

## XX Hadrian the Coward

### *A Misunderstanding and Some Automatisms in the Translation from Greek into Georgian\**

Since the very beginning of its literacy in about the fifth century of our era within the context of Christianisation, Georgian has been heavily influenced by Greek. Starting with biblical texts and continuing with hagiographical, homiletic, and hymnographic materials, translations of Greek models formed the bulk of the literary production of Georgian in the first millennium, with Jerusalem and Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Antioch representing the most important places of contact. By the turn of the millennium, further such places evolved at Constantinople, Mount Olympus and Mount Athos, and a new ‘Hellenising’ school established itself in the academies of Gelati and Iqalto. However, not only the sites changed in the course of centuries but also the translation techniques—from more meaning-oriented free renderings towards more exact reproductions. To what extent this was accompanied by the use of divergent dictionaries is unknown, given that no bilingual dictionary has survived from Old Georgian times; nevertheless, sample cases such as the one to be discussed below seem to suggest that there were different translation automatisms at work at different times and places.

With more than 90 codices, the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos possesses one of the largest collections of Georgian manuscripts outside of Georgia. Founded in the 980s by the Georgian noblemen John (*Iovane*) and Euthymius (*Eptvime*), it soon developed to be the leading centre of Georgian erudition, abounding in translations of Christian literature from Greek. The second largest of the codices the monastery library has preserved is Ivir. georg. 2, a menology of the month of December written around the thirteenth century, which comprises 23 hagiographic texts, all of them hitherto unpublished.<sup>1</sup> The eleventh of them (ff. 140rb–51rb) is devoted to Saint Eleutherius, an Illyrian bishop who was martyred in Rome under Emperor Hadrian and who is celebrated on 15 December. The title of his legend (on f. 140r) simply runs *Camebay çmidisa mğdelmoçamisa elevterisi* ‘Passion of the holy hieromartyr Eleutherius’; the date of 15 December was added by the scribe’s hand in the upper margin (cf. Fig. 1). After the title, the text begins with a remarkable *incipit* introducing

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the new catalogue of the Georgian manuscripts of the Iviron Monastery (Gippert, Outtier, Kim 2022, pp. 29–36).

the emperor: *Žabani andrianos, odesme bromes mepobda, ešmaḳta da ḳerḳta gulsmoḡined bmsaxurebda* ‘When Hadrian the Coward reigned in Rome, he served the devils and idols with zeal’.<sup>2</sup>

The unexpected epithet of the emperor appearing here, *žabani* ‘coward’, is indeed well attested in Georgian from the tenth century until the present day, with instances from both original and TTs and including derivations such as *žabnoba* ‘be afraid’, *dažabneba* ‘frighten’, *šežabneba* ‘frighten, faint’, and *sižabne* ‘cowardice’.<sup>3</sup> Among the earliest examples, we may mention, e.g., a strophe from a heirmos for the first Saturday of Lent by the hymnographer Ioane Minčxi (first half of the tenth century) which runs *numca vemsgavsebit čuen, žmano, gulita žabanta žamsa šina cqobisasa mčerta mimart, rametu moicia žami gamomcdeli gulta čuenta axovnebisay mbrzolta mat mimart uxilavta* ‘May we not, brethren, resemble cowards with (our) heart(s) in the time of going out against the enemies, because the time has arrived, challenging for our hearts, of being brave against the invisible warriors’.<sup>4</sup> The same association with battles and fighting is also visible, e.g., in the Georgian national epic, the ‘Knight in the Panther’s Skin’ by Shota Rustaveli (c.1172–1216), where we read the verse *tkven vačarni, žabanni xart, omisaca umecarni* ... ‘You, traders, are cowards and ignorant of war’.<sup>5</sup> As an original text, we may further count the short commentary provided by Euthymius the Athonite (955–1028) together with his translation of the *Oratio XLIV* of Gregory of Nazianzus. In explaining the latter’s word *Χθές πιστιν εἶχες τὴν τῶν καιρῶν, σήμερον τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ γνώρισον* ‘Yesterday you had the faith of the times,’<sup>6</sup> today become acquainted with that of God’<sup>7</sup>—in Georgian *gušin gakunda šen sarcmunoebay žamtay, dges sarcmunoebasa zeda gmrtsisa ganemḱice*<sup>8</sup>—Euthymius writes:

*ray ars sarcmunoebay žamtay? odesme mepē mčvalebeli daždis, vitarca uvali da msgavsni misni, odesme ḳerḳtmsaxurni, vitarca ivliane, romelni uzlurni iqvnian gonebita da žabanni gulita, cessa mas žamtasa miudgian da daemorčilnian mepeta anu mḡdeltmozḡuarta mčvalebelta...*

2 The same text is also found in manuscript no. 5 (ff. 286v–95v) of the Kutaisi State Historical Museum, cf. Kekelidze 1957, p. 153.

