

The miracle of St George, the princess and the dragon: Comparison of the Old Georgian and the nearest Latin and Greek versions.

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PRELIMINARY VERSION

Although the narrative of St George rescuing a princess from a dragon is one of the most popular legends from medieval Christian hagiography, the earliest stages of its creation and diffusion remain obscure. In the century following the beginning of the First Crusade, the princess-and-dragon miracle (henceforth, PDM) appeared in Greek and Latin manuscripts, and the legend was depicted in frescoes in northern Russia (Staraya Ladoga) and in several churches throughout Georgia (Privalova 1977), and an icon conserved at the St Catherine Monastery in Sinai. By the 13th century, the PDM legend had spread throughout Europe, both as text and image, especially after its incorporation into the celebrated *Legenda aurea* collection of Jacobus de Voragine. While the Crusades doubtlessly contributed to the spread of the PDM, and more generally, of the cult of saint George as patron and protector of Christian warriors, the origin of the PDM predates the arrival of the first crusaders in the Holy Lands. Its earliest known appearance is in the codex Jer Geo 2, probably written at the Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem in the latter half of the 11th-c., and now in the library of the Greek Patriarchate of that city. Although the codex was described as early as the 1880s, it was not until nearly a century later, after the art historian E. Privalova published a Russian summary of the PDM narrative in Jer Geo 2, that this text came to the notice of the wider scholarly community.¹ In a recently-published article, I present the text of the PDM from the Jer Geo 2 ms, along with a translation and commentary. In order to situate the Old Georgian version with respect to early renderings of the PDM in other languages, I relied for the most part on the corpus of Byzantine Greek manuscripts collated by Aufhauser (1911), along with the versions in the *Legenda aurea* and the 14th-c. manuscript Messina 29. In February 2022, after the final version of the above paper had been submitted, I had the opportunity to view microfilmed images of three Greek mss in the archives of the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT), outside of Paris, and consult with Dr. Xavier Lequeux of the Société des Bollandistes at their headquarters in Brussels. This led to the identification of Greek and Latin versions of the PDM which bear a closer correspondence to the Georgian rendering than any I had previously seen. In the present paper, the Jer Geo 2 rendering of the PDM will be compared with the five Greek and Latin versions which stand closest to it. On this basis, I will propose a provisional reconstruction of the PDM narrative from which these versions derive.

1. Corpora of texts to be compared, with profiles of each:²

1.1. Old Georgian texts. The principal Old Georgian text in this corpus is the 11th-c. version contained in the codex Jer Geo 2 (239r-241r; demon miracle 241r-241v; Theopistos and his lost oxen 241v-245r). The codex and its contents have been described by Cagareli (1888: 172), Marr (1911: XXXVIII-LXX) and Blake (1923: 357-362). A photographic reproduction is available at the web site of the US Library of Congress (<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271072235-jo/>)

¹ E.g., Walter (1995), Grotowski (2010). Walter's article includes an English translation of Privalova's summary, which was picked up by other scholars, among them Kuehn (2011), Johns (2015), and most recently Ogden (2021: 297-302).

² Early witnesses of the PDM also appeared in Church Slavonic. The texts in 13th to 16th-century mss collated by Rystencko (1909a) are all closer to the Greek than to the Georgian, and are not included in this study.

the distinctive characteristics mentioned previously, the Sabinin version as well stands close enough to the others to motivate the postulation of a common ancestor. The differences among the older texts — Jer Geo 2 and 37, and the three mss collated by Q’ubaneishvili — are very minor, rarely amounting to more than an omitted or added word, or a slight change of morphology or word order. A few divergences can be identified, however, from which one can hypothesize the internal history of the Georgian corpus. The three features shown here are particularly diagnostic, since in each case the passage in Jer 2 represents what is likely to have been a copying error, as confirmed by the parallel readings in the Greek and Latin corpora:

Table 1

	Jer 37, Q’uban. collation	Jer 2, Sabinin	Greek (U, Ξ, Ψ)	Latin AA/BB
37	šeisma vedrebay šeni	šeismina qmay šeni	εισηκουσθη η δεησις σου	audita est deprecatio tua
21	sasc’aulebi da nišebi	sasc’aulebi	σειμεια και τεραστια	prodigia et signa
3	uc’q’alo da ulmobel	ulmobel da uc’q’alo	μη ελαιων μηδε οικτηρον	sine elemosina et sine omnibus bonis

In passage #37, the copyist of Jer Geo 2 replaced the expected vedrebay “plea” with the word qmay “voice”, repeated from the preceding line (“there came a voice from above”). The verbs šeisma and šeismina both mean “it was heard”, but the former is far rarer, and it is more likely that šeisma was recopied as šeismina than vice-versa. The remaining errors are a reversal of word order at #3, and the omission of two words at #21. It would appear that Jer Geo 37 continues certain readings which have been altered or omitted in Jer Geo 2, and also that the mss Q762, H600 and H1760 belong to this tradition. The Sabinin text, on the other hand, replicates the errors found in Jer Geo 2, which indicates that Sabinin drew upon a manuscript descended from Jer Geo 2, rather than the textual tradition represented by the other four sources. From the comparison of the Georgian texts with each other, and supporting evidence from the Latin and Greek corpora, an ancestral Georgian text has been reconstructed as shown in the 2nd column of Table 3. This text is identical to Jer Geo 2, except for the modifications (adopted from Jer Geo 37) discussed above and in my previous article.

1.2. Latin texts. The best-known Latin version of the PDM is of course that in the *Legenda aurea*. Less attention has been paid to the Latin renderings of the miracle that predate it. The Latin corpus for this study comprises three 12th-century texts, the LA and a ms dated c.1300.

(a) AA [Vatic Lt 6933, 12th c], Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Believed to have originated in Pisa. PDM on folios 95r-97r, demon miracle on 97r-98r. Huber 1913: 128-132; Poncelet Catalog 196-198; Tomea 1999; viewable on-line at <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSSVat.lat.6933>

(b) BB [Vind 739, 12th c]; Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III (ex Vind. lat. 15). PDM on folios 172r-174v. Huber 1913: 124-128; BHL Suppl. (1986) n. 3396k.

The AA and BB texts share several distinctive innovations, which permit them to be grouped together. At #11b, the king offers to give his daughter to the dragon after all of his subjects have given their children, so that “we will not be dispersed from our city”. In place of this phrase, AA and BB have “that the dragon leave our city (without damage)” (et sic dimittat ciuitatem nostrum AA; forsitan dimittet sine lesione ciuitatem nostrum). At #43, where George tells the townspeople to stand and see God’s salvation, AA and BB have instead “the mercy of almighty

God” (Dei omnipotentis misericordiam). AA has been chosen as the primary text for this group. The version in BB is considerably longer, with numerous additions not found in AA.

(c) CC [Codex Monacensis 14473, 12th c]; PDM on folios 1-5v, demon miracle on 5v-6v. Aufhauser 179-187; Tomea 1999. Greatly expanded, rather prolix version of PDM. Not as close to the Georgian versions as AA and BB

(d) DD [Archiv. Capit. S. Pietro, Vatican, Cod. C 129; c 1300]; Rystencko 1909a: 132-145; Aufhauser 218-226. PDM on folios 16v-36r, demon miracle on 36r-41. Viewable on-line at <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSSArch.Cap.S.Pietro.C.129>

The texts of the PDM in CC and DD are the products of extensive rewriting and elaboration. Some sections have undergone dramatic expansion due to inserted material, whereas others have been reduced or omitted entirely. Despite their considerable differences, CC and DD have some degree of shared ancestry. In both texts, instead of the reference to God showing miracles and wonders through his servant Moses (#36), one finds the more explicit qui virgam Moysi famuli tui in draconem et vice versa draconem in aridum lignum vertisti “who turned the staff of your servant Moses into a dragon and vice versa a dragon into dry wood”, a somewhat garbled echo of Exodus 7: 8-12. There is also evidence of common ancestry underlying the Latin mss as group, with the possible exception of LA. Segment #36 also contains a reference to God’s ability to read hearts and minds. Whereas almost all Greek witnesses add the qualifier “that are vain”, mss AA, BB, CC and DD have in its place the phrase antequam fiant, i.e. the Lord knows men’s thoughts before they happen. (This passage did not make its way into the LA). It is unclear what the source of this innovation could have been.

(e) LA (*Legenda aurea*), according to Cod. Monac. lat. 13029, f. 110-112, dated 1282; Aufhauser 195-212. During the compilation of his hagiographic anthology, Jacobus de Voragine (c1230-1298), a Dominican friar who was later consecrated archbishop of Genoa, would have doubtless had access to numerous manuscripts which are now lost, at least one of which shared several key features with the Georgian witnesses.

1.3. Greek texts. The corpus of Greek texts to be compared was drawn in part from the set of 25 mss assembled and collated by Aufhauser, of which I have obtained copies of fifteen. The mss from this set are designated by the capital letters A-Z assigned to them by Aufhauser. To these are added the manuscripts which I have labelled Ξ, Ψ, Π, Θ and Φ. In terms of orthography, some of the mss in the corpus adhere fairly closely to the norms, whereas as others betray, to greater or lesser degrees, what Aufhauser (1911: 45) characterized as the “schreckliche Verwilderung” of Byzantine Greek spelling as a consequence of the wide-ranging phonetic changes which affected the post-classical language: the neutralization of the pronunciations of η, ι, υ, and the former diphthongs ει and ου; the loss of the distinction between ο and ω; frequent omission of the rough-breathing mark; substitution of υ for β; etc.

(a) Ψ [Meteores, Metamorphōseōs 382, 15c], Monastery of the Transfiguration, Meteōra, Greece. PDM on folios 152v-155v, fragment of the demon miracle on 155v. Ehrhard III: 767-768; description and list of contents at <http://ideal.irht.cnrs.fr/document/819117>. The author consulted a microfilm reproduction of this manuscript held in the archives of the Institut de recherche et

d’histoire des textes (IRHT), Orléans. These microfilmed images are difficult to work from, due to the poor state of the manuscript — the pages are missing the upper left corner, and a piece on the lower-middle right side — compounded by the poor quality of the photographs. Stains on some pages obscure 2 or 3 letters. The edges of the images are very dark, possibly due to inadequate lighting conditions during the photographing of the ms. The text breaks off at the bottom of folio 155v, in the 3rd or 4th sentence of the demon miracle. The next folio has a different text, missing the beginning, thus it appears that one or more pages are lost.

(b) Ξ [Messina Bibl. Univ. 29, dated 1308]; Delehaye 1904; Krumbacher 1911: 250-251; Ehrhard III: 443-450. Digitalized images of this manuscript were provided by the Biblioteca Regional Universitaria Giacomo Longo di Messina.

(c) U [Athens 838, 16c], St George Monastery at Malesina (*Monē Hagíou Geōrgíou Malessinēs en Lokridi*) #11, now in National Library of Greece (*Ethnikē Bibliothēkē tēs Hellados*). PDM on folios 192r-195r, demon miracle on 195v-197r. Refs: Aufhauser 1911: 43; Ehrhard III: 770. Description and contents at URL <http://ideal.irht.cnrs.fr/document/819257>. Digitalized copies of the relevant folios were provided by the Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles of the National Library of Greece.

U and Ξ are very close. Although older, Ξ contains additions and some gaps; but very few retentions not also found in U.

(d) Also consulted are the following witnesses:

A [Paris, Biblio. nationale 770, dated 1315]; PDM on folios 72r-74v, demon miracle on 74v-75v. Rystencko 1909a: 9-18; Aufhauser 1911: 33. Images of the manuscript available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107231766>

F [Venice, Marcian. II 160, 16th c.]

