

The Old Georgian Version of the Miracle of St George, the Princess and the Dragon: Text, Commentary and Translation

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The frequently-repeated assertion that the land of Georgia and its people were named after St George goes back at least to the time of the Crusades.¹ The etymology, despite its appeal, is inaccurate: The alloethnonym *Georgian* and its West-European equivalents are derived from Persian *Gurj*.² At the same time, it cannot be doubted that the figure of St George enjoys exceptional popularity among Georgians. Jacques de Vitry, the 12th-century Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, noted that the medieval Georgian military aristocracy revered George as their "patron and standard-bearer",³ and perhaps the most emphatic confirmation of the special honor accorded to this saint is the number of Georgian churches dedicated to him. In his mid-18th c. "Geographical description of the Kingdom of Georgia", Vaxusht'i Bagrat'ioni declared that "there are no peaks or high hills upon which there have not been built churches to St George".⁴ This can scarcely be deemed an exaggeration: out of a sampling of over two thousand Orthodox churches from all regions of Georgia, over a third were dedicated to St George.⁵ More Georgian kings were named after him than any other saint, and Georgian royals were depicted invoking his intercession.⁶ Mirroring the immense popularity of George as patron saint of the military aristocracy is the role played by figures bearing

¹ E.g. W. Haubrichs, *Georgslied und Georgslegende im frühen Mittelalter. Text und Rekonstruktion*. (Königstein, 1980); S. Riches, Samantha. *St George. Hero, martyr and myth*. (Stroud, 2000) 1; G. Morgan, *St George*. (Harpenden UK, 2006) 10.

² J. Assfalg, 'Georgien', *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* XII: 389–393 (1984); E. Khintibidze, 'A New Theory on the Etymology of the Designations of the Georgians', in Wolfram Bublitz, Manfred von Roncador, Heinz Vater (editors) *Philologie, Typologie und Sprachstruktur: Festschrift für Winfried Boeder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt am Main, 2002).

³ "There is also in the East another Christian people, who are very warlike and valiant in battle These men are called Georgians [*Georgiani nuncupatur*], because they especially revere and worship St. George, whom they make their patron and standard-bearer in their fight with the infidels, and they honour him above all other saints" (Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, c. 1180; transl. D. M. Lang, *Lives and legends of the Georgian saints*. (New York, 1976) 11).

⁴ Vaxusht'i Bagrat'ioni, *Ayc'era sameposa Sakartvelosa* (Description of the Kingdom of Georgia). In S. Q'auxchishvili, (ed.) *Kartlis cxovreba, IV*. (Tbilisi, 1973) 40.

⁵ Only Mary, the Mother of God, has comparable popularity, the two of them together accounting for a majority of the church names recorded in my database. In the much shorter list of Georgian churches compiled by M. F. Brosset, *Description géographique de la Géorgie, par le tsarévitch Wakhoucht. Publiée d'après l'original autographe par M. Brosset*. (St. Petersburg, 1842) 484-7, George and Mary likewise make up the majority of patrons, although Mary outnumbers George (79 to 52, vs. 114 others).

⁶ Several Georgian royals, including Queen Tamar, are portrayed praying to George in a fresco at Betania (A. Eastmond, *Royal imagery in medieval Georgia*. (University Park, PA: 1998) 163). King David the Builder is depicted alongside the saint in a 12th-century icon at the St Catherine's monastery in Sinai (D. K'ldiašvili, 'L'icône de Saint Georges du Mont Sinai avec le portrait de Davit Aymašenebeli', *Revue des Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes* 5: 107-128 (1989); N. Ševčenko, 'The Representation of Donors and Holy Figures on four Byzantine Icons' *Δελτίον XAE* 17: 157-166 (Athens, 1994)), and George is also said to have appeared to him at the Battle of Didgori in 1121 (*Kartlis cxovreba* I: 341).

his name in the vernacular religious systems of Georgia and adjacent regions. In this paper, my focus will be one well-known episode from the life of St George, and the Old Georgian manuscript which contains its oldest known attestation.

The earliest texts referring to St George, dating back to the 5th c., describe his martyrdom, and the long sequence of torments to which he is subjected by a king named Dadianos or Diocletian.⁷ Not long afterwards, no later than the 6th-7th c., George is portrayed as an aggressor rather than a victim, spearing a dragon or serpent.⁸ On the outer wall of the Armenian church of the Holy Cross at Aghtamar/Aġt'amar (built 915-921), George is represented alongside two other mounted military saints, but his spear is directed at a man-like figure rather than a dragon. The motif of George killing a man in royal dress, sometimes identified as the emperor Diocletian, subsequently appeared in icons, frescoes and bas-reliefs throughout Georgia. One frequent variant of this motif pairs George slaying a king with a facing figure of St Theodore spearing a dragon, on either side of the church entrance, e.g. on the façade of Nik'orc'minda in Rach'a (c. 1010-1014); and the rear inner walls of churches in Lat'ali (c. 1140) and Ipari (10th-11th c.) in Upper Svaneti.

Over the centuries, miracle narratives are added to the St George cycle. The best-known of these, however, emerges comparatively late.⁹ From the 12th c. onward, the story of George saving the daughter of a pagan king, who is about to be eaten by a dragon, is attested in Greek manuscripts. Not long afterwards, the miracle of the princess and the dragon appears in Latin — including the celebrated *Legenda aurea* — and numerous other languages.¹⁰ The oldest known attestation of this narrative, however, is in an 11th-century Georgian manuscript now held in the library of the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem, under the catalogue number Jer. Geo. 2.

In their respective studies of the legend of St George and the dragon, the Russian scholars Veselovskij and Rystenکو attributed its emergence to a synthesis of Christian representations of the triumph of

⁷ D. Detlefsen, 'Über eine griechischen Palmpest mit Bruchstücken einer Legende vom heil. Georg' *Sitzungsberichte der phil-hist. Classe der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 27: 383-404. (Wien, 1858); Haubrichs *Georgslied*; Haubrichs, W. 1984. 'Georg, Heiliger' *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* XII: 380-385; H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des Saints Militaires*. (Paris, 1909); K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung*. (München, 1911); S. Riches, St George as a male virgin martyr, in Samantha J. E. Riches and Sarah Salih (eds.), *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women, and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, 65-85 (Routledge, 2002).

⁸ Early representations of a mounted, dragon-slaying St George from the South Caucasus include the reliefs on the Brdadzori and Xožori stele in Georgia, both dated to the 6th or 7th c (N. Iamanidze, 'The Dragon-Slayer Horseman from its Origins to the Seljuks: Missing Georgian Archaeological Evidence', in N. Asutay-Effenberger/F. Daim (eds.) *Double Headed Eagle - Byzantium and the Seljuks between the late 11th and 13th Centuries in Anatolia* (Mainz, 2014) p.111-127; N. Iamanidze, *Saints cavaliers. Culte et images en Géorgie aux IVe-XIe siècles*. (Wiesbaden, 2016).

⁹ Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques* 74-75; Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg* 295-301.

¹⁰ E.g. Church Slavonic by the 13-14th c; A. V. Rystenکو, *Legenda o Sv. Georgij i Drakon v vizantijskoj i slavjanorusskoj literaturax*. (Odessa, 1909) 23-26.

Good over Evil, and the ancient Iranian motif of a hero battling a dragon, expressed in the language of Byzantine hagiography by a monastic author.¹¹ Drawing upon contemporary descriptions of the St George cult in the Caucasus — in church art as well as vernacular belief — Veselovskij and Rysteneko identified Georgia, situated at the interface of the Byzantine and Iranian cultural zones, as a probable site of emergence of the princess-and-dragon narrative. This intriguing but speculative hypothesis received important support from the art historian E. Privalova, author of a monographic study of the frescoes in the 12th-c. church at Pavnisi in central Georgia.¹² Privalova's interpretation of scenes from the life and martyrdom of St George, as depicted at Pavnisi and other Georgian churches from the 11th to 13th centuries, was guided by her familiarity with the hagiographic literature, including Jer Geo 2, to which she accords special attention. Several phrases from the manuscript are quoted in her analysis of the illustrations of George, the princess and the dragon, and she also provides a Russian summary of the narrative in Jer Geo 2.¹³ Privalova's work took pride of place in C. Walter's discussion of the princess-and-dragon miracle, which includes an English translation of Privalova's summary.¹⁴ Kuehn's recent work on the same motif draws on both Privalova and Walter, leading her to reinforce the hypothesis sketched out by Veselovskij and Rysteneko over a century ago.¹⁵ After discussing the "iconographic semantics of the equestrian dragon-fighter ... in its heroic as well as saintly incarnation, [which] owe much to ancient prototypes that germinated in the syncretistic melting pot of the great Near Eastern religions", Kuehn concludes that "it is therefore very possible that the miracle narrative of Saint George and the dragon originated in the Transcaucasian region, probably in Georgia, from where his cult and his fame spread throughout the Near East, as well as Europe".¹⁶

In view of the significance of the earliest known textual witness of the princess-and-dragon miracle for investigations into its origins, I will discuss the Old Georgian text from Jer Geo 2 here, as well as provide a transcription and translation. In upcoming work on vernacular and elite representations of St George in Transcaucasia, I intend to address the question of the site of origin of the narrative.

¹¹ A. N. Veselovskij, *Razyskanija v oblasti russkix duxovnyx stixov, II. Sv. Georgij v legende, pesne i obrjade*. (St. Petersburg, 1880) 70-71; and Rysteneko, *Legenda* 456-474.

¹² E. L. Privalova, *Pavnisi*. (Tbilisi, 1977).

¹³ Privalova, *Pavnisi* 73.

¹⁴ C. Walter, 'The Origins of the Cult of Saint George' *Revue des études byzantines* 53: 295-326 (1995); C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*. (Oxford, 2003) 140-141.