3 Cf., e.g., the dictionaries by Abuladze 1973, p. 573a, s.v. *žaban-i*, s.v. *žabnoba*; and p. 500a, s.v. *šežabneba*; Sarjveladze 1995, p. 277b, s.v. *žaban-i*; Chikobava et al. 1950–1964, vol. 8, p. 1541, s.v. *žaban-i*, s.v. *žabni-s*, and s.v. *žabnoba*; vol. 3, p. 1093, s.v. *dažabna*, s.v. *dažabndeb-a*, s.v. *dažabneba*, s.v. *dažabnebuli*, s.v. *dažabni-s*, s.v. *dažabnil-i*, and s.v. *dažabnul-i*; and vol. 7, p. 1111, s.v. *sižabne*; as well as Rayfield et al. 2006, p. 1711a, s.v. *žab[a]ni*, s.v. *žabnis*, and s.v. *žabnoba*, p. 613a, s.v. *dažabna*, s.v. *dažabndeba*, s.v. *dažabneba*, s.v. *dažabnebuli*, s.v. *dažabnili*, s.v. *dažabnis*, and s.v. *dažabnuli*, p. 877b, s.v. *šežabneba*, and p. 1191a s.v. *sižabne*; the syncope of the second *a* (*žaban-* > *-žabn-*) is regular. The *TITUS* corpus and the Georgian National Corpus (GNC) provide 19 attestations of *žabani* or its derivatives from Old Georgian texts, 63 from texts of the so-called Middle Georgian period (c.12th–18th centuries), and c.3000 from Modern Georgian. The word is probably a borrowing of Arabic *ğabān* ‘coward’ (cf. Wehr 1958, p. 99, s.v. *ğabuna* ‘feige sein, furchtsam sein, zu feige sein’) which also appears in Persian (cf. Steingass 1956, p. 355a, s.v. *jabān*, and s.v. *jabānīyat*, etc.); the interrelation with formations of an identical Semitic root (*j-b-n*) yielding meanings like ‘coagulate’, ‘cheese’, or ‘front’ remains unclear as does the relation with Persian *zabūn* ‘weak, infirm, helpless’ (Steingass 1892, p. 610b) which was in its turn borrowed into Georgian as *žabun-i* (cf., e.g., Rayfield 2006, p. 1582a, s.v.).

4 Khachidze 1987, p. 156 (13–19).

5 Verse no. 1040a in the editions by Baramdize et al. 1957 and Shanidze 1975. Should the combination of *vačarni* ‘traders’ and *žabanni* ‘cowards’ be influenced by Arabic *ğabbān* ‘cheese trader’ (Wehr 1958, p. 99b ‘Käsehändler’)?

6 Instead of ‘faith of the times’, ‘belief in the opportune moments’ might be a better translation.

7 *Oratio XLIV*, 9: PG 36:617A.

8 Metreveli et al. 1998, p. 194 (1–2).

What is the ‘faith of the times’? When a heretic king like Valens<sup>9</sup> and his equals takes the throne, (or) when (it is) idolatrous (kings) like Julian (Apostata), (those) who are weak by thought and cowards by heart follow the rule of the times and obey the heretic kings or highpriests...<sup>10</sup>

How, then, might Hadrian have received the unexpected epithet of being a ‘coward’? The answer is simple: through a translation automatism. As a matter of fact, the legend of Saint Eleutherius such as it is preserved in Ivir. georg. 2 was translated from a Greek model, namely, the metaphrastic legend attributed to Symeon Logothetes. It was produced, along with many other Georgian versions of hagiographical and other texts, by a hieromonk named Teopile (i.e. Theophilos) who worked in Constantinople between c.1073 and 1116 CE, being one of the most prolific Georgian authors of the time;<sup>11</sup> the very fact of his being the translator is indicated in the margin of Ivir. georg. 2, f. 140r, facing the title of the legend (cf. Fig. 1).<sup>12</sup>

In contrast to Teopile’s translation, Symeon’s metaphrasis, published under the title *Ἀθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος Ἐλευθερίου* in vol. 115 of Migne’s *Patrologia Graeca*,<sup>13</sup> is assigned to 18 April, and it does not contain any word meaning ‘coward’ or the like; instead, Hadrian is introduced with his *nomen gentiliicum* as belonging to the Aelian family: *Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ῥωμαίων μὲν βασιλεύοντος ... / Cum Aelius Adrianus Romanis quidem imperaret ...* In an earlier Georgian translation, which was provided in the late tenth century by a certain Davit Ṭbeli (David of Ṭbeti), this is rendered in a way which suggests that the *nomen* was misunderstood as an alternative name; it reads: *andrianes, romelsaca eliaci ecoda, epqra ray mepobay bromtay ...* ‘When Hadrian, who was also named Elia, had seized the reign over (lit. of) the Romans...’<sup>14</sup> The version by Teopile presupposes a different misunderstanding: provided the initial *alpha* of *Αἰλίου* was mistaken for a *delta*, the unknown *nomen* could be interpreted as representing *Δειλοῦ* or *Δειλαίου*, i.e. an adjective meaning ‘wretched’, ‘miserable’, or ‘cowardly’, which was perfectly well translatable by Georgian *žabani*.

