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VIII   Tracing Translation Models

The Case of Caucasian Albanian[*]

In the context of their Christianisation, three peoples of the Southern Caucasus developed their own literacy in about the fifth century of our era: Armenians, Georgians, and the so-called Caucasian 'Albanians', inhabitants of the region around the lower Kura River that was called Albania in ancient (Greek) sources. Whereas the former two maintained their literary heritage until the present day, that of the 'Albanians' was exhausted in about the eighth century by consequence of the Arab conquest of the area, and no written documents in Caucasian 'Albanian' language and script (hereafter: CA) were known until the end of the twentieth century when two Georgian palimpsests found in Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai were identified to contain CA texts in their lower layer. As a result of an international project that focused on deciphering these texts with the help of multispectral imaging, a first edition of the CA undertexts of the two palimpsests was published in 2008–2009;[1] the textual materials that were identifiable comprised the remnants of two different original manuscripts, one containing the Gospel of John and one, lectionary materials (pericopes) from the other Gospels, the Acts of Apostles, Pauline and Catholic Letters, and the Old Testament (Isaiah).

Beyond the mere identification of the contents, the edition[2] revealed that the CA biblical texts were most probably translated from Armenian, not from Greek, Georgian, or Syriac as the other possible models. A clear indication of the links between CA and Armenian texts was seen in 1 Co 12:28, where the CA text adds *e targowman(ow)n mowzroy*, i.e. 'this translation of tongues', to the list of functions and gifts God has appointed.[3] This addition is only matched by the Armenian text which has *tʻargmanowtʻiwns lezowacʻ*; all other versions end the verse with the preceding item of the list, which is 'diversities' or 'kinds of tongues'. In addition, the CA phrase shows two more features that are indicative of an Armenian model: it contains the element *e*, which represents either a demonstrative pronoun 'this'

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[1]   Gippert, Schulze, Aleksidze, Mahé 2008, vol. 1 and 2. The palimpsest codices are Sin.georg. NF 13 and NF 55, hereafter styled *A* and *B*; they represent parts of one Georgian *codex rescriptus*.

[2]   Meanwhile, the decipherment of the palimpsests has made great progress thanks to new images provided by [online: *Sinai-Palimpsests*], especially images with the so-called 'transmissive light imaging' method. The present treatise relies upon the new readings thus facilitated; a revised edition is under preparation.

[3]   Contained on folios B26rb + B31vb, ll. 13–14.

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or a definite article 'the', in combination with the singular abstract noun *targowmanown* 'translation', and this is only explicable if the final *-s* of Armenian *t'argmanowt'iwns* was understood here as the proximal definite article ('the translation of tongues'), not as the homonymous ending of an accusative plural ('translations of tongues') that was probably intended as in all preceding objects of God's 'appointment' (*zōrowt'iwns* 'powers' ~ CA plural *mil'anownowx*, *šnorhs* 'gifts of mercy' ~ *madil'owx*, *azgs lezowac'* 'kinds of tongues' ~ CA *qarmowx mowzroy*, etc.).[4] As the example shows, the CA translation rendered the Armenian model as neatly as possible, including grammatical elements such as the definite article and other features that were transferrable, and we may indeed speak of a translation automatism here; however, the wording of the CA texts cannot be explained on this basis in all cases, and advanced philological reasoning is required to account for many of them. In the following pages, I intend to underpin this observation with examples from both the lectionary materials and the Gospel of John.

