

ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

VOL. 19 2013

Edited by
Judith Rasson and Marianne Sághy



Central European University
Budapest
Department of Medieval Studies

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means
without the permission of the publisher.

Editorial Board

Niels Gaul, Gerhard Jaritz, György Geréby, Gábor Klaniczay,
József Laszlovszky, Judith Rasson, Marianne Sággy, Katalin Szende

Editors

Judith Rasson and Marianne Sággy

Technical Advisor

Annabella Pál

Cover Illustration

Foresti presents his work to Queen Beatrix of Hungary.
De claris scelestisque mulieribus (Ferrara: Laurentinus de Rubeis, 1497).

Department of Medieval Studies

Central European University

H-1051 Budapest, Nádor u. 9., Hungary

Postal address: H-1245 Budapest 5, P.O. Box 1082

E-mail: medstud@ceu.hu Net: <http://medievalstudies.ceu.hu>

Copies can be ordered at the Department, and from the CEU Press

<http://www.ceupress.com/order.html>

Volumes of the Annual are available online at: <http://www.library.ceu.hu/ams/>

ISSN 1219-0616

Non-discrimination policy: CEU does not discriminate on the basis of—including,
but not limited to—race, color, national or ethnic origin, religion, gender or sexual orientation
in administering its educational policies, admissions policies, scholarship and loan programs,
and athletic and other school-administered programs.

© Central European University

Produced by Archaeolingua Foundation & Publishing House

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editors' Preface	5
I. ARTICLES AND STUDIES	7
Mariana Bodnaruk <i>The Politics of Memory and Visual Politics: Comparing the Self-Representations of Constantine and Augustus</i>	9
Reyhan Durmaz <i>Sacred Spaces and Sacred Lives: Hierotopical Perceptions in Tür 'Abdîn in the Middle Ages Reconstructed through Local Hagiographical Traditions</i>	33
Tamar Pataridze <i>Christian Literature Translated from Arabic into Georgian: A Review</i>	47
Gábor Bradács <i>Poverty and Poor Relief in the Ottonian Empire (919–1024)</i>	66
János Incze <i>“Bound by Pledge:” Bártfa and King Sigismund’s Policy of Pledging Towns</i>	83
Ida Becskereki <i>Ockham’s Solution to the Problem of God’s Foreknowledge: A Reinterpretation</i>	95
Áron Orbán <i>Astrology in Janus Pannonius’s Poems of Praise</i>	112
Uroš Dakić <i>Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and His Clan: Political Vision and Artistic Patronage</i>	129
Marianne Sághy <i>Might, Money, Memory: New Perspectives on Central European Queenship</i>	145
New Views on Queens and Queenship	147
Attila Bárány <i>Medieval Queens and Queenship: A Retrospective on Income and Power</i>	149

Christopher Mielke	
<i>"Out Flies the Web and Floats Wide:"</i>	
<i>Multi-disciplinary Possibilities in Queenship Studies</i>	201
Valery Rees	
<i>Towards a Reappraisal of Beatrix of Aragon in the Hungarian Court</i>	217
Conference of the International Association	
of Armenian Studies	229
István Perczel	
<i>The Road to the AIEA Conference in Budapest and Beyond</i>	231
Valentina Calzolari-Bouvier	
<i>Introduction by the President of the AIEA on October 6, 2011</i>	236
International Association of Armenian Studies	
12 th General Conference. 30 th Anniversary of the AIEA	240
II. REPORT ON THE YEAR	247
Katalin Szende	
<i>Report for Academic Year 2011–12</i>	249
Abstracts of MA Theses Defended in 2012	259
PhD Defenses during the Academic Year 2011–2012	269

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE TRANSLATED FROM ARABIC INTO GEORGIAN: A REVIEW¹

Tamar Pataridze

Eastern Christian literature contains a wide range of texts deeply rooted in a tradition of multilingual exchanges. This article aims to review medieval Christian Arabic literature that was translated into Georgian in Palestine between the eighth and tenth century.² It is important to identify the channels of communication used among the diversity of possible channels. This information helps in interpreting an original – to some extent it predicts what to expect. Such studies also make it possible to examine the transmission of ideas under the impact of the political situation, since Georgia was occupied by the Arabs from the middle of seventh to the end of the tenth century.

Byzantine literature translated into Georgian has been widely studied³ and some research has been devoted to the transfer of Georgian texts from the Greco-Syrian and the Greco-Arab worlds.⁴ In contrast, the study of transfers from the Semitic (Syriac and Christian Arabic) literature of the Near East to Georgian

¹ The research for this article was conducted under the aegis of the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies in the framework of the Higher Education Support Program project on the Caucasus, sponsored by the Central European University Foundation, Budapest. The opinions expressed herein are the ideas of the author and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the foundation.

² For some general studies regarding this subject, see: Mariam Nanobashvili, "The Development of Literary Contacts between the Georgians and the Arabic-speaking Christians in Palestine from the 8th to the 10th century," *Aram* 15 (2003): 269–274; Paul Peeters, *Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels, 1950); Enriko Gabidzashvili, *ქართული წათარგმნი აგიოგრაფია* [Translated Georgian hagiography] (Tbilisi: National Centre of Manuscripts, 2004): 99–108; Paul Peeters, "Traductions et traducteurs dans l'hagiographie orientale à l'époque byzantine," *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922): 241–365; Levan Menabde, "ქართულ-აღმოსავლური ლიტერატურული ურთიერთობანი" [Georgian-Oriental literary relations], *Ma'ne* 2 (1993): 15–31.

³ In English, see: Tina Dolidze, who reviews the work of important early scholars in: "Foundation of Kartvelian-Byzantine Studies in Georgia," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 18 (2012): 126–136.

⁴ Concerning the philological aspects of Greco-Syriac translations and a socio-cultural framework of these literary contacts see the extensive research by Sebastian Brock. The Greco-Arabic literary connections that occurred in Syro-Palestinian environments have been widely studied by Sidney H. Griffith, who is often cited. See also Lorenzo Perrone's research, which is very relevant for this subject.

literature represents a desideratum because there is a lack of systematic studies. There is no general synthesis of the global socio-cultural context that addresses why translations were made, who the key translators were, what texts were translated, where the centers of translation (presumably monasteries) were, and the dates of these translations. Only a small amount of research has been devoted to the different aspects of the transformation and adaptation of texts from Semitic literature as they passed into Georgian literature. Only a few scholars have dealt with the philological aspects specific to the languages of these translations and the philological criteria for identifying translations from Semitic languages into Georgian have never been well defined. Therefore, based on philological criteria it is always problematic to distinguish between Arabic and Syriac influences on the language of Georgian translations; consequently, it is even difficult to recognize which texts are precisely concerned when speaking of Semitic-Georgian literary relations. This situation is even more regrettable considering that the layer of Syro-Palestinian Christianity is the oldest and the most important source that influenced and nourished Georgian literature during its early ages. The Georgian translations of these texts are characterized by remarkably archaic elements that laid the foundations for cultural and religious traditions in Georgia. A certain number of foreign originals of these texts have not survived and therefore the Georgian translations have acquired the importance of primary sources for Near East Christian studies. Indeed, the study of Christian Arabic and Georgian literary relations in the so-called Jerusalem epoch (fifth to tenth centuries) has great importance for the clearest understanding of the circulation of ideas and texts in the Christian Near East.