¹⁵ S. Kuehn, *The Dragon in Medieval East Christian and Islamic Art*. (Leiden, 2011) 109-110; S. Kuehn, 'The Dragon Fighter: The Influence of Zoroastrian Ideas on Judaeo-Christian and Islamic Iconography' in *Zoroastrianism in the Levant*, ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies 26. 1/2, 65-101 (2014)

¹⁶ Kuehn, 'The Dragon Fighter', 71. See also M. White, 'The rise of the dragon in middle Byzantine hagiography', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32:2: 149-167; 152 (2008), and P. Armstrong, 'Ethnicity and Inclusiveness in the Development of Religious Cults: Saint Christopher the Dog-Headed and Saint George', K. Durak & I. Jevtić, eds. *Identity and the other in Byzantium*. Koc University Stavros Niarchos Foundation Center for Antique and Byzantine Studies, 71-82, 76 (2019).

II. The composition of the Old Georgian narrative of the miracle of St George, the princess and the dragon. Before its transfer to the Patriarchate library, the manuscript belonged to the nearby Monastery of the Holy Cross, which for centuries was a major locus of Georgian monasticism and manuscript production, especially after the rebuilding of the monastery in the 11th c.¹⁷ The manuscript Jer Geo 2 has been inspected and described on several occasions.¹⁸ It is a parchment codex of 268 folios, inscribed in the ecclesiastical *nusxuri* script, with numerous abbreviations (*karagma*), ascribed by Blake to the 11th c.¹⁹ The text comprises 23 sections, mostly saints' lives, including the biography of Grigol Xandzeli.²⁰ The second-to-last segment, on folios 238r-244r, consists of three miracle narratives featuring St George: the princess and the dragon (BHG 687), the overcoming of a demon (BHG 687k-m), and the tale of Theopistos and his lost oxen (BHG 689).²¹ The narratives of the first two miracles — the only ones ascribed to St George during his lifetime — form a continuous text in Jer Geo 2, as well as several Greek manuscripts;²² according to the texts, the demon miracle took place immediately after that of the princess-and-dragon, as George was on his way home. The Theopistos miracle, attributed to St George after his martyrdom, is, on the other hand, preceded by an introduction (“Hear, o brothers, another wondrous miracle of the glorious arch-martyr George ...”) similar to that introducing the princess-and-dragon narrative. Because of the narrative and textual continuity of the princess-and-dragon and demon miracles, both will be discussed and translated here, although the primary focus will be on the first of the two. I intend to examine the Old Georgian recension of the Theopistos miracle in a separate paper. In the following sections, segments of the princess and dragon miracle, and also that of the demon, will be referenced by their line numbers in the appended texts.

2.1. Characteristics of the Old Georgian version

(1). *Proximity to other Georgian versions.* I have compared several later attestations of the princess-and-dragon miracle narrative in the Old Georgian corpus to that in Jer Geo 2. The edition of the narrative prepared by Q'ubaneishvili, on the basis of three mss from the 13th-14th cc. (Q-762, H-600, H-1760), follows Jer Geo 2 almost word for word: the handful of divergent readings are insignificant,

¹⁷ L. Menabde, *dzveli kartuli mc'erlobis k'erebi, 2: dzveli kartuli mc'erlobis k'erebi sazyvargaret* (Centers of ancient Georgian literary activity abroad). (Tbilisi, 1980) 69-139; Y. Tchekhanovets, *Gruzinskaja cerkov' na Svjatoj Zemle*. (Moskva, 2012); Y. Tchekhanovets, *The Caucasian Archaeology of the Holy Land. Armenian, Georgian and Albanian communities between the fourth and eleventh centuries*. (Brill, 2018) 208.

¹⁸ Notably by A. Cagareli, A. 1888. Pamjatniki gruzinskoj stariny v Svjatoj Zemle i na Sinae. *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 10. (St Petersburg, 1888) 172); N. Ja. Marr, *Žitie Sv. Grigorija Xandztijskago. Teksty i Razyskanija po Armjano-Gruzinskoj Filologii* VII. (St Petersburg, 1911) XXXVIII-LXX); and R. P. Blake, 'Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens', *Revue de l'orient chrétien* 23: 1-157: 357-362 (1923).

¹⁹ Ascribed by Blake (1923: 357) to the 11th c., a dating accepted by Z. Sarjveladze, *kartuli salit'erat'uro enis ist'oriis šesavali* (An introduction to the history of the Georgian literary language). (Tbilisi, 1984) 598; and E. Gabidzashvili, *kartuli natargmni hagiograpia*. (Tbilisi, 2004) 365. A photographic reproduction of Jer Geo 2 is available at the Library of Congress web site (<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271072235-jo/>)

²⁰ edited by Marr, *Žitie Sv. Grigorija*.

²¹ F. Halkin, 1957. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, I: 217-8 (Société des Bollandistes, 1957).

²² Joh. B. Aufhauser, *Das Drachenvunder des Heiligen Georg*. (Leipzig, 1911) 26)

except for two cases where I believe the Q'ubaneishvili edition preserves readings I would attribute to the antecedent of Jer Geo 2.²³ One of these serves to correct a misspelling, and the other involves a lexical replacement (*vedrebay* “plea” for *qmay* “voice” in #81; see below). The text of the miracle in Sabinin is more divergent, and includes an extensive interpolation after #34, at the end of the king’s lament.²⁴ The morphology and orthography conform to the style of 18th- early-19th c. written Georgian, but in most respects the text is very close to Jer Geo 2 and the Q’ubaneishvili and Gabidzashvili editions.

(2). *Intertextuality*: As Rystenko had surmised with respect to the Greek version, the Old Georgian narrative of the princess-and-dragon miracle emerged in a context of monastic literacy.²⁵ The text abounds in references to the Old and New Testaments, and possibly other ecclesiastical sources. Some such scriptural echoes could have been commonplaces used without reference to their source, e.g. the description of the grief-stricken king dressing his daughter “in royal purple” (*p’orpiri sameupoy*; cf Song of Songs 7:6) and “adorning her like a bride” (*šeamk’o igi vitarca sdzali*; cf. Isaiah 61:10). The overall distribution of the Biblical quotations within the narrative, especially the most explicit ones, strongly implies however that the author deployed these references strategically, in order to signal the Christian identity and holiness of the principal character. The Biblical references are concentrated in the words put in the mouth of St George, especially in the following two scenes: (i) *George’s prayer to God for help subduing the dragon* (##73-81). After interrogating the princess about her identity and the deities worshipped by her people, George addresses a prayer to God, much of which consists in direct or near-direct citations from the Old Georgian translations of the Scriptures. Exact or near-exact quotations are marked with a double underline, whereas close but not exact citations are marked with a single underline.

	Georgian miracle narrative	translation	scriptural source	translation
73	და აღიხილნა თუაღნი თვისნი წმიდამან გიორგი ღმრთისა მიმართ და თქუა:	And saint George raised his eyes toward God and said:		
74	ღმერთო <u>რომელი ჰზი ქერობინთა</u> <u>ზედა და ჰხედავ უფსკრულთა</u>	God, <u>you who sit above the</u> <u>cherubim and look at the</u> <u>abyss,</u>	Daniel 3:55 კურთხეულ სარ შენ, რომელი ჰზი ქერობინთა და ჰხედავ უფსკრულთა	Blessed are you, <u>who sit</u> <u>with the cherubim and</u> <u>look at the abyss</u>
75	რომელი-ეგე <u>სარ და ჰკვი</u> <u>ჰეშმარატი ღმერთი,</u>	you who <u>are and remain</u> the true God,	Heirmologion (ms A603) რომელი იყო, <u>არს და ჰკვი</u> მარადის უცვალებელად, დიდებული სამება	Who was, <u>is and remains</u> always unchanging, the glorious Trinity

²³ S. Q’ubaneišvili, *dzveli kartuli lit’erat’uris krest’omatia* I. (Tbilisi, 1946). An edition of the miracle narrative also appears in E. Gabidzashvili, *c’minda giorgi dzvel kartul mc’erlobaši*. (Tbilisi, 1991), 75-83), based on the mss Jer Geo 2, Q-762 and H-600. Wherever there is a divergence, however, Gabidzashvili almost invariably follows the later mss rather than Jer Geo 2.

²⁴ G. Sabinin, *sakartvelos samotxe: sruli ayc’eray ywac’lta da vnebata sakartwēlos c’midata*. (St. Peterburg, 1882) 59-62); K’. K’ek’elidze, ‘godebis žanri da glovis c’esi dzvels kartuls lit’erat’uraši’, *TSU Šromebi* 33: 73-106 (1948).

²⁵ Rystenko, *Legenda* 456-7.

76	შენ თავადმან უწენი გულის ზრახვანი კაცთანი	you yourself know the <u>heart-</u> <u>thoughts</u> of men,	Lk 9: 47 ხოლო იესუ იცნოდა გულისზრახვანი მათნი	But Jesus knew their <u>heart-thoughts</u>
77	ძალნი აჩუენენ სასწაულნი საკვრველნი მონისა შენისა მოსეს მიერ, აჩუენე ჩემზედაცა წყალობა შენი,	you showed power and miracles and wonders through your servant Moses, show your mercy through me also,		
78	და ყავ ჩემთანა სასწაულ კეთილ	and <u>make a good miracle</u> <u>with me.</u>	Ps 85:17 ყავ ჩემ თანა სასწაულ კეთილ	<u>Make a good miracle</u> <u>with me.</u>
79	და დამამორჩილე ბოროტი ესე მკეცი ქუეშე ფერჯთა ჩემთა,	And <u>make</u> this evil beast <u>submit to me beneath my</u> <u>feet,</u>	I Corinth 15: 27 რამეთუ ყოველივე დამორჩილა ქუეშე ფერჯთა მისთა	For he <u>made</u> everything <u>submit beneath his feet</u>
80	რათა ცნან ყოველთა, ვითარმედ ჩემთანა ხარ!	that all will know that you are with me!		
81	და მოიწია ჳმა ზეცით რომელი ეტყოდა: გიორგი შეისმინა ვედრება შენი ყურთა ოვლისათა, ყავ რადცა გნებავს, რამეთუ მე შენთანა ვარ!	And <u>there came a voice from</u> <u>above, saying: George, your</u> <u>plea has been heard</u> by the ears of the Lord, <u>do what you</u> <u>wish</u> , for I am with you!	Life of St Eustochius & companions: ჳმა მოიწია ზეცით, მეტყველო: შეისმინა ვედრება თქუენი და გეყო თქუენ ვითარცა ინებეთ	<u>A voice came from</u> <u>above, saying: Your plea</u> <u>has been heard, it was</u> <u>done to you as you</u> <u>wished</u>

Alongside the biblical quotations are passages attested in other genres of ecclesiastic writing.²⁶ The characterization of God as “you who are and remain [*xar da hgie*] the True God” echoes the same conjunction of two verbs of being — the copula (2sg *xar*; 3sg *ars*), and a now-obsolete verb which indicated stable, perduring existence (2sg *hgie*; 3sg *hgies*) — as is found in the 10th-c. liturgical codex A603 (cf also Hebrews 7:3);²⁷ cf. Greek *ho ōn kai diamenōn* in the corresponding passage in some of the manuscripts collected by Aufhauser.²⁸ The voice from heaven is also marked intertextually. One finds a close parallel in the martyrdom narrative of St Eustochius and his family,²⁹ although the final part of the quotation has been inverted: “it was done to you as you wished” (*geq’o tkven vitarca inebet*) rather than “do what you wish” (*q’av rayca gnebavs*).

