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9 The Georgian Tradition

Jost GIPPERT

9.1 Introduction

The Old Georgian version of the *Physiologus* is peculiar in several respects. Preserved in a codex of the late tenth century, it clearly exhibits its dependance on an Armenian *Vorlage*. Its exact model is not extant but can be reconstructed to a certain degree on the basis of the wording in the Georgian text. By its age, the Old Georgian version gains special importance with respect to the initial shape of the Armenian version and its relation to the Greek and the Latin *Physiologus*. To reveal the Old Georgian version's impact, it may be convenient first to outline the history of its exploration and the circumstances of its transmission.

9.2 Previous Scholarship

The first notice whatsoever of the Georgian *Physiologus* was published in 1888 by N. Ja. Marr in a short list of manuscripts donated by a certain M. D. Aleksi-Mesxišvili to the 'Society for the Spread of Literacy among the Georgians'. As no. XIV of the list printed in the journal *Iveria* on 12 November, Marr described a manuscript no. 1141, which contained, as its third item, a work by 'Basil, bishop of Caesarea' with the enigmatic title 'On beasts, word of appearance' (cf. Fig. 9.1).¹ A slightly fuller description of the manuscript was published two years later by E. Taqaišvili under the title 'Description of the Collection of Šatberdi' in the introduction to his edition of 'Three historical chronicles';² here,

¹ Marr 1888, 3e: *basili կեսարի էպիկոյոզ մւեշտավիս* [sic, misprinted; the correct form would have been *mvechlatvis]* *saxisa սլվաս*' [sic, misprinted; the correct form would have been *sit̄quay*].

² Taqaišvili 1890, [Table of Contents, I, 1]: *այշերի լուսա շալերդիս կրեւլիսա* (referring to p. i–xx in the book).

the title of item no. III is more correctly rendered as ‘On beasts, word of appearance, told from the books by Saint Basil, bishop of Caesarea’ (cf. Fig. 9.2).³ Taqaišvili added both an *incipit* and a *desinit*; the former reads ‘(There) is (a beast) which is named the sun lizard’, the latter, ‘so that I may open my mouth and pronounce ...’.⁴ Three years later, a first attempt at dating the ‘Šatberdi Collection’ was published by Th. Žordania, who proposed ‘by and large the year 973’;⁵ Žordania again gave only a short title of the work, which according to him covered p. 215–40 of the codex: ‘Basil, bishop of Caesarea, on beasts, word of appearance from the books’ (cf. Fig. 9.3).⁶ It was only in 1897 that the text in question was identified with the *Physiologus*, by Al. Khakhanof (Xaxanašvili) who delivered a paper entitled ‘ΦΥΣΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ en traduction géorgienne’ at the eleventh Congress of Orientalists in Paris; as Khakhanof stated, ‘Jusqu’à présent, l’existence du Physiologue en langue géorgienne était inconnue dans la littérature. C’est seulement l’été dernier que je suis arrivé à découvrir cette œuvre dans le recueil manuscrit nommé Chatberdi.’⁷

2.1 Khakhanof did not restrict himself to a mere description of the text but provided a set of conclusions, which are worth summarising here. First, he argued that the Georgian text cannot stand in close relation to the Armenian *Physiologus*, given that only the latter contains ‘non-Physiological’ animals such as the tiger.⁸ Second, the Georgian text cannot go back to the Syriac *Physiologus* because the latter contains chapters on the dog or

³ Taqaišvili 1890, V: *mqectalws saxisa siłquay, çigntagan tkmuli çmidisa basili, ebiskopósisi kesarielisay.*

⁴ Taqaišvili 1890, V: (*dasaçqisi:*) *ars r(omel)ji içodebis msoweni mzarisa; (bolo:) r(ayt)a aývaþo piri čemi da aýmovlkowa...*

⁵ Žordania 1892, 99: *am çlis axlo-maxlos droebši unda iþos daçerili ... šatberdis ķrebuli* ‘the Šatberdi collection ... must have been written by about the time of that year’.

⁶ Žordania 1892, 99–107: *basili ķesariel epískopósisa ‘mqectalws saxisa siłquay çigntagan’.*

⁷ Khakhanof 1899, 255–58.

⁸ Khakhanof 1899, 258: ‘Autant qu’il est possible de juger d’après la comparaison de la rédaction géorgienne, elle ne peut pas être en parenté proche avec le *Physiologue* arménien, car dans ce dernier se trouvent les animaux «non physiologiques», par exemple, le tigre, etc.’ The Armenian text Khakhanof relied upon was obviously that published by Pitra (1855, 374–90).

XIV. № 1141. ხელნაწერი ხუცური in-folio შეამდე ასომთავრულით და შემდეგ წვრილის ხელით არის ნაწერი ეტრატზე, სულ 600 გვერდამდე; შეიცავს 1) გრიგოლ ნოსელის „კაცისა შესაქმე“-სა, 2) ეპიფანე კვიპრელისა „ათონმეტთა ოვალთათვის“, 3) ბისილი კესარიელი ეპისკოპოზის „მცეცთათვის სახისა სიტყვას“, 4) სათაურ წაშლილი თხზულებას, რომელშიაც მოთავსებულია ქვეყნის შემნა, ებრაული ანბანი, ძევლი აღთქმის წიგნი განყოფა და ხრონილოვიური რიგი ადამიადგან ვიდრე კოსტანტი, რომანიზ და ნიკიფორამდე, 5) იპოლიოტის შრომათ, სახელდობრ: ა) განმარტებად კურთხევათა მათოვის მოსესთა ათონმეტთა მიმართ ნათესავთა; ბ) კურთხევა-

Fig. 9.1: Marr 1888 (excerpt)

III მეტთათვს სახისა სიტყოზ, წიგნთაგან თქმე-
და წმიდისა ბასილისი, ებისკოპოსისი გესარიელისად.

დასაწეისი: არ რ ი იწოდების მსოფლი მზარისად,
კ სახის მეტყოზელმან თქოზა...

ბოლო: რ ა აღვაღო პირი ჩემი და აღმოვთქოზა
ქებად მამისა და ძისა და წ დისა ს ლისად ა და მ დის
და უ ა უ ა ა ნ.

Fig. 9.2: Taqaišvili 1890, v (excerpt)

სამ მოთვეს გელია სხვ-და-სხვ საკითხებია; 1) კრიგოდ ნისედის
ჩელნი მისი მმარტვი პერტია, სიბასტულის კრიკორზონის გვ. 1—7; 2) ოჯო
კი შექმე ჩელ ეჭისო-დედ 30 თავად, „დედით იშინისა“ დწერილი; გვ. 8—
121; 3) ერთხმა კურევას „თარიელთა თვალთათუა“ (რომელსაც ასწევდეს
სილექსი სელევები) გვ. 122—214; 4) ბასილი გელი ესესოსის „მეუკო-
ოცს სიხის სიტყუა წიგნთაგნ“ გვ. 215—240; 5) საკითხე, რომელი სათ-

Fig. 9.3: Žordania 1892, 99 (excerpt)

the cock, also missing in the Georgian text.⁹ Third, the Georgian *Physiologus* must represent an independent redaction, given the inventory and order of the chapters, which do not coincide with the Greek; its source must nevertheless be sought in the Greek literature.¹⁰

2.2 A few years later, in 1904, Khakhanof's view was sharply contradicted by N. Ja. Marr who provided, in monographic form, the first edition of the Georgian *Physiologus*, with the Georgian text printed (in *asomtavruli* majuscule in accordance with the original manuscript, based on an unpublished transcript provided by E. Taqaišvili in about 1900) in parallel columns with an Armenian version (cf. Fig. 9.4).¹¹ This arrangement was programmatic indeed, given that Marr intended to prove that the Georgian text derived from an Armenian model, *pace* Khakhanof's observations. Marr's conclusions were summarised by E. Taqaišvili in his comprehensive catalogue of the manuscripts of the 'Society for the Spread of Literacy':¹²

- a) the Georgian text preserved in the Šatberdi codex of the tenth century was translated from Armenian;
- b) the Armenian text underlying it was in its turn translated from Greek;

⁹ Khakhanof 1899, 258: 'On ne peut pas la faire remonter au *Physiologue* syrien, dans lequel nous trouvons les chapitres du chien, du coq, etc., qui manquent en géorgien.'

¹⁰ Khakhanof 1899, 258: 'Enfin l'inventaire, l'ordre des chapitres, qui ne coïncident pas complètement avec les rédactions connues du *Physiologue* grec, désignent le *Physiologue* géorgien comme une rédaction indépendante, dont, à mon avis, il faut chercher le prototype dans la littérature grecque.'

¹¹ Marr 1904, 9–10. The Georgian text as printed in Marr's edition was the basis for the German translation provided by Kluge 1914 and the improved translation provided by Graf 1925.

¹² Taqaišvili 1906–1912, 632–51 (also in *Sbornik "materjalov" dlja opisanija městnostej i plemen" Kavkaza*, 41 [1909], 36–56).

- c) the preserved copies of the Armenian text, among them the oldest one of 1223 CE from Khirovashat [*sic; recte* Xoranašat], can only partially be used to establish the original Armenian text;
 - d) generally speaking, the Georgian text preserves the Old Armenian *Physiologus* better than the extant Armenian copies;
 - e) the Greek model of the Armeno-Georgian version is not later than the sixth century; the Armenian translation likely dates to the sixth–seventh centuries, the Georgian translation of the Armenian, to the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century;
 - f) late copies of Old Armenian literary products must be analysed with sharp textual criticism, taking Old Georgian derivatives into account.

Marr's conclusions can by and large be upheld until the present day. However, it seems worthwhile considering the Šaṭberdi codex, its provenance and its structure a bit more in detail in the following pages.

Fig. 9.4: Sample pages from Marr's edition of Phys. Georg. (1904)

9.3 The Manuscript Tradition

Manuscript S-1141 of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (hereafter: KKNCM), Tbilisi, known as the ‘Collection of Šaṭberdi’ (*Šaṭberdis ķrebuli*), is a remarkable codex indeed. Together with a few other famous Old Georgian codices such as the Adiši Gospels (of 897), the Žruči Gospels (of 936), the Parxali Gospels (of 973), or the Udabno Homiliary (of the ninth–tenth centuries),¹³ it originated in the monastery of Šaṭberdi in the province of Tao-Klaržeti in Anatolia;¹⁴ the manuscript contains no explicit dating but can roughly be assigned to the 60s or 70s of the tenth century (cf. 9.3.1 and 9.5 below).¹⁵ Of its 287 parchment fols. (sized c. 28 × 22 cm and distributed over 38 quires),¹⁶ about two fifths are inscribed in *asomtavruli* majuscule (fols 1v–126r), the remainder, in *nusxuri* minuscule (fols 126v–286v); the texts are arranged in two columns of 23–27 lines throughout. The extraordinary value of the codex results from the fact that it is the *testis primus*, if not *unicus*, for many Georgian versions of early Christian texts, some of them translated from Armenian. Apart from the *Physiologus* (attributed to Basil the Great) on fols 106r–118r, the texts in majuscule script comprise Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominibus opificio* (cf. CPG 3154; fols 1v–59r); Epiphanius of Cyprus, *De Gemmis* (cf. CPG 3748; fols 59v–105v) and *De mensuris et ponderibus* (cf. CPG 3746; fols 118v–121v); an excerpt from the *Scholia in Dionysium Thracem*¹⁷ (fols 121v–122r); and the *Chronicon* of Hippoly-

¹³ In Georgian, this codex is known as the Udabno *mrvavaltavi*; for details concerning the homiliary and the term *mrvavaltavi* cf. Gippert 2016a.

¹⁴ The monastery of Šaṭberdi has not yet been identified with certainty. Two locations have been proposed, one west of present-day Ardanuç (41°5'50" N and 41°55'20" E, near the present village of Okumuşlar), and one east of it ('Rabat kilisesi', 41°04'29.0" N and 42°09'56.3" E, in the present village of Bulanık). For a thorough discussion, see Palava 2011, 58–68.

¹⁵ The present leather binding on wooden boards (cf. Figs 9.5 and 9.6) is late, probably from the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries.

¹⁶ According to Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 18, fifteen folios of the codex are missing (but none from the *Physiologus*). See Figs 9.5–9.7 for the present appearance of the codex (Plates XVII–XVIII).

¹⁷ The excerpt, inserted as an appendix to the preceding treatise by Epiphanius, corresponds to a scholion attributed to Heliodorus, which itself corresponds to the Greek text in Hilgard 1901, 320; cf. Qauxčišvili 1923, 183–84.

tus of Rome (cf. CPG 1896; fols 122r–126r); the two latter texts bear no title and were obviously treated as forming one text. Five other works of Hippolytus¹⁸ follow in minuscule script (*De benedictionibus Moysis*, cf. CPG 1875, fols 126v–140v; *De benedictione Iacob*, cf. CPG 1874, fols 140v–155v; *De David et Goliath*, CPG 1876, fols 155v–162r; *De Cantico Canticorum*, CPG 1871, fols 162r–177r; and *De Christo et Antichristo*, cf. CPG 1872, fols 177r–193r), plus five other texts including extracts from the catechesis of Gregory the Illuminator as contained in Agathangelos' *History of Armenia* (§§ 259–715), gathered under the title *De Fide* (attributed to Hippolytus again;¹⁹ fols 193v–203v); the sixth demonstration by Aphrahat the Syrian disguised under the title *De devotione* (also attributed to Hippolytus;²⁰ fols 203v–215v); the legend of the *Conversion of Georgia* (*Mokcevay Kartlisay*; fols 215v–248v); the *Life of Jacob of Nisibis* (cf. BHG 769; fols 248v–256r); and an excerpt of the *Interpretatio in Psalmos* by Theodore of Cyrrhus (attributed to Epiphanius of Cyprus again; cf. CPG 6202; fols 256v–285r + 286rv).

9.3.1 The origin and date of the Šaṭberdi codex can roughly be inferred from the extensive colophon of the scribe, a certain Iovane Beray, provided on the last folio of the manuscript (fol. 285v). The monk not only mentions the Monastery of the Holy Theotokos at Šaṭberdi as the dedicatee of his work (*ševcire šalberds saqopelsa çmidisa ȝmrtismšoblisasa, romelsaca šina aȝvizarde, salocvelad sulisa çemisa codvilisa da mšobelta çemta* – ‘I dedicated it to the abode of the holy Theotokos in Šaṭberdi, where I was raised, to pray for my soul – the soul of a sinner – and for the soul of my parents’) but also a king named Bagrat and his family (*da salocvelad mepeta çuenta bagraṭ mepisa da ȝovelta švulta mattatws* – ‘and to pray for our kings, King Bagraṭ and all his [lit. their] children’). Of the several Georgian kings bearing this name, two are closely related to the region of Tao-ქlaržeti where the monastery of Šaṭberdi was situated, namely, Bagraṭ I, who was the Kuropalates of Tao-

¹⁸ The question as to whether the Hippolytus appearing as the author of these texts, always without further epithet, is really Hippolytus of Rome must be left open here.

¹⁹ Cf. Garitte 1965, 121–23 for the identification of the underlying passages.

²⁰ Cf. Bonwetsch 1907, 3–4 for the identification and further Garitte 1964.

ქლარჯეთი from 826 to 862, and Bagrat II, who ruled first in Tao-ქლარჯეთი (937–58) before he became king of Kartli (958–94). Only the second can be meant here, as two colophons by the translator of the *Interpretatio in Psalms*, a certain Dači, show, which are addressed to dignitaries of the ninth–tenth centuries, that is, to one Antoni, bishop of Ruisi (fol. 285r), and to one Štepane, bishop of Tbeti (fol. 256rv).²¹ Attempts to arrive at a more exact date, such as that of Th. Žordania (see above), rely on the *Chronicon* of Hippolytus of Rome, which ends in the codex with the Byzantine emperors Romanos (II Porphyrogennetos, 959–63), Nikephoros (II Phokas, 963–69), and Johannes (I Tzimiskēs, 969–76, named ქურიჯან < Gr. Κῦρος Ἰωάννης in the Georgian text); however, all emperors' names after Theodosius (III Adramytinos, 715–17) were added by a later hand,²² which has no bearing on the dating of the primary layer of the codex (cf. 9.5 below).

9.3.2 The Šatberdi codex has a sister manuscript in no. 44 of the Georgian collection of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem, a paper codex of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries. This manuscript contains the same works by Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Hippolytus, Agathangelus, and Aphraates, adding the homily on the *Hexaemeron* by Basil the Great (cf. CPG 2835) at the beginning and, after Gregory's *De hominis opificio*, another homily on the same subject attributed to John Chrysostom (but rather belonging to Severian of Gabala; cf. CPG 4194)²³; the *Physiologus*, however, is missing.²⁴ A part of these works is also found in the fragmentary ms. no. 74 of the same collection, a paper codex of the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, which is presumed to have been copied from the same original as no. 44 and to have contained the

²¹ Cf. Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 24–25 and Bakraze et al. 1961, 38–40.

²² Cf. Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 26 and 202, n. *; in the edition, the prolongation of the list comprises only four lines.

²³ The placement of the text among John Chrysostom's 67 homilies (CPG 4409) or 9 sermons (CPG 4410) on Genesis as proposed by Gr. Peradze (1931, 97, no. 5 with reference to PG 53, cols 21–386 and 54, 385–580 'oder, vielleicht' PG 54, cols 581–680) and K. Kekelejé (1957, 71 no. 10, referring to 'Migne, t. 53–54') is wrong. Jer. 44 (ff. 104r–150v) includes homilies I–V of Severian's work, corresponding to PG 56, cols 429–84.

²⁴ Cf. Blake 1922–1926, [II], 208–19 and [III], 387–88.

same series of texts;²⁵ here, however, Gregory's homily is missing, and the codex ends with the *Chronicon of Hippolytus*.²⁶

Other related manuscripts are the Tbilisi codex A-691, of c. the ninth century, which contains a second version of Epiphanius, *De mensuribus* (fols 168v–181r);²⁷ ms. no. 11 of the Iviron monastery on Mt. Athos (the so-called Athos *mrvallavi*), which provides another copy of Aphrahat's *De devotione*, again attributed to Hippolytus (fols 275v–288r); and nos 48 and 50 of the Georgian collection among the New Finds in St Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai as well as ms. H-600 of the KKNCM, the so-called Čeliši codex of c. the fourteenth century, which contain variants of the *Conversion of Georgia*.²⁸

9.3.3 A special relation to the Šatberdi codex must be assumed for six manuscripts of the seventeenth–nineteenth centuries, five of them kept in the KKNCM and one, in the Khariton Akhvlediani State Museum, Batumi. All of these manuscripts are likely to be direct or indirect copies of parts of the Šatberdi codex, and all of them contain the *Physiologus*. For the sake of easy reference, they are briefly described here by order of their presumable age.

(a) Tbilisi, KKNCM, A-165²⁹

Material: paper, c. 305 × 210 mm, 734 p., *nusxuri* script.

Place and date of copying: St David, Udabno (?), seventeenth–eighteenth century; scribes: Irine daughter of Durmišan Čoloqāšvili and other nuns (?).

Contents: (1) George Hamartolus, *Chronicon breve* (cf. PG 110; acephalous); (2) Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio*; (3) Epiphanius of Cyprus, *De gemmis*; (4) *Physiologus*, attributed to Basil the Great; (5) Epiphanius of Cyprus, *De mensuribus et ponderibus*, *Scholia in Dionysium Thracem*, and Hippolytus

²⁵ Cf. Blake 1922–1926, [III], 407–08, who erroneously names Gregory of Nyssa and not John Chrysostom as the author of part 2 (fol. 190v–244v).

