

# GEORGICA

A JOURNAL OF GEORGIAN AND CAUCASIAN STUDIES

## *RUSTAVELI VOLUME*

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PUBLISHED FOR THE GEORGIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY

STEPHEN AUSTIN & SONS, LTD., HERTFORD

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1. To promote an understanding of Georgian culture.
2. To encourage the study of Georgian history, literature, and art.
3. To promote the knowledge of the peoples and languages of Caucasia.
4. To encourage the study of history, ethnology, and archæology of Caucasia in general.
5. To arrange lectures and conferences calculated to further the above objects.
6. To publish a periodical, and also leaflets, pamphlets, books, and translations on Georgia in particular and Caucasia in general.
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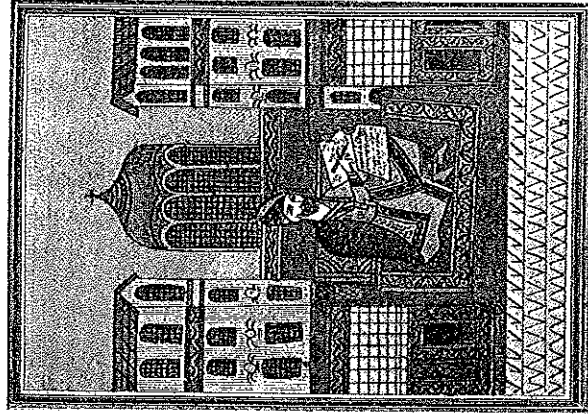
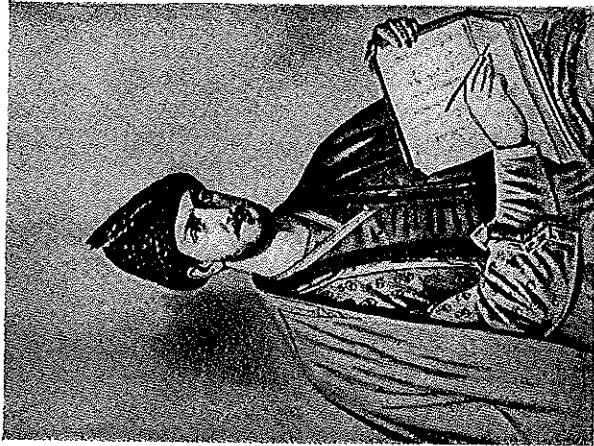
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SHOT'A RUST'AVELI  
1187-1937



Frontispiece.]

From an old MS. of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*.  
Reproduced by Gagaria.

A statue by N. Tarkhishvili. After a wall painting  
in the Monastery of St. Cross in Jerusalem, which he  
is said to have entered as a monk.

(From photographs published in D. Karidchashvili's edition of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, Tiflis, 1908.)

# GEORGICA

## A JOURNAL OF GEORGIAN AND CAUCASIAN STUDIES

RUST'AVELI AND HIS POEM

By GEORGE GVAZAVA

THE whole Soviet Union is preparing to celebrate the 750th anniversary of the birth of the great Georgian poet Shot'a Rustaveli, the author of the immortal poem *The Man in the Panther's Skin*.

The true glory of this great twelfth-century poet was only established some three centuries after his death, when his name is already mentioned by almost all the poets of Georgia; his poem was the life-giving sap that fed their works. During the centuries following Rustaveli exerted tremendous influence on his country's literature. "The celebration," write the Soviet newspapers, "of this great Georgian poet's memory will be in the U.S.S.R. a real festival of the culture and brotherhood of nations, a ceremony in course of which we shall be able to establish the wonderful blossoming of Georgian culture. The classic poem of Georgia will have a place close to the works of Goethe and Dante. Great exhibitions in different centres of the country will be organized as well as lectures devoted to this monument of the world's literature."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to learn that a great exhibition is to be held in Tiflis at which will be reconstructed the epoch in which the poet lived. Dr. T. Margvelashvili, one of the Berlin Georgian collaborators of *Georgica*, informs the editors that such prominent Georgian scientists as I. Javakhishvili, such experts in epic research as P. Ingorova, and such famous artists as T. Shevardnadze and Ir. T'oidze are manifesting the keenest interest in the project. The exhibition, which will be held in the State Museum in Tiflis, is intended to show, according to the Moscow newspaper *Izvestiya* (17th March, 1937), the social-economic position, the State structure, the arts and literature of Georgia of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries. The State Museum of Georgia and the Museum of Art, which have been engaged, with a view to this exhibition, on the study of the monuments of the ancient Georgian material culture, will provide most of the objects for the exhibition.

Preparations which were made for the translation of the poem of Rustaveli into West European and Russian languages have resulted in a series of new translations.

A new French translation, in rhymed prose, has recently been finished, according to the quoted Russian newspaper, by E. Orbeliani, under the redaction of Professor Sh. Nutsubidze (both Georgians), and is being published by the Rustaveli Jubilee Committee. Two new Russian translations of the poem have been completed by P. Petrenko (which is being published by the Georgian branch of the Academy of Sciences) and by G. Tseret'eli (made from the Georgian) under the redaction of V. Elsner (being published by State Literary Publishing Institution). Translations have also been made into Armenian by G. Asatur and G. Muradian, in verse, and into Turki by A. Djavad. The translation of the poem into Ukrainian, undertaken by the Ukrainian poet, Mikola Bazhan, is to be published during this autumn. [Editors' note.]



Who is this magician who, from the depths of the twelfth century, arouses so profound an emotion in the world ?

Alas ! We do not know much of the poet's life. We know neither the date of his birth nor date of his death. His life, like Homer's, is buried in the mist of legend. All we know of him is what he himself gives in the prologue and epilogue of his poem. "By shedding tears of blood we praise," he exclaims, "King T'amar, whose praises I, not ill-chosen, have told forth." . . . "They bade me indite sweet verses in her praise, laud her eyebrows and lashes, her hair, her lips and teeth, cut crystal and ruby arrayed in ranks. An anvil of soft lead breaks even hard stone."<sup>1</sup> In the epilogue he explains that he is "a certain Meskh, a poet and native of Rust'avi." Meskhet'i is a province of Georgia; Rust'avi a village in that province. And that is all.

Let us mention also the interesting confession which the poet makes in the prelude to his poem : he loves to distraction "her whose supreme will commands the armed forces". It is Queen T'amar. "May the grace and beauty of her who has made me mad, pardon my madness!" he prays. It is plain that the poet would never have dared to allude to this love, real or imaginary, if he had not been encouraged by the Queen herself. He had received the command to sing not only of her glory as Queen but also of her beauty as a woman. And the poet obeyed willingly in order to express his "madness".

That is all we know of the poet's life. Legend adds that he was educated at Athens, had travelled much in Asia, had then held the post of Treasurer to Queen T'amar with whom he had fallen madly in love, but the Queen remaining "pitiless as a rock", the poet had withdrawn from public life, had become a monk, and had died at Jerusalem where, in fact, later on was found a tombstone bearing Shot'a's name. But all this is only legend commonly heard all over Georgia.

Let us glance at the poet's immortal masterpiece.

#### "THE MAN IN THE PANTHER'S SKIN"

Never has a poet's inspiration been so vast, comprehensive, intense, and turbulent. It shows such range that the whole universe seems about to clash within it and become chaos. But the creative breath of a great poet subdues this chaos and moulds it in severest manner. Apollo's lyre gathers in melodies, scans them, gives them form, reality, and life in the broad daylight. Ideas succeed ideas, the horizon broadens and a picture is unfolded which includes the whole sun-warmed earth. Let us summarize the poem.

<sup>1</sup> See the English prose translation of the poem by the late Miss Marjory Scott Wardrop, published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1912, 4, 1-2, and 5, 1-4.

The old King of Arabia, Rostevan, gives up his throne to his daughter T'inat'in. A big feast is arranged at Court, then a hunt in which the King and his suite meet a knight clad in a panther's skin ; he is sitting by a river, sobbing. The King addresses him, but gets no reply ; he then orders him to be seized and brought before him forcibly, but the stranger jumps on to his horse, kills his assailants, and disappears forthwith amid general consternation.

Who is this mysterious man ? T'inat'in is deeply intrigued. She sends for the young Avt'andil, head of the army, and begs him to undertake the quest for this man. She confesses her love for Avt'andil and promises him her hand when he returns.

Avt'andil is delighted to help his best-beloved. After long and toilsome travels he at last finds the man in the panther's skin in a desert country. The meeting of the two heroes is most touching. The man in the panther's skin is called Tariel. He tells Avt'andil his story—a very painful one. He was in love with the beautiful Nestan, daughter of his sovereign, King of India. At her instigation he had to kill her betrothed, a Persian prince, in order to save his beloved and the succession to the throne of India. In consequence of this murder disturbances broke out in the kingdom. The young princess, mysteriously carried off, disappears from her residence. At this news Tariel, frantic, dashes off with his men in search of the princess, but could not find anywhere the slightest trace of her. Ever since then Tariel has been looking in vain for his beloved ; he lives alone in the desert and bewails his tragic fate.

Avt'andil is deeply affected by this story. He comforts Tariel, swears to remain always his faithful friend, and to help him in his search for the princess. He then returns to Arabia, acquaints T'inat'in with his discovery, and sets off again immediately to scour the world for his friend's beloved.

After many vicissitudes, thanks to an adventure as amorous as funny, he at last comes on the track of the princess ; she is found in K'ajet'i—a mysterious country—shut up in an inaccessible fortress and betrothed to the heir to the throne. After this discovery, Tariel and Avt'andil, with the help of a third hero, P'ridon, raise a small army, besiege the fortress and, after a sanguinary battle, the princess is rescued. Then follow wonderful feasts, first at P'ridon's house, then in Arabia at the palace of King Rostevan, afterwards in India. Tariel and Nestan ascend the throne of their ancestors in India ; Avt'andil and T'inat'in that of Arabia.

#### THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE POEM

"This Persian tale, now done into Georgian, has hitherto been like a pearl of great price cast in play from hand to hand ; now I

have found it and mounted it in a setting of verse" (16, 1-3), says the poet himself in the preface to his poem. Persian or not it is plain that "the tale" forming the groundwork has no more importance here than Italian novels have for certain works of Shakespeare. Rust'aveli's work is none the less conspicuously national, and at the same time, a profound study of humanity.

It is true that Georgia is not mentioned anywhere in the poem. The King of Arabia gives up his throne to his daughter T'inat'in. Was that possible in Arabia? Has a woman ever occupied the throne of the Caliphate? Moreover, the King, whilst still alive, gives up his throne to his daughter. Of such a custom we know only from the history of Georgia; in 1184 King George III caused his daughter T'amar to be proclaimed Queen of all Georgia. We read in the poem: "T'inat'in . . . was led in by her sire. He seated her, and with his own hands set the crown on her head; he gave her the sceptre, and clad her in the royal robes" (45, 1-3). This is a Christian rite, Byzantine or Georgian. The Muslim world has never known crown, sceptre, or royal robe. Caliphs and Sultans, for great ceremonies, never put on anything but heavy turbans studded with gems. It is thus clear that it is Queen T'amar who is sung and praised as T'inat'in. The poet himself says, alluding to Queen T'amar: "I sing of her fame in later stanzas." It could not be more definite.

In the Arabia of the poet, we have undoubtedly the Georgia of his time. What is seen in this part of the poem is enough to give us an impression of the splendour, richness, and variety of life in the Georgia of that time. Georgian civilization there seems so human. It is neither heavy nor burdensome. Nor is it superficial or shallow. It is full of natural and refined pleasures. It is easy to understand the attraction which this civilization had for the peoples of Caucasia and their brotherly alliance under the rule of Queen T'amar.

It is curious, in fact, that at a time when all the West was involved in a bloodthirsty struggle with the East in order to wrest Christ's tomb from the "infidels", Rust'aveli remains above this world broil; he glides over religious controversies and shows no bias in favour of this or that creed. For him only one God exists for the whole world, "unknowable and indefinable", who created the Universe and left for mankind the "infinitely varied" earth. Although he often invokes God as supreme hope in human misery, he also puts in place of God the idea of Nature—a vast mysterious Force. Far from ruling Nature, Man submits to her blind laws. To cope with the severe trials which she heaps upon him Man must fight, face pain and misfortune steadily, watch over the safety of the Fatherland, and foster love and friendship, sources of all terrestrial joys. Rust'aveli is full of moral and social principles, coined in striking epigrams

with such force that, once read or heard, they remain engraved for ever on the memory, like rules of conduct in individual, national, and social life. Liberty, justice, family honour, patriotism, chivalry, in their noblest sense, everything that lies within the orbit of modern Western civilization. That shows the spirit in which the Georgia of that date lived and evolved. And, behind these constructions of ideas, this flood of pictures, this riot of raptures and thrills, can be heard singing the living spring which marvellously gives them birth—love.

#### THE UNIVERSAL MEANING OF THE POEM

The fundamental idea of Rust'aveli's work is the eternal conflict between reason and passion, between thought and action.

Tariel, the chief hero of the poem, embodies Passion. He has no need, like Tristan and Yseult, to drink the deadly potion in order to feel bound to love Nestan. Her beauty and grace suffice. When he sees her for the first time a rush of blood suddenly clouds his consciousness and he falls fainting. From that moment nothing exists any longer for him; glory, riches, fatherland, everything vanishes before the image of Nestan who becomes the sole and constant obsession of his mind. Without her all the joys of Earth seem to him dull and empty.

Hamlet typifies thought and indecision. He sees humanity's secret motives and is disgusted by them. Determined to fight evil, he is always arguing, and his will is not strong enough to pass into action.

Tariel is all action. But it is not reason which predominates in his behaviour, it is passion which rules and which often drives him into most dangerous situations. He declares war on China, he slays his beloved's betrothed, he will do everything without flinching or thinking in order to please the object of his love. When he hears of his lover's strange disappearance, he forgets and forsakes all, he dashes off to find her. He travels over the world, looks into every corner of the earth, and, finding no traces of her, sinks into a boundless despair. He renounces the world, has a horror of human society, and prefers to live in a desert region amongst wild beasts and dangers of every kind. He wanders about alone, bewailing his sad fate. He is aware that his whole behaviour is only madness, that he is condemning himself to decay and death; but thought has no power at all over his will, now weak and almost destroyed by the ceaseless ebb and flow of his passion, and repressed by despair. When he sees a fight between a lion and a tigress he thinks he is observing a manifestation of love in the very heart of Nature. He kills the lion which he

accuses of brutality, and seizes the tigress to embrace her. Neither her teeth nor claws frightened him, but, not being able to master her, he throws her down and himself falls fainting, his mind ever obsessed by the picture of his beloved one. What a striking picture! The hero's passion expands to the dimensions of a cosmic tragedy.

But as soon as he hears that his beloved is imprisoned in a fortress in K'ajet'i, Tariel revives, passion only increases the tenacity of his will. In terrible rage he shatters the gates of the fortress and, after so many sufferings, at last receives into his arms his loved one—saved. It is the triumph of love and justice.

I do not know whether heroes are useful to the State, but they are necessary to Humanity. Faith in love and justice, courage to declare them when everybody is silent, these are virtues whose only support is impulse of heart. This heritage of humanity is constantly threatened and would perish for ever if there were not now and then heroes who give their lives to preserve it. Before humanity and before the centuries, these are the heroes who are right.

Tariel bears in himself those aspirations of humanity. Youth will find again in him its dreams and most secret anxieties. Tariel does not grow old; he is eternally real.

**Avt'andil**, the other hero of the poem, also knows this conflict of reason and passion. He loves T'inat'in and his love is no less intense than Tariel's, but he strives always to show more self-restraint. He thinks things out, he estimates probabilities, he has a sense of reality which allows him to fix the limits of the possible which he takes care not to exceed when he is forming his plan of action. He prays God to give him the "mastery over passion", and he always triumphs because he is always master of himself. Essential features of his personality are versatility and ingeniousness. He cultivates friendship, he has an acute sense of honour, frank courage, touching gravity, and keeps level-headed amid the most unruly passions.

By these characteristics Avt'andil asserts that Man can surmount his fate and, if not make himself absolute master of it, can at least tear himself from the ruts in which he sticks. He asserts that thought is mistress of its decisions. He denies a determinism fixed once for all.

The types of women are equally interesting.

**Nestan** is no Antigone, symbol of resignation and filial piety. Nor is she a Beatrice whose look allays passion, expands the mind and heart to lead them to God. Nestan is also beautiful and bright, but it is on earth that she wants to shine in the fullness of her rights. She asks her beloved not for sighs but for heroic deeds, to pave a way to the triumph of his love. She often weeps where misfortune crowds upon her head, but she shows her will-power when it is a

matter of her love. It is the eternal Feminine that kindles enthusiasm, unchains passion, and keeps Man on a level of heroism.

It is no wonder that this picture of Nestan has taken root in the popular imagination as a symbol of the Fatherland ever waiting for its Tariel to break down the door of the prison where it is confined.

Such are, in outline, the chief characteristics of the poem. Rust'aveli portrays nothing but eternal feelings, indestructible truth, things which will last as long as the sun shall shine upon the earth.

The Georgian people, after many a devastation of their country, often found themselves, as it were, on a desert. But they saved Rust'aveli's work from the wreck. They read it, they drink the love-potion of its culture, they grasp its real and living power, and they return to the rhythm of their race.

## THE PERSONALITY AND OUTLOOK OF SHOT'A RUST'AVELI

By Professor I. JAVAKHISHVILI

(A translation of the article published in Russian in *Izvestia*, Moscow, 17th March, 1937, No. 66 (6228).

IN writing a critical study of the personality and outlook of Shot'a Rust'aveli, we are handicapped by the fact that very little is known of his life, while of his works we have only one poem, that masterpiece *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. The odes which he mentions in the prologue to his epic are lost to us. Our task is rendered even more difficult by the fact that neither this epic nor the author of it are mentioned by the historians of Queen T'amar.

According to tradition, however, Shot'a Rust'aveli was not only the author of the poem, but the Court poet of Queen T'amar. The prologue to the poem gives us further grounds for believing this to be true. In any case, there are no valid arguments for disproving it. Rust'aveli's outlook, the style, subject, and language of the poem, all point indisputably to the beginning of the thirteenth century as being the period of its conception.

The epic reveals to us the depth and breadth of the poet's knowledge. Not only did Rust'aveli have a profound understanding of his own native literature, but he also appears to have been thoroughly acquainted with Persian and Arabic as well as Greek writings.

The poet's range of knowledge is so wide that it embraces a mastery of the politico-judicial questions of his time, familiarity with Court life and ceremonial in all its detail, and a grasp of the subtleties of the art of war. Still more amazing is his knowledge of the structure and life of a great sea-power, of its crowded capital, a port, teeming with life and activity, of the feverish speculations and shifting fortunes of its inhabitants. Whether Rust'aveli is writing about the laws of the feudal system; or the code of knightly love, devotion, and honour; or the dealings of the merchants, their unscrupulousness and thirst for gain; or the interplay of emotion, the subtle inner conflict of the human soul—he brings the same zest to his pen, the same colourful imagery.

What were the origins of this enchanting writer? From the poem itself and the little that is known about his life, we are inclined to think that he undoubtedly belonged to the intimate circle that revolved around the Georgian Royal Court. But the social structure of twelfth-century Georgia was such that his nearness to the Court is no proof that he was of high birth; at that time, men could rise to the most exalted positions from the humblest beginnings, and by sheer force of merit and talent, attain such offices as that of Cabinet Minister.

There are not sufficient references in Rust'aveli's poem to the lower classes to enable us to judge his attitude towards them. He does,

## JAVAKHISHVILI: THE PERSONALITY OF SHOT'A RUST'AVELI II

indeed, make a few flattering allusions to the middle or merchant class, but these only show us what a world of difference there was between them and himself, the knightly singer of love.

He expends all his ardour, his genius upon the glorifying of knight-hood. The entire poem is a hymn in praise of chivalry, and so we cannot but feel that herein lay his true sphere.

It is interesting to study Rust'aveli's attitude towards religion. A Christian by birth and upbringing, which is evident also from reminiscences, he never once refers to the basic dogma of the Christianity of the day—the Trinity. Not once, in the entire poem, does he mention the name of Christ, although he actually embodies in the text a popular proverb considered blasphemous by Christians. He describes Muslim countries, but cannot refrain from putting ironical speeches, far from flattering to the Muslim faith, into the mouths of the hero and other characters. For instance, T'ariel calls the Mollahs who read the Koran to him: "yelpers of nonsense," while the Bagdad merchants refer to their religion with the words: "We are Bagdad merchants, holders of the faith of Mahmad; we have never drunk must!" Rust'aveli reveals the same indifference for the Muslim religion as he does for the Christian.

It is clear that Rust'aveli was a free-thinker who rejected the official Christian, as well as the Muslim, teachings. Like his own hero, he appears to us as a waverer between monotheism and pantheism, rather than an adept in any of the then dominant religions. That this was no secret in Georgia is probably the explanation of the fact that none of the contemporary historians, all of whom were ecclesiastics, even mentions his name.

As a free-thinker, Shot'a Rust'aveli was almost completely detached from the nightmare of popular superstition which held most of the medieval writers in its throes.

The theme of Rust'aveli's poem is well known. It tells of the love of its heroes, of T'inat'in and Avt'andil, of Nestan-Darejan and T'ariel, but the story itself, with its passion and ardour, is unfolded against a background of the politico-social structure of a feudal monarchy. Rust'aveli also shows his intimate acquaintance with the life of a large industrial State, whose wealth and carefree existence he has so vividly and truthfully depicted. He himself, however, despises mere riches, and his antipathy comes out strongly in his description of this country and its great city. On the other hand, he shows deep admiration for the feudal monarchy, based on chivalrous ideals.

The observant reader will not fail to notice that Rust'aveli's heroines, in fact all his female characters, are real and living creations who play an active part. It is not only the cult of woman that is described in the poem. She is represented not only as an object for

exalted admiration, but also as a moving force, influencing events and shaping destinies of others. The well-known aphorism: "The cub is equal to the lion, be it male or female," which he puts into the mouth of an Arab, clearly shows that he recognizes the equality of the sexes in the political sphere.

The entire poem reveals an exceptionally reverential attitude of the author towards woman. It is worth noting that Rust'aveli makes use of two words, *k'ali* and *diatsi*, of which he uses the latter in the sense of "woman", while the former may be rendered only approximately as "lady". He employs this word not only when referring to his heroines, persons of royal birth, but also when speaking of women of the lower classes.

The theme of the poem does not only embrace the cult of the ideal love of woman: it extols brotherhood and pure, selfless friendship, not only between man and man, but between man and woman. Critics have often expressed their difficulty in deciding which of the two Rust'aveli rated higher—the cult of woman or the spirit of brotherhood and selfless friendship. A close scrutiny of the poem, however, an analysis of the characters, and a study of the aphorisms which he puts into their mouths, or interpolates in the text, can leave no doubt in our minds that Rust'aveli believed first and foremost in the brotherhood as the greatest and most valuable gift of the human relationship, the brotherhood not only between kinsmen and co-tribes, but also between the peoples of the world.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For those unable to read Rust'aveli's poem in the original Georgian, we recommend the English prose translation, *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, by the late Miss Marjory Scott Wardrop, published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1912.

The poem of Shot'a Rust'aveli has long attracted the attention of the litterateur, and its translations have begun to appear since last century, in almost all principal European languages.

It was translated into *French* by Ahas Borin (a Frenchman) and by Meunargia (a Georgian). Borin's translation was published in Tiflis, in 1885, and in Paris in 1886 (*La Peau de Léopard in Contes Orientaux*, published by Imprimerie-Librairie A. Quantin).

The *German* translation of the poem, *Der Mann im Tigerfelle*, was made by the late A. Leist (a German Georgiologist); it was published in Leipzig in 1889. A new German translation has recently been completed, Dr. T. Margvelashvili, informs the Editors from Berlin, by Professor M. Tseretheli, a noted Georgian philologist of Berlin, which will, it is hoped, be published shortly.

The poem was translated into *Hungarian* by Vikar Bella, whose translation was published in Budapest in 1917.

The first complete translation of poetical merit into *Russian* was made by C. Balmont (a distinguished Russian poet), published by D. Kheladze (a Georgian) in Paris in 1933. In an incomplete state Balmont's translation of the poem, *Barsova Shkura*, was first published earlier in Moscow, in 1917. Attempts at the translation of the poem into Russian date from the beginning of the last century (by Poltoratski, Bardtinski, Stalinski, etc.), but "they have no artistic value".

There are also incomplete translations in Armenian, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and Polish.

A new *French* translation has recently been completed by George Gvazava (a Georgian) and Mme A. Marcel Paon (a French lady), of Paris, and will be published in the near future by Messrs. Firmin Didot. See also p. 2, n. 1. [Editors' note.]

## THE POPULARITY AND INFLUENCE OF SHOT'A

RUST'AVELI

By GEORGE LEONIDZE

(A translation of the article published in Russian in *Izvestia*, Moscow, 17th March, 1937, No. 66 (6228).

WITHOUT touching on the scientific problem of Rust'aveli, I wish to give a brief account of the poet's work, the success it met with, and its history.

Never, I think, has any poetic masterpiece been so admired in its own country as the poem of the great Shot'a, *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. The noble theme, the virile and glowing verse are sustained throughout this epic which is rightly called "The great heart of Georgia". The poet has expressed his lofty ideas in powerful language without losing the essential simplicity of the story whose keynote is youth and delight. The picture it gives of life's majesty, of exalted love, knightly valour and honour, fraternity, love of freedom, and the brotherly relations between the tribes have put this poem at the peak of Georgian culture. In moments of crisis, Georgians turn to it for guidance, and many of its maxims and teachings have become bywords and proverbs to the people, sources of universal wisdom. In towns and villages, palaces and hovels, at wedding feasts and funerals, at church festivals, at fairs, and in battle Rust'aveli's epic has resounded the triumph of Georgian speech.

The Georgian chronicle, *K'art'lis Tskhovreba*, relates how in 1699, a Georgian leader, with only about forty men, on the frontier of Baluchistan, hard-pressed by the enemy and far from his native land, sustained the courage of his men by quoting verses and maxims from Rust'aveli.

An eighteenth-century poet, King Teymuraz II, in the course of his poem on a Georgian wedding, states that, according to ancient custom, the attendants of the bride and groom had to sing wedding-songs written by Rust'aveli the Wise, or recite his verses as the married pair set forth on their ride home.

A seventeenth-century poet, King Artchil, attributes the following words to Rust'aveli in one of his poems:—



"I am the creator of verse, the fount of all poets! Even though you search the earth, even though the magician lights up the cloud-darkened skies with his talisman, you will not find my like. As the Israelites looked upon their high-priest, Aaron, so must all poets look upon me! Throughout the length and breadth of Georgia, my words resound!"

"Rust'aveli's utterances are like a casket filled with golden gems," writes an anonymous poet in the seventeenth century.

Even the most illiterate peasant in Georgia can quote Rust'aveli's lines. Platon Yoseliani (1809-1879), a well-known Georgian historian, was invited, in 1867, by a poor peasant to a wedding in the village of Bazalet'i, near Dushet'i. What amazed him most at the humble reception was that "the head of the house, already advanced in years, began to interrupt our conversation by relating episodes from Rust'aveli. I thought at first that he must have heard them by chance from the nobles, but during the course of the feast, he quoted, not merely separate maxims, but whole stanzas, then proceeded to improvise upon them as the fancy took him. So intimate was his knowledge of the words and the thoughts they embodied that it was a delight to listen to him. . . . Yet I discovered that, attuned though he was to the lofty sentiments of the poet, he was totally illiterate, and had learned each stanza by word of mouth. He told me that there was not a single village in his district where the name Rust'aveli was unknown." (Newspaper *Kavkaz*, 1870, No. 13.)

I myself happened to meet in Kakhet'i, in 1915, an illiterate old peasant who recited entire cantos of the poem as he worked in the fields and vineyards.

Even to-day, there exist a number of Georgian peasants who are acquainted with fragments, even whole cantos, of the famous epic. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that many farm-hands and schoolboys have entered for the contest to be held on the 750th anniversary of Rust'aveli, when each competitor must be prepared to recite the entire epic by heart.

Practically all the poets up to the twentieth century, regarded themselves as being indebted to Rust'aveli. All, without exception, mention his name in the prologue to their poems, and appeal to him for inspiration.

"In thy hands, O Rust'aveli, rest the guiding reins of all other hands.  
Let my fancy run free.  
Thus do I beseech thee,  
Frown not upon me, else I am undone."

Thus did the poets of the seventeenth century refer to "the source of all poets, the rhetorician Rust'aveli".

Century after century, hundreds of Georgian calligraphers and scribes copied out the poem, either for their own delight, or as a consolation in the hour of sorrow, or for a gift, or because they had been commanded to do so by their patron, king, or feudal lord. It is moving to read what some of them have said about their work. Here, for instance, is a declaration written by one of the royal scribes:—

"The patron of patrons, our sovereign, George, commanded me to copy this book, the *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, and he spared no expense. . . . He wished that it should be, in every way, supreme. . . . Know ye, also, that of all the Georgian Kings, none had decorated the book *Vep'khis Tqaosani* as splendidly as our patron."

Indeed, it was a folio-volume, 45 by 30 centimetres. The poem is written in very beautiful round *mkhedruli* (military script). The title, the first two words of every stanza, the conjunction "and" with which the last verse begins, and the first and last three letters in every verse, are in vermilion; the rest of the text is in ink. The text on each page is framed in gold and other colours, in addition to which there is an exquisitely illuminated border of foliage in an intricate design, executed in gold with pale chatoyancy. This border is 7.7 centimetres wide, and is framed throughout in gold. Every page is a work of art. The pattern of intertwining leaves, flowers, and vines is never twice alike. Birds and animals are occasionally introduced into the design.

Other scripts have also reached us, remarkable for their exterior ornaments and for the beautiful illuminations they contain. It should be noted that the earliest extant copy of the poem dates back to the first half of the seventeenth century. Copies were destroyed by foreign invaders, and the clergy waged a merciless war against the poem because of the freedom of its ideas, and the absence of Christian dogma. According to tradition, the Primate of the Georgian Church initiated this persecution during the actual lifetime of Rust'aveli, while the Catholicos—Patriarch Anthony, first translator of Wolf's *Physica* and Baumeister's *Moral Philosophy*—forbade the Georgians to read Rust'aveli, and consigned all the written and printed copies published in 1712 to the flames. In his iambic epigram he calls Rust'aveli "a wise philosopher, an expert in the Iranian language, a theologian, and a wonderful poet whose work, nevertheless, was vain and useless".

Another representative of the Church, the Metropolitan Timothy, calls the poet "a narrator of vicious verses, who taught the Georgians black vice instead of holy purity, and who perverted the Christians".

