Achtung!

Attention!
This is a special internet edition of the article „Iranians and Iranian Languages in Ancient Georgia“ by Jost Gippert (2003).

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

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

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

One source of this type is the hagiographical record of Saint Shushanik which is generally regarded as the oldest non-epigraphical and non-translated Georgian text preserved, dating from the 5th century, i.e., Sasanian times still. According to the legend, its protagonist, a Christian woman named Shushanik, was married to (and tortured by) a man who was, as a representative of the Persian king, the ruler of Kartli; unfortunately, the name of the king has not been preserved in the manuscripts containing the legend so that the exact dating is not clear. The legend provides the following setting:
"It was in the eighth year of [Mr...], the king of the Persians, (that) Varsken the Pitiaxes, the son of Aršuša, went to the royal court. For he himself was a Christian originally, a descendant of Christian parents. And his wife was the daughter of Vardan, the commander-in-chief of the Armenians, for whom I have written this to you; (she was) named Vardan after her father, and her name-by-love12 (was) Shushanik, a God-fearing (woman), as we said, from her childhood on."

From the legend, it is probable that Varsken was a Persian man himself, given that both his title of a Pitiaxes, i.e., a Pitiaxes, and his name are undoubtedly Iranian.13 The same holds true for Shushanik’s father, Vardan14, who, as a spaypeți of Armenian troops15, might well have been a Persian man. The fact that Varsken was a Christian before he converted, together with his children, to mogoba-, i.e., Zoroastrianism,16 and made obeisance to *atrošan-, i.e., the Zoroastrian fire cult,17 cannot disprove this assumption, all the more since there is a clear indication in the legend that ordinary Zoroastrians of Persian descent lived in the area, too:18

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

This latter information is confirmed by another hagiographical text from ancient Georgia which is regarded as autochthonous, viz. the legend of Saint Evståti (Eustathius)19 which describes quarrels between Christians and Zoroastrians in the cities of Mcxeta and Tpilisi under the rule of the Sasanian king Khosrou Parvız and his "margrave" in Kartli, the marzapahan Arvand Gušnasp20. Evståti himself is declared to have been a Zoroastrian Persian who came to Georgia under his primary name, Gvirobanda21, to serve his apprenticeship as a cobbler and who converted to Christian faith in the then capital of the country.22

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

According to the legend, Gvirobandak-Evståti was not the only Persian craftsman in Mcxeta by that time but a member of a larger community, including some further converts. For the sake of convenience, I give an extensive quotation.23
By that time, the Persians who lived in Mcxeta gathered, lawyers (?) and cobblers, to celebrate a feast. And they sent (someone) to blessed Evsštati and said: "Come and share our joy." But blessed Evsštati laughed and told them: "Both your feast and you, the celebrators, are obscured, whereas I have adopted the seal of Christ and celebrate the feast of Christ, because I am sealed with Christ's seal and (thus kept) distant from your obscurity." And when they had finished their feast, the lawyers and cobblers gathered again and consulted (lit. in front of) Usštam, the head of the citadel of Mcxeta, and said: 'There is a man of our faith here, who (lit. and he) does not come to the feast together with us and who does not worship the fire and who blames and scolds us and says (that) "I am a Christian." Call you him now and interrogate him, for you are the ruler in this city.'.. And that blessed Evsštati came and placed himself in front of Usštam, the head of the citadel of Mcxeta. And the summoner said to Usštam: 'This is the one who scolds our faith.' And the head of the citadel looked at Evsštati and said: 'I say to you, man, tell me from which country you are and (lit. or) from which city, and which faith you have adopted.' And Saint Evsštati told him: 'I am (lit. was) from the country of Persia, from the region of Aršakia, from the city of Gandzak. My father was a Zoroastrian, and he instructed me in Zoroastrianism too, but (lit. and) I could not endure Zoroastrianism, because in Gandzak, there are more Christians, including (lit. and) bishops and priests, and from them I learned everything, (viz.) that Christianity is superior to every (other) faith, (better) than atheism. And now I believe in Christ and am (busy) in the service of Christ.'.. And Usštam, the head of the citadel of Mcxeta, ordered two horsemen to take blessed Evsštati to Tpilisi. And the lawyers and cobblers gathered again, went to Usštam and said: 'There are some more (people) of our faith who (lit. and they) have become (lit. are) Christians; order them too to be summoned and to be taken to Tpilisi.' And Usštam said: 'Who are they?' And they told (him) their names and said: 'One is called Gušnak and one Baxdiad, one Burzo, one Panagušnasp, one Perozak, one Zarmil, ertsą Stepane.'"
"sort of picnic",25 thus matching a New Persian 〈twzy〉 (besides 〈twšy〉), a word denoting a "children’s festival, banquet, picnic".26 As its closest equivalent in Middle Iranian proper, ANDRONIKAŠVILI quotes a Middle Persian compound 〈ham-tōžík〉 with a presumed meaning of "co-debtor" (_medagdadan 〈tanagadam xdeli〉)27 which in its turn is based on the verbal root present in tōxtan "reward, repay, recompense" (_medagd 〈gada xda〉) and tōžišn "payment, reward, repentance, atonement" (_medagdad 〈gadasa xda〉, #arima, gasamr#elo, sa%u{ari) and reflected in the loanword toyž "repentance, atonement" and towžem "inflict a penalty" in Armenian.28 The primary meaning of 〈tožík-〉 is thus established to have been "something paid or to be paid" (_medagdadan 〈gada xdeli an gada xdeli〉), with a secondary use as the designation of a special kind of (religious) feast. In the second term, me-ˇyadag-e-, Mzia ANDRONIKAŠVILI proposes to see a quasi-synonym of me-qaml-e-, both words denoting different types of "cobblers". As a formation with the circumfix me--e-, me-ˇyadag-e- would in this case be derived from an underlying noun ˇyadag-i, just as me-qaml-e- "cobbler" is built on qaml-i "shoe". For ˇyadag-i itself, ANDRONIKAŠVILI found a possible cognate in New Persian 〈zdh〉 "old, worn out, torn", which would presuppose a specified meaning of "patchwork" (_medagd) or the like for the Georgian word; the Old Iranian basis would be *jataka-, a derivate of Jan- "to strike".29