²⁶ Blake's information (*loc. cit.*) as to the texts following John Chrysostom's text is misleading.

²⁷ Cf. Van Esbroeck 1984, 1–2.

²⁸ Fols 1r–36v in H-600. Cf. Gippert 2018, 57–58 for specimens of the manuscripts containing the *Conversion*. For palimpsest fragments of Epiphanius, *De mensuribus*, and Agathangelos, *De fide*, in the Vienna palimpsest Cod. Vind.georg. 2, cf. Gippert 2007, 10–1–10.

²⁹ Cf. Bregaze et al. 1976, 244–48; Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 33.

of Rome, *Chronicon*;³⁰ (6) Hippolytus of Rome, *De benedictione Moysis*; (7) id., *De benedictione Iacob*; (8) id., *De David et Goliat*; (9) id., *De Canticō Canticorum*; (10) id., *De Christo et Antichristo*; (11) Agathangelos, *De fide* (acephalous); (12) Aphrahat, *De devotione*, attributed to Hippolytus; (13) *Vita Jacobi Nisibensis*.

Physiologus: p. 537–60.

This ms. is probably a direct copy of the Šatberdi codex³¹ and the model of (b) and (c).³²

(b) Tbilisi, KKNCM, A-6³³

Material: paper, c. 325 × 216 mm, 116 + 1 fols, *mxedruli* script.

Place and date of copying: unknown place, 1821; scribe: Spiridon Iašvili.

Contents: (1) Basil the Great, *Hexaemeron* (George the Athonite's version); (2) Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio*; (3) Epiphanius of Cyprus, *De gemmis*; (4) *Physiologus*, attributed to Basil the Great.

Physiologus: fols 108v–115v.

This ms. is probably a copy of (a).³⁴

(c) Tbilisi, KKNCM, H-903³⁵

Material: paper, c. 205 × 165 mm, 80 fols, *mxedruli* script.

Place and date of copying: unknown place, nineteenth century; scribe: Spiridon Iašvili.

³⁰ In Bregaze et al. 1976, 245, the three texts are taken together under the heading 'Hippolytus of Rome, *Chronicon*' (*i polie romaeli, kronikoni*), with reference to the traditional designation 'school book' (*sasçavlo çigni*, cf. Qauxčišvili 1923).

³¹ The Šatberdi codex is probably mentioned in a secondary note of the so-called Adiši Gospels of 897 CE as a 'book of fathers' (*mamala çigni*) that was taken alongside other manuscripts from Šatberdi to the monastery of Udabno in Guria (southwest Georgia) by a certain Nikolaos (cf. Gippert 2016, 65–66 as to the note). If it was still there in the seventeenth century, the Šatberdi codex may well have been the model used for copying A-165 *in situ*.

³² Cf. Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 34.

³³ Cf. Bregaze et al. 1973, 28–29; Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 33.

³⁴ Cf. Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 34.

³⁵ Cf. Kutatelaže 1951, 272; Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 33.

Contents: (1) Epiphanius of Cyprus, *De gemmis*; (2) *Physiologus*, attributed to Basil the Great.

Physiologus: fols 60r–78r.

This ms. is probably a copy of (a).³⁶

- (d) Tbilisi, KKNCM, S-2785³⁷

Material: paper, c. 210 × 230 mm, 222 fols, *mxedruli* script.

Place and date of copying: unknown place, seventeenth–eighteenth century; unknown scribe.

Contents: (1) Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio* (acephalous); (2) Epiphanius of Cyprus, *De gemmis*; (3) *Physiologus*, attributed to Basil the Great; (4) Epiphanius of Cyprus, *De mensuribus et ponderibus*, *Scholia in Dionysium Thracem*, and Hippolytus of Rome, *Chronicon*;³⁸ (5) Hippolytus of Rome, *De benedictione Moysis*; (6) id., *De benedictione Iacob*; (7) an unidentified homily attributed to John Chrysostom.

Physiologus: fols 134r–150v.

This ms. is probably not a copy of (a) but a sister of (e).³⁹

- (e) Tbilisi, KKNCM, Q-41⁴⁰

Material: paper, c. 320 × 215 cm, 205 fols, *mxedruli* script.

Place and date of copying: Martvili (?), eighteenth century; scribe: Niçolovoz.

Contents: (1) Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio* (acephalous); (2) Epiphanius of Cyprus, *De gemmis*; (3) *Physiologus*, attributed to Basil the Great; (4) Epiphanius of Cyprus, *De mensuribus et ponderibus*, *Scholia in Dionysium Thracem*, and Hippolytus of Rome, *Chronicon*;⁴¹ (5) Hippolytus of Rome, *De benedictione Moysis*; (6) id., *De benedictione Iacob*; (7–9) three unidentified homilies attributed to John Chrysostom, the first of them identical with no. (7) in (d).

³⁶ Cf. Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 34.

³⁷ Cf. Bregaze et al. 1965, 181–82; Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 33.

³⁸ In Bregaze et al. 1965, 182, the three texts are also taken together under the heading ‘school book’ (*sasçavlo çigni*); cf. n. 30 above.

³⁹ Cf. Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 34.

⁴⁰ Cf. Metreveli / Šarašiže 1957, 54–56; Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 33.

⁴¹ In Metreveli / Šarašiže 1975, 55, the three texts are again taken together under the heading ‘school book’ (*sasçavlo çigni*); cf. n. 30 and 38 above.

Physiologus: fols 121r–137r.

This ms. is probably not a copy of (a) but a sister of (d).⁴²

(f) Batumi, Khariton Akhvlediani State Museum, 75⁴³

Material: paper, 209 × 161 cm, 115 fols, *mxedruli* script.

Place and date of copying: unknown place, eighteenth century; unknown scribe.

Contents: (1) Epiphanius of Cyprus, *De gemmis*; (2) *Physiologus*, attributed to Basil the Great; (3) Andrew of Caesarea, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (cf. CPG 7478).

Physiologus: fols 106r–118r.

In contrast to the preceding ones, this ms. (hereafter: **Bt**) was not taken into account in the existing editions of the Georgian *Physiologus*. However, it can easily be proven that the first two texts contained in it are mere transcripts of what we find in the Šatberdi codex (hereafter: **Š**).⁴⁴ As stated above, the *Physiologus* occupies fols 106r–118r of the latter, pertaining to the part written in *asomtavruli* majuscule. The double page displayed in Fig. 9.8 (Plate XIX) contains four ‘chapters’ of the text, namely, that on the charadrius bird (Georg. *kalandros*, ending with its last three lines at the beginning of fol. 108v), the pelican (Georg. *varxw*,⁴⁵ covering most of fol. 108v), the owl (Georg. *bupi*, from fol. 108v to 109r), and the eagle (Georg. *orbi*, covering the rest of fol. 109r, up to the third line from the end of the text). In the Batumi codex, the same content is found on fols 47v–48r (cf. Fig. 9.9, Plate XX).⁴⁶

⁴² Cf. Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 34.

⁴³ Cf. Gagniža et al. 2015, 19.

⁴⁴ The Georgian version (by Euthymius the Athonite) of the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Andrew of Caesarea is contained in several codices from the tenth to the twelfth centuries: Tbilisi, KKNCM, H-1346, 60r–208r (dated 978, cf. Šarašiži 1948, 292–93); Tbilisi, KKNCM, A-397, 43r–110v (cf. Bregaze et al. 1985, 178–80); and Mt. Sinai, St Catherine’s Monastery, georg. 85, 43v–168v (cf. Garitte 1956, 258–59). Imnaišvili (1961, 132–33) lists six later (eighteenth–nineteenth century) witnesses (Tbilisi, KKNCM, A-158, A-532, S-113, S-1129, S-1358 and S-3625) whose text is likely to be copied from H-1346; the same is true of the Batumi manuscript.

⁴⁵ The letter transcribed *w* stands for a sequence of *v+i*.

⁴⁶ My sincere thanks are due to Ramaz Khalvashi (Batumi), who photographed the codex for me in June 2017.

The dependance of the latter witness on the Šatberdi volume manifests itself not only in the identical wording but also in the identical application of rubrics for the initials of the chapters. In addition, both codices agree in the numbering of the chapters indicated in red characters accompanying the initials, with the chapter on the pelican being counted as no. 6 (Georg. letter *v*).⁴⁷ Therefore **Bt** cannot be assigned any critical value. The same holds true for the other five late manuscripts described above.

9.4 The Georgian Translation and its *Vorlage*

The Georgian *Physiologus* as preserved in Š comprises a total of 34 chapters, four of them not counted so that the numbering ends with 30; cf. Table 9.1 in the Appendix below showing the sequence of chapters together with the actual numbering. If we ignore the indicated numbers, we can easily see that the sequence of the 34 chapters coincides exactly with that of the Armenian tradition, in its turn equalling by and large that of the first recension in Greek as preserved in the Moscow manuscript ‘Π’ (Phys. Gr. I α);⁴⁸ only the last three chapters of the Armenian version (Phys. Arm. α 35 = *arj* = bear, 36 = *zrahaw* = halcyon, kingfisher, and 37 = *melow* = honeybee) have no counterpart in the Georgian text (nor in ‘Π’) as Table 9.4 in the Appendix below shows. In contrast to the overall similarity between the Armenian tradition and ‘Π’, the Greek text as established by Sbordone (Phys. Gr. I) exhibits striking differences concerning the order of the chapters, as does Phys. Lat. y: in both of them, the initial chapter is devoted to the lion, not the sun lizard, and there are a few other divergences, especially at the beginning and the end of the list. Nevertheless, there is a remarkable consistency of internal sequence visible across all four versions.

9.4.1 The relationship between the Georgian and the Armenian versions becomes even closer if we consider the wording and not just the order of the chapters. As a matter of fact, it can easily

⁴⁷ Like the Greek tradition, Georgian used characters in accordance with their position in the alphabet as numerical expressions; the sixth letter, *v*, thus represents the number 6.

⁴⁸ Note that in ‘Π’, chapter numbers are present (or discernible) only from the fourth chapter onwards, which is on the sawfish. This presupposes that the chapters on the antelope and the firestones were taken together as the third chapter (cf. Section 2.3.2 Macé above), just as in the Georgian text.

be proven that the Georgian text is a translation of an Armenian model, just as proposed by N. Ja. Marr in 1904. To illustrate this, we may consider the beginning of the chapter on the phoenix, which is the tenth in the Armenian and Georgian versions (indicated as no. 9 in the latter), as well as in ‘II’ (Phys. Gr. I α , also indicated as no. 9), and the seventh in the Greek text as established by Sbordone (Phys. Gr. I).

9.4.1.1 In the Greek tradition, the chapter usually bears the title ‘On the phoenix bird’, which is missing in the Georgian *Physiologus* as well as in ‘II’ and the Armenian version, as are all other chapter titles. The text itself begins with a quotation from the Gospel of John (10.18–19), introduced by ‘Our Lord Jesus Christ said’ in the Armenian and Georgian versions as well as ‘II’, contrasting with ‘The Lord said in the Gospel’ in most witnesses of Phys. Gr. I; in ‘II’, the quotation is appended to the preceding chapter (on the eagle). The Gospel quotation following it agrees quite well with the established New Testament text in both Greek and Armenian, except for the explicit mention of the ‘soul’ ($\tauὴν ψυχὴν$ / *z-anjn*) instead of an anaphoric pronoun ($\alphaὐτὴν$ / *z-na*) referring to the occurrence of the word in the preceding verse: ‘I have the power to lay my soul (vs. it) down, and I have the power to take it up again.’ In contrast to this, the Georgian text deviates from all known Gospel versions by using not only different verbal forms (*implies* ‘I am able’ instead of *qelmçipeba makus* or *qelmeçipebis* ‘I have the power’, *ajebad* ‘to take up’ instead of *mojebad* / *mijebad* ‘to take on’) but also *guami* ‘body’ instead of *suli* ‘soul’; this divergence can only be explained as a misunderstanding of Arm. *anjn* ‘person, self, soul’ in the given context. The rendering of the subsequent clause (Joh. 10.19) is rather free in all three versions, the ‘schism’ of the Jews ($\Sigmaγίσμα πάλιν ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς Ιουδαίοις διὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους$) being replaced by $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ‘be irritated (about the word)’ in the Greek, *ambastanel* ‘accuse, reproach (the words)’ in the Armenian, and, a bit closer to the Greek, *krltoma* ‘be startled, tremble (at the word)’ in the Georgian version. The three versions of the introduction of the phoenix chapter are contrasted in Table 9.3a.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ In this and the following tables, special accordances between Phys. Georg., Phys. Arm. and, where applicable, Phys. Gr. I α (‘II’) are marked in bold, peculiar divergences between the three versions, by underlining.

Sbordone 1936a, 25	Muradyan 2005, 102–03	Gigineišvili/Giunašvili 1979, 179
<u>7. Περὶ φοίνικος πετεινοῦ</u> (<<< II)	<u>10.</u>	<u>9.</u>
<u>7. About the phoenix bird</u> (<<< II)		
‘Ο Κύριος (+ ἡμῶν ἵησοῦς χριστὸς II) ἔλεξεν (ἔλεγεν II) ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ (<<< II). The (our II) Lord (+ Jesus Christ II) said in <u>the</u> <u>Gospel</u> (<<< II):	Tērn mer Yisows K'rīstos asē. Our Lord Jesus Christ said:	upalman čuenman iesu krisťeman tkua: Our Lord Jesus Christ said:
‘ἐξουσίαν ἔχω θεῖναι τὴν ψυχήν μου, καὶ ἔξουσίαν ἔχω πάλιν λαβεῖν αὐτήν, I have the power to lay down my soul, and I have the power to take it (up) again.’	Išxanowl'iwn ownim dnel zanjn im, ew išxanowl'iwn ownim miwsangam ařnowl zsa.' ‘I have the power to lay (down) my soul, and I have the power to take it (up) again.’	‘implies guami čemi dadebad, implies merme ađebad igi’. ‘I am able to lay down my body, I am able to take it up again.’
<u>καὶ οἱ Ιουδαῖοι</u> <u>ἡγνάκτησαν ἐπὶ τῷ (τούτῳ</u> II) λόγῳ (< II). <u>And the Jews were irritated</u> <u>about the (that) II word</u> (≤ II).	Hreayk'n ambastanēin zbansn: The Jews <u>reproached</u> the words.	huriiani krtebodes silquas mas. The Jews <u>trembled</u> ‘at’ the word.

Table 9.3a: The introduction to the phoenix chapter in Phys. Gr. I, Phys. Arm., and Phys. Georg.

9.4.1.2 In all three versions, the text then thematises the phoenix and its provenance from India; only the Georgian text indicates the latter by an adjective (*hindō-* ‘Indian’, *scil.* bird) instead of a prepositional phrase (‘in India’ or ‘in the Indian’, *scil.* land). The Armenian and the Georgian versions agree in using an indefinite pronoun meaning ‘a certain’ in the sentence (*inc'* / *rayme*). The name of the bird is introduced in a participial construction in Greek, a relative clause in Armenian, and an independent clause in Georgian; see Table 9.3b.

Sbordone 1936a, 25	Muradyan 2005, 103	Gigineišvili/Giunašvili 1979, 179
(9. II <i>in mg.</i>)		
"Ἐστι πετεινὸν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδίᾳ (ὶνδικῇ Π), There is a bird in India,	ē t' ūč' own inč' i hndiks There is a certain bird in India,	<u>ars mprinveli rayme hindoy.</u> There is a certain <u>Indian</u> bird.
φοῖνιξ λεγόμενον. named phoenix.	or koč'i p'iwnik's. which is named phoenix.	<u>saxeli hrkwan mas piniks.</u> They give (lit. tell) it the <u>name</u> phoenix.

Table 9.3b: The provenance of the phoenix in Phys. Gr. I, Phys. Arm., and Phys. Georg.

9.4.1.3 The text continues with an account of the bird's appearance in 'the trees of Lebanon', which occurs every 500th year. Whereas the three versions are unanimous regarding this basic information, they largely diverge regarding the indication of the month in which the appearance takes place. According to the Greek text, that event happens in the 'new month' ($\tauῷ μηνὶ τῷ νέῳ$, Phys. Gr. I) or the month 'of the new' ($\tauῶν νέων$, 'Π'), which is identified with the biblical months *Nisan* and *Adar* ($\tauῷ Νησὰν ἢ τῷ Ἀδάρῳ$ Phys. Gr. I, $\nuγσω εαδαρεῖ$ 'Π') as well as with the Egyptian (Alexandrian) months *Phamenoth* and *Pharmouthi* ($\tauῷ Φαμενὼθ ἢ τῷ Φαρμουθὶ$);⁵⁰ the Armenian text repeats, albeit in distorted form, the latter two (*payemodi* / *paremodi* / *pahemordi* / *pemenovt'* / *p'asnowt* / *p'asnowd*; *p'armodi* / *p'armowt'i* / *p'armodē* / *parmop'i* / *parmop'iwr* / *patmip'i*);⁵¹ identifying them with the Armenian months *areg* and *kanxoc'* (var. *k'atoc'*, *ahki*), whereas the Georgian version only provides two local names for months (*mihraknisa-* and *vardobisa-*). The background of these equations has been discussed *in extenso* elsewhere;⁵² it may suffice here to

⁵⁰ The names, highly distorted in the Greek manuscript tradition (cf. Sbordone 1936a, 25–26; Gippert 1997, 167 n. 10), were first identified by Lauchert (1889, 237). Cf. Section 7.4.1 (Pirtea) above as to the omission of the Egyptian month names in Phys. Arab. $\alpha.$.

⁵¹ Muradyan 2005, 103 with nn. 282 and 283.

⁵² Gippert 1988, 108–9 and 118–19; Gippert 1997, 166–70.

state that the starting point must have been the inner-biblical transition from denoting the first month of the year, the month of the exodus from Egypt and of the Pascha feast ($\mu\eta\nu \delta\pi\rho\omega\tauoc$),⁵³ as the month of the ‘new (ears)’ ($\mu\eta\nu \tau\ddot{\nu}\nu \nu\acute{e}w\nu$, Hebr. *lodes̄ ha'ābīb*),⁵⁴ or, later, with the Babylonian *Nisan* (explicitly identified with the ‘first month’ in I Esr. 5.6, $\mu\eta\nu \text{Nisax} \tau\ddot{\nu}\nu \pi\rho\omega\tauou \mu\eta\nu\acute{o}$, and Esth. 8.9, $\dot{\epsilon}n \tau\ddot{\nu}\nu \pi\rho\omega\tauou \mu\eta\nu\acute{i}$, $\delta\zeta \dot{\epsilon}\sigma\taui \text{Nisax}$). The further identification with *Adar*, the preceding twelfth month (cf. $\tau\ddot{\nu}\nu \delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tauou \mu\eta\nu\acute{i}$, $\delta\zeta \dot{\epsilon}\sigma\taui \text{A}\delta\alpha\beta$, Esth. 2.16),⁵⁵ is likely to reflect differences in the equation of months across different types of (vague) years (Babylonian, Hebrew, Egyptian) and to have induced, in its turn, the equation with two local months each in the Armenian and Georgian versions.⁵⁶

9.4.1.3.1 If *Adar* and *Nisan* roughly coincide with March and April, as do *Phamenoth* and *Pharmouthi* (in that order), the Georgian *mihraknisa-* and *vardobisa-* rather represent March and May, with *igrikisa-* for April missing in between. This is all the more astonishing as *igrikisa-* is usually used to render the biblical *Adar*, especially in the Georgian versions of the book of Esther where it deals with the emergence of the Feast of Purim. Among the several attestations,⁵⁷ one passage from the oldest Georgian Old Testament codex, the so-called Oški-Bible (ms. georg. 1 of the Iviron monastery on Mt. Athos, from the year 978; hereafter ‘O’) is of special interest here as it shows a duplication in the names of months that is similar to the phoenix chapter in the *Physiologus*; this similarity is already found in the first verse of the book, which reads (O, vol. α, fol. 494vb, cf. Fig. 9.11, Plate XXI):⁵⁸

⁵³ Gen. 8.13; Ex. 12.2.18, 40.2.17; Lev. 23.5; Num. 9.1.3, 20.1, 28.16, 33.3; Jos. 4.19; I Chr. 12.16, 27.2.3; II Chr. 29.3.17, 35.1; I Esr. 1.1, 7.10; 8.6.60; 9.17; II Esr. 6.19, 7.9, 8.31, 10.17; Esth. 3.12; Jdt. 12.1; Ez. 29.17, 30.20, 32.17, 40.1, 45.18.21; Dan. 10.4; I Macc. 9.3.