In this respect the present paper will try to identify and summarize the reception channels of Christian Arabic literature in Georgian and to clarify some other modalities of these literary exchanges, namely, the epoch and key places where these connections originated. As for the reception channels of Christian Arabic literature, these are texts that entered Georgian literature in various ways, directly, through direct translations from Arabic into Georgian or indirectly by means of another language, usually Greek, which corresponded to translations of translations. It should also be noted that the identification of these patterns is a work of great complexity, especially when critical editions are not yet available.

In general, it is known that the Arabic-Georgian literary contacts went on between the eighth and tenth centuries⁵ and developed mostly in Holy Land

⁵ At the end of the tenth century the Georgians were oriented to Byzantine literature as a result of the intensification of Georgia's relations with the Byzantine Empire, the appearance of Georgian cultural centers in Greece, and the isolation of the patriarchate

monasteries, especially at the *lavras* of Mar Sabas, a still-standing Greek Orthodox monastery also known as The Great Lavra of St. Sabbas the Sanctified, near Bethlehem, and Mar Chariton, a monastery in Judea subsequently abandoned. Manuscripts produced at these monasteries are today held mainly in the collection at St. Catherine's Monastery on the Sinai Peninsula.

Texts that Passed from Greek to Arabic to Georgian

The study of Christian Arabic-Georgian literary relations begins with the story of *The Persian Conquest of Jerusalem in 614*, written in Greek by the monk Antiochus Strategos at the monastery of Mar Sabas in the sixth century. The original version of Antiochus' work has been lost; only the Arabic and Georgian translations are extant.⁶ N. Marr was the first scholar to prepare an edition of the Georgian version, with a Russian translation⁷ and a parallel Arabic version of the text along with a philological study of Georgian translation's language. Georgian proper noun forms and the terminological polysemy of some Arabic words misled the Georgian translator and Marr considered the Georgian version derived from the Arabic model. The influence of Arabic syntax reflected through the Georgian translation was another piece of evidence supporting such a conclusion. The Arabic version's existence was first mentioned by K. Riant⁸ and later published in a French translation by A. Couret⁹ based on manuscript BnF ar. 154 (AD 1604–1607). Later, P. Peeters¹⁰ discovered another Arabic manuscript in the Vatican Library and published it in 1924.¹¹ Moreover, he identified a Georgian version

of Jerusalem, which ultimately led to an increase in the role and importance of Constantinople, see: Nanobashvili, "The development," 274.

⁶ The Georgian version entitled "წარტყუნვამ იერუსალჴმისამ", is preserved in *Tbil. Q-70* (AD 1771), *Tbil. H-3411* (eleventh century), and *Tbil. H-535* (eleventh century).

⁷ Nikoloz Marr, *Антиох Стратиг, Плѣнение Иерусалима Персами въ 614 году* [Antiochus Strategos, The Persian conquest of Jerusalem in 614] (St. Petersburg, 1909).

⁸ Paul Édouard Didier Riant, *Archives de l'Orient latin, II, partie I, Fonds orientaux. Ancien fonds arabe* (Paris, 1884), 173.

⁹ Alphonse Couret, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614. Trois documents nouveaux* (Orléans, H. Herluison, 1896): 1–16. [Republished in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 2 (1897): 123–164].

¹⁰ Paul Peeters, "La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses," *Mélanges de l'Université de St-Joseph* 9 (1923–1924): 3–42.

¹¹ Other manuscripts which preserve this text are: Sinai ar. 428 (tenth century), Sinai ar. 520 (tenth century), and Sinai ar. 531 (AD 1232), see: Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955).

of this text in the codex Bodl. georg. 1 (AD 1050).¹² Consequently, G. Garitte prepared a new edition of the Georgian version based mainly on the Bodleian manuscript discovered by Peeters and also provided a Latin translation of the Georgian text.¹³ Garitte also edited the four Arabic recensions of this text with a Latin translation,¹⁴ furnishing moreover a wide-ranging study of literary and historical issues related to the Georgian and Arabic versions. Marr demonstrated that the story of the conquest of Jerusalem was widely spread in Georgia and was well known to many authors of ancient Georgian literature. The Arabic translation, dating to the eighth and ninth centuries, came from a Greek original. The Georgian translation cannot be later than the tenth century; in G. Graf's opinion it can even be dated to the eighth or ninth century.¹⁵ N. Sesadze has reviewed the text's history.¹⁶

The story of *The Killing of Holy Fathers at Sinai and Raita*¹⁷ relates the sorrowful fate of Sinaitic fathers from AD 373 to 378. Attributed to Ammonius, this story is preserved in almost all the languages of Eastern Christian literature. The Coptic original has been lost, but a number of different translations survive, namely, the Greek, chronologically the oldest, followed by the Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, and Slavonic versions. The Georgian version shows quite archaic features and is preserved in the *Sinai Polykephalon*, copied at Mar Sabas in 864.¹⁸ The first editor of the Georgian version, K. Kekelidze,¹⁹ had considered that the Georgian

¹² Paul Peeters, "De codice Hiberico Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis," *Analecta Bollandiana* 31 (1912): 301–318.

¹³ Gérard Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (hereafter: CSCO), 202–203; *Scriptores Iberici* (Louvain, Peeters Publishers, 1960), 11–12.

¹⁴ Gérard Garitte, *Expugnatio Hierosolymae, A.D. 614; Recensiones Arabicae*, vol. 1, CSCO, no. 340–341 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 1973) and *Recensiones Arabicae*, vol. 2, CSCO, no. 347–348 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 1974).

¹⁵ Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Studi e testi 147 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944): 41.

¹⁶ Neli Sesadze, "წარტყუნვა იერუსალემისაჲს შესწავლის ისტორია" [History of research on the *Conquest of Jerusalem*], *Macne, Series of Language and Literature* 3 (1971): 103–111.

¹⁷ The Georgian title is: "ცხორებაჲ წმიდათა და ნეტართა მამათაჲ, რომელნი მოღსრნეს მთასა სინას და რაითს ბარბაროზთაგან." [The story of the resurrection of the holy fathers and the saints, who were killed on Mount Sinai and by the barbarians.]

¹⁸ Two other manuscripts preserving this text are Ath. 57 (tenth to eleventh centuries) and Ath. 8 (tenth century).

