The Old Georgian version of the miracle of St George, the princess and the dragon: Text, commentary and translation. (Sharing Myths, Texts and Sanctuaries in the South Caucasus) Kevin Tuite, Université de Montréal

The frequently-repeated assertion that the land of Georgia and its people were named after St George (e.g. Haubrichs 1984; Riches 2000:1; Morgan 2006: 10) goes back at least to the time of the Crusades. The etymology, despite its appeal, is inaccurate: The alloethnonym Georgian and its West-European equivalents are derived from Persian Gurj- (Assfalg 1984; Khintibidze 2002). At the same time, it cannot be doubted that the figure of St George enjoys exceptional popularity among Georgians. Jacques de Vitry, the 12th-century Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, noted that the medieval Georgian military aristocracy revered George as their "patron and standard-bearer", and perhaps the most emphatic confirmation of the special honor accorded to this saint is the number of Georgian churches dedicated to him. In his mid-18th c. “Geographical description of the Kingdom of Georgia”, Vaxusht’i Bagrat’ioni declared that “there are no peaks or high hills upon which there have not been built churches to St George” (1973: 40). This can scarcely be deemed an exaggeration: out of a sampling of over two thousand Orthodox churches from all regions of Georgia, over a third were dedicated to St George. More Georgian kings were named after him than any other saint, and Georgian royals were depicted invoking his intercession. Mirroring the immense popularity of George as patron saint of the military aristocracy is the role played by figures bearing his name in the vernacular religious systems of Georgia and adjacent regions. In this paper, my focus will be one well-known episode from the life of St George, and the Old Georgian manuscript which contains its oldest known attestation.

The earliest texts referring to St George, dating back to the 5th c. (Detlefsen 1858; Haubrichs 1980, 1984), describe his martyrdom, and the long sequence of torments to which he is subjected by a king named Dadianos or Diocletian (Delehaye 1909: 50-59; Krumbacher 1911; Riches 2002). Not long afterwards, no later than the 6th-7th c., George is portrayed as an aggressor rather than a victim, spearing a dragon or serpent. On the outer wall of the Armenian church of the Holy Cross

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1 “There is also in the East another Christian people, who are very warlike and valiant in battle .... These men are called Georgians [Georgiani nuncupatur], because they especially revere and worship St. George, whom they make their patron and standard-bearer in their fight with the infidels, and they honour him above all other saints” (Jacques de Vitry, Historia orientalis, c. 1180; transl. Lang 1976: 11).
2 Only Mary, the Mother of God, has comparable popularity, the two of them together accounting for a majority of the church names recorded in my database. In the much shorter list of Georgian churches compiled by Brosset (1842: 484-7), George and Mary likewise make up the majority of patrons, although Mary outnumbers George (79 to 52, vs. 114 others).
3 Several Georgian royals, including Queen Tamar, are portrayed praying to George in a fresco at Betania (Eastmond 1998: 163). King David the Builder is depicted alongside the saint in a 12th-century icon at the St Catherine's monastery in Sinai (K’Idiashvili 1989; Ševčenko 1994), and George is also said to have appeared to him at the Battle of Didgori in 1121 (Kartlis cxsrorevi: l: 341).
4 Early representations of a mounted, dragon-slaying St George from the South Caucasus include the reliefs on the Brdazori and Xožori stele in Georgia (Iamanidze 2014, 2016), both dated to the 6th or 7th c.
at Aghtamar/Ağt'amar (built 915-921), George is represented alongside two other mounted military saints, but his spear is directed at a man-like figure rather than a dragon. The motif of George killing a man in royal dress, sometimes identified as the emperor Diocletian, subsequently appeared in icons, frescoes and bas-reliefs throughout Georgia. One frequent variant of this motif pairs George slaying a king with a facing figure of St Theodore spearing a dragon, on either side of the church entrance, e.g. on the façade of Nik'or'c'minda in Rach'a (c. 1010-1014); and the rear inner walls of churches in Lat'ali (c. 1140) and Ipari (10th-11th c.) in Upper Svaneti.

Over the centuries, miracle narratives are added to the St George cycle. The best-known of these, however, emerges comparatively late (Delehaye 74-75; Krumbacher 1911: 295-301). From the 12th c. onward, the story of George saving the daughter of a pagan king, who is about to be eaten by a dragon, is attested in Greek manuscripts. Not long afterwards, the miracle of the princess and the dragon appears in Latin — including the celebrated *Legenda aurea* — and numerous other languages (e.g. Church Slavonic by the 13-14th c, Rystenko 23-26). The oldest known attestation of this narrative, however, is in an 11th-century Georgian manuscript now held in the library of the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem, under the catalogue number Jer. Geo. 2.

In their respective studies of the legend of St George and the dragon, the Russian scholars Veselovskij (1880: 70-71) and Rystenko (1909: 456-474) attributed its emergence to a synthesis of Christian representations of the triumph of Good over Evil, and the ancient Iranian motif of a hero battling a dragon, expressed in the language of Byzantine hagiography by a monastic author. Drawing upon contemporary descriptions of the St George cult in the Caucasus — in church art as well as vernacular belief — Veselovskij and Rystenko identified Georgia, situated at the interface of the Byzantine and Iranian cultural zones, as a probable site of emergence of the princess-and-dragon narrative. This intriguing but speculative hypothesis received important support from the art historian E. Privalova (1977), author of a monographic study of the frescoes in the 12th-c. church at Pavnisi in central Georgia. Privalova’s interpretation of scenes from the life and martyrdom of St George, as depicted at Pavnisi and other Georgian churches from the 11th to 13th centuries, was guided by her familiarity with the hagiographic literature, including Jer Geo 2, to which she accords special attention. Several phrases from the manuscript are quoted in her analysis of the illustrations of George, the princess and the dragon, and she also provides a Russian summary of the narrative in Jer Geo 2 (1977: 73). Privalova’s work took pride of place in C. Walter’s (1995; 2003: 140-141) discussion of the princess-and-dragon miracle, which includes an English translation of Privalova’s summary. Kuehn’s recent work on the same motif (2011:109-110; 2014) draws on both Privalova and Walter, leading her to reinforce the hypothesis sketched out by Veselovskij and Rystenko over a century ago. After discussing the "iconographic semantics of the equestrian dragon-fighter ... in its heroic as well as saintly incarnation, [which] owe much to
ancient prototypes that germinated in the syncretistic melting pot of the great Near Eastern religions”, Kuehn concludes that “it is therefore very possible that the miracle narrative of Saint George and the dragon originated in the Transcaucasian region, probably in Georgia, from where his cult and his fame spread throughout the Near East, as well as Europe” (2014:71).  