⁵⁴ Ex. 13.4, 23.15, and 34.18; Deut. 16.1. Cf. Gippert 1997, 167 with n. 12 and 169 with n. 19 as to the interpretation of the Hebrew name.

⁵⁵ Similarly Esth. 3.13, 8.12, 9.1; II Macc. 15.36.

⁵⁶ Pace Quaschning-Kirsch 2001, 37, there is no need to suppose that ‘Syro-Aramaic material’ underlies the phoenix legend; the biblical background suffices to explain the use of Semitic names for months.

⁵⁷ Besides the passages treated explicitly below, Esth. 3.7 S; 8.12 S; 9.1 S; 9.22 S; 13.6 S.

⁵⁸ Esth. 1.1a.

celsa meoresa mepobasa asuer didisasa, p̄irvelsa mas d̄jēsa tuesa adar da nesasa r(ome)l ars igriķay da vardobay čuenebay ixila mardokē...
 ‘In the second year of the reign of Ahasuerus the Great, on the first day in the month *Adar* and *Nesa*, which is *igriķay* and *vardo-bay*, Mordecai saw a vision ...’.

With this duplication of months, the text contrasts sharply with the Septuagint, which has only a reference to *Nisa*:

Ἐτους δευτέρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μεγάλου τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ Νισα ἐνύπνιον εἶδεν Μαρδοχαῖος ...

However, the Georgian text agrees perfectly well with the shorter Greek version of Esther, where we find the corresponding duplication of *Adar* and *Nisan*, including their equation with the Greek (Macedonian) months *Dystros* and *Xanthikos*:⁵⁹

Ἐτους δευτέρου βασιλεύοντος Ασυῆρου τοῦ μεγάλου μιᾷ τοῦ μηνὸς Ἄδαρ Νισὰν, ὃς ἐστι Δύστρος Ξανθικὸς, ἐνύπνιον εἶδε Μαρδοχαῖος ...

In contrast to this agreement again, the later Georgian version of the book of Esther, which is represented by the so-called Mcxeta Bible (ms. A-51 of the KKNCM, Tbilisi, sixteenth–seventeenth century; here styled ‘S’) as well as the sixteenth-century manuscripts A-570 = ‘I’ and H-646 = ‘F’ of the same institution, follows the Septuagint text,⁶⁰ equating *Nisa* with either *igrikīsa-* or *vardobisa-*:

c'elsa meoresa mepobasa aswreosisa didisasa, romel ars arļaxšeni (arlakseks S), ertsas mas ttuesa nisanisasa, ese ars ttue igrik'isay (vardobisa S), čuenebay ixila mardoke ... ‘In the second year of (lit. in) the reign of Ahasuerus the Great, who is Artaxšeni (Artakseks

⁵⁹ Cf. the parallel edition of the two Greek versions of Esther in Fritzsche 1871, 30–72. The equation of the Macedonian *Dystros* with the biblical *Adar* and (in the Oški Bible) the Georgian *igriķ(is)a-* is also found in Esth. 2.6 (ὁ μὴν Ἄδαρ, ὃς ἐστι Δύστρος / τε adari r(ome)l itkumis igrikīsad ‘the month *Adar*, which is called *igrikīsa-*’ O, 499ra, 2); beyond the book of Esther, we find *Dystros ~ igrikīsa-* in Tob. 2.12 (ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τοῦ Δύστρου / mešwdesa tuesa amis igrikīsasa ‘On the seventh of (lit. in) the month of this *igrikīsa-*’ O, mešwdesa ttvisa mis igrikīsasa ‘on the seventh of the month of *igrikīsa-*’ S [Tob. 2.20]).

⁶⁰ The passage in question is Esth. 11.1–2; the book of Esther begins with 1.1s in the Mcxeta Bible (S).

S), on the first (lit. one) of (lit. in) the month of *Nisan*, this is the month of *igrika* (*vardoba* S), Mordecai saw a vision ...'

The shorter Greek version provides one more example of the duplication of *Adar* and *Nisan* in Esth. 3.12:

καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἄμαν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπιγνῶναι ἡμέραν θανάτου αὐτῶν καὶ βαλεῖν αλήρους εἰς τὴν τρισκαιδεκάτην τοῦ μηνὸς Ἀδάρ Νισὰν, φονεύειν πάντας τοὺς Ιουδαίους ἀπὸ ἀρσενικοῦ ἔως θηλυκοῦ καὶ διαρπάζειν τὰ νήπια ...

Here again, the text is well reflected in the Oški Bible, including the duplication (vol. α , fol. 498rab):

da ševida hamani kerptā mista : r(ayt)amca kerptagan cna dŷē igi sikudilisa matisay da aymouqda çili meatcametësa dŷesa tuesa igrikisasa da vardobisasa : mosrvay q(ove)lla huriatay çulitg(a)n v(idr)e kalad-mde da qrmanı matni mimodałacebad. ‘And Haman went inside to his gods so that he might know from the gods the day of their death. And the lot was cast on the thirteenth day of (lit. in) the month of *igrika* and *vardoba*, to slaughter all Jews, from child to woman, and to pursue their children.’

According to the Septuagint text (again neatly rendered by the later Georgian version in S), the casting of the lot was undertaken in the first month, which would be *Nisan*, while *Adar* was the month when the order to commit the genocide was sent out:

καὶ ἐκλήθησαν οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ βασιλέως μηνὶ πρώτῳ τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ καὶ ἔγραψαν, ὃς ἐπέταξεν Ἄμαν, τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄρχοσιν κατὰ πᾶσαν χώραν ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, ταῖς ἐκατόν εἰκοσι ἑπτὰ χώραις, τοῖς τε ἄρχοντι τῶν ἑθνῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν λέξιν δι’ Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ ἀπεστάλη διὰ βιβλιαφόρων εἰς τὴν Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείαν ἀφανίσαι τὸ γένος τῶν Ιουδαίων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μηνὸς δωδεκάτου, ὅς ἐστιν Ἀδάρ, καὶ διαρπάσαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶν. amissa šemdgomad iqodnes mqignobarni mepisani ttvesa mas p̄irvelsa, meatsamelesa mas ttwsasa, da misçeres, vilar-igi ubrzana aman mepisa mier eristavla da mtavarla qovelsa sopelsa hindoetilgan vidre eliođamde, asocdašwdsma mas sopelsa mat silqwsaebr asvireosis mepis mier. da çaruzjvanes çignebi igi qelita maledmsrboltagan arlakseksisa sameposa ganr̄qvnad qoveli natesavi meatotxmelesa ttvesa adarisasa, romel ars igrika, da iavaris-qopad nađopla matta.

‘After this, the scribes of the king were summoned in the first month, on the thirteenth of the month, and they wrote as it had been ordered by Haman the king to the commanders and leaders, to all the land from India up to

Ethiopia, to the 127 provinces, in accordance with the word of Ahasuerus the king. And they sent off those letters by the hand of couriers through (lit. to) the kingdom of Artaxerxes, (ordering) to kill all the people on the fourteenth of (lit. in) the month of *Adar*, which is *igriķa*, and to destroy their offspring.'

Whereas both *igrik(is)a-* and *vardob(is)a-* are well established as correspondents of *Adar* and *Nisan*, the equation of *Adar* with *mi(h)-raķ(a)n(isa)*⁶¹ is much less evident but nevertheless demonstrable. It can be inferred from the date given for the accomplishment of the temple in the (apocryphal) book of Esdras Zorobabel, which according to the Septuagint was the 23rd of *Adar* (I Esr. 7.5); in the Bibles of Ošķi (O, vol. α, fol. 445va–b; cf. Fig. 9.12, Plate XXII), Jerusalem (ms. georg. 11 of the Greek Patriarchate = 'J', fol. 151vb), and Mxeta (S, fol. 301v), this statement is rendered in a slightly distorted form:

... συνετελέσθη ὁ οῖκος ὁ ἄγιος ἔως τρίτης καὶ εἰκάδος μηνὸς Αδαρ τοῦ ἔκτου ἔτους βασιλέως Δαρέου. ... aĝesrula tazari igi çmiday miraķnisasa meocesa mesamisa (< S) adar tlwsasa (tlwsa O, tlwsa adarisasa S), meekusesa çelsa (tluesa J; çelsa mas meekusesa S) šaravande<do>basa (< S) darehissa (dareh mepisasa S). '... the holy temple was accomplished on the twenty-third of *mi(h)raķan-*, of the month *Adar* (lit. on the twentieth of *miraķan*, of the third of the month *Adar* O; on the twentieth of *miraķan*, of the month of *Adar* S), in the sixth year (month J) of the reign of (<<< S) Dareius (+ the king S).'

In the Ošķi and Jerusalem Bibles, the same information is provided a second time, with some further distortion, in the next verse, in form of an explanatory gloss inserted into the main text (in red ink in O):

aĝesrula çmiday igi tazari tuesa mihraķnisasa (mehraķnis(a)s J) ocdaxutsa tlwsasa (tuesa J) da iquo šenebay misi ormeocdaekus çel ... 'The holy temple was accomplished in the month of *mihraķan*- (*mehraķan*- J), on the 25^(th) of (in J) the month, and its construction took (lit. was) 46 years ...'

In the parallel passage of the canonical book of Esdras, the Septuagint names the third of *Adar* (II Esr. 6.15). The correspond-

⁶¹ On the formation of Old Georgian names for months, cf. Gippert 1988, 94–95.

ing verse is missing in the Oški Bible⁶² but present in the Jerusalem (J, fol. 163vb) and Mcxeta Bibles as well as in A-570 (I) and H-646 (F); whereas the former renders the Greek text without any addition, the latter again add a gloss referring to the 23rd of *mihračan-*, obviously influenced by I Esr. 7.5:

*romelsa djesa sam (sami IF) ijo adar (adarisa S) ttwsay çelsa mas (< IF) meekusesa šaravandedobasa (šaravandedebasa J, šaravandobisa S) darehisasa, mihračnisa (mehračnisa J) ttuesa ocdasamsa (< J), ažesrula lažari igi (+ çmiday J) ‘On the day which was the 3^(rd) of the month (of S) Adar, in the sixth year in (of S) the reign of Dareh, in the month of *mihračan-* (mehračan- J) on the 23rd (<< J), the (+ holy J) temple was accomplished.’⁶³*

In contrast to the evidence provided by the books of Esdras, the equation of *mihračan-* with the biblical *Nisan* as the ‘first month’ (and the Greek *Xanthikos*) is also attested in a homily by Cyril of Jerusalem on the Resurrection.⁶⁴ Here, we have a clear reference to the Feast of Pascha again:

*mihračnisa mas tuesa moçevnitgan zapxuli arn; merme rametu amas tuesa ebraeler nisan saxel-edebis, romelsa-igi djesasçauli vnebisay mis ažesrulebis ... ‘In the month of *mihračan-*, from (its) beginning on, is springtime; then, as this month is named *Nisan* in Hebrew, in which the Feast of the Passion (Pascha) is accomplished ...’. Ξανθικοῦ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς ἐνεστῶτος, ἔαρ ἐστὶ λοιπόν. Οὐ δὲ καὶ δέ εἰστιν οὗτος, ὁ μὴν ὁ παρ’ Ἐβραίοις πρῶτος, ἐν φέτῃ ἐορτῇ τοῦ Πάσχα.*⁶⁵

9.4.1.3.2 In the Armenian Bible, the explicit equation of *areg* (the eighth month of the Armenian year) with *adar* = *Adar* is found, for example, in Esth. 2.16 and 11.2, and we find the same month identified with *nisan* = *Nisan* in Esth. 8.9.⁶⁶ For the other month names occurring in the Armenian versions of the chapter on the

⁶² In O, II Esr. 3.6–9.15 are missing, the text jumping directly from 3.5 to 10.1 on fol. 458ra.

⁶³ Cf. Gippert 1988, 106–7 for a discussion of these dates.

⁶⁴ The homily is contained in the homiliaries (*mravallavis*) of Sinai, Udarbo, and Klarjeti; for the passage in question, cf. Šaniže 1959, 159, 13–15; Šaniže et al. 1994, 226, 14–16; and Mgaloblišvili 1991, 238, 43.

⁶⁵ Greek text in PG 33, cols 836, 6 ff.

⁶⁶ Cf. Gippert 1988, 112–15 as to the Georgian and Armenian renderings of the dates occurring in the book of Esther.

phoenix, there is no such explicit equation available. However, the name of *kanxoc'* does appear several times in the Pentateuch, where it corresponds to the Greek μῆν τῶν νέων; of the six attestations,⁶⁷ it may suffice here to quote Ex. 23.15:

Ztawn bałarjakerác'n pahesjik', zewt'n awr bałarj kerijik', orpēs patowirec'i jez øst žamanaki amsoyn kanxoc'. zi 'i nma elēk' dowk' yerkrēn egiplac'woc' ... 'You shall keep the Feast of Unleavened Bread, for seven days you shall eat unleavened bread, as I commanded you in the time of the month *kanxoc'*, for in that (month) you came from the land of Egypt ...'. τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων φυλάξασθε ποιεῖν· ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας ἔδεσθε ἄζυμα, καθάπερ ἐνετείλαμην σοι, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μηνὸς τῶν νέων ἐν γάρ αὐτῷ ἔξηλθες ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.

The term *kanxoc'* can thus be safely established as corresponding to the 'month of the new (ears)', which was considered above to be the basis for the dating given in the phoenix legend. Consequently, the proposal by G. Muradyan that *kanxoc'* denoted a month that was 'previous' to the month *areg* in the given constellation⁶⁸ remains doubtful, even though the name *kanxoc'* can hardly be taken as a literal rendering of Greek νέων (in contrast to Georgian *axal-* 'new', which occurs throughout in the given biblical contexts), let alone 'ears' (Hebr. *hā-ābīb*) or 'flowers' (Syr. *d-habbāb*).⁶⁹

The two other month names occurring in the Armenian witnesses of the *Physiologus* alongside *areg*, namely, *k'atloc'* and *ahki*, are not attested in the biblical tradition, and it is indeed likely that the former replaced the rare *kanxoc'* as a *lectio facilior* as proposed by G. Muradyan.⁷⁰ In contrast to this month, *ahki* may be identified with *ahekani*, the name of the ninth month, and this name is indeed used twice in the Old Testament, in the second book of Maccabees (11.30 and 33) where it takes the place of the Greek *Xanthikos*, thus being a good candidate

⁶⁷ Ex. 13.4, 23.15, 34.18^{bis} and Dt. 16.1^{bis}; cf. n. 55 above.

⁶⁸ Cf. Muradyan 2005, 81, who erroneously states that 'the word *kanxoc'* is not attested elsewhere'.

⁶⁹ The latter designation may be responsible for the use of *quavilobisa*- 'flourishing' in Ex. 34.18 in the Georg. ms. H-1207 ('A'); cf. Gippert 1988, 118.

⁷⁰ Muradyan 2005, 81.

for identification with the biblical *Nisan* (and not just a scribe's emendation).⁷¹

In any case, the parallels adduced here show that equivalent month names were applied rather mechanically, on the basis of textual materials (biblical and beyond), and attempts to use such equivalents for calculating the date of a given translation should be treated with caution. If the given equivalents point to the fifth century as claimed by G. Muradyan,⁷² this may be true for establishing the (lexical) correspondences (as a *terminus a quo*) but not necessarily for their application in translational practice.

9.4.1.4 Even if we leave the month-name problem aside, the passage from the chapter on the phoenix yields, in the name of the city of Heliopolis, a clear proof that the Georgian version was based on the Armenian. In the Armenian text, the Greek name is not rendered as such but is instead translated as *Areg k'älak'* meaning 'City of the Sun', as does the name 'Heliopolis' itself. The Georgian translator, however, took the Armenian genitive *areg* 'of the sun'⁷³ to be the proper name of the city and put it in the adverbial case *areg-d* indicating the direction ('to *Areg*'), in apposition with *kalak-ad* 'to the city'.⁷⁴ An indication of an Armenian *Vorlage* is also visible in the use of the words *kurum-* for the '(pagan) priest', which reflects Arm. *k'owrm* (gen. *k'rmin*), and *bagin-* for the 'pagan altar', which equals its Armenian counterpart.⁷⁵ However, the exact model of the Georgian text must still have been different from the Armenian versions we have at hand because the Georgian text mentions the priest of Heliopolis only later in the passage, omitting several aspects of the account, including the filling of the altar with vine wood. See Table 9.3c for the passage in question.

⁷¹ Cf. Muradyan 2005, 82.

⁷² Muradyan 2005, 82; cf. Gippert 1988, 108–19 as to the general problems involved in datings of this type.

⁷³ Note that *areg*, gen. sg. of the word for 'sun', *arew*, is also the basis for the month name *areg* treated above ('(month) of the sun'); the coincidence here is accidental.

⁷⁴ Georg. *kalak-i* 'city' is etymologically identical with Arm. *k'älak'* 'city' but not necessarily borrowed from it; cf. Bielmeier 1985, 38–41.

⁷⁵ Arm. *k'owrm* is in turn a loanword from Syriac, while *bagin* has an Iranian etymology.

Sbordone 1936a, 25–26

(καὶ Η) κατὰ πεντακόσια
ἕτη εἰσέρχεται (ἔρχεται Η)
εἰς τὰ ξύλα τοῦ Λιβάνου,
Every five hundred years,
it comes to the trees of the
Lebanon

καὶ γεμίζει (γομοὶ Η) τὰς
πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ἀρωμάτων,
and fills its wings with
scents

καὶ σημαίνει τῷ ιερεῖ τῆς
Ἡλιούπόλεως
and gives notice to the
priest of Heliopolis

(+ ἐν Η) τῷ μηνὶ τῷ νέῳ
(τῶν νέων Η), τῷ (< Η)
Νησάν (νησώ Η) ἷ τῷ
(<< Η) Αδάρ (εαδαρεὶ Η),
τουτέστι τῷ (< Η) Φαμενῶθ
(φαμενῶθ Η) ἷ τῷ (<< Η)
Φαμενούθ.
in the new month (month
of the new Η), Nisan or
Adar, that is, Phamenoth or
Pharmouthi.

δὲ ιερεὺς σημανθεὶς
ἔρχεται
But the priest, having been
notified,
(εἰσέρχεται Η), καὶ ἐμπιπλῷ
τὸν βωμὸν ἀμπελίνων
ξύλων: (<<<< Η)⁷⁶
comes and fills the altar
with (pieces of) vine wood.