¹⁹ Korneli Kekelidze, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, Keimena*, vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 1918), 28–44.

translation depended on a Greek original. Later, under Peeters²⁰ influence, he revised his opinion and recognized that the Georgian version was translated from Arabic. As for the Arabic version, R. Gvaramia has made a detailed study;²¹ she analyzed the type of relations between the Arabic and Georgian versions and prepared parallel critical editions. Among the six Arabic manuscripts that Gvaramias's edition is based on, five are Sinaitic.²² She gives a great number of proofs demonstrating that the Georgian translation depended on an Arabic model; the Georgian translator was confused by the polysemy of some Arabic terms. Moreover, Gvaramia identifies some morpho-syntactic Arabisms that are reflected in the Georgian translation and make the meaning of some sentences unclear. The phenomena of paronomasia (bringing two words together with similar forms but different meanings. In Arabic it is generally divided into verbal and lexical), still observable even through the Georgian translation, and an unusual frequency of sentences starting with verbs serve as additional arguments supporting this conclusion. It should be noted that the Arabic translator made an effort to be precise when he translated this work from Greek into Arabic in AD 772. In the light of this examination one may conclude that this is one of the oldest documents of Christian Arabic literature. Finally, Gvaramia considered the manuscript Sinai ar. 542 (ninth to tenth centuries), which contains the Arabic version of *The Killing* copied at Mar Sabas, to have come from the same *lavra* where the Georgian version was translated.²³

In 1954, Garitte²⁴ devoted a special study to the *The Life of Stephan the Sabaite* (d. AD 794) and edited the Georgian version with a Latin translation. In Greek, this life is known only from a single manuscript, Coislin 303 (tenth century). The Georgian version is preserved in Sinai. Geo. 6 (AD 983). Garitte was hesitant on the question of the origin of the Georgian translation, which seemed to him "quite distinct" from the Greek version. He could not find any "Semitisms" in the Georgian translation, however, which led him to form another hypothesis. It should be noted that at that time the Syriac and Arabic versions of the *Life* were

²⁰ Paul Peeters, "Bulletin des publications hagiographiques," *Analecta Bollandiana* 53 (1935): 404.

²¹ Rusudan Gvaramia, *ამონიოსის "ხინა-რაითის წმინდა მამათა მოხრევის" არაბული ქართული ვერსიები* [Arabic-Georgian versions of Ammonius' account of the killing of holy Fathers at Sinai and Raita] (Tbilisi: Mecniereba, 1973).

²² *BL Or. 5019* (eleventh century), Sinai ar. 542 (ninth to tenth century), Sinai ar. 557 (thirteenth century), Sinai ar. 400 (thirteenth century), *Sinai ar. 401* (thirteenth century), and Sinai ar. 423 (AD 1623).

²³ Gvaramia, "Arabic-Georgian versions," 031.

²⁴ Gérard Garitte, "Un extrait de la Vie d'Étienne le Sabaïte," *Le Muséon* 67 (1954): 71–93.

still unknown. Garitte only published additional research in 1959,²⁵ in which he established that the Georgian version depended on an Arabic model. Meanwhile, he discovered the Arabic version of the *Life* in two manuscripts – Sinai ar. 505 (thirteenth century) and Sinai ar. 496 (AD 1238) – which had colophons stating that the *Life* was translated from Greek into Arabic at Mar Sabas in AD 903. Based on a tripartite comparison among the Greek, Arabic, and Georgian versions, Garitte declares that the problem of the origin of the Georgian translation is “absolutely” clear: “le géorgien dérive du grec par un intermédiaire et cet intermédiaire n’est autre que la version arabe.”²⁶ The Georgian translation was made between 903 (the date of the Arabic translation) and 983 (when Sinai geo. 6 was copied). It should be stressed that this is one of the most important documents giving a detailed and vivid picture of the lives of Palestinian monks in the eighth century and providing valuable information about the Church of Jerusalem.

Al-bustân is an Arabic version of the Greek *Leimonarion* written in Syro-Palestinian milieu. This collection of maxims is the work of John Moschus (seventh century). Aside from the Greek original, versions of this text are known in Arabic, Georgian, Armenian, and Slavonic. The Georgian version was first published by I. Abuladze.²⁷ Gvaramia has devoted an exhaustive study²⁸ to the Arabic version of the text, editing it based on the oldest manuscript, Sinai ar. 549 (tenth century), adding a modern Georgian translation and a philological study analyzing the correlation between the Georgian and Arabic versions. She also studied the linguistic peculiarities of the Arabic translation, recognizing it as a typical example of early Christian Arabic literature (eighth and ninth centuries). Gvaramia shared the opinion already expressed by Abuladze and Garitte,²⁹ considering that the Georgian version was a translation made following an Arabic

²⁵ Gérard Garitte, “Le début de la Vie de S. Étienne le Sabaïte retrouvée en arabe au Sinai,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, no. 77 (1959): 332–369.

²⁶ Ibid., 339.

²⁷ Ilia Abuladze, იოანე მოსხი, ლიმონარი, ტექსტი გამოკვლევიითა და ლექსიკონით [*Leimonarion*, edition with research and glossary] (Tbilisi, Mecniereba, 1960).

²⁸ Rusudan Gvaramia, აღ-ბუსტანი, X საუკუნის სინური ხელნაწერების მიხედვით, არაბული ტექსტი ქართული თარგმანითა და გამოკვლევით [*Al-Bustân* from a Sinai ms of the tenth century, Arabic version with Georgian translation and research] (Tbilisi, Mecniereba, 1965).

²⁹ Gérard Garitte, “La version géorgienne du Pré Spirituel,” *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* 2, *Studi e Testi*, 232, (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964): 175: “L’examen philologique du texte géorgien permet d’être beaucoup plus catégorique et d’affirmer que Le Pré Spirituel géorgien n’est autre chose que la traduction d’un modèle arabe.”

model. This conclusion was based on the observation of Arabized proper nouns and on the great number of exact morphosyntactic copies found in the Georgian translation. The comparative study of the Georgian-Arabic-Greek versions shows the pattern, however, that the Georgian always supports the readings proposed by the Arabic version when they are different from the readings that appear in the Greek version of the text.

In 1980, Gvaramia published the Georgian version of *The Martyrdom of Panteleimon*.³⁰ The oldest (a so-called *keimena* [the first primitive redaction of the text]) is known in two different recensions. The earliest, preserved in *Sinai geo. 71* (thirteenth century), comes from a Greek original. However, the second branch of the *keimena* redaction – preserved in manuscripts *Sinai geo. 11* (tenth century), *Sinai geo. 62* (tenth century), and *Bodl. georg. 8* – is translated from Arabic. The oldest Arabic manuscript which contains the text of *The Martyrdom* is BL. Or 5019 (eleventh century).³¹ A textual comparison among the Georgian, Arabic, and Greek versions shows that the first two of them are similar, having the same readings different from the Greek. Some morphosyntactic Arabisms are also reflected in the Georgian translation through an unaccustomed use of particles, adverbs, and conjunctions. It should be noted that BL. Or 5019 contains another treatise which was translated from Arabic into Georgian (*The Killing of the Holy Fathers at Sinai and Raita*). Gvaramia presumed that these two Georgian translations (*The Martyrdom* and *The Killing*) were created in the same environment. The Georgian translation seems to have been produced in the eighth or ninth century.