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

II. The composition of the Old Georgian narrative of the miracle of St George, the princess and the dragon. Before its transfer to the Patriarchate library, the manuscript belonged to the nearby Monastery of the Holy Cross, which for centuries was a major locus of Georgian monasticism and manuscript production, especially after the rebuilding of the monastery in the 11th c. (Menabde 1980: 69-139; Tchekhanovets 2012; 2018: 208). The manuscript Jer Geo 2 has been inspected and described on several occasions, notably by Cagareli (1888: 172), Marr (1911: XXXVII-LXX), and Blake (1923: 357-362). It is a parchment codex of 268 folios, inscribed in the ecclesiastical nusxuri script, with numerous abbreviations (karagma), ascribed by Blake (1923: 357) to the 11th c., a dating accepted by Sarjveladze (1984: 598) and Gabidzashvili (2004: 365). The text comprises 23 sections, mostly saints’ lives, including the biography of Grigol Xandzteli edited by Marr (1911). The second-to-last segment, on folios 238r-244r, consists of three miracle narratives featuring St George: the princess and the dragon (BHG 687 in Halkin 1957 I: 217-8), the overcoming of a demon (BHG 687k-m), and the tale of Theopistos and his lost oxen (BHG 689). The narratives of the first two miracles — the only ones ascribed to St George during his lifetime — form a continuous text in Jer Geo 2, as well as several Greek manuscripts (Aufhauser 1911: 26); according to the texts, the demon miracle took place immediately after that of the princess-and-dragon, as George was on his way home. The Theopistos miracle, attributed to St George after his martyrdom, is, on the other hand, preceded by an introduction (“Hear, o brothers, another wondrous miracle of the glorious arch-martyr George …”) similar to that introducing the princess-and-dragon narrative. Because of the narrative and textual continuity of the princess-and-dragon and demon miracles, both will be discussed and translated here, although the primary focus will be on the first of the two. I intend to examine the Old Georgian recension of the Theopistos miracle in a separate paper. In the following sections, segments of the princess and dragon miracle, and also that of the demon, will be referenced by their line numbers in the appended texts.

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5 See also White (2008: 152) and Armstrong (2016: 76).
6 A photographic reproduction of Jer Geo 2 is available on-line at the Library of Congress web site (https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271072235-jo/)
2.1. Characteristics of the Old Georgian version

(1). Proximity to other Georgian versions. I have compared several later attestations of the princess-and-dragon miracle narrative in the Old Georgian corpus to that in Jer Geo 2. The edition of the narrative prepared by Q’ubaneishvili (1946), on the basis of three mss from the 13th-14th cc. (Q-762, H-600, H-1760), follows Jer Geo 2 almost word for word: the handful of divergent readings are insignificant, except for two cases where I believe the Q’ubaneishvili edition preserves readings I would attribute to the antecedent of Jer Geo 2. One of these serves to correct a misspelling, and the other involves a lexical replacement (vedrebay “plea” for qmay “voice” in #81; see below). The text of the miracle in Sabinin (1882: 59-62) is more divergent, and includes an extensive interpolation after #34, at the end of the king’s lament (K’ek’elidze 1948: 80-81). The morphology and orthography conform to the style of 18th- early-19th c. written Georgian, but in most respects the text is very close to Jer Geo 2 and the Q’ubaneishvili and Gabidzashvili editions.

(2). Intertextuality: As Rystenko (1909: 456-7) had surmised with respect to the Greek version, the Old Georgian narrative of the princess-and-dragon miracle emerged in a context of monastic literacy. The text abounds in references to the Old and New Testaments, and possibly other ecclesiastical sources. Some such scriptural echoes could have been commonplaces used without reference to their source, e.g. the description of the grief-stricken king dressing his daughter “in royal purple” (p’orpiri sameupay; cf Song of Songs 7:6) and “adorning her like a bride” (šeamk’o igi vitarca dzali; cf. Isaiah 61:10). The overall distribution of the Biblical quotations within the narrative, especially the most explicit ones, strongly implies however that the author deployed these references strategically, in order to signal the Christian identity and holiness of the principal character. The Biblical references are concentrated in the words put in the mouth of St George, especially in the following two scenes:

(i) George’s prayer to God for help subduing the dragon (##73-81). After interrogating the princess about her identity and the deities worshipped by her people, George addresses a prayer to God, much of which consists in direct or near-direct citations from the Old Georgian translations of the Scriptures. Exact or near-exact quotations are marked with a double underline, whereas close but not exact citations are marked with a single underline.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Georgian miracle narrative</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>scriptural source</th>
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<tr>
<td>73 და აღიხილნა თუალნი წმიდამან გიორგი ღმრთისა მიმართ და თქუა:</td>
<td>And saint George raised his eyes toward God and said:</td>
<td>Daniel 3:55</td>
<td>Blessed are you, who sit with the cherubim and look at the abyss.</td>
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<td>74 თუმცა დააღიხილა ბრძინება ღმერთისა თქვავ და ირთვის უფსკრულთა ჩერუბინთა ზედა და ხედავ:</td>
<td>God, you who sit above the cherubim and look at the abyss:</td>
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7 An edition of the miracle narrative also appears in Gabidzashvili (1991: 75-83), based on the mss Jer Geo 2, Q-762 and H-600. Wherever there is a divergence, however, Gabidzashvili almost invariably follows the later mss rather than Jer Geo 2.
<table>
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<td>75</td>
<td>რომელიც-გან გარდაქმნი</td>
<td>you who are and remain the true God,</td>
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<td>მაინც უკარგული ფერით,</td>
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<td>Heirmologion (ms A603)</td>
<td>Heirmologion (ms A603)</td>
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<td>ორხორხული თანამშრომლები,</td>
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<td>რომელიც თქვა, რომ თქვა შენთუ</td>
<td>Who was, is and remains always unchanging, the glorious Trinity</td>
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<td>ნაკლებია უმეტე და ისეთი სტილი</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>შემდგომ უფლება გამოყოფილი ისმობრი ჯარში</td>
<td>you yourself know the heart-thoughts of men,</td>
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<td>Lk 9: 47 ნიდა თქვა ისინი უკვე გამომკვლელი მოხატვა</td>
<td>But Jesus knew their heart-thoughts</td>
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<td>რომელიც ქართული ლექსილოფებით შეისმინა</td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>სამშობლო ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკონი ჰელიკო</td>
<td>you showed power and miracles and wonders through your servant Moses, show your mercy through me also,</td>
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<td>უფლება სახლილი და უფლება სახლილი და უფლება სახლილი და უფლება სახლილი და უფლება სახ</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>და ოთხ საკუთარი საკუთ</td>
<td>and make a good miracle with me;</td>
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<td>რი საკუთ</td>
<td>Ps 85:17 უფლება ჩაითა სა</td>
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<td>რი საკუთ</td>
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<td>79</td>
<td>ალანამინით ისე პირველი და დამრიცხენით ნათლებ</td>
<td>And make this evil beast submit to me beneath my feet;</td>
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<td>ლანამით ისე პირველი და დამრიცხე</td>
<td>I Corinthians 15: 27 გული გული მკურნალ გული გული ფეხვალგული გული გუ</td>
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<td>ლანამით ისე პირველი და დამრიცხე</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>დაკარგული ცხოვრება, წინამძღვრი ნერვოსი</td>
<td>that all will know that you are with me!</td>
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<td>ნერვოსი ნერვოსი ნერვო</td>
<td>Life of St Eustochius &amp; companions: დაკარგული ცხოვრება, წინამძღვრი ნერვო</td>
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<td>81</td>
<td>არქემინეთი ძალი იკაცი იკაცი იკაცი იკაცი იკაცი იკაცი იკაცი იკაცი იკაცი ი</td>
<td>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!</td>
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<td>ძალი იკაცი იკაცი იკაცი იკაცი ი</td>
<td>Life of St Eustochius &amp; companions: არქემინეთი ძალი იკაცი იკაცი იკაცი ი</td>
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Alongside the biblical quotations are passages attested in other genres of ecclesiastic writing. The characterization of God as “you who are and remain [xar da hgie] the True God” echoes the same conjunction of two verbs of being — the copula (2sg xar; 3sg ars), and a now obsolete verb which indicated stable, perduring existence (2sg hgie; 3sg hgies) — as is found in the 10th-c. liturgical codex A603 (G. K’ik’nadze 1982; cf also Hebrews 7:3); cf. Greek ho ὄν καὶ διαμενὸν in the corresponding passage in some of the manuscripts collected by Aufhauser (1911: 63). The voice from heaven is also marked intertextually. One finds a close parallel in the martyrdom narrative of St Eustochius and his family (K’ek’elidze 1960: 155-9; Gabidzashvili 2004: 187-8), although the final part of the quotation has been inverted: “it will be done to you as you wished” (geq’o tkven vitarca inebet) rather than “do what you wish” (q’av rayca gnebavs).

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

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8 The quotation of Psalm 85 in #78 might also echo a citation of the same passage in the Life of Grigol Xandzefi (§69), which is included in the same manuscript (Marr 1911). Furthermore, in this context, St George is mentioned explicitly: “Let us call on St George and all the saints, and may the Lord make a good miracle (da q’os upalman sasc’aul k’etil”).
their faith in the Christian God, George slays the dragon with his sword, but through the marked choice of the causative mo=v-a-k'wd-in-o rather than the expected mo=v-k'I-a “I will kill”, an explicit link is made to a dragon-slaying incident from the (apocryphal) Old Testament, the tale of Bel and the Dragon (Daniel 14). Daniel causes the death of a dragon “without blades or clubs”, by feeding it cakes made of pitch and hair, but like St George, he slays it in the presence of a king and his people in order to convince them of the power of the true God.

