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Originalausgabe in „Perspective – XXI / VI: Indo-Iranica et Caucasia. Studies Volume in Honour of Prof.

Mzia Andronikashvili / პერსპექტივა – XXI / VI: Indo-Iranica et Caucasia. პროფ. მზია ანდრონიკაშვილისადმი მიძღვნილი საიუბილეო კრებული“, hrsg. v. Maia Sakhokia, Tbilisi 2004, 106-113 zu entnehmen.

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Jost Gippert, Frankfurt 2008

## IRANIANS AND IRANIAN LANGUAGES IN ANCIENT GEORGIA

When Heinrich Hübschmann published his article "Ueber die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der idg. Sprachen" in 1875<sup>1</sup>, the scholarly world had to give up the view prevalent in those days according to which the Armenian language was a close relative or even a member of the Iranian family of languages. Instead, Hübschmann was able to show that the large number of Iranian looking words and suffixes occurring in Armenian is due to borrowing, the basic elements of lexics and grammar proving the language to be the representative of an "individual branch of the Indo-European stock". The data assembled by Hübschmann in his "Armenische Grammatik" of 1897<sup>2</sup> can easily be used to illustrate how the older view had come about, given that it contains, besides 686 older "Persian" and 171 "New Persian and Arabic" loans, only a minor set of 438 words that are styled "Armenian proper",<sup>3</sup> i.e., inherited from Indo-European. It goes without saying that such a thorough pervasion of "foreign" lexical material in a given language, comparable with the romanisation of medieval English, presupposes a long-lasting intensive influence of a superstratum. In the case of Armenian, it is clear that this must have been exerted by an Iranian-speaking upper class resident in the country, even though the exact structure of the population of ancient, esp. Arsacid, Armenia can hardly be revealed today.

The situation of ancient Georgia and its Kartvelian vernacular is even more complex than this. Here, too, we have to deal with a large stock of "foreign" lexical elements that must have permeated the language for centuries, and among them, there are many Iranian words which look similar or even identical with their Armenian counterparts. On the basis of such cases, scholars working on Old Georgian for many years agreed on the opinion that whenever Iranian material entered this language, it must have happened "via armeniaca". It was Mzia ANDRONIKAŠVILI who in her extensive "Studies in Iranian-Georgian Linguistic Contacts"<sup>4</sup> paved the way for a different view: By collecting more than 600 Old Georgian words that can be assigned Iranian etymologies to, many of them without an Armenian counterpart, she was able to provide an excellent basis for the assumption that for Old Georgian, too, there must have been a direct influence of Iranian speaking people, at least from Middle Iranian times on. In my book "Iranica Armeno-Iberica",<sup>5</sup> I have tried to re-examine the "triangular" relationship of Iranian, Armenian, and Old Georgian once again on linguistic and philological grounds;<sup>6</sup> in the present paper, I wish to focus on some more general aspects of the question, viz. what written sources tell us about the presence of Iranians and the use of their languages in Ancient Georgia.

Taking Old Georgian historical records as a basis, we are immediately invited to assume that there must have been direct contacts between members of an Iranian-speaking upper class and autochthonous Kartvelians, at least from Arsacid times on. The most extensive source suggesting this is the Georgian chronicle, *Kartlis Cxovreba*,<sup>7</sup> which relates the history of Georgia from mythical times onwards. By applying epithets such as *aršakuniani*, i.e. "Arsacid",<sup>8</sup> or *xosroiani*, i.e. "descendant of Khosroes", in enumerating the Georgian kings, the text clearly indicates that it was the rulers of ancient Georgia themselves that were Iranians. We must consider, however, that *Kartlis Cxovreba* cannot be taken as an authentic text in the sense that it was written down continuously by contemporaries during the times in question; instead it must be regarded as a compilation which was first undertaken in the 11th century, and the epithets mentioned may well be later additions. It is therefore advisable to turn to more reliable older sources.

One source of this type is the hagiographical record of Saint Shushanik which is generally regarded as the oldest non-epigraphical and non-translated Georgian text preserved, dating from the 5th century, i.e., Sasanian times still.<sup>9</sup> According to the legend, its protagonist, a Christian woman named Shushanik, was married to (and tortured by) a man who was, as a representative of the Persian king, the ruler of Kartli; unfortunately, the name of the king has not been preserved in the manuscripts containing the legend<sup>10</sup> so that the exact dating is not clear. The legend provides the following setting:<sup>11</sup>

*iqo mervesa çelsa [Mr...] spārsta mēpisasa qarad samepod çaremarta Varsken pītīaxši, zē Aršušaysi, rametu pīrvel igi-ca iqo kristiane, našobi mamisa da dedisa kristianetay. da colad misa iqo asuli Vardanisi, somexta spaypētīsay, romlisatws ese mivçere tkuenda, mamisagan saxelit Vardan, da siquarulit saxeli misi Šušaniḱ, mošiši ḡmrtīsay, vitarca-igi vtkut, siḡrmitgan twsit.*

"It was in the eighth year of [Mr...], the king of the Persians, (that) Varsken the Pitiaxes, the son of Aršuša, went to the royal court. For he himself was a Christian originally, a descendant of Christian parents. And his wife was the daughter of Vardan, the commander-in-chief of the Armenians, for whom I have written this to you; (she was) named Vardan after her father, and her name-by-love<sup>12</sup> (was) Shushanik, a God-fearing (woman), as we said, from her childhood on."

