Achtung!

Attention!
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Jost Gippert, Frankfurt 2022
OLD GEORGIAN BARSABON-I

1. In his Old Georgian Dictionary, Ilia Abuladze provides two lemma entries of a noun *barsaboni*, one with the meaning “balsam tree” („ბალსამი, balsamum“) and one denoting “a sort of official” („ისტორიული მოღვაწე“). For the former, the dictionary instances a passage from the Hexaemeron of Basil the Great which deals about the sap of the mastic and balsam trees: ἄλλο γὰρ τοῦ σχίνου τὸ δάκρυον, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ ὁπὸς τοῦ βαλσάμου in the Greek text. For the second notion, Abuladze provides the following quotation from fol. 44r of manuscript no. 11 of the Georgian collection of St. Catherine’s monastery of Mt. Sinai: ἄλλο γὰρ τοῦ σχίνου τὸ δάκρυον, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ ὁπὸς τοῦ βαλσάμου. The question arises whether the given meanings can be ascertained and whether the two homonymous terms are interrelated somehow.

2. In the case of the balsam tree, it is clear off-hand that Georgian ბალსამი in this sense must be related to its Greek counterpart, βαλσάμον. As a matter of fact, the same correspondence of the Greek word and Georgian *barsabon-i* is attested at least one more time, in Gregory of Nyssa’s treatise on the Nature of Man which was written as an extension to Basil’s Hexaemeron. In the older Georgian version of the Nyssen’s work preserved in the Shatberdi collection, we read ἄλλο γὰρ τοῦ σχίνου τὸ δάκρυον, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ ὁπὸς τοῦ βαλσάμου, which corresponds to Greek καὶ ἄλλο ἐν ἄλλῳ γίνεται, ἐν κρόκῳ, ἐν βαλσάμῳ,
and another (liquid) emerges in another (plant), in saffron (crocus), in balsam, (and) in poppy.\(^1\) The second Georgian version of the same text, by George the Athonite, comes much closer to the Greek model and uses other terms for the plants throughout:\(^2\) in ἐν μήκωνι ἐν σάμῳ ἐν κηρύκαις ἐν κῦκλοις, we have not only kurkuma- "curcuma, turmeric" instead of zapran-i "saffron" and mikon-i "poppy" instead of nerg-i "plant, seed" but also valsamo- "balsam" instead of barsabon-i. The stem valsamo-, with no doubt reflecting Gk. βάλσαμο-ν in its later pronunciation, also appears in George’s version of the Hexaemeron, which is again closer to the Greek text; the passage in question reads sxua¡ sxua¡ ars cremli shino¡sa¡: sxua¡ ars gomizi valsamo¡sa¡.\(^3\) We further find valsamo, e.g., in the Georgian version of the Jewish Antiquities by Flavius Josephus,\(^4\) translated from Greek allegedly by the Gelati school in the 13\textsuperscript{th} century, as well as the Visramiani, the Georgian adaptation of the Persian epic Vīs o Rāmīn; here we read ὑπὸ ὁμήρους οὐκ ἔσται βάλσαμος ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἑκάστῳ οὐκ ἔσται βάλσαμος ἐκ τῆς γῆς "Now a spruce grows (here), since my balsam tree has fallen".\(^5\) In this case, there is a considerable change of meaning involved as the Persian model speaks not of balsam but of a box-tree: "In the garden now grow spruce and box-tree, as that noble box-tree has not remained.\(^6\) Considering the awkward wording with the duplicated šimšād "box-tree", it may be assumed that the extant Persian text is corrupted here,\(^7\) šimšād being confused with balsān "balsam tree\(^8\) as suggested by Georgian valsamo-.

2.1 Be that as it may, we may safely posit that Georgian valsamo- is borrowed from Gk. βάλσαμον. What, then is barsaboni? It has for long been suggested that the Georgian version of Basil’s Hexaemeron was translated from Arabic. As a matter of fact, there is indeed an indication of an Arabic source in the given passage of the Georgian Hexaemeron, in the stem askino- reflecting Greek σχῖνος "mastic" with a prothetic a- (vs. purely Greek shino- in the second version).\(^9\) This does not explain the shape of Georgian barsaboni, however, given that in Arabic, "balsam" is called

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\(^{1}\) PG 44, 252C, ll. 5-6.