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<tr>
<td>99 როდესაც წითელს იცა გერმინული მამა, რომ ორმო არტყუ ფრეჭა და თავისი თახმის გადამოწმება,</td>
<td>but the saint said to them: Fear not, rather stand and see God’s deliverance.</td>
<td>Exod 14:13 AKCS იქნა მოჩენილა მამაქალი: …</td>
<td>Moses said to the people: … Stand and see the deliverance by the Lord</td>
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<td>100 საქმიანობით თავისი უფლის თაქვე ჯერჯერობით სამოულად გათხრული ადამიანი და მეფობის იმდინარე დედა,</td>
<td>He said to them: Believe in my lord Jesus Christ the all-powerful true God, and I will make the dragon die.</td>
<td>Daniel 14:25 BS ვიჰაეთ თაქვე, მეფე, დაზიდვით უფლის თაქვეშახური და მეფობის იმილი გაიჰაეთ, დაუსრული ოქრომოთ.</td>
<td>But you, King, give me permission and I will make the dragon die, without blades or clubs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101 და არს მონაწილეობი მას მცხოვრებ,</td>
<td>and you will not be killed by it.</td>
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(iii) Martyrdom narratives: The author of the princess-and-dragon text was clearly familiar with accounts of the martyrdom of St George. The names of the pagan gods worshipped by the people of Lasia (Herakles, Apollo, Skamandros and Artemis, #71) also appear in the martyrdom narratives in Old Georgian (Gabidzashvili 1991: 147); Greek (Krumbacher 1911: 6, 11, 22), Armenian (Peeters 1909) and other languages. The assurance by the voice from heaven that “I am with you” (#81) might also represent an echo of the martyrdom text (Gabidzashvili 1991: 59; Krumbacher 1911: 8), as does the phrase (itself a reference to the song of the the young men in the furnace in Daniel 3:55) “you who sit above the cherubim” (Krumbacher 1911: 25; Peeters 1909: 258).

(iv) Secular dragon-combat narratives: Less certain, but probable, is the familiarity of the author with contemporary secular texts describing knightly heroes fighting dragons. The best known of these early chivalrous romances is the Amiran-Darejaniani, which was already in circulation at the time of Shota Rustaveli (c. 1200), and which was sufficiently popular that scenes from it were painted on the outer walls of a church in the Svanetian commune Lenjer (Taq’aisvili 1937: 330). Numerous dragon-combat scenes appear throughout the Amiran-Darejaniani, as do royal daughters, although they function primarily as trophies for the most valiant knights. Also of possible relevance is the Iranian epic Shah-nameh, composed by Firdawsi around the year 1000, and soon thereafter circulating among the Georgian elite. One of the key episodes of the epic is the defeat by the hero Fereidun (Geo. Pridon) of the sinister Zakhak (Geo. Zaak), who has two serpents growing from his shoulders, which feed on human brains. In both the Amiran-Darejaniani and the Old Georgian recensions of the princess-and-dragon miracle, the word designating the dragon is vešap’-; the same word designates Zaak’s brain-eating serpents in the Georgian versions of the Shah-nameh. The noun vešap’-, of Iranian origin, appears in the Old Testament as the equivalent of both Greek drakō (e.g. in Bel and the Dragon, and also with reference to the serpents created from
Aaron’s staff in Exodus 7:9), and κῆτος (Gen 1:21, the tale of Jonah in the belly of the whale; Gippert 1993: 317-329). As early as the 6th-7th century, however, the term vešap’- is applied specifically to the serpent-like beast slain by St George, as attested in the inscription on a bas-relief from Xoţorni (Lamanidze 2014). A possible biblical source for the motif of a dragon threatening a woman is the passage in chapter 12 of the Book of Revelations, although it is not referenced explicitly in Jer Geo 2, as far as I can tell.

2.2. Jer Geo 2 vis-à-vis Greek versions of the miracle. Aufhauser (1911) undertook a detailed comparison and collation of twenty-five Greek attestations of the princess-and-dragon miracle, from manuscripts dating from the 12th to 17th centuries. I obtained photographic reproductions of fourteen mss collated by Aufhauser, as well as Messina S. Salv Gr 29 (which I will label ms Ξ), and two others.9 The Georgian versions mentioned above and Aufhauser’s Greek corpus are sufficiently close that one cannot reasonably doubt that they have a common source. My initial impression is that the manuscripts Ξ, U (Aufhauser’s label for Athens 838, 16 th c.), A (Paris 770, c. 1300), and W (Bologna 2702, 15th c.), are the closest to Jer Geo 2, especially Ξ and U, which at several points contains readings paralleling Jer Geo 2 which are lacking in all other Greek manuscripts studied by Aufhauser (notably, in ##10, 23, 60, 68). This being a preliminary study focused on the Georgian version of the princess-and-dragon miracle, I will leave any detailed comparison with the Greek corpus to specialists with the requisite knowledge, and limit myself to pointing out some divergences between the Georgian recensions and all or most of the Greek manuscripts which might prove to be diagnostic of the textual history of this narrative.

(a) The names of the city and its king. In all Georgian versions, the city where the miracle occurs is Lasia, ruled by a king named Selinos (#3-4). In the Greek corpus, the name of the city is the same, save for seven mss with variants (Lasaia, Lasiakē, Basiakē; Aufhauser 1911: 53). The name Selinos, however, appears in none of the mss collated by Aufhauser. The most common variants are Selbos or Selbios; other mss have Eusebios, Elbios, Seulbios; that is, most Greek variants agree with the Georgian as regards the first two consonants — /s/ and /l/ — but have /b/ instead of /n/ as the stem-final consonant. Mss F, G and Ξ have Selb(i)on, and one 17th c. Greek text has Elin (Aufhauser 1911: 128). The closest phonetic match for Selinos, as Veselovskij (1880: 73) observed long ago based on information communicated to him by Cagareli, is the name of the city in the 13th c. Legenda aurea: Silena (Aufhauser 1911: 203). In another Latin ms (Vatican C 129, c. 1300), the city is once again named Lasia, but the king’s name is Senius (Aufhauser 1911: 219), which implies that a variant of the name with the consonant /n/ was in circulation outside of Georgia. There has been much discussion about the origin of the names of the city and its king (Veselovskij 1880: 72-3;

9 On the Messina manuscript see Delehaye 1904, Krumbacher 1911: 250-251.
Aufhauser 1911: 73-76; Krumbacher 1911: 298; Ogden 2013: 404), but little in the way of a demonstrated connection to known people or places, or any other convincing explanation.  