Yet, notwithstanding the disastrous events of seven centuries, the destructive invasions of the enemies of Georgia, the havoc wrought by Georgian tyrants, and the persecution of bigots were unable to prevail against the might of genius. Rust'aveli is immortal. Despite all,

Georgia has preserved for ever the epic that he wrote, which has been and will be eternally associated with her national life.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the critical studies of the poem in English by the Georgians, see V. Nosadze's review of Z. Avalishvili's book (in Georgian) *Vep'khis Tqaosanis Sakit'khebi*—"The Problems of 'The Man in the Panther's Skin'" (Paris, 1931), in *Georgica*, 1935, Vol. I No. 1, pp. 116-125. Avalishvili's study "comprises four essays on the following Rustavelian themes: (1) The Verses to the seven Planets, (2) Shot'a the Manichean, (3) The Serpent and the Moon, and (4) the *amour courtois* in the poem, in which the author shows remarkable skill in his treatment of these difficult, but most interesting subjects" and which is reviewed by Nosadze sufficiently comprehensively.

See also Titus Margvelashvili, *The Georgian Epic: 'The Man in the Panther's Skin'*, in *Georgica*, 1936, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 24-43, in which the author compares the poem with the old Sumerian epic, the *Gilgamesh* or *Gish Epic*. Although "a period of three to four thousand years of human cultural development lies between these two epics," and they "are very different from each other in content" the author, nevertheless, finds "many points of contact". According to him, the parallel between the two epics "does not only consist of single motifs" [of Friendship and sworn Brotherhood; of Ambition, the seeking after Fame and Honour (the hero-cult); of the Animal-(Tiger, Lion-)skin, etc.], "but it extends also to various, rather poetically formed but nevertheless related single pictures", and even expressions. The author also finds in the Georgian epic "certain things which remind us of the Medea myth". The Colchian Medea's sorcery is well known, and this sorcery he finds in both the *Gilgamesh Epic* and *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. This comparative study has led the author to the conclusion that the Georgian epic is richly saturated with elements most characteristic of the oldest Anatolian (i.e. Asianic or Asia Minor) culture. [Editors' note.]

## T'EIMURAZ I AND HIS POEM "THE MARTYRDOM OF QUEEN K'ET'EVAN"

By Z. AVALISHVILI

### I. CONCERNING THE POEM

"THE much tried and noblest among women, the valiant Queen and martyr, the highly praised K'et'evan"—this is the description of the mother of T'eimuraz I, King of Kakhet'i, in an eighteenth century Georgian chronicle. And, indeed, the daughter of Ashot'an, Prince of Mukhrani, is one of Georgia's greatest heroines. The story of her martyrdom (1624) is known to all; it has been told many times; the Church itself, both in the East and West has bestowed its love and admiration upon her. In England, for example, an account of her martyrdom was written by the Rev. John Mason Neale in 1850, and by Archdeacon Dowling in 1912. "A poem or a story ought to be written about K'et'evan," says her contemporary, Pietro della Valle, the well-known Italian traveller, singing the praises of this Queen's noble personality and high character, "but to do justice to the greatness of the subject is beyond my powers and the little span that is mine." P. della Valle missed the opportunity, but Andreas Gryphius, the noted German dramatist of the seventeenth century, inspired by the same subject, wrote *Catharina von Georgien* (1658). Nor was the burden too great for the son of K'et'evan, T'eimuraz, who dedicated a poem to the martyrdom of his mother. Though it was printed for the first time in 1928, that is some three centuries later, the manuscript was of course known to a few. It is a versified martyrology, lacking neither inspiration nor literary skill. But the poet is the martyr's own son, and this fact has naturally coloured his whole outlook. The poem, therefore, describes not only the sufferings of K'et'evan; it also conveys to us the poignant grief of T'eimuraz, his own personal sorrow and loss. The Queen and two sons of T'eimuraz, Alexandre and Levan (Leo), were taken prisoners by Shah Abbas in 1614 and held as hostages, because T'eimuraz himself had refused to appear before the Shah, his suzerain. Their fate was sealed from the very first owing to the pro-Turkish policy pursued by T'eimuraz in connection with the long-drawn-out Perso-Turkish war, in which Georgia, too, was often involved. T'eimuraz was consequently himself the cause, though involuntarily, of their ruin. The King-hagiographer does not, however, reveal that he was conscious of this. He deliberately leaves much unsaid, yet it is obvious that the sense of his guilt is the reason for the bitter penitence that makes his grief so overwhelming. The difficulty in writing this poem must have been very great. The poet is concerned with versification, the son laments his martyred mother, and the King-politician endeavours to tell in few words the true story of past events.

15, 1-2. Why lengthen the story, to the land of Shiraz she was taken,  
In a fortress stronger than the K'ajis<sup>1</sup> castle was the sun-like to  
be placed

No doubt some recollections trouble him when he speaks of the devastation of Kakhet'i, by Shah Abbas (in 1614-16); he makes no mention of what he himself was doing.

12. In fetters bound he<sup>2</sup> had left her at Ganja  
as one of prisoners,  
Where was then her King-son, or the  
pursuivants' array  
That they might have used their blades  
upon her keepers,  
And from fetters free the praiseworthy ray.

Where was "the king-son"? The answer is simple, T'eimuraz was hiding at the time in Imeret'i.

About the martyrdom itself, in 1624, he laments:—

67. Woe unto me! the mentioner of that day, forgotten are for me afore-  
gone days!  
From breast to the spine hot iron bars unto her they thrust,  
I, transgressor, sinner, was not nearby, and over this I now grieve,  
With my right-hand the Cross I failed to defend, that is why I shed tears.

If his mother's fate was "the hot irons" and that of his sons the surgeon's knife (they were castrated in Shiraz, in 1618; one died immediately after the operation, the other survived for many years), it was the result of his compliance with the Turks, i.e. the Persian revenge for it.

In 1624, the year of his mother's martyrdom, he was the guest of Turkey in Gonieh, near Batum, and out of reach of the Shah. Therefore the penitence of T'eimuraz expressed in the above quotation is somewhat insincere and artificial. This, however, cannot be said about the whole of the poem.

The martyrdom is described with great dramatic force, and a contrast is drawn between "the valiant" Queen and her craven suite:

59, 2-3. They seized the star-like, the peerless-faced  
And before her eyes her attendants they islamized,  
None of them daring a voice of protest raise.

The last prayer of K'et'evan attains a high note of Christian exaltation. T'eimuraz, a devout and sincere orthodox Christian, was also a gifted poet, and his faith and talent helped him in the difficult task he had set himself.

<sup>1</sup> A fabulous race in Georgian folklore.  
<sup>2</sup> i.e. Shah Abbas.

40. I am frightened somewhat strangely of the mighty guardians of  
the air,<sup>1</sup>  
And of the unbearable torments at my expiration.  
O! Archangel Gabriel let me not out of thy hands  
Ye martyrs and saints deliver me from the darkness.  
41, 11-2. O, Lord I pray thee at the last judgment  
Among the wise virgins me to reckon and of the standing on thy  
right-hand make me worthy.

In his penitence and confession of sins, too, T'eimuraz is greatly eloquent:—

80. One day I shall stand naked, with bowed head, silent,  
Shrouded in my sin of old, unhallowed by blessing,  
With hands and feet bound though outwardly resplendent.  
Unsleeping worm awaits me and the burning fire. . . .

The general trend or tone of the poem is, in some parts, of course, a little pious and bookish; the writer had received two kinds of training, religious and secular—in the Greek orthodoxy, i.e. its Georgian form, and in the literary tradition of both Georgia and Persia (T'eimuraz was also a Persian scholar). To him salve is "emplastron". On the other hand, one reads in his description of the martyrdom such "Persian" ornaments as the following:—

68, 1-2. They spread under her and over her (hot) iron nails,  
These pierced through, cutting open the crystal, the ruby, the  
enamel.

A verse in such doubtful taste is, however, rare in this work, which is characterized by true depth of feeling as well as by moving rhetoric.

The following lines are also typical of his learning, secular and religious:

75, 1-2. Death her would not kill, her amorous of God, the jet, the enamel,  
Alive is she, and with a (martyr's) crown she is seated on the  
ladder's rung.

Here "the jet, the enamel" is of Rust'avelian style while the ladder is "the Paradise ladder" (*Scala Paradisi*) of John of Sinai (*Sinaita*), mentioned immediately after (82, 4):

82, 4. To her the divines appealed and (even) John of Sinai himself,

This father of the Church, who flourished in the seventh century, was surnamed Joannes Climacus.

It is not my intention to dwell here at any length on the poem,

<sup>1</sup> In Georgian *haeris-mtsvelni*, who, according to Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (see his *Georgian Dictionary*, edited by Professors Joseph Kipshidze and A. Shanidze, Tiflis, 1928, p. 472), are the less evil devils who remained in the air, while the more evil ones descended into hell. So here, apparently, the old demonology is reflected.

though I shall quote a number of stanzas. The first edition, published in 1928 (*Anthology*, Book 2, Tiflis), appears to contain a number of interpolated stanzas. T'eimuraz himself stated:—

84, 1-4. Should one add "verses" (to this poem), will anger me not,  
I have written eighty "verses", here's all the end and the beginning.

Here "verse" no doubt denotes stanza, and if he originally mentioned eighty, the extra four stanzas must have been added.

77. How shall be praised the King, by God guarded and protected!  
Now his prosperity confirmed under no hidden constellation,  
Upon him in full the earthly power was bestowed,  
And away from him is the Dragon that walks upon the clouds.

T'eimuraz would not have said this of himself. These lines obviously allude to his return to Georgia and the reconquest of the kingdom in 1625, when Shah Abbas (the "Dragon") was elsewhere. They were certainly written by someone else, and "added".

The importance of the poem in Georgian literature is indisputable. It is probably the first example of a poetical treatment of a lively historical Georgian theme—no small achievement of T'eimuraz's poetic talent.

## 2. CAPTIVITY IN SHIRAZ

In his versified account of K'et'evan's martyrdom, T'eimuraz refers to Shah Abbas's activities in Georgia, to the captivity of the Queen in Shiraz and her tragic end; he also refers to the stories that sprung up about her relics. Let us clarify some obscure passages in this poem by means of information derived from other sources, and throw light on certain allusions which have hitherto been given but little attention. These must be kept in mind if we are to get a true picture of the events described, and not a one-sided and modified version.

I will not refer here to the earlier activity of K'et'evan who was at the head of Kakhet'i, in 1605 and later; nor will I enlarge upon the circumstances that ended the alliance between Shah Abbas and T'eimuraz, or those under which T'eimuraz's brother-in-law and friend, King Luarsab II, grandson of that Svimon (Simon), King of K'art'li (1558-1600 with interruptions), who had rendered so much service to Persia, died by the hand of an executioner, somewhat earlier (in 1620) than K'et'evan, in the same country of Shiraz. To dwell upon these would involve a general survey of the political and international situation both of *Lihkt'-amieri* (Eastern) and of *Lihkt'-imieri* (Western) Georgia, during the first

quarter of the seventeenth century; and also of the celebrated exploits of Giorgi (George) Saakadze, the "Grand Constable", etc. For such a study we have, however, no space here. We will first touch, briefly, on the life of the Queen in Shiraz, referring, *en passant*, to the question of her relics, but will chiefly dwell on the political aftermath of K'et'evan's martyrdom, which throws a revealing light upon the Georgia of the time. We must, however, turn back again to T'eimuraz's *Martyrdom*.

As to the conditions under which K'et'evan lived for seven years (1617-1624) in Shiraz, the information contained in T'eimuraz's poem is of course incomplete. Besides the martyrdom itself, the poem also describes with great pathos K'et'evan's despair and lamentation when she was deprived of her only hope, her grandsons, "the tender gifts" (9, 1).

15, 4. The sojourn in Egypt seemed light to her, she was rearing her son's issue.

When these were taken away from her—

21. A, me! broken-hearted, lost! How came I to the shore of the sea!  
Wo! into a pit I have fallen, into the mud of the abyss.  
In my patrimonial homeland I live not, but in someone else's,  
Woe is me! for I am parted from Alexandre, and look at Levan I can no longer.

It is, however, only in the writings of the European authors that we find plain, straightforward accounts of the Queen's life in captivity. Figueroa, the Spanish Ambassador, describes how she was brought to Shiraz and housed there; he gives us the motives for her removal thither, as well as describing T'eimuraz's affairs, and the devastation of his kingdom. Upon the arrival of the Ambassador, K'et'evan had sent a messenger to inquire about him; and she maintained this courteous attitude while the Ambassador was in Shiraz (from the end of 1617 till April, 1618). The Ambassador himself dared not make inquiries about the Queen through his own messenger. He reciprocated greetings and conveyed his thanks and good wishes through K'et'evan's own servants. He was afraid to arouse the suspicions of the Persians, particularly as he was a Christian himself. The Queen appointed from her suite her personal confessor, a monk of the Basilian (Eastern) order, Moses by name, to carry out the delicate task of continuing communication between herself and the Ambassador. This man seemed to the Ambassador, judging from his conduct and manner of life, to be a monk of the ancient Christian Church. He has high praise for him and speaks at length of his martyrdom. Moses showed him two Georgian books, beautifully bound and adorned, the Bible, with psalter, and the Gospels, including the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul.

This monk, although not mentioned by name, is also referred to by P. della Valle, in his *Informatione della Giorgia* (1627). From him we learn that K'et'evan lived in Shiraz in circumstances befitting her rank, surrounded by numerous attendants of both sexes; she had her own place of worship, containing many icons, sacred vases, much church furniture, and books. During the last period of her life, however, she employed neither priest nor monk. Her former priest was martyred by the Persians, because they believed that he strengthened the Queen in her Christian faith and hindered her conversion, as well as that of the two sons of T'eimuraz to Islam. Reference to Moses the monk is also intended, I think, in a passage (56) of T'eimuraz's poem: ("There a cross-bearer in a strange manner existent. . . by Pharaoh apprehended. . . staunch like Moses. . .") Moses was put to death because it was thought that he advised the Queen against embracing Islam. This information is probably correct. The same cause, apart from the motive of vengeance, must also have brought about the martyrdom of K'et'evan herself. Arakel, the well-known Armenian historian, surnamed "of Tabriz", relates the following story of her martyrdom: In the course of a conversation at the court of Shah Abbas, where a young and recently converted Georgian was present, the question arose as to why it was that, while all young Georgians were forced to embrace Islam, their mothers were not. The explanation given by one of those present was that since the Queen would not change her faith Georgian mothers likewise refused. This remark of Arakel is noteworthy. It is quite possible that the main object of the Persian Government in putting K'et'evan to death was to remove a powerful personality whose steadfastness could only strengthen by example the determination of other Georgians residing in Persia and thus delay their conversion. It was exactly this conversion that the Persians desired. Especially the apostasy of the Georgian kings and of leading personages for political and military reasons. This end had, indeed, already been partially achieved. The idea of embracing Islam, whether for political or personal reasons, had found supporters among the Georgians even in Georgia, but it was among those residing in Persia that it was more seriously considered; their numbers and influence were considerable at the time, and the determination of the Queen and her courage therefore appear all the more striking.

According to P. della Valle, K'et'evan herself often discussed with her friends at her Shiraz residence the question as to which religion was the better—Christian or Muhammadan. Moreover she was persistently advised, by Persians and Georgians alike, to embrace Islam; "Embrace it, what does it matter (so long as you only embrace it *outwardly*," they urged her. This was no doubt the spirit

of compromise which must have prevailed among the Georgians there. Similar advice, given to K'et'evan by the lord of Shiraz, is recorded in the poem itself:—

35, 2-3. Convert thou too, become a Tatar, as if it's no worse,  
Jesus what harm will do thee, whilst this one<sup>1</sup> is against thee  
incensed.

In T'eimuraz's poem, mention is also made of a *Giorgi*, or *George*, the priest. Neither the latter nor any of the Georgians who surrounded K'et'evan had the strength to profess Christ as did K'et'evan at the moment of her martyrdom. As soon as they saw the flaming fire and the "irons", "tongs", "bars", etc., thrown into it, they chose to renounce their religion.

61. When the priest saw he took fright of the fire,  
Of those spearheads, nail-shaped irons frightful,  
And turning pale he trembled seized with terror;  
His heart sank, he failed to settle the torture's account.

In P. della Valle's account, this Giorgi the priest, an Imer(et'ian), becomes a very real character. The Roman nobleman was very much attracted by the personality of the Queen, and was grieved by her fate: but he did not of course dare to go to see her. Once in Shiraz—it was in June, 1622—della Valle noticed a man of honourable appearance enter a tailor's shop at the same time as himself, and although he spoke Persian and Turkish, Valle at once suspected (from the kind of Bukharan hat he wore) that he was a Georgian and also (from the characteristic beard) an ecclesiastic. He formed the impression that the man might have been the Queen's priest. Valle's one great desire had been to establish contact with one of the Queen's attendants, and he naturally missed no opportunity of getting acquainted with the stranger. But this priest, *chusesi Ghiorghin*, as Valle calls him, was not a real priest (he did not officiate, Valle remarks in his *Informatione*). He proved to be the Queen's table-steward and major-domo. Valle later asked him to dinner and afterwards recorded their conversation. Valle had married a Syrian Christian, Maani by name, and they had under their care a Georgian girl who conversed with Giorgi in Georgian. Later, this *Mariuccia*, formerly called T'inat'in, was presented to the Queen, who received the Georgian orphan with motherly tenderness. There must have been a great number sharing T'inat'in's fate at that time in Persia.

Giorgi the "priest" was also a horticulturist. In this science the Georgians, according to Valle, were considered to be more expert than the Persians. Once Giorgi had even been invited to Ispahan in

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Shah Abbas.



this capacity. It is clear, however, that this horticulturist and table-steward was not likely to face martyrdom.

Through the medium of Giorgi K'et'evan had presented two books of prayers to della Valle, one Latin, with gilt covers, and the other Portuguese, both undoubtedly part of the booty captured from Ormuz by the Persians and the English in 1622, and redeemed by the Queen. The books contained marginal notes in her own hand (see P. della Valle's letters, xvi, and xvii, from Shiraz, dated 27th July, 1622, and 18th January, 1623).

It is said that during the last days of her life the Queen was consoled and her spiritual needs were administered to by the Augustinian monks (M. Tamarati, *L'Église Géorgienne*, etc., Rome, 1911). T'eimuraz makes no mention of this, nor is the fact directly stated in Valle's report to Pope Urban VIII; what Valle reports is that he was convinced (particularly since their padres—the Carmelites and Augustinians—had a hostel and a church in Shiraz), that they would have taken care of her, etc. But this seems hardly possible since, according to the Valle's own statement, the Queen could not be approached even before the days of her martyrdom. A friend "Whom I will not name", the Italian traveller states, had sent her clandestinely—this may have taken place in 1622-3—an icon of the Virgin. But there would have been no free access to her during her last days.

The Spanish Ambassador, Figueroa, on his way back to the Persian Gulf, passed through Shiraz, where he remained for two weeks. He was very eager to learn more about the fate of the Queen—the news of her martyrdom was then still quite fresh—but the members of her household had been forbidden to leave the house, nor could any of them be seen. The Persians, it is evident, did not want the Ambassador of a great State such as Spain then was to know much about the martyrdom of the Queen.

And the event could not have been a matter of mere passing curiosity on the part of the Spanish Ambassador. He probably knew that when the question of a common Hispano-Persian action against Turkey was discussed, towards the end of the sixteenth century, it was understood that Persia would have the Christian kings of Georgia as allies as well. This was asserted as early as 1595 by Svimon (Simon), King of K'art'li, in his reply (the letter was recently discovered in the Castilian archives near Valladolid) to Philip II.

The same statement was also made by the Ambassadors of Shah Abbas in Europe. One of them, called Don Juan the Persian, embraced Christianity. He remained in Spain, where he wrote a book on Persia, from which book Don Garcia Sylva de Figueroa would have learnt something of Georgia and her kings. Here in Shiraz he would regard the Perso-Georgian alliance as nothing out of the way. And the

method of bringing pressure upon a human being by ordeal of fire would have been no novelty to him.

### 3. IN SEARCH OF RELIQUÆ.

The question as to what happened to the dead body of K'et'evan after her martyrdom would not have become a question of importance (and, indeed it is not), but for the fact that superstition, religious exaltation, and sometimes worldly and mundane consideration usually endow relics of persons martyred for Christ's sake with peculiar significance. Hence the adoration of relics, the appeal to their miraculous power, etc. The martyrdom of K'et'evan proved no exception to this custom, and the relics of the martyred Queen have a history of their own. It is not our intention to write this history; we wish merely to note differences in the traditions concerning these relics, and certain contradiction, quite usual in these cases.

In the first place we shall hear T'eimuraz, who knew every detail of his mother's martyrdom, and whose poem is almost contemporary with the martyrdom. The poem was probably written in the years 1627-8, in any case not later than 1633; from the poem it appears that, probably, Shah Abbas and certainly Imam-Quli-Khan of Shiraz were then (i.e. when the poem was being written) still alive, and we know that the dates of their death were 1629 (January), and 1633 respectively.

According to T'eimuraz, immediately after K'et'evan "commended her soul to the Lord, her God" (69, 2), and ascended to Paradise (69, 3-4):—

70, 1-2. Light from heaven descended, visible to all the people  
And Jesus Christ they glorified, both the young and old.

T'eimuraz here follows the old obligatory manner of a hagiography. Then he adds:—

71, 1-2. On the anniversary her grave they opened, of her comparable  
to Nino,  
Fragrant smell was perceived, but the deceased was nowhere.

If they buried her, how did it happen that on the first anniversary "the deceased was nowhere?"

71, 3-4. They said: "The Franks must have stolen . . ."  
I say: she is ascended and on this earth she is nowhere.

and, combining here the religious-mystical and erotic languages, the poet declares:—

75, 3-4. Death her would not kill, her, amorous of God, the jet, the enamel,  
Alive is she, and with a (martyr's) crown she is seated on the  
ladder's rung.

This is the immaterial crown of the martyrs. Her remains, however, "are nowhere on this earth," he asserts (71, 4). And by this declaration T'eimuraz seems clearly and definitely to reject the legend of the saintly relics of K'et'evan; he denies the existence of these relics, that is of the earthly remains of the Queen.

"The Franks must have stolen," is stated in the quoted verse (71, 3) as a mere hint. That the remains of K'et'evan fell into the hands of the Catholic monks is an old and well-known story. Very astonishing is the fact that this version (i.e. that the remains had been discovered by the Catholics) is mentioned also in the poem of T'eimuraz in the following form:—

72. The soul-bell of this saint is there heard everywhere,  
And for her relic ardently wished every cross-adorer.  
Twelve thousand *tomans* the Franks would offer,  
Shah Abbas yielded not, else a great sin he would commit.
73. Secretly they discovered the relic hidden by the spade,  
Recognizing it, they spread rumours in search the Nimroz(ian) scribes  
had failed;  
They placed it in a reliquary, and before it amber and musk they burnt.  
It healed the sick if one the door approached.

This is a usual story of relic finding and adoration. It implies that the relic did exist, that a sum of 12,000 *tomans* (120,000 gold franks, approx.) was offered for it, which the Shah, however, would not accept, "Shah Abbas yielded not," and that the Franks "secretly found it". This version, therefore, flatly contradicts the first declaration of T'eimuraz:—

71, 4. I say: She is ascended, and on this earth she is nowhere,

and of course such a view, that is, the non-existence of the relic, though for quite other reasons (its possible loss after the martyrdom, or rather its complete destruction) was not absolutely groundless. But in the first place it must be also borne in mind that the story of the discovery of the relics is based chiefly on the tradition of the Catholic missionaries—the Nimrozian scribes of the poem (73, 2). Brosset admitted that he did not understand what this strange name, *Nimrozell'a*, "Nimrozians," denoted. And, indeed, who are these *Nimrozian Scribes* (72, 2)? *Nimruz*, a bookish word borrowed from the Persians, denotes "the meridian", and *nimruzeli* or *nimrozeli* has the same meaning as the French *méridional*, i.e. a Southerner. T'eimuraz probably has in view those Augustinians who, according to tradition, kept in Ispahan the relics of his mother. The headquarters of the Augustinian order were indeed in that part of the world, in the south, in India, at Goa, the then well-known and flourishing Portuguese colony. Antonio de Gouvea, the Ambassador of Philip III, King of Spain and Portugal,

who, in 1602, received the Shah Abbas's permission to found a monastery in Ispahan, had himself been a rector of the Augustinian College at Goa.

One would expect from M. T'amarashvili (= Tamarati) the more detailed information on this question. In his work, *A History of Catholicism among the Georgians* (in Georgian, Tiflis, 1902), he states: "When Father Ambrosio and his brother, Peter, monks of the order of St. Augustine, arrived in Gori, on the first of June, 1628, they must have brought with them the relics of Queen K'et'evan," because "when he (i.e. T'eimuraz) made peace with the Shah of Persia (i.e. Shah Abbas) he asked him for the body of Queen K'et'evan to be restored to him; it was kept with great honour in Ispahan in the Monastery of the Augustinian monks". This information T'amarashvili must have taken from the report which the Rome Congregation of Propaganda received later, in 1640, from the Augustinians in Persia. Father Ambrosio is mentioned in this report, too, and the story is found also in T'amarashvili's other work, in French, namely, in *L'Église Géorgienne*, etc. (Rome, 1910, pp. 432-485).

The orthodox Church of Georgia has also, of course, a word to say on this question, and where else are we to look for it if not in the *Martyrology* of Anthony I, the learned Catholicos of Georgia, wherein are described "the deeds and passions" of Queen K'et'evan and King Luarsab II of K'art'li? On the question as to what became of the remains of the martyr, this important and very interesting work (see Tchubinashvili, *Chrestomathy*, St. Pb., 1846, vol. i) repeats, in the light of the Italian information and of the story of Arakel of Tabriz, the legend of the discovery of the remains made with the aid of a miraculous "luminous pillar". (T'eimuraz says: "Secretly they discovered the relic. . .," see above.) By this means the "believers in Christ even though schismatics", that is the Catholics, knew where the remains were to be found. Consequently, in Anthony's opinion, too, the Catholics were the discoverers of the remains. And what followed? Anthony, too, says (and, according to him, his opinion was shared by "all the historians whether our own or Armenian or Latin") that the Frank monks had offered T'eimuraz half of the relics of his mother, which he (T'eimuraz) had accepted with great delight, and had laid to rest in the Alaverdi cathedral, "under the holy altar, as they say." The expression "as they say" is rather astonishing: does it imply that Anthony had no definite knowledge of this? But, besides this tradition, which may be called foreign, Catholic, and which is accepted by Anthony, there exists also another tradition which is Georgio-Greek and orthodox. These two contradictory traditions were dealt with by the learned Prince T'eimuraz, a descendant of K'et'evan, in his *Martyrdom of St. K'et'evan the Queen of Kakhet'i*,

written in 1832. He expands the story told by his ancestor and namesake, the poet (see above), and states that the "Nimrozian" priests were very eager to find K'et'evan's remains and that they promised Shah Abbas 220,000 roubles (!) which he, however, rejected. "But these catholic priests, out of their great love for Christ, stole the remains of the saint, and, embalming it by means of spices, took it away clandestinely." Then, after consulting the unpublished studies of the Georgian Catholicos Bessarion and a priest-monk, Giorgi, he makes quite a different statement, to the effect that the Queen, after the martyrdom, had been buried "within her own house of prayer, where she lived during her life", that is, in Shiraz itself, and not in the Augustinian monastery at Ispahan. The remains, when brought to Georgia, were laid to rest by T'eimuraz with great ceremony at Alaverdi; there were present "Zak'aria the Catholicos, the Archbishops and the clergy of All Georgia", etc.

But these later scholars merely compiled their stories from books. For us, however, the evidence of the contemporaries is more important. There exists a writing which, so far as I am aware, has not yet been noticed, and in which the "Georgian" tradition is more fully represented. It is a small book, printed in 1632 (where, is not evident, but probably somewhere in Italy), containing an epistle written in Greek, with a Latin Translation; its title is: *De Ketabae Teimurazis Georgianorum principis matris martyrio & Insigni quadam hac de causa Jesuitarum impostura*.<sup>1</sup> The writer of the epistle is a priest-monk, Gregory, *Gregorius Hieromonachus et exarchus Patriarchicus*, a resident of Trebizond, and it is dated 16th May, 1626; the epistle is addressed to the *sanctissimum doctissimumque Protosyncellorum Sophronium*, in Constantinople. It describes briefly the overrunning of Kakhet'i in 1614 and following years, an event well known to historians; the deportation of the population, particularly that of K'et'evan to Persia; the extermination of the great nobles; and, of course, the martyrdom of K'et'evan. One of the female attendants of the Queen, whose name is given as *Moakhla* (= *moakhle*, that is an attendant, here used as a proper name), decided, according to this epistle, to save the remains of the martyr and, having found the body, kept it in the house of her new master, a grandee. The Jesuits were also anxiously looking for the body, but having failed to find it, they severed the head of a corpse, and took it to T'eimuraz representing it as the relic of his martyred mother. It was received, of course, with great rejoicing in Georgia, where they laid it to rest, with great solemnity, in the St. George's Cathedral at Alaverdi. The adoration of the relic was instituted, and the Jesuits concealed their fraud with great cunning.

<sup>1</sup> See Plate facing p. 38.

These facts soon became known throughout Georgia, and the news reached "Moakhla" in Persia; she immediately informed T'eimuraz that K'et'evan's remains were in her safe-keeping. When, later, peace was concluded with Persia, the Georgian Ambassadors successfully negotiated the repatriation of many Georgians, among whom was "Moakhla", who brought with her K'et'evan's remains. The body was examined and definitely identified as that of K'et'evan. Soon, the evidence of two Georgians, just returned from Persia, finally exposed the fraud of the Jesuits. T'eimuraz was much enraged, but, as he anticipated at this time a clash of arms with the *Mourav* or Grand Constable (George Saakadze), he had no time to inflict due punishment upon the wrongdoers; he forbade, however, the adoration of K'et'evan's remains, ordaining that, at Alaverdi, only St. George was to be adored. K'et'evan was a saint, he said, and would anyhow be reckoned with the saints on the All-Hallow day. This doubt on T'eimuraz's part about his mother's remains perhaps accounts for his statement "she is nowhere on this earth", made in his poem.