The fact that *žabani* was indeed a good candidate for rendering Greek *δειλός* and *δείλαιος*, at least from the beginning of the second millennium on, is witnessed to by several other examples. Coming from Mount Athos, we may begin with the second translation of the treatise *De opificio hominis* by Gregory of Nyssa (CPG 3154), which was produced by George (Giorgi) the Athonite (c.1009–1065), a successor of Euthymius’, and has been preserved in

9 As in the given quotation, the name of the Roman Emperor Valens appears usually as *uvali* in Georgian; the edition gives *uali* as a *varia lectio* (Metreveli *et al.* 1998, p. 211 (app.)), in other contexts we also find *uvalis* and *ualis* (e.g. in the Georgian translation of the Great Synaxarion of Constantinople by George the Athonite, cf. Dolakidze, Chitunashvili 2018, p. 222b (9, with app.)), where Julian and Valens are mentioned side by side, too). The latter variant is obviously preferable being an exact mirror of the Greek form *Οὐάλης*, while *u(v)ali* must be due to a morphological adaptation (with *-is* erroneously analysed as a genitive ending), which may have been reinforced by the existence of a synonymous adjective *uvali* meaning ‘inaccessible, impassable’.

10 Metreveli *et al.* 1998, p. 211 (1–10); cf. the French translation in Metreveli *et al.* 1998, p. 210.

11 Four codices of the Ivron monastery are confined (possibly as autographs) to works by Teopile, namely, Ivir. georg. 20, 36 and 37 with metaphrases of September and November, and Ivir. georg. 29 with the commentary on Genesis by John Chrysostom (CPG 4409). One more of Teopile’s codices was moved from the Ivron to the K. Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi (hereafter: KKNCM), where it is today kept as A-1105; it represents a systematical collection of apophthegms (a partial copy from 1903 is preserved in the monastery under shelf number 92, cf. Gippert, Outtier, Kim 2022, pp. 705–11).

12 The note reads *teopile t|<a>|rg|ma|ni*, i.e. ‘Teopile the translator’.

13 PG 115:127–142; cf. also BHG 571.

14 This version, as well unpublished, is preserved in manuscripts A-90 (ff. 108v–16r) and H-1347 (ff. 427v–33r) of the KKNCM; for the *incipit* cf. Bregadze *et al.* 1973, p. 317 (no. 8) and Sharashidze 1948, p. 300 (no. 54).

manuscript Ivir. georg. 49, an autograph of his, as well as some later copies, among them Ivir. georg. 14.<sup>15</sup> At the end of chapter 13, the Nyssen talks about the different types of dreams that different people have:

*Ἐτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἡθῶν καταστάσεις τυποῦται πολλοῖς τὰ ἐνύπνια. Ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀνδρείου, καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ δειλοῦ τὰ φαντάσματα· ἄλλοι τοῦ ἀκολάστου ὄνειροι, καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ σώφρονος ...*

Moreover, most men's dreams are conformed to the state of their character: the brave man's fancies are of one kind, the coward's of another; the wanton man's dreams of one kind, the continent man's of another...<sup>16</sup>

Alongside *žabani*, George's translation provides, in form of a hendiadys, a second equivalent for the 'coward', namely *mošiši* 'fearful', a derivative of *šiši* 'fear, dread':<sup>17</sup>

*da egretve kwalad, agebulebasa da čessa da guarsa nebatasa miemsgavsebian sizmarnica umravlestani; rametu sxuani arian mqnisani, da sxuani mošišisa da žabnisani, da sxuani sizmarni arian aračmidisani, da sxuani čmidisani...*<sup>18</sup>

Yet another equivalent of *δειλός* appears in the first Georgian version of the treatise, which is contained in the so-called Shatberdi collection, a codex dating from the end of the tenth century;<sup>19</sup> here we read: *da kwalad aried-ca sizmarni msgavsad sakmeta kactaysa, rametu sxuay ars sizmari kveltay da sxuay ars čukentay, da sxuay ars ġirstay da sxuay ars mežavtay...*<sup>20</sup> The word *čukēn-i* used here shows indeed a different chronological distribution in comparison with *žaban-i*: together with derivatives like *si-čukēn-e* 'cowardice',<sup>21</sup> it appears much more often in Old Georgian than in later stages of the language and has practically gone out of use today.<sup>22</sup>