(b) *Mention of Diocletian, and second mention of Lasia.* In #42, the Georgian recensions specify that, at the instigation of God, "King Diocletian released [George] from military service" (*ganut’ēes mqedrobay deok’let’iane mepeman*). The name of Diocletian appears in none of Aufhauser’s 25 mss, except U (*apoluthēnai ton stratou tou basileōs diolkētianou*) and Ξ. These same mss are also alone among the Greek versions in containing a second reference to the city Lasia at #60 (*upalo, ese ars kalaki lasiay "Lord, this is the city Lasia"; U Ξ *Kurie, autē estin hē polis lasia*; Aufhauser 1911: 59).  

(c) *Negotiating the conversion to Christianity.* In the address to the people of Lasia mentioned in the previous section, George offers to make the dragon die if the king and the people convert (Geo. *movak’wdino vešapi ese* "I will make this dragon die"; most Gk mss: *apoktenō ton drakonta* "I will kill the dragon"; mss VW *egō apoktenaī ekkho ton drakonta*). The Georgian texts add: "and you will not be killed by it" (*da ara moik’net mis mier*, #101). Only four Greek mss examined by Aufhauser (1911: 66) have a passage paralleling this phrase. Manuscripts U, and the closely-related V and W, correspond well to the Georgian: U *kai mē apoleisthe ex autou; VW mēdena aneleisthe hup’ autou*. Mss A and and Ξ however make the intended threat explicit: *ei de mêge, aphiō auton, kai aneleisthe hup’ autou* "if not, then I will let it loose, and you will be destroyed by it".  

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

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

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10 Aufhauser (1911: 76) resigned himself to the likelihood that “in Wirklichkeit wird wohl auch der Name des Königs wie jener der Stadt aus der schöpferischen Phantasie des ersten Verfassers des Drachenwunders stammen”. One notes the phonetic proximity of Selinos to Siluanos, who denounced George for his anti-pagan activities in some versions of the saint’s biography (Veselovskij 1880: 193; Delehaye 1909: 67), and Silenus/Silēnos, tutor of Dionysos and mythic drunkard (A. Hartmann, in Pauly-Wissowa 3A: 35-53).  

11 The emergence of the dragon from a reed-filled lake is also depicted in the fresco from Ik’vi (Privalova 1977 : 80-82)
On the other hand, in all of the Greek versions, except for G, the maiden is instructed by George to remove both her belt, and “the cord of my horse” (to skhoinion/skēnion/doukalion tou hippou mou), with which the saint binds the dragon. He then hands the leash to the maiden, who leads the tamed beast into the city. The complementary distribution of the shaking reeds and the horse’s cord lead me to wonder if the two textual variations could be connected somehow.\textsuperscript{12} The Georgian word which I translate as “reed-bed” is lerc’movani, derived from the root lerc’am- ‘reed’ by addition of the attributive suffix –ovan-. The second component of the leash is described as a skhoinion in all but eight of the Greek mss. In seven of the remaining ones, it is a skēnion, and ms A has doukalion. The noun skhoinion ‘cord, rope’ is a derivative of skhōnos ‘rush, reed’. The latter noun appears only a handful of times in the LXX (e.g. Micah 6:5, Joel 3:18), whereas skhoinion is very frequent. The question arises whether skhōnos, as a translation of lerc’movani in a Greek text anterior to those in Aufhauser’s corpus, was misread as a form of the higher-frequency skhoinion, and moved to a context where it would make sense, a few lines further in the text. Renaud Gagné informs me that skēnion would have been homophonous, or nearly so, with skhoinion in the Byzantine period, and thus could represent a simple misspelling (Gagné 2013: 28), of which there are countless examples in the Greek manuscripts (Aufhauser 1911: 45-47). The isolated word doukalion appears to be a borrowing from medieval Latin (ducale “rein, rope”; Niermeyer 1976: 360; R. Gagné & P. Bonnechère, p.c.), clearly a synonym for skhoinion.

(e) Innovations in Jer Geo 2. In some instances, divergences between the Georgian and Greek recensions might be attributable to innovation or loss in the former, rather than the latter. The king’s lament for the wedding banquet he fears that he will never arrange for his daughter (#32) appears to be an abridgment of the fuller, more poetically structured passages in Greek versions such as U (“When will I light the lamps? When will I gather the choral-dancers? When will I hear the melodies of the organ? When will I mix wine?”). At line #52, most Greek versions add “Get on your horse [anelthe epi tou hippou sou], and go away from here”; no Georgian versions refer to a horse at this point. I am not certain what to make of a divergence at #76. After “the (heart)-thoughts of men”, the Greek mss add “that are vain” [hoti eisin mataioi]. This in all likehood echoes I Corinthians 3:20 (“The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain”). The Georgian reading of #76 bears a closer resemblance to Luke 9: 47. It remains to be determined whether the Georgian recension reflects the loss of part of a reference to I Cor 3:20, or, on the contrary, the Greek versions reflect a copyist’s misunderstanding of which New Testament passage was being invoked.

\textsuperscript{12} In the version of the miracle in the Legenda aurea, the maiden is instructed by George to throw her belt over the dragon’s neck (proice zonom tuam in collum draconis; Aufhauser 1911: 205), without mention of a horse’s cord or other element. Since the source of the Legenda aurea version also contained the name Silena (see above), it might well have been distinct from the common ancestor of the Greek recensions in Aufhauser’s corpus.
III. The miracle of St George and the demon. Shortly after leaving the city of Lasia to return home, George encounters a demon of seemingly insignificant appearance, who addresses him by his name. He makes the sign of the cross around the demon and confines him there. The demon reveals that he is in fact second among the demons to Samael, the fallen archangel who tempted Eve and Adam in the Garden of Eden. The demon pleads for mercy, but George calls on God to throw him back into the fiery pit of eternal punishment. With another sign of the cross, George opens the face of a nearby cliff, casts the demon into hell, and orders the rock to close again.