Muradyan 2005, 103

*Jst hinghariwr amin gay i
cařsn Libanawow*

Every 500th year, it comes
to the trees of the Lebanon

*ew lnow zerkosin t'ewsn iwr
xnkawk'.*
and fills its wings on both
(sides) with scents

*ew ert'ay azd ařnē k'rmīn
Areg k'alač'i*
and **comes** (and) gives
notice to the priest of the
city of the Sun

*i yamsean p'ayemodi kam i
parmodi, aysink'n areg kam
i kanxoc' [k'adoc', ahki]:*

in the month of *Phamenoth*
or (in) *Pharmouthi*, that
is, in areg or in kanxoc'
[k'adoc', ahki].

Ew k'owrm ibrew imanay,
And the (**pagan**) **priest**,
as he perceives (it),
młanē lnow zbaginn
orł'ap'aytiw.

goes (and) fills the
(**pagan**) **altar** with vine
wood.

**Gigineišvili/Giunašvili
1979, 179**

*mexutasil člit movidis xeta
libanisata*

With the 500th year, it
comes to the trees of the
Lebanon

*da ajivsnis prteni twsni
saķumevelīta.*
and fills its wings with
incense (sg.)

da movidis aregd kalakad
and **comes** to the city
Areg

*ttuesa mihraknisasa ginatu
vardobisasa*

in the month *mihraknisa* or
vardobisa.

da auçqis kurumsa mas

and it informs the (**pagan**)
priest
baginisasa

of the (**pagan**) altar.

⁷⁶ Manuscript 'Η' has a homoioteleuton here (εἰσέρχεται ... εἰσέρχεται). It is clear in this way that 'Η' was not the immediate Vorlage of Phys. Arm. α, which does not show the omission.

Sbordone 1936a, 25–26	Muradyan 2005, 103	Gigineišvili/Giunašvili 1979, 179
Tò δὲ πετεινὸν εἰσέρχεται (<<< Η) εἰς Ἡλιούπολιν ... But the bird comes (<<< Η) to Heliopolis ...	<i>mlanē hawn yareg k'alaak'</i> ... The bird goes to the city of the Sun...	<i>da çarvidis mprinveli igi aregd kalakad...</i> And the bird goes to the city Areg...

Table 9.3c: The phoenix coming to Heliopolis in Phys. Gr. I, Phys. Arm., and Phys. Georg.

9.4.2 The close relationship between the Georgian and the Armenian versions reveals itself in many other instances, including the very names of the animals (or plants) treated in the work. This is true, for example, of the sea turtle (no. 20, indicated as no. 18 in the Georgian version; Gk. ἀσπιδοχελώνη, no. 19 ‘Η’), which is named *va(ha)nakreay* in the Armenian and *vahanakray* in the Georgian text. Both the Armenian and the Georgian names are confined, as *hapax legomena*, to this chapter of the *Physiologus*. The Armenian term, however, has a solid lexical basis, either in *vahan* ‘shield’ (cf. German *Schild-kröte*) which occurs, for example, in I Reg. (I Sam.) 17.6 (vs. Georg. *par-i*, Gk. ἀσπίς), Is. 21.5 (Georg. *par-i*, Gk. θυρεός) and Sap.Sal. 5.20 (Georg. *torne-*, Gk. θώραξ [5.18]), or in the diminutive *vahanak*, denoting a ‘small shield’ or ‘shield-like ornament’ (Gk. ἀσπίδισκος), as in Ex. 28.13 (Georg. *par-is saxe-* ‘(with) the appearance of a shield’) or Ex. 39.17 (36.25 LXX; Georg. *aspiļak-*, built from Gk. ἀσπίδ- with the same diminutive suffix). It is therefore probable that Armenian *va(ha)nakreay* is authentic⁷⁷ while Georgian *vahanakra-y* is a mere transliteration of the Armenian; this probability is corroborated by the fact that the Georgian translator felt it necessary to gloss the word using *kuvi z̄gwsay*, ‘turtle of the sea’.

9.4.2.1 A different constellation is met with in the chapter on the peridexion tree (no. 30, indicated as no. 27 in the Georgian text; only partially preserved under no. 23 in ‘Η’). Here the subject of the treatise is introduced in both the Armenian and Georgian versions with its Greek name (Arm. *peredik'son*, Georg. *piri-*

⁷⁷ The question as to whether Arm. *vahan-* is in turn a loanword (from Iranian?) has no bearing on its relation to the Georgian term if the latter was taken over in translating the present text.

deksion, < Gk. περιδέξιον), both adding an explanatory gloss: or *t'argmani kšłapanak* ‘which is translated (as) *kšłapanak*’ / *romeli gamoitargmanebis kwšłobini xē* ‘which is translated (as) the *kwšłobini* tree’. The ‘translating’ terms are used once again in both versions, at the end of the chapter: ... *barwok' xawsec'aw baroya-xawsn vasn kšłapanak cañoyn* ‘... the Physiologus spoke well about the tree *kšłapanak*’ / ... *ketilad same tkua saxis-melquelmar kwšlob-nisa mistws* ‘... the Physiologus thus spoke well about the *kwšlob(i)-n-i*’. The rendering of Gk. περιδέξιον by Arm. *kšłapanak* occurs in biblical contexts, too, such as Ex. 35.22 and Num. 31.50; in these cases, however, it is not a tree that is meant but a ‘bracelet or arm bracelet’, a meaning that agrees well with the formation of the Greek term (‘around the right’ [scil. arm]). In the Georgian witnesses of Num. 31.50, we find autochthonous formations rendering Gk. περιδέξιον in this sense.⁷⁸ In the witnesses of Ex. 35.22, Gk. περιδέξιον is rendered by *sa-(v)ll-e-*, which in Num. 31.50 stands for Gk. ψέλιον ‘armlet’; to this word, mss. ‘A’ (H-1207 of the KKNCM) and ‘K’ (ms. 28 of the Kutaisi State Historical Museum) add, probably as a secondary gloss, an otherwise unknown *kbwšłaban-i*, which is likely to reflect the same term as the *kwšłobin-i* of the *Physiologus*. The variation visible in these attestations clearly shows that the word did not pertain to the lexical stock of the Old Georgian language but remained a foreign element, and that Arm. *kšłapanak-* was the word’s source. The phonetical and graphical problems involved in this assumption have been discussed in detail elsewhere, as has the question of an Iranian origin of the word;⁷⁹ the same is true for the question of whether the use of Gk. περιδέξιον (and the glosses ‘translating’ it) in denoting a tree was due to a faulty transmission of the Latin term *fraxinus* ‘ash-tree’ in an Egyptian (Alexandrian) environment.⁸⁰ For the Georgian *Physiologus*, it may suffice to say

⁷⁸ *sa-mkłav-e-* ‘armlet’, from *mkłav-i* ‘arm’, in the Mcxeta Bible (S); *sa-maržuen-e-* ‘pertaining to the right (arm)’, from *maržuen-e-* ‘right’, in the Gelati Bible (ms. A-1108 of the KKNCM, ‘G’); and *maržuen-il sac(u)mel-i* ‘to be worn at the right hand side’, in the redaction represented by manuscripts H-1207 of the KKNCM = ‘A’ and no. 28 of the Kutaisi State Historical Museum = ‘K’.

⁷⁹ Gippert 1993, 110–14.

⁸⁰ Gippert 1997, 170–73 with reference to Pliny the Elder.

here that *kwšlob(i)n-i* is another good candidate for an Armenian term taken over in translating the text.

9.4.2.2 Yet another constellation is found in the chapter on the beaver (no. 26, indicated as no. 23 in the Georgian text; no. 22 in ‘II’). Here again, both the Armenian and the Georgian versions first render the Greek term, with Arm. *kasd(o)rios* and Georg. *kasporios* clearly reflecting the adjective *καστόρ(ε)ιος*, not the underlying noun *κάστωρ*.⁸¹ Again, both the Armenian and the Georgian versions provide a gloss of the Greek term, using their respective autochthonous words, Arm. *kowlb* and Georg. *taqw*; the Georgian text further adds the attribute *qmelisa-y*, which means ‘of the dry (land)’. This addition clearly agrees with the addition *i c'amak'i* ‘on the land’ which we find in the witnesses of the Armenian recension ‘TR’ (now styled Phys. Arm. *α*:⁸² or *ē kowlb i c'amak'i* ‘which is the beaver on the land’, mss. M 2101, J 2531, M 532 and M 735, vs. simple *or t'argmani kowlb* ‘which is translated (as) *kowlb*’ in ms. M 2174);⁸³ the Armenian addition deserves to be taken seriously as a *lectio difficilior*, not only because it is matched by the Georgian text but also because of the enigmatic association it presupposes.⁸⁴ In the same chapter, there is one more indication of an Armenian source for the Georgian text, namely, in the rendering of the Greek term *καστόρ(ε)ιος* by *kasporios* with a *p̄* that can by no means be regarded as a usual substitute for a Greek *τ* in Georgian (which would instead be *t̄*) and which cannot be explained by a confusion of Georgian letters (cf. *Ρ = t̄* or *Ծ = d* vs. *Ւ = p̄*); starting from Arm. *kasdorios*, however, it can easily be explained as a misreading of *Պ = p* for *Դ = d* (vs. *Տ = t̄*), thus confirming the (remarkable) Armenian substitution of *d* for Greek *τ*.

⁸¹ The same assumption also holds for Ethiopic *qäṣṭoryos*; see Section 4.4 (Villa) with n. 19 above.

⁸² See Section 8.3 (Muradyan / Topchyan) above.

⁸³ Muradyan 2005, 130 with apparatus.

⁸⁴ The same attribute is found in the Georgian version of the homily on the *Hexaemeron* by Basil the Great, but for the hedgehog (*gržjabman qmelisman*, ch. 9; p. 127, l. 5 of the edition Abulaze 1964); the Greek text has *χερσαῖος ἐχῖνος* here (ch. 9, sect. 3, l. 46), the Armenian, *ozni c'amak'ayin* (ch. 9; p. 186, l. 35 of the edition Barsli 1830). The Georgian term is quoted in the chronicle of Queen Tamar by Basili Ezosmožguari (*gʒárabisalvis qmelisasa*; Qauxčišvili 1959, p. 133, l. 6).

9.4.2.3 An Armenian intermediary can also be presupposed for the name of the charadrius bird as it appears in the sixth chapter (indicated as no. 5) of the Georgian *Physiologus*, first in a ‘Greek’ style as *kalandros* and then with an adapted (consonantal) stem *kalandr-* (nom. *kalandr-i*, gen. *kalandr-isa*, dat. *kalandr-sa*, erg. *kalandr-man*). In contrast to most of the other chapters, this one is not introduced by an explicit quotation of, but by a mere reference to, a biblical passage: *romeli-igi meoresa šžulsa mosēssa iqseñebis* ‘which is mentioned in the (book of the) Second Law of Moses’, that is, Deuteronomy, where the charadrius is indeed listed among the birds that must not be eaten (Dt. 14.18). The Georgian witnesses to the fifth book of Moses do not show the form of the name that we read in the *Physiologus*; what we find instead is the forms *xaradrion-i* (in the Gelati Bible, ms. A-1108 of the KKNM) and *xardion-i* (in mss. ‘A’ and ‘K’ as well as the so-called Bakar Bible printed in Moscow in 1749 = ‘B’), both clearly reflecting the Greek (accusative) *χαράδριον*.⁸⁵ In the Armenian Bible, however, the bird is named *k'atadr*, a form that matches well those of the *Physiologus*, where we find *k'atadr* as well as *k'atatr*, *k'atardr*, *k'aradr*, *k'atdr*, and *k'atandr*;⁸⁶ it is obviously the last one of these that underlies the Georgian stem *kalandr-*. And even the ‘Greek’ extension is found in the Armenian text, in the form *k'atadros*, which appears in the introduction to the chapter in the mss. of Phys. Arm. α (M 2101, J 2531, M 532, M 735, and M 3657).⁸⁷ This treatment of the name *charadrius* proves again the close relationship of the Georgian version to the latter recension.

9.4.3 There are other instances, however, where the Georgian text does not agree with Phys. Arm. α . This is the case, for example, in the biblical quotation introducing the chapter on the sirens and onocentaur (no. 16, indicated as no. 14 in the Georgian text; no. 15 in ‘II’), a quotation which reflects Is. 13.21–22. In the Georgian text, the two biblical verses are rendered in the form *mun*

⁸⁵ The Mcxeta Bible has no equivalent for the *charadrius*; in the Oški and Jerusalem Bibles, the book of Deuteronomy is missing.

⁸⁶ *k'aradr*, *k'atard* and *k'arard* are also attested as variants in Dt. 14.18 (cf. Cox 1981, 137 with apparatus, who puts *k'aradr* into the main text). The parallel of Dt. 14.18 in the book of Leviticus (11.19) has the forms *k'arard* and *k'aradr*. The Georgian witnesses to Leviticus have no corresponding term.

⁸⁷ Muradyan 2005, 95 with apparatus.

zjws-kalni da devni rokviden da gržjabni daemkwdrnen ‘There, mermaids and demons will dance and hedgehogs will settle’, sharply differentiated from the text of the Oški Bible which reads *da mun ganisuenebden určxulni da ešmaķni rokviden mun. da virdevni mun daemkwdrnen, da gržjabta martuē isxnen saxlta šina mista...* ‘And there, dragons will rest and demons will dance, and onocentaur (lit. donkey-demons) will reside, and hedgehogs will keep (their) brood in their houses’. The manuscripts of Phys. Arm. α reduce the quotation to its first part: *And yowškapari(k)k’ bnakesc’en* ‘There, mermaids will reside’; in contrast to this curtailment on the part of Phys. Arm. α , it is the ‘separate family’ consisting of M 2174, M 5631, M 9303, M 5809 and M 4287⁸⁸ that provides a complete quotation here,⁸⁹ continuing with *ew dewk’ kak’awesc’en ew oznik’ jags hanc’en* ‘and demons will dance and hedgehogs will bring out offspring’. *In toto*, this quotation is much closer to the established biblical text, which reads *ew and hangic’en hambarowk’, ew and déwk’ kak’awesc’en. ew yowškaparik’ bnakesc’en i nma, ew oznik’ jágs hanc’en* ‘And there, sirens will settle and demons will dance and mermaids will reside and hedgehogs will bring out offspring’. Leaving aside the differences in wording, as well as the complex problem of the individual terms and the further relationship with Is. 34.11–14,⁹⁰ it must be stated that the preservation of the second part of the quotation is not a trivial coincidence joining the Georgian version with the ‘separate family’ of Armenian witnesses, given that the second part of the quotation contains a reference to the hedgehog, which is the animal treated in the next chapter of the *Physiologus* (Georg. *gržjab-i*, Arm. *ozni*). The quotation from Isaiah thus served a double purpose, introducing both the chapter on the sirens and that on the hedgehog, which had no introductory quotation of its own.⁹¹

9.4.3.1 A similar case is found in the chapter on the pelican, Georgian *varxw*, which is the seventh chapter in the Armenian and Georgian versions (indicated as no. 6 in the latter) and the

⁸⁸ Cf. Muradyan 2005, 9 as to this family.

⁸⁹ Cf. Muradyan 2005, 112–13 with apparatus.

⁹⁰ Cf. Gippert 1994, 70–76 as to these questions and Pakis 2010, 123–26 as to further reasoning.

⁹¹ Cf. Section 1.7 (Schneider) above as to chapter arrangements caused by common biblical contexts in the *Physiologus*.

sixth in ‘II’. Here it is only the Georgian text that provides a full biblical quotation: *vemsgavse me varxusa mas udabnoysasa da viqav me vitarca buvi nařamnevsə* ‘I have become similar to the pelican of the desert, and I have been like the owl in the ruin(s)’. This quotation closely follows its biblical model, Ps. 101.[102].7, with the only exception of the word for ‘ruin(s)’, which has the form *nařamalsa* in the Psalter (and all other quotations depending on it). All Armenian witnesses of the *Physiologus*, as well as many Greek ones, omit the second part of the quotation, reducing it to *nmanec’ay es hawalsan yanapati*⁹² ‘I have become similar to the pelican in the desert’ and thus leaving the following chapter, which is on the owl, without its biblical underpinning. The fact that the Georgian version agrees with Phys. Gr. I α (‘II’) in preserving the full quotation presupposes that an Armenian witness mediating between the two must have once existed.

9.4.3.2 The two cases just treated also shed some light on the inner arrangement of the *Physiologus* chapters. It is certainly not accidental that we have here sequences of two chapters each that are introduced by a common biblical quotation. In the case of the birds thematised in chs 6 (charadrius, ‘plover’) to 9 (eagle), appearing in this order not only in the Armenian and Georgian versions but also in the Greek and Latin traditions, it may be added that all of them are also mentioned in the Old Testament passages that deal with *trefe* birds, namely, Lev. 11.13–19 and Dt. 14.12–18, starting with the eagle and ending with the charadrius. The transmission of these passages in the various traditions is extremely complex and not without contradictions; this is especially true for the Georgian Old Testament recensions, which differ greatly among each other in many cases. For example, whereas the pelican (Gk. πελεκάν, Arm. *hawalowsn*) is unanimously represented by *varxw* in the Georgian tradition, Greek νυκτικόραξ is nowhere translated by *bu(v)-* as in the *Physiologus* but by *jamis qoran-i*, lit. ‘raven of the night’, *jamis mqmobar-i*, lit. ‘caller of the night’, or even (*mjāgamiob-i* ‘bat’ (Lev. 11.17 / Dt. 14.17). On the other hand, *bu(v)-* ‘owl’ does occur as the equivalent of Gk. γλαῦξ in Dt. 14.15 (in A and S, vs. the Greek borrowing *glavkos-i* in the Bible of Gelati, ‘G’), but not in Lev. 11.16, where we find the rare

⁹² Cf. Muradyan 2005, 97 with apparatus.

words *čka-i* (in ‘G’)⁹³ and *čahr-i* (in ‘O’, ‘A’, ‘K’, and ‘S’)⁹⁴ instead. In contrast to this Georgian diversity, the Armenian equivalent of γλαῦξ is *bow* in Lev. 11.16, as in the *Physiologus*, whereas the Armenian Bible has *p’or* ‘swan’ in Dt. 14.15. Georg. *bu(v)-* further appears, obviously added as a secondary gloss, alongside *jamis qoran-i* translating νυκτικόραξ in Lev. 11.17 in the Gelati Bible and in the compound *bu-kioł-i* ‘Tengmalm’s owl’ (quasi German *Eulen-Kauz*) besides simple *kioł-i*, seemingly corresponding to Gk. ἔρωδιός ‘heron’ in Lev. 11.19; the real correspondence will be with Gk. γλαῦξ instead, which is mentioned immediately before in Lev. 11.19. Finally, Georg. *orb-i* competes with *arçiv-i* in rendering Gk. ἀετός and Arm. *arcowi* ‘eagle’ in Lev. 11.13 and Dt. 14.12; in the Georgian *Physiologus*, *orb-i* does appear as the equivalent of ἀετός and *arcowi* in ch. 9, which is on the eagle,⁹⁵ but *orb-i* is also used in ch. 22 (unnumbered in the Georgian text), which is on the vulture (Gk. γύψ, Arm. *angl*, rendered by Georg. *sov-i* or *zarnas/šov-i* in Lev. 11.14 and by other terms in Dt. 14.13). The chaotic picture concerning the *trefe* birds in the Georgian tradition is summarised in Table 9.2 which contrasts the terms of up to five Georgian recensions with their Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Hebrew counterparts; many of the items still require further investigation.