From the legend, it is probable that Varsken was a Persian man himself, given that both his title of a *pītīaxši*, i.e., a *Pitiaxes*, and his name are undoubtedly Iranian.<sup>13</sup> The same holds true for Shushanik's father, Vardan<sup>14</sup>, who, as a *spaypēti* of Armenian troops<sup>15</sup>, might well have been a Persian man. The fact that Varsken was a Christian before he converted, together with his children, to *mogoba*-, i.e., Zoroastrianism,<sup>16</sup> and made obeisance to *\*atrosan*-, i.e., the Zoroastrian fire cult,<sup>17</sup> cannot disprove this assumption, all the more since there is a clear indication in the legend that ordinary Zoroastrians of Persian descent lived in the area, too:<sup>18</sup>

*"saçqalobel ikmna ubadruḱi Varsken, rametu uvar-ḡo çešmarīti ḡmerti da aḡiara atrosani .." .. iqo vinme dedaḱaci erti spārsi mogw, romelsa ganborebisa salmobay akunda, da movida igi çmidisa Šušaniḱisa. xolo igi ašçavebda mas, rayta-mca dauḡeva mogobay igi da ikmna igi kristiane. .. da utxres neḡarsa Šušaniḱs, vitarmed: "švilni igi šenni miakcina mogobasa".*

"The unfortunate Varsken has become pitiable, because he denied the true God and converted to (lit. confessed) the fire cult .." .. There was a Persian woman, a Zoroastrian (*mogw*), who suffered from (lit. had) the disease of leprosy. And she came to Saint Shushanik who (lit. but she) advised her to give up Zoroastrianism, and she became a Christian. .. And they told blessed Shushanik, that: 'He has converted your children to Zoroastrianism.'"

This latter information is confirmed by another hagiographical text from ancient Georgia which is regarded as autochthonous, viz. the legend of Saint Evṣtati (Eustathius)<sup>19</sup> which describes quarrels between Christians and Zoroastrians in the cities of Mcxeta and Ṭpilisi under the rule of the Sasanian king Khosrou Parvēz and his "margrave" in Kartli, the *marzapān*- Arvand Gušnasp<sup>20</sup>. Evṣtati himself is declared to have been a Zoroastrian Persian who came to Georgia under his primary name, Gvirobandaḱ<sup>21</sup>, to serve his apprenticeship as a cobbler and who converted to Christian faith in the then capital of the country.<sup>22</sup>

*çelsa meatesa Xuasro mēpisasa da Arvand Gušnaspisa marzapānobasa Kartlisasa movida ḱaci erti Spārsetit, soplisa Aršaḱetīsay, zē mogwsay, da çarmart iqo igi, da saxeli erkua mas Gwrobandaḱ, da dḡita ḡrma iqo igi vitar oc da at çlis. da movida igi kalakad Mcxetad da iṣçavleboda qelsa meḡamleobisasa. da xedvida igi rçulsa kristēanetasā da msaxurebasa Kristēssa da çmidisa žuarisa zalisa činebasa. šei-ḡuara man rçuli kristēanobisay da hrçmena Kristē. da vitar iṣçava meḡamleobay, itxova man coli kristēanē da twt kreṣteane ikmna da nateli moigo. xolo natlis-cemasa missa uḡodes saxeli Evṣtati.*

"In the tenth year of the king Khosrou, (and during the time of) Arvand Gušnasp being margrave of Kartli, a man came from Persia, from the region of Aršakia. He was the son of a Zoroastrian (*mogw*) and a pagan (man), and his name was Gvirobandaḱ. And (when) he was a young man of about 30 years, he came to the city of Mcxeta and apprenticed the cobblers' craft. And (there) he watched (lit. saw) the faith of the Christians and the service to Christ and the revelation of the might of the holy cross. (And) he came to love the Christian faith and believed in Christ. And when he had learned to be a cobbler, he married a Christian wife and became a Christian himself and was baptised. And when he was baptised, he received the name Evṣtati."