(ii) *George addresses the people of Lasia after subduing the dragon* (##99-101). After the princess leads the dragon on a leash into the city, George demands that the people of Lasia believe in Jesus Christ, and in return he “will cause the dragon to die”. The initial portion of his speech references the words of Moses before the miracle of the parting of the Red Sea (Exodus 14:13). This citation might well have been motivated by the earlier mention of God’s having shown “power and miracles and wonders through your servant Moses” (#77). The verb mo=v-a-k’wd-in-o in #100 is the causative of mo=k’wd-eb-i-s “dies”, and means literally “I will cause sb/sthg to die”. In the Old Testament, this verb is employed to describe execution on judicial or religious grounds (cf. English “put to death”), or the causing of death by indirect means. After the king and the people confess their faith in the Christian God, George slays the dragon with his sword, but through the marked choice of

²⁶ The quotation of Psalm 85 in #78 might also echo a citation of the same passage in the *Life of Grigol Xandzteli* (§69), which is included in the same manuscript (Marr, *Žitie Sv. Grigorija*). Furthermore, in this context, St George is mentioned explicitly: “Let us call on St George and all the saints, and may the Lord make a good miracle (*da q’os upalman sasc’aul k’etil*)”.

²⁷ G. K’ik’nadze, *Nevmirebuli dzlisp’irni (xelnac’eri A-603)*. (Tbilisi, 1982).

²⁸ Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 63.

²⁹ K. K’ek’elidze, *Et’iudebi dzveli kartuli lit’erat’uris ist’oriidan* VI. (Tbilisi, 1960) 155-9; Gabidzashvili, *kartuli natargmni hagiografia* 187-8.

the causative mo=v-a-k'wd-in-o rather than the expected mo=v-k'l-a “I will kill”, an explicit link is made to a dragon-slaying incident from the (apocryphal) Old Testament, the tale of Bel and the Dragon (Daniel 14). Daniel causes the death of a dragon “without blades or clubs”, by feeding it cakes made of pitch and hair, but like St George, he slays it in the presence of a king and his people in order to convince them of the power of the true God.

	Georgian miracle narrative	translation	scriptural source	translation
99	ხოლო წმიდა იგი ეტყოდა მათ: ნუ გეშინინ არამედ <u>დევით და იხილოთ მაცხოვარება ღმრთისა</u>	but the saint said to them: Fear not, rather <u>stand and you will see God's deliverance</u> .	Exod 14:13 AKCS თქუა მოსე ერის მიმართ: ... <u>დევით და იხილოთ მაცხოვარება უფლისა მიერი</u>	Moses said to the people: ... <u>Stand and you will see the deliverance</u> by the Lord
100	ჰრქუა მათ: გრწმენინ ოფუალი ჩუენი იესოვ ქრისტე ჭეშმარიტი ღმერთი ყოვლად ძლიერი და <u>მოვაკუდინო ვეშაპი ესე,</u>	He said to them: Believe in my lord Jesus Christ the all-powerful true God, and <u>I will make the dragon die</u> .	Daniel 14:25 BS ხოლო შენ, მეფეო, მომეც ველმწიფება და <u>მოვაკუდინო ვეშაპი</u> თვნიერ მანვლთა და კუერთხთასა.	But you, King, give me permission and <u>I will make the dragon die</u> , without blades or clubs
101	და არა მოიკლნეთ მის მიერ.	and you will not be killed by it		

(iii) *Martyrdom narratives*: The author of the princess-and-dragon text was clearly familiar with accounts of the martyrdom of St George. The names of the pagan gods worshipped by the people of Lasia (Herakles, Apollo, Skamandros and Artemis, #71) also appear in the martyrdom narratives in Old Georgian, Greek, Armenian, and other languages.³⁰ The assurance by the voice from heaven that “I am with you” (#81) might also represent an echo of the martyrdom text,³¹ as does the phrase (itself a reference to the song of the young men in the furnace in Daniel 3:55) “you who sit above the cherubim”.³²

(iv) *Secular dragon-combat narratives*: Less certain, but probable, is the familiarity of the author with contemporary secular texts describing knightly heroes fighting dragons. The best known of these early chivalrous romances is the *Amiran-Darejaniani*, which was already in circulation at the time of Shota Rustaveli (c. 1200), and which was sufficiently popular that scenes from it were painted on the outer walls of a church in the Svanetian commune Lenjer.³³ Numerous dragon-combat scenes appear throughout the *Amiran-Darejaniani*, as do royal daughters, although they function primarily as trophies for the most valiant knights. Also of possible relevance is the Iranian epic *Shah-nameh*, composed by Firdawsi around the year 1000, and soon thereafter circulating among the Georgian elite. One of the key episodes of the epic is the defeat by the hero Fereidun (Geo. Pridon) of the sinister Zahhak (Geo. Zaak), who has two serpents growing from his shoulders, which feed on human brains. In both the *Amiran-Darejaniani* and the Old Georgian recensions of the princess-and-dragon miracle, the word designating the dragon is vešap’-; the same word designates Zaak’s brain-eating

³⁰ Gabidzashvili, *c'minda giorgi* 147; Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg* 6, 11, 22; P. Peeters, ‘Une Passion Arménienne de S Georges’, *Analecta bollandiana* 28: 249-271 (1909).

³¹ Gabidzashvili, *c'minda giorgi* 59; Krumbacher 1911: 8.

³² Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg* 25; Peeters, ‘Une Passion Arménienne’ 258.

³³ E. Taq'aishvili, *Arkeologiuri eksp'edicia lečxum-svanetši 1910 c'els*. (Expédition archéologique en Letchkhoum et en Svanéthie). (Paris, 1937) 330.

serpents in the Georgian versions of the *Shah-nameh*. The noun vešap', of Iranian origin, appears in the Old Testament as the equivalent of both Greek drakō (e.g. in Bel and the Dragon, and also with reference to the serpents created from Aaron's staff in Exodus 7:9), and kētos (Gen 1: 21, the tale of Jonah in the belly of the whale).³⁴ As early as the 6th-7th century, however, the term vešap' is applied specifically to the serpent-like beast slain by St George, as attested in the inscription on a bas-relief from Xožorni.³⁵ A possible biblical source for the motif of a dragon threatening a woman is the passage in chapter 12 of the Book of Revelations, although it is not referenced explicitly in Jer Geo 2, as far as I can tell.

2.2. Jer Geo 2 vis-à-vis Greek versions of the miracle. Aufhauser undertook a detailed comparison and collation of twenty-five Greek attestations of the princess-and-dragon miracle, from manuscripts dating from the 12th to 17th centuries.³⁶ I obtained photographic reproductions of fourteen mss collated by Aufhauser, as well as Messina S. Salv Gr 29 (which I will label ms E), and two others.³⁷ The Georgian versions mentioned above and Aufhauser's Greek corpus are sufficiently close that one cannot reasonably doubt that they have a common source. My initial impression is that the manuscripts E, U (Aufhauser's label for Athens 838, 16 th c.), A (Paris 770, c. 1300), and W (Bologna 2702, 15th c.), are the closest to Jer Geo 2, especially E and U, which at several points contains readings paralleling Jer Geo 2 which are lacking in all other Greek manuscripts studied by Aufhauser (notably, in ##10, 23, 60, 68). This being a preliminary study focused on the Georgian version of the princess-and-dragon miracle, I will leave any detailed comparison with the Greek corpus to specialists with the requisite knowledge, and limit myself to pointing out some divergences between the Georgian recensions and all or most of the Greek manuscripts which might prove to be diagnostic of the textual history of this narrative.

(a) *The names of the city and its king.* In all Georgian versions, the city where the miracle occurs is Lasia, ruled by a king named Selinos (##3-4). In the Greek corpus, the name of the city is the same, save for seven mss with variants (Lasaia, Lasiakē, Basiakē).³⁸ The name Selinos, however, appears in none of the mss collated by Aufhauser. The most common variants are Selbos or Selbios; other mss have Eusebios, Elbios, Seulbios; that is, most Greek variants agree with the Georgian as regards the first two consonants — /s/ and /l/ — but have /b/ instead of /n/ as the stem-final consonant. Mss F, G and E have Selb(i)on, and one 17th c. Greek text has Elin.³⁹ The closest phonetic match for

³⁴ J. Gippert, *Iranica Armeno-Iberica. Studien zu den iranischen Lehnwörtern im Armenischen und Georgischen*. (Wien, 1993) 317-329.

³⁵ Iamanidze, 'The Dragon-Slayer'.

³⁶ Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder*.

³⁷ On the Messina manuscript see H. Delehaye, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographorum graecorum Monasterii S. Salvatoris nunc Bibliothecae Universitatis Messanensis', Analecta Bollandiana 23: 19-75 (1904); Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg* 250-251.

³⁸ Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 53.

³⁹ Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 128.