G [Vatican 1190, 1542]

H [Venice, Marcian. VII 38, 16th c.]

L [Athens 278, 15th c.]; digital copy provided by the Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles of the National Library of Greece.

Γ [Athous Panteleemon 161, 19th-c.] (complete text of the PDM and demon miracle in Aufhauser 144-153)]

Δ [Athous Panteleemon 90, 19th-c.]. vernacular Greek version of the PDM and demon miracle published by Rystencko 1909b: 17-28]

Φ [Venice, Marcian. II 42, 13th c]. Aufhauser 1911: 95-96; Rystencko 1909a;

Π [Panaghia 128, 15th c.], held at the library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Istanbul ;

Θ [Theologikē skholē 39, 16th c.], also at the library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Digital copies of manuscripts F, H and Φ were supplied by the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, and Π and Θ were consulted at the Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes.

2. Collation of Old Georgian, Latin and Greek versions of PDM. In my initial study of the PDM, it was determined that, of the 25 Greek texts collated by Aufhauser, the versions he labelled U, W (Bologna 2702, 15th c.) and A bore the closest resemblance to Jer Geo 2, whereas the others, including the oldest text in his corpus, labelled Z (Cod. Angelic. 46, 12th c.), are more divergent. In this section, I will compare the reconstructed Old Georgian PDM text — which, as previously stated, is based almost entirely on Jer Geo 2 — to those Latin and Greek versions which, as far

as I know, most strongly resemble it. My objective is to reconstruct the text that would have been ancestral to these versions. The language of this postulated Urtext cannot, at present, be known with certainty. Georgian enjoys chronological priority, and the case of the citation of Exodus 14:13, to be discussed later, would support the scenario of a Georgian original underlying the others, but other hypotheses cannot be excluded.

In the process of reconstruction, choices had to be made as to which feature to ascribe to the ancestral text when the attested witnesses disagreed. The most significant cases of disagreement are discussed here, in the order of the segment in which they occur.

#2. Jer Geo 2 and the other Georgian versions situate the dragon miracle at the time when “the saint was shining upon the land, before his martyrdom” (*vidreḡa brc’q’invida kveq’anasa zeda c’mida igi p’irvel c’amebisa misisa*). The same verb root (*brc’q’in-*) is also employed to characterize George in some of the martyrdom narratives; e.g. the 10th and 11th c. manuscripts collated by Gabidzashvili (1991: 46) *mašin gamobrc’q’inda c’miday ḡmrtisay Giorgi vitarca varsk’wlavi brc’q’invalē ḡamesa šina bnelsa* “then George the saint of God shone forth like a brilliant star on a dark night”. This passage finds a close parallel in one of the Greek martyrdom texts, Codex Vindob. theol. gr. 123, fol. 37v-43v (13th c.): *tēnikaûta anélampsen hōs en skotomēnē nuktòs astēr diaphanēs* “at that time he shone forth like a bright star on a moonless night” (Krumbacher 1911: 32; Veselovskij 1880: 175). Comparisons of George to a shining star occur elsewhere in the Greek martyrdom narratives (Krumbacher 1911: 3, 215, 244). The transfer of the luminosity trope to the PDM narrative, however, is limited to the Georgian tradition. The accounts of this miracle in other languages, as far as I know, simply specify at most that it occur during his lifetime, without any mention of “shining”.

#2. The name of the king is *Selinos* in all Georgian texts. The Greek and Latin witnesses show a diversity of names lacking the consonant /n/, usually with a /b/ or /u/ in its place, e.g. *Selbios*, *Seluius*. There is no obvious historical or legendary personage from whom any of the latter variants could have been adopted.³ The name *Selinos*, on the other hand, does appear elsewhere, in the martyrdom narrative of St Febronia (Φεβρωνία, ფეβრონიას), a nun from Nisibis (now near the Syrian border in southeast Turkey) who lived at the time of the emperor Diocletian. According to her *vita*, Febronia was tortured and beheaded c. 304 at the orders of a Roman official named *Selinos* or *Selēnos* (Σελίνος/Σελήνος), who had been sent by Diocletian to the eastern provinces to suppress the Christian communities there (Brock and Harvey 1987). By the 11th c., the martyrdom of Febronia had appeared in several languages, including Georgian (Simon 1924). The mid-11th century synaxarion of George the Athonite, a copy of which is held by Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem (Jer Geo 25), contains an account of the martyrdom of St Febronia, whose feastday falls on 25 June. The hegemon *Selinos*, whose sadistic treatment of Febronia is described in gruesome detail, is in all respects — characterological, chronological and geographical — a close match with King *Selinos* of Lasia.⁴

³ After reviewing the half-dozen spellings of the king’s name in his corpus, Aufhauser (1911: 75-76) came to the conclusion that in all likelihood the name of the king, like that of the city Lasia, was a product of “der schöpferischen Phantaisie des ersten Verfassers des Drachenwunders”.

⁴ The source of the *Selinos* character in the hagiography of St Febronia is a distinct question. For an interesting hypothesis concerning *Selinos* and other proper names in the Febronia narrative, see Busine (2018). It could also be

#16. Although King Selinos, until his conversion, was second only to the dragon as a representative of evil, he was given the most lyrical lines in the PDM. In all Greek and Latin versions, the king’s lament includes a series of seven or eight rhetorical questions concerning preparations for a wedding he fears will never take place, and a grandchild he will never see. In all Georgian versions, the middle section of this passage is condensed into a single sentence (“When will I prepare instruments and dancers and lamps and drinkers and banqueters for you?”), with the sequence of the elements somewhat altered. Also specific to the Georgian corpus is the phrase “I will never again see your face” (aryara sada vixilo p’iri šeni). All of these differences look like innovations. In most of the Greek mss, the word pastós “bridal chamber; curtain for nuptial bed” is followed by verbs beginning with /p/: (i) pēxō “I will build, fasten” in mss A and W, its variants pēgxō (sic) in F and G, and poixomai in D; (ii) plexō “I will braid, plait” in U and Ψ; and (iii) poiēsō “I will make” in B, H, K. It seems likely that pēxō is the older reading; its miscopying as plexō would have been partially conditioned by the polysemy of pastós, which can designate both the nuptial chamber and the curtain around the bed.

#22. In the Georgian versions, the clause describing George’s dismissal from Diocletian’s army is subordinated to the verb ganago “set in order, arranged”, with “God” as the implied subject, giving the reading “[God] made it happen, that King Diocletian released [George] from the army”. No such explicit reference to divine intervention occurs in this segment in the Greek and Latin versions. At present I see no grounds for favoring one or the other reading.

#27. In the initial exchange between George and the princess, in all versions except those in Georgian, she tells him to mount his horse and get away. The Georgian versions have no mention of the horse, but rather the command “go from here, and quickly flee!” Taking into account the preceding mention of the horse, and the redundancy of the first part of the Georgian passage, I consider it likely that the Greek and Latin versions continue the original reading.

#28. But George does not jump on his horse and flee. Instead he asks the woman to identify herself and the people who are watching them from the city walls. In the older Georgian versions, the interrogative pronoun in both questions is ray, literally, “what”, even though Georgian has a distinct pronoun with human reference vin “who”. The use of the inanimate pronoun in this context is very rare in Old Georgian. In the few attested occurrences, the question ray xar? seems to express the speaker’s uncertainty about the human or supernatural nature of the referent, or bewilderment on the part of pagan rulers interrogating Christian martyrs (“What are you or who are you (ray xar šen anu vinay xar)?” Elianos said to him, “I am a servant of Christ”; *Keimena II: Mart. St Elianos*, pt 29). There is nothing comparable to this in the Greek and Latin versions, which employ the interrogative pronouns tis and quis, respectively.

#36b. George raises his eyes to God, and in a prayer larded with scriptural quotes, ascribes to God the knowledge of people’s thoughts or hearts. The Georgian version of this passage (šen tavadman uc’q’ni gulis zraxvani k’actani) echoes Luke 9:47 (“but Jesus knew the thoughts of their hearts”). However, almost all of the Greek versions, with the exception of Ψ, add to the word meaning “hearts” or “thoughts” the phrase “that are vain” [hoti eisin mataioi], which seems to reference Psalm 93:11 (“The Lord knoweth the thoughts of men, that they are vain”). The

the case that Febronia’s tormentor and the King of Lasia were both based on a now-lost tradition associated with a Diocletian-era persecutor of Christians named Selinos or Selēnos.

hypothesis that Psalm 93:11 was the initial Biblical source for the passage #36b runs up against the references to kardía (mss HKZΓΔ) or even kardiognōsta “heart-knower” (mss BDFGT) in ten of the 18 Greek mss in the corpus, all of which also include the qualifier mataioi. In order to account for these hybrid references, I postulate an initial citation based on Luke 9:47, to which “of men” was added. The references to “thoughts” (dialogismous // cogitationes) could have evoked, in the mind of a later copyist, the verse in Psalm 93, which employs the same words in both its Greek and Vulgate versions. This would have resulted in a hybrid phrase of the form “you know the thoughts of the hearts of men, that they are vain.” Garbled versions of this phrase appear in mss G (ginōskeis kardiognōsta tous dialogismous tōn anthrōpōn, hoti eisin mataioi), H (ginōskeis kardías kai logismous tōn anthrōpōn, hoti eisin mataioi), and several others. In G and four other witnesses (BDFT), the word kardía has been replaced by kardiognōsta “heart-knower”, presumably inspired by Acts 1:24. Elsewhere (mss ACLMUWΞ), reference to heart(s) has been lost, in all likelihood due to scribes who recognized the reference to Ps 93:11, and “corrected” the text accordingly.

#38a and #41. In nearly all of the Greek versions of the PDM, there is no text between the voice from heaven in #37 and the princess’s cry of alarm in #38, whereas in all Georgian versions, the imminent appearance of the dragon is announced by the shaking of the reed-bed (lerc’moani) in the lake. A handful of Greek renderings (F, G and Ψ) and nearly all of the Latin ones mention some kind of agitation in the lake, although only the Latin ms AA specifies a reed-bed (in arundineto). In terms of word sequence, the passage in Ψ comes especially close to the Georgian, if the missing letters in the sequence kai parakhrema XXXXXthē ho lākōs are filled in with the verb etarakhthē “were shaken, agitated”, as suggested by X. Lequeux, to give the reading “and suddenly the lake was agitated”. It should be noted that mss F and G also use forms of this verb (tò hūdōr dietarakthē).

As I proposed in my earlier article, the mention of the reed-bed could help us understand the odd pair of items that, according nearly all of the Greek and two of the Latin versions of the PDM, were used to fashion a leash for the dragon. In passage #41, after subduing the dragon, George orders the princess to remove her belt (lúson tēn zōnēn sou) and “the cord of my horse” (tò skhoiníon tou hippou mou), both of which he uses to bind the dragon. Of these two components the belt is the most readily accounted for. As noted by Ogden (2013: 403; 2021: 197-200), the legends of dragon-defeating saints frequently include the trope of an innocuous article of clothing, such as a kerchief, stole or belt, used by the saint to bind the ferocious beast after its submission to divine power. The horse-cord seems out of place here, nor does a leash made of two elements tied together appear in any iconographic representation of this scene. The noun skhoiníon “cord, rope” is a derivative of skhoînos “reed, place full of reeds”,⁵ these plants having been used commonly to make rope. My hypothesis is that the occurrence of this word in passage #41 resulted from a misreading or misspelling of skhoînos in the text being copied, where it was used to denote the shaking reed-bed in #37. The original passage would have read kai paraxrēma etarakthē ho skhoînos, or something similar. The word skhoiníon would have been subsequently transplanted a few lines down to passage #41, where reference to some kind of cord would seem appropriate. The existence of a witness such as AA, which includes mentions of both the reed-bed and the “cords of the horse” (funes equi), could be accounted for by a source which was translated from a lost Greek original which retained skhoînos in #37 even after

⁵ as in *Odyssey* 5:463.

skhoinion was inserted into #41; or else a text produced by a copyist who worked from two or more documents, one of which contained skhoinos (or its equivalent) and the other skhoinion. Of the texts in the corpus, the Greek ms G and the Latin CC, DD and LA pattern with the Georgian versions insofar as they mention an event in the water signalling the arrival of the dragon, and lack reference to any item besides the woman's belt for binding the dragon.