According to the legend, Gvirobandaḱ-Evṣtati was not the only Persian craftsman in Mcxeta by that time but a member of a larger community, including some further converts. For the sake of convenience, I give an extensive quotation.<sup>23</sup>

*mas žamsa šekrbes sparsni, romelni Mxetad iqvnes, mežadageni da meqamleni, tozikoibes. da miavlines nețarisa Evstatisa da hrkues: "moved da guerte šuebasa amas čuensa". xolo nețarman Evstati ganicinna da hrkua mat: "tkueni toziki-ca bnel ars, da tkuen, mețozikeni-ca, bnel xart, xolo me Kristēs bečedi momigebies da Kristēs toziķsa vtozikoib, rametu Kristēs bečdita aģbečdul var da bnelsa magas ganšorebul var." da vitar toziķi igi gardaiqades, šekrbes igini-ve mežadageni da meqamleni da zraxva-qves činaše Uštamissa, Mxetel cixis-tavisasa, da tkues: "aka kaci erti ars čuenisa rčulisagani da čuen tana toziķsa ara movidis da cecxli ara gamoscis da čuensa rčulsa-ca hgmobs da čuen guaginebs da itqws, vitarmed me kristeane var-o. xolo ač šen moucode da hkitxe, rametu amas kalaksa šina qelmčipe xar". .. da movida igi nețari Evstati da čarmodga činaše Uštam cixis-tavisa Mxetelisa. da mčodebelman man hrkua Uštams: "ese ars čuenisa rčulisa mamaginebeli". da mixeda cixis-tavman man nețarsa Evstatis da hrkua: "šen gečq̄w, kaco, mitxar me, romlisa soplisay xar, anu romlisa kalakisay, anu romeli rčuli ġipq̄ries"? xolo čmidaman Evstati hrkua mas: "me soplisa Sp̄arsetisay viq̄av, qevisa Aršaketisay, kalakisa Ganzak̄isay viq̄av. mamay čemi mogw iq̄o da meca moguebasa masčavebda, da me moguebay ara tavs-videv, rametu Ganzaks kalaksa kristeaneni uproys arian da ebisq̄oposi da mğdelni, da matgan-ğa q̄ovelsa zeda mivičie, rametu uproys ars q̄ovelsa rčulsa krešt̄eanobay, vidre uğmrtoebay. da ač me Kristē mrčams da Kristēs msaxurebasa šina var". .. da ubrzana Uštam, cixis-tavman Mxetisaman, orta mqedarta čarq̄vanebay nețarisa Evstatisi T̄piliss. da šekrbes igi-ve mežadageni da meqamleni da movides Uštamisa da hrkues: "arian aka sxuani-ca čuenisa rčulisani da igini-ca kristeane arian, da mati-ca brzane močodebay da T̄piliss mati-ca čarq̄vanebay". xolo Uštam hrkua mat: "vin arian igini"? da mat utxres saxelebi mati da hrkues: "ertsa Gušnaķ hrkwan da ertsa Baxdiad, ertsa Burzo, ertsa Panagušnas̄p, ertsa Perozak, ertsa Zarmil, ertsa Štepane".*

By that time, the Persians who lived in Mxeta gathered, lawyers (?) and cobblers, to celebrate a feast. And they sent (someone) to blessed Evstati and said: "Come and share our joy." But blessed Evstati laughed and told them: "Both your feast and you, the celebrators, are obscured, whereas I have adopted the seal of Christ and celebrate the feast of Christ, because I am sealed with Christ's seal and (thus kept) distant from your obscurity." And when they had finished their feast, the lawyers and cobblers gathered again and consulted (lit. in front of) Uštam, the head of the citadel of Mxeta, and said: 'There is a man of our faith here, who (lit. and he) does not come to the feast together with us and who does not worship the fire and who blames and scolds us and says (that) "I am a Christian." Call you him now and interrogate him, for you are the ruler in this city.' .. And that blessed Evstati came and placed himself in front of Uštam, the head of the citadel of Mxeta. And the summoner said to Uštam: 'This is the one who scolds our faith.' And the head of the citadel looked at Evstati and said: 'I say to you, man, tell me from which country you are and (lit. or) from which city, and which faith you have adopted.' And Saint Evstati told him: 'I am (lit. was) from the country of Persia, from the region of Aršakia, from the city of Gandzak. My father was a Zoroastrian, and he instructed me in Zoroastrianism too, but (lit. and) I could not endure Zoroastrianism, because in Gandzak, there are more Christians, including (lit. and) bishops and priests, and from them I learned everything, (viz.) that Christianity is superior to every (other) faith, (better) than atheism. And now I believe in Christ and am (busy) in the service of Christ.' .. And Uštam, the head of the citadel of Mxeta, ordered two horsemen to take blessed Evstati to T̄pilisi. And the lawyers and cobblers gathered again, went to Uštam and said: 'There are some more (people) of our faith who (lit. and they) have become (lit. are) Christians; order them too to be summoned and to be taken to T̄pilisi.' And Uštam said: 'Who are they?' And they told (him) their names and said: 'One is called Gušnaķ and one Baxdiad, one Burzo, one Panagušnas̄p, one Perozak, one Zarmil, one Štepane.'"