This "Greco-Georgian" story accuses the Jesuits of dishonesty (how far justifiable is, however, another question), and it does not agree with the version of the Augustinian brothers either (see above), from which, indeed, it differs in important essentials. Which of these versions is the earlier? Both appeared almost at the same time. The former we found in the epistle of the year 1626; the latter, although it has been connected with a report written in 1640, is nevertheless of an earlier date. The Augustinian version was already known in Rome in 1627 from that important *Information concerning Georgia* which P. della Valle submitted to Pope Urban VIII on his return from Persia. He had learnt of the martyrdom of the Queen for the first time at Basra, from Padre Gregorio Orsino, who, some time before, had sent a special and extensive (and, to my knowledge, as yet unknown) report on the subject to Rome.

To gain the sympathy of these Georgians who had surrounded the Queen at the time of her martyrdom, and who remained in Shiraz, and knew that her relics were in the safe-keeping of "our Augustinian fathers", was, in the opinion of Valle, very important for Catholic propaganda in Georgia.

So, the "discovery of the remains" by the Catholics must have had some connection with the propaganda and its aim, in Georgia, particularly in Kakhet'i. Help was even to be expected in this matter says P. della Valle from the relatives of the Metropolitan of Alaverdi, and other Georgian grandees (about the Catholic sympathies of this Metropolitan we have some information in one of the reports of L. Granger. The latter, a Jesuit, had been in contact with T'eimuraz and the Metropolitan already from 1615 in Megrelia. This was known

to Valle also. So, the mention of the Jesuits in the Greek letter is not quite so groundless).

In any case, T'eimuraz himself confirms the story of the Augustinians in a letter, written in Latin, to the Pope in 1635; and his purpose in making the confirmation was in all probability inspired by diplomatic motives.

Even apart from the complicated and fabulous history of these relics, the Greek pamphlet is invaluable; it contains many details of great interest; moreover, it is written with sound knowledge of the matter and of Georgia, which is testified by such words used in Greek as *T'eimuraz*, *K'et'evan* (just as they were used in Georgian), *Moakhle*, *Alaverdeli* (= of Alaverdi, the title of the Metropolitan of Alaverdi), *Kakhet'i*, *Gremi*, *Mouravi*, etc. The author had been to Alaverdi. Particularly important is the writer's political information. The contents of the letter tally with the known course of the great events of the time, such as the martyrdom of K'et'evan in September, 1624, at Shiraz; the bloody and victorious rebellion of the Georgians at Norio-Martqop'i seven months later, engineered by the *Mourav* (Grand Constable), in which twelve military commanders of Persia, including the Commander-in-Chief, were killed in March, 1625; the heavy but glorious defeat at Marabda in June of the same year, followed by discord among the Georgians, complicated rivalry, T'eimuraz's conclusion of peace with Persia; and finally the defeat by T'eimuraz of G. Saakadze (the *Mourav*) at Bazalet'i, inglorious for everyone concerned—all this during the year 1626. And the epistle of "Gregory, the monk-priest", was written at a time when coming conflict was expected. It must be connected in some way with the presence during those years in Europe, especially in Rome, of the well-known and learned Georgian Abbot, Nicephorus Irbach-Tcholoqashvili, himself a Kakh(et')ian.

#### 4. THE FEAST AT SHIRAZ

The Queen was martyred at Shiraz on the 12th (28) September, 1624, by order of the Shah. The order was carried out by the Khan of Shiraz, and that this person was *Khanlar-Khan Imam-Quli-Khan*, the great lord of Shiraz and other lands, is referred to in T'eimuraz's poem as follows:—

29, 1-2. To the Khanlar-Khan of Shiraz Shah Abbas this message sent:  
"Lettest thou not Queen K'et'evan a long time live

30. If a Muslim become this hale intrepid spirit,  
And embrace the Muhammad's faith, commending herself to  
Azrael,

I swear by Murt'uz-Ali<sup>1</sup> to let no harm upon her befall,  
But should she not renounce Christ a great pain on her inflict".

The lord of Shiraz performed the unpleasant duty thrust upon him. It is true at first:—

31. Imam-Quli-Khan hearing this order so distressing  
Was highly astonished, "How can she be treated with such indignity," he said,  
I know she a Muslim won't become though a hard time she has;  
How can I T'eimuraz's mother affront in so unbecoming a manner?

But these sentiments on his part did not save K'et'evan. Nor was the Khan's advice:—

35. This we hold the faith by Muhammad established,  
Convert thou too, become a Tatar, as if it's no worse,  
*Jesus what harm will do thee, whilst this one (i.e. Abbas) is against thee incensed;*  
*Do not submit to these tortures it's not your wont.*

of any avail. The Queen chose to suffer. And the suffering inflicted upon her was the most terrible of its kind. In the poem of T'eimuraz it is described with an almost exaggerated realism. To suffer as K'et'evan did was not "his wont"; he knew this well. Martyrdom had never been his ambition, nor was Dimitri the Devoted (martyred by the Mongols in 1289) his hero. He loved Christ and believed in Christianity, but he also loved hunting, poetry, and wars. But to "praise" in verse the martyrdom of his mother he considered as a performance of especial merit. Does he not make K'et'evan say, in her last prayer: O, God,

46, 3-4. Grant my son, T'eimuraz, the victory over the enemies,  
In Eden enthrone him, the describer of my deeds.

Of Imam-Quli-Khan, lord of Shiraz, at the time of K'et'evan's martyrdom, by order of whom the executioners cruelly demonstrated to the Queen the "supremacy" of Muhammad's creed, by means of hot iron bars, T'eimuraz says:—

32. The praise of the Khan of Shiraz the tongues of the wise cannot say,  
He is modest, sweet, and gracious, all of this earth high him raise  
Deserving of God and therefore by upper powers protected.

Such an outburst in praise of Khan of Shiraz is indeed unexpected, and even somewhat out of place in the poem; it is almost startling. There must have been some hidden tie between the Khan and T'eimuraz; the King-poet, however, throws no light on it; nor is it revealed by his brilliant biographer, Artchil—a King-poet, too—nor in Georgian documents.

<sup>1</sup> *Murt'uz-ali* means "Ali, favoured by God", and Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad, is the pre-eminent saint of Shiah Muslims; *Azrael* (= Israp'el) is an archangel in Muslim mythology.

This Imam-Quli-Khan was a Georgian by origin, but, of course, a Muhammadan by religion. There were then in Persia many Georgian converts, brought up in Islam, or made Muslims by force. But the career of Imam-Quli-Khan as also that of Allahverdi-Khan, his father, was a very unusual one even for those days. Allahverdi-Khan had been Shah Abbas's principal officer and commander-in-chief, and the foremost man of the reign; he had received the Khanship of Shiraz as a reward for his numerous services. He extended the sovereignty of Safavid Persia towards Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and established it so firmly that his dominion was considered by far the largest in the whole of Persia. Our Imam-Quli-Khan was his son and heir. In 1622, that is two years before the martyrdom of K'et'evan, he triumphantly carried out one of the greatest military and political enterprises of Shah Abbas's reign. With the aid of England, or rather with the co-operation of the warships owned by the recently inaugurated East India Company, the Persians conquered, under the leadership of Imam-Quli-Khan, the Portuguese fortress on the Island of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, near Gombrun, afterwards named Bander Abbas. Thus a southward route for Persian trade, which then consisted principally of silk, was opened. This was an important event in the "imperialistic" rivalry between England and Portugal. The preliminary negotiations and military preparation for this action took place in Shiraz.

In 1628 English envoys on their way from the Persian Gulf to Ispahan arrived in Shiraz. Accompanying Sir Dodmore Cotton, the Ambassador, was Robert Shirley, one of the English brothers who played such a prominent part in Shah Abbas's diplomatic and military history. With this Robert Shirley's advice and assistance, the Persian standing army was reorganized in the first years of the seventeenth century by Allahverdi-Khan, father of Imam-Quli-Khan, and became the deciding factor of Persia's political ambitions under Shah Abbas. The Persians also learnt from the English at this time the art of cannon making. It is, however, Thomas Herbert, a young attaché to the English Embassy who now claims our interest. From his pen, we have a remarkable and detailed account of the journey and activities of the English envoys.

They reached Shiraz, the town of Hafiz, at the end of February, 1627. This is what Herbert has to say about Imam-Quli-Khan. "This man is a *Georgian* by descent, a Mussulman by profession, and one of the *Tetrarchs* that rule the Empire under Abbas. His territories reach every way well-nigh four hundred miles." He next proceeds to enumerate the titles held by Imam-Quli-Khan—"Arch-Duke of Shiraz, Sultan of Lar, Lord of Ormuz, of Kerman, of Khuzistan, Seistan, of Farsistan, etc.; Prince of the Persian Gulf and of the

islands therein, the Great Beglar-Beg, Commander of 12 Sultans, 50,000 Horse, Slave to Shah-Abbas, Protector of Mussulmen, Nutmeg of comfort, and Rose of delight."

These titles convey to us an idea of eminence of Imam-Quli-Khan.

But our interest in the "Arch-Duke" of Shiraz lies in the fact that he was in some way connected with the fate of T'eimuraz and so with Georgian history; which connection made the King of Kakhet'i write:—

"The praise of the Khan of Shiraz the tongues of the wise cannot say," etc. Is it to be supposed that T'eimuraz merely praises Imam-Quli-Khan because the order that K'et'evan was "either to embrace Islam, or" . . .

32, 4. He did not let her for three months know, he had as much regard. No. T'eimuraz must have had a closer and more direct connection with the mighty Muslim Georgian lords of Shiraz (there was then a galaxy of them in that city). Herbert describes the banquet given by Imam-Quli-Khan in honour of the English Ambassador. Imam-Quli-Khan himself, however, was lacking in courtesy; he did not appear in the banqueting hall until the feast was almost over, and only then did he deign to drink the health of the English King. In all other respects the feast appears to have been magnificent. Herbert mentions the twenty gilt columns adorning the banqueting hall, the gilt ceiling and exquisite paintings representing the outstanding events of the past five years, such as the conquest and laying waste of Ormuz by Imam-Quli-Khan, with the aid of English warships. From the pavilion, where the distinguished foreigners, such as the junior members of the embassy, the Sultans, the Princes of Ormuz, the principal officials, Qizilbash chiefs, and great merchants were seated, could be seen two courtyards, one where notable citizens were being entertained at a sumptuously spread table, and the other where about 500 of the humbler people were also being feasted.

In the stately main Hall the English Ambassador was seated beside the Khanlar-Khan. As we have said, Imam-Quli-Khan arrived very late. He was preceded by thirty youths, richly attired and armed, falcons chained to their wrists.

On the left of Sir Dodmore sat the 18-year-old son of Imam-Quli-Khan, who held the office of begler-beg; next to him was a distinguished prisoner, the King of Ormuz. At the head of the table was the host himself, the lord of Shiraz. On his right sat "a Prince of Tartary", and a certain *Threbis-cawn*. Opposite Imam-Quli-Khan, between the King of Ormuz and "Threbis-cawn", was Robert Shirley, who knew Persia so well.



Who was "Threbis-cawn"? Thomas Herbert says that he was "A disconsolate Prince of Georgia, a gallant Person, expert in Arms, and a constant Christian". He can be, of course, no other than T'eimuraz himself; the characterization fits him so well, and the fact that the name is not correctly given may be regarded as a natural mistake for a foreigner to make. There can be no doubt about this because T'rebis-Khan is the same as T'ebris-Khan, and T'eimuraz is referred to by this name in the report of the French Jesuit Louis Granger, who, in 1615, had arrived in Megrelia to make investigations. According to him Dadiani (the ruler of Megrelia) was then engaged in hunting. He (Dadiani) would have had no time to receive him in any case, for he had with him, recently arrived, a guest, the Georgian King (Prince) Tebris-Khan, who, a year ago, had been expelled from his domains by the Persians. It is clear that this Tebris-Khan is T'eimuraz I. In 1615, he was, indeed, in Western Georgia, chiefly as a guest of Giorgi (George), King of Imeret'i. Levan Dadiani had given a great banquet in honour of his first cousin, T'eimuraz, which had also been attended by Louis Granger and a colleague. The Jesuit had even conversed with T'eimuraz. The two Catholic priests, it seems, had quite a gay time; after the talk, they drank and sang. The feast at Shiraz, in 1627, was a very different affair; T'eimuraz was naturally sorrowful and pensive, following the tragic events of 1624. Herbert also knew of this meeting between T'eimuraz and L. Granger, S.J.

But what had taken King T'eimuraz I, whose kingdom had been laid waste and whose mother had been martyred by Shah Abbas, to Persia, whose Shah in his own words, was:—

14, 12-3. Torturer of Christians, of the innocent blood shedder,  
In the place of Herod sitter, etc. ?

So tortuous and obscure are the paths of politics!

##### 5. DAVID UNLADZE.

T'eimuraz, G. Saakadze and their Georgian followers, were defeated at the battle of Marabda, after which the King of the Kakhs concluded peace with Shah Abbas. How did this come about?

Herbert has preserved some information on Georgian affairs of the time given him by his co-traveller R. Shirley. He mentions the well-known surprise attack on the Persians by the Grand Constable (at Norio-Martqop'i, March, 1625) during which the latter, he adds, with only 500 men at his disposal, exterminated 700 of the enemy, including eleven Khans and Begler-begs. Of the Marabda battle, however, he either knew nothing, or Herbert may have forgotten to

record it. Shirley, however, had added that Shah Abbas had convinced the Georgians, with the aid of the Georgian Qizilbashis (i.e. renegade Georgians), that he desired peace with them; he posed in fact as the apostle of peace. This is an important statement, and it seems to be confirmed by Iskender Munshi. The Persian historian says that when G. Saakadze, defeated by T'eimuraz during an internal strife, turned finally to Turkey, T'eimuraz chose to re-establish friendly relations with the Shah. To this end he enlisted the help of *Daud-Khan*, a brother of Imam-Quli-Khan of Shiraz, son of Allahverdi-Khan, and Begler-beg of the province of Fars; he must have been at the time—probably 1626—in Tiflis.<sup>1</sup>

The desire for a compromise on the part of T'eimuraz can be explained by his caution; the Grand Constable, backed by the Turks, would represent a real danger to him; he could have invaded and occupied K'art'li, perhaps even Kakhet'i. With only his own forces, without help from Persia, T'eimuraz could not have fought his rival aided by the Turkish troops. The compromise was regarded with equal favour by Shah Abbas, who was then also fighting the Turks in the region of Baghdad, and T'eimuraz's vassalage and friendship would be of immense value to him. Therefore, he recognized the King of the Kakhs as the lord of both K'art'li and Kakhet'i by conferring on him the title of *Vali*. T'eimuraz had himself already conquered the two kingdoms in 1625-6, and Shah Abbas was only confirming a *de facto* situation. Nevertheless, such a formal recognition on the part of the Shah was of great importance to T'eimuraz. Thus, in spite of the Norio-Martqop'i rebellion and the battle of Marabda, T'eimuraz sought for and obtained in 1626 the protection of Persia as of old. In order to strengthen himself against Saakadze he deliberately thrust from him the memory of the devastation of Kakhet'i in 1614-16; the castration in Persia, approximately about 1618, of his two sons, taken as hostages with Queen K'et'evan, by Shah Abbas, in 1614; the strangulation with a bow cord of his friend, ally, and closest relation, Luarsab II, King of K'art'li, near Shiraz, in 1620; and, crowning all, the martyrdom of his own mother of whom he says:—

8, 4. Like her has not been born either a boy or a girl.

<sup>1</sup> The portrait of Daud-Khan, facing page 38, is published here after Castelli's original drawing preserved in the *Biblioteca Comunale* of Palermo. The inscriptions on the drawing itself, under the portrait, read as follows: *αδελφός του γαυχιά* and *Daud Kan Persiano*. The Greek words render "the Beglarbeg of Ganja". On the right-hand margin and under the drawing, on the sheet of paper on which the latter appears to be fixed, we read: 1. *Daud Kan fra[te]llo dell Kan di Syras, benefattore dei nostri Padri nel Regno di Georgia*; and 2. *Daud Gangie Provincie Regni Iberie Ducis seu Chan frater (Mamuli Chan de Syras Provincie Persarum qui a Persarum Rege occisus est) pro timore illius propriae occisionis ab eodem Rege ad Turycas fugiens in itinere Domum nostram visitans intravit qui tractatus est a Patribus Nostris et ratione tratationis eleemosinam dedit eis*. So the portrait was drawn by the Catholic missionary Castelli in Georgia (probably about 1633).

This belated reconciliation with Shah Abbas reopened the road to Persia for T'eimuraz (see the evidence of the Greek pamphlet mentioned above) and made possible his visit to Shiraz in 1627, referred to by Herbert (see here § 4). The part played by Daud-Khan, Imam-Quli-Khan's brother—seems to confirm still further his presence in Persia. This visit is not, however, mentioned in *The Life of T'eimuraz* "told" by Artchil, although he does refer to T'eimuraz's intention to visit Shah Abbas. After relating how Zurab, the Erist'avi of the Aragvi, "went over to Svimon II, helped him to occupy K'art'li, then killed him, and sent his severed head to the lord of the Kakhs, and how he aided T'eimuraz to reoccupy the whole of K'art'li" (how eloquent the heading of a chapter in the rhymed *History of T'eimuraz*) the poet makes T'eimuraz say:—

496, 1. The head reached me in Up'adar, *while on the way to the Shah,*  
and then, changing his mind:—

497, 1. I did not go to the Shah and to K'art'li I turned again.

That he finally did go to Persia is now established beyond doubt. He could easily have stayed in Shiraz with Imam-Quli-Khan, without seeing the Shah at all. Their personal meeting, after what had happened, after the "torrents of blood", would have been neither desirable nor felicitous!

How was the Arch-Duke of Shiraz to know that his friendship with T'eimuraz would prove so costly to him?

It will be remembered that Daud-Khan, brother of Imam-Quli-Khan, was instrumental in bringing about the reconciliation between T'eimuraz and Shah Abbas. He held a high office in his brother's domain. His name, like that of his brother, was remembered throughout Southern Persia even after half a century had elapsed. In 1674, Chardin mentions Daud-Khan's bazaar, and the *caravanserai* or palace, containing 200 rooms for the Indian merchants, accommodation "built by order of Daud-Khan, brother of the renowned Imam-Quli-Khan". On his way from Ispahan to Bander Abbas, Chardin had passed through the village of *Amnabad*, the meaning of which is "a reliable, safe station" and so called, according to Chardin, after a fortress-like building formerly erected there by Daud-Khan. This place is also described by Herbert, a contemporary of Daud-Khan, who was there in 1627; it had then a population of thirty families, consisting mostly of Georgian renegades. The village was walled round, and bore some resemblance to a fortress. It was the seat of Daud-Khan: "Here is a neat Carravansraw," states Herbert, "and his own Banqueting Houses for his own delight; that I went into had five rooms upon a floor, which were well painted with imagery and embossed

with gold." The gardens, too, were beautifully laid out; "and being the spring which as Virg. 2 lib. Georg. faith makes all things fair; amongst other flowers were Tulips and Roses. . . . So as of House and Gardens I may say; With various forms and curious figures there, The House and Gardens of Daut Chawn appear" (here follows the Latin version of this distich. Herbert is a product of the English Renaissance, and his youthful work is too frequently interspersed with Latin and Greek quotations).

A Georgian Muslim in the land of Shiraz praised in Latin verses by an Englishman almost contemporary with Shakespeare! It seems almost incredible!

Like other European travellers in Persia of that time, Herbert mentions the Georgians recently deported by Shah Abbas to this part of Persia. It was perhaps owing to the fact that Georgian Muslim grandees held sway there, that colonies of the Georgians, carried off from Georgia, were to be found in this region.

On the Shiraz-Ispahan road was a halt called Aspas ("Assepose"). It was a place "observable only in an old Castle in and about which inhabit (as we were told) no fewer than 40,000 Georgians and Sarcashes (Circassians?) who by profession are christian. They were little better than captives, being forcibly transplanted hither".

Aspas (Asupas, Asepas) and its Georgian inhabitants, first mentioned by P. della Valle in 1621, is referred to in many itineraries. Half a century later, another English traveller, John Fryer, a doctor, employed by the East India Company (1672-1681) had visited it when on his way from Shiraz to Ispahan; "Asspass," he states, "is now inhabited by Georgian Christians, who are Tillers of the ground and Planters of Vines, which are very productive on the Sides of the Hills.<sup>1</sup> They are whiter than the present Persians and of a florid complexion, being portly, well-limb'd fellows. Many of them have embraced the Mohometan Faith after the Persian sect, being Vassals to the Emperor."<sup>2</sup>

But to return to Daud-Khan.

During the great rebellion of 1625, though holding a high office in the neighbourhood of Georgia, his conduct was not such as befitted

<sup>1</sup> The viticultural occupation of the Shirazi Georgians provides a simple answer to the question raised by Professor I. Javakhishvili (*An Economic History of Georgia*, Tiflis, 1934, vol. ii, pp. 412-413); how did it happen that the Shiraz variety of the grape is known to the Europeans under a Georgian name (*Shiraz-uli*, Shiraz-ian)? The Europeans must have learned it from the Shirazi Georgians.

<sup>2</sup> A curious trace of this struggle of the Georgians to maintain their old faith is recorded in an additional note to the old *Georgian Dictionary* of Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (Tiflis, 1928, p. 260), according to which "*Nu-gat'at'rdebi* is an Egyptian pigeon, a small bird, similar to the turtledove, common in Misir (i.e. Egypt) and Shiraz. When they see a passer-by they cry in Georgian *nu gat'at'rdebi* (= 'dost not thou become a Tatar', i.e. a Muslim), and on this account the Muslims call this bird *giaur-qush*, that is, 'infidel bird.'"



Artchil represents this invasion as one of the "heroic deeds" of T'eimuraz himself:—

522, 1-3. Hence I went to "cis-Arasia," this I devastated and pillaged  
The disloyal and the disobedient, these I punished and ruined.

The real circumstances of this invasion are explained by Gorgijanidze in his *History*. He states that Levan Dadiani, Alexandre, King of Imeret'i, and the Meskhs, K'art's, and Kakhs took part in this invasion; he also lays particular stress on the council which the Armenian Catholicos of Gandzasar had given to T'eimuraz: "You have at your disposal the forces of *seven Georgia*, and I will place at your service another 40,000 riflemen (!) March at their head on Tabriz, and *let them pillage Tabriz for the space of seven days*. The loot you will reckon to the forces as seven years' salary and before the Shah has time to muster his forces you will have replaced the Governors of Azerbaijan with those of your own choice. Furthermore, *bid me go to the Sultan and I will arrange with him for still more troops to be sent to your aid.*"

T'eimuraz, however, rejected this ambitious and tempting plan; he no doubt knew what such a Turkish "aid", under the then prevailing conditions, would mean. The disappointed Armenian prelate protested justly and with bitter sarcasm: ". . . The King of Iran will see to it that you do not have another opportunity to muster a similar army!"

But T'eimuraz would not listen; he chose the better alternative, moved from Ganja, and headed for Gori with Daud-Khan and the Armenian Catholicos. At Gori "he feasted Dadiani and the King of Imeret'i and the Princes of the Meskhs . . . he hunted with them, entertained them royally, and, presenting gifts to all of them, took leave of them".

In one respect the Armenian Catholicos was right. A whole century was to pass before a King of the Georgians was again able to muster, in the same region, a large Georgio-Armenian force. It did not become possible until Peter the Great's invasion of Persia but like T'eimuraz, King Vakhtang VI did not attain his object.

## 6. EPILOGUE.

The invasion of the land "on this side of the Aras" cost T'eimuraz and Daud-Khan very dear. It was used as a pretext for handing K'art'li to Khosrow-Khan or Rostom, of whom mention has been made. Full of determination he arrived from Persia with a large suite, a powerful army, and ample supplies of money. He achieved what his father, Daud-Khan, brother of Svimon I, and also his kinsman Constantine the Kakh—Kustendil-Khan, uncle of T'eimuraz, had failed to

achieve in their time, namely, Perso-Georgian accord or compromise. He followed the policy of Svimon I, his uncle, Persia's stubborn supporter.

Daud-Khan (the Shirazian) was compelled to flee to Turkey. As a result of his treachery towards Persia his entire family and that of his brother, Imam-Quli-Khans', was exterminated, and their estates laid waste. "Shah Safi had Imam-Quli-Khan put to death, together with his children, while the Daud-Khan's children he had castrated. . . ." "It has been said of old that no good will accrue to one who is false to his master," concludes P'arsadan, and this is his last word on one of those turns of fate which greatly shocked contemporaries.

At that time the East India Company were trying to bring about the weakening of the Portuguese influence. In 1622, with the help of the Persians, they had destroyed their fortress on the island of Ormuz; now they wished to expel these rivals from Muscat (situated across the water, on the coast of Arabia, in the Persian Gulf). On the Persian side, we know, such matters came under the province of the lord of Shiraz.

On the 27th January, 1633, the Company's agents informed their Board of a rumour to the effect that the forces of the "Duke" of Shiraz had been sent, by personal order of the Shah, against the Georgians who had invaded and devastated Persian provinces; they had defeated Persian forces and taken prisoner the brother of the lord of Shiraz. Whatever the source of the rumour, they knew that Daud-Khan was Begler-beg of Ganja, and must at first have thought he had fallen prisoner to the Georgians; for they could not as yet have heard of his treachery.

In a letter dated 15th March, 1633, and addressed to the President and the Board of the Company, at Surat, it is stated that "the project for Muscat is quite dissolved, as also the chief instrument, their ancient friend, the Duke of Shiraz and his three sons, who were by this King's command in Cosbeen (Kasbin) most miserably executed. Besides, all forces are bent towards the wars of Georgia, who lately, upon some discontent with this King, made great insurrections in this Kingdom", that is in Persia.

On 24th March fuller information is sent by a captain from Gombrun (on the sea coast) to the effect that the Khan of Shiraz and his three sons were beheaded by the King of Persia, and their domain distributed to others. "Some of his sons," the agent reports, "are escaped to the Arabs, and his brother, whose revolt to the Georgians was the cause of this tragedy, is now up in arms with the people against him" (i.e. the Shah). It is pointed out in the report that Turkey intended to move against Baghdad, and that the Shah had not more than 10,000 troops.

The Shah inspired such fear that none of the Princes dared to appear before him, or send contingents to him. The East India Company was thunderstruck. The cunning murder of the Khanlar Khan is explained in the letter by the fact that although he did his utmost to induce his brother (Daud-Khan) to return and submit to the Shah, he failed; and that on this account the enraged Shah had him executed.

The author of the report, an Englishman, also gives the reason for Daud-Khan's treachery. He had once talked too freely at a banquet, had been led away immediately, by order of the Shah, and beaten with a stick. Insulted or fear stricken, Daud-Khan had fled to the Georgians.

This agrees in essence with the account of P'arsadan Gorgijanidze, who states that the Shah had once expelled Daud-Khan from the banqueting hall out of respect for King Rostom (then Khosrow-Mirza), and that the affront was more than Daud-Khan could tolerate. "He began, therefore, to send emissaries to T'eimuraz" in order to establish relations with him. The date of this incident is not known. We find that, in 1626, Daud-Khan is still Persia's sentinel in Georgia. In an English letter, addressed to the East India Company and dated 19th May, 1626 (from Ispahan), it is stated that the Shah and the Khan of Shiraz were sending large reinforcements to Baghdad, which had been besieged for the past eight months by the Turks. "The Georgians stir little, being pent up by the brother of the Khan of Shiraz," states the letter in question; while the Kurds, allies of the Turks, were harassing the neighbourhood of Tabriz in order to compel the Persians to withdraw part of their forces from Baghdad. It is evident how important it was to keep the Georgians within their own bounds during these complicated military operations, and this task was performed by Daud-Khan.

When, in 1627, the English Ambassador saw Imam-Quli-Khan in Shiraz, his political career was at its height, and his position unassailable. The humiliating treatment meted out to Daud-Khan must have taken place after the ascension of Shah Safi in 1629. And as Khosrow-Mirza or Rostom appears to have been the cause of his disgrace, it may be assumed that the former, knowing of the friendship between T'eimuraz, his rival, and the Shiraz brothers, may have intrigued against them. The sequel was the treachery of Daud-Khan, the devastation of Ganja and Qarabagh by the Georgians, and the extermination of the Shiraz brothers. This treachery secured K'art'li for Rostom; actually, it was his by right, for was he not a descendant of the K'art'lian kings? Those of the Georgian grandees who knew of his power and influence with Shah Safi, and who were themselves advocates of Persian orientation, sided, of course, with Rostom.

Shah Safi, for his part, found in the treachery of Daud-Khan a



pretext not only for placing K'art'li and later the whole of Eastern Georgia in reliable hands, but also for confiscation of riches and for the reduction of Khanlar Khan's huge domain; he divided the latter into ordinary Khanates.

The extermination of Imam-Quli-Khan and his family must have taken place in February or March, 1633 (this is determined by the dates of the afore-mentioned English documents), and the devastation of Ganja and Qarabagh by the Georgians and the joint action of Daud-Khan and T'eimuraz, in 1632. King Rostom must also have acquired K'art'li in the same year (1632).

To the English operating in the South of Persia, the sudden eclipse of the "Duke" of Shiraz must have been of great moment. Even the Georgian "tailpiece" to this event was not devoid of interest for them. The East India Company were informed by their representative, from Shiraz, under the date of 28th to 30th September, 1633, that "almost the whole of Georgia (only K'art'li and Kakhet'i should be understood) now grows under this Emperor's government, betrayed, as report goes, by its own nobility, so that King Tamoris-Canne, with his wife and children, was fain to fly to a place invincible where he remains for better times".

In fact, King Rostom was at this time approaching Tiflis, with his loyal K'art'lian grandees and an Iranian army, commanded by Rostom-Khan Saakadze; and T'eimuraz, with no troops at his disposal, no assistance forthcoming, could not risk a battle. He crossed into Imeret'i, where he stayed with King Alexandre. He lived, however, to see "better times" and again reigned in Kakhet'i.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Additional sources of information: P. della Valle's well-known *Letters or Voyages; L'Ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse*, etc., Paris, 1667; P. della Valle's *Informazione della Giorgia*, 1627 (see the original text in M. Melchisedec Thevenot's *Relations de divers voyages*, etc., 2 éd., Paris, 1696, vol. i, part i); Arakel de Tauriz, *Livre d'histoires*, translated by M. F. Brosset (*Collection d'historiens arméniens*, vol. i); *Letters of Simon I of K'art'li*, addressed to the Court of Spain, published by M. F. Macler in *Revue des études arméniennes*, Paris, 1920, vol. i; Antoine de Gouvea, *Relation des grandes guerres et victoire obtenues par le Roy de Perse Cha (sic) Abbas*, etc., Rouen, 1646; Thomas Herbert's *Travels*, London, 1677 (3rd edition); Chardin, *Voyages*, etc., 1711, vol. iii; *The Journal of Robert Stodart* . . . published . . . by Sir E. Denison Ross, London, 1935; J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, etc., London, 1698; *The Life of King T'eimuraz I*, by King Artchil (part of the so-called *Artchiliani*), published by Platon Ioseliani, Tiflis, 1853; P'arsadan Gorgijanidze's *History*, published by S. Kakabadze, Tiflis, 1924. M. F. Brosset, *Mémoires inédits*, etc., Paris, 1833 (for *The Martyrdom of St. K'ete'van*, by Prince T'eimuraz); *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series. East India and Persia, 1630-1634*, London, 1892; id. 1625-1629, London, 1884.

