Darejan Tvaltvadze

The manuscript that contains the old Georgian translation of the Gospel is accompanied by a number of meta-texts that have different contents as well as purposes for what they were written. These are: Colophons of the translator/editor/transcriber, explanations written on the border; comments of liturgical nature, texts of doxological nature written about the Gospel (“Adoration of the Gospel”, „სადიდოა სოფლიოსგოლს“) etc.

During the centuries the Georgian translation of the Gospel has been edited many times [Shanidze, 1945; Imnaishvili, 1979; Kajaia, 1984; The Gospel of Adishi, 2003; Sarjveladze, 2002; Machkhaneli, 2010]. The translation and edition of the Gospel in Georgian has three stages: pre-Atonic, Atonic and Hellehophilic [Kekelidze 1980:414]. Nowadays it is known that in the pre-atonic period (until XI century), there were two editions of the Gospel in Georgian: Opizuri and Adishuri.

In the 80s of the X century, when the country's religious-political orientation was taken towards Byzantium, a new phase began in Georgian culture in general, and, in particular, the translation history of the biblical books, which led to the need of revision of ancient Georgian translations of the Gospel based on the liturgical tradition of the Eastern Churches. The Old Georgian translations of the Gospel, which are different from the Western churches’ canonized texts, should have been compared to the canonical texts of the Byzantine Edition and which were then being used in the Greek churches. This was an important and time-consuming process and Saint Giorgi of Athos (Mtatsmindeli) decided to be in charge of it, and which led to the comparison of the Georgian translations of the Bible with the Greek versions and afterwards began the process of correction, eventually leading to the establishment of the last, Aton edition of the Georgian Gospel.

In the study of the history of the development process of making the final edition of the Georgian Gospels particularly important are the manuscripts of the 11th century found in the literary hub of the Black Mountain [Tvaltvadze, 2009:129–141; Tvaltvadze, 2012:213-229], because as it turns out, out of it we get to know to all the previous phases of the translation the final edition of the Gospel in Georgian. Almost to all of these texts of the Gospel are attached various Meta-texts, which allows us to find answers to a range of questions and issues connected with the final edition of the Georgian translation of the Gospel (Giorgi Mtatsmindeli Text). In particular: the beginning of the Aton Gospel edition; where and when did Giorgi of Athos start working on it; what was his principle of bringing the Gospel text closer to the Greek work; how the process went on; was this a one-time revision or not; How did Giorgi Mtatsmindeli evaluate his work – did he regard it as a new translation or as an edition to the older version? What is his attitude towards the old Georgian translations of the Gospels? What is the attitude of the copiers towards Giorgi’s version of translation and Giorgi himself? How did Giorgi's edited Gospel gain a Vulgate status and what contributed to it? To answer these questions not only the Georgian manuscripts of the Gospel is important but also the Colophons that are saved with the text.
From the issues outlined above, we want to focus mainly on several Colophons and we will try to answer the questions – how and when was the edition of the Gospel established, which Giorgi of Athos created, which even during his lifetime gained success and spread as a Vulgate.

The original or the copy of the Georgian Gospel Edition of Giorgi of Athos has not reached us [Imnaishvili,1979:153-243; Papuashvili,2007:136]. From the 150 manuscripts we have only several dating from XI century, out of which 4 are copied in the Scriptoriums of the Black Mountain Monasteries. Namely:

- The Gospel of Kalipos, the Gospel copied in the Monastery of Kalipos 1060 (Kutaisi 76), which nowadays is held in the Historical-Ethnographic Museum of Kutaisi under the number 76 [Mumladze,2008; 2006:20-23];
- The Vatican Gospel (Vat.Iber.1);
- The manuscript known as the Ruisi or the Black Mountain Gospel A 845[Abuladze, 1949: 312].

These Manuscripts of the Gospel (Alaverdi, Kalipos, Vatican and Ruisi) which were created in the second half of the XI century in the Scriptoriums of the Black Mountain monasteries have an important place in the History of translation of the Georgian Gospel and give a rich material to research how the Edition of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli developed; Noteworthy is the fact that Giorgi Mtatsmindeli for some time lived and worked on the Black Mountain [Giorgi Mtsire 1967: 101-207].