Indeed, there are quite a few peculiarities in the palimpsested CA texts that they only share with the Armenian Bible. This is true, for example, of certain abstract nouns that appear in the plural such as CA *gorowx* 'sins', thus matching Armenian *z-mełs* and opposing itself to the singular forms Greek ἁμαρτίαν, Georgian *codvay*, and Syriac *ḥṭīṭā* in Heb 12:1,[5] or CA *biyayownowx* 'creations' matching Armenian *ararack'n* vs. sing. Greek κτίσις, Georgian *dabadeba- / dabadebul-i*, and Syriac *brīṭā* in Ro 8:19–21.[6] In 2 Cor 4:17,[7] the CA text agrees with the Armenian in speaking of a 'temporary increase of the light distress' (CA *e p̄ʿiyown owxa-ariyen e owsi qaǯ-aḳesownown* ~ Arm. *aṛžamayn yačaxowt'iwn t'et'ew nełowt'eans*), while the other versions only note a 'temporary distress' (Syriac *ʾulṣāneh d-zabnā*), a 'temporary light distress' (Georgian *saċutroy ese mcire čiri*) or a 'temporary lightness of the distress' (Greek τὸ παραυτὶκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως).[8] In Mt 16:19, only the Armenian and the CA texts add 'once' (Armenian *miangam* ~ CA *som čar*)[9] to 'whatever you will bind on earth'. A peculiar syntactic calque can be seen in Ro 8:34 where the equivalent of Greek μᾶλλον 'more than that, even more', CA *ixoy*, conditions a complement clause just as Armenian *manawand* does; thus, Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀποθανών, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐγερθείς is rendered by CA *k̄ s ȳs o p̄owri-h k̄e ixoy eśin hay-zari-anaḳe-va*[10] and Armenian *k'(risto)s y(isow)s or meṛawn, manawand t'e yarowc'eal isk ē*, lit. 'Christ Jesus who died, even more that he is risen then'. As the translation shows, the CA and Armenian texts also agree here in using a particle meaning 'then' or 'indeed' (CA *eśin*, Arm. *isk*) as an equivalent of Greek δέ. The same particles occur a second time later on in the same verse in CA *eśin il'en-aha-h̄ḳe-al beši g̊aen* ~ Arm. *or ew barexōs isk ē vasn mer* 'and who indeed intercedes for us',[11] and Armenian *isk* appears a third time at the beginning of the given verse, together with *ard* 'now'. Here, only the latter is rendered by CA which uses *i* 'now' (CA *i hašow-ne geln'a-baa-hanayoenḳe* ~ Arm. *isk ard o²v ē or datapart aṝnic'ē*

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4 Cf. Gippert, Schulze, Aleksidze, Mahé 2008, vol. 1, I-36; the other peculiarities mentioned ib. must now be given up (in Mt 14:6, the name of Herodias is *herodia-*, not *herodiow-*, and in 2 Co 9:13, *ǯow-daġesown* 'Gospel' is not combined with *al'e* 'old').

5 A67va, l. 9.

6 B25va + B32ra, ll. 12–13, 17, and 22–23.

7 A68vb, l. 2.

8 Several witnesses add προσκαιρον και after παραυτικα, which simply underlines the notion of 'temporary'.

9 A37va, l. 20.

10 B33rb, ll. 3–6.

11 B33rb, l. 8; note that 'interceding' is expressed by a copular construction, lit. 'be a well-speaker' or 'be with word', in both Armenian (*barexōs ē*) and CA (*il'en-aha*).

'(then) who now is (he) who condemns').[12] Neither the complement clause nor the particles are in any way represented in the Greek text or the Georgian or Syriac versions.