Together with *mošiši*, *žabani* appears a second time in one of George the Athonite's translations of Gregory of Nyssa's works. In his *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione* (CPG 3149), the bishop wrote: *Ἀπόνηρον γὰρ εἰπόντες τὸν ἀγαθὸν παρεστήκαμεν, καὶ ἄνανδρον ὀνομάσαντες τὸν δειλὸν ἐγνωρίσαμεν* 'when we say a "guileless", we indicate a good man; when we say "unmanly", we have expressed that a man is a coward'.<sup>23</sup> In George's translation, which is also preserved in Ivir. georg. 14,<sup>24</sup> it is *ἄνανδρον* that is translated by *žabani* while *mošiši* represents *δειλόν*: *uboroḡoy ray vtkuāt, saxieri da ketili čarmovačīnot, da žabnad ray saxelvdvīt, mošiši sacnaur-vqvit*. The correspondence with *mošiši* manifests itself in the same text also in the treatment of the derivative noun, *δειλία*, which is once translated by *šiši* 'fear,

15 Ivir. georg. 49, ff. 109r–33v / Ivir. georg. 14, ff. 317ra–64va (cf. Gippert, Outtier, Kim 2022, p. 466 (no. 23 and 174, no. 18)); the text was critically edited by Kochlamazashvili 2009, pp. 90–235.

16 PG 44:173C; English translation by W. Moore and H. A. Wilson in Schaff, Wace 1917, p. 402.

17 Cf. e.g. Rayfield 2006, pp. 1010a and 1458 s.v.

18 Ivir. georg. 49, f. 118v (7–11); Kochlamazashvili 2009, p. 145 (15–20).

19 Manuscript S-1141 of the KKNCM, ff. 1v–59r; a later sister of the Shatberdi codex, manuscript Jer. georg. 44 of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem, contains the same text on ff. 57r–103v.

20 Cf. the edition by Gigineishvili, Giunashvili 1979, p. 90 (38–44).

21 Cf. e.g. Rayfield 2006, p. 1189b.

22 GNC yields 41 attestations for Old Georgian, seven for Middle Georgian and only 30 for the modern language. This may be explained by the sexual connotation that *čukēn-i* is attributed to today (cf. e.g. Rayfield 2006, p. 1561 with the meaning 'masturbator'), which may have caused its being tabooed in written contexts; it is therefore even missing in dictionaries like Chikobava *et al.* 1950–1964.

23 PG 46:40B; English translation by W. Moore and H. A. Wilson in Schaff, Wace 1917, p. 436.

24 Ivir. georg. 14, f. 67rb (2); cf. the edition by Kochlamazashvili *et al.* 2004, p. 178 (25). In George the Athonite's autograph (Ivir. georg. 49), the text is absent due to six quires missing from its beginning; cf. Gippert, Outtier, Kim 2002, p. 460 (and 171).

fright' and once by *mošišeba* 'being fearful'.<sup>25</sup> With more than 30 times as many attestations in published Old Georgian texts as *žabani*, *mošiši* and its derivatives may indeed have been the first choice in rendering the concept of 'fearfulness' or 'cowardice', and the underlying noun *šiši* was even more frequent.<sup>26</sup>

The best case to test the Georgian preferences in translating *δειλός* and its derivatives is, of course, the translation of the Bible. Here, however, we are confronted with the problem that the Georgian tradition is extremely divergent in itself, with up to four different redactions manifesting themselves in both the New and the Old Testaments and sometimes revealing the influence of translation models other than Greek, especially Armenian. This is also true of most of the attestations in question here.

Within the Gospels, the least variation is exhibited in Mk 4:40 where nearly all witnesses<sup>27</sup> use *mošiši* in translating the question 'Why are you so afraid?' by *raysa esoden mošiš xart*; with *esoden* 'so', the Georgian text meets those Greek manuscripts that add *οὕτως* or *οὕτω* to *Τί δειλοί ἐστέ*. A different wording is only found in the so-called Adishi Gospels of 897 CE, which reads *rad egden gulmedgar xart*; with *gulmedgar*, an exocentric compound consisting of *gul-* 'heart' and *medgar-* 'wicked, sluggard'. This obviously mirrors the Armenian text which uses *vasasirt*, a similar formation consisting of *vat-* 'bad, wicked' and *sirt* 'heart' (*əndē'r aynpēs vatasirtkk' ēk'*).<sup>28</sup> Similarly, *Τί δειλοί ἐστέ* in Mt 8:26 is translated by *rad gulmedgar xart* in the Adishi Gospels (corresponding to Armenian *əndē'r vatasirtkk' ēk'*); here, the other Georgian witnesses use verbal forms like *še(h)šindit*<sup>29</sup> or *gešinis*,<sup>30</sup> both from the root meaning 'fear' of which *šiši* (< \**si-ši*) is the verbal noun, or *šezrčundit* / *šebzrčundebit*,<sup>31</sup> from a verb *še-zrčuneba* meaning 'being shaken by fear'. In the Gospel of John, we only find an instance of the derivative *δειλιάω* 'be afraid', in *μηδὲ δειλιάτω* (Jn 14:27). This is again rendered by finite forms of *-šin-* 'fear' in most witnesses;<sup>32</sup> only the Adishi Gospels have *nuca dahmedgrdebit*, with a form of the verb *da-medgr-eba* 'become timorous' which is a derivative of the adjective *medgar-* also present in *gul-medgar-*. Here, the Armenian version uses the verb *zangitel* 'be frightened' (*mí zangitesc'in*).