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

arca ˙ga sad vsu ˙gwnoy ıotom ıotomoy (4,17x)  
ev oˇc arbi zgini spandic noc a
"(I never ate together with Haman, nor did I enjoy his royal meal,) and I never drank the wine of (their) offerings."

The word nazorev-i "sacrifice" used in the Mcxeta Bible in the same verse (arca ˙ga vsu ˙gwnoy nazorevisagan) clearly indicates that 〈tozikoba-〉 must be understood as denoting a "pagan sacrifice comprising a banquet" here. The same is true for Jer. 16,8 where the Greek text speaks of a "house of carousal" (οἰκία πότου) explicitly:

saxlsa ıotozikobisa matisasa ara šexwde daždomat tana ıamdad da sumad.  
ei σικίαν πότου οὐκ εἰσελέυσα συγκαθίσα μετ’ αὐτῶν τοῦ φαγεῖν καὶ πιέιν.  
I town empeleač’ mi mtanic’es nstel nd n(o)s(a), owtel ew ampel.  
"Thou shalt not go into the house of feasting to sit with them to eat and to drink."

Here again, the Mcxeta Bible has a different text in that it uses ankanakobisa, a term which emphasises the coming together of several people, instead of 〈tozikobisa〉 (saxid an ıkanakobisa matisa ara šexwde odesca tandaždomat tana, ıamdad da sumad).32

In contrast to that, the analysis proposed by Mzia ANDRONIKAŠVILI for me-ˇzadag-e- remains questionable. The problem consists in the fact that the presumptive Iranian etymon, ˇzadag-, would reveal both Old Iranian and late Middle Iranian features if it were to be deduced from an Old Iranian jataka-. In a word which shows the lenition typical for Sasanian Middle Persian in both medial and stem-final consonants, we cannot expect an Old Iranian ˇ- to be represented as an affricate, ˇ-, still. Instead, there is good evidence that Old Iranian ˇ had developed into the plain sibilant z at a very early time, long before the Middle Iranian lenition of stops occurred. One word proving this is zatik, the Armenian designation of the Pessah feast which is also
attested, as *zātik-, in Old Georgian\textsuperscript{33} and which must represent an Old Iranian *šātika-, derived from the same verbal root but borrowed already in a pre-lenition stage of Middle Iranian. Another case that is instructive in this respect is the word *tōzīk- we have dealt with above. First it must be noted that the present stem of *tōxtan "to repay" is attested as *tzw-, i.e. *tōz-, in Manichaean Middle Persian, thus providing an exact model for the phonetic shape of the Georgian borrowing\textsuperscript{34}, taking the form of the infinitive, *tōxtan, into account, we arrive at an Old Iranian stem *tauja- or even *tauca-, contrasting with unpalatalised *tauγ- or *tauκ- in *tōxtan. The Armenian cognates, *tovγ and *towγem, must then reflect a Middle Iranian variant which shows the Parthian outcome of Old Iran. -ˇc- and -ˇi-, viz. -ˇz-; a similar NW-Iranian variant can be represented in New Persian ˇtaγ "children’s picnic"\textsuperscript{35}. What, then is Georgian *meγad-e-? Given that the word clearly exhibits a late Sasanian look by containing two "lenited" stops, its initial ˇγ- cannot represent anything else but late Middle Persian ˇγ- which in its turn must be derived from Old Iranian ˇy- as in the cases of ˇyadā "sorcerer" (vs. Avestan ˇyatu-) or ˇyuwān "young" (vs. Avestan yuuvān-). For *meγad-e-, this offers jadag "omen; form, property" and ˇjadag "share, portion, case, cause" as possible sources.\textsuperscript{36} As the latter word did enter Georgian in another formation, viz. in ˇjadago- "advocate" < Middle Persian ˇjadag-gō(w), lit. "case-speaker",\textsuperscript{37} it seems most likely that it underlies *meγad-e- as well; this would then denote a kind of "lawyer". It is true that in this case, the parallelism between *meγad-e- and meγaml-e-, "lawyers and cobblers", is less obvious; I see no way, however, to detect the designation of a handicraft in *meγad-e-.