The CA Gospel of John exhibits a peculiar relationship with the Armenian version as well. We must not count here the large amount of loanwords from (Middle) Iranian languages that both languages share, for these can always be independent borrowings; to the many examples gathered earlier (e.g., CA *vardaṗeṭ* ~ Arm. *vardapet* 'teacher', *marġaven* ~ *margarē* 'prophet', *vaꞬamaḳ* ~ *varšamak* 'cerecloth, napkin', etc.),[13] we may here add CA *žam* 'hour' (Jn 11:9)[14] ~ Arm. *žam* (also Georgian *žam-i*), *asṗarez* 'stadion' (Jn 11:18)[15] ~ Arm. *asparēs* (also Georgian *asṗarez-i*), possibly also *biṭowan* 'id.' (Jn 6:19)[16] ~ Armenian *vtewan* (also Georgian *uṭevan-i*), and *asṗinʒa* 'lodge' (Jn 18:28)[17] ~ Armenian *aspnǰakan* 'inn' and Georgian *m-asṗinʒ-el-i* 'host'.[18] A bit more telling is the use of reduplication in producing 'intensified' adjectives such as *bân'i-bân'i* (Jn 5:20)[19] and *beg-beg* (Jn 21:11)[20] both meaning 'very big' and both mirroring Armenian *mecamec* 'id.'. An exclusive accordance of the Armenian and the CA texts is met with in Jn 19:15 where the Jews shout two times 'take him (up away) from us' (CA *heqa-n(ow)n žaxoc*[21] ~ Armenian *barj i mēnǰ*) with an explicit ablative, while the other versions only have 'take (him) up' (Greek ἆρον, Georgian *aġaġe*). Another exclusive accordance of the CA and Armenian texts is found in Jn 19:29[22] where only these two versions mention a 'bundle of hyssop', using even the same (Iranian) word for 'bundle' (*mistikaloš zoṗaown* ~ *mštkaw zovpayi*), while all others only speak of 'hyssop' (Greek ὑσσώπῳ, Georgian *usuṗsa*,[23] Syriac *zōpā*) or a mere 'flower' (Georgian *quavili*).[24] Only in the Armenian and CA texts, Jesus asks in Jn 21:22 'Why do you care?' (*vak ya-ne qirmir*[25] ~ *kꞌez zi pꞌoytꞌ ē*, lit. 'What eagerness is (it) to you'), while the other versions have a mere 'What' or 'How much (is it) to you' (Greek τί πρὸς σέ, Georgian *šenda ray* / Syriac *lāḵmā' leḵ*). A telling coincidence is also met with in Jn 19:26 and Jn 20:15[26] where Jesus talks to his mother and Mary Magdalene, respectively: to the plain address 'woman' (Armenian *kin*, CA *xiꞬowyo*, ~ Greek γύναι, Georgian *dedaḳaco*, Syriac *'attā*), only Armenian and CA here add the second person pronoun 'you' (*dow / vown*). In Armenian, this may be due to the fact that the language does not have a specific vocative form (in contrast to Greek or Georgian) so that *kin* alone was underspecified; in CA, however, the vocative is clearly marked by the ending *-yo* so that the addition of the pronoun is redundant and only explicable as a calque of the Armenian wording.

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12 B33rb, l. 1. The verb (Greek κατακρίνων) is again expressed similarly in Armenian and CA, as 'make guilty'.

13 Cf. Gippert, Schulze, Aleksidze, Mahé 2009, vol. 1, I-30; Gippert 2011, pp. 3–8.

14 A65ra, l. 8.

15 A60vb, l. 220.

16 A107vb, ll. 17–18.

17 B35ra, l. 21-B40vb, l. 1.

18 Cf. also the Georgian place name *Asṗinʒa* (Andronikashvili 1966, pp. 287–88; Gippert 1993, pp. 119–24). The CA word also occurs in Acts 1:13 (A104ra, l. 20); in both cases, the reading of the character ʒ (corresponding to Georgian ʒ) is uncertain, it might also be a ǰ in accordance with Armenian *ǰ* (cf. Gippert (forthcoming 2): I).

19 A97va, ll. 18–19.

20 B5ra, l. 17.

21 A17va, ll. 1–2.

22 B8vb, ll. 17–18.

23 This is the word used in the witnesses of both the so-called 'Protovulgate' (*c.*9th–11th centuries) and the 'Athonite Vulgate' (*c.*11th–18th centuries).

24 This word only appears in the so-called Adishi Gospels of 897 (cf. below).

25 B36vb, l. 20.

26 B13rb, l. 5 and B7rb, l. 21—A16ra, l. 1.

Further calques of Armenian formulations can be seen in the reduplicative-distributive *q̇ar-q̇ar* 'diverse', lit. 'sort (by) sort', which renders *pēs-pēs* 'id.' in Jm 1:2,[27] also matching Georgian *ṗirad-ṗirad-i* but opposing itself to simple Greek *ποικίλος* and Syriac *mšaḥlp̄ē*, and in the denotation of the 'sun' as *bʕeġown powl*, lit. 'eye of the sun', corresponding to Armenian *areg-akn* in Mt 17:2 and Mt 24:29[28] vs. plain *ἥλιος*, *mze-*, and *šəmšā* in Greek, Georgian, and Syriac. In some cases, the CA text agrees with variants from the Armenian tradition; this is true, e.g., of 2 Co 9:5[29] where it reads *büwabiṭ-al oʕ-biyay-baal-al-anḳe-å̄n* 'and that beforehand they should also have prepared' which corresponds to the Armenian *varia lectio patrastescʿen* 'they should prepare', not to the form *patmescʿen* 'they should inform' of the *textus receptus* which also stands against Greek *προκαταρτίσωσιν*, Georgian *gangaḳrʒalnen*, and Syriac *w-anʿatdūn*.