\(^{2}\) Ms. Ivir. georg. 49, f. 132v, ll. 8–9 (cf. Fig. 2); cf. Kochlamazashvili 2009: 230.

\(^{3}\) Ms. Ivir. georg. 49, 94r, l. 43 (cf. Fig. 3).

\(^{4}\) Flav.Jos. Ant.Jud. 4, 6, 1; 14, 4, 1; 15, 4, 2.

\(^{5}\) Visramiani, ch. 36; Gvakharia - Todua 1962:161, ll. 13–14.

\(^{6}\) Vīs o Rāmīn, ch. 46, v. 66; Todua - Gwakharia 1970: 274.


\(^{8}\) Steingass 1963, 197b: "balasān, balsān, The balsam-tree; balsam; balm of Gilead". A less probable candidate is Persian bāsām (< Arabic, cf. n. 18 below) as this would not fit into the metre.

\(^{9}\) Cf. Abuladze 1964, 18. For a similar case of prothesis before a Greek word-initial consonant cluster in Arabic cf., e.g., agrabādin "medicament" < Gk. ἀγραβάδιον "notebook", vs. Persian garābdān with vowel epenthesis which yielded Georg. karabadin-i "medical manuscript".
balsam, bilsām, ba(ŷ)lašān, or bašām, with none of them containing an r or a second b. In contrast to this, an r is found in Armenian aprsām, which actually occurs in the given context in the translation of Gregory of Nyssa’s treatise; here we read ew ayl yaylowm lini i k’rk’mi, yaprsami, i mekoni „and another one emerges in another one, in curcumā, balsam, and poppy“.

Arm. aprsām clearly agrees with Syriac apūṛsām (variant pūṛsmā), which in the same language contrasts with balsamōn, clearly a copy of Greek βάλσαμον as indicated by its being glossed by pūṛsmā in the translation of Galen’s De Simplicibus; one of these terms is likely to have been used in the corresponding passage of the Syriac translation of the Nyssen’s treatise but unfortunately, the only manuscript witness of this text, ms. Vat.sir. 106 of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, is illegible at the lines in question. Armenian, too, does know the Greek word; in the form balsamos it appears in the translation of Basil’s Hexaemeron right at the position of Georgian barsaboni: k’anzi aylazgi kerparans owni hoyzn ca’yohn, or anowaneal koč’i sk’inos, aylazgi kerparans owni hoyzn balsamos ca’yoy „for the sap of the tree that is called mastic has another appearance, (and) the sap of the balsam tree has another appearance“.

2.2 What, then, is the relationship of Georgian barsaboni to the other terms mentioned? As a matter of fact, most of the latter have already been treated etymologically, including the assumption of mutual borrowing. The most likely scenario assumes a Semitic root represented by Arabic bašām together with Hebrew bašām9 and Syriac besmā,10 which yielded Greek βάλσαμον as a loanword; this was then borrowed into Armenian as balsamos and into later Georgian as valsamos, but also re-borrowed into Semitic languages in forms like Syriac balsamōn or Arabic balasān (with the latter yielding Persian bal(а)sān12 and Middle Arm. balasan).13