In this regard particularly interested are the meta-texts accompanying the Manuscripts; Namely:

- The Will of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli accompanying the Kalipos Gospel;
- The Wills on the Alaverdi Gospel (A 484);
- The Will of the copier of the Black Mountain Gospel (A 845) Black Zakaria;
- The Will of the copier of the Kalipos Gospel – Basili Torelkhopili;
- Unnamed Text of Doxological character accompanying several manuscripts of the Black Mountain Gospel, which we can name as “Adoration of the Gospel” (“შესხმაჲ თხთაჲ”) [Silogava, 1989:153-165;Tvaltvadze, 2010].

From the text listed above special attention should be drawn on the Will of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli accompanying the Kalipos Gospel. This is a text which the translator-editor wrote after the time-consuming, difficult and long process of translation:

“It should be known to everyone that we have not newly translated the Holy Gospel, but compare the old version of the text to the Greek one. And those in the future who will copy it, I beg you to copy exactly what is written here. We have edited the old text of the Gospel and used
the texts of Khanmet and Sabatsminda Gospels as well. Please in your prayers remember your servant, Giorgi” (Kutaisi 76, 310r).  

There are two editions (A and B) of this will[Shanidze, 1981:282-283]. The difference between them can be read in several places. Namely the A Edition of the text says: “This Holy Gospel we newly translated”, and in the B Edition – “This Holy Gospel not newly translated”; In A edition at the end of the Will we read: “pray for your servant Giorgi”, and in the B Edition: “pray for Giorgi the translator of the Gospel”. Which one is the original is even today debatable, but exactly this extract gives an answer to the questions posed above, and how Giorgi Mtatsmindeli viewed his work and whether he saw it as a totally new translation or a new edition of the old translation.

In the oldest list of Giorgi’s Edition of the Gospel (Kutaisi 76 – Kalipos Gospel), which is in favour of the B edition of the will, where Giorgi calls himself an editor and not a translator, there is nothing arguable. In the manuscript (Kutaisi 76,310r.) which was copied during Giorgi’s lifetime, it becomes evident that later there was a correction made, namely the word “No” is erased and the word “we” is written. Also the word “but” is scraped out, after which we read “this Holy Gospel that we newly translated”, not like the original variant, which can be read as follows: “This Holy Gospel not newly translated, but have compared to the Greek text with attention.” Probably the copiers of the Will wanted to underline and highlight the merit of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli and therefore changed the text and wrote as if Giorgi Mtatsmindeli made a new translation. To affirm this position it became necessary to insert one more sentence: “me who translated it”. In the Will of Basili Torelkhopili – the copier of the Kalipos Gospel – which is after the above-mentioned Will of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli (Kutaisi 76,310r.) we can trace one more correction, which affirms, that old Georgian bibliophiles consciously attempted to name Giorgi of Athos as the translator of the new Georgian Gospel.

„Pray for the unworthy Basili as well, who copied this Holy Gospel from the Translation of Father Giorgi”. In the Will of Basili Torelkhopili the word “translated” is the late interpolation, because it is obvious that it is written with an ink of another colour. Noteworthy is that Basili Torelkhopili in another will attached to the manuscript discusses otherwise: „...I became worthy to describe and copy the Holy Gospel edited newly by our Saint Father Giorgi Mtatsmineli...”(Kutaisi 76, 352 v). Out of which it becomes clear that Giorgi Mtatsmindeli is the new editor of the Text of the Gospel and not the new translator.

Apart from the will mentioned above the manuscript of the Giorgi of Athos Edition of the Gospel holds other Colophons as well, which have a great importance on shedding light on the process of Giorgi working on the text of the Gospel as well as the establishment of the new edition. Namely, the Ruisi Gospel copied in the XI century on the Black Mountain (A 845), which is known as the Gospel of the Black Mountain [Abuladze,1949:312], is accompanied by the will of the copyist Black Zakaria, which is as follows: „...Let God give wealth and prosperity to Nicolaus Khutsesi for being so kind to me. By his will I copied the Gospel edited by Giorgi Mtatsmineli, which he compared to the Greek Text three times. Let God have mercy upon him for the immense work that he has one, Amen” (A 845, 305v).According to Black Zakaria, he copied the last edition of the Gospel, which Giorgi of Athos compared to the Greek text for three times, which Black Zakaria copied from the original manuscript and which afterwards spread
across Georgia and became a Vulgate an which was “More magnificent than the sun…. where none of the letters are crooked, or not full, or more….’’ (Kutaisi 76, 352v). Probably such attitude of the copiers played an important role in popularizing Giorgi’s Edited Version of the Gospel.