Beyond the Gospels, there are two pertinent attestations in the New Testament. In 2 Ti 1:7, the Greek text uses *δειλία*, the abstract noun of *δειλός*, in speaking of a 'spirit of fear' (*πνεῦμα δειλίας*); this is rendered by *suli mošišebisay* in all Georgian versions, with *mošišeba-* being the corresponding abstract noun of *mošiši*. The latter adjective again appears in the Georgian version of the Book of Revelation (Re 21:8)—which was translated together with the commentary of Andrew of Caesarea (CPG 7478) by Euthymius the Athonite in about 977 CE<sup>33</sup>—in the enumeration of sinners beginning with *τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις*, rendered by *mošišta da určmunota* in the Georgian text.

25 PG 46:56B; Kochlamazashvili *et al.* 2004, p. 184 (6 and 12).

26 GNC yields more than 700 attestations for *mošiši* and more than 2650 for *šiši*.

27 Sigla ABDEFGHIKRP. The witnesses are documented in synoptic form in Samushia, Dundua 2011–2014 [online: TITUS]; cf. ib. for the identification of the sigla.

28 Arm. *vasasirt* itself is obviously a hybrid calque of Middle Persian *vad-dil* 'coward', lit. 'wicked-heart(ed)', with *vat* being a borrowing of the Iranian adjective; the New Persian successor of *vad-dil*, *bad-dil*, appears several times in Gurgāni's epic *Viš u Rāmīn*, always translated by *žabani* in its twelfth-century Georgian adaptation, the *Visramiani*.

29 Sigla BFGRPAnHIK.

30 The reading of the so-called Paris Lectionary (L), cf. note 36 below.

31 Sigla DE and A, respectively.

32 *nuca gešin* in BFGAnL, *nuca ešin* in ADEQHIK, *nuca ešin* in RP.

33 Cf. the edition by Imnaishvili 1961, pp. 124–25.



The Georgian witnesses of the Old Testament show a comparable picture inasmuch as there is a clear preponderance for the use of *-šin-* and its derivatives; however, the distribution is not consistent across the individual books and their witnesses.

In the psalter, which must have been translated early and had a peculiar history of transmission,<sup>34</sup> we find *šiši* as the equivalent of *δειλία* in Ps 54:5, but also for *φόβος* in Ps 54:6 and Ps 13:5; in the latter verse as well as Ps 77:53 and Ps 118:161, the verb *δειλιάω* is translated by *šeešinos / šeešina*. For the same verb, we find the forms *ševzṛcunde* and *šezṛcundian* in Ps 26:1 and Ps 103:7, and similarly, *δειλιάν* is rendered by *šezṛcunebul* in Ps 88:41. Between the different redactions of the psalter, there is only minimal variation here, *ἐδειλίασαν φόβω* in Ps 13:5 being rendered by *šeešinos mat šišit* in the older (AB) and *šeešina šiši* in the later (Athonite) redaction (G), and *οὐκ ἐδειλίασαν* in Ps 77:53, by *ara šeešinos* in AB and *ara šeešina* in G.

A similar distribution of the two verbs *-šin-* and *-zṛcun-* can also be observed in other poetical books; however, here we also find instances of *medgar-* and its compound *gul-medgar-*. In Pr 19:15, *δειλία* is translated in all existing witnesses, beginning with the so-called Oshki Bible of 978 (O),<sup>35</sup> by *šiši*. The same noun appears in O in Wis 4:20 and Wis 17:10 as the equivalent of *δειλός* while the so-called Bakar Bible (B), a compilation that was published in printed form in Moscow in 1743, uses the adjective *mošiši* in these cases. In Wis 9:14, *δειλοί* is rendered by *mošiš* in all existing witnesses, including the so-called Mxeta Bible (S), which was compiled by the scholar Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani by the turn of the eighteenth century, and the Paris Lectionary (L), the most complete witness of the Jerusalem rite.<sup>36</sup> The same adjective renders *δειλός* also in its only attestation in the historical books (2 Ch 13:7) in all existing witnesses.<sup>37</sup>