1 More exactly, bašām denotes a shrub named the „Arabian balsam tree“ (Commiphora gileadensis); cf. Löw 1874, 73, no. 53: „Balsamstrauch“.
2 Ch. 32; Vardanyan 2008: 212–213.
3 Brockelmann 1928: 43b and 602a. The variant appears once in the Syriac Bible, in Sir. 24.15, corresponding to balsamum in the Latin Vulgate; the Greek text has ἄτμις „steam“ instead. The meaning of Latin balsamum is matched by Georgian aģmur-i „balm“ in the Bakar Bible while the Oshki and Mxeta Bibles have gundruķi „incense“. In the Armenian (Zohrab) Bible there is no equivalent of the term (Sir. 24.21).
4 Brockelmann, 1928: 76b; Löw 1881: 74, no. 53.
5 Merx 1885: 254, l. 2.
7 Barseł 1830: 101, ll. 5–8.
8 Cf., among others, de Lagarde 1866: 17; Hübschmann 1895: 107; and other authors mentioned above.
12 Cf. n. 16 above.
In contrast to this, an Iranian source has been sought for the forms with a p and an r (Syr. (a)pūrsām and Arm. aprsam), with Manichaean Middle Persian aβursām having shown up as a possible inner-Iranian witness. This was in turn proposed to be a borrowing from Greek, viz. of the compound ὀποβάλσαμον denoting either the „sap of the balsam tree“ (cf. ὀπός τοῦ βαλσάμου in the quotation from Gregory of Nyssa above) or the „balsam tree producing sap“; a formation that was also borrowed into Semitic, with the Syriac variants ṣwblsmwn, ṣwlqsmwn, and ṣwlslmwn showing that the word tended to be shortened by haplology. Indeed, the equivalence of Arm. aprsam and Gk. ὀποβάλσαμον is paramount in a passage from the History by Movsēs Xorenacʿi which alludes to an episode narrated in Flavius Josephus’ Antiquitates: These words were also witnessed to by Josephus in the report that he tells about the aprsam, saying thus: ‘Close to Jericho, Pompeius received news about the death of Mihrdat’. The corresponding passage of the Antiquitates runs: καὶ μετ’ οὗ πολὺ Πομπηίῳ στρατιὰν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἄγοντι καθ’ ὁδὸν ἀφικόμενοί τινες ἐκ πόντου τὴν Μιθριδάτου τελευτὴν ἐμήνυον τὴν ἐκ Φαρνάκου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ γενομένην. Στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ περὶ Ἱεριχοῦντα, οὗ τὸν φοίνικα συμβέβηκε τρέφεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὀποβάλσαμον μύρων ἀκρότατον, ὃ τῶν θάμνων τεμνομένων ὀξεῖ λίθῳ ἀναπιδύει ὥσπερ ὀπός... „and shortly afterwards, Pompeius, who was moving his army against him (Hyrcanus), was informed by some people coming from the Pontos about the death of Mithridates, caused by his own son Pharnakes. Having camped close to Jericho, where the date palm happens to grow and the balsam, highest of the unguents, which by its shrubs being incised with a sharp stone oozes out like sap...“.

2.3 For Georgian barsaboni, all this does not help. There is no doubt that there must be a relation to Greek βάλσαμον, clearly manifesting itself in the nominative ending on preserved in it, but the substitution of λ by r and μ by b seems unpar-

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1 Hübschmann 1895; 107, no. 57.: „aus dem Persischen?“.
2 Henning 1940; 44; cf. also Durkin-Meisterernst 2004: 15a.
3 Brockelmann 1928; 39b.
4 Cf. Henning 1940: 44, where reference to the Syriac forms is missing.
5 Hübschmann 1895; 107, no. 57, where „Cap. IV, 1“ is misprinted for „Cap. 4, 1“.
6 MX 2, 15, 9 (p. 130, ll. 8–10 in the edition Abełean / Yarowt’iwnean 1913).
8 Ch. 14, 4, 1; Melikishvili 1988: 272, 16–18.
alleled in direct loans from Greek. Therefore an unidentified intermediary language might be supposed here.