9.4.4 Within the Georgian *Physiologus*, too, there are many riddles that need still be solved. They begin with the title of the very first chapter and the name of the animal treated in it, the sun lizard, which in Greek is called σαῦρα ἡλιαχή. In the Geor-

⁹³ Besides this, *čka-* appears once in the list of animals and birds contained in the *Description of the Kingdom of Georgia* by Prince Vakhusheti Batonishvili (eighteenth century; ed. Qauxčišvili 1973, 42, 16); the usual translation is ‘jackdaw’ (*coleus monedula*, cf. Rayfield 2006, 1671b).

⁹⁴ For *čahr-i*, no other attestations are known. The dictionaries give the meaning ‘seagull’ (Rayfield 2006, 1666a: ‘perhaps’, probably after Abulaze 1973, 556b with ‘*larus, garia*’), which may have been suggested by the next bird named in Lev. 11.16, Gk. λάρος (Arm. *oror*). If *čka-* and *čahr-i* stand for this, γλαῦξ has no equivalent in the Old Georgian versions here; however, in Deut. 14.15, λάρος is translated by *quav-i* ‘crow’ in A and S (vs. ‘Greek’ *laros-i* in G) so that the question must remain open.

⁹⁵ Georgian *arçiv-i* must be an early (Proto-)Armenian loanword, given that Arm. *arcowi* is inherited from Proto-Indo-European (cf. Old Ind. *r̥jipyá-*, Avest. *ərəzifiia-* ‘moving upwards’). In this light, it is astonishing that *orb-i* is used in the *Physiologus* instead.

gian title, *ars romeli içodebis msuen-i mzarisa-y* ‘there is (*scil.* an animal) which is called *msueni mzarisay*’, the term *msuen-i* is unproblematic as it is the general term denoting the ‘lizard’ (e.g., Lev. 11.30 for Gk. *σαῦρος* or Prov. 30.28 for Gk. *καλαβότης*); the attribute *mzar-isay*, however, is a *hapax legomenon*, in the form of a genitive presupposing a stem **mzar-i* or **mzar-e-* that does not exist elsewhere (for semantic reasons, the frequent word *mza-reul-i* ‘cook, butcher’ can be ruled out as a cognate). The proposal by N. Ja. Marr⁹⁶ to restore **mzuarisay* here, which would be the genitive of *mzuare-* (/ *mz-ovare-*) ‘sunny (place),⁹⁷ matches the context well but leaves open the question of how the distortion came about, since neither *u* (= *ow*) nor *ov* are prone to abbreviation or suspension. The Armenian text does not help here as it provides a *crux* in its own right, with the introduction exhibiting extreme variation; the phrase *ē inc'* or *koč'i mołēs garnay-noy* ‘there is a certain (*scil.* animal) which is called lizard of the spring time (?)’ of M 3457 is the closest to the Georgian text, at least syntactically. In the other witnesses, the relative clause depends on the (more or less distorted) name of the lizard (usually *mołiz* or *mołez*); Muradyan gives the following variants: *vasn młzi* or *koč'i arag noy* / *vasn moxezi* or *koč'i arang noy* / *vasn msoli* or *koč'i arangnoyn* / *vasn meławori* (‘sinner!’) or *koč'i aragny*. To cope with the unintelligible epithets occurring in these variants, N. Ja. Marr proposed one more emendation, in the form of the adjective *aregaknayin* ‘solar’; but why should this common word have been distorted to such an extent if the genitive *aregakan* ‘of the sun’ follows a few lines later without any variation? It would be more promising to think of an adjective *aregni* with gen. *aregn(w)oy* here, which would be derived directly from *areg* (gen.) ‘sun’ but seems only to have survived elsewhere in place names.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Marr 1904, 51.

⁹⁷ The word occurs, e.g., in *adgilta mat mzovareta* ‘to the sunny places’ in the Old Georgian version of St Basil’s *Hexaemeron* (Abulaze 1964, 102, 31), rendering Gk. *τὰ προσήλια τῶν χωρίων* (PG 29, col. 157C); the Armenian text has *əst jeñowc'aneloy aregakann* ‘with the heating of the sun’ (Barsli 1830, 149, 13).

⁹⁸ A mountain named *Aregni* is found near Kakavasar in the province of Shirak in northwest Armenia (N 40°54'10" E 44°02'35"), another one near Lusashogh in the province of Ararat (N 39°51'39.0" E 44°58'20.6"). A monastery named *Aregni vank'* once existed in Cilicia (cf. Thierry 1993, 57, no. 303).

9.4.4.1 The fourth chapter of the Armenian and Georgian versions (chapter number not indicated in the latter) is the only chapter that is devoted to an inorganic topic, namely, the ‘fire-darting stones’ (Gk. λίθοι πυροβόλοι). Whereas the term is well translated in the Armenian version, which reads *k'arink' hrahanac'*, that is, ‘stones of fire-bringers’, the Georgian text has the astonishing expression *kva-ni velta-ni*, which would literally mean something like ‘stones of the fields’, *vel-i* being the regular Georgian correspondent of Gk. ἀγρός as in Lc. 12.28, 15.25, or 17.7. Other correspondences do occur, for example, with Gk. (τόπος) πεδινός ‘level (place)’ in Lc. 6.17, but these do not help us to make sense of the Georgian expression. Instead we might suspect a formation such as (*da)mçuvel-i* ‘burning’ to be concealed here (*kva-ni *(da)mçuvel-ta-ni* ‘stones of the burners’, corresponding to the Arm. genitive *hrahanac'*), but this form is not attested anywhere else. The ‘fiery stones’ in the Bible (λίθοι πύρινοι, Ez. 28.14.16) are translated literally, as *kva-ni cecxl-isa-ni* ‘stones of fire’.

9.4.4.2 The most enigmatic information is contained in the chapter on the mongoose (no. 29, indicated as no. 26 in the Georgian text; no. 26 in Phys. Gr. I but missing in ‘II’). In both the Armenian and the Georgian versions, the object of the chapter is first introduced by its Greek name (ἰχνεύμων), rendered in a more or less adapted form (Arm. *ink'nimon*, Georg. *iknamon*). Both versions then give a translation of this foreign word in form of a relative clause (*or t'argmani / romeli itargmanebis* ‘which is translated’); in Armenian, the following equivalent is the word *hetahan*, which would mean something like ‘track-drawer’, obviously a calque of the Greek name (cf. ἵχνεύω ‘track out, hunt’). In contrast to this Armenian rendering, the equivalent in the Georgian text is anything but interpretable: *vikłol* is neither a Georgian formation nor discernible as a distortion of a loan word. The proposal by N. Ja. Marr to derive this from a hybrid Iranian-Armenian compound, with *vi-* representing Persian *pey* ‘foot’ and *-kłol*, the Armenian agent noun *gтол* ‘finder’ (from *gtnel* ‘find’),⁹⁹ may have been ingenious at the time but cannot be upheld in any way, there being no reason to believe the Persian word to have changed its initial stop *p-* into a voiced fricative *v-*, not to mention the chronological problems involved. The Syriac version does not help

⁹⁹ Marr 1904, 119–20.

here either: according to the edition by Tychsen (1795), it glosses the *'anglēmon* as well, with a word *nemsā*, which is otherwise attested only in an Arabic-Syriac dictionary where it glosses its Arabic cognate *nims*, the word denoting the mongoose;¹⁰⁰ however, the gloss is not present in the manuscript used by Tychsen (Vat. sir. 217, fol. 213v, l. 13), who is likely to have added it himself on the basis of the dictionary mentioned above.¹⁰¹ For the Georgian *Physiologus*, we must therefore once again assume a noteworthy distortion of the text, an assumption that is supported, in the same context, by the sentence immediately following the enigmatic *vikłol*,¹⁰² which reads *da didad mler ars igi* ‘and it is very (lit. greatly) hostile’; different from all other versions, it omits the information about who the enemy of the mongoose is, namely, the serpent (Gk. δράκων, Arm. *višap*).

9.4.4.3 In some cases, the Georgian version has preserved a foreign term in a more authentic form than the Armenian witnesses. This is true for the name of the antelope, which appears as *avtolopos* in chapter no. 3, a form that is much closer to Latin *autolops* (*Phys. Lat. y*) than to Arm. *t'olok'ay*, *t'ozřiay*, *at'olp'ołk'*, or *owt'olp'ok'r*.¹⁰³ Even the Greek versions deviate extremely in this case, with forms varying between ὕδρωψ (*Phys. Gr. I β*) and λυθεωψ (*Phys. Gr. I α*, ‘Π’); the closest form in the Greek tradition is that appearing in the chronicle by (Pseudo-)Eustathius, which has ἀνθόλωψ (see Section 2.5.2 Macé above). The agreement of the Georgian version with the Latin text and that of Eustathius is remarkable indeed, no matter what the origin of the otherwise unattested term may have been.

¹⁰⁰ de Lagarde 1879, 43, no. 75.

¹⁰¹ Information kindly provided by S. Aydin, personal communication (cf. Section 5.2 Aydin above). Tychsen himself (1795, 49 n. *) refers to ‘Casiri T. I. p. 319’, which means the first volume of M. Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis Sive Librorum omnium MSS quos Arabicè ab auctoribus magnam partem Arabo-Hispanis compositos Bibliotheca Cænobii Escurialensis complectitur, Recensio & Explanatio*, Matriti 1760; here, however, it is only the Arabic term (*nims*) that is treated (glossed by ‘Martes, vel Ichneumon’).

¹⁰² The assumption that *vikłol* might hide Lat. *victor* is disproved by the fact that in Georgian, the corresponding Latin name appears with *b-* throughout the first millennium (*bikło/ur*), *v-* appearing only in later times (mostly metaphorastic hagiographic texts).

¹⁰³ Cf. Muradyan 2005, 91 n. 81 for the distribution.

9.4.4.4 Similarities between the Georgian and the Armenian denominations of animals cannot always be taken as an indication of the former being an offshoot of the latter. In his list of ‘Words borrowed from Armenian in the Georgian text of the *Physiologus*’, N. Ja. Marr mentions, in the first place, the name of the panther, making Georg. *avazni* equivalent to Arm. *yovaz*.¹⁰⁴ As a matter of fact, the use of the two terms is nearly identical in the chapter in question (no. 19), which starts with a quotation of Hos. 5.14; in both the Armenian and Georgian versions, the πάνθηρ of the Greek text is first rendered as such, with Georg. *panpili* being remarkably distorted in comparison with Arm. *pant’er*,¹⁰⁵ then glossed by using *yovaz* and *avazni*. The passage runs as illustrated in Table 9.3d:

Sbordone 1936a, 60	Muradyan 2005, 118	Gigineišvili/Giunašvili 1979, 183
(16) Περὶ πάνθηρος. On the panther.		
Ο (ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Η) προφήτης προεφήτευσε καὶ εἶπεν. (But Η) the prophet prophesied and said:	Margarēn asē. The prophet said:	çinaysçarmetquelü çinaysçarmetquelebs: The prophet prophesies:
ἔγενόμην (+ ὡσεὶ λέων τῷ οἴκῳ ιούδᾳ καὶ Η) ως πάνθηρ τῷ (+ οἴκῳ Η) Εφραΐμ. 'I have become (+ like a lion for the house Juda and Η) like a panther for (+ the house Η) Ephraim.'	'Elic i na orpēs ařewcn tand Yowda, ew orpēs pant’er tand Ep’remi.' 'It will become like the lion of the house Iuda and like a panther of the house Ephrem.'	'upalo, lu vijo vitarca lomi saxlsa iudayssa da vitarca panpili saxlsa epremissa' 'Lord, if I were like a lion in the house of Iuda and like a panpili in the house of Ephrem'
	or ē yovaz. which is a yovaz.	da vijo vitarca avazni. and (if) I were like an avazni.

Table 9.3d: The Introduction to the panther chapter in Phys. Gr. I, Phys. Arm., and Phys. Georg.

¹⁰⁴ Marr 1904, XXXVI (‘Армянскія заимствованныя слова въ грузинскомъ текстѣ *Фisiologa*’).

¹⁰⁵ The distortion proves that the Greek word was unknown to the Georgian translator; it may have been influenced by the better known name of *Pamphyllia*, which occurs as *panpilia-* in the Georgian Bible (e.g., Act. 14.24).

In all three versions, the quotation from Hosea differs sharply from the established biblical text, where the lion is mentioned after the panther; whereas the Armenian Bible denotes the latter by *yawaz*, a form even closer to Georg. *avazni*, the Georgian text has a totally different word here, namely, *vepxi*:

διότι ἐγώ εἰμι ὡς πανθῆρ τῷ Εφραὶμ καὶ ὡς λέων τῷ οἰκῷ Ιουδᾶ·
 ‘for I am like a panther to Ephrem, and like a lion to the house
 of Juda’ / zi és em ibrew *yawaz* ‘i veray ep’remi, ew ibrew zarewc ‘i
 veray tann yowday ‘for I am like a *yawaz* over Ephrem, and like a
 lion over the house of Juda’ / rametu me var vitarca *vepxi saxlsa*
zeda epremissa da vitarca lomi saxlsa iudayssa ‘for I am like a *vepxi*
 over the house of Ephrem, and like a lion over the house of Juda’.

However, there is another passage in the book of Hosea where Georg. *vepxi* occurs side by side with a form that is close to the *avazni* of the *Physiologus*, namely, Hos. 13.7 where we read *avazani* in the oldest Old Testament codex available, the Oški-Bible of 978 CE (O, cf. Fig. 9.10).¹⁰⁶ Here, the word clearly stands for Greek πανθῆρ, matching Arm. *yovaz*, while *vepxi* represents Gk. πάρδαλις and Arm. *inc*, that is, the leopard:

da vikmne mat vitarca *avazani* da vitarca *vepxi* gzasa zeda asura-
 šlanellasa ‘And I will be for them like an *avazani* and like a *vepxi*
 on the road of the Assyrians’ / καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς ὡς πανθῆρ καὶ
 ὡς πάρδαλις κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἀσσυρίων ‘And I will be for them like
 a panther and like a leopard along the road of the Assyrians’ / ew
 es elic’ noc’ ibrew *zyovaz*, ew ibrew zinc ‘i čanaparhin asoreslaneaye‘
 ‘And I will be for them like a *yovaz* and like a leopard on the road
 of the Assyrians’.

The assumption that here, too, the Georgian word might depend on its Armenian counterpart, is disproven by the fact that the word occurs, with stem forms such as *avaz-* or *avaza-*, in many other Old Georgian texts that bear no indication of an Arme-

¹⁰⁶ In the Jerusalem Bible (‘J’, ms. Jer.georg. 11), the passage in question (fol. 1v) is heavily damaged, with only the *v-* of *vepxi* remaining. The question of how and when *vepxi*, later *vepxvi*, came to denote the tiger in Georgian must be left open here; it may suffice to say that in ancient sources, the Georgian term is always the equivalent of Gk. πάρδαλις and Arm. *inc*, while the tiger (Gk. τίγρις, Arm. *vagr*) is denoted by *vigri* (if not *avaz(a)-*, cf. below). Even the hero of the famous epic by Shota Rustaveli, the *Vepxistqenosani*, was most likely a knight clad in a leopard’s skin, not that of a tiger or a panther.

nian *Vorlage*. One example is the *Hexaemeron* by Basil the Great, translated into Georgian approximately in the ninth century and most probably from Arabic,¹⁰⁷ where *avaz(a)-* renders Gk. τίγρις ‘tiger’: *qeli datwsay mokle da štasumul šoris mqarta mista, da lomisay da avazisay egretve* ‘The neck of the bear is short and wedged between its shoulders, and that of the lion and the *avaz(a)-* as well’ / Βραχὺς καὶ τοῖς ὄμοις ἐνδεδυκώς δὲ τράχηλος τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ λέοντος δὲ, καὶ τίγριδος, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ‘Short and wedged between the shoulders is the neck of the bear, and (that) of the lion and the tiger and the others’;¹⁰⁸ the Armenian version of the text has the word *vagr* here: *Isk arj ew ařewc ew vagr t'iknelk' ew karčaparanoc'k' en, ew am(enayn) azgakic'k'* ‘The bear and the lion and the tiger are broad-shouldered and short-necked, and all of their kindred’.¹⁰⁹ The word *avaz(a)-* further abounds in the courtly literature of medieval Georgia, which was heavily influenced by Persian, and in many places it renders Pers. *yōz* (later *yūz*), the term denoting the domesticated cheetah used in hunting.¹¹⁰ This use of the term suggests that Arm. *yovaz* and Georg. *avaz-* are, like many other words, independent borrowings of the same Middle Iranian etymon which can be reconstructed in the form **yawaz-*, a form most exactly represented in the Arm. variant *yawaz* met with in the Bible; this derivation would also account for the loss of the word-initial *y-* in Georgian, which would not be justifiable in a borrowing from Armenian. The extension with an *-n-* in the

¹⁰⁷ Abulaže 1964, 20.

¹⁰⁸ Abulaže 1964, 131; PG 29, col. 200C.

¹⁰⁹ Barslı 1830, 193; the correspondence of Georg. *avaz-i* with Gk. τίγρις and Arm. *vagr* (vs. *vepx-i* ~ Gk. πάρδαλις and Arm. *inc*) is also found in Gregory of Nyssa’s treatise on the creation of man in the Šatberdi codex (ch. 7; Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 76, l. 22; Forbes 1855, 134C; Vardanyan 2008, 65).

¹¹⁰ e.g., in the so-called Visramiani, the twelfth-century prose translation of the Persian epic of Vīs and Rāmīn; cf., e.g., Gvaxaria / Todua 1962: 103, 17–20 ~ Todua / Gvaxaria 1970: 31, 9–11. The first use of Georg. *avaza-* in this sense is found in the commentary of the Gospel of John by John Chrysostom, translated into Georgian by Euthymius the Athonite in the late tenth century, where it replaces Gk. ἄρκτος ‘bear’ in a list of domesticated animals (Saržvelaze et al. 1993: 331, 10 ~ PG 59, col. 268D). Cf. Part II, 3.1.2 (Villa) below as to ‘cheetah’ being a possible meaning of the Ethiopic term used in the *Physiologus*.

forms *avazn-i* and *avaza-n-i* would then reflect an Iranian plural (**yawazān* > Pers. *yōzān*) denoting the animal as pertaining to a pack,¹¹¹ rather than the Armenian article appearing in the form *yovaz-n* in the text of the *Physiologus* as proposed by Marr.¹¹²

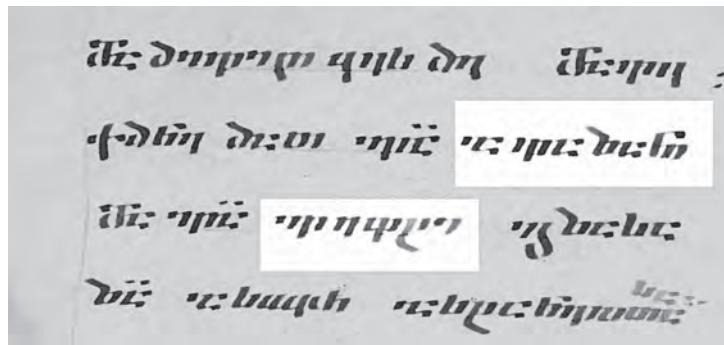


Fig. 9.10: Manuscript Athos, Ivir. georg. 1, vol. β, fol. 337r (excerpt showing Hos. 13.7) (courtesy of the Iviron Monastery, Mt Athos)

9.4.4.5 A peculiar question is raised by the name that the *Physiologus* himself bears in the Armenian and Georgian versions. Whereas Georgian *saxismelquel-i*, lit. ‘speaker’ (*me-lq̥u-el-i*) ‘of the appearance’ (*sax-is-*, gen.sg. of *saxe-* ‘face, vision, appearance’) can be regarded as a one-to-one rendering of Gk. φυσιο-λόγος (hence also the title of the text, *sax-isa si-lq̥u-a-y*, lit. ‘speaking of the appearance’ ~ Gk. φυσιο-λογία), Arm. *baroya-xaws* seems rather distinct from this correspondence if the Armenian rendering conveys a notion of morality as proposed elsewhere,¹¹³ especially if we relate it directly to Arm. *bari* ‘good’. However, the occurrences of the underlying noun *bark'* (*pl. tantum*) ‘custom, habit, manner’ in the *Physiologus* do not support this interpretation, given that the

¹¹¹ For a similar case of an Iranian plural form denoting a singular, cf. Gippert 1993, 38–39 as to *banovan-i* ‘lady, mistress’ < Pers. *bānuwān* ‘women, ladies’.