A slightly more diverse picture is visible in the book of Jesus Sirach, which has a peculiar history in Georgian: a complete translation, which reflects the Greek text, is contained in O and a second one, which is based upon the Slavonic text, in its turn depending on the Latin, in B; besides, a few passages have been preserved as pericopes in L and, in corresponding form, in S.<sup>38</sup> In rendering *δειλός* and its derivatives, O shows a preponderance for the adjective *medgar-*, including its compound *gul-medgar-* and the verb *momedgreba*: *δειλαῖς* and *δειλή* in Sir 2:12 and Sir 22:18 are translated by the simple adjective, *δειλοῦ* in Sir 37:11 by *gul-medgar-i*, and *μὴ δειλιάσῃ* in Sir 34:14 by *ara momedgrdes*. Exceptionally, *zṛcunebay* is used to render *δειλιάν* in Sir 22:18, and for *καρδία ἐστηριγμένη ἐπὶ διανοήματος βουλῆς ἐν καιρῷ οὐ δειλιάσει* in Sir 22:16, O has the deviant phrasing *guli damṭḡicebuli zraxvasa zeda gonebisasa žamsa ara dahqsndis aḡtexisa misisa* ‘a heart (that is) founded on the counsel of the intellect is not broken at the time of its trouble’. In contrast to this, B uses the verb *-šin-* and its derivatives throughout, including Sir 22:16 (here: Sir 22:23) with *ara šeešindes* ‘will not be frightened’; this, however, cannot be taken as a direct rendering of *δειλός* etc. as it always reflects *τραπεῶ* (Sir 2:12, Sir 4:17, Sir 22:16–18, Sir 37:11) or *βοῦ* (Sir 34:14) in the Slavonic text.<sup>39</sup> The only

34 Cf. Gippert, Outtier 2022 for a recent treatise.

35 The Oshki Bible, preserved in two volumes as Ivir. georg. 1 in the Iviron monastery, represents the oldest near-to-complete Old Testament codex of Georgian; except for some lacunae that are due to losses of quires or folios, it lacks only the books of Chronicles, the Psalms, and the books of Maccabees.

36 Manuscript géorgien 3 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

37 S and B as well as manuscripts H-885 (D), A-646 (F), and A-570 (I) of the KKNCM.

38 Cf. Gippert 2020 as to the Georgian Ecclesiasticus.

39 The model for the translations from Slavonic in the Bakar Bible was probably the so-called Elizabeth Bible which was published in Moscow in 1751. This also holds for the relevant instances in the books of Maccabees, which only exist in B in Georgian; here we usually find *-šin-* etc. (1 Mac 3:56, 1 Mac 4:21, 1 Mac 4:32, 1 Mac 16:6, 2 Mac 15:8, 3 Mac 6:19) and only exceptionally other words (*cwpreba* ‘astonishment’ in 2 Mac 3:24, *gank(r)teba* ‘quiver’ in 1 Mac 4:8).

pertinent verse that occurs in the Paris Lectionary (Sir 2:12) shows *šiši*,<sup>40</sup> thus proving that its text is not directly related to that of the Oshki Bible. With the use of (*gul-*)*medgar-*, the latter shows a remarkable affinity to the Adishi Gospels, which may be due to the fact that both were produced in the province of Tao-Klarjeti in East Anatolia, a region with a strong interaction with Armenian.<sup>41</sup>

The ‘Armenoid’ formation *gul-medgar-* appears once more in the Georgian Old Testament, in Dt 20:8 in the Mxeta and Bakar Bibles as well as two further codices (A and K).<sup>42</sup> Here, the question *Τίς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ φοβούμενος καὶ δειλὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ* is translated as a conditional sentence *iqos tu vinme kaci gulmedgar da šešinebul iqos guli misi* ‘if a man were fearful and his heart frightened’;<sup>43</sup> this means that *gulmedgar* is the equivalent of *φοβούμενος*, not of *δειλός*, thus possibly avoiding the doubling of *gul-* ‘heart’ within one phrase. The Armenian text does have *vatasirt* here again, but endures the doubling: *áyr ok‘or erkne‘ic‘ē, ew vatasirt srtiw ic‘ē* ‘a man who would be afraid and fearful with (his) heart’. There is one more attestation of *vatasirt* in the Armenian Bible, in Jg 7:3 where *ó ok‘ vatasirt ic‘ē‘ darjc‘i* translates *Τίς δειλὸς καὶ φοβούμενος; ἀποστραφήτω*, with *vatasirt* rendering both Greek adjectives; here, it is the Paris Lectionary (L) that uses *medgar*, in combination with *mošiši* which also occurs in all other Georgian witnesses, either alone (*mošiši gulita* ‘fearful with the heart’ S and D) or in combination with another adjective: the Bakar Bible has *mošiši da umqno gulita* (with *umqno* ‘faint’, lit. ‘non-vigorous’), and the so-called Gelati Bible (G), *mošiši da čičneuli* (with *čičneuli* ‘timorous’). For Dt 20:8, the latter witness, which is a product of the Hellenising school flourishing in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries in the Academy of Gelati, provides a much closer translation of the Greek, with the interrogative sentence *vin ars kaci šešinebuli, šežabnebuli gulita ...* ‘Who is the frightened man, fearful with (his) heart’; here, *δειλός* is represented by *šežabnebuli*, a participle of the verbal derivative of *žabani*, *še-žabn-eba* ‘become fearful’. In the continuation of the same verse, the Greek text shows the only occurrence of the transitive verb *δειλιάνω*, in *ἵνα μὴ δειλιάνη τὴν καρδίαν*; this is rendered by a corresponding formation from *žabani* in *rayta ara šeažabnos guli* in G and by a derivative of *medgar-* in *rayta ara ganimedgros guli* in the other Georgian witnesses. The Armenian text has the causative of the verb *zangitel* ‘frighten’ here (*zi mi zangitesc‘owsc‘esc‘ē zsirt*) which we have already noticed as the equivalent of *damedgreba* in Jn 14.27 in the Adishi Gospels.