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

With respect to the Greek versions of the tale, some are close to the Georgian version, others somewhat longer (e.g. the text from ms A reproduced by Aufhauser 1911: 70-71). In Jer Geo 2, the demon, upon meeting the saint, “said to him calmly (dac’q’narebulad): ‘George’”. In most Greek versions, “he said to him ‘Peace to you (eirênê soi), George’”. It would appear that peace or calm is a component of the greeting in Greek, whereas it qualifies the tone of voice in Georgian; it remains to be determined which reading is prior to the other. In the Greek manuscripts, the name of the archdemon is variously given as Samaël, Samouël, Satana and Satanaël, a variation also noted in the Old Testament apocrypha (Kulik 2010: 190, 209-210). Biblical references, such as the mention of humans as images of Himself created by God (#130, cf. Genesis 1: 26), are less evident.

IV. The Old Georgian language of Jer Geo 2. Consistent with the 11th-century date of the manuscript, the language of the St George miracle texts in Jer Geo 2 is Classical Old Georgian. I will limit my comments to selected language features which might help localize the writer’s idiolect (or that of the producer of the manuscript from which the writer copied).
4.1. Use of the letter ֶ(ē). One notable divergence from normative Old Georgian orthography is the frequent absence of the letter ֶ(ē), used to write the diphthong /ey/. As a consequence, the long-case nominative (see below) of /e/-final nouns is most often indistinguishable from the short-case form (e.g. mepe instead of mepē in #15). Inconsistencies in the writing of ֶ were also noted by Marr (1911: XLIV, XLVIII) in other texts contained in Jer Geo 2. The frequent absence of the graphic representation of the diphthong /ey/ might have a phonological explanation. Diphthongs involving vowels further away from the high front articulation of /y/ are represented consistently in Jer Geo 2, e.g. sameup “royal” (#22), zyuav (#7). The articulatory proximity of /e/ and /y/ could have contributed to the loss of the final glide in some varieties of 11th-century Georgian.

4.2. Noun classes and the marking of definiteness. Old Georgian common nouns could be followed by a demonstrative pronoun which functioned somewhat like the definite articles of English or French (Tuite 2004). In line #7, for example, the dragon is first mentioned without an article (da gamočnda vešap’i boroti’ ... “And there appeared an evil dragon”), whereas at the second mention in the following sentence (#8), the article is used (... mok’lvad vešap’isa mis “to kill the dragon”). Furthermore, the case endings of nouns not marked by articles have contrasting short and long forms, marking a distinction which Vogt (1947) characterized as générique/spécifique. Common nouns thus have three nominative-case forms: (i) short case asul-ø “daughter”; (ii) long case asul-i “a daughter”; (iii) long case + article asul-I igi “the daughter”. In the miracle texts, the short nominative, corresponding to the bare nominal stem, occurs for the most part with predicate nominals (#125 me viq’av šemk’reb el yrubelta “I was gatherer of the clouds”), verbs denoting becoming or doing (#78 da q’av čemtana sasc’aul k’etil “and do a good miracle with me”), and expressions of quantity (Theopistos: ars sigrdze gzisay ... ert st’adion “the length of the path is one stadion”); which is consistent with its use in other Old Georgian texts. Proper nouns, on the other hand, only appear with short case endings, whatever the context (Selinos-ø, Mariam-ø).

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

Xolo c’mida-man šek’ra vešap’i igi da misca kal-sa mas “Then (the) saint tied the dragon, and gave it to the woman.”
The three types of nominals, therefore, signal definiteness differently: no marking (short case) for personal names, long case only for titles, and maximal marking (long case plus postposed article) for common nouns. That being said, it should not be assumed that titles never appear with a definite article. In the princess and dragon narrative, and especially in the longer tale of Theopistos and his oxen, c’midia appears followed by a definite article at the beginning of episodes, or after a sequence of sentences with other referents as topics. When attached to c’midia and mepe the demonstrative igi and its oblique stem ma-, rather than simply marking definiteness, have resumptive force, renewing the topicality of an already-introduced referent. In the Old Georgian corpus, the treatment of mepe as a formally distinct type of noun (which I provisionally label “title”) is not rare. But the inclusion of c’midia in the class of titles is far less common. In most of the texts I examined, c’midia patterns like a common noun, with respect to the use of the definite article. The exceptions, as far as I have been able to tell, are hagiographic texts from the 10th-12th centuries, such as the lives of Sts Symeon Stylites and his mother Martha, Ephrem of Syria and John Chrysostom (Gabidzashvili 2004 ##1027, 751, 397, 577); and also a handful of attestations in the Life of Grigol Xandzteli. The morphosyntax of titles, in the sense I intend here, could be a useful clue to identifying the milieu in which the earliest Old Georgian narratives of St George’s miracles were produced.

4.3. Rare or archaic words “corrected” in later manuscripts. As mentioned above, the later Georgian editions of the princess-and-dragon miracle diverge relatively little from Jer Geo 2. In some places, however, words from the older version have been replaced or modified, including some lexemes which are rare in the Old Georgian literary corpus. The verb describing George’s turning toward the lake to water his horse (#46) is mi-u-kci-a, a 3sg aorist with the preradical (or “version”) vowel -u-, which typically signals a 3rd-person indirect object.13 Later versions of this passage substitute the more common verb mi-a-kci-a, with a different preradical vowel. In the Old Georgian texts which I have examined so far, miukcia in the sense “turn toward, stop at (a place)” is attested a half-dozen times in the Old Testament, and once in the Knight in the panther’s skin. Another rare form that a later copyist felt obliged to “correct” is the verb da-m-a-morčil-e “make it submit to me” in #79. Here as well it was the preradical vowel that was at issue: the vowel -a- can signal what grammarians refer to as a “superessive” object, which typically denotes the surface or site where an action takes place. In Modern Georgian and most Old Georgian attestations, including later readings of this line, the verb root morčil-, if it takes an indirect object, marks it with the beneficiary version vowel -u-. Instances of this verb with a superessive object (lit. “submit onto me”) are attested in a handful of Old Georgian texts, including the 9th-c. Sinai Mravaltavi.