## ON THE ORIGIN OF THE GEORGIANS

By C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT

(I) "TIGRANOKERTA CLOSE BY IBERIA"

WITH the origin of the Georgians I have repeatedly occupied myself. I recently expressed myself as follows in my article *Tigranokerta* in the *Realenzyklopädie des Klassischen Altertums*.<sup>1</sup>

In the first syllable *ma* of the name of the River *Ma-musel*,<sup>2</sup> Marquart sees the South-Caucasian prefix *m*, so that the name may be of South-Caucasian origin. Thereby my interpretation<sup>3</sup> of the hitherto incomprehensible<sup>4</sup> passage in Strabo concerning Tigranokerta, namely: *Τιγράνης πόλιν ἔκτισε πλησίον τῆς Ἰβηρίας μεταξὺ ταύτης τε καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ξενύματος . . . ἔφθη δ' ἐπελθῶν Λεύκολλος* receives welcome corroboration.

Strabo's *πλησίον, τῆς Ἰβηρίας* ("close by Iberia") I consider as correct, although he evidently took the words from an older source without properly understanding them. The Iberians certainly immigrated into present-day Georgia relatively late, where they became gradually blended with the Moskhs, on whose land they had encroached.<sup>5</sup> This immigration which, also, according to Georgian tradition, came from the south, must—since Herodotus knows nothing at all about Iberians being in Caucasia—have taken place between the fifth and the first century B.C., at the latest.

The territory around the junction of the East and West Tigris was, at the end of the fifth century B.C., inhabited by the Kardukhs,<sup>6</sup> and these people—as Th. Nöldeke and R. Hartmann have proved—have absolutely nothing at all to do with the Kurds who had only a few centuries before come from Persia and settled in that district.<sup>7</sup>

*Καρδοῦχοι* renders the Armenian plural form *Kardu-k'*, and *Kardu* agrees very nearly with the native name *K'art'veli* (*K'art'veli*) for the inhabitants of Georgia-Iberia. The names Korduene, Gordyaioi, etc., designating that southern territory and its inhabitants, contain the same root.

This former Kardukhian land is full of cave-dwellings which bear a great resemblance to Georgian rock-dwellings but which differ essentially from pre-Armenian (Chaldian) rock buildings. Such cave-dwellings are to be found also in the immediate neighbourhood of

<sup>1</sup> Pauly-Kroll-Mittelhaus, vi A, cols. 981-1007, sub. d., §§ 148-157.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, § 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, § 150.

<sup>4</sup> Mommsen, *Hermes*, ix, 132, 1 *Gesamm. Schriften*, iv, 325, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, xi, 14, 15, c. 532.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Strabo, xi, 2, 18, c. 499.

<sup>7</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iv, 1.

Tigranokerta, which, later, was called Martyropolis in Greek and Maiyafâriqîn in Syrian, to-day shortened to Farkin.<sup>1</sup> Rock-dwellings such as these are particularly numerous near Tell Min (not far from Farkin). Tell Min originally was an Assyrian fort.<sup>2</sup>

After the conquest of Asia by Alexander the Great, a part of the Kardukhian territory, including Nisibis, was colonized by Macedonians of Mygdonian origin. In the year following the conquest, 169 B.C., of Tigranokerta, Lucullus, when advancing on Artaxata which he had almost reached, was forced by his soldiers to turn back.<sup>3</sup> He then returned, through a *different pass* from that which he had crossed on his way northwards, going by way of the Taurus<sup>4</sup> and then pushing forward to Nisibis.<sup>5</sup>

The disturbances brought about by the settling of the Mygdonians may have directly or indirectly affected the Kardukh—Καρδοῦχοι—and stirred some of them to emigrate towards the north within the limits of time already mentioned for the immigration of the Iberians, whilst others remained domiciled in the old seats in the Gordyene (Corduene) of the Greeks and Romans—divisions similar to those of the Iranian Alans and the Germanic Sueves, some of whom emigrated to Africa, whilst the remainder to-day are, respectively, the Ossets, living in the Caucasus Mountains; and the Swabians, living on German soil.<sup>6</sup>

The claim to credibility of Strabo's intrinsically correct statement, that Tigranokerta was built "close by Iberia" (in the older meaning<sup>7</sup>) is the more enhanced in view of the fact that he, in the same breath, speaks of the conquest of Tigranokerta by Lucullus. Strabo<sup>8</sup> states: *Τιγράνης πόλιν ἔκτισε πλησίον τῆς Ἰβηρίας μεταξὺ ταύτης τε καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην Ζεύγματος, ἣν ὠνόμασε Τιγρανόκερτα, ἐκδώδεκα ἔρημωθεισῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλεων Ἑλληνιδῶν ἀνδρώπους συναγαγών. ἔφη δ' ἐπελθὼν Λεύκολλος ὁ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ πολεμήσας καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκάστου αἰπέλυσσε, τὸ δὲ κτίσμα ἡμιτελὲς ἔτι ὄν κατέσπασε προσβαλὼν καὶ μικρὰν κόμην ἀπέλιπε . . .*

<sup>1</sup> See my *Armenien einst und jetzt*, 1910, vol. i, p. 105, and furthermore what is quoted in the General Index of the whole work (at the end of vol. ii, part 2), p. 70\*, under *Iberer (Georgier)*.

<sup>2</sup> See *ib.*, vol. i, p. 393.

<sup>3</sup> Appian, *Mithridatica*, 87; Dio Cassius, xxxv, 6; Cicero, *De Imper. Cn. Pompei*, 9, § 23.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Tigranokerta*, § 94.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Luc.*, § 32.

(κατ' ἄλλας ὑπερβολὰς διελθὼν τὸν Ταύρον εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Μυγδοκίην κατέβαινε, χωρὶς πάμπορον καὶ ἀλλεῶν καὶ πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλην καὶ πολυανθρωπία ἔχουσαν ἣν μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι Νισίβιν οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες Ἀντιόχειαν Μυγδοκίην προσηγόρευον Compare also . . . τῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ Μυγδῶνων ἐκ νότου ἐν οἷς ἔστιν ἡ Νισίβις Strab., xi, 14, 2 (c. 527) and οἱ Μυγδῶνες κατονομασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐν οἷς ἔστιν ἡ Νισίβις, ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Μυγδοκίᾳ προσηγόρευσαν Solab., xvi, 1, 23. c. 797).

<sup>6</sup> See *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. i, p. 103 ff.; pp. 105, 333, 393 paragraph 4, 508, 510; vol. ii, part 1, p. 400; vol. ii, part 2, p. 679.

<sup>7</sup> *Tigranokerta*, § 150.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, xi, 14, 15, c. 532.

The last words are an exaggeration. Since Tigranokerta, both in the time of the Emperor Nero<sup>1</sup> and several centuries later<sup>2</sup> than his reign, played an important part in the Roman-Armenian struggles, the building of the city must have been completed later, though in a form which did not come up to the original plan.<sup>3</sup>

For our consideration, however, the essential point is that in Strabo the statement that Tigranokerta *lies close to Iberia*, appears in connection with that of the conquest—and partly, destruction—of Tigranokerta by Lucullus.

This statement concerning the position of Tigranokerta, which is essentially correct though not rightly understood by Strabo himself, clearly goes back to first-hand information and descriptions by *Lucullus himself*, one of the most important and most significant Roman authorities on Armenia, whose memoirs formed the most reliable source for all later describers of his campaigns.

This being the case, we have in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, in the account of the seven-day march through the country of the Kardukhs, the oldest description of the method of fighting, of the manners and customs of one of the chief constituent elements of the Georgian people.

I went into this—and many other questions—in my lectures and exercises on the Language and Culture of the Chaldians, in Tiflis, in 1936-7. For it was natural that I should—as guest professor of the State University of Georgia, and in view of the numerous Chaldian cuneiform inscriptions which had lately been brought to the Museum of Georgia—lay special stress upon the relations between Haldians and Georgians which I had already touched upon in several of my former discussions.

After marching through the country of the Kardukhs, the Ten Thousand Greeks encountered the troops of the Satrap of Eastern Armenia, among whom were also Haldian mercenary troops drawn from the neighbourhood.

The Kardukh-K'art'uels were, therefore, southerly neighbours of the Haldians (*Chalder*), whilst, as we shall see, the other chief constituent element of the Georgian people, the Moskhs (*Moscher*) were neighbours of the Haldians (Alarodians) in the north. Before we go more closely into all this, the terminology concerning the pre-Armenian population of the Kingdom of Van must be cleared up, for more than one reason; for instance, to prepare for the understanding of our allusion to the difference between the pre-Armenian and the Georgian rock-buildings (above p. 43, below p. 78).

<sup>1</sup> *Tigranokerta*, §§ 14, 83 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.*, §§ 15-26, 125-8.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.*, §§ 48-57.

## (2) LIGHT ON THE TERMINOLOGY

In ancient literature, the pre-Armenian population of the Kingdom of Van bears two names: *Urartaeans* (*Urartäer*) and *Ḫaldians* (χάλδοι, *Chalder*), often wrongly *Chaldaeans* (χάλδαῖοι: *Chaldäer*).

From this fact is to be separated the question whether or not the designation of *Ḫaldians* (*Ḫaldini*) appears in the pre-Armenian cuneiform inscriptions.

A narrowly philological group of opponents not only confuses these totally different questions in a way both inadmissible and unhistoric, but also, despite all historical proofs and arguments, denies or throws doubt on the identity of the *Urartaeans* with the (Pontic) *Chaldaeans*.

One of the latest performances in this field proceeds from W. von Soden, a purely philologically-minded scholar, who, as far as I know, touches upon the question for the first time in his review of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*<sup>1</sup> where, as a counter-argument against the name *Ḫaldians*<sup>2</sup> (*Chalder*), he points to a "people already mentioned by Herodotus, the Ἀλαρόδιοι whose name can be without difficulty connected with Urartu (Hebraic אֲרָרְטָא)".

From this remark the uninitiated reader must naturally conclude that the forms of the name for the *Urartaeans* used in the Old Testament and by Herodotus have not been taken into consideration when I called this people by the name of *Chaldians* (*Chalder*).

The exact contrary is the truth, as a glimpse at my earliest work will show, as well as a glance at later additional notes I have written on the subject. In my very first essay on the cuneiform inscriptions of Van, I said<sup>3</sup> :—

"The kings themselves named their land Biaina . . . *The Assyrians call the people who inhabited the territory of this mountainous country from the Lake Van to the Araks*" (*Araxes*), "and even the plain of this river,<sup>4</sup> *Urartu* (Herodotus' Ἀλαρόδιοι)—hence the Hebraic name of the country, אֲרָרְטָא, Ararat."

In my inaugural lecture as Privatdocent of Ancient History at the Berlin University, in the autumn of 1893, on "The pre-Armenian Kingdom of Van", I spoke of "the northern mountain-people", whom *the Assyrians call Urartaeans*—"a name which in Herodotus recurs under the form 'Alarodians'."

In the first volume (1910) of my work *Armenien einst und jetzt*, I mentioned the *Successors of the old Urartaeans, the Alarodians*. In the first part of the second volume<sup>5</sup> (1926), the following appears :—

<sup>1</sup> In the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 198. Jahrg., Nr. 2, 1936, pp. 62–8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> In Section 2 : " *Inscriptfproben nebst vorläufigen Bemerkungen*, von C. F. Lehmann, p. 128 ff."

<sup>4</sup> "Ed. Mayer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. i, § 247, sub. i, p. 298."

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii, part 1, p. 167.

"Long after the land of Urartu was occupied by the Armenians, we still find the *Urartaeans, as Alarodians*, in the plain of the Araks (*Araxes*), at the foot of Ararat.<sup>1</sup> The Chaldians (*Chalder*), therefore, withdrew to this northern territory before the intruding Armenians."

In the second part of the second volume (1931) I spoke<sup>2</sup> of the *Alarodians who were identical with the Chaldian-Urartaeans* (*den Chalder-Urartaern*) who, at a later date, dwelt in the Plain of the Araks (*Araxes*), north of the river. Furthermore, I stated<sup>3</sup> that the *Urartaeans-Chaldians, under the name of Alarodians*, had established themselves in a certain district in the north-east of the former Chaldian kingdom in the Plain of the Araks. Mention is also made of a "sculpture of the Chaldian or Alarodian race".<sup>4</sup> Again, I mention<sup>5</sup> the name *Urartu, which the Assyrians exclusively bestow upon the country of Chaldia* (*Ḫaldia*) and which on the one hand continues to exist in the name of the *Alarodians* and on the other hand, in the biblical designation of *Armenia as the land of Ararat*.

In the *Corpus* to which von Soden's review refers, I stated<sup>6</sup> that the name *Urartaeans* (*Urartäer, Urartäisch*) as used by the Assyrians and the Hebrews (אֲרָרְטָא) never occurs in the native cuneiform inscriptions.

And in my inaugural lecture at Tiflis (December, 1936), I again drew attention to the fact that Herodotus mentions the *Urartaeans as Alarodians*.

Thus during all the long time that I have been occupied with pre-Armenian cuneiform inscriptions (1892–1936), *I have always treated the Alarodians as identical with the Urartaeans and yet have used the designation as Chaldians* (*Chalder*) at the same time. It follows that if von Soden thinks that he can bring forward "the Ἀλαρόδιοι, a people already mentioned by Herodotus and whose name can readily be connected with Urartu, Hebrew אֲרָרְטָא," as a counter-argument against the designation of *Chaldians* (*Chalder*), he is merely threshing empty straw and does not contribute in the slightest to the question in hand.

But von Soden's erroneous statement as to this matter is surpassed by his further remark.<sup>8</sup> "In order to dissuade Lehmann-Haupt from his mistaken view"—concerning the name *Chaldians* (*Chalder*)—"it should be sufficient to mention the well-known ('seit Langem

<sup>1</sup> "Herodotus, iii, 14; vii, 79."

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii, part 2, p. 594.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 696.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 756.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 847, para. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Lieferung 2*, col. 127.

<sup>7</sup> "Compare also Ἀλαρόδιοι, Herodotus iii, 94; vii, 79."

<sup>8</sup> W. von Soden, p. 66.

bekannte') fact that the alleged people's name (*der vermeintliche Volksname*) *Haldi* always appears in the inscriptions with the determinative of divinity " (*Haldi*, etc.).

Thus von Soden reproaches me for not knowing and not observing the well-known elementary fact that before *Haldise*, *Haldinini*, *Haldis*, *Haldina*, etc., the determinative of divinity is never missing, and this despite my forty-five years' study of pre-Armenian cuneiform inscriptions! Of course the contrary is the case.

I have never, from the beginning, left out of consideration the fact that the words *Haldis(e)*, *Haldini(ni)*, *Haldi(na)*, etc., are *always* preceded by the determinative of divinity, and early in my studies I gave an explanation for the appearance of this determinative before the (eventual) ethnic name. In my very first utterance on the subject, I expressed myself as follows<sup>1</sup> (I quote this passage in full, although my further investigations have partly gone beyond this and corrected it):—

"But what is the native and proper name of the people? According to my conviction, they are the northern and Pontic Chaldeans, the *Χαλδαῖοι* of Sophocles, as quoted by Stephanus of Byzance<sup>2</sup> (*Χαλδαῖοι εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Χαλδαῖοι ἔθνος πλησίον τῆς Κολχίδος, Σοφοκλῆς Τυμπανιστᾶις. Κόλχός τε Χαλδαῖός τε καὶ Σύρων ἔθνος*), of Xenophon and of Strabo.<sup>3</sup>

Here we have a case similar to that in Assyrian, where the names of the chief god and of the people are one and the same, or similar in sound. The Kassites, also, who lived in Elam, worshipped a god, *Kaššá*.<sup>4</sup>

"In support of this view, inscriptional evidence can also be produced, for Argistis in his annals<sup>5</sup> speaks in a frequently occurring phrase<sup>6</sup> concerning the booty which had fallen to the *Haldi-a*, to the Chaldi-people<sup>7</sup>; and (*ILU*)*Chaldina*, the Chaldi-city is undoubtedly identical with *Tušpa(na)-Van*.

"When I was talking about this—my explanation of the name of the northern Chaldaeans (*Χαλδαῖοι*)—to Professor Eberhard

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> "Stephanus of Byzance, p. 680, 15 ff. I have to thank Professor Nöldeke for directing my attention to this passage."

<sup>3</sup> "Strabo, xii, 548-9."

<sup>4</sup> "Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*" (more correctly, "Kassites," C.F.L.-H.), pp. 29, 51."

<sup>5</sup> "D. H. Müller, *Die Keilinschrift von Aschruš Darga*, p. 20." This rendering of the place-name by D. H. Müller is incorrect. The name is *Ašotakert*. The inscription is now treated as No. 16 (ed. 37-8) of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldaicarum* herein referred to in abbreviated form as *Corp. I. Chald.*, or only *Corpus*, and in the additional correction to this, col. 97, last paragraph.

<sup>6</sup> "See for instance, the inscriptions: Sayce, xxxvii, Z. 16 (p. 574); lines 3, 23, 49; lvi (p. 666), Fragment VI."

<sup>7</sup> Sayce-Müller: This former interpretation of *ILUHaldi-a* needs modification.

Schrader for the first time, he mentioned that, some years before, Alfred von Gutschmid had written to him regarding the possibility of a connection between the name of the Pontic Chaldaeans (*Χαλδαῖοι*) and the name of the god Chaldi(s): *Haldiš(e)*. I am pleased to be able to mention here this similarity of views.

"With the Chaldaeans (*Χαλδαῖοι*) originally dwelling in South Babylonia, and with the Babylonian priesthood of the same name, these Pontic Chaldaeans have nothing whatever to do. The original name of the priesthood mentioned is *Kašdu*, the biblical *כַּשְׁדִּי*<sup>1</sup> which became *Kaldu* simply through the Babylonian-Assyrian native habit of changing the sound of s (š) to l before a dental sound, and to *Kaldu* the Greek *Χαλδαῖοι* approaches. Of course, Strabo's attempt to derive the name of the Pontic Chaldaeans *etymologically* from Chalybes need only be regarded as a curiosity."<sup>2</sup>

To these fundamental statements—with which the distinguished authority on Ancient History, A. von Gutschmid agreed, and which also received the support of the late celebrated orientalist, Th. Nöldeke<sup>3</sup>—I added the following remarks on what I still consider to be the principal point at issue, although they have become antiquated as to details in several directions<sup>4</sup>:—

"Besides, it seems to me a matter of the utmost importance to consider whether the name of the *people* of the Chaldaeans (not merely of the Chaldi-land and the Chaldi-city) does not actually appear in the inscriptions. By the side of *Chaldi*, the "Lord",<sup>5</sup> the chief Deity, several gods are mentioned—each god different according to function and form of worship—who bear the same name and are known collectively as *Haldi-deities*; with this may be compared the relation of the deities variously designated as *Bél*, "Lord," with the *Bél* *κατ' ἑξοχὴν* in the Babylonian and Assyrian Pantheon.<sup>6</sup>

"Moreover, there appears **likewise with the determinative of divinity**,<sup>7</sup> the form *Haldinini* in which the first *ni* does not represent a case-ending, but is the suffix denoting 'belonging to'.

<sup>1</sup> "Genesis, Chap. 22." (Nöldeke).

<sup>2</sup> Historically, on the other hand, there is a near connection, one might almost say, identity, between the *Chaldians* and the *Chalybians*. Cf. my *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. ii, part 2, and the General Index under *Chalyber*.

<sup>3</sup> Died 15th December, 1930. See my obituary notice in *Klio*, xxiv, 530 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitsch. f. Ethnol. i.c.*, p. 132 f., n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> "Haldian *euri*, cf. the Mitannian" (or, perhaps better, the *Hurri*), "*ipri* (Jensen)."

<sup>6</sup> See my *Samašmukin*, 1892, part ii, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> This expression "**likewise with the determinative of divinity**" I stress expressly against W. von Soden. From this and from the general manner of my utterances in 1892, as quoted above, it appears, and goes without saying, that before *Haldinini* I *pre-suppose everywhere* the determinative of divinity, even if I may not have repeated it every time in the paper here referred to, which was written for the general reader, not for the philological specialist.

Thus in *Haldinini* we have the dative plural of a derived name, *Haldini*.<sup>1</sup> Until now, these *Haldini* have been considered as 'gods'. For instance, Sayce explained it as meaning, 'to those belonging to *Chaldis*' ('the gods belonging to the family of *Chaldis*'), or 'to the children of *Chaldis*'. Müller understands it<sup>2</sup> to mean 'Chaldi-gods'. Guyard speaks of the *divinités subalternes* designated as Chaldian.<sup>3</sup> Evidence that by *Haldinini* godlike beings may be designated seems to be furnished by the Meher Kapusy inscription in which mention is made of sacrifices destined for *Hal-di-ni-ni*.<sup>4</sup>

"But those who belong to the god *Chaldis* need not necessarily be god-like beings. This designation might cover both the total number of protecting deities and the natives themselves. For corresponding ideas among the Babylonians and Assyrians may be mentioned the expression 'his god and his goddess are angry with him'<sup>5</sup> and those frequent representations of figures praying, which appear on the Babylonian-Assyrian cylindrical seals, showing the interceding or protecting gods in the presence of the (resp. one) Deity.

"Now it is worthy of attention, that 'those belonging to *Chaldi*' appear to be indicated by two different regularly-repeated epithets. We find the phrases: *Hal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni* and *Hal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-si-ni*. It seems to me, after examining all such instances at hand, not unlikely that the first phrase refers to god-like *Haldi-children*, and the second, to their earthly protégés—called for that reason, Chaldaeans. When as regularly—for example as in the Annals of Argistis,<sup>6</sup> we read, *Hal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-si-ni Argistis ali* 'to the Chaldi-children . . . speaks . . . Argistis', this would signify: the king speaks to his subjects, informs them by decree of his deeds and his successes. Often an inscription begins (as does, for instance, our canal-inscription No. 12a),<sup>7</sup> with *Haldinini usmašini*. In this case, according to the view we have adopted, the tutelary gods of the people are understood, to whom the King dedicates his work, but it is destined for the use, resp. made in the name of the Chaldaeans,

<sup>1</sup> That this is the case, I stressed against J. Friedrich in a review of his, in many ways excellent, *Einführung in das Urartäische*. This review I noted down in outline before my trip to America in 1935, and I sent it to a German scientific journal in 1936. Since, however, this review of mine has not been published, for reasons which have nothing to do with science, I shall have to publish the essential parts of this review somewhere else.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Mélanges d'Assyriologie*, p. 119 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning this, see my commentary on the Meher Kapusy inscription in *Corpus*, No. 18, especially note 62 and the explanation (col. 44) of lines 15 and 56 of the inscription; compare also *Corpus*, Nos. 57, 101, and 102.

<sup>5</sup> "Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 93, 14."

<sup>6</sup> "Cf. D. H. Müller, p. 26; Sayce, xxxix, 48, 49, 70, 71; xl, 1, etc., and see at the beginning of the inscription of Ordaklu below, p. 149."

<sup>7</sup> This is now *Corpus*, No. 35.

the king's subjects<sup>1</sup>; hence the latter sometimes appear, resp. are addressed, in the same inscription as *Haldinini alsuišini*. The significance of *usmašini* is not clear; 'gracious' as it is usually translated, is, as Sayce himself admits, entirely a guess." "*Alsuišini* is perhaps related to *alsui(ni)* instead of which word the Assyrian ideogram for 'great' (Assyrian *rabû*) appears sometimes. If the Armenian Chaldaeans describe themselves as 'the great ones, the mighty ones' or somewhat similarly, this expression of an unusual national feeling reminds one of Xenophon's characterization of these *Χαλδαῖοι* as *ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι*

"Fuller details in another place."

Such were my first remarks in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1892.

Soon after this, my attention was drawn to the fact that both A. H. Sayce and F. Hommel, each working from his own standpoint, had identified the people living in and around Armenia as the Pontic Chaldaeans; the former mentions this in his *Herodotus*,<sup>2</sup> and the latter in his *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*.<sup>3</sup> Thus, working independently of each other, four different research-workers, namely, A. von Gutschmid, A. H. Sayce, Fritz Hommel, and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, had reached the same conclusion. I emphasized this point in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*<sup>4</sup> and added:—

"In addition to the paragraph quoted above from Stephanus of Byzance, s.v., *Χαλδαῖοι* in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*,<sup>5</sup> the following paragraph from Stephanus, s.v., *Χαλδία* deserves attention: *Χαλδία: Χαλδία χώρα τῆς Ἀρμενίας, Μένιππος ἐν περίπλω τῶν δύο Πόντων . . . τὴν . . . μέχρι τούτων τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ ἢ Ποντικῆ βασιλεία. καὶ κατὰ Τιβαρηνήην καὶ Σαννικην, οἱ ἐν ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντες Χάλδοι, οὕτως γὰρ ἐπεκράτησε* (the last three words of which mean 'for that is the usual form of the name'). That here, where the *Ionian dialect* appears (*Τιβαρηνήην, Χαλδίην*) we are most probably on the track of *Hecataeus*, is of first-rate importance, which Meineke had already recognized.<sup>6</sup>

Starting from this important passage, I employed henceforward, based on the Greek name-form *Χάλδοι* which was thus attested as the more correct one, the designation Chaldians (*Chalder*) instead of "Pontic Chaldaeans".

Consequently, in the *Proceedings of the Berlin Anthropological Society*,<sup>7</sup> 1892, mention is made of the *Chaldian* word *susi* and of the

<sup>1</sup> "For instance, No. 12" (now *Corpus*, 35), "lines 4, 5; Sayce, xxvii, *Dupl.*"

<sup>2</sup> "p. 19."

<sup>3</sup> "p. 627, note 2."

<sup>4</sup> Vol. vii (1892), p. 257, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> 1892, p. 680, note 1."

<sup>6</sup> Compare now my detailed investigations and statements in *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 864 ff.; see also below, pp. 55-6.

<sup>7</sup> 15th October, 1892, p. 480, para. 3.

Land Biaina, so named by the *Chaldians* (*Chalder*)<sup>1</sup>; whilst, in the *Proceedings* of the same Society, 1893, W. Belck<sup>2</sup> made the following remark regarding the designation which I had sponsored:—

“By calling the Urartaeans ‘Pontic Chaldaeans’ a wrong impression might easily be created—viz., that at the time of the kingdom of Biaina-Urartu this people dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Pontus.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, following a suggestion of Dr. Lehmann’s and the example of Hecataeus,<sup>4</sup> I will henceforward, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, designate the old Vanic people and their country as *Chaldians* (*Chalder*) and *Chaldia*.”<sup>5</sup>

Four months after my first above-mentioned statement in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* which was to some degree a tentative utterance on this matter, I gave, in the already mentioned *Proceedings of the Berlin Anthropological Society* of October, 1892, a fundamental explanation for the appearance of the determinative of divinity<sup>6</sup> before the human (not-divine) *Haldini*.<sup>7</sup>

“Our Chaldians (*Chalder*) appear to have developed and managed their theocratic state with true paradigmatic completeness and consistency. The chief god was *Chaldis*, the other gods were known (collectively) as Chaldi-gods or Chaldi-children. But also the whole people who worshipped the god *Chaldis* counted as children or subjects of *Chaldis*,<sup>8</sup> as Chaldians (*Chalder*). For *Chaldis*, and in his honour, all conquests were made and all constructive activities which were intended to serve the welfare of the earthly Chaldi-subjects were carried out. The chief city, Tušpa(na)-Van, the seat of the God, was the Chaldi-city. Fortified places, even if built quite a distance from the chief city, were considered as the ‘Gates of the Chaldi-city’. The whole country was called *Haldia*, the *Chaldi-land*. I know of no other instance where the idea of theocracy has attained such a strict application, perceptible even in its exterior forms.”<sup>9</sup>

After I had finished my lecture containing these statements at the meeting of the Berlin Anthropological Society (October, 1892), Adolf Bastian heartily congratulated me upon the way in which I had dealt with the subject.

It goes without saying that I could not possibly have arrived at the view concerning the *Chaldian theocracy*, had I neglected the *determinative of divinity*—a neglect with which I am wrongly charged by von Soden.

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, p. 483.

<sup>2</sup> p. 64, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* below.

<sup>4</sup> “See Stephanus of Byzance (ed. Meineke), p. 680.”

<sup>5</sup> “*Cf. Verhandlungen d. Berl. Anthr. Ges.*, 1892, p. 487.”

<sup>6</sup> *Cf.* above, p. 51, n. 7.

<sup>7</sup> p. 486.

<sup>8</sup> *Cf.* above, p. 50; also n. 6, *ib.*

<sup>9</sup> This means, of course, by the determinative of divinity.

The same holds good for my further utterances on this subject. In my inaugural lecture as Berlin Privatdocent, 1893,<sup>1</sup> I expressed myself accordingly as follows:—

“If, therefore, the Chaldians were in a high degree capable both of defending their country and erecting buildings to serve the welfare of the people as a whole, the sound evolution which we witness here must have been based on, or perhaps have gained a substantial impetus from, the system of government in which *the whole statecraft was concentrated in a theocratic foundation*, which system seems to have been carried out by our Chaldians with an exact, paradigmatic thoroughness and consistency. . . . (Then follow the words already quoted on p. 52. ‘The chief god was *Chaldis* . . . exterior forms’).

“This fact gave rise to a peculiar difficulty in regard to the correct interpretation of the inscriptions. It was believed that wherever the word *Chaldini*, ‘those belonging to *Chaldis*’ appeared, the gods were indicated. This difficulty arose from the fact that *in every case*, whether *Chaldi-gods* or the *human subjects of Chaldis* are meant, the name is accompanied by the **determinative of divinity**. Even in the case of the city this rule obtains, but with this difference, that in the combination, the suffix for ‘city’ stands out and is easily recognized. Thus it happened that such simple phrases as those regularly-recurring words in the annals of Argistis—‘to the Chaldians’ (that is, to his subjects), ‘speaks Argistis’ (after which there follows each time the account of the military success of a campaign)—were completely misunderstood. And possibly we should never have arrived at a correct interpretation if information derived from classical antiquity had not come to our aid.”