3. The case of Abuladze’s second barsaboni is quite different. The attestation of ms. Sin. georg. 11 given in the dictionary is not from a homily but from a hagiographical text, viz. the passion of Ss. Eustratius, Auxentius, Eugenius, Mardarius and Orestes, usually assigned to the 13th December,¹ which also exists in Greek,² Latin,³ and Armenian.⁴ Excluding brief accounts in the synaxaria,⁵ a total of twelve witnesses have been adduced for the Georgian version of the passion;⁶ in their presumptive chronological order, these are: mss. Sin. georg. 11 (10th c.), 34v−65v; Ivir. georg. 17 (10th−11th cc.), 140r−169v; A-95 (11th c.), 538r−558v;⁷ A-1104 (11th c.), 114−126;⁸ H-1347 (11th−12th cc.), 159v−173r; Kut. 5 (12th−13th cc.), 236v−256v;⁹ A-128 (12th−13th cc.), 306r−323v; Ivir. georg. 2 (ca. 13th c.), 113v−125r;¹⁰ A-1390 (15th c.), 58r−63v; H-2077 (1736 CE), 299v−308r; Q-112b (1801 CE), 1r−37v; and H-1370 (1871−1884 CE), 17r−32r. Of these, three must be put aside off-hand: (i) ms. A-1104 does not contain the passion at all,¹¹ the folio numbers given suggesting that there was a mere confusion with Ivir. georg. 2; (ii) the fragmentary text contained in A-1390, 58r−63v belongs not to the present passion but to the legend of St. Eustathius (Placidas);¹² and (iii) ms. H-1370 contains,

¹ BHG 646; for details see below.
² PG 116, 467−506.
³ Flor.Cas. 1877: 193b−205a.
⁴ Varkʿ 1874: 435−475.
¹⁰ The ms. (from paper) was formerly referred to as belonging to the Hermitage of the Prophet Elias (Kekelidze 1944: 133 n. 3; cf. Ilia Pantsulaia’s catalogue in ms. A-1141, 25−27), with the folio numbers given as 114v−126r (Kekelidze 1957: 170, no. 111; Gabidzashvili 2004: 188, no. 341).
¹¹ Cf. the description in Sharashidze 1954: 84−86.
¹² 20th September: BHG 641; PG 105, 376−417. The incipit and desinit given by Sharashidze (1954, 488−489) clearly suggest that the text agrees with the first redaction of the legend of St. Eustathius (Kekelidze 1957: 125, no. 71; Gabidzashvili 2004: 187, no. 337) as contained, among others, in ms. Sin. georg. 25 (erroneously styled S-25 by Gabidzashvili), 206−213 and Ivir. georg. 28, 65r−87v, rather than the second redaction (Kekelidze 1957, 125 no. 72; Gabidzashvili 2004, 186−187, no. 336) contained in mss. Ivir. georg. 17, 103r−115r and H-2077, 294v−299v, or other versions (Gabidzashvili 2004: 186, nos. 334 and 335). Cf. the incipit (A-1390, 53r), given as ... da szeda, zeda da dawarTi iyode yovelTa WirveulTa¡... by Sharashidze, with ...ed a da Semwe¡ yove lTa WirveulTa¡, SiSuelTa Sehmosda... in Ivir. georg. 28, 65v, II. 1−3 (vs. of the ogi, not the legend of St. Eustathius).
on ff. 17r–32r, a special redaction of the passion of Queen Ketevan, not the legend of Eustratius.¹ In addition, the text in ms. A-128 (306r–323v) has for long been assumed to represent a second redaction as suggested by its different incipit.² As Korneli Keke-­
lidze pointed out,³ the remaining (eight) witnesses can still be assigned to two different redactions, an older one, allegedly representing a pre-metaphrastic Greek text, found in mss. Sin. georg. 11 and A-95, and a younger one, being a translation of the text subsumed under the metaphrases by Symeon the Logothete,⁴ in Ivir. georg. 17. Beyond that, there are manuscripts that contain a „mixed“ text, beginning with the older and ending with the younger redaction; this is true, according to Kekelidze, for Kut. 5 and Ivir. georg. 2.⁵ In the latter codex, Euthymius the Athonite is named as the translator (f. 113va: ṭaβα&lt;μγελοσαμα ṭαστασα);⁶ the same note is also found in ms. A-128 (f. 306r).⁷ To illustrate the divergences between the three versions, a few lines of the introduction (Chapter I in the edition of the Greek text; Table I) and of the transition from the introduction to the following chapter (Chapter II; Table II) may suffice here.