Kekelidze studied the Georgian version of *The Martyrdom of Eustace*,³² who converted to Christianity and was tortured by Diocletian (AD 284–305). The Greek original, written by Simeon the Metaphrast, cannot be considered a model for the Georgian version because of notable differences between them. An Armenian version of *The Martyrdom* is also known.³³ Based on the forms of the proper names, Kekelidze, in his analysis of the Georgian translation, presumed it

³⁰ Rusudan Gvaramia, “პანტელეიმონის წამების ქართული ვერსიები და მათი წყაროები” [The Georgian versions of the *Martyrdom of Panteleimon* and their sources], *Mravtavi* 7 (1980): 36–49.

³¹ Other manuscripts preserving this work are: *Sinai ar. 534*, *Sinai ar. 535*, *Sinai ar. 440*, all of them from the thirteenth century.

³² Korneli Kekelidze, *ანტიკის გადმონაშთები ძველ ქართულ ლიტერატურაში* [Traces of antiquity in old Georgian literature], *Researches* 8 (1962): 132–142. The Georgian title is “წამებაჲ ევსტრატისი,” the text is preserved in *Sinai geo. 11* (tenth century) and *Tbil. A-95* (eleventh century).

³³ Paul Peeters, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica orientalis* (Brussels, 1910), 70.

was dependent on a “lost Arabic” model. It seems that the translation was made in the ninth or tenth century.

Once more, it was Garitte who devoted a study to the Georgian version of *The Life of Kyriakos* written by Cyril of Skythopolis (sixth century).³⁴ Kyriakos (d. AD 449) was a Palestinian monk working in the Mar Chariton *Lavra*. Written originally in Greek,³⁵ a Georgian version of this *Life* is also preserved in BL. Add. 11281 (AD 1034–1042), a manuscript copied at the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. The first editor of the Georgian version was Imnaišvili.³⁶ In 1963, Garitte published it again,³⁷ demonstrating by a philological study of the Georgian version that there was no question of a direct connection with the Greek version; the Arabic version could have been used as an intermediary. Indeed, later Garitte discovered the Arabic version³⁸ of the *Life* preserved in Sinai ar. 395 (fourteenth century). A three-way comparison among these versions shows that the Georgian version systematically reproduces all of the readings given by the Arabic version when they differ from those in the Greek version.

The Autobiography of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite is generally regarded as having had the fascinating history of passing through all of the oriental languages. The Georgian version, published by Peeters³⁹ with a Latin translation, is preserved in Ath. 57 (tenth to eleventh centuries). The Armenian version of *The Autobiography* derives from the Georgian and is very close to it; Peeters provided abundant evidence for this conclusion. But, the Georgian version, although a model for the Armenian version, derives from the Arabic model.⁴⁰ Peeters’ three-way textual comparison among the Syriac, Arabic, and Georgian versions shows the presence of some Arabic terms in

³⁴ Gérard Garitte, “La version géorgienne de la Vie de Saint Cyriaque par Cyrille de Scythopolis,” *Le Muséon* 75 (1962): 339–440. The Georgian title is “ცხოვრებაჲ წმიდისა კირიაკოზისი.”

³⁵ See Eduard Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis, Texte und Untersuchungen*, XLIX, 2 (Leipzig, 1939): 222–235.

³⁶ Ivane Imnaišvili, *მამათა ცხოვრებანი, ბრიტანეთის მუზეუმის ქართული ხელნაწერი XI საუკუნისა* [Lives of Fathers, Georgian manuscript of British Museum from the eleventh century] (Tbilisi, 1975), 244–255.

³⁷ Gérard Garitte, “La Vie géorgienne de Saint Cyriaque et son modèle arabe,” *Bedi Kartlis* 28 (1971): 92–105 and “La version géorgienne de la Vie de Saint Cyriaque par Cyrille de Scythopolis,” *Le Muséon* 75 (1962): 399–441.

³⁸ Gérard Garitte, “La Vie géorgienne de Saint Cyriaque et son modèle arabe,” in *Scripta Disiecta 1941–1977, Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain* 22, vol. 2 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980), 662–675.

³⁹ Paul Peeters, “La version ibéro-arménienne de l’autobiographie de Denys l’Aréopagite,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 39 (1921): 277–313.

⁴⁰ Preserved in BnF ar. 74 (thirteenth century).

Georgian that the translator just transliterated and otherwise ignored. The Georgian translator interpreted some Arabic polysemic terms wrongly and also fell victim to misreading graphically similar Arabic words. According to Peeters:

À Jérusalem, à la Laure de Mar Saba, dans le désert de Jourdain, au Sinaï, au mont Saint-Syméon, dans la montagne Noire et en bien d'autres endroits où les Géorgiens étaient nombreux et avaient leurs établissements propres, il se trouvait des polyglottes capables de traduire en géorgien un texte arabe.⁴¹

Finally, it should be noted that Peeters always argued that the Arabic version depended directly on the Greek original. Thus, the migration of this fascinating legend had numerous stages from Greek into Arabic, from Arabic into Georgian, and from Georgian into Armenian.

Once again, it was Gvaramia who published an article entitled: "The Arabic Version of the Second Epistle of Basil the Great and its Relation to the Ancient Georgian Recension."⁴² The Georgian version of this work is preserved in Tbil. H-622 (tenth century), a manuscript that Outtier thinks was translated from the Arabic model.⁴³ Indeed, the Arabic version of *The Epistle* is found in Strasbourg ar. 4226 (Strasb. ar. 151), copied in AD 885–886 at the Mar Sabas monastery. Gvaramia compared these two versions and saw that the Georgian version depended on the Arabic version. This conclusion was supported by the identification of frequent exact morphosyntactic copies in Georgian and by textual proximity observed between these two versions. Gvaramia published the Arabic version from the manuscript of Strasbourg. Thus, the Georgian translation of *The Epistle* adds to the number of literary works translated from Arabic into Georgian in a Syro-Palestinian environment in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The Martyrdom of Saint Elianos (ʿAmman) is the story of a saint preserved exclusively in a Georgian version.⁴⁴ Indeed, otherwise completely unknown, Saint Elianos is not mentioned by any other liturgical book from the Greek or Eastern Churches. Besides the *Martyrdom*, Elianos' name is mentioned only by Georgian liturgical documents that follow the Hierosolymitan [Jerusalem] Church tradition

⁴¹ Peeters, "La version ibéro-arménienne," 286.

⁴² Rusudan Gvaramia, "ბასილი კაპადოკიელის მეორე ეპისტოლის არაბული ვერსია და მისი მიმართება ადრეულ ქართულ რედაქციასთან" [An Arabic version of the second Epistle of Basil the Great and its relation to the ancient Georgian recension], *Mrvaltavi* 10 (1993): 146–153.