#43. Upon seeing the dragon being led toward them by the princess, the people of Lasia take fright and try to flee. George tells them not to fear, but rather “stand and you will see God's deliverance”. The Georgian text repeats almost verbatim the words of Moses before God parted the waters of the Red Sea in most Old Georgian versions of Exodus 14:13: degit da ixilot macxovarebay ymrtisay.⁶ What is noteworthy about this passage is the use of the future tense in the second conjoined verb (ixilot “you-pl will see it”). In the Septuagint and Vulgate renderings of Exodus 14:13, both verbs are in the imperative mood (stēte kai horâte tēn sōtērian tēn parà toû Theoû // state et videte magnalia Domini), as are the verbs in citations of this verse in all Greek and Latin versions of the PDM, with three, possibly more, exceptions that I know of. The Greek ms L and the 19th-c. vernacular versions Γ and Δ, and the Latin BB employ the same sequence of 2nd-plural imperative followed by future as in the Georgian (L stēkete kai ópseshte tēn s(ōtēr)ian toû Th(eo)u mou; ΓΔ kathēsate kai thēlete ideî tēn dóxan toû Theoû; BB state et confidite et uidebitis Dei omnipotentis misericordiam).⁷ In view of the shared features pointing to a special proximity between the Old Georgian and earliest Latin textual traditions of the PDM, one wonders if the copyist of BB could have obtained uidebitis from a source, possibly in Greek, which in its turn had been translated from a Georgian original. As for ms L, it is in most respects no closer to the Georgian tradition than the other mss I have grouped together as “other Greek” in Table 2 below. It does however contain two parallels to the Georgian which do not occur in most other mss: eipé moi pánta (“tell me all” = Geo. mitxar q'ovelive) in segment #30; and the number of 45000 baptized in #47. The mss Γ and Δ, despite their very late dates, vernacularized language and numerous modifications (Aufhauser 1911: 144 classifies Γ as a “rhetorisch erweiterter Text”), also share scattered parallels with the Georgian witnesses not found in most other Greek sources, among them the binding of the dragon with the woman's belt only. The most likely explanation is that L, Γ and Δ descend from ancestral texts derived from two or more source documents, one of which shared these features with the Georgian corpus.

Also of interest for the comparison of the PDM versions is the word expressing what it is that the people are to stand and see. All Georgian versions use the same word (macxovarebay “salvation, deliverance”) as in the passage from Exodus. Several Greek versions (A, G, K, E) do likewise, employing sōtērian. Many others, including some of those which in other respects stand close to the Georgian tradition, substitute doxan “glory” (Ψ, U, T, W, Z). The Latin mss AA, BB employ misericordiam in this context, which appears to be an innovation specific to this pair of texts.

⁶ The oldest known Georgian versions of the book of Exodus with this reading are from the 17th c. (mss A51, A179, H 1207, Kutaisi N 28), which implies that a translation ancestral to these mss was in existence at least six centuries earlier.

⁷ The future-tense form also appears in the more verbose rendering of #43 in ms CC (virī, nolite timere, sed state confidēter, quia invocato trinitatis nomine uidebitis miracula dei), although in view of the abundance of added material it is not obvious that the copyist relied on an original similar to BB for the choice of tense. This is also the case for the parallel passage in ms Θ, which includes the 2pl future, but also intercalated material (mē phobeisthe humeîs, eân gâr pisteúsēte eis ton huiòn toû Theoû, ópseshte tēn dúnamin autoû).

Discussion. Leaving aside the differences likely to have resulted from innovations specific to the Georgian tradition (##16, 22, 27, 28), four innovations can be identified which distinguish the Georgian corpus, along with some mss in other languages, from the rest. Of these, three involve the alteration or addition of a feature, and one the loss of a narrative element. The table shows the status of the four innovations for the texts in the corpus.

Table 2

	feature (segment #)	Geo	Latin					closer Greek			other Greek	
			LA	DD	CC	BB	AA	Ψ	U	Ξ	FG	others
	##16, 22, 27, 28	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	#2 Selinos > Selb-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	#41 sxoinion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	G-, F+	+
3	#36 Lk 9 > Ps 93	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4	#38 water signal (loss)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	#38 reedbed (change)	+	lacu	aquarum	aquarum	aqua	+	lakōs	∅	∅	hudōr	∅

(The group “other Greek” comprises nearly the entire set of mss collated by Aufhauser. These witnesses are separated from the Georgia, Latin and “closer Greek” texts by numerous divergences, at least a dozen, indicated in the table by the thick line).

It is evident that the Latin texts as a group are closer to the Georgian than the Greek texts are. As shown by the “—” signs in the table, the proximity of the Latin tradition to the Georgian is one of conservation, not innovation. The Greek corpus on the whole is distinguished from the Georgian by the alteration of the name of the king, the addition of the “horse’s cord”, and the phrase “that are vain” from Ps 93:11. The distribution of the first two traits among the Latin witnesses is likely to have resulted from textual hybridization at some point in the ancestry of these mss. The mention of a cord in AA and BB could be traceable to a text ancestral to the group AA/BB, which acquired this feature when a copyist worked from one original closer to the Greek tradition and another closer to the Georgian.

Although it creates headaches for those who like neatly-branching cladograms in which each item has a single ancestor, hybridization or “contamination” is by no means unknown in textual traditions, and could well have been fairly common. Tomea (1999) presents one such case involving the account of the miracle of St George and the demon in the *Liber notitiae sanctorum Mediolani* (c 1300), which includes features drawn from at least two sources, one close to AA, the other CC. In fact, hybridization seems the most reasonable explanation of the surprising parallels between the Georgian and mss F and G, which form a subgroup within the “other Greek” group, and which are otherwise quite distant from the Georgian, Latin and “closer Greek” witnesses. F and G are the only Greek mss besides Ψ which mention the disturbance of the waters before the dragon arrives, and G, along with the vernacular renderings Γ and Δ, is the only Greek version of the PDM which lacks reference to a skhoinion or its equivalent. In the bottom line of Table 2 are the words occupying the place of “reed-bed” in those texts which retain the episode of the disturbance of the lake. Alongside the Georgian mss and AA, which retain the original word, are ms BB, CC, DD and F and G, with words meaning “water(s)”, and Ψ and LA with lakos and lacus, respectively. In view of the distributions of these variants, the most likely scenario is independent replacement of “reed-bed” in the ancestors of the pairs F/G and CC/DD, and B. It is uncertain whether there is any connection between the

appearances of lakos in Ψ and lacus in LA. Whatever the word that appears in this segment, it is distinct from the term initially designating the body of water inhabited by the dragon (Geo. t'ba, Gk limnē, Lt stagnum).

The numerous innovations specific to the Georgian textual tradition, all of which are already present in Jer Geo 2, point to the existence of a version which would have predated the common ancestor of the Georgian manuscripts. A possible terminus post quem can be postulated on the basis of the codex Bodleian Georg b. 1, which contains a menologion accompanied by hagiographic texts, including the passion of St George and four miracle narratives (Peeters 1912; Barrett 1973: 305). The miracles correspond to the first four in Aufhauser (1913: 2-43): the widow's pillar, the icon shot with an arrow, the Paphlagonian captive, and the rescue of the son of Leon and Theophania; but neither the miracle of the dragon nor that of the demon appears in this collection. The codex was written in the years 1038-1040 at the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, that is, the same institution where the Jer Geo 2 was copied.

By the end of the 12th century the textual history of the PDM had been sufficiently active to give rise to the diversity — in three languages — represented by Jer Geo 2; the three Latin mss AA, BB and CC; and Z, the earliest surviving Greek witness. This last-named version already shows the effects of all four innovations presented in Table 2, as well as having lost numerous features common to the Georgian and early Latin mss. It has also added some new materials (e.g. after the invocation of God “who sits above the Cherubim” in #36, Z adds “and the Seraphim” (kai epì tōn Seraphim), for which there is no warrant in the Biblical source (Daniel 3:55).

Jerusalem in the 12th century would have been the ideal milieu for at least the initial phase of exchange among Georgian, Greek and Latin ecclesiastical circles from which these mss emerged. The Holy City had been conquered by the Crusaders in 1099, and held by them for most of the next two centuries. The Georgian Monastery of the Holy Cross was visited on several occasions by West European Christians in the course of the 12th century, as attested by prayer requests noted in the manuscript H-1661 (dated 1156) which was held in the monastery. Although transcribed with varying degrees of accuracy in Georgian script, the names of preceptor Geoffroy Foulcher and Grand Master Philip of Nablus of the Knights Templar have been identified by scholars (Tsurstsumia 2012).

In addition to being a venue in which Western Christians lived in proximity to Greek and Georgian monks, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the other states founded in the Levant by Crusaders were centers of the propagation of the cult of St George. Even before taking Jerusalem, the Crusaders considered St George one of their patrons and protectors, and visions of George, accompanied by other military saints, and leading a host of heavenly soldiers, were reported during the sieges of Antioch in 1098 and Jerusalem the following year (Runciman I: 248; Sweetenham 2005: 54, 142, 171). Indications of Crusader interest in the representation of St George as a dragon-fighter include coins issued at Antioch in the years 1112-1119 by Roger of Sicily, featuring the image of George spearing a dragon. The reputation of St George as patron of Christian warriors, with its associated stories and images (including the PDM), spread westward as soldiers returned to Europe from the Holy Lands. Among them were the Knights Templar, who had an image of George defending a woman from a dragon painted alongside battle scenes

from the Crusades on a late-12th century fresco in the chapel of their commandery in Cressac, France (Biais 1901: 349).

3. Reconstruction of the ancestral form of the princess and dragon miracle.

In column 1 of Table 3, I present a provisional reconstruction of the text of the PDM, which would have been — at least in part — ancestral to the Georgian versions, and the Latin witnesses AA and BB, and the Greek mss Ψ, Ξ and U. This Urtext would have existed in the mid-11th century, probably in Jerusalem, in either Greek or Old Georgian. It would have been composed in a monastic setting by a writer familiar with the scriptures and the earlier hagiographic literature on St. George, and probably also some early examples of secular literature featuring dragon-fighting heroes, such as the medieval Georgian romance *Amiran-Darejaniani* (Xoneli/Stevenson, 1958).

(col. 1) The reconstructed text, translated into English. {Curly brackets} enclose the translation of a passage which is considered an innovation of the Georgian tradition;

(col. 2) The Old Georgian text of Jer Geo 2 with the amendments drawn from Jer Geo 37;

(col. 3) A Latin text based principally on AA, with additions or alterations taken from BB, inserted between parentheses and printed in italics;

(col. 4) The text of Ψ, which, among all of the Greek texts that I have examined, stands the closest to the Georgian. For the reasons noted earlier, the reading of Ψ is compromised by damage to the manuscript, as well as the poor quality of the photographic reproductions. The text presented in column 4 is thus highly tentative and subject to revision should clearer images be obtained, or readers with a deeper knowledge of Byzantine Greek puzzle out pieces of the text that I failed to see, or incorrectly transcribed. Please note that the original spelling is given here. In some cases I offer possible corrections, in parentheses.