While speaking about the process of the Athos Edition of the Gospel noteworthy is one more manuscript copied on the Black Mountain, namely the Will attached to the Alaverdi Gospel [Description of the A Collection of Manuscripts, 1986:210-217]. Generally the inventory of the Gospel is full of Meta-texts, according to which it becomes evident that it is copied in 1054 in Kalipos, in the Lavra of Saint Mary the Virgin (A 484: 311v,314r). The manuscript was copied by several people [Georgian..., 1986:212], namely the Will notes the names Svimeon, Giorgi, Mikaeli and Ioane Dvali. One copier, Svimeon, added an extensive will to the Gospel, which interestingly outlines the purpose and circumstances of how the manuscript was created [Georgian...,1986:212-213].

Noteworthy is that the Alaverdi Gospel is accompanied by the above-mentioned will of Giorgi of Athos, but in the beginning of the manuscript after the letter of Eusebius (1v-2v) and the rules written down in arches we have a fragment of another will by Giorgi of Athos done by the copier of the text (Svimeon), which begins in the A row of the page and lacks header „….I have compared the text of the Gospel twice to the Greek one and once to the Georgian one and I tried my best to achieve perfection. This is what is required from me. If there still may be some minor misunderstandings, please forgive me. God be with you” [A484,10r; Georgian...,1986:212]. In the B row of the same page the chapters of The Gospel of Matthew are listed. It is doubtless that the fragment of the will is copied by the copier at the same time as the creation of the Manuscript, but nowadays it lacks the beginning, where it would be outlined to which text the Gospel was compared to. Somewhere between the 9th and 10th page there should have been at least one small page, where the beginning was written.

At the end of the manuscript on 314v (this part is copied by Ioane Dvali) a Colophon of nearly same contents is repeated, which at some extent fills the gaps and gives some sense to the incomprehensible phrase in the upper Colophon “…compared to the Gospels”. Here the will can be read like: “Holy Fathers , who will adore this Gospel, this is the one compared to the Gospel of Venerable Ekvtime and twice to the Greek version and once to the Georgian and is perfect and none of the words are mentioned wastefully and God be witness that this is so” [A484,314rv; Georgian...,1986:212].The text of the colophon which is accompanied by the Will of the Donor the copier has outlined with special technical marks, presumably to outline that it belongs to the donor (Ivane Proedros) and not the Editor or Translator of the Gospel (Giorgi of Athos), who added it to his autographical list and afterwards it fell in the Alaverdi Gospel. The text of the Will is complete; by contents it is identical to the fragment (10r) in the beginning. The only difference is that the first fragment (10r) is written in first person, while the second version (314r) – in the third person. It is doubtless that we have to do one and the same text, indisputable is the fact that the Will is an organic part of the manuscript and is written at the same time as the creation of the book. Therefore, the information obtained from this Colophon should be taken into consideration, namely, the text of the Alaverdi Gospel is trustworthy because it has been compared to three different texts: a) the Gospel of Venerable Ekvtime; b) Georgian Gospel and c) Greek Gospel, which the author of the Colophon compared twice. Therefore due to such
comparison the new text differs from the old versions (Georgian Gospel) of the Gospel as well as the Gospel Text of Ekvtime of Athos, because after twice being compare to the Greek text it is possible that it underwent some major changes.

In scholarly literature there is a diversity of approaches connected with the Alaverdi Gospel (A 484). The first copier of this manuscript Tedo Jordania thinks that the Alvaverdi Gospel includes the text of the Gospel edited by Ekvtime of Athos [Jordania, 1902:48]. The same approach is shared by Ilia Abuladze [Abuladze, 1949:312], but Korneli Kekelidze is very cautious while addressing this issue. As he outlines “If A 484 is not the translation by Ekvtime himself the 314 manuscript mentions the name of Gospel edited by Saint Ekvtime of Athos. [Kekelidze, 1980:317].