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

\[ da\ tkua\ mepeman:\ "he, he, esre:\ rasatwimeb\ xaγas\ tabanog\ rasol\ pasaγraγd"\ (sxuay\ enay). \]
\[ "And\ the\ king\ spoke,\ ‘oh, oh,’\ thus:\ ‘rasatwimeb\ xaγas\ tabanog\ rasol\ pasaγraγd’\ (different\ language). \]

The Šatberd recension, however, gives at least a Georgian translation of the sentence\textsuperscript{43}:

\[ da\ tkua\ mepeman\ cremlit:\ "hē, hē, rayt-meboy\ xoγat\ stabanub\ rasul\ psarzd".\ xoło\ targmanebay\ ese\ ars:\ "martalsa\ itqw,\ bedniero\ dedopalo\ da\ mocikulo\ jisa\ gmrtisao". \]
\[ "And\ the\ king\ spoke under\ tears:\ ‘oh, oh,\ rayt-meboy\ xoγat\ stabanub\ rasul\ psarzd.’\ And\ the\ translation\ is:\ "Right\ you\ speak,\ fortunate\ queen\ and\ messenger\ of\ the\ son\ of\ God."\]

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

\[ Rast\ miγγi\ Xju\jasta\ bānūγ,\ rasul-i\ pusar-i\ izad \]
\[ "Right\ you\ speak,\ fortunate\ lady,\ messenger\ of\ the\ son\ of\ God." \]
One is the Arabic word for messenger or prophet, رسول rasūl, which was already dealt with by Marr in the given context\textsuperscript{45}. The other feature is the 2nd person present indicative form یک گو mēgōyī with its preverb مē-.\textsuperscript{46}

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

\textsuperscript{1} Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung 23, 1875, pp. 5-42.
\textsuperscript{2} I. Theil: Armenische Etymologie. Leipzig. Hereafter: "AG".
\textsuperscript{7} Ed. by Simon QAUXČIŠVILI I, Tbilisi 1955.
\textsuperscript{8} Cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 427 for the Armenian variant of term, aršakoni-k, used in the Armenian translation of the Georgian chronicle to render Georgian აჟგალანია, another term denoting Arsacid kings.
\textsuperscript{10} The primary manuscript is A 95, the so-called Parxali-Mravaltvi, of the 11th century; the younger manuscripts exhibit either the letters m–r marked as an abbreviation or the postposition mier "by, from" which can be regarded as a resolution of this abbreviation. As the use of this postposition is not justifiable in the given context, the letters are rather likely to represent the name of the Iranian king of the time. If the usual view according to which we are dealing with the end of the 5th century A.D. is right, the king in question can only by Peroz who reigned from ca. 459 to 484 A.D. (cf. Korneli KEKELIJE ფილო-ბოლაიშუუძი კიოპალური ლითერატური, I, Tbilisi 51980, 117 f.). It must be stated though that the letter (p) we would have to expect in an abbreviative or defective rendering of peroz in Georgian, is not similar to (m) in any one of the Old Georgian scripts (cp. Asomtavruli ṣ = (m), ṣ = (p); Nuskha-Khutsuri ḥ = (m), ṣ = (p)).
\textsuperscript{11} ABULAŽE op.cit., p. 11, ll. 5-14.
\textsuperscript{12} Should siqvaruli represent an older siqmīt "from childhood on" here? This would fit well with the statement "as we said" (vitara-igi vtukut), followed by another instance of siqmīt(-gan).
\textsuperscript{13} For Georgian Ḵpiti=k = Greek πτεκαξ < Middle Iranian *ḥit-iya-xšay-; lit. "second-ruler", cf. GIPPERT IAI, 207 ff.; the deduction from an underlying *patixšaḥ (or *patixšā: ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 203 and 364) can no longer be upheld. — For Varsken = Arm. Vazgen < Iran. *vazrakaina- cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 465.
\textsuperscript{14} Cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 464.
\textsuperscript{15} Different from ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 371, I take Georgian ჲაჲ(ჲ)ჲჲ to be borrowed from a
Middle Iran. pre-form *spāya(a)-pet- (vs. Arm. sparapet < Early NW-Middle Iran. *spādapat-), < Old Iran. *spāda-patī- "army-leader"; the Middle Persian form spāhpat must represent a different (dialectal?) development of Old Iran. *spāda-patī- (with -d- > -h- as against -d- > -y-, cp. Zor. Middle Pers. dāh- "he gives" as against Man. Middle Pers. dāy-, both < Old Iran. *dad-; cf. GIPPERT IAI, 206).