[Square brackets] enclose missing or poorly legible segments. Speculative readings, based on comparison to other texts, are presented within the brackets; otherwise “X”s mark unrecoverable letters. <Angle brackets> enclose letters omitted in abbreviated spellings of nomina sacra.

In columns 2-4, innovative readings which are not attributed to the ancestral text are underlined.

Table 3. Reconstruction of the text of the princess-and-dragon miracle.

Reconstructed text	Georgian text	AA Vat 6933/BB Vind 739	Ψ Meteores 382, ff 152v-155v
(1) Hear, my brothers, the great and glorious miracle which was done by the holy and great martyr George	ისმინეთ ძმანო ჩემნო საკრეველი ღიღი და დიდებული რომელი იქმნა წმიდისა და დიდებულისა და დიდისა მოწამისა გიორგის მიერ .	Audite, fratres mei <u>carissimi</u> , miraculum magnum, quod <u>fecit Deus</u> propter gloriosum martirem Georgium <u>seruum suum</u> ;	152v [ἀκούσ]ατε ἀδελφοί μου θαύμα παράδοξον τελε[σθέν] ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου.
(2) It happened at that time, during the life of St George while he was shining upon the land, before his martyrdom, in a city called Lasia, and in that city was a king with the name Selinos,	იყო ჟამთა მათ ვიდრეცა ბრწყინებდა ქვეყანასა ზედა წმიდა იგი პირველ წამებისა მისისა, იყო ქალაქი ერთი რომელსა ეწოდებოდა ლასია, და იყო ქალაქსა მას შინა მეფე სახელით სელინოს.	quod factum est in quadam ciuitate, cui nomen erat Lasia. In qua erat imperator quidam nomine <u>Seluius</u> ;	ἐγένετο κα[τὰ] τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκείνους ἐν τῇ ζῳῇ τοῦ ἁγίου [Γεωρ]γίου. ἦν μία πόλις καλούμενη [L?]ασία 153r [καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῆ βασι]λεύς ὀνό<ματι> σελ[ει]ο[ς].
(3) And he was wicked and an idol-worshipper and an unbeliever, merciless and pitiless toward the believers in Christ.	და იყო იგი უკეთურ და კერპთმსახურ და უმჯულო და (უწყალო და უღმობელი) ქრისტეს მორწმუნეთა მიმართ.	et ipse erat malignus et idola colens, sine lege et sine elemosina et sine <u>omnibus bonis</u> .	Καὶ ο[XXXXXXXX] καὶ παράνομος καὶ εἰδωλοθῆτις, μὴ ἔλεον τινά (??) μὴ δὲ οἰκτερον τοὺς εἰς Χ<ριστο>ν πιστεύοντας.
(4) And the Lord requited him according to his evil deeds.	და მსგავსად ბოროტთა საქმეთა მისთა მიავლი მას ოფეგლმან	Et <u>quamuis ita esset Deo infidelis</u> , tamen secundum opera eius magna retribuit ei Dominus.	καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν τὰ πονηρὰ ἀπέδοκεν αὐτῷ ὁ Κ<υριο>ς.
(5) For near the city there was a lake filled with much water, like a sea.	რამეთუ მახლობლად ქალაქისა მის იყო ტბა შესაკრებელი წყალთა მრავალთა, ვითარცა ზღუა.	(BB <i>In proximo autem praephate ciuitatis stagnum erat quasi mare profundum.</i>	ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἦν λύμνη ἔχουσα ὕδωρ πολλὴ ὡσπερ θάλασσα.
(6) 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.	და გამოჩნდა ვეშაპი ბოროტი წყალთა მათ შინა ტბისათა და მარადელ განვიდოდა და მოჰსწრებდა და განჰლეკდა და შეჰჭამდა მათ,	<i>in quo natus erat draco magnus ualde horribilis. Qui per unumquemque diem exiens de aqua illa, fortiter preliabatur contra omnem populum ciuitatis et contra imperatorem)</i>	ἐγεννήθη ἐν δὲ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τοῦτο δράκον πονηρός, καὶ καθ'ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐξερχόμενος εἰσθ[XX] τὸν λαὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης.
(7) And many times the king gathered his soldiers to kill the dragon, and they were unable to, because of its {ferocity and} size.	და მრავალ გზის შეკრება მეფემან მკედრება მოკლად ვეშაპისა მის და ვერ უძლეს რამეთუ იყო იგი მძნებარე და დიდ.	Imperator uero hec audiens, congregauit omnem exercitum suum, ut ipsum draconem interficeret. Et non potuit propter magnitudinem eius.	πολλάκις οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς συνάξας πάντα τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν δρ[ά]κοντα, καὶ οὐκ ἔδυνήθησαν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτ[οῦ]
(8) Then all of the city gathered, and cried out to the king, and said: What can we do, O king, for our city is a fine dwelling-place, and we are perishing wretchedly.	მამინ შეკრება ყოველი იგი ქალაქი. და ვმობდეს მეფისა მიმართ და იტყოდეს ვითარმედ: რა ვყოთ ში მეფეო, რამეთუ საყოველ ქალაქისა ჩუენისა კეთილ არს, და ჩუენ ბოროტად წარწყმდებით,	Quapropter congregatus est omnis populus ciuitatis et exclamauit ad imperatorem dicens: Quid faciemus, imperator? Habitatio ciuitatis nostre optima est, sed male perimus.	συνήχθη δὲ ἡ πόλις καὶ εὐόησαν (= ἔβησαν) πρὸς τὸν βα[σι]λέα [λέγοντες, τί ποιήσωμεν ὁ βασιλεῦ, [XXXX] κατείκεις ἡμῶν καλὴ λια[v? XXXXXX] ἀπολόμεθα,
(9) And you, king, do not care about this, nor do you act, as do the kings of all countries.	და შენ მეფ(ე) არა პზრუნავ ამისთვის არცა ილუწი ვითარცა მეფენი ყოვლისა ქუეყნისანი.	Et tu, imperator, non habes curam de nobis.	καὶ σὺ βασιλ[εῦ XXXX] πε[ρι] τοῦτου οὐδὲ φροντίζεις, ὡσπερ οἱ β[α]σιλεῖς ταῖς ὑδίας (= ἰδίας) χώραις
(10) Then it became painful for the king, and he was more frightened, and said to them:	მამინ ტკივნეულ იქმნა მეფე იგი. და უფროს-და შეეშინა, და პრეუა მათ:	Imperator <u>tunc audiens uociferationem populorum</u> ira repletus cum timore dixit ad populum:	τότ[XXXXXXXX] χολάσας μάλον δὲ φοβήθη [XXXXXXXX]
(11) Make/ {write} a document, and give your children as sacrifices, and when all of yours will be used up, there is my only-begotten daughter, and I too will give her as a sacrifice, like you, and we will not be dispersed from our city.	აწერეთ ერთი ველით წერილი და მისცენით შვილნი თქუენნი შესაწირავად, და ოდეს დაესრულნენ თქუენ ყოველთანი არს ასული ჩემი მხოლოდ შობილი მეცა მივსცე იგი შესაწირავად ვითარცა თქუენ, და არა განვცვეთ ქალაქისაგან ჩუენისა.	(BB <i>Faciamus hanc conuenientiam inter nos: Unusquisque de nobis det filios suos draconi ad deuorandum, qui sibi erunt quasi holocaustum.</i>) Et postquam omnes uestri consumpti fuerint, et ego dabo filiam meam unicam, sicut et uos. Et sic dimittat ciuitatem nostram.	ποιήσεται λοιπὸν ἀπογραφῆν, καὶ δωτ[XXXXXXXX] τέκνα ὑμῶν εἰς θ[υσ]ίαν, [XX] πληροθέντων π[ά]ντων [XXXX] καὶ ὅσων θυγατέρα[v] μονογενῆν καὶ διδ[ωμ] ὡσπερ παντ[XX XXX] μάνον μὴ ἐκρυφ[ωμεν XXX] πόλεος ἡμῶν.
(12) His words pleased them all, and one after the other, they began to give their children, until it came to the king.	და სთნდა ყოველთა სიტყუა მისი. და იყო კაცად კაცადმან მიცემა(დ) შვილთა თვისთა ვიდრემდის მიიწია მეფისა.	Et placuit uerbum hoc omnibus. Et unusquisque cepit draconi dare filium suum. Expletis autem omnibus,	καὶ [XXῆ]ρσε[v] ὁ λόγος αὐτ[XX XXX] καὶ ἦρξα(το?) δίδειν τὰ τέκνα [XXXX X]οντ[XX] ἕως [XX] ἐλθ[XXX]σ[XX XXX]
(13) Then the king dressed his daughter in royal purple, and adorned her like a bride, and he began to kiss her, saying with lamentation and tears:	ხოლო მეფემან შეჰპოსა ასულსა თვისსა პორფირი სამეფოვად და შეამკო იგი ვითარცა სძალი, და იყო ამბორი სყოფად მისა და გოდებით და ცრემლით ეტყუოდა:	imperator induit filiam suam uestimento regali et parauit eam quasi sponsam. Et osculans eam cum amaritudine et lacrimis, dixit ei:	154v [X] θυγάτριον αὐτοῦ πο[ρ]φύραν XXXXXXXX] καὶ κοσμήσας αὐτὴν ὡσπερ νύμφην, κατ[ε]φιლ[XX] καὶ μετὰ δακρῶν ὀλοφύρομες λέγει,