The information the text provides must indeed be regarded as unique, not only with respect to the historical situation it describes but also linguistically, as it displays a whole set of Iranian names and common nouns that do not occur in other Georgian sources. In the given context, this is true for at least two terms, viz. *tozīk-* (with its derivatives *tozīkoba-* and *me-tozīk-e-*), and *me-žadag-e-*. For both words, it was Mzia ANDRONIKAŠVILI again who proposed an explanation on Iranian grounds.<sup>24</sup> According to her, *tozīk-* must be identified with the word form ⟨twzyg⟩ which appears in the Aramaic Talmud as the designation of some

"sort of picnic",<sup>25</sup> thus matching a New Persian ⟨twzy⟩ (besides ⟨twšy⟩), a word denoting a "children's festival, banquet, picnic".<sup>26</sup> As its closest equivalent in Middle Iranian proper, ANDRONIKAŠVILI quotes a Middle Persian compound *ham-tōžik* with a presumed meaning of "co-debtor" (თანაგადამხდელი)<sup>27</sup> which in its turn is based on the verbal root present in *tōxtan* "reward, repay, recompense" (გადახდა) and *tōžišn* "payment, reward, repentance, atonement" (გადასახადი, ჯარიმა, გასამრჯელო, სჩუქარი) and reflected in the loanword *toyž* "repentance, atonement" and *towžem* "inflict a penalty" in Armenian<sup>28</sup>. The primary meaning of *tōžik-* is thus established to have been "something paid or to be paid" (გადასახდელი ან გადახდილი), with a secondary use as the designation of a special kind of (religious) feast. In the second term, *me-žadag-e-*, Mzia ANDRONIKAŠVILI proposes to see a quasi-synonym of *me-qaml-e-*, both words denoting different types of "cobblers". As a formation with the circumfix *me--e-*, *me-žadag-e-* would in this case be derived from an underlying noun *žadag-i*, just as *me-qaml-e-* "cobbler" is built on *qaml-i* "shoe". For *žadag-i* itself, ANDRONIKAŠVILI found a possible cognate in New Persian ⟨zdh⟩ "old, worn out, torn", which would presuppose a specified meaning of "patchwork" (ჯღანი) or the like for the Georgian word; the Old Iranian basis would be *\*jataka-*, a derivate of *jan-* "to strike".<sup>29</sup>

The assumptions made for *tōžik-* and its derivatives can be maintained by and large as they are. They are even further supported by two additional attestations of *tōžikoba-* which have been found in the Oshki Bible, in Esth. 14,17 and Jer. 16,8,<sup>30</sup> and which help to ascertain the meaning of the word. In both cases, *tōžikoba-* is clearly connected with acts of drinking. In Esth. 14,17, which belongs to the apocryphal parts of the book (≈ Esth. 4,17x LXX), its Greek equivalent is σπονδή, exactly matched by Arm. *spand*, which combines the connotations of a "drink-offering" or "libation" with "money payment" or "fees paid to officials or Gods":

*arcaga sad vsu gwnoy tōžikobit*  
 οὐδὲ ἔπιον οἶνον σπονδῶν (4,17x)  
*ew oč arbi zgini spandic noc'a*

"(I never ate together with Haman, nor did I enjoy his royal meal,) and I never drank the wine of (their) offerings."<sup>31</sup>

The word *nazorev-i* "sacrifice" used in the Mxeta Bible in the same verse (*arcaga vsu gwno nazorevisagan*) clearly indicates that *tōžikoba-* must be understood as denoting a "pagan sacrifice comprising a banquet" here. The same is true for Jer. 16,8 where the Greek text speaks of a "house of carousal" (οἰκία πότου) explicitly:

*saxlsa tōžikobisa matisasa ara šexwde daždomad mat tana čamad da sumad.*  
 εἰς οἰκίαν πότου οὐκ εἰσελεύσῃ συγκαθίσαι μετ' αὐτῶν τοῦ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν.  
*I town əmpeleac' mí mtanic'es nstel ənd n(o)s(a), owtel ew əmpel.*  
 "Thou shalt not go into the house of feasting to sit with them to eat and to drink."

Here again, the Mxeta Bible has a different text in that it uses *anḵanaḵobisa*, a term which emphasises the coming together of several people, instead of *tōžikobisa* (*saxid anḵanaḵobisa matisa ara šexwde odesca tandaždomad mat tana, čamad da sumad*).<sup>32</sup>