| Table I: Passion of Ss. Eustratius and companions, Introduction (incipit) |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Ivir. georg. 17, 140ra, ll. 7–21 (inc. = H-2077, 284v) | Ivir. georg. 2, 113va, ll. 23–34 (inc. = H-1347, 159v; Kut. 5, 236v; Q-112b, 1r) | Sin. georg. 11, 34v, ll. 4–10; A-95, 538rb, ll. 1–12 |
| ṭαβα&lt;μγελοσαμα ṭαστασα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαστασα ⁸ | ṭαβα&lt;μγελοσαμα ṭαστασα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρуτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσ... in Ivir. georg. 28, 68r, ll. 25–26 (vs. ḫαβα&lt;μγελοσαμα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρуτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρы ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρуτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρуτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρуτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρуτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρуτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρуτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρуτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρυτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσσαρуτα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσ... in Ivir. georg. 17, 105va, ll. 13–15).

² Beginning with ḫαβα&lt;μγελοσαμα instead of ṭαβα&lt;μγελοσαμα; cf. Kekelidze 1957: 170, no. 112 and Gabidzashvili 2004: 188, no. 342. By error, A-128 is also subsumed under no. 341 in Gabidzashvili’s work.
³ Kekelidze 1962:133 with n. 3.
⁴ The subsumption, manifesting itself in the inclusion of the legend in volume 116 of the Patrologia Graeca, cannot be upheld, given that the extant Greek text appears in pre-metaphrastic manuscripts (cf. Ehrhard 1897, 61) and was translated into Latin already at the end of the 9th century (cf. Gippert - Macé 2018: 102).
⁵ Styled „გელა&­­μკი № 5“ and „ართხლი გლობა სრული № 6“ in Kekelidze’s article.
⁶ Cf. Fig. 4.
⁸ Corrected from ḫαβα&lt;μγελοσαμα ṭαν δαδακεμενα δα ταμεσ...
3.1 The passage quoted in Abuladze’s Dictionary is from Chapter XIII of the passion, which introduces one of the co-martyrs of Eustratius’, a certain Mardarius. The term barsaboni occurs only in the older redaction of the Georgian version; for the sake of illustration, both redactions are contrasted here with the relevant context (Table III).

### Table II: Same, end of the introduction and beginning of the following chapter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iriv. georg. 17, 140rb, l. 21 – 140va, l. 8</th>
<th>Iriv. georg. 2, 113vb, ll. 8–16</th>
<th>Sin. georg. 11, 34v, l. 19 – 35r, l. 2; A-95, 583rb, l. 28 – 583va, l. 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1 The passage quoted in Abuladze’s Dictionary is from Chapter XIII of the passion, which introduces one of the co-martyrs of Eustratius’, a certain Mardarius. The term barsaboni occurs only in the older redaction of the Georgian version; for the sake of illustration, both redactions are contrasted here with the relevant context (Table III).</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Table III: Beginning of Chapter XIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iriv. georg. 17, 149ra, l. 16–149rb, l. 12</th>
<th>Iriv. georg. 2, 117va, ll. 6–21</th>
<th>Sin. georg. 11, 44r, ll. 8–23; A-95, 544vb, ll. 6–28</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>3.1 The passage quoted in Abuladze’s Dictionary is from Chapter XIII of the passion, which introduces one of the co-martyrs of Eustratius’, a certain Mardarius. The term barsaboni occurs only in the older redaction of the Georgian version; for the sake of illustration, both redactions are contrasted here with the relevant context (Table III).</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Considering the epithets applied to the „brilliant“ Eustratius, Abuladze’s assumption that barsaboni might be the title of an „official“ (მოქმედ) seems well founded even though the second redaction has no such designation. However, further comparison with the Greek, Latin, and Armenian texts suggests a different solution, all three supporting the wording of the later Georgian redaction as shown in Table IV.