Reconstructed text	Georgian text	AA Vat 6933/BB Vind 739	Ψ Meteores 382, ff 152v-155v
(14) Go my only-begotten, sweet daughter, to be eaten by the dragon.	წარვედ მხოლოდ შობილი და ტკბილი ასული ჩემო შესაჭმელად ვეშაპისა,	Vade, dulcissima filia mea, ad fetorem draconis.	ὑπάγει [μο]νογενῆ μου ἀμφίλον το τέκνον.
(15) Alas, my dear child, you comforted me and my kingdom/ {you were the comfort-giver and inheritor of my kingdom}, and the light of my eyes, and expecting a wedding and a bridegroom, and behold, you will leave to be eaten by the beast!	ვაძმე საწაღელი შვილი ჩემო, შენ იყავ ნუგეშინის მცემელ და მკვლარ მეფობის ჩემისა და სინათლე თუ ღოთა ჩემთა და მოსალოდებელ ქორწილისა და სიძისა და აპა ესერა საჭმელად მვეციისა წარივლინები!	Heu me, filia mea carissima. tu consolatura eras me et imperium meum; tu lumen oculorum meorum fuisti. Et sponsum et nuptias pro te facere putavi; modo uero ad bestie deuorationem uadis.	სუ γάρ με ἔθαλπες τέκνον καὶ ἐμέ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μου, καὶ τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου <u>σὺ περιέθαλπες καὶ πατρίδα καὶ γάμους περι σοῦ ἐβουλόμην ποιῆσαι</u> , καὶ ἄρτι γλυκῆτατον μου εἰς βρώσιν θηρίου ἀπέρχει.
(16) Alas, [i] when will I make a wedding? [ii] when will I prepare a bridal-chamber for you? [iii] when will I light the lamps? [iv] when will I assemble choral dancers? [v] when will I hear the melodies of the instruments? [vi] when will I mix wine? [vii] when will I invite the hungry with joy? [viii] and when will I see the fruit of your womb? {condensed in Geo}	ვაძმე, ვითარსა-ღა ქორწილისა აღვასრულებ; ანუ რაბამსა სასძილისა შევიმზადებ, გინა ვითართა ორღანთა და სახიობათა და ლამპართა და მოსქუქართა და მენიავეთა აღვიმზადებ? ვაძმე საწაღელი შვილი ჩემო, რამეთუ არღარა სადა ვიხილო პირი შენი, არცა ნაყოფი მუცლისა შენისა,	Heu me, filia dulcissima, quando faciam nuptias tuas? <u>Quando tauros meos et altitia occidam?</u> Quando lampades illuminabo, quando choros faciam, quando audiam organa et timpana? (BB <i>Quando bibam optimum uinum cum filiis regum ?</i>) Quando pauperes ad tuum gaudium uocabo? Quando uidebo fructum uentris tui?	οἴμοι, οἴμοι καὶ πότε γάμον ποιήσω; πότε παστὸν πλέξω; πότε λαμπάδας σου ἀνάψω; πότε χοροὺς συστήσω; πότε ὄργανον μελοδίσω; πότε τοὺς ποινῶντες εἰς εὐφροσύνην καλέσω; καὶ πότε καρπὸν κιλῶς σου ὄψωμαι;
(17) Alas, you will take leave of me, without a common (normal, natural) death	რამეთუ აპა ესერა განმეშორები თვნიერ ზოგადისა სიკუდილისა!	Heu me, filia mea dulcissima, sine mortis tempore modo diuidimur ab inuicem	οἴμοι τέκνον μου [γλυ]κῆτατον, οἴμοι. πορεύθητι λοιπὸν ἄνευ κινουῦ [θαν]άτου ἄρτι <u>χορίζομαι σε</u> .
(18) He turned and spoke to the people: Take gold and silver, as much as you wish, and with it my kingdom, and set my sweet child free!	და მოექცა და პრქუა ერს მას; მიიღეთ რაგდენი ვნებავს ოქროსა და ვეცხლი და მისთანა მუფობადცა ჩემი და განათავისუფლეთ შვილი ჩემი!	(BB <i>Et conuersus ad populum dixit.</i>) Tollite aurum et argentum, quantum uultis, et insuper medietatem regni mei, et dimittite unicam filiam meam dulcissimam.	καὶ στραφῆς ὁ [βασιλεὺς] πρὸς τ[XX]άρτω (?) λέγει: Λάβεται ἀργύρι[ον καὶ χρυσίον] ὅσσον θέλεται ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν βα[σιλεαν] καὶ μόνον ἀφεται μοι τὸ γλυκῆτα[τον τεκνο]ν.
(19) And no one {listened to him, nor} heeded him, because he had first instituted the decree, and as he saw the unyieldingness of the people, he gave them his daughter.	და არავინ იმშინა მისი და არცა შეუწდო ამისთვის, რამეთუ მას განქუცა განწინებამა იგი პირველითგან, და ვითარცა იხილა მიუდრეკელობამა ერისა მის, მიუბოძა მათ ასული თვისი.	Et nullus uoluit condonare ei, quia ipse iudicauerat hec fieri. Tunc imperator uidens, quod populus irrueret in eum uehementer, direxit filiam suam ad draconem.	καὶ οὐδεὶς ἠθέλησεν ἄκοῦσαι τὸ [XXXXX] ὁ ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευσεν τὴν πρόσταξιν [XXX]ν. τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἶδὼν τὸ ἀμετά[στατον] τοῦ λαοῦ, ἀπέλυσεν αὐτὴν.
(20) Then the entire people of the city gathered, from the old to the young, to watch the maiden.	მამინ შეკრბა ყოველი იგი ქალაქი დიდითგან ვიდრე მცირემდე მათდა ხილვად ქალისა მის.	Conuersus autem est populus a maiore usque ad minorem ad uidendum puellam.	συνέδραμεν δὲ [ἡ π]όλις ἅπασα ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου πρὸς θε[ω]ρίαν τῆς κόρης.
(21) But loving and all-merciful God wished to show miracles and signs through the holy martyr George,	ხოლო კაცთმოყუარემან და მრავალმოწყალემან ღმერთმან ინება, რათა აჩუენოს სასწაულები (და ნიშები) წმიდისა მოწამისა გიორგის მიერ.	Sed benignissimus et misericors Deus uoluit demonstrare prodigia et signa magna propter sanctum martirem suum Georgium	Ὁ δὲ φιλάν<θρωπος> ὁ θε<ος>, ὁ θέλον [δη]ξαι τεράστια καὶ σημῖα δια τοῦ <εγαλο>μαρτυρος τοῦ [X<ριστο>υ] Γεώργιου,
(22) therefore during those days it came to pass that {God arranged that} King Diocletian released him from the army.	ამისთვისცა მათ დღეთა შინა განაგო რათა განუტეოს მკედრობამა დეოკლეტიანე მეფემან.	In illis diebus factum est, ut Diocletianus imperator dimitteret exercitum suum	ἐγένετο <u>καταστασία</u> (??) κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας [ἐκεί]νας ἀπολύθηται τὸν στρατὸν ὑπο Διοκλητιανουῦ
(23) Thus the glorious George was coming toward the land of Cappadocia to his homestead, and by the commission of God, he came to that place, on that day, when the dragon was to {eat and} kill the woman.	ვინადაცა მოვიდოდა დიდებული გიორგი კაპადოკიისა სოფლად და თვისად მამულად და მოლუაწებითა ღმრთისადითა მოწამისა აგდებისა მას დღესა შინა, რომელსა შინა ეგულებოდა ვეშაპსა მას შეჭმად ქალისა მის და წარწყმელად.	ut unusquisque ad propria rediret. Et secundum Dei preceptum inuentus est sanctus martir Georgius in loco illo ubi puella debebat mori.	154r [XXXXXXXX]ετο ὁ μέγας [XXXXXXXX] χῶραν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν [XXXXX] καὶ κατ' ἡκονομίαν θε<εο>ῦ, κατήτη[σεν] ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἡ [XX]ηκα (?) ἔμελεν ἡ κόρη ἀποθνήσκειν,
(24) And he turned toward the lake, to let his horse drink water, and found the maiden seated at the edge of the lake, weeping bitterly.	მიუქცია ტბად რაითამცა ასუა წყალი ჰუნესა თვისსა, და პოვა ქალი იგი მკვდომარე კიდესა ტბისსა, და მწარედ მტირალი.	In illa hora intrauit in stagnum, ut potum daret equo suo. Et inuenit puellam sedentem iuxta stagnum, flentem amarissime.	καὶ ἐξένευσεν [ἐν] τῇ λύμνῃ ἐκείνῃ [XX] ποτήσαι τὸν ὑππον αὐτον [εὔ]ρησεν τὴν κόρην καθημένην καὶ κλῆουσαν πικρῶς,
(25) Then the saint said to her: Woman, why do you weep, and why are you sitting at this place?	და პრქუა მას წმიდამან: დედაკაცო რასა სტირ ანუ რად ჰზი ადგილსა ამას?	Dicit ei sanctus Georgius: Mulier, quid ploras? Quare sedes in loco isto?	λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγ<ιος>, τί κάθισε ἐν ταῦτ[ω?] καὶ κλαί[εις] καὶ ὀδυνᾷσαι.