Georgian mog-oba-, from mogu = Arm. mog < Middle Iran. mog" "Zoroastrianist" (> "magician").

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

For the name cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 462.

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


For the name cf. ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 462.

ABULAŽE op.cit., p. 30, ll. 1-12.

ABULAŽE op.cit., p. 30, l. 13 - p. 32, l. 20

ANDRONIKAŠVILI, op.cit., 381 and 415.


ANDRONIKAŠVILI op.cit., 380 f., referring to Borphān-e Qāte, I; the Persian-English Dictionary by F. STEINGASS has only \(\text{twžy} \) tožhī for "A school-boy's picnic" (p. 335a) and \(\text{twšy} \) toshī for "Children's picnic" (p. 336a).

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

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

ANDRONIKAŠVILI, op.cit., 415.

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

The parallelism of ham-kār and ham-tōžig in the passage from Mēnōg-ī r̥ad quoted in n. 4 above suggests that the underlying ankanak- is borrowed from a Middle Iranian ham-kārak-. This would imply a distant assimilation of \(n-r > n-n \) which would be comparable with the dissimilation processes treated in GIPPERT IAI, 100.


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

Cf. n. 26 above.

Cf. MACKENZIE op.cit., 46 f. for the Middle Persian terms mentioned.

Cf. GIPPERT, IAI, 341-344. A 2nd person singular aorist form of the derivative verb žadagoeba-, xžadagoe
'you have plead', has recently been found in the Vienna Khanmeti codex within the legend of St. Cyprian and Justina (fol. 95va, l. 11); cf. J. GIPPERT Neue Wege zur georgischen Lexikographie (forthcoming).

38 Both versions have been edited synoptically in 』ხანგრძლივი გამოქვეყნებული ლიტერატურის ოჯახ II, Tbilisi 1963, pp. 81-163. The third old redaction contained in the Sinai ms. N. 50 has not yet been accessible to me.

39 Kartlis Cxovreba, ed. QAUXCIŠVILI pp. 72-130: Mokceva Mirian mepisa da mis tana ჭოვლისა Kartlisa cmidida da netarisa dedisa ღუნზის Nino mocikulisa mier ("The conversion of King Mirian and all Georgia together with him by the holy and blessed apostle Nino").

40 The most important ones are the texts Cxovreba da mokalakobay da გაული cmidida da გირსის dedisa ჭონოს Ninoysi, romelma kadaga Kriste, ღმერთ ღვთის, kueqanasa ღერძივალის da gananatla natesavi kartveltâ ("Life and deeds and passion of our holy and dignified mother Nino, who preached Christ, our Lord, in the country of the North and enlightened the tribe of the Kartvelians") by Arsen Beri and the anonymous Cxovreba da mokalakobay girisa da mocikulisa scorisa netarisa Ninoysi ("Life and deeds of the dignified Saint Nino, equal to the apostles"), both edited in 』ხანგრძლივი გამოქვეყნებული ლიტერატურის ოჯახ III, Tbilisi 1971, pp. 7-51 and 52-83.

42 Version B: ABULAZE op.cit., p. 121, l. 34-36.
43 A: ABULAZE op.cit., p. 121, l. 34 - p. 122, l. 1.
44 Ихтион Господень в книжных легендах армян, грузин и сирийцев, в: Al-mużaffar¯ıya. Sbornik state/i uqenikov Professora Barona Viktora Rozena, ко дню двадцатилетия его первой лекции, СанктПетербург 1897, 72: ras¯ modern form of the word rasul, which was a digraph in Asomtavruli script (OW = (OW)); cp. the word ras¯ written (rasol) in the same line. For the pronunciation of the Persian word, the Şatberd codex which has u is thus more reliable. In any case, the two manuscripts show that Persian b¯an¯ug was still pronounced with a final -g (the -b we have in the Şatberd codex must be due to the common confusion of the letters B und G). The proposal by MARR according to whom the final consonants might represent a v (= Persian u "and") is unjustified.

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