In contrast to that, the analysis proposed by Mzia ANDRONIKAŠVILI for *me-žadag-e-* remains questionable. The problem consists in the fact that the presumptive Iranian etymon, *žadag-*, would reveal both Old Iranian and late Middle Iranian features if it were to be deduced from an Old Iranian *jataka-*. In a word which shows the lenition typical for Sasanian Middle Persian in both medial and stem-final consonants, we cannot expect an Old Iranian *ǰ-* to be represented as an affricate, *ž-*, still. Instead, there is good evidence that Old Iranian *ǰ* had developed into the plain sibilant *z* at a very early time, long before the Middle Iranian lenition of stops occurred. One word proving this is *zatic*, the Armenian designation of the Pessah feast which is also

attested, as *zaṭik-i*, in Old Georgian<sup>33</sup> and which must represent an Old Iranian \**ṣatika-*, derived from the same verbal root but borrowed already in a pre-lenition stage of Middle Iranian. Another case that is instructive in this respect is the word *tozīk-* we have dealt with above. First it must be noted that the present stem of *tōxtan* "to repay" is attested as ⟨twz-⟩, i.e. *tōz-*, in Manichaean Middle Persian, thus providing an exact model for the phonetic shape of the Georgian borrowing;<sup>34</sup> taking the form of the infinitive, *tōxtan*, into account, we arrive at an Old Iranian stem \**tauja-* or even \**tauča-*, contrasting with unpalatalised \**taug-* or \**tauk-* in *tōxtan*. The Armenian cognates, *toyž* and *towžem*, must then reflect a Middle Iranian variant which shows the Parthian outcome of Old Iran. -č- and -j-, viz. -ž-; a similar NW-Iranian variant can be represented in New Persian *tūže* "children's picnic"<sup>35</sup>. What, then is Georgian *me-žadag-e-*? Given that the word clearly exhibits a late Sasanian look by containing two "lenited" stops, its initial ž- cannot represent anything else but late Middle Persian j- which in its turn must be derived from Old Iranian y- as in the cases of *ṣādū* "sorcerer" (vs. Avestan *yātu-*) or *juwān* "young" (vs. Avestan *yuuān-*). For *me-žadag-e-*, this offers *jadag* "omen; form, property" and *ṣadag* "share, portion, case, cause" as possible sources.<sup>36</sup> As the latter word did enter Georgian in another formation, viz. in *ṣadago-* "advocate" < Middle Persian *ṣadag-gō(w)*, lit. "case-speaker",<sup>37</sup> it seems most likely that it underlies *me-žadag-e-* as well; this would then denote a kind of "lawyer". It is true that in this case, the parallelism between *me-žadag-e-* and *me-qaml-e-*, "lawyers and cobblers", is less obvious; I see no way, however, to detect the designation of a handicraft in *me-žadag-e-*.

There is one more hagiographical text in which we might expect to find some information on Iranians and their language in ancient Georgia. This is the legend of Saint Nino, which is preserved under the name of *Mokceṣay Kartlisay*, i.e. "The Conversion of Georgia", in two older recensions,<sup>38</sup> a revised version, which has been integrated into the Georgian Chronicle,<sup>39</sup> and some younger, so-called "metaphrastic" variants<sup>40</sup>. And indeed, there is a clear indication again in the legend that at least the rulers of Georgia were Iranians in Sasanian times. In the passage in question, Saint Nino herself reports how she managed to convert the Georgian queen, Nana, and her husband, King Mirean, to Christianity. The main reason for her success was a miraculous thunderstorm by which the statue of Armaz, the main idol worshipped by the court, was destroyed during a religious feast<sup>41</sup>. The reaction of the king consists in an utterance which is explicitly styled non-Georgian in the Čeliši recension of the text and which cannot be interpreted in any way on the basis of this language<sup>42</sup>:

*da tkua mepeman*: "he, he, *esre: rasatwimeb xažas tabanog ras~ol pasa~ražd*" (*sxuay enay*).

"And the king spoke, 'oh, oh,' thus: '*rasatwimeb xažas tabanog ras~ol pasa~ražd*' (different language).

The Šatberd recension, however, gives at least a Georgian translation of the sentence<sup>43</sup>:

*da tkua mepeman cremlit*: "*hē, hē, rayt-meboy xožat stabanub rasul psaržad*". *xolo targmanebay ese ars*: "*martalsa itq̄w, bedniero dedopalo da mocikulo zisa gmr̄tisao*".

"And the king spoke under tears: 'oh, oh, *rayt-meboy xožat stabanub rasul psaržad*.' And the translation is: "Right you speak, fortunate queen and messenger of the son of God."

It has for long been observed, now, that the "foreign-language" utterance of king Mirean can be deciphered as being Persian. The interpretation proposed by N. Marr,<sup>44</sup> which matches not only the graphical appearance of the Georgian versions but also the translation contained in the Šatberd codex, is still valid:

راست می‌گوی خجسته بانو رسول پسر ازد  
*rāst mēgōyī xuṣta bānūg, rasul-i pusar-i izad*

"Right you speak, fortunate lady, messenger of the son of God."

It must be stated, though, that the sentence must clearly be classified as New, not Middle, Persian in its present form, given that it contains at least two decisive features of the post-Sasanian stage of the language.

One is the Arabic word for messenger or prophet, رسول *rasūl*, which was already dealt with by Marr in the given context<sup>45</sup>. The other feature is the 2nd person present indicative form مىگوئى *mēgōyī* with its preverb *mē-*.<sup>46</sup>

It goes without saying that the presence of an early New Persian sentence in a legend which deals with the 4th century A.D. does not speak in favour of the reliability of the source in question. It may rather represent a latter addition, all the more since the secondary variants of the legend do not contain anything comparable and there are other indications of the text being a compilation.<sup>47</sup> But even as a later insertion, it clearly indicates that the usage of Persian continued to be regarded as a characteristic feature of the royal court of ancient Georgia.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 23, 1875, pp. 5-42.