Reconstructed text	Georgian text	AA Vat 6933/BB Vind 739	Ψ Meteores 382, ff 152v-155v
(26) The maiden {answered him and} said: I see you, my lord, handsome and in the bloom of youth, and why did you come here to die?	მიუღო ქალმან მან და პრქუა მას: გხედვ შენ ოფუალო ჩემო პაეროუნას და შეუნიერსა პასაკითა და ვითარ მოხუედ აქა მოსიკუდე?	Dicit ei mulier: Domine, aspicio aspectum tuum multum bonum et decorem tuum ualde optimum. Et quomodo uenisti huc mori?	ἡ δὲ κόρη ἀτενίσσας εἰς τοῦ δούλου θ<εο>υ καὶ στενάξασα ἐκ βάρθου καρδίας, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν, Κύ<ρι>έ μου, ὄρω σοι πάνι ὠραῖον τουτὸ ὑδει (??) καὶ ὑπερκαλλον τῆ ἡλικία, καὶ ἡλθεις ὀδε ἀπόθανη, [αλ]’ ἐάν θειλεις [XX] ἀδίκου θανάτου (ρυστηναι?)
(27) Get on your horse, and flee quickly!	წარუედ ამიერ და მოსწრაფედ ივლტოდე!	Ascende equum tuum et festina fugere de loco isto.	[XX]κάθη[XX]εις τὸν ἵππον σου σπουδέως καὶ φ[ύγε].
(28) Then the saint said to her: Woman, who/{what} are you, and who/{what} are these people looking at you?	ხოლო წმიდამან პრქუა მას: დედაკაცო რად ხარ შენ, ანუ რა არს ერი ისი რომელი გხედავს შენ?	Tunc sanctus Georgius dixit ei, Mulier, unde (BB quis) es tu, et quis populus est iste, qui in circuitu tuo est?	’Ο δὲ ἅγιος λέγει αὐτῆ, δέομ[?εἰ] σου (= I pray you?) κXXXXXX] ὁ λαὸς ὁ βλέπων σε.
(29) The maiden said: My lord, my story is extensive and long, and I cannot tell it to you, rather, flee quickly, that you not die wretchedly!	პრქუა მას ქალმან მან: ოფუალო ჩემო, მრავალ არს ჰამავეი ჩემი და გრძელ და ვერ ძალმიც მითხრობად შენდა, არამედ მოსწრაფებით ივლტოდე რათა არა ბოროტად მოკუდე!	Dicit ei puella: Domine, multum <u>angustior</u> , et ideo non possum dicere tibi; (BB <i>fuge uelociter, ne male moriaris.</i>)	λέγει αὐτῶ ἡ κόρη [XXXX] πολλῆ ἔστιν ἡ ἐφήγεισις, καὶ οὐ δύνα[μαι XXX] ταύτην. ἀλλὰ λέγω σοι τὴν ἀληθ[η]αν; XX]ν τάχει ἵνα μὴ κακὸς ἀποθάν[η]ς
(30) The saint said to her: Tell me {everything}, and I will die with you, and not leave you!	პრქუა მას წმიდამან ვიორგი: მითხარ ყოველდე, და შენ თანა მოკუდე და არა დაგეტიერ შენ!	Dicit ei sanctus Georgius: Dic michi, et tecum moriar et non te deseram.	[λέγει?] αὐτῆ ὁ ἀγ<ιος>, υπέ (= εἶπε) μοι, κόρη τὸ συμβάXX (= ? συμβάν), καὶ σὺν ση ἀποθάνοιμε. ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ σε [ἐγκα]ταλίτω
(31) Then the maiden said to him: Lord, this is the city Lasia, and it is a good living-place for men, and in the waters there dwells a dragon, that eats the people/{men} of this city {and slaughters the people}.	მაშინ პრქუა მას ქალმან მან ვითარმედ: ოფუალო ესე არს ქალაქი ლასია, და არს ესე კეთილ საცხოვრებელად კაცთა და წყალთა ამათ შინა მკვდარ არს ვეშაბი, და შეჰჭამს ოო კაცთა ამის ქალაქისათა და მოსრავს ერსა.	Tunc dixit ei puella: Domine, ista est ciuitas Lasia, in qua est bona vita hominum; iuxta quam est draco malignus, et deuorat totum populum ciuitatis.	τότε λέγει αὐτῶ ἡ κόρη, κ<ύρι>ε μου XXXX]πὴν θέλης ἡκοῦσαι τὸν συμβάν μου [XXX] γησωμ[εν?] σοι. Κ<υρι>ε μου, αὐτῆ ἔστιν ἡ πόλις [Λασια?] καὶ ἔστιν καλῆ ἐν τῆ ζῶη τοῖς ἀν<θρωπ>οις. καὶ ἐν [XX] τοῦτο [κατηXXXX] δρακων, καὶ κατε[σθει?] τὸν [XX] 154v τῆς πόλεως ταῦτ[η]ς].
(32) And I am the only-begotten daughter of the king, and my father gave an order, that all give their children, one after the other, each day, and when they all had been finished there came my father’s turn, and he sent me for the dragon to eat. And behold I told you all, go in peace!	და მე ვარ ასული მუფისა მხოლოდ-შობილი. და ბრძანებად დავა მამამან ჩემმან, რათა მისცემდენ ყოველნი შემდ ^ე შითი შემდგომად შვილთა თვისთა დღითი დედედ. და ვითარცა მოეხრულებეს ყოველნი, მოვიდა ზუეერი მამისა ჩემისა, და წარმოძავილნა მე საჭმლად ვეშაბისა. და აპა ესერა ვითხარ შენ წარუედ მშვიდობით!	Et ego sum unica imperatoris filia. Et decretum posuit pater meus, ut omnes darent filios suos draconi ad deuorandum. Et cum consumpti fuissent omnes, uenit pater meus et direxit draconi me in escam. Modo dixi tibi omnia. Vade in pace.	καὶ ἐγὼ [XXXX] τοῦ ἐν τῆ πόλι αὐτῆ μονογενής. καὶ [XXX] ὁ π<ατ>ήρ μου ἵνα δίδωσιν οἱ ἐν τῆ πόλι ανοι[τ?XXX] αὐτῶν πάντων καθημέραν τοῦ δράκοντος εἰς ἔσθη[XXX] καὶ πληροθέντων πάντων, ἦλθεν ἐπί(?) τὸν π<ατε>ρα μου ὁ ἀρ[XX] καὶ λοιπὸν ἀπστειλέν με εἰς βρῶσιν τοῦ δράκοντος [XX] οὖν εἶπον σοι, κ<υρι>ε μου, πορεύου ἐν εἰρήνῃ.
(33) When the saint heard this, he told her: From now on, do not be afraid {nor tremble}, but tell me: your father and all those with him, what god do they serve?	ესმა რაჲ ესე წმიდას პრქუა მას: ამიერთვან ნულარა ვეშინის ნუკა სძრწი [Deut 1:21] არამედ მითხარ მე მამაჲ შენი და მისთან ^ი ყოველნი რომელსა ღმერთსა ჰმსახურებენ?	Audiens uera sanctus Georgius, dixit ei: Amodo ne timeas. Et iterum dixit ei sanctus Georgius: Pater tuus, cui immolat et omnes tui?	ακουσας XX ἅγιος ταῦτα, λέγει αὐτῆ, μὴ φοβοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦ[ν], καὶ πάλιν ἠρότησεν αὐτῆ, λέγων ὁ π<ατ>ήρ σου τίνα σ[εβε]ται καὶ πάντες ἡ (= οἱ) μετ’αυτοῦ.
(34) The maiden told him: Herakles and Apollo and Skamandros and the great goddess Artemis.	პრქუა მას ქალმან მან: ირაკლის და აპოლონს და სკამანდროს(ს) და დიდსა ღმერთსა არტემის.	Dicit ei puella: Ioui et Apollini.	λέγει αὐτῶ ἡ κόρη, Ἡρακλην <u>σέυεται</u> κ<υρι>ε μου, καὶ Ἀπόλωνα καὶ Σκάμα(νδρον) καὶ τὴν μεγαλην θῆαν Ἄρτεμιν.
(35) Then the saint said to her: Do not fear, but be {fearless and} bold!	ხოლო წმიდამან პრქუა: ნუ გეშინინ, არამედ უძიმ და კაღნიერ იქმენ!	Sanctus Georgius dixit ei: Noli timere, sed confortare in Domino.	ὁ δὲ ἅγιος λέγει αὐ[τ]ῆ, θάρσι,
(36a) And saint George raised his eyes toward God and said: God, who sits above the cherubim and looks down to the abyss [Daniel 3:55], you who are and remain the true God,	და აღიხილნა თუაღნი თვისნი წმიდამან ვიორგი ღმრთისა მიმართ და თქუა: ღმერთო რომელი ჰზი ქერაბინთა ზედა და ჰხედავ უფსკრულთა, რომელი-ევე ხარ და ჰგიე ჰვემართი ღმერთი,	Et eleuans sanctus Georgius oculos suos ad Deum dicens: Domine Deus, qui sedes super Cherubin. et intueris abyssos, qui es per omnia uerus;	καὶ ἦρεν τὸ ὄμμα ὁ δ<εου>λου τοῦ θ<εο>უ πρὸς τὸν [θ?XXX] [λε?]ων, ὁ θ<εο>ς ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ καὶ ἐ[XXXXX] ἀβύσσους, ὁ ὢν καὶ διαμένον [θε]ός.
(36b) you yourself know the heart-thoughts of men [Lk 9: 47],	შენ თავადმან უწყნი გულის ზრახვანი კაცთანი	tu enim scis cogitationes hominum, antequam fiant	αὐτὸς γινώσκεις τοὺς διαλο[XXXX] τὸν ἀν<θρωπ>ῶν.