13 On “version” in Georgian and its sister languages, see Boeder 1968, Tuite 2020
Two other modifications worth noting are:

(i) The 3rd-person object prefix -h- in the verb ŝe-h-ĉ'am-d-a “was eating them” (lines ## 8 & 61), was replaced by the phonetically-conditioned allomorph -š- in later manuscripts (še-š-ĉ’am-d-a). Shanidze (1920) considered the use of -h-, rather than a sibilant allophone, before a dental or alveolar occlusive to be an archaism harking back to pre-classical Old Georgian (see also Sarjveladze 1984: 44). Scattered examples of the sequence h-ĉ’am- are attested in 9th-10th-century versions of the Gospels; and in some recensions of the Old Testament. A similar instance of -h- before an alveolar occlusive was noticed elsewhere in Jer Geo by Marr (1911: LII).

(ii) The dative suffix after xut- “five” in #108: natel-sca ormeoc da xut-sa atas-sa "he baptized forty-five thousand". In Jer Geo 2, the numeral modifying “thousand” agrees with it for dative case. In the later versions, the modifying numeral is marked by the unvarying, formally nominative suffix -i (ormeoc da xut-i atas-sa), which remains the dominant usage in Modern Georgian.
V. Two miracles of St George from Jer Geo 2 (11th). Here are the texts of the two miracle narratives from Jer Geo 2, in modern Georgian script, accompanied by close (but not necessarily literal) English translations. Corrections to the Jer Geo 2 text, based on comparison with later versions, are marked by (corr), and underlining of the letter or word that has been altered. Letters omitted in karagma abbreviations are set between brackets (…). The capital letters in the third column denote those Greek manuscripts in the corpus examined by Aufhauser (1911: 51) which come closest to the Georgian readings of the passage indicated. The letter is set in parentheses if the Greek reading is close but not a direct translational equivalent of the Georgian. Where no letter is shown, all or most Greek versions are equally close to the Georgian for a given passage. Also indicated are likely Biblical sources of passages in the text.

### 5.1. The miracle of the princess and the dragon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Georgian text Jer Geo 2 (11th c.)</th>
<th>translation (KT)</th>
<th>parallels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 აპარანტ ოჯახისგან გათვალისწინებული ადამიანი ია დღევანდელ ტრანსლაციაში გრეხია გულში იყო და ღვთის შრომა დაგინოა გამოხატავს ოჯახში.</td>
<td>Hear, my brothers, the great and glorious wonder that was done by the holy and glorious and great martyr George.</td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>It was in those times while the saint shone upon the earth, before his martyrdom.</td>
<td>(UŻ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 იგი გაეხსენია უძლიერი გულში ზუსტად უძლიერი გულში ზუსტად უძლიერი გულში ზუსტად უძლიერი გულში.</td>
<td>There was a city which was called Lasia.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>And in that city was a king of the name Selinos.</td>
<td>(Legenda aurea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>And he was wicked and an idol-worshipper and an unbeliever, and merciless and pitiless toward the believers in Christ.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი მონაკვეთში შვილში.</td>
<td>And God requited him in accordance with his evil deeds.</td>
<td>2Tim 4:14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 რს არაღმა, ფრთალი ნაკერნი ქრისტიანი მონაკვეთში შვილში გათვალისწინებულ შესასვლელში შესასვლელში შესასვლელში შესასვლელში შესასვლელში.</td>
<td>For near the city there was a lake filled with much water, like a sea.</td>
<td>AUŻ (W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>And many times the king gathered his soldiers to kill the dragon, and they were unable to,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>For it was fierce and big.</td>
<td>(UŻ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>Then all of the city gathered, and cried out to the king, and said:</td>
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<td>12 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>What can we do, O king.</td>
<td>UŻ</td>
</tr>
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<td>13 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>for our city is a fine dwelling-place, and we are perishing wretchedly.</td>
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<td>14 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>And you, king, do not care about this, nor do you act, as do the kings of all countries.</td>
<td>U (Ż)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>Then it became painful for the king, and he was more frightened, and said to them:</td>
<td>U</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>Write a document,</td>
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<td>17 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>and give your children as sacrifices,</td>
<td>U (ATW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>and when all of yours will be used up,</td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>there is my only-begotten daughter, and I too will give her as a sacrifice, like you.</td>
<td>(UŻ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>and we will not be dispersed from our city.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>His words pleased them all, and they began to give their children, one after the other, until it came to the king.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 იგი გახდა უჯრა ქრისტიანი, ვრცელყოფილი იყო ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში ბრძოლაში.</td>
<td>Then the king dressed his daughter in royal purple,</td>
<td>Song 7:6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
53 Go away from here,
and flee quickly!

45 Then the entire people of the city gathered, from the old to the young, to watch the maiden.

46 And he turned toward the lake, to let his horse drink water,
and found the maiden seated at the edge of the lake,
AUL

44 and through the action of God, he came to that place.
Col 1:25

43 Thus the holy and glorified George was coming toward the land of Cappadocia to his homestead.

42 therefore during those days He made it happen, that King Diocletian released him from the army.
(Uz)

41 But loving and all-merciful God wished to show miracles and signs through the holy martyr George,

40 Then the entire people of the city gathered, from the old to the young, to watch the maiden.

39 and as he saw the unyieldingness of the people, he gave them his daughter.
Uz

38 because he had first instituted the decree,

37 And no one listened to him, nor did they forgive him.

36 Take gold and silver, as much as you wish, and with it my kingdom, and set my child free!
UXK

35 He turned and spoke to the people:

34 for behold, you will take leave of me, without a common (normal, natural) death
FG (Uz)

33 Alas, my dear child, for I will never again see your face, nor the fruit of your womb,
Lk 1:42

32 or what musical instruments and singing and lamps, and drinkers and banquet-guests will I prepare for you?