In *Armenien einst und jetzt*<sup>2</sup> I give still further consideration to this subject: “Here I end the description of the Van-katah and its rock-buildings, whence the destiny of the Chaldian kingdom was controlled until 735 B.C., under a form of theocratic rule, developed and carried out by the Chaldians with an unsurpassable and paradigmatic thoroughness.

“The chief god was *Chaldis*, but also the individual member of the people was indicated by this name. The god was therefore the representative and eponym of the people. Possibly the other gods were collectively indicated by the word *Chaldini*, *Chaldi-gods* (or *Chaldi-children*).

“For *Chaldis*, and in his honour, all conquests were made and all constructive activities carried out which were intended to add to the welfare of the earthly Chaldi-subjects. . . .

“This *theocratic basis of the Chaldian state*, with which evidently a *rigidly concentrated system of control* went hand in hand, accounts

<sup>1</sup> See *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1893, p. 416 f.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii, 1, 1926, p. 164 ff.



for the fact that the Chaldians were a military and cultural power of the highest order. Far from oppressing the individual members of the community, the *Chaldian theocracy* must rather have instilled and nourished *in its members the feeling of pride and willing sacrifice*. Valour and love of liberty are features which even at the later time of decay, gained for the Chaldians the praise of Xenophon; features which they share in common with the Carians, to whom possibly they were distantly related."

Further mention is made of the theocratic character of the Chaldian state in other parts of my *Armenien einst und jetzt*<sup>1</sup>; in fact, this conception runs through the whole book.

And in the *Corpus*—in the review of which, von Soden, as stated above, page 48 ff., speaks of my having overlooked the determinative of divinity, I said about the Meher Kapusy inscription (No. 18)—an inscription of Ispuinis and Menuas which enumerates the sacrifices to all the gods, both of the Chaldians and of the peoples subjected<sup>2</sup> by them—the following:—

"The writing *ILANI<sup>p</sup> <sup>ILU</sup>Haldinini* is especially worthy of attention, for *ILU<sup>ILU</sup>Haldinini(ni)* also indicates by itself the inhabitants of the land, and therefore, to prevent misunderstanding, the group, the gods *ILANI<sup>p</sup>*, is expressly placed before it, an important confirmation of the conclusion that *ILU<sup>ILU</sup>Hal-di-se* is also used by itself for the people of the country."<sup>3</sup>

Thus I have from the very beginning of my studies of Vanic inscriptions always pointed out and clearly explained the fact that the *determinative of divinity* always appears in connection with the name of the human inhabitants of the country (according to my view of the matter). If, therefore, von Soden considers, as counter-evidence against the designation *Chaldians*, both the 'Αλάροδοι of Herodotus (see above) and the *determinative of divinity* in the inscriptions, he thereby only shows his *incapacity* for dealing correctly with the philological-historical problem of "Urartaeans and Chaldians"—even as to formulating the question.

On the contrary, the fact that the Urartean-name returns in Herodotus' 'Αλαρόδοι is the basis and starting-point of all my researches. *It will help us on significantly* for the purpose of our present investigation.

### (3) CHALDIANS AND KARDUKHS

That the northern Chaldaeans, correctly Chaldians, are identical with the Urartaeans is disavowed by J. Friedrich<sup>4</sup> and W. von Soden.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, 1, p. 45, p. 341; vol. ii, 2, p. 461.

<sup>2</sup> See *Corpus*, col. 43, line 15; and 56 of the Meher Kapusy inscription.

<sup>3</sup> "See *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*, Lieferung 2, col. 73."

<sup>4</sup> I decline to follow Friedrich down to the deplorable level of the polemical remarks

Thereby both scholars, as philologists of strictest observance who lack historical schooling and every earnest historical conception, transgress their competence in more senses than one. They are of the opinion that the name Chaldian does not appear in the cuneiform inscriptions of the pre-Armenian rulers of the kingdom of Tušpa-Van—a question which I answer in the contrary and which need not concern us here.

With this point they are confusing, or not separating from it with the requisite sharpness, a question which is *completely different*, namely, whether the Urartaeans-Alarodians are identical with those whom the Greek (and Armenian) authors attest to be the northerly or Pontic Chaldaeans, rectius Chaldians. By their denial of the latter—the only question which concerns us at the moment—both the above-mentioned scholars are committing two big mistakes in method.

1. They assert, totally ignoring the fundamental principles of historical original research, that the evidence lying in front of us, left by the Greeks, is more or less worthless.

2. In addition, they erroneously try to establish that the northerly Chaldaeans, rectius Chaldians (*Chalder*), had not inhabited Armenia proper itself, the country of Urartu.

The information of the Greeks, far from being worthless, or only of questionable worth, is, from the standpoint of historical research

he has recently made at my expense. His article, *Chalder oder Urartäer* (*Zeitschrift des Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1936, xc, 60–82), closes as follows: "that with the people's name *Chaldian* the title *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum* also stands or falls. I am of one opinion with Lehmann-Haupt (*Klio*, 27, p. 78, and *Corpus*, col. 127), but the blame in this case attaches to the one who commits the error and not to the one who proves it to be an error." The foregoing italicized words suggest that I should be capable of laying the blame for an error of mine in bringing forward something which later on was proved to be wrong, on the one who proved it to be wrong, which, apart from Friedrich himself, certainly no one will believe. In the above-mentioned article in which the philologist Friedrich tries to disprove my conclusions as to the Pontic Chaldaeans, their designation as Chaldians, etc., and their identification with the Urartaeans—by narrow, exclusively-philological points of view, he refers to "his grammatical theory so much hated by Lehmann-Haupt". The fact that, far from detesting ("hating") grammar and grammatical theory, I have always supported an equitable valuation of historical and grammatical points of view, needs no comment, for it stands clearly written in *Klio*, xxviii, p. 326. And if I detested grammar and philology, I should not have occupied the position of *Professor of Greek* (that is, of the Greek language and literature) in the University of Liverpool for three years (1911–14), nor, as deputy, have filled the professorial chair of *classical philology* at Greifswald, 1914–15. I might also mention that Holger Pedersen, when present at the 350th anniversary of Innsbruck University spoke of me as a scholar who combined philological and historical methods in an exemplary way. Friedrich's latest feat is to tactfully attribute my views, as opposed to his, to *old age*. According to him (see *Die Welt als Geschichte*, 1937, vol. iii, 1, p. 64) in *Lieferung 2* of the *Corpus* (1935), I was evidently no longer able to grasp the newer developments in research. For this reason it seemed advisable to him to refer (i.e., p. 63) to Belck's and my own first publication in the field of Chaldian research (see above, p. 48, n. 1), as being the work of Belck in common with the young (viz. thirty-one years old), C. F. Lehmann(-Haupt), where the adjective "young" italicized by myself, is used to prepare the contradiction against the senile Lehmann-Haupt of 1935.

(*Quellenforschung*) of the very highest value. We have already seen that the substance of the information we find in later Greek sources can be traced back to old Ionic sources, especially to Hecataeus and his countryman and young contemporary,<sup>1</sup> Dionysius of Miletus.

Such name-forms as *Χαλδίωνη* instead of (Chaldian and Attic) *Ἥλδῖνα*, *Χαλδία*, and *Χαλδίωνη* instead of (Chaldian and Attic) *Ἥλδῖα*, *Χαλδία*, in connection with *Chaldie* in Anonymus Ravenas as well as *Τεβάρη(ν)ίη* show clearly the origin from authors who wrote Ionic.

Here, however, we are not restricted to conclusions from the form of the names but find in Hecataeus' *Ἀσίη* some very important information in regard to Trans-Caucasian things.

That in the Greek traditions concerning the dwellers by the Black Sea and the inhabitants of the territory bordering on the coast, we have an "unbroken tradition", ranging from Hecataeus over the younger Skylax, Ephoros, Apollonius Rhodius to Plinius, Pomponius Mela, and even to Ammianus Marcellinus, has, quite independently of me, been shown by Felix Jacoby, who is the last person to cherish a desire to echo my opinion.<sup>2</sup>

That the name-form "Chaldaean", *Χαλδαῖοι*, for the northern people is absolutely wrong, is emphasized in Greek literature repeatedly and with great clearness. The important passage in Stephanus of Byzance where he refers to Menippus, has already been mentioned.<sup>3</sup>

In Eustathius' Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes, 767, however, we read (in words partly recalling Menippus): "Chaldia is an Armenian territory up to which the Pontic kingdom stretches. Those who live there are to be called, according to the prevailing custom, Chaldian, not Chaldaean."<sup>4</sup> Again, further on, he states once more: "It is true that by some authors, according to Dikaiarchos, the Chaldians dwelling in the neighbourhood of Colchis are called trisyllabically" (wrongly) "Chaldaeans".

There is, therefore, not the slightest doubt that purely philologically, wherever we meet in Greek literature—beginning with Sophocles and Xenophon—Chaldaeans (*Χαλδαῖοι*) in and around Armenia, we are justified, nay commanded, to use the name of Chaldians (*Χάλδου*) instead. This already means the death-blow for the contention of my opponents that the northern Chaldaeans are not to be found in the territory of Urartu.

For, as I again emphasized in my inaugural lecture in Tiflis, the name of the *Chaldians* has been preserved up to the present time

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my *Griechische Geschichte*; see below, p. 62, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> For details see *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 305, 307.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 804 ff.

under the forms *Kaldyr* (*Kaldir*), *Kaldyran* with phonetical variants (*Caldyr*(an), *Čyldyr*(an)). Recently, in two of these districts, inscriptions of Chaldian kings were found—a clear and irrefutable proof that the districts concerned had been a part of the Urartaeon-Chaldian kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

In the district of Čyldyr—situated to the north of Kars and south of Vardzia and Khert'vis—with its lake called *Čaldyr* (Čyldyr)-göl and a rivulet, the Čyldyr-su (an outflow from the lake) and the mountain-range the *Čyldyr-dağ*—lies the village of Daš-Kerpi, not far from the Čyldyr-göl, where an inscription of the Chaldian King Sardur III Argistihinis has been found, which is now preserved in the Hripsime Church near Etchmiadzin.<sup>2</sup>

The town of Maku with its surrounding extensive territory in the northern corner of the Perso-Armenian region, is called *Kaldiran* (*Čaldiran*); that it once belonged to the Urartaeon-Chaldian kingdom is proved by the finding in Maku of an inscription, published by Marr, of *Rusas II Argistihinis*. The narrowly philological statement of Friedrich and von Soden that the Chaldaeans are not to be found on Urartaeon territory is thus proved to be historically incorrect.

Of the classical writers, those best acquainted with Armenia, by their own experience and autopsy, are Xenophon and Lucullus.<sup>3</sup> According to Xenophon, when the Ten Thousand Greeks prepared to march over the Kentrites into Armenia, Persian troops under Orontas and Artuchas ranged themselves against them. Included in these troops were Armenian and Mardian and also Chaldaean mercenary soldiers, the last-mentioned of whom are spoken of by Xenophon as valiant and liberty-loving.<sup>4</sup>

Now when preparations for war are under consideration long in advance of the war, it is possible to bring help from countries some distance away. But this was no case of a military campaign prepared in advance. No one knew beforehand that the Ten Thousand Greeks would turn in the direction of Armenia. A decision to go that way had only been arrived at eight days before they reached the Armenian border, and then after much deliberation as to the direction they should take.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, to help stop the intruders from entering Armenia, the Persian commanders could only summon to their aid troops who were dwelling in the immediate neighbourhood, or in Armenia itself.

Moreover, the name Chaldy-dağ, borne by a chain of mountains south-east of the Van Lake, is a reminder to-day of the former presence of Chaldians right in southern Armenia.

But more important still: Orontas was hereditary Satrap of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*, Supplement 1, 1935. *Lieferung 2*, col. 128 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Corpus*, No. 153a.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 45, above.

<sup>4</sup> *Anabasis*, iv, 3, 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, iii, 5, 13-18; iv, 3, 2.

East Armenia, i.e. of the 18th Satrapy,<sup>1</sup> and to this satrapy belonged, as we shall see later on, besides the (Eastern) Matienes and the Saspires, also the Alarodians. Therefore, the Chald(ae)ian soldiers of Orontas evidently belonged to his subjects, the "Alarodians".

There is no doubt, therefore, that here we have to do with Chaldian-Urartaeen-Alarodian mercenary troops.

Equally, if not more, important is the information which comes from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, bearing directly on the history of the Chald(ae)ians.<sup>2</sup> However, I shall only briefly mention this here, as I mean to speak of the matter at length in the closing part (Part III) of my treatise on the historical element in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*; the more so, as I have already discussed the essentials elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

According to Xenophon, there existed between Armenians and Chaldaeans (rectius Chaldians) struggles of long-standing, which were finally finished by the two peoples concluding agreements in regard to connubium, commercium, and a federation in arms, and these agreements, Xenophon especially emphasizes, were still in force in his time.<sup>4</sup>

These accounts by the Greek author who was best acquainted with Armenian conditions, bear the stamp of thorough knowledge of the matter. They describe to us exactly what we should expect after the immigration of the Armenians: the Armenians in possession of the cities, of the plains and of the fertile lands, but constantly threatened by the wild and marauding pre-Armenian population, the Chaldians, who from their mountain stronghold constantly preyed on the property, the fields, and the personal safety of the Armenians, and were sufficiently significant in numbers to be acknowledged as a party capable of negotiation and federation. Xenophon's description of Armenia's situation interwoven into his novel is a description based on autopsy, on exact observation and knowledge of the state of Armenia in his time.

It must be recognized as historically important by all scholars who are accustomed and schooled in historical methods, even if not—apart from this—a very significant historical element were evident throughout the *Cyropaedia* which, in so far as it does not depend upon

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, article *Satrap* in the *Realencyclopädie*, vol ii, A, col. 82-188, § 74; col. 127. Cf. § 53, col. 118. The ideas of O. Leuze, *Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande von 520-320* (1935), concerning the Armenian satrapies I consider to be erroneous.

<sup>2</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Der Sturz des Kroisos und das historische Element in Xenophons Kyropädie*, i, in *Wiener Studien*, xlvii, 1929, pp. 123-7, and ii, ib., 1932, pp. 152-9.

<sup>3</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 19th October, 1895, pp. 585-7; *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 712 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *Kyropädia*, iii, 2, 23.

Xenophon's own observations,<sup>1</sup> is to be traced back to reliable logographical sources, especially to the writings of Dionysius of Miletus.<sup>2</sup>

Both the finding of the Urartaeen royal inscriptions in *Kaldiran* and *Čylädyr*, formerly territories belonging to the pre-Armenian kingdom of Van, and the evidence of Xenophon, the Greek author best informed on ancient Armenia, prove that the Chaldians inhabited the country which the Assyrians called Urartu.

Whether these Chaldians were mentioned also in the pre-Armenian "Urartaeen" cuneiform inscriptions is an entirely different question, which we shall have to investigate—and affirm<sup>3</sup>—somewhere else. Here I only wish to emphasize that the name Uruaṣru-Uraṣru-Uraṣtu is the geographical name of a district which we meet with in the inscriptions of Assyrian kings of the thirteenth century B.C., whilst the Chaldians-Urartaeans first penetrated into later Armenia in the ninth century. Therefore the people, whom the Assyrians called by the much older regional name of Uraṣtu, must have brought with them, at the time of their immigration, quite a new name, viz. that of the Chaldians, as we shall see anew (cf. below).

Also Fr. Schachermeyr has rightly drawn attention to the four-hundred-year interval which had elapsed between the time when we meet this country's name, Uruaṣru-Uraṣtu, and the immigration of the people called by the Assyrians after the name of their land. Of course, we can also call the *Western Goths*, after their settling in Spain (Iberia), *geographically*, "Spaniards" (Iberians, in this sense), but their proper ethnic name, always preserved by them, was Western Goths, *Visigoths*. Thus, in addition to their native name, Chaldian (often, wrongly, Chaldaean), by which name they were also known to the Greeks, the immigrants received the geographical name of Urartaeans. And the reason why the Persians—as the Assyrians and Hebrews before them—preferred to designate the people after the region of Urartu— $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$  as *Ἀλαρόδιοι* Urartaeans, and to use this name exclusively, will presently be explained.

We now return once more to the starting-point of our discussion. According to Xenophon's description,<sup>4</sup> the Kardukhs had been the southerly neighbours of the Armenians and of the Chaldians whom the latter had driven into the mountains—whether already of the Chaldians before the immigration of the Armenians, would require a closer research. The chief difficulty in regard to such research, however, lies in

<sup>1</sup> For details see part iii of my paper in *Wiener Studien* which will soon be published.

<sup>2</sup> See part i and ii of my paper in *Wiener Studien*.

<sup>3</sup> As to misstatements of the Thema probandum and other objectionable ways of argument and discussion in Friedrich's paper in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, see below.

<sup>4</sup> *Anabasis*, iii, 5, 15; iv, 4, 2.

the fact of our ignorance as to when the Iberians established themselves in their southerly territory near the Eastern Tigris (Kentrites).—We only know that, about the time of Alexander the Great, a part of them (see above) was likely to have been forced to go northwards.

Xenophon's information in regard to the Kardukhs, therefore, has quite a special significance. We are indebted to him for important authentic information about the Chaldians under Armenian rule, and we find that he also presents us with a report on the Kardukhs. It was through Kardukhian territory that the Ten Thousand Greeks marched fighting for seven days until they were confronted by the Armenian and Chaldian troops of Artuchas and Orontas. Xenophon's report about this seven days' march is the oldest and most reliable chapter on the K'art'velian past—a fact which, until now, has never been sufficiently observed and appreciated.

Let us now consider what results are obtained from Xenophon's accounts in regard to the history and the manners and customs of the *Karduk'* (K'art'veli).

On their retreat after the battle in the plain of Kunaxa, when they had reached the mountain range which bordered on the left bank of the Tigris, the Ten Thousand Greeks decided, after long deliberations on the various possible routes, to take the one which led through the territory of the Karduk' because they could thus get to Armenia and from thence by convenient routes, in a north-westerly direction, to the Black Sea.<sup>1</sup>

They had heard that the Karduk' (K'art'veli) were warlike mountain-dwellers<sup>2</sup> (like the K'art'vels of the present day), that they showed a great sense of independence, that they were not subjects of the Persian king, and that an army of 120,000 royal Persian troops had been completely destroyed in their pathless territory. On the other hand, they faithfully kept treaties<sup>3</sup>—a feature corresponding with the character of the modern K'art'veli.

The Greeks left the left bank of the Tigris near the village now called Mansuriyyeh, where the valley of a rivulet leads up into the Kardukhian mountains.<sup>4</sup>

At the advance of the Greeks, the Kardukhs with their wives and children fled at first to the mountains. In the deserted houses, the Greeks found ample provisions and bronze utensils, but they took only

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, iii, 5, 15 ff.; iv, 1, 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iii, 5, 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, iii, 5, 15 f.: ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὁρέων καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη ὅτι εἰς Καρδοῦχος ἀγοί, τοῦτους δ' ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη καὶ πολεμικωτάτους εἶναι καὶ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκούειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιάν δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δ' οὐδέν' ἀπονοστήσαι διὰ τὴν δυοχωρίαν· ὅποτε μέγροι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπέλαιοντο, καὶ ἐπιμυγνῆναι σφάν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς αὐτούς.

<sup>4</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. i, p. 363; vol. ii, part 1, pp. 226–371.

enough food to satisfy their needs,<sup>1</sup> avoiding all plunder, for they hoped that the Kardukhs would come to a friendly understanding with them, since they, like the Ten Thousand Greeks, were enemies of the Persian king; this hope, however, did not materialize.<sup>2</sup>

Hard fighting followed, in which the Kardukhs, from their mountain caves, rolled down huge stones upon the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> Having been victorious, the Greeks could enjoy themselves to their heart's content in the numerous well-built, well-provisioned houses of the Kardukhs. "For there was plenty of wine at hand, which they stored in cemented (or plastered) cisterns"<sup>4</sup>—which reminds us again that the enjoyment of ample repasts and the predilection for wine are characteristic traits which even to-day distinguish the K'art'vels. Also the custom of storing wines in cemented cisterns (or in large pitchers sunk into the ground), still exists to-day in Georgian and Armenian homes.<sup>5</sup>

The Kardukhs are described as nimble, as good archers, and skilful slingers<sup>6</sup>; besides, the peculiar way in which they bent their long bows is well-known amongst those versed in the use of this weapon. Exposed to their unusually long arrows, neither shield nor coat-of-mail proved sufficient protection; thus there was plenty for the Cretan archers to do.<sup>7</sup>

The Greeks converted the long arrows of the Kardukhs to javelins.

Fighting with the warlike Kardukhs still continued when, after seven days, the Greeks reached the Kentrites (Centrites) and, faced by Persian troops and Chaldian soldiers who were defending the Armenian bank of the river, prepared to cross it, and finally succeeded in doing so.<sup>8</sup> The Kardukhs tried to make this crossing as difficult as possible<sup>9</sup> by attacking the rear-guard of the Greeks, singing war-songs<sup>10</sup> as they fought—which reminds us how fond of singing the K'art'vels (the offspring of the Kardukhs) still are, in peace and in war.

<sup>1</sup> *Anabasis*, iv, 1, 8; iv, 1, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 1, 8 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 2, 3, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 1, 22: καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοὺς ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ καλοῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπιτηθείοις θαφίλοι, καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολλὸς ἦν ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κοιματοῖς εἶχον.

<sup>5</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. i, p. 65 (cf. also p. 102): "In Shulaveri we inspected an Armenian wine-cellar where, in the stone-paved ground, constructed in an ingenious way, there was a conduit running between the wine-press and the wine-holders. The latter, each as big as a man, were Georgian clay-pitchers sunk into the ground. The large clay-pitchers, by the way, are common both to K'art'velians-Georgians and to Chaldians" (see the two illustrations, (1) *Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 559—transport of a large Urartean clay-pitcher by the warriors of Salmanasars III and of two such pitchers as excavated by our expedition, vol. i, part 2, p. 467).

<sup>6</sup> *Anabasis*, iv, 2, 27.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 2, 28.

<sup>8</sup> and <sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 3, 24, 27, 30.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 3, 27: οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι ὡς ἑώρεν τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τὸν δ' ἄλλον ψιλομένους καὶ ἀλλήλους ἠδὲ φαινομένους θάπτον δὴ ἐπῆσαν ὡδὰς τινας ἔδοντες.

We also find the beauty for which K'art'velian women were, and are, renowned, alluded to among the Kardukhs.<sup>1</sup>

The other bank of the eastern branch (*des östlichen Quellflusses*) of the Tigris, the Kentrites (the Bohtan-su of to-day) was found to be uninhabited on account of the incessant fighting with the Kardukhs who dwelt on the other side of the stream.<sup>2</sup>

Thus we gained from Xenophon's description of the Kardukhs, the nearest neighbours of the Chaldians, a number of traits which are characteristic of the brave K'art'vels-Georgians who delight in battle and song and we may truly say that from Xenophon we have won back the oldest page of K'art'velian history.

#### (4) ALARODIANS AND MOSKHS

The name 'Αλαρόδιοι is mentioned by Herodotus in two paragraphs of special character—both of them tracing their source to original official Persian documents, namely to the *List of Satrapies* or *Tribute List of Darius' reign*, and to the *List of Xerxes' Army*. In both cases it can be proved that Herodotus' immediate source has been Dionysius of Miletus; the list of satrapies Herodotus found in the latter's principal work *Περσικά*, while the army list belonged to his *Τὰ μετὰ Δαρείου*,<sup>3</sup> devoted to the first years of Xerxes' reign.

##### (a) The Tribute List

This list, in its present form, as I have shown,<sup>4</sup> originates from Hecataeus. When the latter<sup>5</sup> advised the Ionians not to engage in an insurrection against Darius, he enumerated all the peoples over whom Darius ruled and stated their *δύναμις*. With Herodotus, this expression signifies the financial strength (in literal German, *das Vermögen*), and wherever Herodotus speaks of satrapies, this term *δύναμις* appears.

Now, while the official document which originated with, and was prescribed by, Darius, must have contained much more information—for instance, accounts about the income of the satrapies in money and kind, about the fortresses and their garrisons, about the share contributed by each satrapy to the maintenance of the king and of the

<sup>1</sup> *Anabasis*, iv, 1, 13 f. The Kardukhian war-prisoners, so it was ruled, were to be set free because they hindered the march and lessened the provisions . . . χ οί δ' ἐπέλθοντο, πλὴν εἰς ἐκλεψεν οἶον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμίας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. Cf. below, p. 65, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 4: 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν . . . οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς Καρδοῦχος.

<sup>3</sup> See *Klio*, vol. ii (1902), p. 337; vol. iii (1903), p. 330 f.; vol. vi (1906), p. 130. See also Lehmann-Haupt, *Griechische Geschichte, bis zum Tode Philipp von Makedonien*, p. 138 f.

<sup>4</sup> In §§ 10–18 of my article *Satrap* in the second edition of the *Realencyclopädie des klassischen Altertums* (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Witte), iia, 1921, §§ 1–180, cols. 82–188.

<sup>5</sup> See Herodotus, v, 36.

royal army<sup>1</sup>—the Tribute List in Herodotus is limited<sup>2</sup> to the statement of the *δύναμις*, that is to the amount of the tributes paid by the satrapies to the king.<sup>3</sup>

And this limitation of Herodotus' Tribute List derives its explanation from the object pursued by Hecataeus at the Council of the Ionians. If he had given in his *Periegesis*, that is to say in its part called *Ἀσίη*, an enumeration of the satrapies as a whole, this would have had—as especially a comparison with Herodotus, i, 192, shows—quite a different aspect.

But apart from this, Hecataeus himself could not possibly have included this excerpt brought forward for discussion at the Council of the Ionians later on in his *Periegesis*. For he did not describe the Ionian revolt himself,<sup>4</sup> since he finished his writings before 510 B.C.

Furthermore, the whole conduct of Hecataeus, as described by Herodotus, especially the exact details about proposals of his which were rejected,<sup>5</sup> cannot possibly have been preserved through oral tradition. They must, on the contrary, be traced to his younger contemporary, Dionysius of Miletus, and in the Tribute List of Herodotus we evidently have the authentic enumeration which was the foundation of the oral statement made at the Council of the Ionians by *Hecataeus, of Miletus*: his manuscript, which he delivered to his fellow-countryman and younger contemporary, Dionysius of Miletus, who repeated it literally in his *Περσικά*. That also explains the absence of all mythological-ethnological additions that play such a large part in the army list drawn up by Dionysius of Miletus himself on the basis of the Persian Acts,<sup>6</sup> and which Herodotus then evidently took over without noticing that he was thereby repeating a great number of things which he had already set down in other parts of his work.<sup>7</sup>

It is furthermore to be noted that in the case of satrapies, which comprised several peoples or tribes, the name of one of these peoples was used on most occasions as a shorter name for the whole satrapy.<sup>8</sup> Further, too, since Hecataeus enumerated the satrapies and their *δύναμις* in an assembly of the Ionians and with the purpose of dissuading the revolt which they planned, this accounts for the deviation of the Tribute List as Hecataeus gives it from the order followed in the four cuneiform lists of the people belonging to the empire of Darius I.<sup>9</sup> Hecataeus, in his enumeration of satrapies and their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially Herodotus, i, 192.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, iii, 88 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Satrap*, l.c., §§ 11 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Fall and destruction of Miletus, 494 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus, v, 36, and v, 125.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, vii, 61–96.

<sup>7</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap*, col. 93 f.; §§ 13, 14.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, § 26, cols. 103–5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, § 26, cols. 103 f.

tributes, which he took from the Persian Official Acts, has obviously placed at the head of the list of satrapies the one to which the Ionians themselves belonged, adding at once the neighbouring satrapies. Having once deviated from the official order, he probably did not adhere to it in the notes which he took down for his speech. On the other hand, he did not so completely upset the order that the end of the list was interfered with,<sup>1</sup> for the last three satrapies (18th to 20th), of which the 18th and 19th especially concern us, belong actually to the conclusion of the official order of the satrapies under Darius I.<sup>2</sup>

The Indians (20th Satrapy) were not formerly subjects of the Persians; they were first subjugated by Darius himself. (They were the only ones who paid their tribute in gold.)

The 18th Satrapy includes the Matienes—the Eastern ones<sup>3</sup>—the Saspeires, and our *Alarodians*. Already when constituting this satrapy, Darius wanted to ensure the southern exits of the Caucasus for the reasons which gained special prominence in the foundation of the 19th Satrapy. The constitution of the 19th Satrapy was the necessary preparation and precaution for Darius' expedition against the Scythians, since, for his return through the Caucasus and for protecting the northern frontier of his empire, it was necessary that the southern exits of the Caucasian passes (over which to-day the Georgian and Ossetian military roads lead) should be in his hands.

The 19th Satrapy includes the Moskhs (a principal constituent element of the later Georgian people), the Tibarenes, the Macrones, the Mossynoeci, and the Mares. The Moskhs dwelt at the southern exit of the *Pylae Caucasicae* (over which to-day the Georgian military road leads).

Now we read in Hecataeus<sup>4</sup>: *Μόσχοι Κολχικὸν ἔθνος προσεχὲς τοῖς Ματιηνοῖς*, that is, "The Moskhs are a Colchian people, bordering on the Matienes." "Matienes," here, can only denote the collective name for the 18th Satrapy, since the land of the Moskhs in no way bordered on that of the Matienes. The latter inhabited the western shores of Lake Urmia and were separated from the Moskhs just by the Alarodians, who, together with the Matienes, belonged to the 18th Satrapy.

As regards the 19th Satrapy, one might be inclined to think that the word "Moskhs" as used by Hecataeus was, similarly, the collective name for this, the 19th Satrapy, as "Matienes" was for the 18th Satrapy. This, however, is impossible, as Hecataeus calls the Moskhs "a Colchian people", whereas the Colchians were not included by Darius in a satrapy, but were left almost completely independent,

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, § 15.

<sup>2</sup> See *Satrap*, § 27.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Herodotus, i, 72; vii, 72; and below.

<sup>4</sup> Hecataeus, fr. 288 (Jacoby) = fr. 188 (Müller).

save that they were obliged to deliver every five years to the Persian king, as a gift, a hundred boys and a hundred maidens—an obligation which was still in force in Herodotus' time.<sup>1</sup>

Since Hecataeus in his *Ἀσίη* certainly knew of the existence of the 18th Satrapy, yet knew nothing about the constitution of the 19th, it follows that the part of his *Periegesis*, called *Ἀσίη* had been published before the formation of the 19th Satrapy.