Ivane Imnaishvili in the book “The Last Edition of the Georgian Gospel” notes that the text of the Alaverdi Gospel is the Edition of the Gospel by Giorgi of Athos [Imnaishvili, 1979:49], though he does not bring any arguments in favor of this statement. A different and noteworthy thesis was brought forward by Michael Kavtaria, who is the author of a detailed analysis and description of the last edition of the Gospel. He writes: „The Alaverdi Gospel shows the first stage of the working process of Giorgi of Athos on the Gospel, when he compared the Gospel edited by Ekvtime of Athos to the Greek text twice and to the old Georgian version once” [Georgian..., 1986:212]. Despite the fact that the conclusions made by M. Kavtria are based on analysing the text and the wills that are written on it, we still regard that it is the most appropriate among the other conclusions mentioned above, which we got after the code and textual analysis of the Alaverdi Gospel [Tvaltvadze, 2008:12-20]. We think that in the Alaverdi Gospel copied in the 1054 we have the text dealing with the middle stage of the edition process, where Giorgi of Athos has twice compared the text with the Greek one, and when the edition process has not come to an end, nor is the text of the Vulgate fully developed, because the third and last comparison, about which the copier of the Ruisi Gospel is talking about and after which we got a text that was recognized as a Vulgate by the Church, has not taken place. This is why the famous Will of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli does not accompany the Alaverdi Gospel, which he attached to all the texts that evolved after the working process had ended.

As it seems, to near the Georgian Text to the Greek one, Giorgi Mtatsmindeli once more went back to the text of the Gospel and despite the fact that he had twice compared them, thirdly examined it. Giorgi aimed to translate the original precisely. In order to be exact he needs to add or extract words from the Georgian text, change the lexical and grammar forms, change the rows in words, take into consideration the grammatical-stylistic peculiarities of Georgian and Greek languages and to polish and renew the language of translation.

The Kalipos Gospel is accompanied by a text which is different by function and contents from the Colophons mentioned above, where the importance of the Gospel is outlined as “The Greatest Book among Books” [Kutaisi 76:350v-353r; Silogava, 1989:153-165; Tvaltvadze, 2010]. This text is a homily about this theme and is rather important due to its artistic value. This text which is written for the writers, copiers and readers of the Holy Gospel and which tells about the importance of the Gospel and is called “Adoration of the Gospel” („შესხმაჲ მთავრისა”, was discovered only in the Gospels of the Black Mountain, which makes us think that the “Adoration” text was created in the Educational Hub of the Black Mountain and
the copiers there thought it vital to attach to the manuscripts. The author of this text seems to be the copier of the Kalipos Gospel himself, Basili Torelkhopili [Tvaltvadze, 2010].

The fact that “Adoration of the Gospel” does not accompany the two Gospels - S 962 and A 484 - copied on the Black Mountain, out of which the first (S 962) is the holder of the pre-Athos edition manuscript and the other – Alaverdi Gospel, which has the text that shows the process of working on the Athos edition, and which makes us think that it was written after 1054 and specially for the last edition of the Gospel of Giorgi of Athos.

We think, that it would be interesting to compare the Colophons in the Manuscripts of XI century and the facts written by the biographer of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli, Giorgi Mtsire. Giorgi Mtsire was a disciple of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli, and in his Hagiographical work “The Life of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli” [Giorgi Mtsire, 1967: 101-207] tells us about the life and works of his confessor. He notes that Giorgi started on the Black Mountain, under the supervision of Father and Bibliophile, Giorgi Shekhenebuli; Afterwards he went to the Mount of Athos, in the Georgian Monastery of Iveron and became its leader (1044-56); His translational work he started because of his supervisor - Giorgi Shekhenebuli - from 1042; As the Biographer states here during this time he translated several important books from Greek: Parakletos, Sanctifications, Extracts from the Gospel/Annual Gospel, Annual Gospel of Paul, Full Gospel of Paul and the Epistles by the Catholicos, Translation of the Genesis, Ttueni (The Month of September). Giorgi of Athos wrote "The Vitae of Our Blessed Fathers John and Euthymius and an Account of their Worthy Achievements” According to Giorgi Mtsire, while he was the leader of the Iveron Monastery he once, in 1054 he left Mountain Athos and went nearly for a year to the Black Mountain, where at this time an Educational Hub is already established (Svimeoncminda, Kastana, Kalipos, Romancminda, Tualta, etc.). According to the Biographer, in the same period by the request of Queen Mariam, the mother of the King Bagrat Giorgi went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem “Although he suffered by could not go against the Will of God and though it was rather difficult he still did the translation. From Jerusalem "He went to the Black Mountain" and "started translating the Holy Book" Such a book has not been among us amd it sweetened the Georgian language and by his golden letters he enriched our Georgian Culture” [Giorgi Mtsire, 1967: 145].