⁴³ Bernard Outtier, "Martius, Barsus, Tarnus ou Martyrius? Nouveaux fragments arabes et géorgiens de Sahdona," *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 1 (1985): 225–227.

⁴⁴ The Georgian title is "წამებად წმიდისა ელიანოზისი."

(for example, *The Lectionary of Jerusalem*). *The Martyrdom* is preserved in Tbil. A-95 (eleventh century) and Georg. Bodl. 1 (noted above), which have Hierosolymitan origins. The text was published by Kekelidze⁴⁵ and translated into the Latin by Garitte.⁴⁶ According to Kekelidze, the account of this *Martyrdom* seems to have been written first in Greek in the sixth or seventh century, but the original has been lost. The Georgian version derives from the lost Arabic model because of the vocalization peculiarities in the proper names in the Georgian translation. It seems that the translator was using an Arabic model where the short vowels were not noted. In comparison, the simple and parataxic syntactic constructions (a feature of Semitic languages in which phrases are arranged independently, in a coordinate rather than a subordinate construction) used in the Georgian translation reproduce a feature of the Arabic model. The Georgian translation seems to have been made in the ninth century.

Texts that Passed from Syriac to Arabic to Georgian

The Georgian version of *The Life of St. Nisime* is preserved in codex Tbil. A-249 (tenth to eleventh century).⁴⁷ Kekelidze, the first editor of this *Life*, translated it into Russian and provided a philological study of it.⁴⁸ Behind the Georgian version he supposed a Coptic original, although he did not give a convincing philological argument for it. Peeters⁴⁹ contested the hypothesis of a Coptic original and also reported the existence of a Syriac version.⁵⁰ The Syriac *Life* was published first by P. Bedjan⁵¹ and second by S. Lewis.⁵² Based on these publications it becomes clear

⁴⁵ Korneli Kekelidze, *Monumenta*, vol. 2 (Tbilisi, 1946), 32–37.

⁴⁶ Gérard Garitte, “La Passion de Saint Élien de Philadelphie (‘Amman),” *Analecta Bollandiana* 79 (1961): 412–446.

⁴⁷ Other manuscripts preserving this work are: Tbil. A-146 (fourteenth century), Tbil. A-382 (fifteenth century), Tbil. A-124 (eleventh century), *Wien, Nationalbibliothek georg.* 4 (AD 1160). The Georgian title is: “ცხოვრება და მოქალაქეობა ნისიმესი.”

⁴⁸ Korneli Kekelidze, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, Keimena*, vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 1918), 202–214 and “Эпизод из начальной истории египетского монашества” [An episode in the history of early Egyptian monasticism], *Researches* 7 (1961): 76–101.

⁴⁹ Paul Peeters, “Bulletin des publications hagiographiques,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 31 (1912): 478–479.

⁵⁰ Paul Peeters, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* (Brussels, 1910), 178.

⁵¹ Paul Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, 5 (Paris: Otto Harrassowitz, 1895), 405–409. Edition based on BL Add. 14649 (sixth to seventh and twelfth centuries), *BnF syr.* 235 and 236 (both from the twelfth century).

⁵² Agnes Smith Lewis, “Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest,” *Studia Sinaitica* 10 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 81–93.

that there are actually two different redactions in Syriac – an extended one and a brief one. Once again, Outtier argued that: “on est ici en présence d’un texte syriaque ayant pénétré dans la littérature géorgienne par le truchement arabe.”⁵³ This hypothesis was definitively confirmed by a detailed study undertaken by N. Tsakadze,⁵⁴ who proceeds by a comparative study of the Syriac, Arabic, and Georgian versions to conclude that the *Life* was initially written in Syriac, translated later into Arabic, and translated again into Georgian. The oldest manuscript preserving the Arabic version of the *The Life* is Sinai ar. 542, which has a quire pagination in Arabic and Georgian, comes from the monastery of Mar Sabas, and gives the first redaction of the Arabic text. A second redaction is attested in some manuscripts from Mingana, all of them written in Garshuni. The comparative study of these two redactions shows that they had different translators. The Georgian version is close to manuscript Sinai ar. 542. Based on a triple comparison of the Syriac-Arab-Georgian sentences, Tsakadze demonstrates that the number of mistakes in the Georgian translation can be easily explained by the polysemy of the corresponding Arabic terms; the Georgian translator failed to understand some grammatical forms of the Arabic model correctly. Tsakadze provides a critical edition of the Georgian translation. Moreover, she translated the Syriac version of Bedjan’s edition of *The Life* into Georgian. She also published an Arabic version of *The Life* from Sinai ar. 542, adding a Georgian translation and, finally, she published a Garshuni redaction with a Georgian translation. Tsakadze’s conclusions were questioned by M. van Esbroeck,⁵⁵ however, who, based on the analysis of the names “Pitirum” and “Tabenesis,” concluded that they are transmitted relatively correctly in Georgian, but seriously transformed in Arabic and Syriac. Van Esbroeck thought that the possibility of a direct translation from the Arabic into Georgian was excluded and the translator of the Georgian text would have had access to a lost Greek model of *The Life*. It is important to stress that this work is one of the first literary documents translated into Georgian in Palestine. The language, considerably archaic, gives an idea of the antiquity of this translation.⁵⁶ To summarize, one may conclude that the Arabic translation of

⁵³ Bernard Outtier, “Le manuscrit Tbilissi A-249: Un recueil traduit de l’arabe et sa physionomie primitive,” *Bedi Kartlisa* 35 (1977): 107.

⁵⁴ Nani Tsakadze, *ნისიმეს ცხოვრების სირიული, არაბული და ქართული ვერსიები* [Syriac, Arabic and Georgian versions of the martyrdom of Nisime] (Tbilisi: Georgian National Academy of Sciences, 1973).

⁵⁵ Michel Van Esbroeck, “La légende géorgienne de l’ascète Nisime,” *Revue des Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes* 1 (1985): 117–125.

⁵⁶ Kekelidze, “შინადა,” 92.