The most intriguing feature that the CA text of the Gospel of John and the Armenian version have in common is the list of languages in which the inscription on the Cross was written (Jn 19:20). According to the Greek tradition, these were Hebrew (*Ἑβραϊστί*), Latin (~ Roman, *Ῥωμαϊστί*), and Greek (*Ἑλληνιστί*), with the order of the second and third one varying among the witnesses. The Georgian versions agree with this in naming *ebraelebr* 'Hebrew', *hroma(el)ebr* 'Roman',[30] and *berʒl* 'Greek'; the same is true, with a different order, for the Syriac Peshitta which has *ʿebrāʾīṯ*, *yawnāʾīṯ*, and *rawmāʾīṯ*, with *yawnāʾīṯ* referring to Greek ('Ionian'). In contrast to this, the Armenian text has *ebrayecʿerēn*, *dałmatarēn*, and *yownarēn*, with the last one matching Syriac *yawnāʾīṯ*; the odd one out is the second term, which obviously refers to Dalmatia instead of Rome. This now is corroborated by the CA version, which can be established to read *ebraowneš*, *dalmaṭaowneš*, *yovnaowneš*,[31] including the specific reference to Dalmatia, which has been convincingly motivated for Armenian as an indication of the Christianisation of Armenia during the reign of the Roman emperor Diocletian, of Dalmatian origin, between 284 and 305 and the acknowledgement of his suzerainty over Armenia by the Sasanid kings in 298 CE.[32] The reference to Dalmatia instead of Rome in the Gospel of John may thus yield a *terminus a quo* for its translation into Armenian; for the CA text, we may safely assume that it depends on the Armenian tradition here.

Sometimes Armenian and CA are accompanied by certain witnesses of the Georgian Bible. This is true, e.g., of 1 Co 15:51 where the CA text agrees with the Armenian and the older Georgian redaction of the Pauline Epistles[33] in commuting the distribution of positive and negative clauses in the mystery thematised by Paul, thus contrasting with the later Georgian redaction[34] and the Greek and Syriac versions: while the latter texts read 'We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed', the former invert this into 'We shall all sleep, but we shall not all be renewed'.[35] In a similar way, the three versions go together in Heb 12:19 in using a relative clause 'where the trumpet was sounding',[36] thus contrasting with the nominalised

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27 A4vb, l. 3.

28 A10ra, ll. 21–22 and A15ra, l. 10.

29 A56ra, l. 10.

30 The Adishi Gospel has the remarkable variant *prominebr*. Cf. Blake 1923, pp. 83–88; and Peeters 1926, pp. 76–77, for other witnesses of Georgian *promin-*.

31 A17vb, ll. 12–13; the reading proposed in Gippert, Schulze, Aleksidze, Mahé 2009, vol. 1, V-97, must be given up.

32 Cf. Künzle 1984, vol. 2, p. 177, arguing against Macler 1919, pp. 638–42.

33 Redaction *AB* in Dzotsenidze, Danelia 1974.

34 Redaction *CD* in Dzotsenidze, Danelia 1974.

35 B41vb, ll. 14–16; cf. Gippert, Schulze, Aleksidze, Mahé 2008, vol. 1, I-36.

36 A75rb, ll. 21–22.

expression 'in the sound of the trumpet' of the other texts; here as in many other cases, we may further note the co-occurrence of an CA imperfect with its Armenian counterpart. In Mk 15:41 we see a clear agreement of the CA and Armenian texts with the Georgian Gospels as contained in the Adishi codex of 897 CE (hereafter: OGeCodAd) in speaking about 'many other women' that followed Jesus (CA *en'eǯ avel čibowx-al*[37] ~ Armenian *ew ayl bazowm kanayk῾* ~ OGeCodAd *da sxuebica mravalni dedani*), the other versions having only 'many others' (καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαί / *da sxuani mravalni*).[38] Similarly, the three witnesses (Armenian, CA, and OGeCodAd, hereafter styled *AAA*)[39] go together in Jn 5:18 where they substitute the Greek singular τὸ σάββατον 'the Sabbath' by a plural 'the Sabbaths' (CA *e šambaṭowx*, Armenian *zšabat῾s*, OGeCodAd *šapatta*), vs. singular Georgian *šabatsa* and Syriac *šabbǝtā*.[40]