¹¹² Marr 1904, 93: ‘... грузинъ принялъ *n*, армянский опредѣлительный членъ, въ этомъ словѣ ... за часть основы и заимствовалъ его въ такомъ видѣ.’

¹¹³ Cf. Muradyan 2005, 4 n. 22, according to whom ‘the Armenian equivalent բարյախօս, composed of բար(p) “custom, habit” and խօս(իմ) “to speak”, stresses its moral aspect’.

noun *bark*^c is regularly used to translate Gk. φύσις in the sense of ‘natural property’,¹¹⁴ and the Georgian text has *saxe-* throughout in these cases.

9.5 The Georgian Version: Date, Place, and Milieu of its Emergence

The examples adduced above will have shown that the investigation of the Georgian *Physiologus* is still at its beginning. With its specific wording, its ubiquitous philological problems, and its peculiar relationship to the Armenian tradition, the Georgian version deserves a more thorough inspection than has been undertaken before. This inspection would include the question of the date, place, and milieu of its emergence, on which nothing reliable can be said so far. However, a few suggestions may be put together here.

First, it is clear that the writing down of the Šatberdi codex constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the emergence of the text. In this connection, it is important to observe that the part of Hippolytus’ *Chronicle* that is written by the hand of the main scribe of the codex, Iovane Beray, ends with a reference to Theodosius (III Adramytinos), who ruled from 715 to 717 (cf. 9.3.1 above); this reference suggests that the model of this text dated to the beginning of the eighth century. We must further consider the strange fact that the codex is divided into two parts, one in majuscule and one in minuscule, but was nevertheless written by one scribe, Iovane Beray, as his colophon (on fol. 285v) suggests:¹¹⁵

... me codvili da unarčevesi ḥovelta
moçesetay iovane berai ... ganvasrule
çmiday ese çigni kacisa mesakmē, da
meored – çigni lualtag da saxismetquel
da ipolię da kartlisa mokcevay da
cxorebag nełarisa mis da didebulisa
mgđellmožgurisay iałob nastibinelisay
da largmanebag zoglare psalmunla
davitistay mojuaceaþita da tanadgomita
dedis ȝmisa čemisa mikaelisa da ȝmisa
čemisa davitisita ...

‘... I, the sinful and most inferior
of all monks, Iovane Berai, ...
completed this holy book on the
Creation of Man, and second, the
book on the Gems and the *Physiologus*
and Hippolytus, and the *Conversion of*
Georgia and the Life of the blessed and
praised highpriest Jacob of Nisibis
and the Explanation of some Psalms
of Davit, with the care and support of
my mother’s brother Mikael and my
brother Davit ...’

¹¹⁴ e.g., in the chapter on the Lion in denoting the three ‘natures’ of the animal.

¹¹⁵ Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 424.

Why, then, did Iovane Beray¹¹⁶ change from majuscule to minuscule after the *Chronicle*? If the reason was not simply relaxation, it may be due to different models he copied, one in majuscule and the others, in minuscule.¹¹⁷ The assumption of different models is supported by their presumable contents: the part in majuscule comprises texts that are related to creation and subsequent ‘historical’ events,¹¹⁸ whereas that in minuscule mostly includes exegetical matter.¹¹⁹ If the model in majuscule ended with the mention of Theodosius III, then the date of 717 might be taken as a

¹¹⁶ The scribe is probably a nephew of Mikael Modrečili, the famous Georgian hymnographer of the tenth century, and the brother of a certain Davit who wrote the final colophon of ms. Athos, Ivir. georg. 9, a codex from Oški dated 977, and who styled himself a ‘sister’s son of the godly father Mikael Modrečili’ (fol. 377vb).

¹¹⁷ In their introduction (Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 18), the editors consider three different hands to be discernible in the codex, with Iovane Beray’s covering the majuscule part as well as fols 215v–248r, i.e., the *Conversion of Kartli*, in the minuscule part (plus the colophon on fol. 285v). This distinguishing of three hands, however, contradicts the colophon, according to which Iovane also ‘completed’ the works by Hippolytus (which cannot mean the *Chronicle* as this bears no reference to Hippolytus in the codex) as well as the *Life of St Jacob* and the *Commentary on the Psalms*; and Bakražé et al. in their catalogue (1961, 38–40) name Iovane Beray as the only scribe. For our purposes, the question is less important, since even with a change of the scribe, we may safely posit the existence of a peculiar model for the part in majuscule. The note added by Iovane Beray after the end of Gregory of Nyssa’s treatise on the nature of man, according to which this text was copied after a model (Georg. *deda* = ‘mother’) from Išxan (cf. Gigineišvili / Giunašvili 1979, 20), does not contradict the hypothesis of a peculiar model for the majuscule portion since the note does not refer to the other texts. For Greek Bible codices with a transition between majuscule and minuscule, cf. Rahlf 1898 and von Dobschütz 1899; Rahlf thinks of economy (‘daß die Unziale sich nach einiger Zeit als zu raumfressend herausstellte, und der Schreiber deshalb zu der viel sparsameren Minuskel übergang’: 1898, 108; reference kindly provided by Emmanuel Van Elverdinghe, e-mail to Caroline Macé of 26 April 2020).

¹¹⁸ Note that there are also manuscripts containing the Georgian chronicle *Kartlis Cxovreba* that are introduced by texts referring to the creation and biblical ‘chronology’; this is true, e.g., for the codex of Queen Mary (ms. S-30 of the KKNM, fifteenth century); cf. Gippert 2019, 186–89.

¹¹⁹ For the latter, it is probable that the three last texts (*Conversion*, *Jacob*, *Commentary*) were taken from different models than the assemblage of texts assigned to Hippolytus.

terminus ante quem for its emergence, including the translation of the *Physiologus* contained in it.

For the place and milieu in which the translation was undertaken, all this does not help. It is clear, after all, that the *Vorlage* must have been Armenian, but this is also true for some other texts contained in the Šaṭberdi codex, among them the commentary of Hippolytus on the Song of Songs included in the minuscule part, which is written in a very awkward style, suggesting that it was not even translated by a native speaker of Georgian.¹²⁰ As a matter of fact, the style of the Georgian *Physiologus* is not much better, including strange omissions such as that of the ‘enemy’ of the ichneumon (cf. 9.4.4.2 above). So we are left with the hypothesis of a milieu characterised by Armenian-Georgian bilingualism, which must have persisted in the Caucasus and adjacent regions even after the schism of the two churches at the third Council of Dvin (609–10).

9.6 The Impact of the *Physiologus* in the Georgian Written Tradition

If we except the late copies of the *Physiologus* in the seventeenth–nineteenth-century codices (cf. 9.3.3 above), the text seems to have had no impact in the Georgian written tradition, there being neither quotations nor allusions nor even a mention of the text in other literary sources;¹²¹ instances of the word *saxismetqveli* and the derived noun *saxismełqveleba* in modern literature simply refer to ‘physiologists’ and ‘physiology’ of any kind.¹²² The text seems even to have escaped the notice of Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani, the first lexicographer of the Georgian language, whose *Silqvis kona* (lit. ‘bunch of word(s)’), compiled by the end of the seventeenth

¹²⁰ Cf. Outtier 2017 on whether some texts of the Šaṭberdi codex might have been translated into Georgian by Armenian translators.

¹²¹ This statement includes the tradition of fables which, in contrast to Armenian, are primarily based on eastern (Indian, Persian) sources. The collection named *melis çigni* ('The Book of the Fox') is a late (eighteenth–nineteenth century) adaptation of the Armenian ‘Fables of Vardan’ (cf. Muradyan 2005, 77–78) and therefore outside of the scope of the present investigation.

¹²² Rayfield 2006, 1176 gives ‘countenance, facial expression’ and ‘metaphorical system’ as well as ‘fable, parable’ as an obsolete meaning for the abstract noun and ‘naturalist, physiologist’ for the underlying formation.

century, is an immense treasure of rare and obsolete words.¹²³ As a matter of fact, none of the problematic terms treated above (*vahanakra-* ‘sea turtle’, *kasłorios* / *kasdorios* / *kasporios* ‘beaver’, *kalandr-i* ‘charadrius’, *msuen-i mzar-isa-y* ‘sun lizard’, or *vikłol* ‘ichneumon’) is contained in Saba’s work.¹²⁴ It is all the more astonishing, then, that we do find a lemma *pír(i)deksion-i* in the dictionary, with the explanation *kušłobanis xe, indoets aris* ‘tree of *kušłoban-i*, exists in India’; in some manuscripts of the dictionary, we even read *xe ese xea indoets, romeli gamoiltargmanebis kušłobanis xe* ‘this tree is a tree in India, which is translated tree of *kušłoban-i*';¹²⁵ a wording that looks like a direct quotation from the *Physiologus*. Conversely, there is also a lemma *kušłobanis xe*, which simply refers back to (*xe*) *pírideksion*, that is, the ‘tree *pírideksion*'.¹²⁶ For these entries, however, the Śaṭberdi codex cannot have been the immediate source, since it has the odd spelling *kwšłobin-i* (see 9.4.2.1 above); in contrast to this peculiarity, Saba’s *kušłoban-i* is much closer to the Arm. *kštapanak* and the biblical **kušłaban-i* ‘armlet’, which also appears in the dictionary as a lemma in its own right.¹²⁷ Saba’s dictionary may thus witness to a second manuscript containing the Georgian *Physiologus*, if only partial, that may once have existed.

¹²³ Cf. Gippert 2016b, 22–25 for an account of Saba’s work, which also contains several ‘ghost words’.

¹²⁴ A lemma *kasłor-i* does appear, but it denotes a ‘precious cover’ (*zvirpasi gardasaparebeli*) for jewellery or the like (Abulaze 1965, 360).

¹²⁵ Abulaze 1965, 626 s.v. *pírdeksion* (with further variants).

¹²⁶ Abulaze 1965, 404 (with further variants).

¹²⁷ Abulaze 1965, 404 with reference to Ex. 35.23 and explanations such as *qelisa da gulis jili* ‘button of the neck or breast’.

Appendix

Real number	Indicated number	Georgian name ¹²⁸	English	Real number	Indicated number	Georgian name	English
1	1.	<i>msueni mzarisay*</i>	sun lizard	18	16.	<i>meli</i>	fox
2	2.	<i>lomi</i>	lion	19	17.	<i>avazni</i>	panther
3	3.	<i>avtolopos</i>	antelope	20	18.	<i>vahana kray*</i> = <i>kuvit zjwsay</i>	sea turtle
4		<i>kvani veltani*</i>	firestones	21	19.	<i>kağabi</i>	partridge
5	4.	<i>xerxi</i>	saw-fish	22		<i>orbi*</i>	vulture
6	5.	<i>kalandros*</i>	charadrius	23	20.	<i>lom-žinčveli</i>	ant-lion
7	6.	<i>varxw</i>	pelican	24	21.	<i>vrcini</i>	polecat
8	7.	<i>buvit*</i>	owl	25	22.	<i>marłorkay</i>	unicorn
9	8.	<i>orbit*</i>	eagle	26	23.	<i>kasporios*</i> = <i>taqw qmelisay</i>	beaver
10	9.	<i>piniksi</i>	phoenix	27	24.	<i>aptari</i>	hyaena
11	10.	<i>opopi</i>	hoopoe	28	25.	<i>mçav-žagili</i> (?)	otter
12	11.	<i>kanžari</i>	onager	29	26.	<i>iknamon / vikłol*</i>	mongoose (ichneumon)
13	12.	<i>aspiți</i>	viper	30	27.	<i>piridekson /</i> <i>kwšlobini*</i> <i>xē</i>	peridexion tree
14		<i>gueli</i>	serpent	31	28.	<i>qoranı</i>	raven
15	13.	<i>žinčueli</i>	ant	32	29.	<i>guriți</i>	turtle dove
16	14.	<i>zjws-kali</i> (!)	siren	33	30.	<i>mercxali</i>	swallow
17	15.	<i>gržgabi</i>	hedgehog	34		<i>iremi</i>	deer

Table 9.1: The 34 chapters of the Georgian Physiologus.

¹²⁸ Names marked with an asterisk or an exclamation mark are discussed above.

Lev. 11, 13–19

	Hebr.	Syr.	Arm.	Gr.	G	O	AK	S	B
13	ha-nnešer ha-peres hā-‘āzaniyāh	nešrā daytā	arcowi paskowē getarcowi	ἀετός γρύψ ἀλυσίτος	arçivi zeray qanči	orbi qanči zəri	qanvi zəri	qanvi zəri	qanči zarnašovi
14	ha-dā‘āh hā-‘ayyāh		angl c'in	γύψ ἰντίν	sovi zerkori				
15	<i>ləmīnāhh</i> ‘orēb	na'bā	<i>nman</i> agīaw	ὅμοια κέραξ	<i>msgavsi</i> qoranī				
16	<i>ləmīnō</i> baṭ	<i>bgnsyhwn</i> na'āmā	<i>nman</i> jayleamn	ὅμοια στρουθός	<i>msgavsnī</i> siri	<i>msgavsi</i> seri	siri		
	ha-yya‘ānāh ha-tahəmās ha-ṣṣāḥāp ha-nnēš		bow oror neşā	γλαῦξ λάρπος	ćkai	ćahri			
	<i>ləmīnēhū</i>	<i>lgnsyhwn</i>	<i>nman</i>	ὅμοια		<i>msgavsi</i>	<i>mseavni/</i>	<i>msgavsi</i>	<i>mgzavsi</i>
			bazē	ἰέραξ	kori				
			<i>nman</i>	ὅμοια	<i>msgavsnī</i>	<i>msgavsi</i>			
17	ha-kōs	‘ūdā	hawapatir	νυκτικέραξ	ğamis qoranī buy	ğamis qoranī buy	ğamis mqmobari		
	ha-ṣṣālāk ha-yyanəšūp	śalēnwanē qapūpā	hołamał k'ajahaw	καταρράκτης ἴβις	miminoy zenzeruki	miminoy zenzeruki	minino<y> zenzeruki	mimino zenzeruki	
18	ha-tinəšemeł	kūkbay	soxak	πορφυρίων		dedamtrvali		dedamt-vrali	

18/19	ha-qqā‘āt hā-rāḥām	qāqā šraraqā	hawalowsn karap'	πελεκᾶν κύκνος	varxw ķwkinoy	mğrinavi			
19	ha-hásidāh hā-‘ānāpāh	ħurbā anpā		γλαῦξ ἐρωδιὸς	erodioy ķioṭi	ṭivquavi bukioṭi	ṭivqovi ķioṭi	ṭivquavi bukioṭi	ṭivquavi čilqavvi
	<i>ləmīnāhh</i>	<i>lgnsyhwn</i>	<i>nman</i>	ὅμοια	<i>msgavsnī</i>	<i>msgavsi</i>			
	ha-dūkīpāt	tarnā gūlābarā	yopop	ἔποψ		opopi			
	hā-‘āṭallēp	ṭawsā	ć'iłj	νυκτερίς	mğamiobi	mğami	mğamiobi		

Table 9.2: *Trefe* birds in Lev. 11.13–19 and Dt. 14.12–18 in the Georgian OT recensions G, O, AK, S, B in comparison with the Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Hebrew equivalents.

Deut. 14, 12–18

N°	Phys. Georg.	N° Phys. Arm.	N° Iα	N° I	Phys. Gr.	N°	Phys. Lat. y
1	<i>msueni mzarisay</i>	1 <i>molēs</i>	(1)	2	σαύρα ἡλιακή	49	<i>saura eliae hoc est anguilla solis</i>
2	<i>lomi</i>	2 <i>ařiwc</i>	(2)	1	λέων	1	<i>leo</i>
3a	<i>avtolopos</i>	3 <i>awt'olop'os</i>	(3a)	36	Ὥδρωψ	2	<i>autolops</i>
3b	<i>kvani veltani</i>	4 <i>k'arink^c hrahanac^c</i>	(3b)	37	πυρόθοιλοι λίθοι	3	<i>piroboli lapides</i>
4	<i>xerxi</i>	5 <i>slōc^c</i>	4	39	χῆτος καλούμενον πρίων	4	<i>serra marina</i>
5	<i>kalandros</i>	6 <i>k'aladr</i>	5	3	χαραδρίος	5	<i>charadrius</i>
6	<i>varxw</i>	7 <i>hawalowsn</i>	6	4	πελεκάνος	6	<i>pelicanus</i>
7	<i>buvī</i>	8 <i>bow</i>	7	5	νυκτικόραξ	7	<i>nycticorax</i>
8	<i>orbi</i>	9 <i>arcowi</i>	8	6	ἀετός	8	<i>aquila</i>
9	<i>piniksi</i>	10 <i>p'iwnik</i>	9	7	φοῖνιξ πετεινόν	9	<i>phenix</i>
10	<i>opopi</i>	11 <i>yopop</i>	10	8	ἔποψ πετεινόν	10	<i>epops</i>
11	<i>kanžari</i>	12 <i>c'iř</i>	11	9	ὄνκυρος	11	<i>onager</i>
12a	<i>aspíli</i>	13 <i>iž</i>	12	10	ἐχιδνα	12	<i>vipera</i>
12b	<i>gueli</i>	14 <i>awc</i>	13	11	ὄφις	13	<i>serpens</i>
13	<i>žinčueli</i>	15 <i>mrjimn</i>	14	12	μύρμηξ	14	<i>formica</i>
14	<i>zjws-kali</i>	16 <i>yowškaparikk^c</i> <i>ew išac'owlk^c</i>	15	13	σειρῆνες καιὸνκοκένταυροι	15	<i>syrena et onocentaurus</i>
15	<i>gržgabi</i>	17 <i>ozni</i>	16	14	ἐχῖνος	16	<i>herinacius</i>
16	<i>meli</i>	18 <i>alowēs</i>	17	15	ἀλώπηξ	18	<i>vulpis</i>
17	<i>avazni</i>	19 <i>pant'ér / yovaz</i>	18	16	πανθήρ	29	<i>panther</i>
18	<i>vahanačray / kuví zjwsay</i>	20 <i>vahanakreay</i>	19	17	ἀσπιδοχελώνη	30	<i>cetus id est aspisceleon</i>
19a	<i>kakabi</i>	21 <i>karaw</i>	20	18	πέρδιξ	31	<i>perdrix</i>
19b	<i>orbi</i>	22 <i>angl</i>	21	19	γύψ	32	<i>vultur</i>
20	<i>lom-žinčveli</i>	23 <i>mrjnařiwc</i>	31	20	μυρμηκολέων	33	<i>mirmicoleon</i>
21	<i>vrcini</i>	24 <i>ak'is</i>	32	21	γαλῆ	34	<i>mustela et aspis</i>
22	<i>marłorkay</i>	25 <i>mielžiwr</i>	33	22	μονόκερως	35	<i>monoceras</i>
23	<i>ķasporios / taqw qmelisay</i>	26 <i>kasdorios / kowlb c'amak'i</i>	22	23	κάστωρ	36	<i>castor</i>
24	<i>aptari</i>	27 <i>boreni</i>	23a	24	Ὥαινα	37	<i>hyena hoc est belua</i>
25	<i>mçav-zağlı</i>	28 <i>šnjri</i>		25	ζῷον ἔνυδρος	38	<i>niluus</i>
26	<i>iknamon / vikłtol</i>	29 <i>ink'ninon / helahan</i>		26	ἰχνεύμων	39	<i>echinemnon</i>
27	<i>pirideksion / kwšłobini xē</i>	30 <i>peridek'sion / kšłapanak</i>	23b	34	δένδρον περιδέξιον	19	<i>arbor peredixion</i>
28	<i>qoranı</i>	31 <i>agřaw</i>	24	27	κορώνη	40	<i>cornicola</i>
29	<i>guriči</i>	32 <i>tatrank</i>	25	28	τρυγῶν	41	<i>turtur</i>
30a	<i>mercxali</i>	33 <i>ciceřn</i>	26	33	χελιδών	42	<i>hyrundo</i>
30b	<i>iremi</i>	34 <i>eljerow</i>	27	30	ἐλαφος	43	<i>cervus</i>
		35 <i>ař</i>					
		36 <i>žrahaw</i>					
		37 <i>metow</i>					

Table 9.4: The chapters of **Phys. Georg.** contrasted with Phys. Arm., Phys. Gr I α and I,¹²⁹ and Phys. Lat. y.