Selinos, as Veselovskij observed long ago based on information communicated to him by Cagareli, is the name of the city in the 13th c. *Legenda aurea: Silena*.⁴⁰ In another Latin ms (Vatican C 129, c. 1300), the city is once again named Lasia, but the king's name is Senius, which implies that a variant of the name with the consonant /n/ was in circulation outside of Georgia.⁴¹ There has been much discussion about the origin of the names of the city and its king, but little in the way of a demonstrated connection to known people or places, or any other convincing explanation.⁴²

(b) *Mention of Diocletian, and second mention of Lasia*. In #42, the Georgian recensions specify that, at the instigation of God, "King Diocletian released [George] from military service" (*ganut' eos mqedrobay deok'let'iane mepeman*). The name of Diocletian appears in none of Aufhauser's 25 mss, except U (*apoluthēnai ton straton tou basileōs dioklētianou*) and E. These same mss are also alone among the Greek versions in containing a second reference to the city Lasia at #60 (*upalō, ese ars kalaki lasiay* "Lord, this is the city Lasia"; U E *Kurie, autē estin hē polis lasia*).⁴³

(c) *Negotiating the conversion to Christianity*. In the address to the people of Lasia mentioned in the previous section, George offers to make the dragon die if the king and the people convert (Geo. *movak'wdino vešap'i ese* "I will make this dragon die"; most Gk mss: *apoktenō ton drakonta* "I will kill the dragon"; mss VW *egō apoktēnai ekhō ton drakonta*). The Georgian texts add: "and you will not be killed by it" (*da ara moik'lnet mis mier*, #101). Only four Greek mss examined by Aufhauser have a passage paralleling this phrase.⁴⁴ Manuscripts U, and the closely-related V and W, correspond well to the Georgian: U *kai mē apoleisthe ex autou*; VW *mēdena aneleisthe hup' autou*. Mss A and E however make the intended threat explicit: *ei de mēge, aphio auton, kai aneleisthe hup' autou* "if not, then I will let it loose, and you will be destroyed by it".

(d) *The dragon's leash*. The high point of the miracle narrative begins with the appearance of the dragon (#82), and culminates in its subjugation and binding with a leash (#95). In all Georgian versions, the arrival of the dragon is preceded by the shaking of the reed-bed in the lake (*šeirq'ia lerc'movani igi*).⁴⁵ None of the Greek mss, however, mention the reed-bed.

⁴⁰ Veselovskij, *Razyskanija* 73; Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 203.

⁴¹ Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 219.

⁴² Veselovskij, *Razyskanija* 72-3; Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 73-76; Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg* 298; D. Ogden, *Drakōn: Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. (Oxford, 2013) 404). Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 76, resigned himself to the likelihood that "in Wirklichkeit wird wohl auch der Name des Königs wie jener der Stadt aus der schöpferischen Phantaisie des ersten Verfassers des Drachenwunders stammen". One notes the phonetic proximity of Selinos to Siluanos, who denounced George for his anti-pagan activities in some versions of the saint's biography (Veselovskij, *Razyskanija* 193; Delehaye, *Les legendes grecques* 67), and Silenus/Silēnos, tutor of Dionysos and mythic drunkard (A. Hartmann, in Pauly-Wissowa 3A: 35-53).

⁴³ Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 59.

⁴⁴ Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 66.

⁴⁵ The emergence of the dragon from a reed-filled lake is also depicted in the fresco from Ik'vi (Privalova, *Pavnisi* 80-82).

Georgian mss 11- 14 th c.	#82-84 <u>The reed-bed shook</u> (<i>šeirq'ia lerc'movani igi</i>) and the woman cried out to George: Vaimē, my lord, run away, behold, here comes the evil dragon!	#85-91 George confronted the dragon, and made the sign of the cross over it: Lord, my God, make this beast submit to me. Through the intercession of the Holy Spirit and his prayer (<i>šec'evnita sulisa c'midisayta da locvita misita</i>), the dragon fell at his feet.	#92-93 Then George ordered the woman: Undo your belt and hand it to me (<i>gaiqsen sart'q'eli šeni da momartw aka</i>)
Greek mss (Aufh. 64-65)	The maiden became afraid, saying 'Oimoi, my lord, go away, for the evil beast is coming!'	George stood before the dragon and made the sign of the cross: Lord, my God, make this beast submit to me, so that this unbelieving people will believe. Through the intercession of God and his prayer, the dragon fell at his feet.	And George said to the woman: Undo your belt <u>and the cord of my horse</u> and bring them to me (<i>luson tēn zōnēn sou kai to skhoinion tou hippou mou kai phere moi ōde</i>)

On the other hand, in all of the Greek versions, except for G, the maiden is instructed by George to remove both her belt, and “the cord of my horse” (*to skhoinion/skēnion/doukalion tou hippou mou*), with which the saint binds the dragon. He then hands the leash to the maiden, who leads the tamed beast into the city. The complementary distribution of the shaking reeds and the horse’s cord lead me to wonder if the two textual variations could be connected somehow.⁴⁶ The Georgian word which I translate as “reed-bed” is *lerc'movani*, derived from the root *lerc'am-* ‘reed’ by addition of the attributive suffix *-ovan-*. The second component of the leash is described as a *skhoinion* in all but eight of the Greek mss. In seven of the remaining ones, it is a *skēnion*, and ms A has *doukalion*. The noun *skhoinion* ‘cord, rope’ is a derivative of *skhoīnos* ‘rush, reed’. The latter noun appears only a handful of times in the LXX (e.g. Micah 6:5, Joel 3:18), whereas *skhoinion* is very frequent. The question arises whether *skhoīnos*, as a translation of *lerc'movani* in a Greek text anterior to those in Aufhauser’s corpus, was misread as a form of the higher-frequency *skhoinion*, and moved to a context where it would make sense, a few lines further in the text. Renaud Gagné informs me that *skēnion* would have been homophonous, or nearly so, with *skhoinion* in the Byzantine period, and thus could represent a simple misspelling, of which there are countless examples in the Greek manuscripts.⁴⁷ The isolated word *doukalion* appears to be a borrowing from medieval Latin (ducale “rein, rope”), clearly a synonym for *skhoinion*.⁴⁸

(e) *Innovations in Jer Geo 2*. In some instances, divergences between the Georgian and Greek recensions might be attributable to innovation or loss in the former, rather than the latter. The king’s lament for the wedding banquet he fears that he will never arrange for his daughter (#32) appears

⁴⁶ In the version of the miracle in the *Legenda aurea*, the maiden is instructed by George to throw her belt over the dragon’s neck (*proice zonam tuam in collum draconis*; Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 205), without mention of a horse’s cord or other element. Since the source of the *Legenda aurea* version also contained the name Silena (see above), it might well have been distinct from the common ancestor of the Greek recensions in Aufhauser’s corpus.

⁴⁷ R. Gagné, *Ancestral fault in ancient Greece*. (Cambridge, 2013) 28; Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 45-47.

⁴⁸ J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976) 360; R. Gagné & P. Bonnechère, p.c.

to be an abridgment of the fuller, more poetically structured passages in Greek versions such as U (“When will I light the lamps? When will I gather the choral-dancers? When will I hear the melodies of the organ? When will I mix wine?”). At line #52, most Greek versions add “Get on your horse [*anelthe epi tou hippou sou*], and go away from here”; no Georgian versions refer to a horse at this point. I am not certain what to make of a divergence at #76. After “the (heart)-thoughts of men”, the Greek mss add “that are vain” [*hoti eisin mataioi*]. This in all likelihood echoes I Corinthians 3:20 (“The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain”). The Georgian reading of #76 bears a closer resemblance to Luke 9:47. It remains to be determined whether the Georgian recension reflects the loss of part of a reference to I Cor 3:20, or, on the contrary, the Greek versions reflect a copyist’s misunderstanding of which New Testament passage was being invoked.

III. The miracle of St George and the demon. Shortly after leaving the city of Lasia to return home, George encounters a demon of seemingly insignificant appearance, who addresses him by his name. He makes the sign of the cross around the demon and confines him there. The demon reveals that he is in fact second among the demons to Samael, the fallen archangel who tempted Eve and Adam in the Garden of Eden. The demon pleads for mercy, but George calls on God to throw him back into the fiery pit of eternal punishment. With another sign of the cross, George opens the face of a nearby cliff, casts the demon into hell, and orders the rock to close again.

This second miracle seems distinctly anticlimactic after the high drama of the princess and dragon episode, and none of George’s military attributes are mentioned, neither horse nor weapons. There can be no doubt, however, that the two miracles were once frequently joined into a single narrative. Besides Jer Geo 2, the Messina ms E and twelve Greek manuscripts in Aufhauser’s corpus — including nearly all of those that predate the 15th c. — attach the demon narrative to that of the princess and the dragon, with textual indications that the former directly followed the latter. I will leave for later the search for evidence whether the two miracle stories did or did not share a common origin, but I will point out one notable feature shared by the dragon and demon narratives. The victory of St George over the adversary is represented as consisting in two stages. First, George subdues the dragon and demon by the sign of the cross, then shortly afterwards he employs his physical strength to finish them off, beheading the one and throwing the other into hell. One has the impression that the emphatically Christian initial stage was intercalated into an older, simpler narrative of a hero defeating a supernatural enemy by brute force.

With respect to the Greek versions of the tale, some are close to the Georgian version, others somewhat longer.⁴⁹ In Jer Geo 2, the demon, upon meeting the saint, “said to him calmly (*dac’q’narebulad*): ‘George’”. In most Greek versions, “he said to him ‘Peace to you (*eirênê soi*),

⁴⁹ E.g. the text from ms A reproduced by Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder* 70-71.

George”’. It would appear that peace or calm is a component of the greeting in Greek, whereas it qualifies the tone of voice in Georgian; it remains to be determined which reading is prior to the other. In the Greek manuscripts, the name of the archdemon is variously given as Samaêl, Samouêl, Satana and Satanaêl, a variation also noted in the Old Testament apocrypha.⁵⁰ Biblical references, such as the mention of humans as images of Himself created by God (#130, cf. Genesis 1: 26), are less evident.

IV. The Old Georgian language of Jer Geo 2. Consistent with the 11th-century date of the manuscript, the language of the St George miracle texts in Jer Geo 2 is Classical Old Georgian. I will limit my comments to selected language features which might help localize the writer’s idiolect (or that of the producer of the manuscript from which the writer copied).