Giorgi Mtsire evaluates the work of Giorgi and outlines his merit in the translation of many books, and outlines the different types of work that Giorgi has done in this regard. According to him: a) Giorgi translated many works from Greek; b) edited the old versions and gave them new life; c) The book translated by Ekvtime he edited and cleaned from unnecessary material; d) he compared the text with the Greek text and fulfilled it to perfection” [Giorgi Mtsire, 1967:146]. As Giorgi Mtsire notes Giorgi Mtatsmindeli did not translate newly the text of the Gospel, but compared the older version to the Greek text and edited it as precisely as possible. It is also noteworthy that on the Black Mountain Giorgi worked in the Monasteries of Kalipos and Svimeoncminda, "He was for some time in Svimeoncminda and for some in – Kalipos” [Giorgi Mtsire, 1967:148].

The Biographer also draws our attention towards the fact that the spreading-copying of Giorgi of Athos’ Edition of the Gospel started from the Black Mountain: “When The King Bagrat recognized the edition and perfection of the old translation of the Gospel at the Monasteries of
the Black Mountain he made his subordinates to copy it and spread it among the country, and the most notable among them was Anton Liparit-Khopili, who made Saint Barlaam copy the text for his Monastery” [Giorgi Mtsire, 1967:155]. In such a condition it is not surprising that Giorgi of Athos’ Edition of the Gospel, which arose from the old version being three times compared to the Greek Text, became a part of Georgian Liturgical Practice and became a Vulgate. In essence, it is the last edition of the Gospel\textsuperscript{16}, and it is the one mentioned in the manuscripts from the second half of the XI centuries and afterwards.

After analyzing the notes by Giorgi Mtsire and the Colophons found in the manuscripts of the Gospel and after a close discussion, we think that it becomes evident what role the Black Mountain played in the development process of the last edition of the Georgian Gospel and afterwards its spreading. Exactly here, precisely in the middle ages of the XI century while Giorgi Mtatsmineli was active on the Black Mountain, the Hellenistic tendencies show up and starts to evolve as a solid conception: “From the Greek an like Greek” (Eprem Mtsire); Revision of the Old Texts take place “Brought it nearer to the Greek text, so that the Greeks will not reproach” (Eprem Mtsire). We think that Hellehophilic attitude can mostly be seen in the comparison of the old Georgian Texts to the Greek ones, and among them was the “Greatest Book among Books” and nowadays we have the Edition of the Gospel according to Giorgi of Athos

Kutaisi 76, 310r. The Will of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli
The Text of the Opiz Edition (so-called proto-Vulgate) is kept in the following manuscripts:

Khanmeti Gospel (VII century; Gospel of Mathew 11.8-to the end); Tsenrarkivi Gospel – so-called “Ambandidi” (IX century); Opiz Gospel (913); Jruchi Gospel; Parkhali Gospel (973); Berti Gospel (988); Tskharostvi Gospel (X century); Martvili Gospel (X century); Tbeti Gospel
(995); Ksani Gospel (X century); Sinai 15 (978); Sinai 30, Sinai -38 (979); Sinai -16 (X century); Kutaisi -176 (X century); S 405 (X century); A-1699, H-1887 (X century); Parkhali New Gospel S 4927 (X century); H-1240 (XI century); Urbnisi Gospel (XI century); Mestia Gospel (1033); Palestine Gospel (1048); S-962 (XI century); Kutaisi 363 (1013); Kutaisi 688 (1054) and etc.