In the same chapter of John (5:28), Jesus asks 'Why do you marvel at this?' in CA (*etal ha-nan-ameṣ*)[41] just as in Armenian (*ǝnd ayn ziˀ zarmanayk῾*) and in OGeCodAd (*ese raysa giḳwrs*?) while the Greek text and that of the Georgian Protovulgate have a prohibitive 'Do not marvel' (μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο / *nu giḳwrn ese*). In the CA text of Jn 6:27,[42] the imperative *biya-nan* 'do!' (plural) is preceded by *owḳal-nan* 'go!' (plural), in perfect agreement with Armenian *ert῾ayk῾ gorc῾ec῾ēk* and Georgian *c̣arvedit ikmodet* in OGeCodAd, while the Greek text and the other Georgian versions have only the second imperative (ἐργάζεσθε, *ikmodet*). In Jn 19:14, Pilate says to the Jews *aha üwx b῾efi v῾ax* 'Look, your king for you',[43] exactly matching *aha t῾agawor jer zjez* in the Armenian text and *aha meupē tkueni tkuenda* in OGeCodAd; the Greek and the other Georgian versions lack the (redundant) final pronoun (῎Ιδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν / *aha meupē tkueni*). In the Armenian version of Jn 20:27, Jesus addresses Thomas in saying *ber zmatowns k῾o ew ark aysr ew tes zjers im* 'bring your fingers and cast (them) here and look at my hands!', closely followed by OGeCodAd (*moqven titni šenni da šemaxe aka da ixilen qelni čemni*) and CA (*heqa-n(ow)n e ḳašix vē baha-heqa-n(ow)n eṭiš beḡa-n(ow)n ḳowlmowx bezi*);[44] the second imperative is missing from the other Georgian versions as well as from the Greek text, which in addition has the singular τὸν δάκτυλον instead of a plural.

A peculiar agreement in syntax manifests itself in Jn 1:48 where Armenian, CA and OGeCodAd render the Greek participle construction ὄντα ὑπὸ τὴν συκῆν εἶδόν σε 'I saw you being under the figtree' by a complement clause: Armenian *zi ēir i nerk῾oy t῾zenwoyn tesi zk῾ez* ~ CA *b<ow>-anak<e>-n(ow)n-hē <e tå>xan'inaq῾owqa aḳē-za-vax*[45] ~ OGeCodAd *rametu iqav leḡusa mas kueše gixile šen*, lit. 'that you were under the fig tree, I saw you'. Here, the other Georgian witnesses and the Syriac versions have a subordinate clause, too, but with temporal conjunctions (Georgian *ray* 'when' or *vidre* 'as long as';[46] Syr. *ḳaḏ* 'when').[47] Immediately before in the same verse, the Greek accusative with infinitive πρὸ τοῦ σε Φίλιππον φωνῆσαι 'before Philip called you' is substituted by a genitive with

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37 A15vb + A8rb, ll. 13–14.

38 In contrast to the Peshitta, which matches the Greek text, the Syriac Sinaiticus Palimpsest adds *mǝšammǝšān* 'ministers, assistants'; this peculiarity requires further investigation.

39 Cf. essay no XXVIII in the current volume as to further observations concerning the relation between the Adishi Gospels and the Armenian Bible.

40 Thus in the Peshitta as well as the Sinaiticus Palimpsest and the Curetonian Gospels.

41 A100va, ll. 12–13; the former reading as thematised in Gippert 2012, p. 241, must be corrected accordingly.

42 A107rb, l. 16.

43 A22vb, l. 21.

44 A16vb, 7–10; the Albanian text is not certain in all details here but the sequence of words is beyond doubt.

45 A1va, ll. 15–19.

46 Conjunction *ray* appears in both the 'Protovulgate' and the 'Athonite Vulgate'; *vidre* in the so-called Paris Lectionary.