4.1. Use of the letter ჳ (ē). One notable divergence from normative Old Georgian orthography is the frequent absence of the letter ჳ (ē), used to write the diphthong /ey/. As a consequence, the long-case nominative (see below) of /e/-final nouns is most often indistinguishable from the short-case form (e.g. *mepē* instead of *mepē* in #15). Inconsistencies in the writing of ჳ were also noted by Marr in other texts contained in Jer Geo 2.⁵¹ The frequent absence of the graphic representation of the diphthong /ey/ might have a phonological explanation. Diphthongs involving vowels further away from the high front articulation of /y/ are represented consistently in Jer Geo 2, e.g. *sameuṗoy* “royal” (#22), *zyuay* “sea” (#7). The articulatory proximity of /e/ and /y/ could have contributed to the loss of the final glide in some varieties of 11th-century Georgian.

4.2. Noun classes and the marking of definiteness. Old Georgian common nouns could be followed by a demonstrative pronoun which functioned somewhat like the definite articles of English or French.⁵² In line #7, for example, the dragon is first mentioned without an article (*da gamočnda vešap’i borot’i* ... “And there appeared an evil dragon”), whereas at the second mention in the following sentence (#8), the article is used (... *mok’lvad vešap’isa mis* “to kill **the dragon**”). Furthermore, the case endings of nouns not marked by articles have contrasting short and long forms, marking a distinction which Vogt characterized as *générique/ spécifique*.⁵³ Common nouns thus have three nominative-case forms: (i) short case *asul-∅* “daughter”; (ii) long case *asul-i* “a daughter”; (iii) long case + article *asul-i igi* “the daughter”. In the miracle texts, the short nominative, corresponding to the bare nominal stem, occurs for the most part with predicate nominals (#125 *me viq’av šemk’rebel yrubelta* “I was gatherer of the clouds”), verbs denoting becoming or doing (#78 *da*

⁵⁰ A. Kulik, *3 Baruch: Greek-Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch*. (Berlin, 2010) 190, 209-210.

⁵¹ Marr, *Žitie Sv. Grigorija* XLIV, XLVIII.

⁵² K. Tuite, ‘Early Georgian’, in Roger D. Woodard (editor) *Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World’s Ancient Languages*, (Cambridge, 2004) 967-987.

⁵³ H. Vogt, ‘Le système des cas en géorgien ancien’, *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap* 14: 98-140 (1947).

q'av čemtana sasc'aul k'etil “and do a good miracle with me”), and expressions of quantity (Theopistos: *ars sigrdze gzisay ... ert st'adion* “the length of the path is one stadion”); which is consistent with its use in other Old Georgian texts. Proper nouns, on the other hand, only appear with short case endings, whatever the context (*Selinos-∅, Mariam-∅*).

What is of interest is the existence of a third class of nominal, with respect to the use of the article, which I provisionally label “title”. The nominals *c'mida* “holy, saint” and *mepe* “king” are both employed as nouns, which can function as the head of a noun phrase; and as modifiers of a proper name. In the former context, however, *c'mida* and *mepe* most often appear without a definite article, even when the narrative structure would seem to require it. In line #95, for example, the saint, the woman and the dragon have all been mentioned in the preceding lines, but *c'mida*, unlike the other nouns, takes no article:

Xolo c'mida-man šek'ra vešap'-i igi da misca kal-sa mas “Then (the) saint tied the dragon, and gave it to the woman”.

The three types of nominals, therefore, signal definiteness differently: no marking (short case) for personal names, long case only for titles, and maximal marking (long case plus postposed article) for common nouns. That being said, it should not be assumed that titles never appear with a definite article. In the princess and dragon narrative, and especially in the longer tale of Theopistos and his oxen, *c'mida* appears followed by a definite article at the beginning of episodes, or after a sequence of sentences with other referents as topics. When attached to *c'mida* and *mepe* the demonstrative *igi* and its oblique stem *ma-*, rather than simply marking definiteness, have resumptive force, renewing the topicality of an already-introduced referent. In the Old Georgian corpus, the treatment of *mepe* as a formally distinct type of noun is not rare. But the inclusion of *c'mida* in the class of titles is far less common. In most of the texts I examined, *c'mida* patterns like a common noun, with respect to the use of the definite article. The exceptions, as far as I have been able to tell, are hagiographic texts from the 10th-12th centuries, such as the lives of Sts Symeon Stylites and his mother Martha, Ephrem of Syria and John Chrysostom;⁵⁴ and also a handful of attestations in the *Life of Grigol Xandzteli*. The morphosyntax of titles, in the sense I intend here, could be a useful clue to identifying the milieu in which the earliest Old Georgian narratives of St George’s miracles were produced.

4.3. Rare or archaic words “corrected” in later manuscripts. As mentioned above, the later Georgian editions of the princess-and-dragon miracle diverge relatively little from Jer Geo 2. In some places, however, words from the older version have been replaced or modified, including some lexemes which are rare in the Old Georgian literary corpus. The verb describing George’s turning

⁵⁴ Gabidzashvili, *kartuli natargmni hagiograpia* ##1027, 751, 397, 577.

toward the lake to water his horse (#46) is *mi-u-kci-a*, a 3sg aorist with the preradical (or “version”) vowel *-u-*, which typically signals a 3rd-person indirect object.⁵⁵ Later versions of this passage substitute the more common verb *mi-a-kci-a*, with a different preradical vowel. In the Old Georgian texts which I have examined so far, *miukcia* in the sense “turned toward, stopped at (a place)” is attested a half-dozen times in the Old Testament, and once in the *Knight in the panther’s skin*. Another rare form that a later copyist felt obliged to “correct” is the verb *da-m-a-morčil-e* “make it submit to me” in #79. Here as well it was the preradical vowel that was at issue: the vowel *-a-* can signal what grammarians refer to as a “superessive” object, which typically denotes the surface or site where an action takes place. In Modern Georgian and most Old Georgian attestations, including later readings of this line, the verb root *morčil-*, if it takes an indirect object, marks it with the beneficiary version vowel *-u-*. Instances of this verb with a superessive object (lit. “submit onto me”) are attested in a handful of Old Georgian texts, including the 9th-c. Sinai Mravaltavi.

Two other modifications worth noting are:

(i) The 3rd-person object prefix *-h-* in the verb *še-h-č’am-d-a* “was eating them” (lines ## 8 & 61), was replaced by the phonetically-conditioned allomorph *-š-* in later manuscripts (*še-š-č’am-d-a*). Shanidze considered the use of *-h-*, rather than a sibilant allophone, before a dental or alveolar occlusive to be an archaism harking back to pre-classical Old Georgian.⁵⁶ Scattered examples of the sequence *h-č’am-* are attested in 9th-10th-century versions of the Gospels; and in some recensions of the Old Testament. A similar instance of *-h-* before an alveolar occlusive was noticed elsewhere in Jer Geo by Marr.⁵⁷

(ii) The dative suffix after *xut-* “five” in #108: *natel-sca ormeoc da xut-sa atas-sa* “he baptized forty-five thousand”. In Jer Geo 2, the numeral modifying “thousand” agrees with it for dative case. In the later versions, the modifying numeral is marked by the unvarying, formally nominative suffix *-i* (*ormeoc da xut-i atas-sa*), which remains the dominant usage in Modern Georgian.

⁵⁵ On “version” in Georgian and its sister languages, see W. Boeder, ‘Über die Versionen des georgischen Verbs’, *Folia Linguistica* 2. 82-152 (1968); K. Tuite, On the origin of Kartvelian “version”. (ms, Université de Montréal, 2020)

⁵⁶ A. Shanidze, ‘subiekt’uri p’repiksi meore p’irisa da obiekt’uri p’repiksi mesame p’irisa kartul zmnebsi’ (The 2nd person subject prefix and the 3rd person object prefix in Georgian verbs), reprinted in *kartuli enis st’rukt’urisa da ist’oriis sak’itxebi, I* (Issues in the structure and history of the Georgian language, I), pp. 111-263. (Tbilisi, 1957); see also Sarjveladze, *kartuli salit’erat’uro enis ist’oriis šesavali* 44.

⁵⁷ Marr, *Žitie Sv. Grigorija* LII.

V. Two miracles of St George from Jer Geo 2 (11th). Here are the texts of the two miracle narratives from Jer Geo 2, in modern Georgian script, accompanied by close (but not necessarily literal) English translations. Corrections to the Jer Geo 2 text, based on comparison with later versions, are marked by (corr), and underlining of the letter or word that has been altered. Letters omitted in *karagma* abbreviations are set between brackets (<...>). The capital letters in the third column denote those Greek manuscripts in the corpus examined by Aufhauser (1911: 51) which come closest to the Georgian readings of the passage indicated. The letter is set in parentheses if the Greek reading is close but not a direct translational equivalent of the Georgian. Where no letter is shown, all or most Greek versions are equally close to the Georgian for a given passage. Also indicated are likely Biblical sources of passages in the text.