2Is kept in the Adishi Gospel (Except Luke 3,9-15,7 and 17,25 -23,2), Khanmeti Gospel (Mathew until 11,8-), In H 1240 (Mark chapters XIV-XV) and several parts of the Ksani Gospel. Also in the XI after the combination of the texts of the two editions of the Gospel in Georgian: Opizuri and Adishuri we get an eclectic edition, which is kept in several manuscripts of the Ksani Gospel.

3As the Will in the Vani Gospel tells us, at the merge of XII-XIII centuries it was kept in the big library of Iveria Monastery (A 1335, 266v).

4The main manuscripts keeping the Athos edition of the text are: Kutaisi 76 (Kalipos Gospel) 1060 §. Sin.O.19, 1074 ; Sin. N.12, 1075; Vat.Iber.1 (Vatican Gospel) XI century; A 845 (Ruishi Gospel), XI century.; Jer. 9, XI century.; Ath. 62 (Oshki Gospel) XI century; A1335 (Vani Gospel), XII-XIII centuries; Echmiadzin Gospel, XII-XIII centuries; Q 908 (Gelati Gospel), XII-XIII centuries; Jer.49 , XI century; Jer.153, XII century; Jer. 93, XII century.; Jer.103, XIII century; Kutaisi.74 XII- XIII centuries; Jer.102, XII-XIV centuries; Jer.122, XIII-XIV; Kutaisi 5XII- XIV centuries.; Kutaisi 182 XII- XIII centuries.; H 1791 (1213-1216); Kutaisi 145 XIII-XIV centuries and etc.

5The oldest manuscript that includes the text of the Edition of the Gospel of Giorgi of Athos is the Kalipos Gospel, dating from 1060 (Kutaisi 76); Also two manuscripts in the Georgian collection at the Mount of Sinai: Old collection - N 19 (Sin.O.19, 1074) an new collection - N 12 (Sin.N.12, 1075); dating from XI one manuscript of the Gospel (Jer.-49) kept in Jerusalem and a manuscript of Athos collection N 62 (Ath. 62). The transitional version of the text of the Edition of the Gospel of Giorgi of Athos is included in the primer version of the Alaverdi Gospel copied in 1054 (A 484) and Oshki Gospel (Ath. 62) [Kvirkvelia, 2011].

6It is noteworthy that in the manuscripts that were copied and are kept on the Black Mountain we have the texts that depict every stage of the edition process: S 962 (1054, pre-Athos); Alaverdi Gospel (1054, Transitional/Middle); Kalipos Gospel (1060, Athonite); Vatican Gospel (XI century, Athonite); Ruishi/Black Mountain Gospel (XI century, Athonite); H 1791 (1213-1216, Athonite).

7The text of the Gospel kept in the Kutaisi 76 manuscript was published in 2008 by C. Mumladze, although the publication does not include the Wills and Meta-Texts accompanying the Gospel.

8We bring the Text of the Will according to the oldest inventory (Kutaisi 76)
9 It is a different issue what Giorgi of Athos meant by the Gospel of Ekvtime. It may be the Sinaxar Readings or the Gospel of Mathew and John translated by him.

10 Probably the Proto-Vulgates are meant – The Khanmet and Sabatsminda Editions

11 Probably at that time the received and spread text of the Edition in Byzantium

12

13 Comparing the Alaverdi Gospel on the one hand to the old manuscripts of the pre-Athos period, and on the other to the manuscripts that include Giorgi of Athos Edition shows that the Alaverdi Gospel totally differs from the pre-Athos texts (so-called proto-Vulgates) Its often reflected in the manuscripts that have the edition of the Gospel by Giorgi of Athos; Giorgi edited this changes on the first stage of his working process that is why they are in the Alaverdi Gospel. We also have cases where Giorgi makes changes only after three times comparing it to the Greek text.

14 A rather important text accompanies the Alaverdi Gospel, that is the Gospel of the donor, which states about the importance of the Gospel (Description of the Georgian Manuscripts; Collection A: 212-213)

15 This text in an incomplete version accompanies the Gospels copied on the Black Mountain: Vatican Gospel (Vat.Iberico1, pages 574-567), H1791–S (1213–1216). Its shortened version is attached to the Kvatakhevi Gospel dating from XIV-XV centuries (A357).

16 Although after Giorgi of Athos there were attempts to translate and edit the text of the Gospel, but it was mainly due to Exegetical interests and not Bibliological ones.

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