As, however, the establishment of the 19th Satrapy was an indispensable preparation and precaution in view of Darius' expedition against the Scythians, which took place in 514 B.C. at the latest, it would seem that this satrapy was constituted in 514 B.C. at the latest, so that Hecataeus' *Ἀσίη* must have been published before 514 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

That the Alarodians (Urtartaeans-Chaldians) and the Moskhs (who were a chief constituent element of the *future Georgian people*) belonged to two adjoining satrapies of the Persian empire is a *particularly important fact for our study*, and one which we shall soon deal with.

#### (b) *The Army List*

Xerxes' Army (and Navy) List was taken by Herodotus,<sup>3</sup> as already noted, from Dionysius of Miletus' work, *Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Δαρείου*. Dionysius had used the official Persian documents, but inserted into them etymological-mythological notes, which Herodotus mechanically took over, although they really disagreed with the plan and structure of his work (see above).

In the Army List, the contingents of peoples constituting a satrapy are mostly mentioned next to each other. These contingents are formed, predominantly, in groups under a separate commander, without there appearing in every case a chief commander for the collective troops of a satrapy. A description is given of the way in which each contingent was armed.

The troops of the 19th Satrapy, which, as we have seen, is the most northerly one,<sup>4</sup> are placed before those of the 18th Satrapy in the Army List.<sup>5</sup>

Between these two we find the *Colchians*, who, though—as we have seen—autonomous, yet were—as we now learn—nevertheless under an obligation of military service.

Herodotus states<sup>6</sup>: "The Moskhs wear wooden helmets and carry small shields<sup>7</sup> and javelins; in addition, they have also large

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, iii, 97. Evidently the Moskhs were renowned for the beauty of both their men and women. Cf. above p. 62, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap*, § 27, col. 105 f.; *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, vii, 61-9. <sup>4</sup> Herodotus, vii, 78-9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, vii, 79. <sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, vii, 78.

<sup>7</sup> In Xenophon's *Anabasis* (iv, 3, 4), *μακρά* is an old mistake for *μικρά*. See *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 508, 794.



spears. The Tibarenes, the Macrones, and the Mossynoeci were armed in the same way as the Moskhs." These were commanded by the following leaders: "the Moskhs and Tibarenes by Arionearchos, the son of Darius and of Parmys, daughter of Smerdis and granddaughter of Cyrus; the Macrones and Mossynoeci by Artayktes the Kho(wa)rasman, the governor of the city of Sestos in Europe." "The Mares wear native plaited helmets and carry small shields of hide and javelins." So much for the troops of the 19th Satrapy.

Now follow the *Colchians*; they wore wooden helmets, small shields of ox-hide and short spears, and besides they had daggers-swords. "The Mares and the Colchians"—that is to say a people of the 19th Satrapy, together with an autonomous one—"were commanded by Pharandates, the son of Teaspis."

Then follow the troops of the 18th Satrapy. "The Alarodians and the Saspeires carried the same arms as the Colchians. They were commanded by Masistius, the son of Siromitres."

The Alarodians were equipped, accordingly, with small shields<sup>1</sup> of ox-hide, short spears and daggers. This equipment essentially agrees with that of the "Chaldaeans" (rectius, Chaldians), according to Xenophon's accounts.

In Xenophon's *Anabasis*<sup>2</sup> we have: "The Chaldaeans" (rectius, Chaldians) "were esteemed as free and warlike." For weapons they had small shields<sup>3</sup> and lances. In Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*,<sup>4</sup> "The Chald(ae)ians had each a shield, two spears, and they were considered to be the most warlike of all people in that territory," i.e. Armenia.

From among the peoples of the 18th Satrapy, the eastern Matienes are omitted. Evidently the reason for this is that, previously, Herodotus<sup>5</sup> had spoken of the westerly Matienes<sup>6</sup>: "The Paphlagonians and the Matienes were commanded by Dotos, the son of Megasidras." Therefore, either the contingent of the eastern Matienes was joined with the western one, or the previous mention of the (westerly) Matienes had led Dionysius of Miletus—neglectfully—to omit the eastern Matienes from the troops of the 18th Satrapy.

The reason that in both official Persian documents—Darius' List of Satrapies and Xerxes' Army List—and in both authors who used these official documents as their source, there appears only the name "Urartaeon" Ἀραρόδιον, and not that of the Chaldians is evident, although it has hitherto not been recognized.

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> iv, 3, 4: ἔλεγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλευθεροὶ τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 65, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> iii, 2, 7.

<sup>5</sup> vii, 72; cf. i, 72. Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap*, col. 105, sub. xviii.

<sup>6</sup> Herodotus states in i, 72: ὁ δὲ Ἄλυς ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου ὄρεος διὰ Κιλίκων, μετὰ Μαιηνῶδς ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἕτερου Φρύγας.

The Persians, who worshipped Ahuramazda<sup>1</sup> as the supreme god, could not use the name of a people and country where, following their theocratic constitution, another god, Chaldis, was regarded as the supreme god. That might have signified an acknowledgment of this god, whom, on the contrary, they had to decline a *limine*.

It was the same thing with the Assyrians. They—who in the name of their god Aššur had to conduct a bitter fight for the sway of the world (*Weltherrschaft*) against the god Chaldis and against the State theocratically-organized and named after this god, the Chaldis-state—could not possibly reconcile themselves to an indirect recognition of his might and of the theocracy founded on it by naming a hostile people and country after the god Chaldis.

If anyone should aver that the Persians had had nothing at all to do with the Chaldians as an independent people and State, because when the Persians attained power the Armenians had long since immigrated into the country over which they were the rulers and which they had named after themselves—he would have to be corrected. For in the Babylonian version of the large Behistun inscription of Darius I appears Uraštu (= Urartu) as the name of the country of Armenia and as the translation of *Armina*, the name used in the old Persian version. As to this Eduard Meyer<sup>2</sup> rightly remarks, "In Babylonia only the old name was current and was used for the whole country of Armenia."

More significant is the fact that one of the pretenders, who under the name of Nebukadrezzar III arose in Babylon claiming sway over the whole of the Persian empire, was an Armenian named Arakha (*Araħa*). And this Arakha was the son of *Chaldita*, which shows that he was of Chaldian origin. So, far from having had nothing at all to do with the Chaldians, the Persians, and their supreme lord, Darius I, had had very unpleasant experiences with the Chaldians.

And as to the Assyrians, we now see why in their inscriptions the name of the god of the Urartaeans appears in the form *Chaldia*<sup>3</sup> (mostly connected with attacks against his temples and his statues). Ignorant of the Chaldian language and not knowing the real form of the name of the god, viz. <sup>4</sup>*Haldiš(e)*, the Assyrians unconsciously employed the hated name of the country <sup>4</sup>*Haldia* (which they wished

<sup>1</sup> That Jahveh, in whose essential features they saw a resemblance to those of Ahuramazda, was recognized by the Persians up to a certain point (see my *Geschichte des Alten Orients*, pp. 194, 271, 288 and p. 278 f. of my paper *Wann Lebte Zarathustra?* in *Oriental Studies—in honour of Cuvselji Erachje Paury*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 251–280) is of no consequence for our present discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. iii, § 89, end of note, p. 149; Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap*, § 53, col. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. ii, part 1, p. 161 f.

<sup>4</sup> S. Luckenbill, index, vol. ii, p. 461.

to avoid and replaced by the geographical designation *Urartu*) for the god whenever they had to mention him.

What is right for the Assyrians and Persians, is equally fair, too, for the Hebrews (*Was aber den Assyriern und den Persern recht ist, ist den Hebräern billig*). The latter could not possibly call the people and their theocratically-ruled territory after the name of the god *Chaldis*, since *Jahveh*, their own god, was considered by them to be superior to all other gods. And thus, as the Assyrians before them, and subsequently the Persians, they used for them the geographical designation, *Urartu*, אֲרָרְט.

Thus a convincing historical-religious explanation (*eine vollwertige historisch-religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung*) has been found for the avoidance by Persians, Assyrians, and Israelites of the rightful national name *Chaldian* for the inhabitants of *Urartu-Chaldia*.

The fact that both the Chaldians-Alarodians and the Moskhs belonged to two neighbouring satrapies of the Persian empire, namely the 18th and 19th (which were of such great importance for Darius' plans against the Scythians), is only the end of a long and significant development which led both these peoples from Western Asia Minor to the south-east of the Black Sea and to Caucasia.

Before we go into this, let us emphasize once again that the Moskhs formed an older chief constituent element of the Georgian people (see above), who had settled not later than the sixth century B.C. in what subsequently became Georgian land, whilst the Iberians-Kardukhs, who have given their name to the K'art'velian people, first arrived in Caucasia from the south at the earliest in the fourth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Now it is remarkable that both the Moskhs and one element of the Chaldians derived their origin from *Phrygia*. The Moskhs (Assyrian *Mušku*, Greek *Μόσχοι*), an Asia Minor people, formed the fundamental element (*Grundstock*) of the inhabitants of the land called, later, *Phrygia*. Over them the ruling Phrygians of Indo-Germanic-Thracian origin were spread as a thin layer of *later immigrants*.

The Phrygian royal names, *Midas* and *Gordios*, as the Greeks call them, appear repeatedly in the Assyrian royal inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries B.C., and at various times written as *Mit(t)a* and *Gurdi*.<sup>2</sup> Earlier than this, about 1100 B.C., we find the Moskhs, under the Assyrian King Tiglathpileser I, already moving. They, or part of them, made an attempt at that time to advance from Eastern

<sup>1</sup> For details see below.

<sup>2</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, § 28 of his article *Kimmerier* in the *Realencyclopädie des Klassischen Altertums*, 2nd edit. (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll), vol. xi, cols. 397-434; *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 47 f.

Asia Minor towards Mesopotamia, probably because they had been threatened by the Indo-Germanic-Thracian Phrygians.

The second of the kings known to us through Assyrian inscriptions to bear the name *Midas* (Assyrian *Mi-it-ta-a*) was a contemporary of King Esarhaddon of Assyria (680-668 B.C.) and of Rusa II of *Urartu-Chaldia*. It was this *Midas* who, faced with the convulsion which his kingdom and his government suffered through the Cimmerians who were pressing forward from the east, took his own life<sup>1</sup> (675 B.C.). From an inscription<sup>2</sup> of his contemporary, Rusa II, where, beside the Hittites, the *Muškini* (the Moskhs) are mentioned among others, we may conclude that as a result of the Cimmerian advance the inhabitants of *Phrygia* had also become disturbed and had begun to wend their way to the east, where they came into conflict with the Chaldian kingdom.

But to *Phrygia* we are also directed for an essential element of the Chaldians who doubtless came to their later seats in Armenia from the west of Asia Minor. I had previously,<sup>3</sup> to a great extent in conjunction with P. Kretschmer, raised the question whether the Chaldians—in whom, according to Assyrian sculptures, two different races are represented<sup>4</sup>—did not show an addition of Indo-Germanic blood, at least in their ruling class. In regard to this point, Kretschmer has lately<sup>5</sup> given new and most useful proofs. He emphasizes that the Moon-god, *Mḥn*, with whom he had previously connected the king's name, *Menuas*, originally had his home in *Phrygia*, "If *Menuas* belongs to *Mḥn* (compare formations like *Πακτύης*, *Ἰνδούας*, *Βαβύας* and others), the name must have had its origin in the land of the cult of the Phrygian Moon-god *Men*. In historical times the cult of *Men* and the personal names formed with *Mḥn* spread from *Phrygia* over other countries of Asia Minor, and reached to the north-east as far as Galatia, Paphlagonia, and *Ameria* near *Kabeira* in Pontus. The Chaldian '*Menuas*' must have been brought out of the west before the ninth century and at this early time the *Men*-cult might have been still more confined to its Phrygian home." Further, Kretschmer shows<sup>6</sup> that also the name *Argistis* is of Phrygian origin, for this is proved by the ending (*i*)*stis* with the suffix *ist* (which is also characteristic for the Illyrian language) an ending which we have in the name *Ἄργειστος* of the Phrygian Great Mother *Cybele* as well as in the Phrygian appellation *ἄκριστος*, and in the feminine name *Areastis* in a Phrygian inscription

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Kimmerier*, § 28; cf. also § 25 f. (See the preceding note.)

<sup>2</sup> Inscription in the castle wall at Adelyevas. Lehmann-Haupt, *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1900, p. 625, No. 133; *Corpus* (p. iii), No. 153.

<sup>3</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 681 ff.; p. 900 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bronze gates of Shalmaneser III of Belawāt. See *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 680.

<sup>5</sup> Glotta, xxi (1934), 205 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, xvii (1929), 195 f.; see *Armenien einst und jetzt*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 901 f.

from the city of Midas. "Both these names," viz. Menuas and Argistis, "point, therefore, to Phrygia as the original home, if not of the Chaldians, at least, of their dynasty."<sup>1</sup>

"The Chaldians," observes Kretschmer,<sup>2</sup> "as the names of their kings show, had already before their immigration experienced the influence of the Phrygians, if not their dynasty was half Phrygian. Two to three centuries later, the already pure Indo-European Armenians followed them, that is to say a group of the Phrygians themselves."

In regard to this, it should be remarked that the Armenians who wandered out of Thracia into Asia Minor and whose stations such place-names as "Armenion" and "Ormenion"<sup>3</sup> permit us to trace, had, before they settled down in Armenia proper—according to Kretschmer's proofs<sup>4</sup>—intermingled with the *Haiasa*—a non-Indo-European people of Asia Minor, who lived in Upper Armenia, from whom to a large extent proceed the numerous non-Indo-European elements in the Armenian language and from whom originates the native name of the Armenians, *Hai*, plural *Haiik*.<sup>5</sup>

Thus both the Moskhs and the ruling stratum of the Chaldians (who were later crowded out into the mountains by the Armenians) come, therefore, from the territory of Asia Minor which was subsequently named after the Thracian Phrygians.

But the non-Indo-European Chaldians themselves, who were governed by this predominant Phrygian ruling stratum, originate in all probability from Lycia or its neighbourhood.

My conjectures on this matter, which in themselves had only a more or less high degree of probability, have gained striking confirmation through an account by Stephanus of Byzance, to which Kretschmer<sup>6</sup> alludes as follows: "The strongest argument that could be brought forward in support of Lycia being the original home of the Chaldians is the name of the Mother of Solymos, *Χαλδῆνη*." Stephanus of Byzance gives under *Πισίδα* the following genealogy<sup>7</sup>:

Ζεύς—Χαλδῆνη  
|  
Σόλυμος  
|  
Πισίδα οἱ πρότερον Σόλυμοι

<sup>1</sup> P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, p. 208 ff.; *Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 691 f., 47 ff. Chaldian *Erimenas* = Greek <sup>2</sup> *Ἐριμένης*, see Kretschmer, *Glotta*, xvii, 193; (L.-H., *Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 684), *Glotta*, xxii, 206: "A Greek personal-name could easily have come into Phrygia as early as the tenth century B.C. from the Achaean colony of the shores of Asia Minor."

<sup>2</sup> "Kretschmer, l.c., p. 206, par. 1 i f."

<sup>3</sup> *Glotta*, xxii (1934), p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> As shown by Kretschmer, see *Armenien*, ii, part 2, p. 691 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Anzeiger der Wiener Akad. d. Wissenschaft phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1932, No. i-vii, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Glotta*, xxii (1934), p. 206 f.

<sup>7</sup> Stephanus' words are: οἱ Πισίδα πρότερον Σόλυμοι, ἀπὸ Ζολίμων τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Χαλδῆνης.

"The primary inhabitants," Kretschmer continues, "of Lycia and Pisidia, were thus derived from *Χαλδῆνη* whose name also in its formation calls to mind the Chaldian *Haldini* and *Χαλδῆνη*" (i.e. *Haldina*) "the chief city of the Chaldians, Tušpa, now Van."<sup>1</sup>

Here, Kretschmer's reference to the "Lycians", who are not especially mentioned by Stephanus, requires a justifying explanation, for which Ed. Meyer's<sup>2</sup> statement in his *Geschichte des Altertums* is to be compared—"The people whom the Greeks call Lycians, called themselves *Tramiles*<sup>3</sup> and, according to a thoroughly trustworthy tradition, they came over from Crete to the coast of Milyas, which country, at that time, was inhabited by the Solymi. That this is correct is confirmed by the fact that their seats only comprised the coast line from Telmessos as far as the Chelidonian Islands, and the valley of the River Xanthus, whilst the interior high plateau of Milyas, encircled by high mountains, was inhabited by the Solymi. The hard fighting which took place between these peoples is also known to the Bellerophon episode in the *Iliad*."<sup>4</sup>

Kretschmer is, therefore, quite right in regarding the Solymi as the former population both of Lycia and Pisidia. And thus, indeed, the descent of the Solymi, the oldest inhabitants of Lycia, from a "Chaldene" is testified to—a brilliant confirmation of my conclusion arrived at and based upon different considerations,<sup>5</sup> that the nucleus

<sup>1</sup> "In *Corpus*, pp. 152 ff., note 2, I have indicated preliminarily, but very clearly, that it is not permissible to include the suffix *-na* in the Chaldian declension, inasmuch as forms like *mRu-sa-hi-na-u-e* would be considered as genitive plurals of forms (such as a supposed Nominative plural *mRu-sa-hi-ni-li*) from which the suffix *-na* is absent. The suffix *-na* added to proper names represents an addition of strongly marked individuality; the flexion suffixes are added to this *-na*, but it is never omitted before them: *mRu-sa-hi-NA-u-e*, *mRu-sa-hi-NA-ka-i*, *aHal-di-NA-ni*, *MATVE-ti-n-hi-NA-a-(e)di*. For this reason alone, a form like *mRusahinili*, without the suffix *-na*, cannot belong as Nominative plural to a Genitive plural *mRusahinave*. Besides it can be proved that forms in *-hi-ni-li* are certainly not plural forms, since *mMenuahinili*, the name of one palace of Menuas, *ITarirahinili*, the name of one vineyard belonging to his wife *ITaririas*, *mArgistihinili*, the name of one palace of *Argistis*, are clearly singulars. To consider them, as Friedrich does, as plurals, and to interpret them, as he does, as localities belonging to Menuas, Taririas, or Argistis is a totally inadmissible way out. (See my remarks in *Corpus*, p. 154, n. 3, and *Klio*, xxviii, 327.) Therefore, when in Suidas we find *Χαλδῆνη ὄνομα πόλεως*, it is, in spite of Friedrich, *ZDMG.*, xc, p. 78, no relevant refutation that "Suidas says nothing at all about the situation of the town". One would not expect to find such particular details in the later Greek lexicographers. Besides, the ending *-η* points to an Ionic logographic source, presumably Hecataeus. It is, therefore, in spite of Friedrich, not at all a mere assonance (*Namensanhang*) any more than in the case of *Χαλδῆνη* (loc. cit., p. 78, n. 2). In both these cases, the identity or similarity of sound only echoes the identity in the matter. *Χάλδαμος* on the other hand, which Friedrich refers to in this connection, has, even in its outward appearance, nothing in common with any name or form mentioned in the pre-Armenian cuneiform inscriptions."

<sup>2</sup> Second edition, vol. ii, part 1, p. 545.

<sup>3</sup> "Herodotus, i, 173; vii, 92 (*τ.επιλται*), and often in Lycian inscriptions." Cf. vol. i, 476.

<sup>4</sup> "Iliad, Z(VI), 184 f., 204."

<sup>5</sup> That in Antimachus' scholium to *Od.*, 289, *Καληγονία* appears erroneously, instead of *Χαλδῆνη*, I have explained in *Klio*, vol. xxvii, p. 350 f.

of the Chaldian people, whose earlier seats can be proved to have been somewhere in the western part of Asia Minor,<sup>1</sup> came from Lycia or from its neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Chaldians belonged to the group of peoples who specialized in, or showed preference for, rock-architecture, to which group belong the Moskhs in Phrygia, the Carians, and the Lycians. This group extended from Phrygia to the eastern part of Greece, and included also the Etruscans who emigrated from Asia Minor. The origin of rock-architecture seems to be in Central Asia Minor. The Chaldians form an easterly radiation from there (*Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 596, 601, 603 f., 604-679 *passim*, especially 630 ff., 636, 644, 676, 902-9). The Chaldian cult shows contacts with Cretan-Mycenaean religious elements. As in the Cretan-Mycenaean cult a trinity of pillars is to be found in the Chaldian cult (*Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 596 ff.). Stone altars with round holes for the offerings are found in Crete, as with the Chaldians (*Armenien*, vol. ii, part 1, p. 156 f.; vol. ii, part 2, p. 598). In Cretan-Mycenaean cult-scenes a pitcher of a peculiar shape is shown which also appears in representations of Chaldian worship (*Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 597 f.; *Klio*, xxvi, p. 139 ff.). The hanging-up of consecrated shields is to be found in the Mycenaean-Cretan sphere (Evans, *Palace of Minos*, vol. iii, pp. 307, 343, 345, etc.), as with the Chaldians. In Greece, by the way, this custom was handed down into the archaic period, where the Cretan consecrated shields for their part show Chaldian influence (see *Armenien*, vol. ii, part 1; correction to p. 157; vol. ii, part 2, p. 499). Also, more towards the west we find the name Ἀρδῆρτός as used for the hill to the east of Athens on which the Heliastae (from ἥλιος) performed their rites to the sun-god; with which name P. Kretschmer (*Glotta*, vol. iv, 1925, p. 318. Cf. vol. xxi, 1932, p. 76 ff.) identifies that of the Chaldian sun-god *Ardinis* (see my *Griechische Geschichte bis zum Tode Philipps von Makedonien*, p. 18 f., § 26), so that we are confronted with a quasi-Chaldian element as far west as Attica.

<sup>2</sup> The following facts, in particular, point to Lycia or its neighbourhood: the word *patari*, "town," instead of the usual Chaldian term *suhī*, in the names *Tuṣpa-patari* and *Haldi-patari*; this *patari* recalls the name (signifying "town") of the Lycian town *Patara* (*Putara*), *πατήρας* (twice on Cilician-Isaurian and on Lycaonian territory), *πέτρα* in Cappadocia (*Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 677 f.; *Klio*, xxvii, 192 ff.; *Corpus*, col. 75 f.); *Hal-di-i-pa-a-ta-ri ti-ni* "whose name is *Haldi-patari*" is found in the Gūsak inscription, 11, 10-11 (*Corpus*, No. 56, col. 87 ff.). Here W. Belck (*Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, vol. ii, 1894, p. 88 f., n.) in an additional note, signed by himself alone, to my reference to *Xáldis* in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (cf. *infra*) (ib., p. 87 f., n.) had used the faulty reading *Hal-di-i-me-ta-ri ti-ni-ni* "for the Chaldian named *Etari*" as an argument for the occurrence of *Haldise* as an ethnic, meaning "Chaldian"; I at first wrongly agreed with Belck (*Verhandlung Berl. Anthropol. Ges.*, 1895, p. 582 f.; cf. Friedrich, *ZDMG.*, xc, 69); but later, in my *Bericht* [*Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1900, p. 622], I corrected myself expressly, and treated *Hal-di-ni-pa-a-ta-ri* as the only correct reading; I also castigated Belck's faulty reading in the *Hilprecht Festschrift*, 1909, p. 266. If the reader wishes to form an idea of Johannes Friedrich's skill in turning away from the point at issue and in disguising the facts, let him read his observations in *ZDMG.*, xc, 68 f., n. 2, in which he treats the matter in such a way that it appears that my conclusions relating to a Greek ethnic *Xáldis* was influenced by Belck's error, and that the supposed Greek *Xáldis* was still alive to-day, although the faulty reading, *Etari-tini* instead of *pa-a-ta-ri-ti-ni*, had been disproved. Whoever reads Friedrich's observations in the note 2 referred to above, will be made to gather that he was the originator of the correct reading, and that my own contribution to its confirmation was a mere secondary matter, so cleverly are his references to my share in the work left in the background. A further example of Friedrich's skill in disguising the facts will be found if one compares his retraction of an error [*ZDMG.*, xc, 74, nn. 1 and 75] with what I had reproached him with in *Klio*, xxviii, 331 f. As another fact that points to Lycia or its neighbourhood as the earlier home of the Chaldians, I would mention that certain features in Lycian *Patara* show a more or less close relationship to a rock-hewing and hydraulic technique, which is specifically Chaldian (*Klio*, xxvii, p. 194 ff.). And again, Menuas' valuable horses, which he designates as *Arsibini tini* "whose name is *Arsibini*", and to which he assigns certain estates in the inscription on the Siğkeh stele (*Corpus*, No. 55, now in the Georgian Museum, Tiflis), which is not to be interpreted as referring either, with Meščaninov, to a burial place for horses, nor, with Friedrich, to a gallop that King Menuas is supposed to have performed on a horse of that name (*Corpus*, suppl. to No. 55,

*Xalδῆνη*, *Xáldos* and the form *Xáldis* as given by the *Etymologicum Magnum*,<sup>1</sup> belong together. *Xalδῆνη* provides the final proof of the

col. 164 ff.; *Klio*, xxvii, 1935, p. 333 ff.). Nor can these horses have been indigenous horses from Arzabia, a district situated near the Lake of Van, to which von Soden (*Göttinger Gelehrten Anzeiger*, 1936, p. 65, n. 2) again assigns them. They are most likely to come from a district known and famous for its horse-breeding, such as Cilicia-Cappadocia was in antiquity. Their designation as *Arsibini tini* recalls the Aramaic gentilicium ʾרְסִינִי, Greek Ἀρσῆσις of the bilingual inscription of Limyra in Lycia, and the Ἀρσῆσις of an East Cilician inscription from imperial Roman times. The district of Arzava (Tell-el-Amarna tables) represents part of what later became known as Cilicia-Cappadocia. This district (Hittite *Arzawa*) was densely populated, and more fertile than any (Forrer); it must, therefore, have played its part in Cilician horse-breeding, whose importance is also attested by the fact that, according to the List of Satrapies (cf. supra, p. 64), in Herodotus (iii, 90), the ruler of Cilicia had to yield yearly to Darius, beside a tribute in silver, 360 horses. Thus Menuas might, in the course of his conquering campaigns, which brought him as far as Malatia, have received these valuable "Arsibaic" horses as a tribute or a gift from a vassal state belonging to the outer regions of the Chaldian Empire; they would thus be, in a way, the ancestors of those horses which the Assyrians, and later the Persian kings received as tribute from that district of Asia Minor (*Corpus*, col. 84). But the mention of these horses may also, as I pointed out, have been occasioned by the renewal of ancient relations resting on former vicinity (*Corpus*, col. 84; *Klio*, xxviii, 335 f.), a conjecture which I favoured from the start for further reasons to be adduced presently, and which now receives its confirmation through *Chaldene* as the ancient mother of the former population of Lycia. Among the Chaldian antiquities found by us on the site of the ruler's castle at Toprak-kaleh, near Van, is a clay tablet, whose whole make-up recalls the Cretan-Minoan clay tablets, and whose script signs show a remote agreement with their linear script system B. This clay tablet must have been addressed as a written communication (a letter) to one of the Chaldian kings residing at Toprak-kaleh since the time of Rusas I, from a region in which derivatives of this Cretan script had been preserved down to a later age. Since the Lycians come to Asia Minor from Crete (vid. supra, p. 70 f.), the most probable assumption is that this letter on a clay tablet, which possibly accompanied an endowment for the god *Chaldis*, originates from Lycia, and is to be explained by the former neighbourhood of the district (*des Kreyises*) to which the sender belongs to the earlier home of the Chaldians (See my *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens*, in *Abhandl. der Göttinger Ges. d. Wiss.*, vol. ix, No. 3, 1907, fig. 177, a.b.p. 105; *Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 588 ff., p. 949), a conjecture which is now confirmed by *Xalδῆνη* as the ancestress of the Lycians.

<sup>1</sup> *Etym. Magn.*, s.v., Ἀρσῆσις: Καλλιμάχου δέκα δ' ἄσπρασις αἰνυτο λάτρον, εἴρηται ὑποκοριστικῶς, ὡς γὰρ ὁ παρθένιος πόρθις καὶ ὁ Χαλδαῖος Χάλδης καὶ ὁ λάστροπος λάσπισ, οὗτω καὶ ὁ ἄσπραγος ἄσπρις. To explain the line of Callimachus, "he received ten dice as hire," the original writer of this note considers the Accusative plural ἄσπρασις as belonging to a supposed ἄσπρις, which he explains, possibly rightly, as a hypocoristic from ἄσπράγος, adducing other examples of cases showing, in his opinion, the occurrence of hypocoristics in *-ic*. Upon this I had remarked (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1894, ix, pp. 87-8, n.) as follows: "We have here an unmistakable testimony for *Xáldis* as an ethnic, whose value is in no wise diminished by the inadmissible explanation offered by the ancient etymologist that the form is a hypocoristic from *Xalδαῖος*." This releases, "entfesselt" (Friedrich's *ZDMG.*, xc, p. 69), an explanation of Friedrich (i.c., p. 72) on the nature of hypocoristics which he tactfully prefaces by denying me "the ability fully to appreciate linguistic facts", but which, as it comes to me fifty years too late, I must decline with thanks. It was not because I did not know what a hypocoristic is that I refused to admit *Xáldis* as a hypocoristic or *Xalδαῖος*, but for entirely different reasons. Friedrich continues: "Furthermore, it is not so obvious (*selbstverständlich*) that a familiar form should be derived from the name of a people, rather than from an *Apellativum* especially if this name is so obscure as is that of the Chaldians of the Pontus, whereas the name of the Babylonian Chaldaeans is in the first better known, and, in addition, is used as a common noun to signify 'star-gazer' or 'soothsayer'; of this, a familiar form, meaning 'little soothsayer' gives no bad (*keinen üblen*) sense." Here the Orientalist Friedrich betrays that he has quite a wrong conception of late Greek lexicography. The ancient etymologist had to deal with two forms, *Xáldis* and *Xalδαῖος*. He connected them by taking the shorter as a familiar form of the longer, in the same way as he treats other forms, concerning which it is, to say the least, very doubtful whether the shorter is a hypocoristic of the longer. Naturally he was not thinking at all of the "obscure" people of the

correctness of my conclusions as to Lycia or its neighbourhood being the earlier home of the Chaldians.

But the ruling, predominantly Indo-European stratum of the Chaldians, who were originally inhabitants of Lycia, derives its origin from Phrygia, the land which was also the earlier home in Western Asia Minor of the nucleus of the Moschian people who were subsequently ruled by an Indo-European-*Phrygian* upper stratum.

As already emphasized, in Darius I's regulation of the satrapies, the Chaldians-Urartaeans—'Αλαρόδιοι and the Moskhs were constituted into two neighbouring satrapies, the eighteenth and the nineteenth, comprising the regions which to-day are Armenian and Georgian.

Both these satrapies still require some remarks.