5.1. The miracle of the princess and the dragon.

	Georgian text Jer Geo 2 (11 th c.)	translation (KT)	parallels
1	ისმინეთ ძმანო ჩემო საკრველი დიდი და დიდებული რ(ომე)ლი იქმნა წ(მიდ)ისა და დ(ილე)ბ(უ)ლისა და დიდისა მ(ო)წ(ა)მისა გ(იორგ)ის მ(ი)ერ .	Hear, my brothers, the great and glorious wonder that was done by the holy and glorious and great martyr George.	U
2	იყო ჟამთა მ(ა)თ ვ(იღრ)ელა ბრწყინვიდა ქე(ეყან)ასა ზ(ედ)ა წ(მიდ)ა იგი პ(ირვე)ლ წამებისა მისისა	It was in those times while the saint shone upon the earth, before his martyrdom.	(UΞ)
3	იყო ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქი ერთი რ(ომე)ლსა ეწოდებოდა ლასია.	There was a city which was called Lasia.	
4	და იყო ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქსა მას ში(ნ)ა მ(ე)ფე სახელით სელინოს.	And in that city was a king of the name Selinos.	(Legenda aurea)
5	და იყო იგი უკეთურ და კერპთმსახურ და უშუკულო და უღმობ(ე)ლ და უწყალო ქ(რისტე)ს მ(ო)რწმ(უ)ნ(ე)თა მიმ(ა)რთ.	And he was wicked and an idol-worshipper and an unbeliever, and merciless and pitiless toward the believers in Christ.	
6	და მსგავსად ბოროტთა საქმეთა მისთა მიაგო მას ო(კვალ)მან	And God requited him in accordance with his evil deeds.	2Tim 4:14
7	რ(ამეთუ) მახლობლად ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქისა მის იყო ტბაა შესაკრებელი წყალთა მრავალთა ვ(ითარც)ა ზღუა.	For near the city there was a lake filled with much water, like a sea.	AUΞ (W)
8	და გამოჩნდა ვეშაბი ბოროტი წყალთა მ(ა)თ შ(ინ)ა ტბისათა და მარადეუ გ(ა)ნვილოდა და მოჰსრვიდა და გ(ა)ნჰლევედა და შეჰჭამდა მ(ა)თ,	And there appeared an evil dragon in the waters of the lake, and each day it went out and slaughtered and consumed and ate them.	
9	და მრავალ გ(ზის) შეკრება მეფემ(ა)ნ მკედრება მლოკვად ვეშაბისა მის და ვერ უძლეს	And many times the king gathered his soldiers to kill the dragon, and they were unable to,	
10	რ(ამეთუ) იყო იგი მძუნვარე და დიდ.	For it was ferocious and big.	(UΞ)
11	მამინ შეკრა ყ(ოველი) იგი ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქი. და ჯმობდეს მეფისა მიმ(ა)რთ და იტყოდეს ვ(ითარმე)დ:	Then all of the city gathered, and cried out to the king, and said:	
12	რად ვყოთ ზ მეფ(ე)ო,	What can we do, O king,	UΞ
13	რ(ამეთუ) საყოფელი ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქისა ჩ(უე)ნისაი კეთ(ი)ლ(ა)რს. და ჩ(უე)ნ ბოროტად წარვწყმდებით,	for our city is a fine dwelling-place, and we are perishing wretchedly.	
14	და შე(ე)ნ მეფე არა ჰზრუნ(ა)ვ ამისთვის არცა ილუწი ვ(ითარც)ა მეფენი ყ(ოველ)ისა ქ(უე)ენისანი.	And you, king, do not care about this, nor do you act, as do the kings of all countries.	U (Ξ)
15	მამინ ტკივნეულ იქმნა მეფე იგი. და უფროს-ლა შეეშინა და ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მ(ა)თ:	Then it became painful for the king, and he was more frightened, and said to them:	U
16	აღწერეთ ერთი კვლით წერ(ი)ლი	Write a document,	
17	და მისცენით შვ(ი)ლნი თქ(უე)ნნი შესაწირავად	and give your children as sacrifices,	U (ATW)
18	და ოდეს დაესრულნენ თქ(უე)ნ ყ(ოველ)ლ(ა)ნი	and when all of yours will be used up,	U
19	არს ასული ჩემი მხოლოდ შობილი მეცა მივსცე იგი შესაწირავად ვ(ითარც)ა თქ(უე)ნ,	there is my only-begotten daughter, and I too will give her as a sacrifice, like you,	(UΞ)
20	და არა გ(ა)ნვცვეთ ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქისაგ(ა)ნ ჩ(უე)ნისა.	and we will not be dispersed from our city.	
21	და სინდა ყ(ოველ)ლთა სიტყ(უა)ი მისი. და იწყო კაცად კაცად(ა)ნ მიცემა შვილთა თვისთა ვ(იღრე)მდის მიიწია მეფისა.	His words pleased them all, and they began to give their children, one after the other, until it came to the king.	
22	ზ(ოლო) მეფემ(ა)ნ შეჰმოსა ასულსა თვისსა პორობრი სამეფუო	Then the king dressed his daughter in royal purple,	Song 7:6
23	და შეამკო იგი ვ(ითარც)ა სძალი,	and adorned her like a bride,	UΞ; Isa 61:10
24	და იწყო ამბორისყოფად მისა და გოდებით და	and he began to kiss her, saying with	

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	ცრემლით ეტყოდა:	lamentation and tears:	
25	წარვედ მხოლოდ შობილო და ტკბილო ასულ ჩემო შესაჭმელად ვეშაბისა,	Go my only-begotten, sweet daughter, to be eaten by the dragon.	
26	ვაძმე საწადელო შვილო ჩემო	Alas, my dear child,	
27	შ(ე)ნ იყ(ა)ვ ნუგეშინის მცემელ და მკვდრ მეფობისა ჩემისა	you were the comfort-giver and inheritor of my kingdom,	(UΞ)
28	და სინათლე თუ'ლთა ჩემთა	and the light of my eyes,	
29	და მოსალოდებელ ქორწილისა და სიძისა და აპა ესერა საჭმლად მვეციისა წარივლინები!	and expecting a wedding and a bridegroom, and behold, you will leave to be eaten by the beast!	UΞ
30	ვაძმე, ვითარსა-და ქორწილსა აღვასრულებ	Alas, what kind of wedding will I make,	
31	ანუ რაბამსა სასძლოსა შეგიმზადებ,	or what size of bridal-chamber will I prepare for you,	
32	გინა ვითართა ორღანოთა და სახიობათა და ლამპართა და მოსმურთა და მენიავეთა აღვიმზადებ?	or what musical instruments and singing and lamps, and drinkers and banquet-guests will I prepare for you?	
33	ვაძმე საწადელო შვილო ჩემო, რ(ამეთუ) არღარა სადა ვიხილო პირი შ(ე)ნი, არცა ნაყ(ო)ფი მუცლისა შ(ე)ნისა,	Alas, my dear child, for I will never again see your face, nor the fruit of your womb,	Lk 1:42
34	რ(ამეთუ) აპა ესერა გ(ა)ნმეშორები თვნიერ ზოგადსა სიკუდილისა!	for behold, you will take leave of me, without a common (<i>normal, natural</i>) death	FG (UΞ)
35	და მოექცა და ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა ერსა მას:	He turned and spoke to the people:	
36	მიიღეთ რავედნი გნებავს ოქროსა და ვეცხლი და მისთანა მეფობ(ა)დცა ჩემი, და გ(ა)ნათავისუფლეთ შვილი ჩ(ე)მი!	Take gold and silver, as much as you wish, and with it my kingdom, and set my child free!	UΞX
37	და არავინ ისმინა მისი და არცა შეუნდო ამისთვის,	And no one listened to him, nor did they forgive him,	
38	რ(ამეთუ) მას გ(ა)ნეწესა გ(ა)ნინებ(ა)ი იგი ჰ(ირველ)ითგ(ან).	because he had first instituted the decree,	
39	და ვ(ითარცა) იხ(ი)ლა მიუდრეკელობად ერისად მის, მიუბოძა მათ ასული თვ(ი)სი.	and as he saw the unyieldingness of the people, he gave them his daughter.	UΞ
40	მაშინ შეკრბა ყ(ოველი) იგი ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქი დიდითგ(ან) ვ(იდრ)ე მცირემდე მათა ხილვად ქალისა მის.	Then the entire people of the city gathered, from the old to the young, to watch the maiden.	
41	ხ(ოლო) კ(ა)ცთმოყუ(ა)რ(ე)მ(ა)ნ და მრავალ-მოწყალომ(ა)ნ ღ(მერთ)მან ინება, რ(ათ)ა აჩვენოს სასწაულები წ(მიდ)ისა მოწამისა გ(იორგ)ის მ(იე)რ.	But loving and all-merciful God wished to show miracles and signs through the holy martyr George,	
42	ამისთვისცა მათ დღეთა შ(ინ)ა განავო რ(ათ)ა გ(ან)უტეოს მვედრობად ლეოკლეტიანე მეფემ(ა)ნ.	therefore during those days He made it happen, that King Diocletian released him from the army.	(UΞ)
43	ვინადაცა მოვიდოდა დიდ(ე)ბ(უ)ლი გ(იორგ)ი კაპადოკიისა სოფლად და თვსად მამულად.	Thus the glorious George was coming toward the land of Cappadocia to his homestead,	
44	და მოლუაწებთა ღ(მრთისა)მთა მოიწია მას ადგილსა	and through the action of God, he came to that place,	Col 1:25
45	მას დღესა შ(ინ)ა. რ(ამე)ლსა შ(ინ)ა ეგულებოდა ვეშაპსა მას შეჭმად ქალისად მის და წარწყმედა.	on that day, when the dragon was to eat and destroy the woman.	(UΞ)
46	მიუქცია ტბად რ(ათ)ამცა ასუა წყალი ჰუნესა თვსსა.	And he turned toward the lake, to let his horse drink water,	
47	და პოვა ქალი იგი მჯდომარე კიდესა ტბისსა,	and found the maiden seated at the edge of the lake,	AUW
48	და მწარედ მტირალი.	weeping bitterly.	
49	და ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას წ(მიდამ)ან: დედაკ(ა)ცო რადსა სტირ ანუ რად ჰზი ადგილსა ამას?	Then the saint said to her: Woman, why do you weep, and why are you sitting at this place?	UΞ
50	მიუგო ქალმ(ა)ნ მ(ა)ნ და ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მ(ა)ს: გხედავ შ(ე)ნ ო(კვფალ)ო ჩემო ჰაეროვანსა და შეუნიერსა ჰასაკითა	The maiden answered him and said: I see you, my lord, handsome and in the bloom of youth,	
51	და ვ(ითა)რ მოხუედ აქა მოსიკუდიდ?	and why did you come here to die?	
52	წარვედ ამიერ	Go away from here,	D (GUVW)
53	და მოსწრაფედ ივლტოდე!	and flee quickly!	
54	ხ(ოლო) წ(მიდამ)ან ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას: დედაკ(ა)ცო რად ხ(ა)რ შ(ე)ნ, ანუ რად არს ერი ისი რ(ამელი)ი გხედავს შ(ე)ნ?	Then the saint said to her: Woman, who (lit. what) are you, and who are these people looking at you?	