Reconstructed text	Georgian text	AA Vat 6933/BB Vind 739	Ψ Meteores 382, ff 152v-155v
(36c) you showed power and miracles and wonders through your servant Moses, show your mercy through me also, and make a good miracle with me [Ps 85:17]. And make this evil beast submit to me beneath my feet [I Cor 15:27], that all will know that you are with me!	ძალნი აჩუქენს სასწაულნი საკვრველნი მონისა შენისა მოსეს მიერ, ჩემზედაცა წყალობა შენი, და ყავ ჩემთანა სასწაულ კეთილ და დაძამორჩილ ბოროტი ესე მკვეცი ქუეშე ფერვთა ჩემთა, რათა ცნან ყოველთა, ვითარმედ ჩემთანა ხარ!	Qui ostendisti magnum prodigium propter famulum tuum Moysen: ostendere digneris pro me misericordias tuas et fac mecum signum in bonum, et mitte hanc malignissimam bestiam sub pedibus meis, ut cognoscant omnes, quia tu mecum es.	ὁ δέϊξας φρικτὰ σημεῖα XXX θεράποντί σου Μωσῆ. δέϊξον [XX] ἐπ' [εμε?]. [XXX ἔλε]η σου, καὶ ποιήσον μετ' ἐμοῦ σημεῖα [XXX]ων. καὶ ὑπόδειξον τὸ πόνηρον θηρίον [ὐ]πὸ τοὺς πόδας μου ἡλωδούμενον (< ? εἰλινδέομαι = rouler dans la pousière) [XX γ]νωσιν ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ, κ<συρι>ε.
(37) 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!	და მოიწია ჳმა ზეცით რომელი ეტყოდა: გიორგი (შეისმა ვედრება) შენი ყურთა ოვფლისათა, ყავ რაიცა გნებავს, რამეთუ მე შენთანა ვარ!	Et statim uenit uox de celo dicens: Georgi, audita est deprecatio tua in auribus Domini. Fac quod uis; ego enim sum tecum.	καὶ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ [φω]νῆ ἐκ τοῦ οὐ<ραν>οῦ λέγουσα, Γεώργιε, εἰσηκούσ[θη ἢ δεη]σίς σου εἰς τὰ ὅτα κ<συρι>ο>, καὶ ποιή ὁ βούλει. [XXXX] μετὰ σοῦ εἰμι.
(38a) And suddenly the reed-bed shook,	და მეცხეულად შეირყია ლერწმონი იგი,	Et post hec factus est concussus magnus in arundineto aquarum.	καὶ παραχρημά [ἐταράχ]θη ὁ λάκκος (= λάκκος)
(38b) and the maiden cried out: Alas, my lord, flee from here, behold, the evil dragon comes!	და ჳმა ყო ქალმან მან: ვაძმე ოვფალო ჩემო ივლტოდე ამიერ. აჰა ესერა მოვალს ვეშაბი იგი ბოროტი!	Et clamauit uoce magna puella et dixit, Domine, surgit malignissimus draco.	καὶ φοβηθῆς ἡ κόρη εὐόησ[εν], οἴμοι κ<συρι>ε μου, φύγε, ὅτι ὁ πονηρὸς δράκων ἐξέρχεται.
(39) But saint George ran to confront the dragon, and he made the sign of the cross over it, and said: Lord, my God, make this beast obedient to me, your servant [for the sake of these unbelieving people!]	ხოლო წმიდა გიორგი მიზბიოდა შემთხუევად ვეშაბისა მის, და გამოსანა მის ზედა სახც ჯუარისა და თქუა: ოვფალო, ღმერთო ჩემო, გარდააკციე მკვეცი ესე მორჩილებად მონისა შენისა!"	Sanctus Georgius festinans uenit in occursum draconi et faciens signum sancte Crucis dixit: Domine, dona michi uirtutem contra istum draconem, <u>propter istas incredulas gentes!</u>	155r [XXXXXπΧντΧν] τοῦ δρακοντ[XXXXX] τύπον τοῦ στ<αυ>ροῦ εἶπε, κ<συρι>ε ὁ θε<ο>ς [XXXX]βάλλε τὸ θηρίων τοῦτο, καὶ ποιήσ[εν] αὐτον εἰς ὑπάκοην τοῦ δούλου σου,
(40) And as he said that, through the aid of the Holy Spirit and the prayer of the saint, the dragon fell at the feet of the saint.	და ვითარცა ესე თქუა, შემწევნითა სულისა წმიდისათა და ლოცვითა წმიდისათა, დაეცა ვეშაბი იგი ფერვთა თან წმიდისათა.	Et hec dicens per uoluntatem Spiritus sancti et <u>Sanctorum</u> orationem cecidit draco ante pedes eius.	καὶ τοῦτο εἶπον συνεργία τοῦ ἁγίου Πν<ευματο>ς, ἔπεσεν ὁ δράκων ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.
(41a) Then the saint said to the maiden: Remove your belt,	ხოლო წმიდამან უბრძანა ქალსა მას: განივსენ სარტყელი შენი	Et dixit sanctus Georgius: Puella, solue zonam tuam	Καὶ λέγει τῇ κόρῃ ὁ ἅγιος: λῦσον τὴν ζώνην σου,
(41b)	—	et funes/(BB <i>frenum</i>) equi mei,	καὶ τὸ σχοινίον τοῦ ἵππου μου,
(41c) and hand it to me here! And having loosened it, she gave it to him.	და მომართუ აქა! და ყო ეგრე.	et adduc michi. Et soluit zonam suam et funes equi eius et dedit sancto Georgio.	καὶ ἀπόδος μοι αὐτὰ. ἡ δὲ λήσας ἡ κόρη ἀπέδωκε αὐτῷ.
(42) And by the commission of God, the saint tied up the dragon, and gave it to the maiden and said: Go toward the city! [And the maiden leading the dragon went to the city]	ხოლო წმიდამან შეკრა ვეშაბი იგი და მისცა ქალსა მას და ჰქუა: წარვედ ქალაქით კერძო!	Et secundum Dei preceptum, ligauit draconem et dedit puelle et dixit ei: Puella, proficiscere in ciuitatem. <u>Et tulit illum puella et ambulauit in ciuitatem.</u>	καὶ κατ' ἡκονομίαν θε<ο>υ, ἔδεισεν τὸν δράκοντον, καὶ ἀπέδοκεν τῇ κόρῃ, <u>καὶ ἔστηρεν</u> [= ἔσυρεν] αὐτὸν ὡς ἄρνιον
(43) When the people saw the wondrous miracle they became afraid, and wished to flee for fear of the dragon, but the saint said to them: Fear not, rather stand and you will see God's deliverance [Exodus 14:13].	იხილა რა ერმან მან სასწაული ესე საკვრველი შეეშინა და ენ[ე]ბა სივლტოლა შიშისათვს ვეშაბისა მის, ხოლო წმიდა იგი ეტყოდა მათ: ნუ გეშინინ არამედ ღუგით და იხილთ მაცხოვარება ღმრთისა	Videns autem <populus> magnum miraculum, in timore conuersus est et fugam petiit propter draconis pauorem. Tunc sanctus magnus Georgius exclamauit post eos dicens: (BB <i>Nolite timere, sed state et confidite et uidebitis Dei omnipotentis misericordiam.</i>)	ιδὸν δὲ ὁ ὄχλο τὸ παράδοξον θάυμα XX φόβως ἐσχεθέντω, εἰς <u>φυγήν</u> <u>ἔτρο[ε?]</u> <u>πείσων</u> . ὁ δὲ ἅγιος ἐβόα λέ[γ]χ[α], μὴ φοβ[ε]σθαι γάρ (?), ἀλλὰ στ[εκε]ται καὶ ο[XXX] τὴν <u>δόξαν</u> τοῦ θε<ο>υ ἡμῶν.
(44) He said to them: Believe in our lord Jesus Christ the all-powerful true God, and I will make the dragon die, and you will not be killed by it [Daniel 14:26].	ჰქუა მათ: გრწმენინ ოვფალი ჩუენი იესოვ ქრისტე ჳეშმარტი ღმერთი ყოვლად ძლიერი და მოვაკუდინო ვეშაბი ესე, და არა მთი კლნეთ მის მიერ.	Et dixit eis sanctus Georgius: Creditis in Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum Deum, <u>qui crucifixus est a Iudeis?</u> Et ego occidam istum draconem, (BB <i>Et amplius non moriemini ab eo.</i>)	καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, [XXX] πιστεύσατε εἰς τὸν κ<συρι>ο>ν ἡμῶν Ἰ<ησοῦ>ν Χ<ριστο>ν τ[ὸν ἀλη]θινὸν θε<ο>ν, καὶ ἀπόκτενω τὸν δρ[άκοντα] καὶ [μηXX] ἀνεκλήσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Reconstructed text	Georgian text	AA Vat 6933/BB Vind 739	Ψ Meteores 382, ff 152v-155v
(45) 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. And immediately the saint drew his sword and beheaded it, and gave the maiden to the king.	მამინ უმა ყო მევემან და დიდებულთა მისთა და ყოველსა ერსათანა და თქუეს: გურწამს ოველი მამისა მიმართ და მისა და სულთსა წმიდისა, და მეცესულად წმიდამან ივანა ვრძალი თვისი და მოკლა იგი და მისცა ქალი იგი მევესა.	Exclamavit imperator et omnes optimates eius cum eo dicens: Credimus in Deum Patrem omnipotentem et Filium eius unicum Dominum nostrum et Spiritum sanctum. Tunc sanctus Georgius apprehendit gladium et amputavit caput draconis.	[XXIIα?] φωνή πάντ[α?] τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς [XX με]γιστάνοι [XX]ων τῶ ἔλεγον [XXX] <κ>ρι>ε μου εἰς π<ατερ>α, ὕιον καὶ ἅγιον π<νευμα> [τρια]δα ὁμωούσιον καὶ ἄχωριστον. το[τε XXX] ἔξενέγ[κα]ς τὴν σπάθην αὐτοῦ [XXX]κτεν [XX] δράκοντον. καὶ παρέδοκ[XX] κόρη[ν] το[XXXXXX]
(46) Then the whole multitude of the people gathered and kissed the feet of the saint, and praised God.	მამინ მოკრბა ყოველი სიმრავლე ერისა და ამბორს უყოფდეს ფერუთა წმიდისათა და აღიღებდეს ღმერთსა:	Tunc congregata totius populi multitudo cepit osculari pedes beatissimi martiris Georgii, glorificans Deum <u>insimul cum beatissimo martire suo Georgio</u> .	εισ[XXXX]χθησαν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ [XXX] 155v [XXXX] καὶ [XXXX] τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἁγίου, [δοξαζοντες] τὸν θεο>v.
(47) Then the saint summoned the bishop Alexander, who baptized the king and the nobles and all the multitude of the people during fifteen days, and he baptized forty-five thousand. And there was great rejoicing in the city.	მამინ წმიდამან მოუწოლა ალექსანდრე ეპისკოპოსსა და ნათიელსცა მევესა და დიდებულთა მისთა და ყოველსა სიმრავლესა ერისასა თხუთმეტ დღეს, ხოლო ნათიელსცა ორმოც და ხუთსა ათასსა, და იქმნა სიხარული დიდი მას ქალაქსა შინა.	Tunc cepit beatissimus Georgius uocare Alexandrum episcopum. Et baptizavit imperatorem et omnes optimates eius cum eo. Et omnis multitudo populi baptizata est in quinto decimo die numero quadraginta milia hominum. Et factum est gaudium magnum in tota ciuitate illa.	τότε ὁ ἅγιος μετακαλεσάμενος τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ ἐβάπτισεν πρότον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς μεγιστάνους αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ πάντ[ος], ἐπι ἡμέρας <u>ἔτηκοντα</u> E (= 65) ἐβάπτισεν δέ χιλιάδες <u>ME</u> (= 45), καὶ ἐγένετο χαρὰ μεγάλη ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ.
(48) Then the king along with all the people built a holy temple {to glorify God and} to honor saint George.	მამინ მევემან ყოველსა ერსათანა აღაშენა პატიოსანი ტაძარი <u>სადიდებულად ღმერთსა</u> და პატივად წმიდისა გიორგისა	Tunc imperator cum omni populo cepit constituere ecclesiam in honore beatissimi Georgii.	τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ πάντως τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, [XX] ἡγειραν πάνσεπτον ναὸν, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομ<άρτυρος> τοῦ Χ<ριστο>υ Γεώργ<ιου>.
(49) And when they completed the temple, saint George came and showed another wonder, when he went in the temple and the church sanctuary, and brought forth a healing spring, which to the present is for healing believers in Christ our God.	და ვითარცა განასრულეს ტაძარი იგი მოვიდა წმიდაი გიორგი და აჩუენა სხუად საკრველეუბა: რათა შევიდა ტაძარსა მას შინა და საკურთხეველსა ეკლესიისასა, და აღმოაცენა წყარო კურნებათა, და არს იგი ვიდრე აქამომდე საკურნებელად მორწმუნეთა ქრისტეს ღმერთისა ჩუენისათა.	Et cum completa fuisset ecclesia, uenit beatissimus Georgius et ostendit aliud mirabile signum (BB <i>Videlicet iuxta altare ostendit eis fontem aque vive de latere altaris egredientem.</i>) Et est ibi curatio hominum infirmorum credentium in Dominum Ihesum Christum.	καὶ ἐν τῷ οἰ[κ]οδομη[θ]ῆναι τὸν ναὸν, ἔλθων ὁ ἅγιος [ἔδειξεν ἐ]τέρον σημῖον. — ἔδειξε (sic) πηγὴ [ἀγία]σματος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἐστὶ [ἑὸς σ]ημέρον τοῦ εἰς Χ<ριστο>ν πιστεύωντ[Χ ἐν ὀ]νόματι τοῦ Κ<υριο>υ ἡμῶν Ἰ<ησο>υ Χ<ριστο>υ.
(50) And the holy martyr George performed many other glorious wonders in the city, through God and the grace He bestowed, in the name of our God Jesus Christ.	და სხუანი მრავალნი და დიდებულნი საკრველეუბანი აღასრულნა წმიდამან მოწამემან გიორგი ღმერთისა მიერ და მისდა მოცემულითა მადლითა მიერ ქალაქსა მას შინა სახელით ღმერთისა ჩუენისა იესოვ ქრისტესთა.	Hec et alia multa miracula fecit sanctus Georgius per eum, qui dedit ei gratiam in Christo Ihesu Domino nostro, <u>qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum</u> .	πο[λλα τε θαῦ]ματα ἐπετελεῖ ὁ ἅγιος διὰ [τῆς] δοθείσης αὐτῷ χάριτος ἐκ Χ<ριστο>υ τοῦ [θεοῦ ἡμῶν].

4. Concluding remarks. In Aufhauser’s study of the Greek and Latin recensions of the PDM, the oldest Greek version, ms Z, was selected as the basis for his edition. At that time, the Georgian versions of the PDM were unknown outside of the Russian Empire, and the Latin versions AA and BB were published two years later (Huber 1913). The addition of these sources, plus the unpublished mss Ξ⁸ and Ψ, casts a very different light on Z, which now appears to be the outlier among the earliest witnesses of the PDM, marked by numerous omissions and innovations.

Among the topics awaiting further investigation are the relation between the PDM and the demon miracle (BHG 687k; a Georgian version of which was published in Tuite 2022). In Geo Jer 2 and 37, the Latin mss AA, CC and DD, and the large majority of the Greek versions in the corpus (AFHKUWZΦΠΘΨΞΓΔ), the PDM is followed by the demon miracle, which is said to have taken place after George left the city Lasia. Further evidence of the early association of the two miracle narratives comes from the Latin corpus. The texts of the PDM and demon miracle in ms AA are both very close to the Georgian tradition. The group comprising the mss CC/DD share innovations in their versions of both miracles. Further discussion of the early versions of the demon miracle will be forthcoming.

As far as the language of the Urtext is concerned, the evidence is far from conclusive in the case of the PDM, but the tense sequence in the citation of Exodus 14:13 points to a Georgian source. It mentioned earlier that in segment #43, George exhorts the people to “stand and you will see God’s deliverance”. This is taken almost verbatim from one of the Old Georgian translations of Exodus (“stand and you will see deliverance by God”. Of the extant versions of this passage, four show this reading. Most of the Greek and Latin versions, with the exceptions discussed above, have both verbs in the 2nd-plural imperative, which mirrors the readings in the Septuagint and Vulgate renderings of Exod 14:13. The scriptural passages and the passages from the PDM drawn from them are shown in the following table. Single underlines mark verbs in the imperative mood; double underlines mark verbs in the future tense.

	PDM #43	Exodus 14:13
Georgian	<u>degit</u> da <u>ixilot</u> macxovarebay ymrtisay	<u>degit</u> da <u>ixilot</u> macxovareba ymrtisa, romel miq’os čwen dyesa mas [H1207, Kut N28]
Greek	Ε <u>stēkete</u> kai <u>horâte</u> tēn sōtērian toū Theoū L <u>stēkete</u> kai <u>ōpsēsthe</u> tēn s(ōtēr)ian toū Th(eo)u mou	<u>stēte</u> kai <u>horâte</u> tēn sōtērian tēn parà toū Theoū, hēn poiēsei hēmīn sēmeron
Latin	AA <u>state</u> <u>confidenter</u> et <u>uidete</u> misericordiam Dei omnipotentis BB <u>state</u> et <u>confidite</u> et <u>uidebitis</u> Dei omnipotentis misericordiam	<u>state</u> et <u>videte</u> magnalia Domini quae facturus est hodie

If the Septuagint can be ruled out as the source of the future-tense verb ixilot in the Old Georgian readings of Exod 14:13, the Armenian Old Testament remains a serious candidate. The Armenian rendering of this verse has exactly the same sequence of tenses as the Georgian: kac’èk’ ev **tesanic’èk’**, the second verb being in the future/subjunctive. The appearance of a phrase or word attributable to an Armenian source is by no means unusual. The influence of Armenian on Old Georgian ecclesiastical writing is well-documented, especially in texts that were produced in the earliest periods of Georgian Christianity, before the split between the

⁸ Which Aufhauser knew about (1911: 31), but was unable to see due to an earthquake in Sicily which seriously damaged the library where it was held.