When, in the 18th Satrapy, only the Alarodians are mentioned, and not also the Armenians by whom the Alarodians had been supplanted, this is partly inaccurate and partly wants explaining.

The 18th Satrapy, East Armenia, was ruled *hereditarily* by Satraps

Chaldians of the Pontus, and it is a further instance of Friedrich running away from the point when he ascribes such a thought to me. The Greek would-be etymologist did not know how to account for the shorter form Χάλδης. So he connected the shorter form with the longer as a hypocoristic. Whether, in so doing, he may have thought of a "little soothsayer" is irrelevant. Therefore, when Friedrich separates Χάλδης from the Chaldians of the Pontus, and links it with the Babylonian Χαλδαίος (loc. cit., p. 73), he adopts the very point of view of the insufficiently-informed Greek would-be etymologist. In reality, the *Etymologicum Magnum* offers us two distinct ethnics, Χαλδαίος and Χάλδης with which the author of the note did not know what to do, but which we must take into consideration as existing side by side. It follows that to the quite definitely attested ethnic Χάλδης is to be added the other form Χάλδος as a still closer approximation of *Haldise*. Even if one refuses to admit *Haldise* as an ethnic occurring in the Chaldian inscriptions, there still remains the possibility, already suggested by A. von Gutschmid that the Greek term Χαλδ(αι)ος refers to the god Haldis, so prominent in the Chaldian theocracy, and the fact that the chief god and the individuals belonging to his people frequently bear the same name. F. C. Andreas, whom no one will suspect of having an insufficient understanding of linguistic facts, gave a conclusive judgment on this point thirty-two years ago (*Recueil*, xviii, 1895, p. 213): "Information from Greek, Armenian, and Byzantine sources, as well as geographical names still in use to-day testify without the possibility of a doubt to the fact that the territory between the Eastern Tigris (the Kentrites of the Ancients) to the south, the coastal plain on the southern shore of the Pontus Euxinus to the north, and the plain south-east of the Araks and Yeşil-Yrmak to the West was inhabited by various tribes of a people whose common name was 'Chalds' (Greek Χάλδος, less accurately Χαλδαίος, Armenian *Χαλδikh* [written *խալդիք*, i.e. *Χαλδική*]). Within the limits of this territory and in the adjacent regions were found those cuneiform inscriptions which are characterized by a mention of the god Haldis. The conclusion is obvious and *irrefutable* that this god is to be connected with the people of the same name, a conclusion, moreover, in full accord with the fact, well known in the history of religions that the god bears the same name as the people that reveres him, because he is nothing else than the deified ancestral lord of the people, or of the ruling tribe from which the people as a whole takes its name. (Cf. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, pp. 42 ff., particularly p. 48; also Admira in *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 113.) But even if it were not possible to give, on the strength of the coincidence of the god with that of the people, an explanation so well supported by numerous analogies, it would yet be *scientifically* inadmissible to separate the Haldis of the inscription from the Chalds of history. Their connection is given us as an immediate fact by the coincidence of the sites of the inscriptions with the dwelling-places of the Chalds." (Cf. above, p. 59.) Thus much against Friedrich, *ZDMG.*, xc, towards the end of n. 2, p. 68 f., and p. 73, § 1, sub fine.

who always bore the name of Orontas, and an Orontas is mentioned by Xenophon as Satrap of Eastern Armenia. As already emphasized, among his subjects were the Eastern Armenians and the Chaldians-Alarodians—from among whom he had mercenary troops at his disposal in the immediate neighbourhood of the Kentrites. It is, therefore, inaccurate to look for the Alarodians only in the Araks plain, as one is frequently inclined to do; they belong to the whole territory of Eastern Armenia, and the preference for the name 'Αλαρόδιοι in the official documents which formed the basis for Herodotus' accounts of Darius' List of Satrapies and of Xerxes Army List is also accounted for by the fact that the Persians themselves, side by side with the name Armina, had kept the old designation Uraštu-Urartu (see above, p. 67 f.). We have, therefore, to consider as inhabitants of East Armenia *the Armenians*, together with the Chaldians-Urartaeans-Alarodians, and, in addition, the Saspeires and the Eastern Matienes.<sup>1</sup>

The border between Eastern and Western Armenia did not run in a straight line from north to south. Since the land to the south of Lake Van belonged to East Armenia and since the Ten Thousand Greeks, who were followed and harassed by Tiribazos, the *Satrap of Western Armenia*, after they had reached the River Teleboas-Karasu and marched upwards along the South-Eastern Euphrates, the Arsanians, now Murat (for Purat)-su, until they came near its source, the border between East and West Armenia must have run east and north-east of Lake Van.<sup>2</sup>

That the Saspeires (wrongly called 'Εσπερίται<sup>3</sup> by Xenophon) according to Herodotus belonged to the East Armenian satrapy, whilst, according to Xenophon,<sup>4</sup> they were subjects of the Satrap of Western Armenia, indicates a change in the division of the country in the time between Darius I and the year 401—changes which are not without well-known analogies. Thus the Alarodians-Chaldians are referred to by Darius as constituents of the 18th Satrapy, whereas, according to Xenophon,<sup>5</sup> they were, in his time, autonomous, like the Chalybians.

We must not consider the Chaldians-Urartaeans, 'Αλαρόδιοι, as dwelling in the plain of the River Araks only, in what is at present the Soviet State of Armenia, but as inhabiting the whole of ancient Armenia, particularly its mountainous parts, and also its border districts, where

<sup>1</sup> See p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap*, § 53, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Anabasis*, vii; Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap*, col. 115, § 53, corrected in *Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 789 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Anabasis*, vii, 8, 25. About the authenticity of the closing paragraphs of the *Anabasis*, and the list, which they give, see *Satrap*, § 47; *Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 789.

<sup>5</sup> *Anabasis*, vii, 8, 25 f.



they are frequently met with, not only as *Χαλδαῖοι* but also under the name of *Chalybians*.<sup>1</sup>

But the immigration of the Armenians with its preliminary stages and with the events and changes accompanying it<sup>2</sup> does not only account for the expulsion of the Chaldians-Alarodians from their fertile plains, but also for the shiftings which brought the Moskhhs, the Tibareni, and also the Colchians to the south-east of the Black Sea and into the west of the Caucasus.

We saw that Hecataeus called the Moskhhs a Colchian people; also, that the Moskhhs were referred to as constituents of the 19th Satrapy in Darius' List of Satrapies, while the Colchians remained autonomous. The Colchians, however, either were obliged to do military service from the beginning, or they subsequently became forced into it, for they were part of Xerxes' army; they stood under the same commander as the Mares, and their arms, namely wooden helmets, shields of ox-hide, small and short spears, and daggers (*μαχαίρας*), were also the equipment of the Alarodians and Saspeires.<sup>3</sup>

The Moskhhs, according to Xerxes' Army List, were armed with wooden helmets, shields, and short spears, and, in addition, long spears. These weapons were also those of the Tibareni, Macrones, and the Mossynoeci. There was, therefore, at the same time a certain difference between the, seemingly, identical arms of the Colchians and the Moskhhs; the former had the specialty of daggers (*πρός δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας εἶχον*),<sup>4</sup> the latter, long spears (*λόγχοι δὲ ἐπήσαν μεγάλοι*).<sup>5</sup> As to the outfitting of Xerxes' army, a certain similarity may have been brought about for contingents serving under the same commander. Still, Hecataeus' designation of the Moskhhs as a Colchian people must be taken *cum grano salis*, not merely on account of their different status under Darius, but also on account of the difference of their outfit in arms. The perieget Hecataeus was primarily a *mythographer* and the Colchians were in the foreground of his interest on account of the Argonaut legend.

Nevertheless, we shall have to consider the Colchians as one of

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2; cf. the reference under *Chalyber* in the General Index, p. 59\*.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning this, see the rendering of my Lecture at the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists in Hamburg, 1902, *Die Einwanderung der Armenier im Zusammenhang mit den Wanderungen der Thrakier und Iranier* in the *Proceedings of the Congress* (Leiden, 1903), pp. 130-140. With a high degree of probability three different elements may be distinguished:—

(1) The real Armenians, of Thracian-Phrygian origin.  
 (2) Cimmericians, having been driven back from the west of Asia Minor.  
 (3) A non-Indo-European element; which we can now define as the *Haiasa* (see above, p. 70).

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, vii, 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, vii, 79.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, vii, 78.

the group of peoples who were driven out of the west of Asia Minor in a north-easterly direction, among whom the Moskhhs stand out as a formative element of the K'art'velians-Georgians.<sup>1</sup>

The hemming-in and displacement of the Moskhhs by the Iberians who had immigrated not before the fourth century B.C. is proved, as I have pointed out before,<sup>2</sup> directly by Strabo's accounts.

Strabo must be considered here as a very special authority, for Moaphernes, the uncle, on the father's side, of his mother, was hyparch and governor of the Moskhian part of Colchis under the great Mithradates VI Eupator.<sup>3</sup> From Strabo we see not only the shrinking of the former Moskhian territory, which he says was actually divided into three parts,<sup>4</sup> inhabited respectively by Colchians, Iberians, and Armenians, but also, which is of special interest to us, the penetration of the Iberians-Kardukhs into former Moskhian—as also Colchian—territory.

In harmony with this is Strabo's statement that the name of the Moskhians belongs to a part of the mountains stretching along the south-east corner of the Black Sea, whereas the Moskhian people appear to be limited to a proportionately narrow part of these mountains.<sup>5</sup> This shrinking of the Moskhhs, who previously had inhabited a far larger territory, was to no little extent due to the immigration of the Iberians-Georgians.

We have yet another particularly characteristic proof of the shifting of the peoples and of their geographical distribution in these parts. An explanation of the legends of the Golden Fleece which the Argonauts searched for among the *Colchians*, is to be found, as Richard

<sup>1</sup> The Colchians require a special research, particularly as the treatment of the questions involved by Ruge in his article *Kolchis*, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, xi, col. 1070, is far from sufficient.

<sup>2</sup> In *Aus Georgien*, a revised and enlarged reprint from Naumann's *Die Zeit*, 1902, No. 41-4, p. 6 ff.; *Verhandlungender XIII Orientalisten Kongresses*, p. 139 (11); also see under "Iberer" and "Karduchen" in the General Index of *Armenien*, pp. 70\* and 73\*. (Whether the name of the Moskhhs survives in Mtskhet'a is a question which requires special investigation.)

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, xi, 2, 17 (C. 498/9): *Καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ Κολχίς ἐντὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἢ πλείων ἐστὶ, διαρρεῖ δ' αὐτὴν δὲ φάσις, μέγας ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἀρμενίας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων, δεχόμενος τὸν τε Γλαυκὸν καὶ τὸν Ἴππον ἐκ τῶν πλησίον ὄρων ἐκπίπτοντας . . . ὑπέρεται δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων ποταμῶν ἐν τῇ Μοσχικῇ τὸ τῆς Δευκοθέας ἱερὸν Φοῖβου Ἰδρυμα καὶ μαντεῖον ἐκείνου, ὅπου κριεὶς οὐ θύεται, πλούσιόν ποτε ὑπάρξαν συληθὲν δ' ὑπὸ Φαρνάκου καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑπὸ Μιθραδάτου τοῦ περγαμηνοῦ . . . ἀξήθεντος δ' ἐπιπολὴ Μιθραδάτου τοῦ Εὐπάτορος ἐπ' ἐκείνου ἡ χώρα περίεστη, ἐπέμπετο δ' αὖτε τις τῶν ψιλῶν ὑπαρχῶν καὶ διοικητῆς τῆς χώρας τούτων δ' ἦν Μοσφιέρνης, ὁ τῆς μητρὸς ἡμῶν θεῖος πρὸς πατρός . . .*

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, xi, 2, 18 (C. 499): *ἢ δ' οὖν Μοσχικῇ, ἐν ἣ τῷ ἱερῷ (sc. τοῦ Φοῖβου), τριμερῆς ἐστὶ, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχουσι αὐτῆς Κόλχοι τὸ δὲ Ἴβηρες τὸ δὲ Ἀρμένιοι, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πολλῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ Φοῖβου πόλις ἡ νῦν Ἰδῆσσα, εὐερκὲς χωρίον ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Κολχίδος*

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, xi, 2, 15 (C. 497): *ἀγκῶνες, δὲ τινες αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Καυκάσου) προπίπτονται ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν, οἱ τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν περὶ διαμβάνουσι, μέσην καὶ τοῖς Ἀρμενίων ὄρεσι συνάπτουσι καὶ τοῖς Μοσχικοῖς καλούμενοις—XI, 3, 4 (C. 521)—πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφρουσιράτου κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν ἐφεξῆς τῷ Ἀντιταύρω πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐκτείνεται μέγα ὄρος καὶ πολλυχιδές. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ Παρυάδρητό δὲ Μοσχικά ὄρη τὸ δ' ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι.*



Hennig<sup>1</sup> has emphasized, in Strabo's work.<sup>2</sup> It was the custom to lay sheep-skins in the flowing water of the Phasis (Rion), so as to catch the grains of gold carried down by the stream in the thick hair of the woolly hide. This custom, however, is ascribed by Strabo, not to the Colchians with whom the Argonauts had to do, but to the Svanians. But as the Svanians, in a broad sense, belong to the K'art'vels-Iberians, we find here, also, an indication of the spreading of the K'art'vels-Iberians<sup>3</sup> into former Colchian territory.

We started with the difference between the Kardukhian-Georgian cave-dwellings and the pre-Armenian-Chaldian rock-buildings. As the extraordinarily regular and beautifully-worked rock rooms and suites of rooms built by the Chaldians point to a nearer relationship to the Phrygian rock-buildings which are likewise built with great regularity,<sup>4</sup> so for the more irregularly-constructed Georgian cave-dwellings at Vardzia and those in the Kakhet'ian cave-monastery Udabno, which I visited a few months ago, an affinity with the Kardukhian-Gordyaeen cave-buildings<sup>5</sup> in the neighbourhood of the eastern branch (*Quellstrom*) of the Tigris, the *Kentrites-Bohtansu*, will have to be acknowledged (see above, pp. 43, 45).

As far as a cave-cult is concerned, which was later on continued by Christian worship, as, for instance, in the rock monasteries of Vardzia and Udabno, we have to bear in mind that Phrygia was the home of the cult of the Caves and Earth-gods, and of the goddess *Kybele-Kybebe*, whose names seem to be echoed in words like *Khuwil*, *khvabi*, in the K'art'velian languages which might have been brought out of Phrygia<sup>6</sup> by the Moskhs.

In closing, I will summarize the principal results of my research :—

<sup>1</sup> *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. i (1936), chap. 3; and p. 304 f. of my review of this book in *Klio*, xxix, pp. 303–8.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xi, 2, 19 (C. 499): *πλησίον δὲ καὶ οἱ Σόανες . . . παρὰ τούτοις δὲ λέγεται καὶ χρυσὸν καταφέρειν τοὺς χειμάρρους, ὑποδέχεσθαι δ' αὐτὸν τοὺς βαρβάρους φάτνας κατατρημένους ἀφ' οὗ δὴ μινυθίσθαι καὶ σὺ χρυσομάλλον δέρος.*

<sup>3</sup> Compare with this, Strabo, l.c., continuing, who in the same connection mentions the Iberians: *εἰμὴ καὶ Ἰβήρος ὁμωνόμως τοῖς ἐσπερίοις καλοῦσθαι ἀπο τῶν ἐκπέρωθι χρυσείων. χρώνται δὲ οἱ Σόανες φαρμακοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἀσκήδας . . . καὶ τοὺς ἀφαρμάκτους τετραμένους βέλει λυπεῖ κατα τὴν ἀσκήν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἔθνη τὰ πλησίον τὰ περὶ τὸν Καυκάσον λυπεῖ καὶ μικρόχωρα, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἔθνος καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἰβήρων, ἃ δὴ πληροὶ μάλιστα τῶν λεχθέντα ἰσθμῶν, Καυκάσια [μὲν] καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ, λέγουσι ἂν, εὐδαίμονα δὲ χῶραν ἔχει καὶ σφόδρὰ καλῶς οἰκίσθαι δυναμένην.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, on those pages which are mentioned under *Phryger* and *Felsenbau* in the General Index, p. 90\* and p. 64\*.

<sup>5</sup> The rock-city of Uplistiche comes comparatively nearest to the rock-dwellings of Kipani-Hassan-Kef in the Gordyaeen region; in both places, however, later additions are recognizable, lastly of Roman times and which, in Uplistiche, are as late as the Roman-Imperial period.

<sup>6</sup> Compare with this the fundamental discussions of Leonhard in his *Paphlagonia*, to which I have referred in *Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 616 ff.; also Jos. Karst's investigations discussed by me in *Armenien*, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 941 ff. See also the other references given in the General Index of my *Armenien* under *Kybele*, p. 77\*. Concerning *Kybele* as a specifically Phrygian deity, compare above, p. 69.

1. The Iberians-Kardukhs were displaced in the fourth century B.C. from their southerly homeland on the eastern spring-stream of the Tigris, part of them going northwards, whilst a part of the old inhabitants, the Gordyaei-Kardukhs, remained in the old country. Xenophon's description of the Kardukhs is the oldest chapter of K'art'velian history.

2. The Moskhs, who had already come earlier from Phrygia, and who are found to be established in Caucasia in—and probably before—the sixth century, were driven back by the Iberians-K'art'vels and intermixed with them.

3. The fact that the Chaldians were never called by this name by the Assyrians, Hebrews, and Persians, but were called after the geographical name of their country, Urartaeans-Alarodians, has met with a sound historical and religious explanation (*hat ihre vollgiltige historisch-religiongeschichtliche Erklärung-gefunden*).

4. Herodotus' "Alarodians" were certainly not restricted to the plain of the River Araks; they represent the pre-Armenian population who were driven back by the encroaching Armenians throughout Armenia. We have to look for these Alarodians in at least the mountainous part of the whole satrapy of East Armenia (the 18th Satrapy); the Chaldian mercenary troops whom the Greeks met when emerging from the Kardukhian country belonged to them. But also the ruling Armenians, who in the List of Satrapies of Darius appear as Armina only in the 13th Satrapy, Western Armenia,<sup>1</sup> must be considered—as far as Eastern Armenia, the 18th Satrapy, is concerned—as being covered by the term *Ἀλαρόδιοι* for the reasons stated above<sup>2</sup> (*Uraštu* = Urartu being used as a general designation for Armenia).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, iii, 93. See above, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> I entirely disagree with O. Leuze, *Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande von 520–530* (1935), as to the satrapies and subdivisions of ancient Armenia under and after Darius I. Cf. also part iii of my article in the *Wiener Studien* which is to be published in vol. lvi (1938).

## THE ART OF WAR IN GEORGIA

By I. NANUASHVILI

This article is reproduced from the Journal of the "Association of the Georgian Military Cadets" in France, entitled *Mkhedari—Warrior*, Paris, 1929, Nos. 1, 2, and 1930, No. 3.

The Introduction (four pages) and the Conclusion (about two pages) of the original have been omitted in this translation. The former, in which the author relates concisely the history of the development of the art of war, contains a comparative study of the Asiatic and European military schools of thought. He accords the superiority to the Asiatic school. In the Conclusion the author explains why nevertheless the Western Europe won the military supremacy and the leadership of the world.

We have also altered the original title "The Art of War in Asia and in Europe" as above.

CAUCASIA represents, geographically, a position which no State that had attained the zenith of its political power could afford to overlook or neglect; and these States always invaded us just at the time when they were at the height of their power. This did not happen by accident—a weak power could not have succeeded in conquering and holding a country of such importance; and indeed those States that did overrun Caucasia lost her immediately their political power weakened.

The course of history thus created many opportunities for the Georgian army to come directly into contact with the best and strongest contemporary armies and the most up-to-date art of war. Apart from this the Georgian men-at-arms fought in every country of Asia, in the armies of the Persians, of the Arabs, and of the Mongols, with the result that Georgian army was always kept closely in touch with the most recent developments in the art of war.

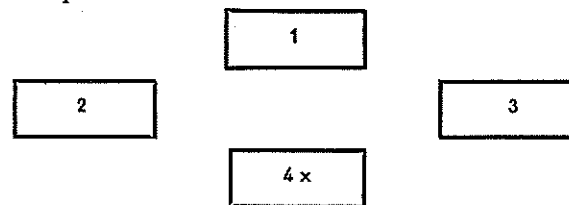
Another characteristic fact is that no nation has been conquered as many times as Georgia, although she has always succeeded in liberating herself; a circumstance to which that country owes her traditions of insurrectional and conspiratorial wars. The Georgian nation has preserved all these distinctive qualities to the present day. And there is nothing unusual in the fact that at the present time, when the voice of Europe is loudest in military matters, the Georgian army leaders take care to acquaint themselves with the latest developments in European military science.

The Georgian art of war achieved its characteristic features and acquired full independence in the time of King David the Builder (1089–1125). Owing to fortuitous circumstances Georgia was then united; the foundation had been laid for the Golden Age that followed. David the Builder proved to be not only a king possessing great political foresight, but he was also a commander of first rate qualities; his military operations provide a variety of classical examples.

It should be noted, in the first place, that David the Builder always began a war unexpectedly, and managed to carry out his preparations in secret. When, for example, he mobilized his forces for an attack

on Tiflis, he himself, in order to cover up his intentions, went to Ap'khazet'i. He employed this ruse more than once; and many of his successful campaigns can be traced to this utilization of the element of the "unexpected".

In Georgia at this time the following military formation was in practice: approximately a fourth of the army formed the front section. This was called *Dsina Spa*—"the Front army," that is, the van-guard. The main force, comprising one-half of the whole army, was placed behind the *Dsina Spa*, divided into two sections and arranged stepwise in relation to the *Dsina Spa*. The right section of this force was called, in literal translation of the term, *from the right approaching chargers' army*; similarly its left section was called *from the left approaching chargers' army*. Behind the main body, between its two sections, was placed the auxiliary force, with which on most occasions was the commander-in-chief himself. This section was called *Rok'is spa*.



(1) "*Dsina Spa*"; (2) the "*from the left approaching chargers'*" army; (3) the "*from the right approaching chargers'*" army; (4) "*Rok'is spa*"; (x) the commander-in-chief.

What are the advantages of this formation?

1. The army is protected on all sides and cannot be easily espied.
2. From whichever side the enemy may approach, it is sufficient for each division to turn its shoulder only without changing formation at all.
3. The *Dsina Spa* comprises a fourth of the whole army, representing, therefore, a unit strong enough to carry on the fight for a sufficiently long time to enable the command to determine the strength of the enemy and the direction of the intended main attack.
4. The *Dsina Spa* is definitely safeguarded on both flanks: that is, the enemy cannot annihilate it.
5. After determining the intentions of the enemy, the commander is given the opportunity and the time to direct his main forces in any required direction, having three-fourths of the whole army still absolutely fresh at his disposal. With one of the "approaching chargers" armies and the *Rok'is spa*, he can bring into action the entire half of

his army; furthermore, one-fourth of the forces will remain in the auxiliary section. Thus the commander-in-chief is given the opportunity to discover the strength and intentions of the enemy whether the case be that of defence or that of attack, and, in addition, he has the required time and space in which to effect the necessary formation and manœuvres.

6. If the enemy is weak and immobile the *Cannae* manœuvre (the simultaneous encirclement of both flanks) is ready from the beginning, but should it not be desirable, the commander can transfer at any moment the weight of action to one of the sections. . . .

This formation, as we see, embodies the secrets of Napoleon's formula for a successful campaign.

1. The army is protected and cannot easily be espied by the enemy.

2. It provides the means of discovering the forces, as well as the intentions, of the enemy, which is provided by the sufficient numerical strength of the *Dsina Spa* and its fighting capacity, for which reason no manœuvres will be effected in vain, and the commander will never lose his force blindly.

3. In spite of the division of forces, the commander is always in a position to bring his whole army into action in a battlefield, that is, to receive battle with the whole of his strength. This was not, as we shall see presently, a rigid and inelastic scheme, it allowed wide scope for the movement of the forces according to circumstances.

Now let us examine the conduct of war at this period. The Saracens could not reconcile themselves to the renascence of Georgia, and a force, believed to have been 200,000 strong, was sent to conquer her. This army, divided into three sections, marched from the south towards Georgia. David the Builder quickly mustered an army, approximately 70,000 strong, in Western Georgia, and hastened towards the enemy. The numerous forces of the invading army, advancing among the roadless mountains of our country, divided into three sections, and, without a liaison, represented clumsy masses. David the Builder fell upon the centre section and easily defeated it. The remaining sections continued the forward march. As there was no liaison system it was a long time before they learnt of the annihilation of their centre army; and when they heard the news they turned round, but it was too late, they could not avert the disaster, and they became successively the victims of King David's forces.

Let us compare the methods employed in this battle with those of the best period in Western Europe. David the Builder holds the whole of his army together, ready to make a single thrust forward in which

the utmost economy of forces will be possible. He seizes upon the moment when the enemy forces are divided into three sections, that is, when the chance of victory has been calculated with mathematical precision, based on the numerical strength of the armies.

The enemy, split up into three separate armies, had not yet descended into the plain. David thus chose the only moment when an army of 70,000, opposed to one 200,000 strong, can hope for victory. It was such a moment that caused Napoleon so much anxiety when, in 1806, he was crossing the wooded mountains of Franconia, and if the Prussians had used the same tactics as David the Builder they might have won the battle, but they had no idea of how to exploit the situation. Napoleon himself used an artifice somewhat similar to that of King David, in Lombardy, when Alvinzky was advancing from the Trentino, his forces divided into several "colonna". Napoleon fell upon the main body of the enemy, in the valley of Incanale, and repulsed it, but he failed to follow up this advantage in the manner David did; he did not concentrate upon the destruction of the main body, which would have left him free to annihilate the remaining forces—although his army was numerically stronger than that of King David.

In this action Napoleon very nearly rose to the height of King David; nevertheless he falls short of the latter in carrying out the action to its logical conclusion. Another point of comparison is that David's generalship was entirely free from the distorting influence of the "cordon" system. True, his object is to defend Tiflis, his capital, but he does not think of the issue of the battle in terms of the thickness of its walls; his objective is the annihilation of the live forces of the enemy. He leaves Tiflis and the roads leading thereto absolutely open; he does not rob his army of a single soldier for its defence; nor is he afraid, after the annihilation of a section of the invading army, to leave roads leading to his capital undefended, and still open to a still much stronger enemy, or even to leave his own rear completely unprotected. . . .

After the defeat of the centre section of the enemy, David the Builder effected a manœuvre that placed his army in the rear of the rest of the opposing force, and in order to do this he did not hesitate to leave his own rear exposed. Napoleon, too, understood clearly the value of the stunning effect produced by an attack in the rear, and he often used this artifice. But Napoleon also took care to keep his own rear well protected; he always maintained several lines of communication, one of which was strongly defended and safeguarded on all sides. Only twice did he dare to leave his communication line undefended, namely, when he attacked the rear of Wurmser's army during the Bassano campaign (but it was the army of Wurmser whom he had thoroughly beaten at Castiglione, Roveredo, and in the Trentino);

and again, when he attacked the rear of the enemy at Saint Dizier, the action which cost him his throne and the humiliation and bitterness of Fontainebleau. Napoleon, we see, employed methods which very nearly approach those of David the Builder. Compared with other European generals he stands, of course, very high; but European military history affords no other example of an action that can be compared with that of David the Builder when he left his own capital and the roads thereto undefended, and his own rear completely exposed. This plan of campaign was outside the scope of the European art of war. David the Builder reigned in the eleventh century.

King David's next campaign was fought in Klarjet'i, against a very much superior army of the Turks, who, carrying the Holy Standard of Muhammad, were marching against "recalcitrant" Georgia, with the object of forcing her to political submission. In this war David employed quite a different device; he divided his army into two portions, one of which he led himself in the direction of Klarjet'i, where he hoped to encounter the enemy; the other, which he placed under the command of the Erist'avi of Dchqondidi, he sent to Shavshet'i, with the object of attacking the rear of the enemy. This manoeuvre was so cleverly prepared and so well calculated in every detail that the enemy were taken completely by surprise. The battle occupied one day and both parts of the Georgian army came into action at once on the same field. The result was of course a complete catastrophe for the Turks who lost not only much rich booty, but also the Holy Standard of Muhammad.

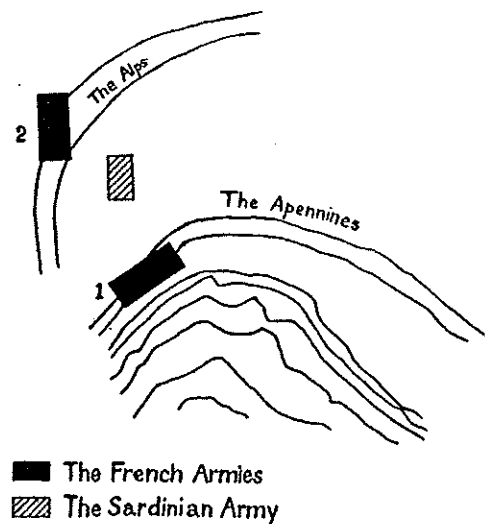
The following aspects of this campaign may be noted.

So wide a detour, combined with such accurate calculation of the time, is recognized as impossible even to-day, despite the advantage of present-day development of technique. Here is required a complete confidence that every detail of the movement will be carried out faultlessly, according to plan; the slightest deviation will lead to catastrophe. . . . David the Builder divided his army into two parts, and thus made it possible for the enemy to take up a position between the two parts. By deliberately placing himself in the middle (of the enemy) Napoleon once wrought havoc among the European armies, and defeated singly both parts of the enemy with his forces concentrated in a small space. This, incidentally, marks the highest point of European military development, higher than which Europe has not risen to this day, but European commanders have not yet learned how to defeat an enemy placed in the middle by bringing into simultaneous action the two divided portions of its own army. The division of the army at a short distance from the enemy was already in itself often the first step towards catastrophe. David divides his army into two on purpose. Does he understand the danger involved? Of course,

he must have been perfectly aware of it; in the previous campaign he himself exploited to the utmost the division of the enemy forces; he attacked their centre section first and annihilated the three sections separately. Why then does he now divide his own forces? David knows that the frightened enemy is advancing in greater numbers than in the previous campaign; the movement of the opposing forces also convinces him that they will utilize the experience gained in the last campaign and that this time they will not march divided into several parts. The old method therefore is no longer practicable. He now has to evolve quite a different plan of action. He knows, of course, that his entire force, even if concentrated within a small space, would nevertheless be considerably weaker. He could not, therefore, have entertained even for a moment the idea of allowing his weaker forces to meet the enemy separately; in no circumstances can he allow the battle to take place without his entire force participating in it. His plan shows that he had allowed for all these considerations. His forces are divided during their march, but they will fight on the same battlefield, and their separate actions will take place simultaneously. The Georgian forces remain of course numerically inferior; their only chance of success lies in the stunning effect that will be produced by an attack upon the enemy's rear. For the realization of this plan, David makes a wide detour around the enemy. He knows, of course, that there can be no continuous liaison between the two sections; he also realizes that unless the manoeuvre is carried out in complete secrecy the enemy will easily annihilate each section of his army separately. It is not enough to carry out the simultaneous action on a certain day; owing to the quality of the weapons of that period one could not prolong a battle with the object of gaining time; it was usually over in two or three hours. The time of action must, therefore, be calculated with mathematical precision to within a few hours, and if the two separate actions do not synchronize the second section will almost certainly be too late to be of any use. If these difficulties be surmounted, the enemy is technically deprived of all chances of escape, and must be overwhelmed; it is caught between the anvil and the hammer. If, on the other hand, these difficulties are *not* surmounted, if there is the slightest miscalculation or the enemy's suspicion is in the least degree aroused, if the smallest error is made by one of the sections, certain catastrophe will result. The manoeuvre succeeded; it was carried out without a hitch, despite the great distance that separated the two sections of King David's army, the impassable nature of our mountains and rough and ready means of intercommunication.