Derivatives of *žabani* occur in the Gelati Bible in four more verses of the Octateuch. In Jos 1:9, G renders the Greek formula *μὴ δειλιάσῃς μηδὲ φοβηθῇς* by *nu šešžabnebdī, nuca šešindebi*; the other witnesses have *nu še(y)sžrcundebi*, *nucağa gešinīn* (BDS; the second verb is missing in L). In Dt 31:6 and Dt 31:8, the inverted formula *μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλιά* appears as *nu gešinīn, nuca šžabnob* in G, vs. *nu gešinīn, nuca še(s)žrcundebi(n)* in BDES. Similarly, G reads *nu šešindebit, nuca šešžabndebit* in Dt 20:3, where the Greek text has a different verb, *θραύω*, in *μὴ φοβεῖσθε μηδὲ θραύεσθε*; this is translated by *nuca gešinīn, nu dabrkoldebied* in BDES. In three further verses showing the combination of *φοβοῦμαι* and *δειλιάω*, G provides different equivalents: for *μὴ φοβεῖσθε μηδὲ δειλιάσητε* in Dt 1:21, it has *nu gešinīnqe, nuca sžrcit* (with *-žrc-* representing the root that underlies *še-žrcuneba*), for *Μὴ φοβηθῇς μηδὲ δειλιάσῃς* in Jos 8:1, we find *nu gešinīn, nuca icqlvi* (from *cqlva* ‘wound, be wounded’), and in Jos 10:25, *Μὴ φοβηθῇτε αὐτοὺς μηδὲ δειλιάσητε* is translated by *nu ešišvit mat, nuca ečivit*

40 Neither this nor any one of the other verses is contained in S.

41 Cf. Gippert (forthcoming 1) as to the interaction of Georgian and Armenian in Tao-Klarjeti.

42 A = manuscript H-1207 of the KKNCM and K = manuscript no. 28 of the Kutaisi State Historical Museum.

43 The variant *šeginebul* ‘defiled’ appearing in manuscript E = A-243 of the KKNCM (cf. *Biblia GE* 2017, p. 628) is with no doubt due to a copying error.

(from *çiçva* ‘be frightened’, also the basis of *çiçneuli* ‘timorous’). In all these cases, the other witnesses<sup>44</sup> have *nu gešinin*, *nuca še(s)zrçundebit(/n)*. There is only one more relevant instance in the Octateuch, namely Lv 26:36, where *δειλία* is translated by *šiši* in all existing witnesses including the Gelati Bible.<sup>45</sup>

Yet another distribution reveals itself in the prophetic books. In Ho 7:13, we find another instance of *žaban* translating *δειλαιος*, but this time in the Mcxeta and Bakar Bibles (SB); in contrast to this, the Oshki Bible (O) has *ubadruk*, a term meaning ‘unfortunate’ or ‘wretched’. The term appears again in Ba 4:31–32 in translating *δειλαιοι* / *δειλαιαι*; here, however, it is met with in S, B and L, while O, together with the Jerusalem Bible (J)<sup>46</sup> as its sister manuscript, has *sacqalobel* ‘pitiful’. This, too, is used once again, for *δειλαία* in Na 3:7, but in S and B, contrasting with *saglaxobel* ‘deplorable’ in O and J. For the two attestations of the verb *δειλιάω* in the Prophets, the witnesses use the verb *-šin-* (Is 13:7 JSB,<sup>47</sup> Jr 15:5 S) or, in Jr 15:5 in OJ, *-cux-* (*τίς δειλιάσει ἐπὶ σοί ~ vñ daçuxnes šen zeda* ‘who will be saddened about you’).

Summarising the observations, we may state that, for rendering Greek *δειλός* and its derivatives, the first choice of Georgian translators throughout the centuries was the lexical family around the verb *-šin-* ‘fear’ with the verbal noun *šiši* representing *δειλία* and the adjective *mošiši*, both *δειλός* and *δειλαιος*. The use of *medgari* ‘wicked’ and, especially, its compound *gul-medgari* ‘with a wicked heart’ is obviously induced by Armenian *vatasirt* ‘id.’ and thus points to an Armenian model for the contexts under consideration. The word *žabani*, which is attested from about the late tenth century onwards, remains rather exceptional in Bible translation; it is clearly associated with the Hellenising schools of Mount Athos, Constantinople, and Gelati. Possibly, its use was determined by a pejorative connotation (cf. ‘coward’ vs. ‘frightful’) as suggested by the non-biblical examples; this will then also hold true for its being applied to Hadrian as an enemy of Christendom.