31 or what size of bridal-chamber will I prepare for you,
or what musical instruments and singing and lamps, and drinkers and banquet-guests will I prepare for you?

30 Alas, what kind of wedding will I make,

29 and expecting a wedding and a bridgroom,
and behold, you will leave to be eaten by the dragon!
Uz

28 and the light of my eyes,

27 you were the comfort-giver and inheritor of my kingdom,
(Uz)

26 Go my only-begotten, sweet daughter, to be eaten by the dragon.

25 Go my only-begotten, sweet daughter, to be eaten by the dragon.

24 and he began to kiss her, saying with lamentation and tears:

23 and adorned her like a bride.
Uz; Isa 61:10

22 and found the maiden seated at the edge of the lake,

21 coming toward the land of Cappadocia to his homestead.

20 for behold, you will take leave of me,

19 and as he saw the unyieldingness of the people, he gave them his daughter.

18 Alas, my dear child, for I will never again see your face, nor the fruit of your womb,
Lk 1:42

17 Take gold and silver, as much as you wish, and with it my kingdom, and set my child free!
UXK

16 And no one listened to him, nor did they forgive him.

15 He turned and spoke to the people:

14 But loving and all-merciful God wished to show miracles and signs through the holy martyr George,

13 therefore during those days He made it happen, that King Diocletian released him from the army.
(Uz)

12 and through the action of God, he came to that place.
Col 1:25

11 Thus the holy and glorified George was coming toward the land of Cappadocia to his homestead.

10 And he turned toward the lake, to let his horse drink water,

9 and found the maiden seated at the edge of the lake,
AUL

8 weeping bitterly,

7 Go away from here,
and flee quickly!

6 Go away from here,
and flee quickly!

5 The maiden answered him and said: I see you,
my lord, handsome and in the bloom of youth,

4 and why did you come here to die?

3 Go away from here,
and flee quickly!

2 And he turned toward the lake, to let his horse drink water,

1 and found the maiden seated at the edge of the lake,
AUL

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Georgian text Jer Geo 2 (11th c.)</th>
<th>translation (KT)</th>
<th>parallels</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54 თქმ და მოვალს ვაჲმე გხედავს შამოან რწერილი არ არ ფჰროგე გლობალური გსურსი? თქმ გხედავს შამოან.</td>
<td>Then the saint said to her: Woman, who (lit. what) are you, and who are these people looking at you?</td>
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<tr>
<td>55 ართუარე მარ ქარახამ ნსრა უფლება შამოან არ იყო შენ უნდა არ გამოაცხადოთ ჩემი უწყობა?</td>
<td>The maiden said: My lord, my story has many parts and is long.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 56 და უძახა ხოლო მოხორცავდა შენ, მან სი ჩვენ შენ უნდა გამოვ გავითვალისწინოთ. და იცო მოვალ გმირს რომ ჩემი საცხორებელად საცხორებელს მიერ მი მათაკიზე და მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოთ, გამო მათ შემო უმოქმედოत
Lord, my God, make this beast obedient to me,

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.

Then the saint commanded the maiden: Remove your belt, and hand it to me here!

Then the saint tied up the dragon, and gave it to the maiden and said:

Go toward the city!

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 see God’s deliverance.

He said to them: Believe in my lord Jesus Christ the all-powerful true God, and I will make the dragon die,

and you will not be killed by it.

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 killed it,

and gave the maiden to the king.

Then the whole multitude of the people gathered and kissed the feet of the saint, and praised God.

Then the saint summoned the bishop Alexander, who baptized the king and the nobles and all the multitude of the people.

And there was great rejoicing in the city.

Then the king along with all the people built a holy temple for the glory of God and to honor saint George.

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.

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.
5.2. The miracle of St George and the demon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Georgian text Jer Geo 2 (11th c.)</th>
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</table>
AKNOWLEDGMENTS
This paper began as a presentation at the conference “Sharing Myths, Texts and Sanctuaries in the South Caucasus”, organized by the Centre for Advanced Studies ‘Beyond Canon’ at the University of Regensburg in February 2020. I would like to thank Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev and Tobias Nicklas for giving me the opportunity to participate, and to all those who provided comments and feedback on that occasion. Special thanks go to Nestan Chkhikhvadze (Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi), Jost Gippert (Frankfurt), Renaud Gagné (Cambridge), Steve Rapp (Huntsville), Pierre Bonnechère (Montréal), Winfried Boeder (Oldenburg) and Nicolas Preud’homme (Paris) for help solving puzzles in Georgian and Greek manuscripts, astute comments, and access to sources. In addition to the images publicly available on line, digital copies of Greek manuscripts were generously provided by the Department of Manuscripts and Facsimiles of the National Library of Greece (manuscripts Athens 278, 346, 363 and 838); the Biblioteca Regional Universitaire Giacomo Longo di Messina (S. Salv. Gr 29); and the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice (manuscripts Gr II 42, Gr II 160, Gr VII 38). Shortly after completing this draft, I learned the sad news that Michael Silverstein, with whom I studied at the University of Chicago, passed away. The mark he has left on the fields of anthropology and linguistics will doubtless be the subject of much discussion and reminiscence in the coming days; I cannot begin to adequately assess the influence he has had on me. I dedicate this paper to his memory, and conclude with a final wish in Georgian, a language about which Michael knew a surprising amount: დიდი ეს შეიძლება გახდეს გულის მყურა მისთვის.

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