¹²⁹ Phys. Gr. I is the text of the first recension as edited by Sbördone (1936a), Phys. Gr. I α the redaction represented, among others, by 'II' (see 2.3.2 Macé above). Minor divergences in the sequence and numbering of the chapters are indicated by numbers in italics, major divergences, by numbers in bold.

1.9 Georgian (Jost Gippert)

1.9.1 *Ratio edendi*

The edition is based on digital images of the relevant pages of the Šatberdi codex (Š, f. 108v for the pelican and f. 112v–113r for the panther), which were kindly provided by the Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi. The Batumi manuscript (Bt, f. 47v–48r and 52rv) was collated on the basis of digital images kindly provided by Ramaz Khalvashi, Batumi. The text follows Š throughout; variants are only noted where that manuscript is doubtful. Square brackets indicate barely readable passages.

1.9.2 Orthography and punctuation

The spelling found in Š has been left unaltered, except for the general substitution of the original *asomtavruli* majuscule by the modern *mkhedruli* script (including the replacement of the digraph Օ.Վ by Ջ), the resolution of suspensions, the insertion of hyphens indicating compounds, and a few orthographic amendments (indicated in the notes). The punctuation has been adapted to modern usage.

1.9.3 Biblical text of reference

Passages from the Old Testament are quoted from the edition *Biblia. 3veli ağtkma. I-II.* Tbilisi: Қorneli Қekelizis saxelobis Sakartvelos xelnaçerta erovnuli centri, 2017. Passages from the Gospels are quoted from the edition by Akaķi Šaniže, *Kartuli oxtavis ori 3veli redakcia sami šatberduli xelnaçeris mixedvit*, Tbilisi: Sak. SSR Mecnierebata Akademii gamomcemloba, 1945; passages from the Pauline Epistles, from the edition by Ketevan 3oçenize and Қorneli Danelia, *Pavles epistoleta kartuli versiebi*, Tbilisi: Tbilisis Universitetis gamomcemloba, 1974. *Sigla* for individual witnesses to the biblical text are quoted as used in the editions. Quotations from the Oshki Bible (Old Testament, ‘O’; Athos, Iviron, georg. 1) were verified *in situ* with the original manuscript, quotations from the Jerusalem Bible (Old Testament, ‘J’; Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, georg. 7 and 11) with digital images of microfilms provided by the Library of Congress (<https://www.loc.gov/item/00271072338-jo/> and <https://www.loc.gov/item/00271072296-jo/>). Quotations from the Paris lectionary (‘P’; Paris, BnF, géorg. 3) are quoted from the edition by Қorneli Danelia *et al.*, *Kartuli lekcionaris parizuli xelnaçeri*, I.1, Tbilisi: Tbilisis Universitetis gamomcemloba, 1987 and were verified with digital images provided by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531293546.pdf>).

1.9.4 *Conspectus siglorum*

Primary witness

Š Tbilisi, KKNCM, S-1141

Secondary witnesses

Bt Batumi, Khariton Akhvlediani State Museum, 75

GiGi Gigineišvili/Giunašvili 1979, 178 (pelican) and 183–184 (panther).

Marr Marr 1904, 9 (pelican) and 24–25 (panther).

Sas.poez. Ingoroqva 1913 (referred to by page and verse number).

Arm edition of Phys. Arm. α by Gohar Muradyan and Aram Topchyan

2.2.5 Phys. Georg.

3

- [1.] კეთილად თქუა დავითმან: ვემსგავსე მე ვარხუსა მას
უდაბნოდესასა და ვიყავ მე ვითარცა ბუვი ნატამნევსა.
- [2.] სახის-მეტყულმან თქუა ვარხვსა მფრინველისათვს,
5 ვითარმედ ჯეკმა მართვს მოყუარე არს. [3.] რაჟამს მართუენი
გამოიგაღნის და კნინ აღორძნდიან, <***> [4.] დათრგუნნიან და
მოკლნიან მართუენი თვსნი. [5.] და უკუანასკნელ სიყუარულითა
იგლოვდიან. მესამესა დღესა ინანიედ, თუ რავსა მოვწყვდენით
მართუენი თვსნი. [6.] დღესა მესამესა მოვიდის დედამ მათი,
10 განუპნის გუერდნი იგი მათნი [7.] და სისხლი იგი მათი, რომელი
გარდამოსწუთინ ზედა მკუდარსა მას ჭორცსა მართუეთა თვსთასა,
აღადგინნის იგინი მკუდრეთით.
- [8.] ეგრე-ცა უფალმან ომერთმან თქუა პირითა ესაია წინააღ-
წარმეტყულისამთა: შვილ ვისხენ და აღვიზარდენ, და მათ მე

2/3 Ps. 101.7

14/15 Is. 1.2

1 ვ] ზ (7) corr. **Marr GiGi** 3 და-ნატამნევსა] deest **Arm** 4
მფრინველისათვს] deest **Arm Gr-α**, sed vide **Arm^{app.}** 5 მოყუარე]
მოყუარწ შ 6 *** lacunam suspicatus sum, cf. **Arm** (§ 3) 6/7
დათრგუნნიან-თვსნი] ‘And they peck and kill them’ **Arm** 10 მათნი]
‘her own’ **Arm Gr-α** მათი] ‘her own’ **Gr-α**, deest **Arm** რომელი]
deest **Arm Gr-α**, sed vide **Arm^{app.}** 11 თვსთასა] deest **Arm Gr-α** 13
ღმერთმან] deest **Arm Gr-α** 14/13 წინააღწარმეტყულისამთა] deest
Arm Gr-α, sed vide **Arm^{app.}**

[1.] Nicely did David say: ‘*I have become like the pelican in the desert and I have been like the owl in the ruins*’.¹

[2.] The Physiologus said about the pelican bird² that it loves [its] nestling[s] very much. When it hatches nestlings and they grow a bit, <***>³ [4.] they crush them underfoot and kill their nestlings. [5.] And eventually they mourn (for them) out of love. On the third day they regret: ‘Why did we kill [our] own nestlings?’ [6.] On the third day, their mother comes, splits their flanks,⁴ [7.] and their blood,⁵ which drips⁶ over the dead body of her own nestlings,⁷ resurrects them from the dead.

[8.] Thus God⁸ [our] Lord, too, said by the mouth of Isaiah the Prophet:⁹ ‘*I begat and brought up¹⁰ offspring, and they disregarded*

¹ ნატამნევ- ('ruin') is a hapax in Ș; in Ps. 101 etc., one reads ნატამალ-.

² The word ‘bird’ is found in several mss of **Phys. Arm.**.

³ The whole § 3 is missing in **Phys. Georg.**

⁴ In **Phys. Gr. α** (and therefore also in **Phys. Arm.**) the mother splits her own side.

⁵ **Phys. Gr. α** has ‘her own blood’, **Phys. Arm.** ‘blood’ (without determination).

⁶ The relative pronoun is not found in **Phys. Gr. α**, but some Armenian mss have it. About the verb გարდაմოსწუտინ ‘drips’ cf. Prov. 5.3 (S): տագլո ցարդամոսწუտին ծացյա ցեզակացօնա թշքասատա ‘Honey drips from the lips of a prostitute woman’; Sas.poez. 267, 255-256: յրօնէրը ցարդամոսწոշաւել թոշետնօ նօսելոնա լա հյոլոսանօ ‘Christ, the drops of blood and water dripped’.

⁷ ‘Her own’ is not found in **Phys. Gr. α** (and therefore not in **Phys. Arm.**).

⁸ ‘God’ is not found in **Phys. Gr. α** (and therefore not in **Phys. Arm.**).

⁹ ‘The Prophet’ is found in some Armenian mss too.

¹⁰ Compared with the Georgian text of Is. 1.2, the form of the second verb (აღვიზარდენ ‘we brought up’) corresponds to P and less exactly to O (აღვზარდენ), vs. აღვამაღლენ (‘we exalted’) in S.

- 15 შეურაცხ-მყვეს. [9.] შემოქმედმან გვცნნა ჩუენ და ჩუენ შეურაცხ-ვყავთ იგი. [10.] რათა უკუე შეურაცხ-ვყავთ? [11.] რამეთუ თავყუანის-ვსცემდით დაბადებულთა და არა დამბადებულსა. [12.] მოვიდა და აღვდა სიმაღლესა ჯუარისასა და ლახურითა წყლეს გუერდი მისი; და დააწთო სისხლი და წყალი მჟსნელი საუკუნო. [13.] სისხლი იგი, რომელ თქუა: მოიღო სასუმელი და ჰმადლობდა. [14.] და წყალი იგი – ნათლის-ღებად მჟსნელად მონანულთა.
- [15.] უკუე კეთილად სამე თქუა სახის-მეტყუელმან ვარხვსა მფრინველისად.

15 შემოქმედმან–ჩუენ¹ cf. Gal. 4.9 **17** Rom. 1.25 **18/19**
ლახურითა–მისი cf. Joh. 19.34 **20** Mt. 26.27; Mc. 14.23; Lc. 22.17

15 გვცნნა] გვპსხნნა ('begat us') corr. **Marr GiGi** sed cf. გიცნნა თქუენ
ღმერთმან 'God recognised you' Gal. 4.9 **შეურაცხ-ვყავთ**] 'struck' **Arm**
Gr-α **16** რათა–შეურაცხ-ვყავთ] deest **Arm** et codd. graec., sed habet
Lat-y შეურაცხ-ვყავთ] 'struck' **Lat-y** **18** ლახურითა] deest **Arm**
Gr-α წყლეს] 'he opened' **Arm** **Gr-α** **19** მჟსნელი საუკუნო] 'for
salvation and eternal life' **Arm** **Gr-α**, sed vide **Arm**^{app.} **21** მჟსნელად
მონანულთა] 'of repentance' **Arm** **Gr-α** **22** სამე] სამშ **Š** **23**
მფრინველისად] deest **Arm** **Gr-α**

me'.¹¹ [9.] The Creator begat us and we disregarded Him.¹² [10.] Why now did we disregard Him?¹³ [11.] Because *we worshipped¹⁴ the creature rather than the Creator.* [12.] He came and mounted up the height of the cross, and with a spear they wounded¹⁵ His flank; and He poured blood and water redeeming for eternity,¹⁶ [13.] the blood which He (meant when He) said: '*He took a cup and gave thanks*', [14.] and the water – baptism to redeem the penitent.¹⁷

[15.] Something nicely now did the Physiologus say of the pelican bird.¹⁸

¹¹ მე შეურაცხ-მყვეს ‘they disregarded me’: cf. Is. 1.2 შეურაცხ-მყვეს მე OS (inversion), om. მე (‘me’) P

¹² Instead of ‘we disregarded Him’, **Phys. Gr. α** and **Arm.** have ‘we struck Him’. The Georgian translator obviously adapted the text to the biblical quotation just above.

¹³ This rhetorical question is not found in **Phys. Arm.**, nor in the mss of **Phys. Gr. α**, but is present in **Phys. Lat. y**, which has ‘we struck’ (*percussimus*), without object.

¹⁴ ‘We worshipped’ თავყუანის-ვსცემდით: ჰმსახურებდეს (‘they served’) Bibl.

¹⁵ Instead of ‘with a spear they wounded’ (cf. Joh. 19.34), **Phys. Gr. α** and **Arm.** have ‘he opened’.

¹⁶ Instead of ‘redeeming for eternity’, **Phys. Gr. α** and **Arm.** have ‘for salvation and eternal life’; some Armenian mss have something that might be closer to **Phys. Georg.**

¹⁷ Instead of ‘baptism to redeem the penitent’, **Phys. Gr. α** has ‘because of the baptism of repentance’, and **Phys. Arm.** ‘for the baptism for the remission of repentance’.

¹⁸ ‘Bird’ is absent from **Phys. Gr. α** and **Arm.**

3.2.5 Phys. Georg.

იზ

- [1.] წინავსწარმეტყუელი წინავსწარმეტყუელებს: უფალო, თუ ვიყო ვითარცა ლომი სახლსა იუდაესსა და ვითარცა პანფილი სახლსა ეფრემისსა და ვიყო ვითარცა აგაზნი.
- 5 [2.] სახის-მეტყუელმან თქუა ეგვითარი სახში: ყოველთა პირუტყუთა საყუარელ არს მკეცი იგი, ხოლო მარტოდ გუელის მოძულე არს [3.] და ყოვლად ჭრელ, ვითარცა ყუავილ-განრეული სამოსელი იოსეფისი, შუენიერად [3a.] შემკულ, ვითარცა დედოფალი ბლუარისაა, [4.] რომელ-იგი თქუა დავითმან: დადგეს
10 10 დედოფალი მარჯუენით შენსა, სამოსლითა ფესუედითა შემკულ არს პირად-პირადად. [5.] ავაზნი მშვდ არს ჯეკმა და ყუდრო მკეცი იგი. [6.] რაჟამს ჭამის საჭმელი, განძლის და დაწვის სადგურსა თვისსა. [7.] შემდგომად სამისა დღისა აღდგის ძილისაგან. [8.] ეგრეცა უფალი ჩუენი მესამესა დღესა აღდგა მკუდრეთით.
15 [9.] და აგაზნი იგი, აღ-რავ-დგის ძილისაგან სადგურით თვისით

2/4 Hos. 5.14 **7/8** ყუავილ-განრეული-იოსეფისი cf. Gen. 37.3 **9**
Mt. 12.42 **9/11** Ps. 44.10

1 იზ] ით (19) corr. **Marr GiGi** **2** წინავსწარმეტყუელებს] ‘says’ **Arm**, ‘prophesied and said’ **Gr-α** უფალო] ‘from the Lord’ **Arm^{app}**, deest **Arm Gr-α** **9** დავითმან] deest **Arm Gr-α**, sed vide **Arm^{app}**. **14** ჩუენი] ‘our Lord Jesus Christ’ **Arm Gr-α** მესამესა დღესა] ‘after three days’ **Arm 15** ძილისაგან] deest **Arm Gr-α**, cf. **Lat-y**

[1.] The prophet prophesizes: ‘Lord,¹ if I were *like* the lion *in the house of Judah* and *like* the panther *in the house of Ephraim*, and (if) I were like an *avazni*.²

[2.] The Physiologus told such a nature: That beast is beloved of all animals, but only of the serpent is it an enemy, [3.] and all-colourful, like the flower-mingled clothing of Joseph,³ beautifully [3a.] decorated like the Queen of the South,⁴ [4.] [about] whom David said:⁵ ‘*They placed the queen at your right side, she is decorated with a long garment in diverse ways*.⁶ [5.] The *avazni* is very peaceful and tranquil, that beast. [6.] When it eats food, it is sated and hides in its dwelling place. [7.] After three days it rises from sleep. [8.] In the same way, our Lord⁷ rose from the dead on the third day.⁸ [9.] And the *avazni*, when it rises from sleep from

¹ ‘Lord’ (in the vocative) is not found in **Phys. Gr. α**; most Armenian mss have ‘from the Lord’.

² Hos. 5.14 O: Ծամետու թյ զար զօտարցա զըլքի սակլսա ՚Երդա շըրյեմիսսա դա զօտարցա լրմի սակլսա օյլգամեսսա ‘For I was like a leopard in the house of Ephrem and like a lion in the house of Judah’; cf. Hos. 13.7 OJ: դա զյյթնց թատ զօտարցա ազանճո դա զօտարցա զըլքի ցնչսա ՚Երդա մուրասբանյելտասա ‘And I have become for them like an *avazani* and like a leopard on the road of Assyria’.

³ Gen. 37.3 OAKS: Սաթոնյելո վրյուլո թրազալլոյերո ‘A garment speckled with many colours’; cf. also Gen. 37.23 and 32 with Սաթոնյելո վրյուլո.

⁴ Cf. Mt. 12.42 C; Սաթերօնսա in the other mss and in Lc. 11.31. ‘Of the South’ is not found in **Phys. Arm.**

⁵ ‘David’ is not found in **Phys. Gr. α** and **Arm.**.

⁶ Ps. 44.10 BCDE vs. Ծագցինց ‘placed’ A, դագցա ‘(she) stood’ G; Շյմոնոլո Սաթոնյուտա ‘clad with a garment’ A; Ռյրյանուտա ‘golden’ A, Ռյրոզանուտа ‘golden’ BD, Ռյրոյլսովոլուտա ‘gold-woven’ CEG; Շյմկուլա + դա Շյմոնոլ ‘decorated is and clad’ AG; Յօրագ-Յօրաց ABD, + դա ‘and’ BD, + Շյենոյրո ‘beautiful’ ABCDE.

⁷ **Phys. Gr. α** and **Arm.** have ‘our Lord Jesus Christ’.

⁸ **Phys. Georg.** writes ‘on the third day’ like **Phys. Gr. α**; **Phys. Arm.** has ‘after three days’.

მესამესა დღესა, [10.] ყვრილ-ყვის კმითა ღაღადებისადთა. [12.] და ყვრილსა მას მისსა გამოსცის სული საკუმეველთად პირსა მისსა. [11.] და რომელნი-იგი შორს მჴცნი იყვნიან, [13.] გინათუ ახლოს, მისდევდიან ღაღადებასა მისსა, ვინავცა-იგი სული მოეცეს.

- 20 [14.] ეგრეცა უფალი ჩუენი მაცხოვარი იესუ აღდგა მკუდრეთით [15.] და სული სულნელებისად გუეცა ჩუენ, შორიელთა და მახლობელთა ყო მშვდობად ცასა და ქუეყანასა, ვითარცა პავლემან თქუა. [16.] [მრავალსულნელ და ყუავილ] არს [სიბრძნე უფლისა ჩუენისა იესუ] ქრისტიში, [18.] რომელ [არს ქალწულებად და მო]-
25 წყალებად და [თმენად და ს]არწმუნოვებად და სიმჯნე[ჭ, ერ]თობად და მშვდობად და [ა სულ]გრძელებად, [20.] ვითარცა ავაზნი[სა] მჯეცისად.