### Table IV: Beginning of Chapter XIII in Greek, Latin, and Armenian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Armenian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PG 116, 479C, ll. 1–10</td>
<td>Μαρδάριος δέ τις ἀνὴρ, ἰδιώτης τὴν τύχην καὶ ἐν αὐταρκείᾳ βίων,</td>
<td>Nardarius interea quidam vir idiota in sufficientia vivens;</td>
<td>Մարդարիոս ոմն ռամիկ գոլով լցեալ աւուրբք և քաղաքավարեալ արդարութեամբ յայնոսիկ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flor.Cas. 197b, ll. 23–31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Մարդարիոս ոմն ռամիկ գոլով լցեալ աւուրբք և քաղաքավարեալ արդարութեամբ յայնոսիկ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vark’ 448, l. 29 – 449, l. 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Մարդարիոս ոմն ռամիկ գոլով շատերով թագարթիչ, քաղաքավարեալ քաղաքարեալ քաղաքավարեալ արդարութեամբ յայնոսիկ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Georgian</td>
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<tr>
<td>οἶκον ἑαυτῷ κατασκευάσας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἔσκεπε τὸ δωμάτιον·</td>
<td>domum sibi in illis diebus con- struxerat. quam domate tegebat.</td>
<td>erti katadze₂rulew ațis ژmåéranis țkêinais, țskispe țō domatëom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ατενίσας δὲ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, εἶδε μέσον αὐτῶν ὡς περιφανῆ ἀστέρα τὸν ἅγιον Εὐστράτιον,</td>
<td>prospiciens sanctos. cernit in medio eorum quasi fulgens sidus eustratium.</td>
<td>șõiner yārks bnakoutë anikê . և ՝ի աանեաց անտի տանն՝ Հայեցեալ գիտէր, Աստուծոյ, զի կապանօք անցուցանէին ընդ պողոտայն որ էր մերձ ՝ի գեօղն յայն: Ետես ՝ի մէջ սրբոյն զերանելի Բարբեթ, և ծանեաւ վաղվաղակի.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>καὶ ταχὺ κατελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ δωματίου</td>
<td>et confestim desiliens ex domate;</td>
<td>և փութացեալ էջ անտի, և ասէ ցկինն իւր տեսանէր ղսուրբ վկայսն Աստուծոյ, զի կապանօք անցուցանէին ընդ պողոտայն</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εἶπεν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ</td>
<td>dixit uxori suae</td>
<td>և աս: դեղին իր</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τῇ ἁρμενίων διάλεκτῳ</td>
<td>armeno sermone.</td>
<td>Cuomoqamayaqenbém ղ' ռմքքաyn հյոթք,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>όρας ὦ γυναῖκα τὸν κύριον τῆς περιοικίδος ἡμῶν ·</td>
<td>Cernis o mulier convicaneum nostrum.</td>
<td>Ո՛վ կին, տեսանե՞ս զտէրն մեր Էւստրատիոս անունեալն Կիւրիւկոս, զի ՛ի բաց լքեալ արհամարհեաց զգերապատիւ զայնքան և զանպիս մեծութիւն և զփառս աշխարհիս, և զամենայն երևելի փարթամութիւն ընչից և ազգի և ստացուածոց, և զքաջամարտիկ զինուորութիւնն զոր ոչ ոք ունէր նմա ՛ի մէջերկրայքս ամենայն.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τὸν ἐν τοσαύτῃ περιφανείᾳ γένους καὶ χρημάτων ὑπάρχοντα·</td>
<td>tanta gloria generis et possessio- num qui fuerat gloriosus;</td>
<td>ի գամբ դեշն ապահովարծացը գայումսը և կապանօք միդիպեռն և գիտակը աշխարհը,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>καὶ ἐν τῇ λίκανοτῇ στρατείᾳ διαπρέσαντα·</td>
<td>quantae militia splendida;</td>
<td>և գամբամեթ ռենիքի փայտաշապիքին բոլոք և աշխարհ, և սպասարկություն, և արգածացություն զինուորութիւնն զի ե՛ որ նույն նույն նույն ղ' մեջերկրայքս ամենայն.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we see, all three versions agree with the later Georgian redaction in stating that Mardarius spoke with his wife in Armenian, the language being denoted as բարբառ հայերէն in the former and ἀρμενίων διάλεκτος, armenus sermo, and ռաբբԲայ իւիից in the latter. As a matter of fact, the explicit information that Mardarius spoke Armenian led to a highly remarkable peculiarity in the transmission of the Greek version in that several manuscripts preserving it contain, mostly as marginal glosses, re-translations of the Greek utterances into Armenian, independent of the existing Armenian version.²

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1 Var.lect. Քիրիկենք; Vark’ 1874: 449, n. 1. The name is distorted from something like Kyrisikës, cf. below.
Nevertheless, considering the word *barbar̄* used in the latter, we might suppose that the unparalleled “title” *barsaboni somxitisa-y* occurring in the older Georgian redaction might instead refer to the language of Armenia, too.