47 The passage is only preserved in the Peshitta.

participle construction in Armenian: *minč'č'ew ēr p'iłipposi koč'ec'eal zk'ez*;[48] this is exactly mirrored by CA with the genitive *piliṗṗosi* in *nowt-hamaṭownḳe p<il>iṗṗosi zan'e-pē-va*, where only the negated conjunction (*nowt-hamaṭownḳe*, lit. 'before not') remains peculiar. The Georgian versions have the name in the genitive as well,[49] but in combination with a verbal noun (*moçodebad- / qmobad-mde* 'until the calling'); the Syriac text has a subordinate clause with a finite (imperfect) form (*'aḏlā neqrē-ḵ p̄ilippos* 'until Philip called you').

In some cases, the *AAA* triad is joined by peculiar witnesses of the Greek and Syriac tradition, thus suggesting the existence of an ancient text version as the common ancestor. This is true, e.g., of Jn 6:23,[50] which in most Greek and Georgian witnesses as well as the Syriac Peshitta ends with the Lord (or Jesus) having given thanks (or a blessing: εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου / *romel aḳurtxa upalman da hmadlobda* / *kad bareḵ yešū*); this phrase is missing in *AAA* as well as the Greek codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D)[51] and the two older Syriac versions preserved in the Curetonian Gospels and the Sinaiticus Palimpsest. In Jn 8:40, Jesus says 'which I have heard from my father' in *AAA* (*ihē-h̄ḳe-za deχoc bezi*[52] ~ *zor loway hawrē immē* ~ *ray mesma mamisagan čemisa*), here joined by the so-called Korideti Gospels of Tbilisi (Θ, f. 217ra) with ἣν ἤκουσα παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου, while the other witnesses have 'from God' (τοῦ θεοῦ / *ǧmrtisagan* / *men 'alāhā*).[53] A peculiar critical value can be assigned to the placement of the sentence 'and he stood up to read' (*hay-zari-na-va owpesa*)[54] in Lk 4:16–17; here we see a clear correspondence of the CA text with the Armenian, the Georgian, and specific Greek and Syriac witnesses (cf. the synoptical arrangement in Table I).[55]

Sometimes the Armenian and CA texts agree more closely with the Syriac tradition. This is true, for example, of 2 Th 3:1 where only these three versions append a phrase 'in all places' (CA *cexar xown'rol*[56] ~ Armenian *yamenayn tełis* ~ Syriac *bə-ḵol dukkā*) to '(that the word) may be glorified', and in Heb 13:14 where they agree in rendering the Greek participle μένουσαν 'remaining' by a modal relative clause 'which is to remain' (CA *bowresown-h̄ḳe*[57] ~ Armenian *or mnaloc'ē* ~ Syriac *d-amqawyā*). As a common influence of

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48 The passage is not preserved in the so-called Moscow Gospels of 887 due to a lacuna extending from Jn 1:1 to Jn 4:22 between f. 179v and f. 180r.

49 In the forms *piliṗēs, piliṗēsa, piliṗes, piliṗesa*.

50 A107ra, ll. 17–20.

51 As well as two later (minuscule) manuscripts, 69 (Leicester) and 788 (Athens).

52 A55vb, ll. 15–16.

53 Cf. Gippert 2012, p. 242.

54 A34vb, ll. 9–10.

55 The Table contrasts the Greek text of the Codex Vaticanus (B) with that of the Korideti Gospels (Θ) and the Syriac text of the Sinaiticus Palimpsest (S) with that of the Peshitta (P). The peculiar text form of the Korideti Gospels is also attested in some minuscule manuscripts (*f*¹).