<sup>2</sup> I. Theil: *Armenische Etymologie*. Leipzig. Hereafter: "AG".

<sup>3</sup> I. Theil, 2. Abschnitt: *Persische Wörter*; I. Theil, 3. Abschnitt: *Neupersische und arabische Wörter*; V. Theil: *Echtarmenische Wörter*.

<sup>4</sup> ნარკვევები ირანულ-ქართული ენობრივი ურთიერთობიდან / Очерки по иранско-грузинским языковым взаимоотношениям / *Studies in Iranian-Georgian Linguistic Contacts*. I. Tbilisi 1966.

<sup>5</sup> *Iranica Armeno-Iberica. Studien zu den iranischen Lehnwörtern im Armenischen und Georgischen*, Wien 1993 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsber., 606. / Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Iranistik, 26) [2 vols.]. Hereafter: "IAI".

<sup>6</sup> Cf. my article "Mitteliranische Lehnwörter im Altgeorgischen", in: *Akten des Melzer-Symposiums 1991*, ed. by W. SLAJE and Chr. ZINKO Graz 1992, pp. 114-124.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. by Simon QAUXČIŠVILI I, Tbilisi 1955.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 427 for the Armenian variant of term, *aršakowni-k*, used in the Armenian translation of the Georgian chronicle to render Georgian *ažgalaniani*, another term denoting Arsacid kings.

<sup>9</sup> *Çamebay çmidisa Şuşanikisi dedoplisay*, ed. I. ABULAŽE e.a. in: ძველი ქართული აგიოგრაფიული ლიტერატურის ძეგლები / Памятники древнегрузинской агиографической литературы, I, Tbilisi 1963, 11-29. Cp. the English translation by David Marshall LANG in: *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints*, London/Oxford 1976, 44-56. The text is only preserved in later manuscripts (from the 11th century on).

<sup>10</sup> The primary manuscript is A 95, the so-called Parxali-Mravaltavi, of the 11th century; the younger manuscripts exhibit either the letters *m~r* marked as an abbreviation or the postposition *mier* "by, from" which can be regarded as a resolution of this abbreviation. As the use of this postposition is not justifiable in the given context, the letters are rather likely to represent the name of the Iranian king of the time. If the usual view according to which we are dealing with the end of the 5th century A.D. is right, the king in question can only be Peroz who reigned from ca. 459 to 484 A.D. (cf. Korneli KEKELIŽE ძველი ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორია, I, Tbilisi 1980, 117 f.). It must be stated though that the letter ⟨p⟩ we would have to expect in an abbreviative or defective rendering of *peroz* in Georgian, is not similar to ⟨m⟩ in any one of the Old Georgian scripts (cp. Asomtavruli ჰ = ⟨m⟩, Ⴂ = ⟨p⟩; Nuskha-Khutsuri შ = ⟨m⟩, ჟ = ⟨p⟩).

<sup>11</sup> ABULAŽE op.cit., p. 11, ll. 5-14.

<sup>12</sup> Should *siqvarulit* represent an older *siqrmīt* "from childhood on" here? This would fit well with the statement "as we said" (*vitarcā-igi vtkut*), followed by another instance of *siqrmīt(-gan)*.

<sup>13</sup> For Georgian *pitiaxš* ≈ Greek *πιτιάρχης* ≈ Arm. *bdeašx*, < Middle Iranian *\*bitīya-xšay-*, lit. "second-ruler", cf. GIPPERT IAI, 207 ff.; the deduction from an underlying *\*patixšāh* (or *\*patixšāy*: ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 203 and 364) can no longer be upheld. — For *Varsken* ≈ Arm. *Vazgen* < Iran. *\*vazrakaina-* cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI, op.cit., 465.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 464.

<sup>15</sup> Different from ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 371, I take Georgian *spay(s)pēt-* to be borrowed from a

(SW-)Middle Iran. pre-form *\*spāy(a)pet-* (vs. Arm. *sparapet* < Early NW-Middle Iran. *\*spāδapet-*), < Old Iran. *\*spāda-pāti-* "army-leader"; the Middle Persian form *spāhpat* must represent a different (dialectal?) development of Old Iran. *\*spāda-pāti-* (with *-d-* > *-h-* as against *-d-* > *-y-*, cp. Zor. Middle Pers. *dah-* "he gives" as against Man. Middle Pers. *day-*, both < Old Iran. *\*dad-*; cf. GIPPERT IAI, 206).

<sup>16</sup> Georgian *mog-oba-*, from *mogu-* ≈ Arm. *mog* < Middle Iran. *mog* "Zoroastrianist" (> "magician").