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55	ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას ქალმ(ან) მ(ან): ო(ვფალ)ო ჩემო მრავალ არს ჰამბავი ჩემი და გრძელ	The maiden said: My lord, my story has many parts and is long,	
56	და ვერ ძალმიც მითხრობად შ(ე)ნდა,	and I cannot tell it to you,	
57	ა(რამე)დ მოსწრაფებით ივლტოლე რ(ათ)ა არა ბოროტად მოჰკუდე!	rather, flee quickly, that you not die wretchedly!	
58	ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას წ(მიდამა)ნ გიორგი: მითხარ ყ(ოველ)ივე	The saint said to her: Tell me everything,	L
59	და შ(ე)ნ თანა მოვკუდე და არა დაგიტეო შ(ე)ნ!	and I will die with you, and not leave you!	
60	მაშინ ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას ქალმ(ან) მ(ან) ვ(ითარმე)დ: ო(ვფალ)ო ესე არს ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქი ლასიაი, და არს ესე კეთილ საცხოვრებელად კ(ა)ცთა	Then the maiden said to him: Lord, this is the city Lasia, and it is a good living-place for men,	U ^E
61	და წყალთა ამ(ათ)ო შ(ინ)ა მკვდრ არს ვეშაპი და შეჰჭამს ^ო კ(ა)ცთა ამის ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქისათა და მოსრავს ერსა.	and in the waters there dwells a dragon, that eats the men of this city and slaughters the people.	
62	და მე ვარ ასული მეფისა მხოლოდშობილი.	And I am the only-begotten daughter of the king,	
63	და ბრძანება დადვა მამამ(ან) ჩემმ(ან),	and my father gave an order,	
64	რ(ათ)ა მისცემდენ ყ(ოველ)ნი შ(ემ)დ ^ო მითი შ(ემდგომ)ად შვილთა თვსთა დღითი დღედ.	that all give their children, one after the other, each day,	
65	და ვ(ითარ)ცა მოესრულნეს ყ(ოველ)ნი,	and when they all had been finished	U ^E (DT)
66	მოვიდა სუელი მამისა ჩემისა და წარმოძავინა მე საჭმლად ვეშაპისა.	there came my father's turn, and he sent me for the dragon to eat.	
67	და აჰა ესერა გითხარ შ(ე)ნ	And behold I told you all,	
68	წარვედ მშვლობით!	go in peace!	AU ^E W
69	ესმა რა ესე წ(მიდა)სა ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას: ამიერითგ(ან) ნულრა გეშინის, ნუცა სძრწი,	When the saint heard this, he told her: From now on, do not be afraid, and do not tremble,	(Z); Deut 1:21
70	ა(რამე)დ მითხარ მე მამად შ(ე)ნი და მისთა ^{ნი} ყ(ოველ)ნი რ(ომე)ლსა ლ(მერ)თსა ჰმსახურებენ?	but tell me: your father and all those with him, what god do they serve?	U ^E
71	ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას ქალმ(ან) მ(ან): ირაკლის . და აპოლონს . და სკამანდროს . და დიდსა ლ(მერ)თსა არტემის.	The maiden told him: Herakles and Apollo and Skamandros and the great goddess Artemis.	
72	ხ(ოლო) წ(მიდამა)ნ ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა: ნუ გეშინინ, ა(რამე)დ უშიშ და კაღნიერ იქმენ!	Then the saint said to her: Do not fear, but be fearless and bold!	
73	და ათი ხილნა თუაღნი თვსნი წ(მიდამა)ნ გ(იორგ)ი ლ(მრ)თისა მიმართ და თქუა:	And saint George raised his eyes toward God and said:	AU ^E
74	ლ(მერ)თო რ(ომელ)ი ჰზი ქერაბინთა ზ(ელ)ა და ჰხედ(ა)ვ უუსკრულთა	God, who sits above the cherubim and looks down to the abyss,	Daniel 3:55
75	რ(ომელ)ი-ივე ხარ და ჰკიე ჰ(ე)მ(მა)რიტი ლ(მერ)თი,	you who are and remain the true God,	Heirmologion (ms A-603)
76	შ(ე)ნ თავადმ(ან) უწყნი გულის ზრანვანი კ(ა)ცთ(ა)ნი	you yourself know the heart-thoughts of men,	(AUW); Lk 9: 47; I Cor 3:20
77	მ(ა)ლნი აჩუენენ სასწაულნი საკვრველნი მონისა შ(ენ)ისა მოსეს მიერ, აჩუენე ჩემზ(ელ)აცა წყალობად შ(ე)ნი,	you showed power and miracles and wonders through your servant Moses, show your mercy through me also,	
78	და ყავ ჩემთანა სასწაულ კეთილ	and make a good miracle with me.	Ps 85:17
79	და დამპორჩილე ბოროტი ესე მვ(ე)ცი ქუეშე ფერვთა ჩემთა,	And make this evil beast submit to me beneath my feet,	I Corin 15:27, Sinai Mr-tavi 173:18
80	რ(ათ)ა ცნან ყ(ოველ)ლთა, ვ(ითარმე)დ ჩემთანა ხარ!	that all will know that you are with me!	
81	და მოიწია ვ(მა)დ ^{ნი} რ(ომელ)ი ეტყ(ო)და: გ(იორგ)ი შეისმინა ვედრებად (corr) შ(ე)ნი ყურთა ო(ვფლ)ისათა, ყავ რადცა გნებავს, რ(ამეთუ) მე შ(ე)ნთანა ვარ!	And there came a voice from above, saying: George, your plea has been heard by the ears of the Lord, do what you wish, for I am with you!	
82	და მეყსულად შეირყია ლერწმოვანი იგი	And suddenly the reed-bed shook,	(G) το σδωρ διεταραχθη
83	და ვმა ყო ქალმ(ან) მ(ან):	and the maiden cried out:	
84	ვაიმე ო(ვფალ)ო ჩ(ემ)ო ივლტოლე ამიერ. აჰა ესერა მოვალს ვეშაპი იგი ბოროტი!	Alas, my lord, flee from here, behold, the evil dragon comes!	
85	ხ(ოლო) წ(მიდა)ნ გ(იორგ)ი მირბილა შემთხუევად ვეშაპისა მის.	But saint George ran to confront the dragon,	
86	და გამოსანა მის ზ(ელ)ა სახც ჯ(უარისა)დ და თქ(უ)ა:	and he made the sign of the cross over it, and said:	
87	ო(ვფალ)ო, ლმერთო ჩემო,	Lord, my God,	
88	გარდაქციე მვეცი ესე მორჩილებად	make this beast obedient to me,	
89	მონისა შ(ე)ნისა!	your servant!	AU ^E VW

	Georgian text Jer Geo 2 (11 th c.)	translation (KT)	parallels
90	და ვ(ითარც)ა ესე თქ(უ)ა, შეწვევითა სულისა წ(მიდ)ისაჲთა და ლოცვითა წ(მიდ)ისათა,	And as he said that, through the aid of the Holy Spirit and the prayer of the saint,	T
91	ღეცა ვეშაბი იგი ფერუთა თა ^ა წ(მიდ)ისათა.	the dragon fell at the feet of the saint.	
92	ხ(ოლო) წ(მიდ)ამან უბრძანა ქალს მას: გ(ა)ნივსენ სარტყელი შენი	Then the saint commanded the maiden: Remove your belt,	G; <i>Legenda aurea</i>
93	და მომართუ აქა!	and hand it to me here!	
94	და ყო ეგრე.	And she did so.	
95	ხ(ოლო) წ(მიდ)ამან შეკრა ვეშაბი იგი და მისცა ქალს მას და ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა:	Then the saint tied up the dragon, and gave it to the maiden and said:	
96	წარვედ ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქით კერძო!	Go toward the city!	CE (Q)
97	იხილა რა ერმ(ა)ნ მ(ა)ნ სასწაული ესე საკვრველი შეეშინა	When the people saw the wondrous miracle they became afraid,	
98	და ენება (corr) სივლტოლად შიშისათვის ვეშაბისა მის.	and wished to flee for fear of the dragon,	
99	ხ(ოლო) წმიდად იგი ეტყოდა მ(ა)თ: ნუ გეშინინ ა(რამე)დ დეგით და იხილოთ მაცხოვარება ღ(მრთისა)დ	but the saint said to them: Fear not, rather stand and you will see God's deliverance.	A ^E GK; Exod 14:13
100	ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მ(ა)თ: გრწმენინ ო(ვფა)ლი ჩ(უე)ნი ი(ესო)ვ ქ(რისტ)ე ჰ(ე)შ(მა)რიტი ღ(მერთ)ი ყ(ოვ)ლად ძლიერი და მოკაკუდინო ვეშაბი ესე,	He said to them: Believe in our lord Jesus Christ the all-powerful true God, and I will make the dragon die,	Dan 14:26
101	და არა მოიკლნეთ მის მიერ.	and you will not be killed by it.	UW (A ^E)
102	მაშინ ვმა ყო მეფემან და დიდებულთა მისთა და ყ(ოვე)ლსა ერსათანა და თქ(უ)ეს: გურწამს ო(ვფა)ლი მამისა მიმ(ა)რთ და მისა და სულისა წ(მიდ)ისა	Then the king cried out, along with his nobles and all the people, saying: Lord, we believe in the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit.	
103	და მეყსეულად წ(მიდ)ამან იჴადა ვრძალი თვის და მოკლა იგი	And immediately the saint drew his sword and killed it,	
104	და მისცა ქალი იგი მეფესა.	and gave the maiden to the king.	
105	მაშინ მოკრბა ყ(ოველი) სიმრავლე ერისა და ამბორს უყოფდეს ფერუთა წ(მიდ)ისათა და ად(ი)დებდეს ღ(მერთ)სა:	Then the whole multitude of the people gathered and kissed the feet of the saint, and praised God.	
106	მაშინ წ(მიდ)ამან მოუწოდა ალექსანდრე ეპისკოპოსსა, და ნათელსკა მეფესა და დიდებულთა მისთა და ყ(ოვე)ლსა სიმრავლესა ერისასა	Then the saint summoned the bishop Alexander, who baptized the king and the nobles and all the multitude of the people	ABU ^E W
107	ათხუთმეტ დღეს,	during fifteen days,	KTU ^E Z
108	ხ(ოლო) ნ(ათე)ლსკა ორმეოც და ხუთსა ათასსა.	and he baptized forty-five thousand.	LMTX
109	და იქმნა სიხარ(უ)ლი დიდი მას ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქსა შ(ინ)ა.	And there was great rejoicing in the city.	AU ^E DTW; Acts 8:8
110	მაშინ მეფემ(ა)ნ ყ(ოვე)ლსა ერსათანა აღაშენა პატიოსანი ტაძარი სადიდებელთა ღ(მერთ)სა და პატივად წ(მიდ)ისა ვ(იორგ)ისა	Then the king along with all the people built a holy temple for the glory of God and to honor saint George.	
111	და ვ(ითარც)ა განასრულეს ტაძარი იგი, მოვიდა წ(მიდა)დ ვ(იორგ)ი და აჩუნა სს(უ)ა)დ საკვრველებად:	And when they completed the temple, saint George came and showed another wonder,	
112	რ(ათა) შევიდა ტაძარსა მას შ(ინ)ა ^ლ საკურთხეველსა ეკლესიისასა, და აღმოაცენა წყარო კურნებათად	when he went in the temple and the church sanctuary, and brought forth a healing spring,	
113	და არს იგი ვ(იორგ)ე აქამომდე საკურნებელად მორწმუნეთა ქ(რისტ)ეს ღ(მრ)თისა ჩ(უე)ნისათა	which to the present is for healing believers in Christ our God.	
114	და სხუანი მრავალნი და დიდებ(უ)ლნი საკვრველებანი აღასრულნა წ(მიდ)ამან მ(ო)წ(ა)მემ(ა)ნ ვ(იორგ)ი ღ(მრ)თისა მ(იე)რ და მისდა მოცემულთა მადლითა მ(იე)რ ქალაქსა მას შ(ინ)ა	And the holy martyr George performed many other glorious wonders in the city, through God and the grace He bestowed,	
115	სახელით ღ(მრ)თისა ჩ(უე)ნისა ი(ესო)ვ ქ(რისტ)ესითა.	in the name of our God Jesus Christ.	