56 A67rb, l. 6.

57 The Georgian text has the adverbial form *saqoplad* 'for residing, remaining'.

Syriac we may note the use of CA *dol* 'vessel, bucket' which obviously renders Armenian *doyl* 'id.' in Jn 4.11,[58] in its turn reflecting Syriac *dawlā* 'id.'[59] (vs. Greek *ἄντλημα* and Georgian *sarčqul-i / savsebel-i*). A Syriacism specific to CA may be concealed in *daizowz-* 'denarius' (Jn 6:7)[60] if this is a hybrid compound consisting of *dai-* 'green' (> 'silver'?) and Syriac *zūzā* 'drachm'.[61]

A Syriac (or, rather, Semitic) trait that warrants further investigation is the rendering of an agent by the phrase 'from / by the hand of' as occurring, e.g., in Jn 1:17 (*e oṭanowx kowin mowšēi daġē-anaḳe madil'owx own ṭ'egen(ow)n kowyoc y˜i k˜i* 'because the laws are given by the hand of Moses, graces and truth from the hand of Jesus Christ');[62] here, both *kowin* (ergative singular) and *kowyoc* (ablative singular) correspond to Syriac *b-yad* 'by' (lit. 'in the hand'), matched by Armenian *i jeřn* and, in the first instance, by *qelita* in OGeCodAd, whereas the Greek text and the other Georgian witnesses (including the second instance in OGeCodAd) have a mere pre- or postposition (*διὰ / mier*). These correspondences are anything but straightforward, however; we therefore find, for example., *oowk(a) kowyoc* 'by him' three times in Jn 1:3, Jn 1:4 and Jn 1:7,[63] where the Syriac text of the Peshitta has two times *b-īde-hw* but once simply *be-h* 'in him' (Jn 1:4; in the Curetonian Gospels also in Jn 1:3), and the Armenian text uses three times the simple pronoun *novaw* (instrumental) 'by him'. On the other hand, the triad of *AAA* stands out again in Jn 19:17 with *å˜y kowya* 'into their hand'[64] ~ *i jeřs noc'a / qelta matta*, whereas the Syriac text (of the Peshitta) here agrees with the Greek and the other Georgian versions in having simple *l-hūn* 'to them' ~ *αὐτοῖς / mat*. This evidence strongly suggests that translation automatisms once dominated along a lineage Syriac → Armenian → CA and Georgian but that the resulting image was heavily blurred later by secondary influences of Greek on all of the traditions except for the CA one.

The examples collected here will have shown that, for a full assessment of the interrelation of the CA Bible version with its possible sources (Armenian, Greek, Georgian, Syriac), a thorough investigation into every single verse is required, with consideration of all possible linguistic and textual features. This task will be the object of a research project that has started in April 2022.[65]

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58   A46rb, l. 20.

59   Thus in the Peshitta as well as the Curetonian Gospels and the Sinaiticus Palimpsest.

60   A101vb, ll. 11–12.

61   Cf. Gippert 2012, p. 243 (with n. 12), correcting the former reading *mezaizowz*; Gippert, Schulze, Aleksidze, Mahé 2009, vol. 1, I-30. The Syriac word, which denotes 'half a shekel' or a 'drachm' in Ex 30:13 (cf. also the Aramaeogram *ZWZN'* which stands for the drahm coin in Middle Persian), was also borrowed into Armenian (*zowzay*) and Georgian (*zuza-y*), but there are no attestations of these terms in Bible translation so that they cannot be taken to have served as a model for Albanian *-zowz*; in the New Testament passage quoted here, all Syriac witnesses use *dīnārā < dēnārius* instead.

62   A47ra, ll. 13–15.

63   A40ra, ll. 6 and 9; A47va, l. 20.

64   A17va, l. 10.

65   *The Development of Literacy in the Caucasian Territories* (*DeLiCaTe*), ERC Advanced Grant no. 101019006, run by the present author at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, University of Hamburg. Cf. Gippert 2023, 108-112 and 133-141 for a preliminary account of the questions discussed here.