<sup>17</sup> According to the editions, the oldest manuscript available, A 95, has *artošani* while all later mss. have *atrošine*. In accordance with Arm. *atrowšan*, the Georgian hapax legomenon may well be reestablished as *\*atrošan-*; *artošan-* need not be regarded as "sprachwirklich" as ANDRONIKAŠVILI does (op.cit., 173 and 225). As to the etymology, I would prefer to see a Middle Iran. compound *\*ātr-ōšan-* here, the second member pertaining to Avest. *aoša-* "death, destruction" etc., itself clearly related with Old Ind. *ōṣati*, Lat. *urit* "burns"; the literal meaning would be "(place of) fire burning" (cp. HÜBSCHMANN AG I, 110, 72.).

<sup>18</sup> ABULAŽE op.cit., p. 12, ll. 24-26 / p. 23, ll. 1-3 / 16-17.

<sup>19</sup> *Marṭwlobay da motminebay čmidisa Evštati Mxetelisay*, in ABULAŽE op.cit., pp. 30-45.

<sup>20</sup> Georgian *marzapn-oba-* "margraviate", a derivate of *marzapān-* "margrave" < Middle Iran. *\*marzapān-*; cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI, op.cit., 340 f. For the Iranian name *Arvand* cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI, op.cit., 428 f.; the name *Gušnasp*, identical in form with the Middle Persian designation of "the second major Fire of Sasanian Eran, that of warriors", *gušnasp* (cf. D.N. MACKENZIE A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary, London 1971, 38), represents a bahuvrīhi type compound meaning "having male horses" (cf. H.S. NYBERG A Manual of Pahlavi, Pt. II: Glossary, Wiesbaden 1974, 87).

<sup>21</sup> For the name cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 462.

<sup>22</sup> ABULAŽE op.cit., p. 30, ll. 1-12.

<sup>23</sup> ABULAŽE op.cit., p. 30, l. 13 - p. 32, l. 20

<sup>24</sup> ANDRONIKAŠVILI, op.cit., 381 and 415.

<sup>25</sup> ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 380 f., referring to S. TELEGDI Essai sur la phonétique des emprunts iraniens en araméen talmudique, in: *Journal Asiatique* 226/2, 1935, p. 244.

<sup>26</sup> ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 380 f., referring to Borhān-e Qāte, I; the Persian-English Dictionary by F. STEINGASS has only ⟨twžy⟩ *tozhī* for "A school-boy's picnic" (p. 335a) and ⟨twšy⟩ *toshī* for "Children's picnic" (p. 336a).

<sup>27</sup> Thus after H.S. NYBERG, *ilfsbuch des Pahlavi*, II, 97; similar in the same author's *Manual of Pahlavi*, II: Glossary, Wiesbaden 1974, 93 with the meaning "having debts in common with another, jointly responsible for a debt (debts)". The text passage quoted is from the Mēnōg-ī xrad (ii,60) where the compound in question contrasts with *ham-kār*; in the Pazend version of the text, it is written *ham-θōjī* (Pāzend Texts, collected and collated by E.E.K. ANTIA Bombay 1909, p. 278, l. 12).

<sup>28</sup> ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 381 referring to A. ХУДАБАШЕВ Армяно-русский словарь, pp. 452 f.; for the Old Armenian terms cf. HÜBSCHMANN AG I, 253 n. 653.

<sup>29</sup> ANDRONIKAŠVILI, op.cit., 415.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. I. ABULAŽE ძველი ქართული ენის ლექსიკონი (მასალები), Tbilisi 1973, 413 s.v.

<sup>31</sup> It is clear that the word form met with in the Oshki Bible is not exactly modelled on the Greek or the Armenian version, given that the instrumental case of *tozīkoba-* does not match the Greek and Armenian plural genitives.

<sup>32</sup> The parallelism of *ham-kār* and *ham-tōzīg* in the passage from Mēnōg-ī xrad quoted in n. ? above suggests that the underlying *anḵanaḵ-* is borrowed from a Middle Iranian *ham-kāarak-*. This would imply a distant assimilation of *n--r* > *n--n* which would be comparable with the dissimilation processes treated in GIPPERT IAI, 100.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. J. GIPPERT Zur christlichen Terminologie in den südkaukasischen Sprachen, in: *Die slawischen Sprachen* 17, 1989, pp. 13-35.

<sup>34</sup> 3rd person pl. *twzynd* in the manuscript S 9 R ii 7; cf. C. SALEMANN Manichaica III, in: *Известия Императорской Академии Наук*, 1912, 10, and Mary BOYCE, A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian, Leiden 1975, p. 102: ar 4,4.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. n. 26 above.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. MACKENZIE op.cit., 46 f. for the Middle Persian terms mentioned.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. GIPPERT, IAI, 341-344. A 2nd person singular aorist form of the derivative verb *žadagoeba-*, *xžadagoe*



'you have plead', has recently been found in the Vienna Khanmeti codex within the legend of St. Cyprian and Justina (fol. 95va, l. 11); cf. J. GIPPERT *Neue Wege zur georgischen Lexikographie* (forthcoming).