The Life was made from a Syriac original at the monastery of Mar Sabas, which is where the oldest Arabic manuscript (Sinai ar. 542) originated. The emergence of the Georgian translation must also be connected with the *lavra* of Mar Sabas because of the oldest Georgian manuscript which contains its text – Tbil. A-249. According to Outtier, this manuscript collects some texts of Palestinian tradition⁵⁷ which passed from Syriac to Arabic and from Arabic to Georgian. Indeed, one of the texts contained in Tbil. A-249 ends with a colophon reporting: “It was translated at the *lavra* of Mar Sabas.”⁵⁸

Garitte had the merit to publish the Georgian version of *Life of St. Ephrem the Syrian*⁵⁹ based on manuscript BL Add. 1128. Another edition of this *Life* was due to I. Imnaišvili,⁶⁰ who used the same manuscript. This text is also preserved in another manuscript, Tbil. A-249, of Palestinian origin. According to Peeters, Tbil. A-249 is the oldest codex, preserving rare and unique documents.⁶¹ Imnaišvili did not prepare a critical edition and Tbil. A-249 was inaccessible to Garitte. Even so, based on the philological analysis of the text, Garitte argued that the Georgian *Life*: “leaves visible some traces of the Syriac original.”⁶² Indeed, several different recensions of *The Life* are known to Syriac tradition;⁶³ one of them was published by Lamy⁶⁴ based on manuscript BnF syr. 235 (thirteenth century). The Georgian version relates to this recension, although it is increased by some specific passages.⁶⁵ Garitte’s conclusions were based on observations related to the language of the Georgian translation, which was characterized by several signs suggesting a Syriac origin. There were a number of exact morphosyntactic copies and many mistakes in translation easily explicable by a Syriac original. However, later this question was reviewed and discussed again by Outtier, who drew attention to the existence of the Arabic version of *The Life* preserved in several manuscripts, at least one

⁵⁷ Outtier, “Le manuscrit Tbilissi A-249,” 109.

⁵⁸ Tsakadze, “Syriac, Arabic and Georgian versions,” 93.

⁵⁹ Gérard Garitte, *Vies géorgiennes de Saint Syméon Stylite l’Ancien et de Éphrem*, CSCO, 171; *Scriptores Iberici* 7 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 1957) and CSCO 172, *Scriptores Iberici* 8 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 1957). The Georgian title is: ცხოვრება ეფრემ ასურისა.

⁶⁰ Imnaišvili, *Lives of Fathers*, 306–373.

⁶¹ Paul Peeters, “Traductions et traducteurs dans l’hagiographie orientale à l’époque byzantine,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922): 290.

⁶² Garitte, *Vies géorgiennes*, vol. 2.

⁶³ See Joseph P. Amar, *The Syriac Vita Tradition of Ephrem the Syrian*, CSCO, 629–630; *Scriptores Syri*, 242–243 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 2011).

⁶⁴ Tomas Joseph Lamy, *Sancti Ephraem Syri hymni et sermones*, vol. 2 (Malines: H. Dessain, 1886), 5–90.

⁶⁵ Garitte, *Vies géorgiennes*, vol. 2.

of which is dated to the tenth century. Namely, it is the question of Sinai ar. 457 (tenth century) having a quire numeration in Arabic and in Georgian. Analyzing Garitte's arguments, Outtier insists that, in fact, many of the philological clues which Garitte considered "syriacisms" can also be easily seen as "Arabisms" because they are natural for both of these related Semitic languages. As for mistakes in translation, according to Outtier, the Georgian could also have been influenced by the Arabic version. What is more, "les accords du géorgien avec l'arabe contre le syriaque sont légion."⁶⁶ In light of these conclusions, it seems that the Georgian version of *The Life of Ephrem* was connected to the Syriac original only through the Arabic version, indirectly, and Arabic version played the role of intermediary link between them. The Syriac *Life of Ephrem* dates from the early eighth century and the Georgian translation was made in the ninth century.

Texts that Passed from Greek to Syriac to Arabic to Georgian

The manuscripts Tbil. A-249, Tbil. A-144 (tenth century), Ath. 9 (AD 977) and its copy, Tbil. A-56 (eighteenth century), have preserved the story of Joseph of Arimathea and the church at Lydda. This story, which became a focus of global attention, was first published by Marr⁶⁷ based on the three manuscripts cited above. Marr suggested that the apocryphal *Story of Foundation of the Church of Lydda* was translated into Georgian from Syriac or from Arabic in the eighth or ninth century. Marr based his analysis on some proper names in the Georgian translation. For A. Stengenšek,⁶⁸ a Syriac original was behind the Georgian version. In 1901, A. Harnack⁶⁹ translated this story into German from the Russian translation available in Marr's edition and Th. Kluge⁷⁰ prepared a new German translation directly from the Georgian in 1915. Finally, in 1977, M. van Esbroeck

⁶⁶ Outtier, "Le manuscrit Tbilissi A-249," 103–104.

⁶⁷ Nikoloz Marr, *Иосиф Аримафейский, тексты и разискания по армянско - грузинской филологии* [Joseph of Arimathea, texts and research in Armenian-Georgian philology], vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1900).

⁶⁸ Avguštin Stengenšek, "Mitteilungen. Neuere russische Arbeiten zur armenisch-georgischen Philologie," *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1901): 377–378.

⁶⁹ Adolf von Harnack, "Ein in georgischer Sprache überliefertes Apokryphon des Joseph von Arimathia," *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 39 (1901): 920–931.

⁷⁰ Theodor Kluge, "Die apokryphe Erzählung des Joseph von Arimathäa über den Bau der ersten christlichen Kirche in Lydda," *Oriens Christianus* 4 (1915): 24–38.

published a French translation.⁷¹ Kluge hesitated about whether Greek, Syriac or Armenian models lay behind the Georgian translation. In the meantime, Peeters⁷² had noted some alterations in the proper names; when “P” becomes “B” is relevant to indicate the weakness of Arabic alphabet. Finally, as noted above, Outtier considered the totality of manuscript Tbil. A-249, including *The Church of Lydda*, as having been translated from Arabic into Georgian. It should be noted that codex Ath. 9 is one of the manuscripts used by Abuladze in his edition of *The Teachings of the Fathers*.⁷³ The texts comprising this codex contain, according to Abuladze, terms borrowed from Pehlevi [Middle Persian] or Arabic. Once again, Outtier supposed an Arabic origin for codex Ath. 9.⁷⁴ However, Van Esbroeck noted that: “quand on examine la légende de Lydda, on n’aperçoit aucun indice du vocabulaire comparable à celui de la collection [i.e., *The Teachings of the Fathers*], encore moins des parallèles.”⁷⁵ It should be stressed that the story of *The Church of Lydda* appears exclusively in manuscript Ath. 9 and is not shared by the other manuscripts that form the collection of *The Teachings of the Fathers*. Kh. Samir, who continued to review all of these hypotheses, noted that the Arabic version of this legend was still unknown.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, it seems possible to admit with Marr, Peeters, and Outtier that the Georgian translation derives from a (lost) Arabic version. Van Esbroeck supposed a Syriac model for the Arabic version and a Greek original behind the Syriac version.⁷⁷

Texts that Passed from Arabic to Georgian

*The Martyrdom of Michael the Sabaite*⁷⁸ is known in two versions, Greek and Georgian. The Greek version of the oldest archetype of this story was published

⁷¹ Michel Van Esbroeck, “L’histoire de l’église de Lydda dans deux textes géorgiens,” *Bedi Kartlisa* 35 (1977): 109–131.

⁷² Paul Peeters, “Traductions et traducteurs dans l’hagiographie orientale à l’époque byzantine,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922): 287–289.

⁷³ Ilia Abuladze, *მამათა სწავლანი X და XI საუკუნის ხელნაწერების მიხედვით* [Teaching of the Fathers according to the manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries] (Tbilisi, 1955).