3.2 Indeed, there is further evidence for this. With a variant *basaboni*, the word occurs once more in the older redaction of the legend, in Chapter VII where Eustratius is for the first time interrogated by his prosecutor, a duke named Lysias, about his origin, his name, and his religion. Eustratius’ own reply is illustrated in Table V.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table V: From Chapter VII</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ivir. georg. 17, 144va, ll. 4–14</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ivir. georg. 2, 115va, ll. 30–37</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ორხორამი ანტროპერო ოფიცერი</td>
<td>ორხორამი ანტროპერო ოფიცერი</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ორხორამი ანტროპერო ოფიცერი (+ ორხორამი ანტროპერო ოფიცერი)</td>
<td>ორხორამი ანტროპერო ოფიცერი</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ორხორამი ანტროპერო ოფიცერი</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table VI: Same in Greek, Latin, and Armenian</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PG 116, 473C, ll. 1–6</strong></td>
<td><strong>Flor. Cas. 196a, ll. 5–10</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ὁ ἅγιος Εὐστράτιος εἶπεν ·</td>
<td><em>Miles christi ad haec.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἐκ τῆς Ἀραυρακηνῶν ὥρμημαι πολίχνης,</td>
<td>araucenorum oppido mihi oriundo;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 For the passage from A-95 cf. Kekelidze 1962: 132–133. Cf. Fig. 5.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 The last three characters added prima manu above the line in Sin. georg. 11.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Corrected from կառավարության տարածք և տոհմիւ, in Ivir. georg. 2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Cf. Kekelidze 1962: 133 for this suggestion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Εὐστράτιος τὸ ὄνομα, Κυρισίκης τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, τῇ πατρῴᾳ διαλέκτῳ, eustratius nomen est cognomento ciriscis praenominatus paterna lingua.

δοῦλος δὲ ὑπάρχω τοῦ Δεσπότου τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ προσκυνητοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, servus existens dominatoris omnium dei; et ihesu christi filii eius; et sancti spiritus ipsius.

և անուն իմ Եւստրատիոս կոչի. և անուն իմ Եւստրաτիոս կոչի.

Even though just the Armenian version omits the information on the second name here,\(^1\) it is obvious that the Georgian թերիսիկի բարբար, ամենասուրբ Հոգտոյ իսկվեց, is just a clumsy rendering of Κυρισίκης τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, τῇ πατρῴᾳ διαλέκτῳ, with ամենասուրբ Հոգտոյ իսկվեց standing for something like *ամենասուրբ Հոգտոյ իսկվեց „in the idiom of my country“, which was later clarified to մայրագրություն զերկիր.

3.3 If barsaboni can thus be established as meaning „language, idiom“, the question arises whether the word might be related to (or even derived from) Armenian barbař „id.“. Of course the Georgian text can in no way be taken to be translated from the existing Armenian version, which is much more verbose than all the others and has the appearance of a secondary paraphrase. On the other hand, there are some indications that the existing Greek version was not the immediate basis for the older Georgian redaction either. This can be seen, e.g., in Chapter IV where Eustratius is introduced for the first time; here, the Greek term σκρινιάριος reflecting Latin scriniarius „record-keeper“, is rendered as such in the later redaction (σκρινιαριος with the extra explanation „which is a chartophylax“, δοῦλος δὲ ὑπάρχω τάξεως; at the same time, it stands a bit closer to the Armenian version in reporting that Eustratius was a relative of Lysias the Duke. For illustration, the versions are once again contrasted in Table VII.