<sup>38</sup> Both versions have been edited synoptically in ძველი ქართული აგიოგრაფიული ლიტერატურის ძეგლები I, Tbilisi 1963, pp. 81-163. The third old redaction contained in the Sinai ms. N. 50 has not yet been accessible to me.

<sup>39</sup> Kartlis Cxovreba, ed. QAUXČIŠVILI pp. 72-130: *Mokceva Mirian mepisa da mis tana qovlisa Kartlisa čmidisa da nečarisa dedisa čuenisa Nino mocikulisa mier* ("The conversion of King Mirian and all Georgia together with him by the holy and blessed apostle Nino").

<sup>40</sup> The most important ones are the texts *Cxovreba da mokalakobay da guačli čmidisa da girsisa dedisa čuenisa Ninoysi, romelman kadaga Krište, ġmerti čueni, kueqanasa črdiloysasa da gananatla natesavi kartveltay* ("Life and deeds and passion of our holy and dignified mother Nino, who preached Christ, our Lord, in the country of the North and enlightened the tribe of the Kartvelians") by Arsen Beri and the anonymous *Cxovreba da mokalakobay girsisa da mocikulta šcorisa nečarisa Ninoysi* ("Life and deeds of the dignified Saint Nino, equal to the apostles"), both edited in ძველი ქართული აგიოგრაფიული ლიტერატურის ძეგლები III, Tbilisi 1971, pp. 7-51 and 52-83.

<sup>41</sup> Version A, chap. 6: ABULAŽE op.cit., p. 118, l. 21 - p. 121, l. 2.

<sup>42</sup> Version B: ABULAŽE op.cit., p. 121, l. 34-36.

<sup>43</sup> A: ABULAŽE op.cit., p. 121, l. 34 - p. 122, l. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Хитон Господень в книжных легендах армян, грузин и сирийцев, in: Al-muzaḥḥarīya. Сборник статей учеников Профессора Барона Виктора Розена, ко дню двадцатилетия его первой лекции, СанктПетербург 1897, 72<sup>2</sup>): *rasū megoy qoḏasḥa banu v rasul[-i] psar[-i] [i]zad*. A few years before, MARR had noted his interpretation in a letter to Ekvtime TATAIŠVILI cf. ნიკო მარისა და ექვთიმე თაყაიშვილის მიმოწერა (1888-1931 წწ.). გამოსაცემად მოამზადეს .. რ. კავილაძემ და მ. მამაცაშვილმა, Tbilisi 1991, p. 101 f. (information kindly provided by Gia BERAŽE).

<sup>45</sup> MARR, l.c.: "Въ памятникѣ болѣе ранней поры мы не встрѣтили бы напр. цѣлой фразы на ново-персидскомъ языкѣ съ арабскимъ словомъ رسول .."

<sup>46</sup> The Čeliši version seems to indicate that the Persian word for "lady" had an *ō* vowel instead of *u* (\**bānōg*). In Old Georgian manuscripts, however, ⟨o⟩ can always be an abbreviative graphical representation of ⟨u⟩ which was a digraph in Asomtavruli script (Oϣ = ⟨OW⟩); cp. the word *rasūl* written ⟨ras~ol⟩ in the same line. For the pronunciation of the Persian word, the Šatberd codex which has *u* is thus more reliable. In any case, the two manuscripts show that Persian *bānūg* was still pronounced with a final -g (the -b we have in the Šatberd codex must be due to the common confusion of the letters ზ ⟨B⟩ und გ ⟨G⟩). The proposal by MARR according to whom the word final consonants might represent a *v* (≈ Persian *u* "and"?) is unjustified.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. J. GIPPERT *Saint Nino's Legend: Vestiges of its various sources* (contribution read during the session of the Gelati Academy in September, 1997; a printed version is scheduled for the Journal of the Gelati Academy).

<sup>48</sup> For a similar view, cf. Aleksandre GVAXARIA *Zum Ursprung der georgisch-persischen Literaturbeziehungen*, in: *Georgica* 10, 1987, pp. 44-47, and ქართულ-სპარსული ლიტერატურული ურთიერთობის სათავეებთან, in: *სპარსულ-ქართული ცდანი*, Tbilisi 1987, pp. 3-13; Valerian GABAŠVILI *ქართულ-სპარსული კულტურული ურთიერთობანი* (10 ს.), in: *მაცნე, ენისა და ლიტერატურის სერია*, 4/1983, pp. 33-43 and საქართველო და აღმოსავლეთი (5-10 სს.), in: *საქართველო და აღმოსავლეთი, ეძღვნება .. შოთა მესხიას ხსოვნას*, Tbilisi 1984, pp. 12-35, esp. pp. 23 f.). My thanks are due to Gia BERAŽE for these bibliographical references.