44 ABEKS in Dt 1:21; BDS in Jos 8:1 and Jos 10:25.

45 ABKS + G. The attestation of *δειλός* in the second Greek recension (B) of the Book of Judges (Jg 9:4) has no bearing on our question as the Georgian versions depend on recension A, which has *θαμβουμένους* instead; this is rendered by *ukmni* ‘idle’ in G and *ganḡrtomilni* ‘frightened’ in BDS.

46 The codex, preserved in the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem, is split into two today, stored as Jer. georg. 7 and 11, respectively.

47 Is 10:26–Is 19:1 are missing due to a lacuna in O.



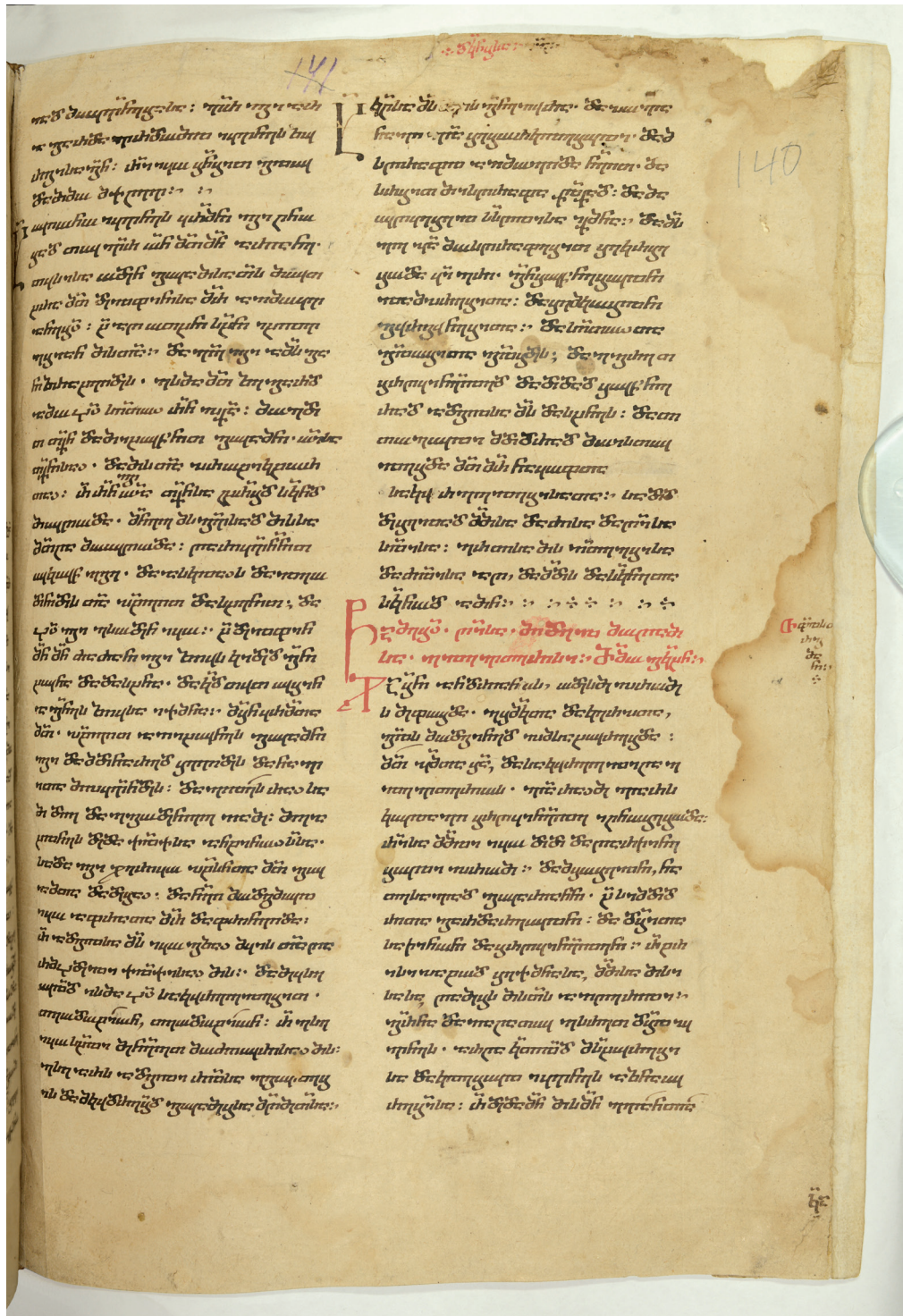


Fig. 1. Ivrit. georg. 2, f. 140r.