Lk.	A34vb Caucasian Albanian	English	Armenian	Georgian (Ad.)	Georgian (vulg.)	Greek (Θ)	Syriac (S)	English	Greek (B)	Syriac (P)
4: 16	2	Ari-na-va nazarè\ taχ	He came to Nazareth,	Եւ եկն ի նազարէթ	და მოვიდა ნაზარეთს,	და მოვიდა ნაზარეთა,	Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαράτ,		And he came to Nazareth,	Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά	ܘܐܬܐ ܠܢܨܪܬ
	3	bāni-hamayķe-	where he grew	ուր սնաւն էր.	სადაცა აღზრდილ იყო,	სადაცა აღზრდილ იყო	ὅπου ἦν ἀνατεθραμμένος,		where he had been brought up:	οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος,	ܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܬܪܒܝ
	4	-va-hē: baha-bāhē-n´a´-	up. He went inside,	եւ եմուտ	და შევიდა,	და შევიდა,	καὶ εἰσῆλθεν		and,	καὶ εἰσῆλθεν	
	5	-va zahown-anke-v´a´-	as he was used to,	ըստ սովորութեանն իւրում	ვითარცა ჩვეულ იყო იგი,	ვითარცა ჩვეულ იყო იგი,	κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ		as his custom was, he went	κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ	ܘܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܥܕ ܗܘܐ
	6	-hē šambatown ǧiy´a´	on the day of sabbath	յաւուրն շաբաթուց	დღესა შაბათსა	დღესა შაბათსა	ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων		into the synagogue	ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτων	ܠܟܢܘܫܬܐ
4: 17	7	e ž´ dax: | daǧē-n oo´w´-	into the synagogue. || To him was given	ի | ժողովուրդն | Եւ տուաւ նմա	შესაკრებელსა | და მისცეს მას	შესაკრებელსა | და მისცეს მას	εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν, | καὶ ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ		on the sabbath day, and stood up for to read.| And there was delivered	εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν, κ α ὶ ἀ ν έ σ τ η ἀ ν α γ ν ῶ ν α ι. | καὶ ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ	ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ ... | ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ
	8	xow d'ip isai mar\ǧavenown:	the book of the prophet Isaiah.	գիրս եսայի\մարգարէի.	წიგნი ესაია წინაწარმეტყუელისაჲ.	წიგნი ესაია წინაწარმეტყუელისაჲ.	βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Ἠσαΐου,		unto him the book of the prophet Esaias.	βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Ἠσαίου.	ܣܦܪܐ ܕܐܫܥܝܐ ܢܒܝܐ
	9	h a y z - ´ a ´ \ r i -	He stood up	Եւ յարեաւ	აღდგა	და აღდგა	κ α ὶ ἀ ν έ σ τ η	ܘܩܡ ܗ			
	10	-n-a-va owpesa:	to read (it).	ընթեռնուլ|	კითხვად	კითხვად	ἀ ν α γ ν ῶ ν α ι	ܠܡܩܪܐ			
	11	aχay-pē-anke-oen	When he had opened	եւ իբրեւ եբաց	და განხ...	და განხ...	καὶ ἀναπτύξας	ܘܟܕ ...	when he had opened	ἀνοίξας	ܘܦܬܚ

Lk. A34vb	Caucasian Albanian	English	Armenian	Georgian (Ad.)	Georgian (vulg.)	Greek (Θ)	Syriac (S)	English	Greek (B)	Syriac (P)
12	e d'ip 'baxē-n-oow	the book, he found	qqhpuù. tuχun	წიგნი იგი კითხვად და პოვა	წიგნი იგი და პოვა	τὸ βιβλίον εὗρεν	ܟܬܒܐ ܐܫܟܚ	the book, he found	τὸ βιβλίον εὗρεν	ܟܬܒܐ ܘܐܫܟܚ
13	e xown' cam-pē-hama y '\ķe-	the place where it was written,	qujù uἔuῃh յηрuιῦ qpἔuuῃu էp՝	ადგილი, რომელსა წერილ იყო:	ადგილი, სადგა წერილ იყო:	τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἦν γεγραμμένον,	ܐܬܪܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ	the place where it was written,	τὸν τόπον οὗ ἦν γεγραμμένον,	ܐܬܪܐ ܟܬܝܒ ܗܘܐ
4: 18	-hē \hel ǯē zal ha\la…	'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me'…	hnqh u ̄ʼ ù ḥ վերայ hù…	სული უფლისა ჩემ ზედა…	სული უფლისა ჩემ ზედა…	Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπʼ ἐμέ…	ܪܘܚܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܥܠܝ…	The Spirit of the Lord is upon me…	Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπʼ ἐμέ…	ܪܘܚܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܥܠܝ

Table I: Luke 4.16–18 in synoptical arrangement, with the major difference highlighted