ὁλοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, 6 vols, Rome: s.n., 1888–1902.

PG = Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, 140 vols, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1857–1866.

TITUS = *Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien*, <<https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de>>.

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<sup>27</sup> See Lambros 1895, 155, no. \*1811 for a rough description of the manuscript, with no indication of the palimpsest flyleaves, and Gippert, Outtier and Kim 2022, 441 as to the fragment (covering 21–22 September).

<sup>28</sup> See Gippert, Outtier and Kim 2022, lv.

<sup>29</sup> See Gippert, Outtier and Kim 2022, xxi.

<sup>30</sup> See Gippert, Outtier and Kim 2022, lxiii.

<sup>31</sup> See Gippert, Outtier and Kim 2022, 450–456 as to Ivir. georg. 47; 534–539 as to Ivir. georg. 59; and 683–687 as to Ivir. georg. 86. For further information, see Eka Kvirkvelia's contribution to the present volume.



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