5.2. The miracle of St George and the demon.

	Georgian text Jer Geo 2 (11 th c.)	translation (KT)
116	და ამისა შ(ემდგომად) და ამორადვიდა წ(მიდა) იგი ქ(ა)ლ(ა)ქისა მისგ(ან) და აღვიდდა თვსად მამულად.	And after this, the saint came out from the city and was going up toward his homeland.
117	შეემთხვა მას ეშმაკი სახითა შეურაცხითა დამდაბლებულითა, და ველთა მისთა უპყრა კუერთხი და ზრახვიდა მშვიდობით.	He encountered a demon of negligible, lowly appearance, who held a staff in his hands and spoke peacefully.
118	და ვ(ითარცა) შეემთხვა წ(მიდას)ა გ(იორგ)ის ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას დაწყნარებულად: გ(იორგ)ი.	And as he (the demon) met Saint George, he said to him calmly: George.
119	ხ(ოლო) წ(მიდამ)ან მიუგო მას, ვ(ითარმედ): ვ(ითა)რ მიწოდ მე სახელით რ(ომელი) არა უწყოდ, გარნა თუ ხარ შ(ე)ნ ეშმაკი ბოროტი?	But the saint answered him thus: How could you address me by a name which you did not know, unless you are an evil demon?
120	ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას ეშმაკ(ან) მ(ა)ნ უკ(უ)ეთუ ხარ შ(ე)ნ ანგელოზი ლ(მრ)თისა მიჩუენე მე ძალი შ(ე)ნ.	The demon said to him: If you are an angel of God, show me your power.
121	მაშინ მოწერა ჯ(უარ)ითა გარემოს ეშმაკისა მის და შეაყენა იგი მას შ(ინ)ა, და ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა, სახელითა ო(ვფლ)ისა ჩ(უ)ენისა ი(ესო)ვ ქ(რისტე)სითა მოვედ და შემომიდეგ მე.	Then he inscribed (a circle) around the demon with (the sign of) the cross, and set him inside it, and said: In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, come and stand by me.
122	და მეყსეულად ვმა ყო და თქ(უ)ა, ვა არს ჩემდა, გ(იორგ)ი, რ(ამეთუ) შეგემთხვიე შ(ე)ნ.	And immediately he cried out and said: Woe is me, George, because I met you.
123	ჰ(რ)ქ(უ)ა მას წ(მიდამ)ან, მითხარ მე ვინ ხ(ა)რ შ(ე)ნ.	The saint said to him: Tell me who you are.
124	მაშინ იწყო ბოროტმ(ა)ნ მ(ა)ნ ეშმაკ(ა)ნ და იტყოდა, მე ვარ ჰ(ირვე)ლისა სამაელის მეორე. მე, გ(იორგ)ი, ორმეოცთა ათასთა მფლობელი ვიყავ.	Then the evil demon began to speak: I am second after Samael (who is) first. I, George, was the master of forty thousand.
125	და ოდეს იგი ლ(მერთმ)ან კ(ა)ცი დაჰბადა და ქ(უ)ე(ა)ნ(ა)ი გ(ა)ნყო და დაჰბეჭდა, მუნ ვიყავ და ძრწოლით ვხედავდი, რ(ა)ჟ(ამ)ს იგი შანთთა ელვისათა შეჰპუსრვიდა, მე ვიყავ შემკრებელ ღრუბელთა.	And when God created man, and separated the land and sealed it (stamped it with a seal), I was there and watched, trembling; when he smashed branding-irons of lightning, I was the one who gathered the clouds.
126	ჩემსა ხილვასა კაცობრივი ბ(უ)ნ(ე)ბ(ა)ი ვერ შემძლებელ იყო. მე ანგელოზთა გუნდნი მეშიშვოლეს და აწ ვინაივ(ა)ნ გარდამოვითხიე ზეცით, დამთრეუნენ მე ფერუნი მიწისანი.	Human nature could not withstand my sight, legions of angels feared me; and now that I have been thrown down from above, earthly feet trample me.
127	და ვა არს ჩემდა, გ(იორგ)ი, რ(ამეთუ) შემშურდა შენდა მოცემული მადლი, და გ(ა)ნვიზრახე ცთუნებად შ(ე)ნდა გ(ა)ნა ზ(ედ)ა, რ(ა)თა)მცა თაყ(ა)ნის მეც მე, რ(ამეთუ) მრავალნი გ(ა)ნმიშორებიან ლ(მრ)თისადა.	And woe is me, George, that I envied the grace that was given to you, and intended to deceive you on the road, so that you would worship me, just as I have separated many from God.
128	აჰა ესერა ყ(ოველი) მიგითხარ შ(ე)ნ გ(იორგ)ი. მოიხსენე ჰ(ირვე)ლი იგი ნეტარებად ჩემი და მეორე ესე უბადრუკებად ჩემი და ნუ მიბრძანებ მე წარსლვად სატანჯველად საუკუნოდ.	Behold, I told you everything, George. Remember how blessed I was at first, and after that, my wretchedness; and do not order me to go to eternal suffering.
129	მაშინ წ(მიდამ)ან გ(იორგ)ი ილოცა და თქ(უ)ა, ო(ვფალ)ო ლ(მერთ)ო ჩემო შემუსრე არაწ(მიდა)ი ეშმაკი რ(ომელმ)ან არა ყო ნებ(ა)ი შ(ე)ნი და არცა დაიცუნა ბრძანებანი შ(ე)ნნი, ა(რამედ) ეგო თვისსავე ზ(ედ)ა უკეთურებას და არა მოაქცია შ(ე)ნდა მომართ მხოლოდა ჭ(ე)მ(ა)რ(ი)ტისა ლ(მრ)თისა.	Then St. George prayed and said: Lord my God, destroy the unholy demon who did not do what you willed, nor respect your commands, but rather took wickedness upon himself, and did not turn toward you, the only true God.
130	და შთააგდე იგი ადგილსა წყუდიადსა რ(ათ)ა იტანჯებოდის და ხატსა მას შ(ე)ნსა რ(ომელი) შ(ე)ნ დაჰბადე, არა გ(ა)ნსკლიდეს.	And throw him down into the dark place, so that he will suffer, and not tempt the image of yourself that you created.
131	და იყო მუნ კლდე ფ(რია)დ დიდი და გამოსახა მას ზ(ედ)ა დიდ(ებულ)მ(ა)ნ გ(იორგ)ი სასწაული ჯ(უარისა)ი და ესრეთ თქ(უ)ა, სახელითა ო(ვფლ)ისა ჩ(უ)ენისა ი(ესო)ვ ქ(რისტე)სითა გ(ა)ნელენ კლდე ესე.	And there was at that place a very large rock, and the glorious George made the sign of the cross over it, and said: In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, may this rock open.
132	და მეყსეულად განელო კლდე იგი. მაშინ უპყრა ეშმაკსა მას და შთააგდო იგი მთხრებლსა ცეცხლის(ა)სა. და კ(უ)ა(ა)დ უბრძანა კლდეს მას რ(ათ)ა იქმნას ვ(ითარცა) იყო ჰ(ირვე)ლითვ(ა)ნ.	And immediately the rock opened. Then he seized the demon and threw him into the hole of fire. And once again he ordered the rock to become as it was at first.
133	და არს იგი სატანჯველსა მას შ(ინ)ა ცეცხლისასა და იტანჯვის ვ(იდრ)ე უკ(უნამდე).	And he is in the fiery place of suffering, and he will suffer for eternity.
134	ესე სასწაულნი შეუნიერნი დიდებულნი და საკრველნი აღასრულნა ფ(რია)დ ს(ა)ნ(ა)ტრ(ელ)მ(ა)ნ გ(იორგ)ი მადლისა მის მ(ი)ერ მისდა მონიჭებულსა ქ(რისტე)ს ი(ესო)ვს მ(ი)ერ ო(ვფლ)ისა ჩ(უ)ენისა რ(ომელი)სა არს დ(იდე)ბ(ა)ი აწ და მ(არა)დის და უკ(უ)ნითი უკ(უნამდე), ა(მი)ნ.	The very beloved George performed these beautiful, glorious and wondrous miracles through the grace granted to him by Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom is glory now and always, for ever and ever, Amen.

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