თქუა სახის-მეტყუელმან, რამეთუ ყოვლად ყუავილოვან არს, [21.] რამეთუ არარად საშჯელი უც პირუტყუთა და მფრინველთა თანა. თქუეს ესე საღმრთოთა წიგნთა.

18 შორს-იყვნიან cf. Eph. 2.17 **21/22** Eph. 2.17 **23** Eph. 3.10
(მრავალფერი ‘multi-coloured’)

24/26 cf. Gal. 5.22

16 მესამესა დღესა] deest **Arm** **17** ყვრილსა] ‘from its voice’ **Arm Gr-*α***, ‘from its mouth’ **Arm^{app.}** პირს მისსა] deest **Arm Gr-*α*** **20** იესუ] deest **Arm** **22** პავლემან] ‘the Apostle’ **Arm Gr-*α*** **24** ქალწულებად] -ებად paene leg. **Š** **25** თმენად] თმენ- paene leg. **Š**; გატბად pro გა(ნ)-ტევებად ‘remittal (of sins?)’ **Bt** **26** ავაზნისა] ავაზნის **Marr GiGi**

its dwelling place⁹ on the third day,¹⁰ [10.] cries with a voice of shouting. [12.] And in its cry, it emits a scent of aromas in its mouth.¹¹ [11.] And the beasts *that are far or near* [13.] follow the shouting from which the scent is emanated.

[14.] In this way our Lord Jesus¹² the Saviour, too, rose from the dead [15.] and a scent of aroma was given to us, *to close and far he made peace* in heaven and earth, as Paul said.¹³ [16.] Manifold scented and flowered is the wisdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, [18.] who is virginity and benevolence and patience¹⁴ and faith and vigour, unity and peace and forbearance, [20.] like that of the *avazni* beast.

The Physiologus said that it is flowered all-over; [21.] for there is no judgement with the animals and birds. This was said by the divine books.¹⁵

⁹ **Phys. Gr. α** and **Arm.** have: ‘from the lair’, **Phys. Lat. y** has ‘from the sleep’, **Phys. Syr. α** has none of the two.

¹⁰ ‘On the third day’ is not found in **Phys. Arm.** but in **Phys. Gr. α**.

¹¹ **Phys. Gr. α** has ‘from its voice’ at the beginning of § 12, whereas **Phys. Arm.** has ‘out of its mouth’ (but some mss have ‘voice’). ‘In its mouth’ is found at the end of the sentence also in **Phys. Syr. α** (see the apparatus to the edition of **Phys. Gr. α** in Section 3.2.1 above).

¹² ‘Jesus’ is absent from **Phys. Arm.**; **Phys. Gr. α** has ‘Jesus Christ’.

¹³ Instead of ‘Paul’, **Phys. Gr. α** and **Arm.** have ‘the Apostle’.

¹⁴ Instead of ‘patience’, remittal (of sins?) **Bt**.

¹⁵ Bt here adds the quotation of II Cor. 2.11 that introduces the following chapter in **Š** and **Phys. Arm.** Compare the text of § 20–21 in **Phys. Arm.**: ‘[20.] Likewise he calls the panther all-flowered. [21.] because the divine Scriptures did not say anything without any knowledge about animals and birds’.

Abbreviations

- BHG = François Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3rd edn (Subsidia Hagiographica, 8a), Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1957; *Auctarium* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 47), Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1969; *Novum Auctarium* (Subsidia Hagiographica, 65), Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1984.
- CAVT = Jean-Claude Haelewyck, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.
- CCAG = *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, 12 vols, Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1898–1953.
- CPG = Maurits Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols, Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–1987 (vol. 3, ed. secunda, paratur a Jacques Noret, 2003); Maurits Geerard and Jacques Noret, *Supplementum*, Turnhout: Brepols 1998.
- EAe = Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 1: *A-C*; vol. 2: *D-Ha*; vol. 3: *He-N*; (in cooperation with Alessandro Bausi) vol. 4: *O-X*; Alessandro Bausi (ed. in cooperation with Siegbert Uhlig), vol. 5: *Y-Z. Supplementa, Addenda and corrigenda, Tables, Maps, Index*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014.
- LBG = Erich Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* (online on stephanus.tlg.uci.edu).
- LSJ = Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie, *A Greek–English Lexicon* (online on stephanus.tlg.uci.edu).
- OED = *Oxford English Dictionary* online.
- PG = *Patrologia Graeca*.
- RgK = Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger, and Herbert Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, 1. *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens*; 2. *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens*; 3. *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan* (3 vols: A: *Verzeichnis der Kopisten*, B: *Paläographische Charakteristika*, C: *Tafelband*) (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, 3), Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981, 1989, and 1997.
- TLG = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library of Greek Literature* (stephanus.tlg.uci.edu).

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PLATE XVIII



Fig. 9.6: Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, S 1141 (Š), front cover, inside (courtesy of the Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi)

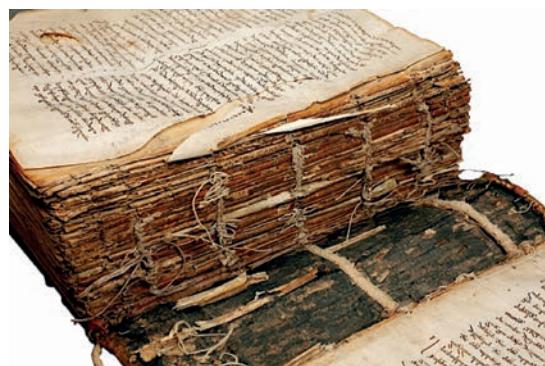


Fig. 9.7: Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, S 1141 (Š), between folios 267v–268r (courtesy of the Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi)

PLATE XIX

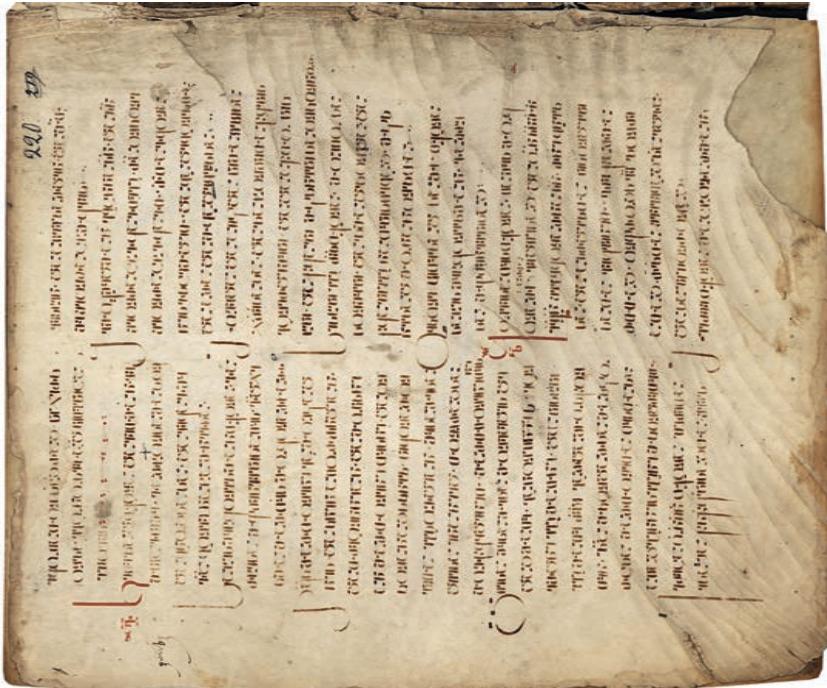
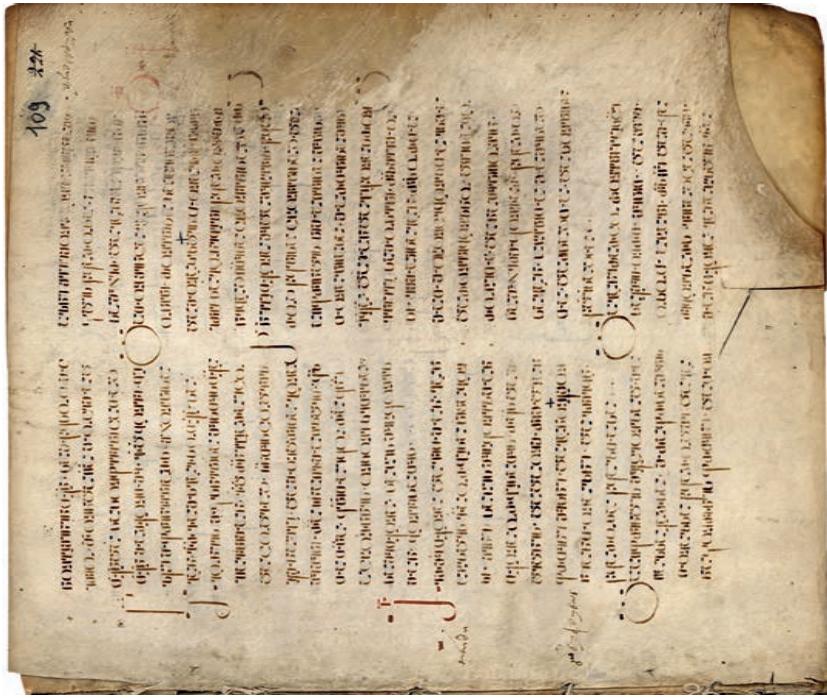


Fig. 9.8: Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, S 1141 (Ş), fol. 108v–109r, including the pelican chapter
(courtesy of the Korneli Kekelidze National of Manuscripts, Tbilisi)

PLATE XX

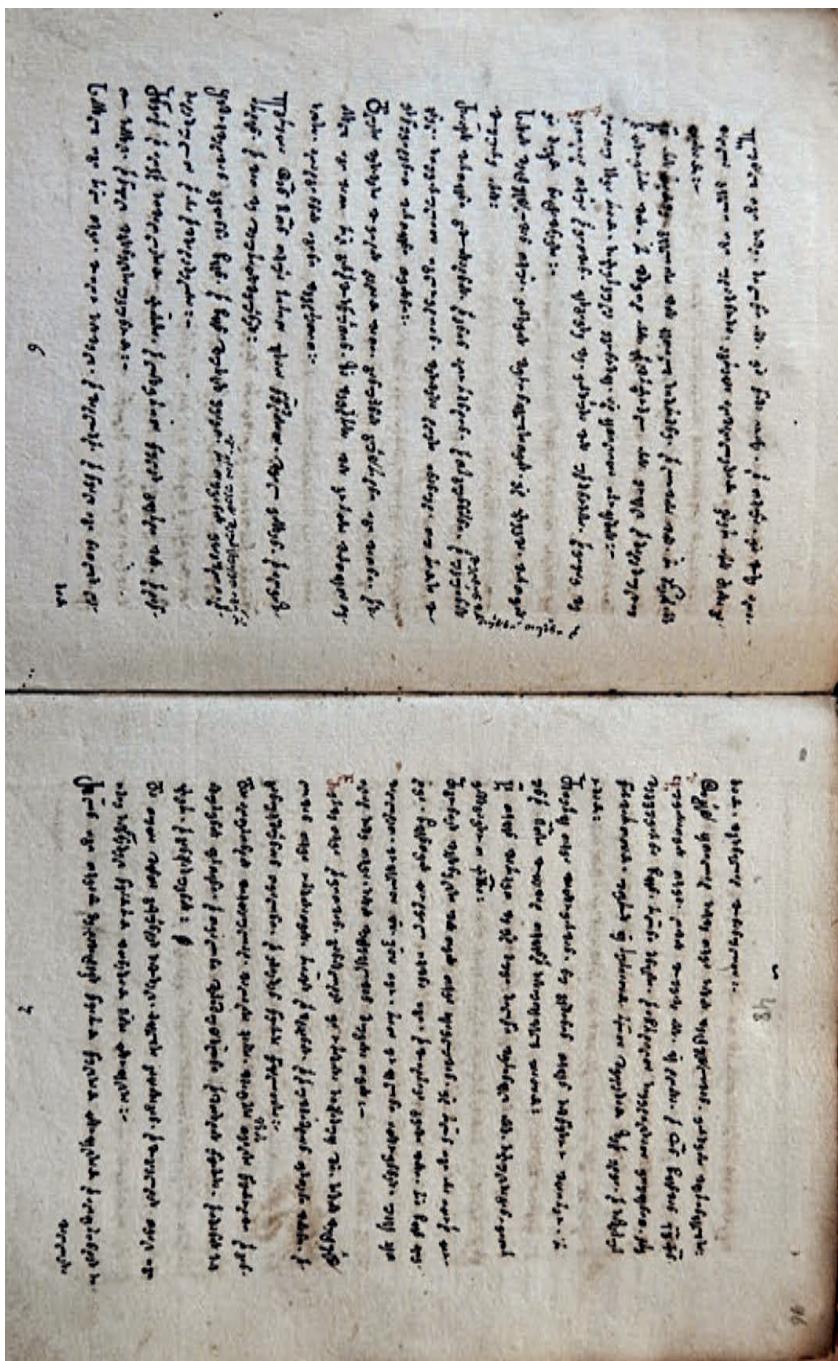


Fig. 9.9: Batumi, Khariton Akhvlediani Museum, 75 (Bt), fol. 47v–48r, including the pelican chapter
(courtesy of Khariton Akhvlediani Museum and Ramaz Khalvashi, Batumi)

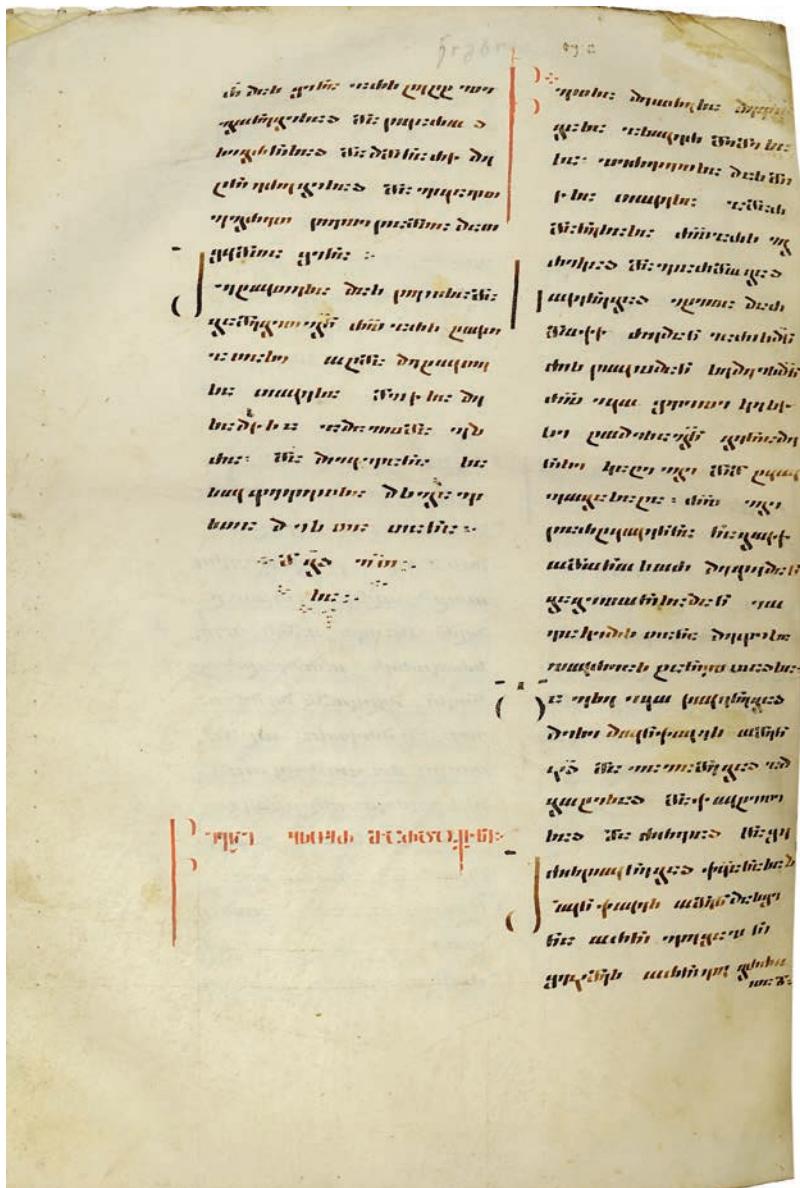


Fig. 9.11: Athos, Ivir. georg. 1, vol. α, fol. 494v (containing the beginning of the book of Esther) (courtesy of the Iviron Monastery, Mt Athos)

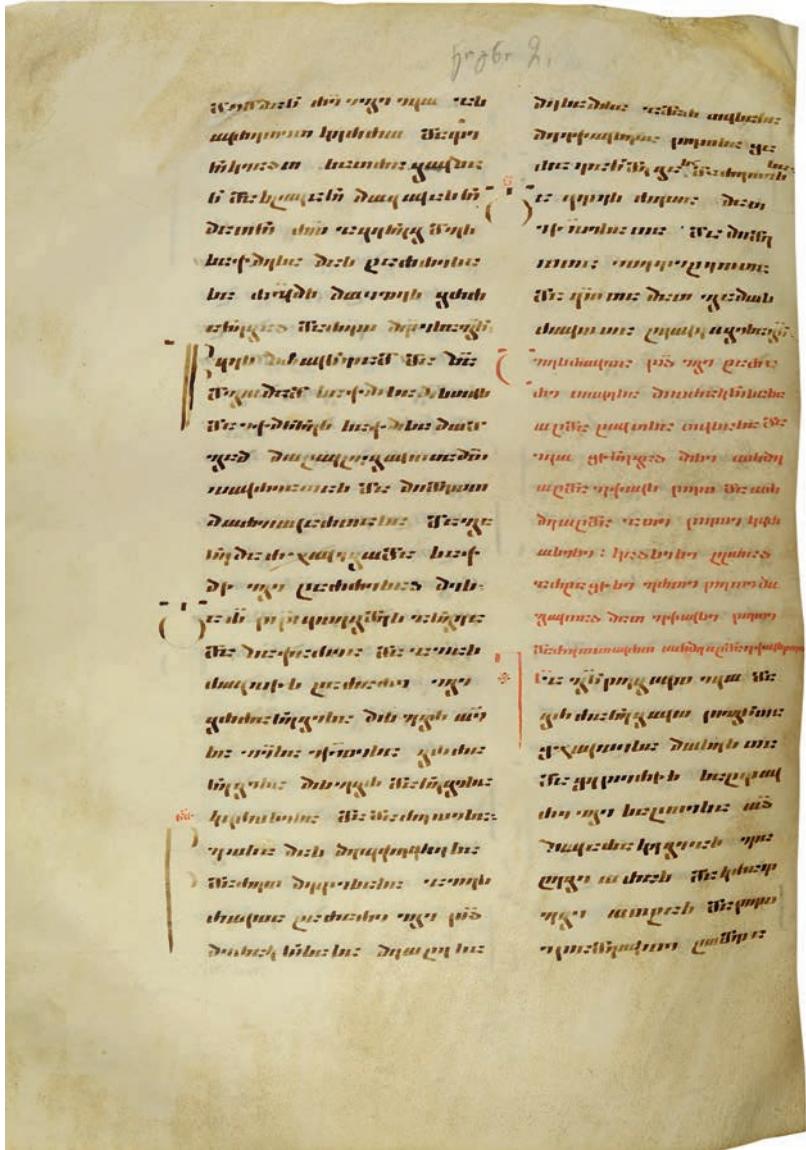


Fig. 9.12: Athos, Ivir. georg. 1, vol. α, fol. 445v (containing I Esr. 7, 1–8)
 (courtesy of the Iviron Monastery, Mt Athos)