⁷⁴ Outtier, “Le manuscrit Tbilissi A-249,” 40.

⁷⁵ Michel Van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens*, Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain (Louvain-La-Neuve: Peeters Publishers, 1975).

⁷⁶ Samir Khalil Samir, “Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens et les versions patristiques arabes,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 42 (1976): 221.

⁷⁷ Van Esbroeck, “L’histoire de l’église de Lydda,” 113.

⁷⁸ The Georgian title is: “წამებაჲ წმიდისა მიქაელისი.” See a bibliography concerning Michael the Sabaite in Graf, *Geschichte*, 23.

in 1892.⁷⁹ In fact, in the Greek Michael's martyrdom was incorporated into the *Life of St. Theodore of Edessa*, but in reality the *Martyrdom* is earlier than *The Life* and has been mistakenly included in it.⁸⁰ Despite these two versions, the Passion seems to have been written initially not in Greek or Georgian, but in Arabic (in the ninth century).⁸¹ Then was translated into Georgian at the Mar Sabas monastery between the ninth and tenth centuries. The Georgian version was published by Kekelidze⁸² based on Ath. 5. The Latin translation of *The Martyrdom of Michael the Sabaite* is due to Peeters⁸³ and the English translation to M. Blanchard.⁸⁴ Peeters' translation was based on a philological argument considering the Georgian translation derived from an Arabic model; in his eyes, the numerous exact morphosyntactic copies of many adverbs and the "mannered elegance" that can be felt in the Georgian translation served as proof. He enumerates many other indications in his notes added to a Latin translation. Samir⁸⁵ shared the view that an Arabic model lay behind the Georgian version, a view adopted by Blanchard.⁸⁶ S. H. Griffith agreed with the other researchers; according to him:

All the authorities who have had the occasion to examine the text so far have agreed that it was translated from Arabic. Here it will be argued that in all probability the original author of the Michael's story was an Arabophone monk of the monastery of Mar Sabas, who wrote the account of Michael's exploit in Arabic at some point in the ninth century.⁸⁷

Blanchard summarized some clues such as morphosyntactic Arabisms identified by different researchers with the objective of detecting the (lost or unknown) Arabic model behind the Georgian translations. She found that some of these clues were relevant for *Michael's Martyrdom*. In my opinion, a monk

⁷⁹ Иван Помяловский, *Житие Св. Отца нашего Теодора Архиепископа Эдесского* [The Life of our Holy Father St. Theodore Archbishop of Edessa] (St. Petersburg, 1892). See also: Alexander Vasiliev, "The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa," *Byzantion* 16 (1942–1943): 165–225.

⁸⁰ Paul Peeters, "La passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte," *Analecta Bollandiana* 48 (1930): 82.

⁸¹ Peeters, *Le tréfonds oriental*, 21 and 185.

⁸² Kekelidze, *Monumenta*, vol. 1, 165–173.

⁸³ Peeters, "La passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte:" 65–98.

⁸⁴ Monica J. Blanchard, "The Georgian Version of the Martyrdom of Saint Michael, Monk of Mar Sabas Monastery," *Aram* 6 (1994): 150–163.

⁸⁵ Samir, "Les plus anciens," 226.

⁸⁶ Blanchard, "The Georgian version," 159.

⁸⁷ Sidney H. Griffith, "Michael the Martyr and Monk of Mar Sabas Monastery," *Aram* 6 (1994): 121.

at Mar Sabas initially composed, this *Martyrdom* in Arabic for the glory of his monastery and it was preserved in a Georgian translation thanks to a compiled manuscript that copied a number of other *Passions*, all translated from Arabic into Georgian in the same epoch. However, a different opinion should be mentioned here: The famous Georgian translator, George the Hagiorite (eleventh century), wrote in the *The Vitae of Our Blessed Fathers John and Euthymius* that Euthymius the Hagiorite (AD 955–1028) had translated the *Abukura* (აბუკურა) from Georgian into Greek.⁸⁸ This information is difficult to understand because no work entitled *Abukura* is known in Georgian literature. Some researchers, Kekelidze,⁸⁹ for example, have suggested that *Abukura* be identified as *The Martyrdom of Michael the Sabaite*, which was narrated to the fathers of Mar Sabas by Theodore Abu Qurrah (eighth or ninth century), a great author of Christian Arabic literature and a monk of the *lavra*. P. Ingoroqva and L. Datašvili consider this text an “original” composition written at Mar Sabas monastery by a Georgian monk named Basil. They argue that the Georgian version was an example of rhythmical prose composed in four verses, each of them constituted of eight syllables. They consider this redaction a model that Euthymius used to translate from the Georgian into Greek. Euthymius would have had a genuine interest in translating this *Martyrdom*, which is absent from Greek literature⁹⁰ (as mentioned above, it is included in the *The Life of Theodore of Edessa*, but in the Greek tradition this text does not exist independently). As for the Greek *Life of Theodore of Edessa*, Ephrem Mtsire translated it into Georgian in the eleventh century.

Research concerning the *The Martyrdom of Pansophius of Alexandria* has been published by Peeters.⁹¹ Kekelidze, who edited the Georgian⁹² version, considered the *Martyrdom* an apocryphal work preserved only in the Georgian tradition by manuscript Sinai Geo. 6. Based on this conjecture, Peeters, who also prepared a Latin translation, judged that this text was derived from an Arabic original. He

⁸⁸ “ცხოვრება ნეტარისა მამისა ჭუნისა იოვანესი და ეფთვიმესი” [The Lives of our Blessed Fathers John and Euthymius], *Dzeglēbi* 2 (1967): 41. For a Latin translation, see: Paul Peeters, “Vie de Jean et Euthyme,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 36–37 (1917–1919): 8–69.

⁸⁹ Korneli Kekelidze, “რომანი აბუკურა და მისი ორი რედაქცია ძველ ქართულ მწერლობაში” [The story of Abukura and its two redactions in Georgian literature], *Researches* 6 (1960): 18–41.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 29–30.

⁹¹ Paul Peeters, “La Passion de Saint Pansophios d’Alexandrie,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 47 (1929): 307–337.

⁹² Georgian title: “წამება წმიდისადა ყოვლად ქებილისა მოწამისა პანსოფი ალექსანდრიელისადა,” Korneli Kekelidze, *Monumenta*, vol. 1, 48–59.

interpreted some nonsense in the Georgian translation as caused by graphical confusion among similar Arabic terms.