\(^1\) The information does appear in Chapter XIII where we read Էւստրատիոս անունեալն Կիւրիւկոս; cf. Table IV with n. 59 above. Kyrisikēs is not an Armenian name form in its own right but a Greek rendering of Tēr Youwsik which appears in the corresponding passages in the Armenian synaxary (Yaysm. 1834: 287a, ll. 1–2; 287b, ll. 20–21 / Bayan 1924 / 1974, 35, 6; 37, 13–14).
This raises the question whether both the Armenian and the older Georgian version derive from a common Greek source no longer existing today, which might have

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Table VII: Beginning of Chapter VII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Flor. Cas.</th>
<th>Vark’</th>
<th>Ivir. georg. 17</th>
<th>Ivir. georg. 2</th>
<th>Sin. 11, 36r, ll. 9–15; A-95, 539rb, ll. 11–21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PG 116, 469C, ll. 9–11</td>
<td>195a, ll. 3–5.</td>
<td>141va, l. 16 – 141vb, l. 2</td>
<td>114rb, ll. 20–28</td>
<td>36r, ll. 9–15; A-95, 539rb, ll. 11–21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Corrected prima manu from έστρατίος in Sin. 11.
2 Cf. note 54 above as to the question of the Greek legend being metaphrastic. A multilingual edition of
had a word form related to Armenian barbar that yielded Georgian barsaboni. This might have been the Greek word βάρβαρος „non-Greek, foreign, barbarous“,1 which often appears with words meaning „language“ or „idiom“ such as γλώσσα, φωνή, or διάλεκτος.2 Considering the shape of Georgian barsaboni, the closest forms would be βάρβαρον (acc.sg.masc., nom.acc.sg.ntr.) or βαρβάρων (gen.pl.); as βάρβαρος is a two-gender adjective, the accusative form βάρβαρον can combine with all the feminine nouns mentioned as in πρὸς τὴν βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν (Gregory of Nyssa, Epistle 14, 6, l. 4), βάρβαρον φωνήν (Flavius Arrianus, Alexandri anabasis 1, 26, 4, l. 6), or περὶ βάρβαρον διάλεκτον (Epiphanius, Panarion 1, 400, l. 14 = Irenaeus, Adversus haereses 1, Prol., 1, l. 50), but combinations with the genitive plural in the sense of „language of foreigners“ also occur as in γλώσσῃ βαρβάρων (Eusebius, De laudibus Constantini 17, 9, l. 7), τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ (Johannes Chyrostomus, In epistulam i ad Corinthios, PG 61, 300, l. 31), or τὰς βαρβάρων φωνὰς μηδὲ διαλέκτους (Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 1, 21, 142.4, l. 3).3

4. For barsaboni in both its meanings thus established, „balsam“ and „language, idiom“, we thus arrive at a point of aporia – both seem to be related to their counterparts in Greek (βάλσαμον / βάρβαρον, βαρβάρων) and Armenian (barbar), but both imply sound changes that are not attested elsewhere if they were borrowed from them. A possible way out might be the assumption of a mutual interference of the two terms (*balsamon-i and *barbaroni) which, however, remains hard to corroborate given the discrepancy of meanings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


the different versions of the legend of Ss. Eustratius and companions is a desideratum of high priority.

1 For a connection of βάρβαρος with Arm. barbar cf. Ačar 1971, 420a.
2 Cf., e.g., Liddell - Scott 1968: 306b.
3 All examples retrieved by a search in the TLG, 26.7.2020.


Bregadze et al. 1976: Bregadze et al., „Qartuli“ xelnawerTa, aRweriloba yofili saeklesios muzeumis (A) koleqciisa tomo I/2. Tbilisi: Mecniereba.


Vark’: 1874: Վարք և վկայաբանութիւնք սրբոց. Հատընտիր քաղեալք ի ճարընտրաց. Հատոր Ա. Վենետիկ: ի Տպարանի Մխիթարեանց.

Yaysm. 1834: Յայսմագրութեան բարձր ցրտադիր պատասխանություն ստեղծել նրանոց, որը պահպանվում է Հույն Մայր Պատմութեան Պատմարանում.