Georgian and Armenian churches over the Miaphysite question (Vööbus 1954: 173-209; Childers 2012). Although the Georgian witnesses of Exod 13:14 date from the 17th century, the passage itself must have been translated much earlier, as indicated by the use of the 1st-person object prefix /m/- with exclusive-plural meaning (romel m-i-q'-o-s čwen “which he will do for us-excl.”), a usage which was already in decline in the Classical Old Georgian period.

I will conclude this study with some preliminary remarks on pictorial representations of the PDM in frescoes, icons and other media, which also point to a Georgian milieu as the place of origin of the PDM. The image of a horseman fighting a serpent or dragon goes back into pre-Christian times, but by the 6th-7th centuries, this imagery has been transferred to Christian warrior saints, including George (Walter 1995, 2003; Iamanidze 2014). As was noted in the introduction to this paper, visual representations that can be unambiguously associated with the PDM begin to appear several centuries later, around 1100. One image in particular came to stand for the narrative as a whole: the scene where the princess leads the subdued dragon into the city.

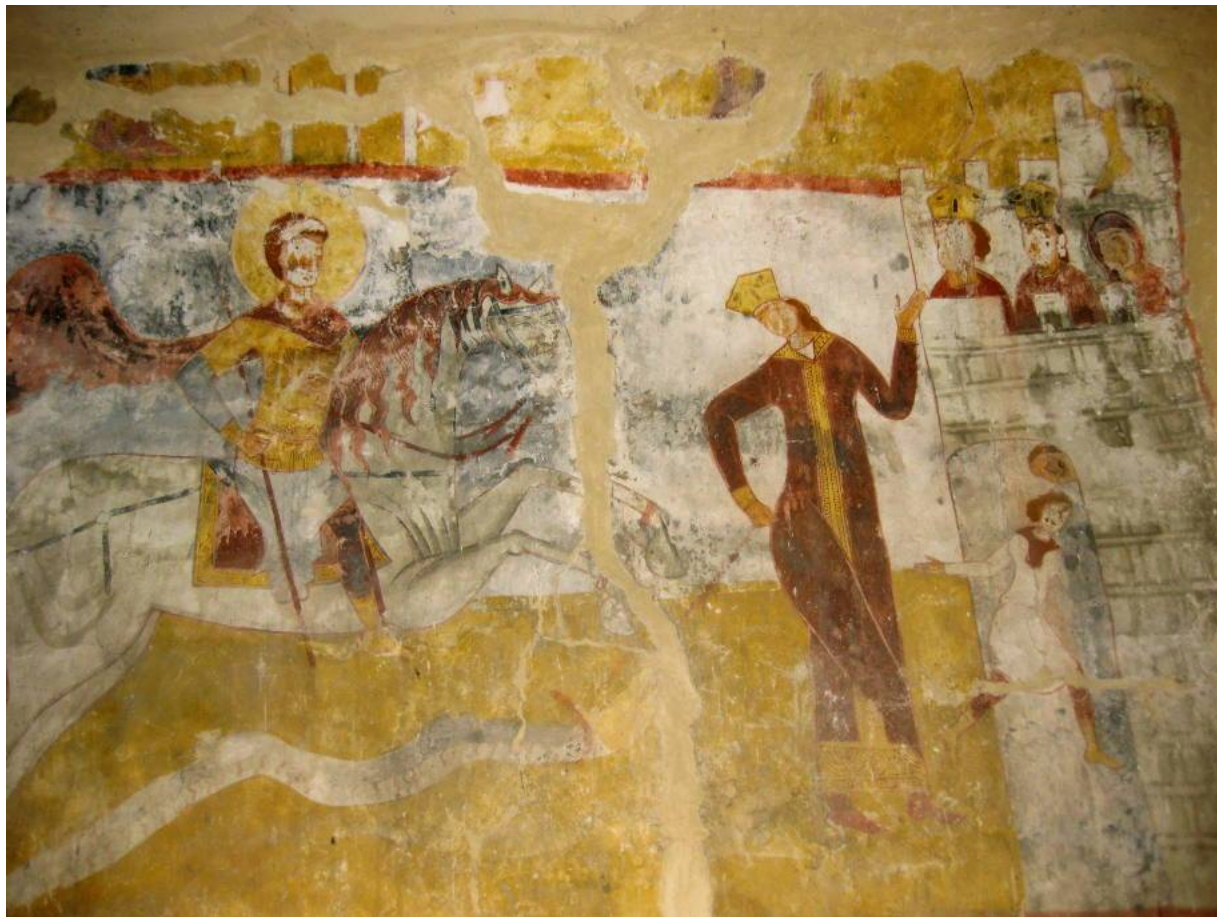


Fig 1. Fresco depicting the princess leading the dragon (Adishi, Georgia). Photo by the author.

As noted by Privalova 1977, the earliest depictions of the dragon-on-leash scene are on Georgian territory, dated to the late 11th – early 12th century. From the outset, there emerged a canonical iconography, which continued to be replicated in Georgia and elsewhere up to the 17th century. Four particularly stable iconographic features are:

- (1) The princess is shown, usually in the foreground, leading the dragon on a leash held in her right hand, while she makes an open-palmed gesture toward the right with her left hand.
- (2) George rides behind her on a white horse, his cape billowing behind him, holding a spear, but not attacking the dragon.
- (3) The dragon, with a leash around its neck, follows the princess.
- (4) The walled city, with people looking out from its ramparts, is shown on the right margin.

While some of these elements are dictated by the content of the PDM narrative, others are associated with the standard iconography of St George (the white horse and cape), and yet others seem to have emerged as conventions specific to the iconography of this scene, such as the princess' gesturing left hand.

In the following table are listed the canonical depictions of the dragon-on-leash scene which are known to me at present. The numbers in parentheses refer to the four features just mentioned.

Table 4. Canonical depictions of the scene of the princess leading the dragon from the PDM
PRV = Privalova 1977; MW = Mark-Weiner 1977; AT = Atanasov 2001

site	date	description	references
Adishi GE	end-11 th -early 12 th	(1-4); footless dragon (DR)	PRV
Ik'vi GE	“	(1-4); footless DR w/ horns & beard	PRV; MW
Boč'orma GE	“	[fragmentary]	PRV; MW
Pavnisi GE	1170-80	(1-4); footless, curled DR	PRV; MW
Sinai	icon 12 th	(1-4); Princess's (PR) hands not shown; DR footless?	MW
Ladoga RU	1170s-80s	(1-4); 2-ft DR	MW; Salko
K'ldemaghala GE	12 th	(1-4); footless, curled DR, w/ horns? (reproduction of lost original)	Gedevanishvili
Vani GE	end-12 th -early 13 th	[fragmentary]	PRV
Maghalaant GE	13 th	[fragmentary]	Gedevanishvili
Ač'i GE	13 th	(1-4); DR w/ horns	PRV
Novgorod RU	icon 14 th	(1-4); 2-ft winged DR	AT
Novgorod RU	icon 14 th similar to other Novg. icon	(1-4); 2-ft winged horned DR	AT
Komitades GR	1313	(1-4); footless dragon	MW
Staro-Nagorichino	1316	(1-4); 2-ft winged horned DR	MW; AT
Anydri GR	1323	(1-4); horned DR feet not shown	MW
Dečani KOS	1335-1350	(1-4); 2-ft winged horned DR; very close to Staro-Nagorichino; same dress on PR	MW; AT
Longanikos GR	1375-76	(1-4) footless DR	MW
Ughvali GE	15 th	(1-4) PR on left, still holds leash with RH; footless dragon; George on right	
GE	c 15 th c enamel icon	(1-3) 2-ft DR; no citadel	Xuskivadze
Grosskmehlen GER	c 1510 from Antwerp	(1-4) 4-footed winged DR (wood altar piece)	Olbrich, Krohm
Čxari GE	16 th Sadgeris jvari	(1-3) Close to earliest Geo. frescoes: footless DR, but no city	
Goris Jvari GE	16 th	(1-4); 4-ft DR?	Chubinashvili
Moscow RU	early 16 th	(1-4); winged, horned 2-ft DR	Evseeva
Vologda RU	2 nd half of 16 th	(1-4); winged, horned 2-ft DR	Chuksin
Xoni GE	1636	(1-3) Copied from enamel icon? 2-ft DR; no citadel	Xuskivadze; Chubinashvili

As the PDM narrative and its imagery spread beyond the borders of Georgia, the most noticeable alterations in the iconography concerned the dragon. Initially depicted like a serpent, sometimes with horns or a beard, it is shown with two front legs and wings in the 12th-14th century Russian and Balkan representations, then four legs in some late depictions (cf. the chronology of dragon imagery in Europe in Ogden 2021).

It appears, therefore, that not only were the earliest textual and pictorial manifestations of the PDM associated with the Georgian ecclesiastical milieu, but also that both representations soon established themselves as canonical, at least within the Orthodox Christian world. By the 14th century, as the popularity of the LA increased, depictions of the PDM in books of hours and paintings spread throughout Western Europe. But as the PDM traversed time and space, certain features of the portrayal of the defeat of the dragon undergo change. In the earliest depictions, such as the frescoes at Adishi (shown above) and Ik'vi in Georgia, the princess is placed in the foreground and is at least as prominent as St George, if not more so. With the passage of time, the image of George becomes more central, and often proportionally larger, whereas that of the princess is set off to the side, and usually drawn smaller.



Fig 2. George, the princess and the dragon, Verona second half of 13th c. (Verona ms 1853)

Even more significant is the alteration in the role of George in this scene. According to the canonical versions of the PDM, George subdues the dragon with the sign of the cross and a prayer. His only violent interaction with it comes at the end, when he beheads it with his sword. From the 13th century onward, depictions appeared in which George spears the dragon in the head or mouth, while the princess continues to hold it on a leash. Portrayals of the PDM in which George is shown attacking the dragon became dominant in West European iconography,⁹ and also more frequent in Russia and Eastern Europe.¹⁰ Doubtless contributing to the popularity of the newer type of portrayal is the text of the LA, according to which George wounds the dragon with his lance before turning it over to the princess (et lanceam fortiter vibrans et se deo commendans ipsum fortiter vulneravit et ad terram deiecit), an innovation with respect to earlier versions of the PDM.¹¹ I believe there is an interesting story to be told about how this change in iconographic practice came to pass, but that is best done at another time and place.

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⁹ The one exception I know of in West European portrayals of the PDM is a depiction of the princess leading a four-footed dragon into the city on an altar-piece made in Antwerp, now in Grosskmehlen, Germany, dated to c 1510 (Krohm & Buczynski, 2002).

¹⁰ An 18th-century Russian manual for icon-painters specifies that in depictions of the PDM, St George, seated on a white horse, spears the dragon in the mouth, while the princess holds it on a leash made from her belt (Filimonov 1874: 327-328).

¹¹ In the sets of images from the vita of St George in Jindřichův Hradec, dated 1338, and the so-called Hippolyt-Altar (Cologne, 14 c), George is first shown spearing the dragon, followed by a depiction of the princess leading it with her belt, while George follows on horseback (Aufhauser 1911: 233-234; Kretschmar 1883).

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