Once more, it was Peeters who suggested that the Georgian version of the *The Martyrdom of Saint Romanos the Younger*⁹³ relied on an Arabic model composed immediately after the death of the saint and before AD 787. Peeters translated the Georgian version into Latin and Kekelidze made a translation into Russian,⁹⁴ but he only had one incomplete manuscript of the *Martyrdom* to work with. Because of this gap, based on a complete manuscript from Mount Athos, A. Khakhanov⁹⁵ republished the text. Peeters has provided a number of proofs demonstrating that the Georgian version depended on a (lost) Arabic original: the proper names are borrowed from Arabic onomastics and some other Arabic terms are simply transliterated into Georgian. Finally, many mistakes can be explained by the translator having misread Arabic terms. The title of the Georgian version declares that the *Martyrdom* was composed at Mar Sabas by the monk Stephan of Damascus of the *lavra*. One can suppose with great probability along with Peeters that it was composed in Arabic. The Georgian translation, created in a Syro-Palestinian environment, is the unique surviving version.

Peeters devoted detailed research to *The Life of Anthony Rawakh*.⁹⁶ The Georgian version, based mainly on manuscript Ath. 57, was edited by I. Qipšidze with a Russian translation.⁹⁷ Qipšidze recognized some Arabic influence on the forms of Georgian proper names, but he did not believe he could conclude that the Georgian version derived from the Arabic. Peeters brought up new points based on Vat. ar. 175 (eighth century). In fact, there are two different redactions of this text in Arabic: one of them is the *Martyrdom* transformed later by a hagiographer into the *Life/Autobiography of Saint-Antoine Rawakh*.⁹⁸ Peeters demonstrates that the Georgian version strictly follows *The Autobiography* as it

⁹³ Paul Peeters, "Saint Romain le Néomartyr (†1 mai 780) d'après un document géorgien," *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911): 393–427. Georgian title: "წამებად რომანოზ ახლისაჲ."

⁹⁴ Korneli Kekelidze, *Новооткрытый агиологический памятник иконоборческой эпохи* [Newly found hagiologic monument from the iconoclastic period], *Researches* 7 (1961): 64–75.

⁹⁵ Alexander Khakhanov, *Материалы по грузинской агиологии* [Georgian hagiologic documents], *Труды по востоковедению* 31 (1910): 25–46.

⁹⁶ Paul Peeters, "Une autobiographie de Saint Antoine le néo-martyr," *Analecta Bollandiana* 33 (1914): 52–63. The Georgian title: "წამებად წმიდისა რავახისაჲ."

⁹⁷ Joseph Qipšidze, *Житие и мученичество Св. Антония-Раваха* [The life and martyrdom of Holy Antony Rawakh], *Христианский Восток* 2 (1913): 54–104.

⁹⁸ For another redaction, see: Paul Peeters, "St. Antoine le néo-martyr," *Analecta Bollandiana* 31 (1912): 410–450.

exists in Vat. ar. 175. I. Dick has published the oldest Arabic version of this text and assesses the current status of the question in his introduction.⁹⁹

The homily of Jacob of Serug (AD 451–521), *Elias and Archangel Michael*, seems to have been translated from Arabic into Georgian. Once again, Outtier was behind this hypothesis;¹⁰⁰ in fact, this homily is attributed to Ephrem the Syrian, but Outtier identified it as a work of Jacob of Serug.¹⁰¹ The Georgian version is preserved in the manuscripts Tbil. A-144 and Tbil. A-691 (fourteenth century). In Arabic there are four different recensions of this text preserved in the manuscripts BnF ar. 143 (fourteenth century) and 281 (AD 1547). An edition of all of these versions is in preparation by Outtier. According to Outtier's observations, the Georgian version seems to have been translated from Arabic in Palestine in the ninth century.

Conclusion

In general, Syro-Palestinian multicultural and multilingual monasteries presented the most favorable conditions for a development of closer ties between Georgian and Arabophone monks. Indeed, the Georgian presence at the Holy Places of Palestine is recorded in historical sources and there is also archeological evidence for it, especially from the fourth century, after Georgia adopted Christianity. From the sixth century this presence was rather impressive. Georgians were in Jerusalem and its environs, in the Palestinian deserts, in most of the oldest monasteries and *lavras*. But the most important place for Christian Arabic-Georgian literary relations was the monastery of Mar Sabas. This research has demonstrated that the largest number of the Georgian translations derived from Arabic models are connected with this monastery by being the place of origin of their Arabic models or by being the place where the Georgian translations originated or both. This was the case of *The Persian Conquest of Jerusalem in 614*, *The Killing of the Holy Fathers at Sinai and Raita*, *The Life of Stephan the Sabaite*, *The Second Epistle of Basil the Great*, *The Life of St. Nisime*, *The Martyrdom of Michael the Sabaite*, *The Martyrdom of Saint Romanos the Younger*, and others. These are mainly accounts describing Syro-Palestinian saints and milieus and these texts are important to

⁹⁹ Ignace Dick, "La passion arabe de Saint Antoine Ruwah, néo-martyr de Damas," *Le Muséon* 74 (1961): 109–133.

¹⁰⁰ Bernard Outtier, "Homélie de notre Saint et bienheureux Père Éphrem sur le prophète Élie et l'archange Michel," in *Le Saint Prophète Élie d'après les Pères de l'Église, Spiritualité Orientale* 53 (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1992): 433–451.

¹⁰¹ However, without giving arguments, which are promised for further research.

research in Syro-Palestinian Christian studies. Indeed, according to Griffith, “the Georgian manuscripts have played ...an important role in discovering the history of the appearance of the Arabic language in the literature of the Holy Land monasteries.”¹⁰² The reasons must be highlighted here: First, Mar Sabas Monastery was one of the oldest fiefs of Georgian literature in the Holy Land until the tenth century, where numerous Georgian manuscripts were created and copied; second, the monastic communities of the Holy Land, including especially Mar Sabas, were famously cosmopolitan and multilingual in the Byzantine and early Islamic periods. Greek was the dominant language of ecclesiastical culture from the fourth to the eighth century, but after this period and between 750 and 1050, Arabic became increasingly the language of the Melkite (Orthodox Christians who follow the Council of Calcedon of 451) community of Christians.¹⁰³ By the beginning of the ninth century, Mar Sabas Monastery found itself at the heart of an Arabic-speaking ecclesiastical network where Arabic was a living language for the monks and translations were made from Arabic into Georgian.¹⁰⁴ It has become evident that this situation offered a most favorable condition for the rapprochement of Georgians and the Arabic-speaking Christians living and working together. It should also be noted that, in contrast, the Arab invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries in Georgia limited the literary and scribal work of the Georgian monasteries. Then, “it was only natural that the Georgian monks living in the Holy Land monasteries would take upon themselves the burden of translating, composing and copying the church literature for their suffering homeland.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Sidney H. Griffith, “The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic,” *The Muslim World* 78 (1988): 15–16.

¹⁰³ Sidney H. Griffith, “Antony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine,” *Church History* 58, no. 1 (1989): 7. See also Sidney H. Griffith, “From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1997): 11–31.

¹⁰⁴ Nanobashvili, “The Development of Literary Contacts,” 273.

¹⁰⁵ Yana Tchekhanovets, “Early Georgian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land,” *Liber Annus* 61 (2011): 468.