Now, let us look again for an analogous event during the best period of European military history. The idea of annihilating the

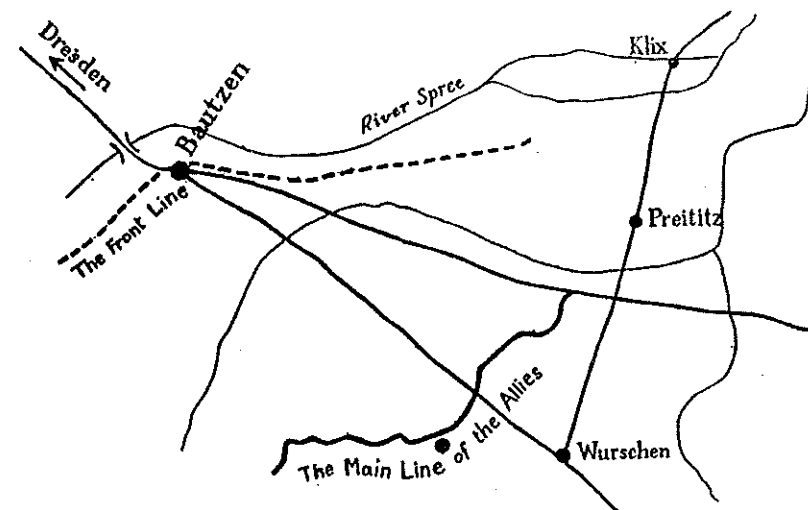
enemy caught between the divided sections of an opposing army, in the manner just described, formed, as we have seen, part of Napoleon's first project which he presented to Robespierre in 1794. Two French armies stood on two sides of the Sardinians, on the north-west and on the south. Napoleon points out in his project that since the enemy occupies the middle position they are better able to effect the necessary groupings of the forces and bring them rapidly into operation than can the French army. He therefore insists that both French armies must be brought into a simultaneous action in order to effect a concentrated attack. This, however, is not a manoeuvre decided upon in advance; nor is the disposition of the armies the result of the manoeuvre. What Napoleon suggests is simply the utilization of an already existing



situation. Owing to this circumstance the whole project loses its significance, and is revealed as inferior to the plan of King David, whereby the division of the army into two sections was carried out deliberately, for a purpose definitely determined in advance. Besides, Napoleon himself soon abandoned this project (he probably thought it could not be carried out successfully—in itself a sign of inferior generalship), and substituted for it one which involved the reinforcement of the southern army only, thus basing his faith on the acquisition of numerical superiority in one place. Compared with the first plan, this one shows no merit whatever. As we see, Napoleon clearly understands the possibilities suggested by the central position, but he is afraid and does not dare attempt to annihilate the enemy in the central position with his divided armies. Such a method is beyond his power

of conception. Neither he nor any of the European leaders to this day has risen to this height. For the further comparison of the merits as commanders of David the Builder and of Napoleon, we may recall another example, which still more clearly reveals the difference in the level of abilities attained by these two personalities.

In 1813, during the Battle of Bautzen, Marshal Ney was hastening with his troops towards the battlefield. Napoleon with his main forces was preparing for an attack upon the enemy's left flank, which action he intended to coincide with the advance of Ney, whose orders were to march in the direction of Klix-Preititz, and to occupy Wurschen in the rear of the enemy. The latter, anticipating Napoleon's main attack, had moved their forces to the left flank, and Ney's task did not, therefore, present any great difficulty. Yet, although Ney was con-



stantly in communication with Napoleon and received dispatches regularly, and although he heard cannon thundering and must have known from experience of Napoleon's fighting methods what was happening, Ney could not manage to bring his forces to the appointed place in time; he lingered at Preititz too long and reached Wurschen only when the enemy had already retreated and were out of the reach of the French. Ney's was a much simpler task than that of the Erist'avi of Dchqondidi. Napoleon's own forces were strong enough to defeat and throw back the enemy, and if he required Ney's services at all it was for a final destruction of the enemy. But Ney was too late and this object could not be carried out. Napoleon, when on the island of St. Helena, expressed the following opinion concerning this manoeuvre: "The experience gained in wars has proved to me that the enemy

should be outflanked without the division of one's own forces." This conclusion of Napoleon, arrived at after a survey of his entire military career, clearly proves that Davout, Soult, Ney, Lannes, Marmont, and others, the whole galaxy of the Marshals of the Empire, were not able to rise to the high level of Georgian generalship of the eleventh-twelfth century, possessed none of King David's resourcefulness, and that these generals in fact were incapable of carrying out a concerted action on the battlefield by themselves, unless they were united by a close liaison before the battle began.

European military history gives us only two examples of the defeat of an enemy holding the centre position in accordance with a pre-arranged plan; namely, the Battle of Leipzig and the Battle of Waterloo. Let us compare the method employed in these two battles with that of King David against an enemy holding the position between the two sections of the opposing army.

In 1813 Napoleon took up a position in the middle of the enemy forces, with a force almost three times weaker. His object was to utilize the network of the rivers of Saxony and to defeat each section of the enemy force separately. The three opposing armies, each one of which was almost equal to—and some greater than—Napoleon's whole force, surrounded him: on the north there was Blücher with the Prussian army; on the north-east Bernadotte with the Swedish army; on the east Benigsen with the Russian army; and on the south Schwarzenberg with the Austrian army. Only after safeguarding themselves by this enormous numerical superiority did they dare to approach Napoleon's army concentrically. Napoleon did not hesitate to accept the battle, which continued for three days; he could, however, have avoided fighting whenever he so wished; he could have abandoned the field and retreated at any time after the beginning of the battle. The Allies failed to annihilate his forces even after they had defeated him in the battle, and he was able to pass through Germany with fire and sword.

The second example is provided by the Battle of Waterloo. Sending one of his corps in pursuit of the defeated Prussian army, Napoleon himself attacked the English forces. The English commander-in-chief, Wellington, and the Prussian general, Blücher, had agreed beforehand to come to the aid of each other in the case of an unexpected attack. During the battle the Prussian army indeed appeared on the right flank of the French. Napoleon could have refused the battle and retreated. However, he had not lost hope of defeating the English. He therefore sent a corps against the Prussians, while he himself continued the fight against the English, without altering his original plan. He delivered the attack but without success. Only after this did he decide to readjust his position in front of the

English, make a temporary halt here, and repel the Prussians. This readjustment of positions Marshal Ney, however, developed into a new great attack, which brought into play the greater part of the French auxiliary force; the unprepared attack failed of course to attain its object, the defeat of the English. And on the right flank only one corps and the Guards were fighting against the whole of the Prussian army. In spite of the heroic resistance of the Guards, the French were defeated and thrown back.

What is to be inferred from these two examples of the defeat of an enemy holding the central position? We see that Napoleon himself, of his own free will, takes up a position between the enemy forces, with the object of defeating them separately. It was by using this device that Napoleon struck terror into Europe; and all this time European generalship was unable to evolve an effective means of countering it. During the Battle of Leipzig, when the opposing armies were considerably superior in number to Napoleon's forces, they failed, despite conditions entirely in their favour (they had Napoleon surrounded almost on all sides), to annihilate the French army, though it ought to have been possible to effect this. Napoleon, as we have seen, could have abandoned the field and retreated whenever he so wished. Both in this battle and in the Battle of Waterloo, we see at work an instinct analogous to that of the often hunted animal, which continually changes its direction in order to gain time. But there is no conscious utilization of the situation with the object of the total annihilation of the enemy, and this in spite of the fact that the Allies on both occasions had all the conditions in their favour.

David the Builder understood all the advantages of holding the central position, for he himself utilized it to the utmost in the first campaign described above. Nor was he perturbed if the enemy held the central position between the two sections of his army. On the contrary, he often manoeuvred the enemy into this position in order that he might afterwards completely annihilate him. He used this premeditated device deliberately as an effective trap for the complete destruction of the enemy. This cannot be said of the European leaders in the case of the battles described above. European generalship has no example of this kind to show; it has never achieved more than the utilization of the central position. . . .

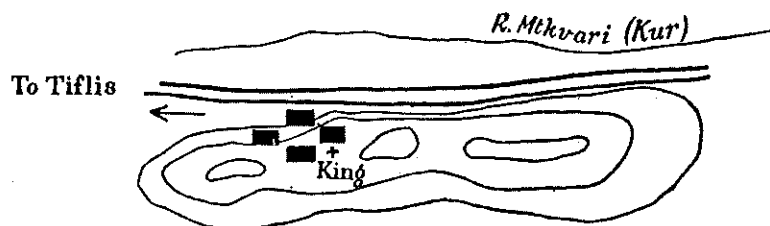
The next campaign of interest fought in Georgia is the Shamk'or battle, fought by King George III (1155-1184), grandson of David the Builder.

Abu-Bak'ar (Abu-Bekr) set out to invade Georgia; he advanced with a large army from Azerbaijan, along the right bank of the Mtkvari. King George III marched out to meet him, and halted by the town of Shamk'ori. He pitched his camp along the slopes of the Qarabagh



Mountains, disposing his army in accordance with the old Georgian formation. Sheltering his forces behind the mountains, he left the road to Tiflis open for the enemy. The King did not join the *Rok'is spa*, which he should have done according to the prevailing tradition; instead he took up his position with the "from the right approaching chargers' army". Abu-Bak'ar was hastening towards Tiflis over the open, undefended route, and here the King attacked him from the left flank; simultaneously with this attack the "from the left approaching chargers' army" gained the enemy's rear; the enemy was repulsed and completely annihilated.

What does this campaign show? The grandson of David the Builder, a representative of the third generation, reveals full knowledge of the style of action of the Georgian generalship in the time of King David, and the ability to put it into practice: he does not merely pay lip-service to tradition, he makes use of the experience of the past and at the same time shows a complete realization of the circumstances and individual foresight. His object is to defend his capital, but to



him this does not mean standing uneasily with his back against Tiflis, defending its walls with his finger-nails; no, the Georgian general will resort to this method only after he has lost the battle. King George III does not understand, and cannot imagine the utility of passive resistance; despite the great numerical superiority of the enemy, he chooses an active method of defence: he leaves Tiflis and hastens to meet the enemy, away from his capital; he leaves even the road to Tiflis open to the enemy, and defends his capital only indirectly by threatening the enemy's flank.

This example shows clearly the pre-eminence of the Georgian generalship as early as the eleventh to twelfth centuries. Some slight analogy with this kind of action is furnished by an example in European military history during the period of Napoleon. It was also used during the Battle of Tannenberg in 1914, when a German division left the road open for the Russians and then attacked their left flank. . . . King George III leaves both Tiflis and the Tiflis road open; he does not understand the conduct of war by a few indeterminate battles, the

method to which Europe adhered for centuries. His sole object is the annihilation of the live forces of the enemy, and this he attains by attacking the enemy at its weakest point. He cut off the road of retreat of the enemy flank, and beat it back to the Mtkvari. The enemy is annihilated. Even to-day it is rare to find a European general capable of such freedom of action.

In the Shamk'or battle King George did not take up his position with the *Rok'is spa* as was usually the case; he chose the most important position for the successful issue of the battle, whence he can best direct it, and where the decisive action must be carried out; he took up his position with the *from the right approaching chargers' army*, which must bar the road to the enemy, and upon which would fall the main burden of the engagement. This skill in generalship was not understood by the greatest German generals, those of the Moltke family, and they lacked the ability to employ such tactics. Moltke senior as well as Moltke the *de facto* commander-in-chief of the last Great War, maintained their headquarters so far from their armies, that they were unable to direct operations personally, so that events often developed without the commander-in-chief's guidance, by inertia, or were left to the initiative of subordinate generals.

Furthermore, this battle shows the soundness and elasticity of the Georgian army formation in the highest degree. In order to bring about so complex a movement as that of outflanking the enemy and gaining its rear, it was not found necessary to embark upon an extraordinary or even unusual manœuvring and regrouping; the army took up position along the south of the Tiflis road, and throughout the whole of the engagement the usual forward march of all the sections is quite sufficient; the whole manœuvre results from the original formation.

This device would not, of course, have succeeded, had the enemy been marching along some other route—for instance, along the left bank of the Mtkvari; the device, therefore, must have been based upon knowledge of the enemy's movements derived from a *highly organized and extremely efficient intelligence service*.

We see from these examples that King George III, the grandson of David the Builder, acted always in accordance with the Georgian military style and with full consciousness of the advantages to be gained by the formation devices of the time of his grandfather; he is never merely the slave of convention, and when in action he takes account of all the circumstances, and adapts his plans accordingly. *It follows then that David the Builder had not, like other generals, taken the talisman of his victories with him to the grave, and this fact testifies that already then military science was in existence in Georgia, and that it was possible to study and comprehend it.*

Every military officer knows how long it was before Europe attained

to this height, and before it was able to turn military science into an object of study.

If we summarize all these operations we shall see that Georgian generalship understood extraordinarily well, and utilized with great skill, all those conditions governing the conduct of war, which are permanent and of paramount importance on the battlefields of to-day ; namely :—

1. The economy of forces, involving the assembling of all the operatives and the attainment of pre-eminent advantages in whatever geographical position the fate of the battle is to be decided, and the main action to be unfolded.

2. The unexpectedness of the action, which strikes panic into the enemy and makes it impossible for him to make the best use of his numerical superiority or other means of resisting the attack.

3. The safeguarding of the forces which affords freedom of action and renders it impossible for the enemy forces to make an unexpected attack.

Georgian generals made the best possible use of these axioms and gave them the widest interpretation ; when carrying out an operation they utilized a formation which implied the utmost economy, since all of their forces were on the battlefield ; their aim was always to surprise the enemy by the great speed and unexpectedness of the action ; while the battle formation admirably safeguarded armies in deep formation. Furthermore, it is to be noted that *in none of these campaigns does the Georgian command, although always on the defensive, allow the initiative to pass out of its hands ; every phase of the battle is developed under its personal control.*

These axioms still prevail and decide the issue of battle, but in spite of their simplicity, it cannot be said that every general to-day appreciates their importance, or that he would be able to put them into practice in their entirety. The application of these axioms to-day will of course differ from that of the eleventh to twelfth centuries, just as it has varied during every century according to contemporary circumstances ; but the basic principles are still valid, and the general who is unable to apply them under present-day conditions will never win a battle. So flexible a system and so elastic and thorough an application of it, as is evidenced by the examples given of eleventh to twelfth century Georgian generalship, is almost unknown in the history of Europe. Only Napoleon had some inkling of the system, but in technical accomplishment he falls far beneath the standard of Georgian generalship. He admits himself that he was not able to bring into simultaneous action two separated armies in accordance with a

pre-conceived manœuvre—that is, unless he brought them together again before the battle actually began. To Georgian generalship such a manœuvre represented no insuperable difficulties. The epoch of David the Builder was followed by that known as the Golden Epoch ; it was founded by military power, and proved to be indeed a golden age in the art of war.

The last general of Georgia, representative of the Asiatic style, was King Erekle II (1744–1798). In order to estimate Erekle's abilities at their true worth it must be realized that Eastern Georgia at this time possessed practically no resources beyond the genius of the King himself. Nor had matters been made easier for him by the preceding reign. Erekle also lacked the advantage of an assistant worthy of him among the members of the royal family ; nor was the heir to the throne of any value to him. Georgia herself, far from taking the first steps towards national renaissance, was in a dismembered and chaotic condition ; she was still in the throes of the tragedy that began in the sixteenth century. Despite these discouragements Erekle created out of two provinces that were gasping for very existence a single state which struck panic into the neighbouring Eastern powers. The strength of the then Georgia depended entirely on Erekle, and when he aged and weakened, his kingdom of K'art'li and Kakhet'i weakened too. The whole of this epoch was the personal creation of Erekle, who, although continuously engaged in struggles against external enemies, as well as against internal intrigues, found time and energy to bring about internal reforms. He carried out plans for the advancement of popular education, initiated the movement for the complete liberation of the Georgian peasants, and started negotiations for the conclusion of an alliance between the Kings and Mt'avars of Georgia (this alliance, known as the Georgian Confederation, was successfully concluded). Erekle had no supporters in the carrying out of these schemes. His plan for the union of K'art'li and Kakhet'i gave rise to a conspiracy which he had to quell by force of arms. The royal princes, brought up in the Russian military schools, were nothing more than Russian Janissaries and were really Russia's loyal emissaries. None of them was of any use to Georgia, and one of them, Paata, conducted an energetic intrigue against Erekle, who was compelled to put him to death. Thus it was entirely owing to Erekle's genius that this last period of the history of Georgia as a kingdom was made an attractive period. Erekle indeed was one of those brilliant and original personalities whom mankind does not produce once in a hundred years.

Let us now analyse Erekle's last campaign, which he lost, and which decided the fate of the whole of Caucasia, the disastrous consequences of which we all know.

Erekle was then 80 years of age, and unprepared for a war.

Suddenly it was learned that Agha Mohamed Khan was approaching Tiflis, with an army 60,000 strong. Erekle could only muster 5,000 men. Tiflis was then recognized throughout Hither Asia as an impregnable fortress. Nevertheless the 80-year old King-General, true to his own tradition, set out from Tiflis, with his 5,000 men, to meet the 60,000 strong enemy in the open field! Erekle did not win this battle, but he was not defeated in it either. He lost 2,000 men but the Persians lost 13,000, and Erekle still held the battlefield. The battle was bitterly and fiercely contested, and King Erekle himself fought his way to the Shah's tent, where he was saved by his grandson from being taken prisoner. Under cover of the night the Georgian forces retreated, not under pressure from the enemy but of their own free will, and returned to the Tiflis fortress. Agha Mohamed Khan laid siege to Tiflis, but he abandoned it in a few days' time and returned to Persia. Some time afterwards traitors opened the Tiflis gates to the enemy, and the Shah was recalled. Once inside the town the Persians had to take every house by storm, and most of the historical treasures of Tiflis were destroyed. When the old King Erekle was being led into the mountains, he looked back and saw his capital in flames, he exclaimed: "Let me, too, be swallowed up in those flames, and let the triumph of the enemy be complete," and, turning his stallion, set off at full speed towards Tiflis. A Mt'iul, who was nearest to the King, overtook him, and grasping the bridle of the royal horse forced him to stop. Thus was the defeated lion forcibly saved from the clutches of the enemy.

This is how the Georgian generals understood the importance of fortresses. Erekle well knew the strength of the enemy. A small force of Georgians, consisting in all of twenty men, had encountered the Persians in Sheki, and Erekle knew approximately the number of the enemy forces. He himself had only 5,000 men, yet, he went out to meet the enemy in the field, and he did not allow the initiative to pass out of his hands until all hope of defeating them decisively was gone. How does this skill in the art of war on the part of the royal Georgian general compare with the actions of the nineteenth century European generals? France was then boiling over with the passionate desire to wreak vengeance on Germany, and the memory of Napoleon's glory flashed like a beacon in the eyes of every French soldier. "Our fathers fought their way across the Rhine and our sons will again cross it, and enter Berlin," said the French Press, a few years before the 1870 war. As a fighter the French soldier was superior to his German counterpart, and numerically there was not a great difference between the two armies. All that the French command could say in response to the enthusiasm of the Press was "By defending ourselves on strong positions chosen in advance". That is how the French command proposed to win the war!

Why did Georgia lose her last war? Because Erekle himself was the soul of Georgia at that time; she had no other leader and no resources except what the King could provide. And Erekle was an 80-year old man. His heirs and those who sought the throne numbered about seventeen; and their very existence had the effect of multiplying Georgia's misfortune by seventeen. To this must be added the intensive intrigues of the Queen, whose ambitions were inflamed by the example of the Empress Catherine. Everyone of these individuals conducted his or her own foreign policy; some of them did not believe that Persia would invade Georgia, and others would even have been pleased if the fate of this war and of the whole of Caucasia had been quite different. Had Erekle been twenty years younger, he would have been able to crush the court intrigues and force his own family into obedience. Erekle knew from the beginning that Persia would not view with favour the union of all the Georgian States and at that time expected a war with her. His heir would not have dared to disobey him and the forces assembled in Kakhet'i would then have taken part in the war. Erekle would not in this case have waited until the enemy reached the Krdsanisi Fields, near Tiflis. Azat Khan's great army he met at Erevan, and if, similarly, he had met Agha Mohamed Khan far away, somewhere on the frontiers of Georgia, in Sheki, for instance, he would have gained sufficient time to enable the forces of all Georgia to come to his aid. (The forces sent from Western Georgia received the news of the fall of Tiflis after they had just crossed the Mountains of Likhi.) It would have been the first war since the age of Queen T'amar in which the armies of the whole of Georgia participated, and it would have realized for Georgia what Bismarck attained as the result of the 1870-1 war. This was the ideal of Erekle, but his bitter experience had convinced him that no one in Georgia except him was capable of rising to the height of this ideal, so that he concluded that the unification of Georgia was impossible without the aid of an outside Power. As much for successful defence against the southern aggressive neighbours as for the creation of a peaceful atmosphere for the unification of Georgia he turned his eyes towards the north.

But he was mistaken and deceived, and the full burden of his error fell heavily on the next generation, who fought with intense bitterness against its consequences. With its last protesting cry, uttered in its death-agony, under the generalship of Shamil, age-old Caucasia seemed to declare that no foreign Power either from the south or from the north could ever be a harbinger of happiness for Caucasia. . . .

# GEORGICA

A JOURNAL OF GEORGIAN AND CAUCASIAN STUDIES

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## ANTIQUITIES OF GEORGIA

By E. TAQAISHVILI

(Formerly Professor at Tiflis University)

### I. THE GOSPEL OF EPIPHANIUS, CATHOLICOS OF GEORGIA.

THE academician, N. Marr, rightly points out in his article *The Inscription of Epiphanius, Catholicos of Georgia*,<sup>1</sup> that until the discovery of the inscription of Ani, of the year 1218, nothing was known to us about the Catholicos Epiphanius but his name. It now appears that he ordered a magnificent Gospel to be prepared which he himself richly adorned. It is known as the Gospel of Enashi, that is, the Gospel belonging to the church of Enashi, of the community of Latali in Free Svanet'i. That it existed has been known for years. In 1860, it was seen and described for the first time by D. Bakradze, a well-known Georgian archæologist<sup>2</sup>; in 1895, Countess Uvarova described it in greater detail,<sup>3</sup> and finally the late Professor A. Khakhanashvili (Khakhanov) attempted to verify its inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> All these scholars attributed the Enashi Gospel to an unknown Catholicos of Georgia, by name Step'ane (Stephen); but this was due to an erroneous reading of the inscription on the cover of the Gospel. That the latter belongs to the Catholicos Epiphanius I became convinced during the course of my archæological expedition to Svanet'i, in the summer of 1910. I then discovered the Gospel in question, not in the church of Enashi, where it was formerly kept, but in Mestia, in the house of Besarion Nizharadze, the dean of the churches of Svanet'i. The four Gospels, 27 by 21 cent., were written on parchment in two columns of twenty-three lines each, in good *muskhuri* (miniscule ecclesiastical letters), by the scribe *Ionay* (Jonas). The ink is black; the folios consist of eight sheets, and are marked in *asomt'avruli* (majuscule ecclesiastical letters) in the middle of the upper margin on fol. lv and the lower margin on fol. 8v. In all 226 sheets have been preserved, of which four contain miniatures of the Evangelists. The Gospel begins with the epistle of Eusebius to the Cyprians (sheets 1 and 2); the next 12 pages contain canons surmounted by richly illuminated arches. At the beginning of each Gospel is a magnificent frontispiece, ornamental, like the arches, with multicoloured arabesques. All the

<sup>1</sup> In *Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg* (in Russian), St. Pb. 1910, N 17.

<sup>2</sup> Bakradze, D., *Svanetiya* (in Russian), in *Bulletin (Zapiski)* of the Caucasian branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Tiflis, 1861, vol. vi, pp. 84-6.

<sup>3</sup> Uvarova, Countess, *Materials for the Archaeology of Caucasia* (in Russian), Moscow, 1904, vol. x, pp. 153-4.

<sup>4</sup> Khakhanov, A., *ibid.*, *Supplement*, pp. 19-20. R. Bernoville (*La Souanetie Libre*, Paris, 1875, p. 144) also mentions this Gospel, by quoting Bakradze, but he had not seen it personally.

miniatures, arches, and frontispieces have suffered greatly from the effects of damp.

The richly coloured initials, however, are in a better state of preservation, and we find more of them in this Gospel than in any other manuscript of the same kind. The artist makes copious use of gold, red, green, and black. The arabesques and the lavishness of colour reveal the strong influence of the East; the earlier Gospels, on the contrary, have a more Byzantine trend.<sup>1</sup> Bakradze compares this Gospel with the famous eleventh century Gospel of Gelat'i, in order to prove, quite incorrectly as it has turned out, that it belongs to the same epoch and is by the same artist.<sup>2</sup> Countess Uvarova has now rightly established its period—the thirteenth century. I am unable to indicate whether its text follows the version of George the Athonite, or some earlier writer, as, owing to lack of time, I have not compared its text with that of other Gospels. According to Khakhanashvili (Khakhanov) it follows the version of George the Athonite. This may be correct, but Epiphanius has not included the testament of George; while one passage, at least, is not in accord with the version of George the Athonite, viz. verse 24, chapter 19, of Matthew, which is rendered as follows:—

უადვილეს არს მანქანისა საბელი  
გნსელად კურელსა ნემსისასა ვე  
მდიდრისა შესლვად სასუვეველსა

“It is easier for the cord of a lever to pass through the eyehole of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven.” In the version of George, in the place of the words მანქანისა საბელი—the cord of a lever or machine—we have აკლემი—the camel. The copyist himself is aware of this, for he writes in the margin —აკლემი—camel, and adds that he has deliberately written მანქანისა საბელი—the cord of a lever—as he found it in the original from which he was copying (ესე არ მოცთომილია. დედასა ესრევე ეწერა).

At the end of the Gospel is a list of daily readings. Its margins, like those of other manuscripts of Svanet'i, are filled with numerous additional apostils, written in *mkhedruli* or military letters. These apostils usually include the statement of an agreement between two members of the same community, or between two neighbouring communities, affirming their will to live in peace and to act in accord against lawbreakers, enemies, invaders, etc.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the illustration of an arch and of a frontispiece, see Uvarova, op. cit., p. 153, figs. 87, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Bakradze, op. cit., p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Two of these apostils have been copied by Bakradze, op. cit., p. 85; Supplement, N 22, and one of them is repeated by Khakhanov, op. cit., p. 24.



It is to be assumed that in Bakradze's time the cover of the Gospel was intact, for he writes: "The cover is mounted with silver, the medallions of the saints are of cloisonné enamel work."<sup>1</sup> The enamel work was also noted by Countess Uvarova, who writes: "The cover of the Gospel was originally magnificently decorated, but, unfortunately, hardly a vestige of this remains. The cover itself is of leather on which is a mount of silver-gilt engraved with the scene of the Crucifixion. In the background it is still possible to perceive faint traces of Byzantine angels in cloisonné enamel work; the angels are black-haired and wear blue crowns, and so far as can be seen, are represented against a transparent green background."<sup>2</sup> All this has now disappeared; there is not even a vestige of enamel. The theft of the enamel must have started after Bakradze's visit and been completed after Countess Uvarova's expedition. The Gospel only retains the leather binding to which are attached a few fragments of the silver-gilt mount (see Plates I and II). On the back cover the scene of the Crucifixion was also depicted. There only remains, however, the figure of John the Baptist, on the right hand side of the mount. The Cross itself has disappeared.<sup>3</sup> In the left upper corner are the head and shoulders of the Apostle Matthew, with an inscription in *asomt'avruli*: მათე მხრებდლი—the Evangelist Matthew. Below, in the right hand corner, are vestiges of the head of some other Evangelist. The other parts of the mount that have survived bear Georgian arabesques. Pegs for thongs can also be observed. On the front of the cover was a picture of the Catholicos, in his prelate's robes, and with his hands extended in an attitude of prayer; he was shown standing in front of a column with a three-stepped base. Beyond the column there was probably the figure of Christ. His legs and part of His robe are still visible. The head of the Catholicos has not been preserved, but part of the nimbus which encircled it can just be made out. The legs have gone, but the robed body is plainly distinguishable (Pl. II). The background is adorned with Georgian arabesques. On both sides of the figure of the Catholicos, on a level with his neck, there is still discernible a faulty inscription of his name, in *asomt'avruli* (Pl. II): ეპ(ი) <sup>4</sup> (ე)ანე—Ep(i)(p')ane.

Behind the Catholicos there is a vertical inscription in a good state of preservation, also in *asomt'avruli* (Pls. I and III); it is in eleven lines<sup>5</sup> and, transcribed in the military alphabet, reads as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> Bakradze, op. cit., p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Uvarova, op. cit., pp. 153–4.

<sup>3</sup> I am, of course, describing the Gospel as I saw it in 1910.

<sup>4</sup> The shape of letter ჰ resembles here in some degree that of the letter ს, but the preceding letter ჰ does not justify the reading of the name as სტეფანე.

<sup>5</sup> Bakradze reproduces a facsimile of this inscription made by hand, but it is not quite exact, op. cit., Supplement, N 21.

(Abbreviated)	(In full)
ქ: ამის ნტ	ამის ნეტ-
არისა: ეპ	არისა ეპ-
იფანე: ქ:კ	იფანე ქართლისა კა-
ზისგ: ნ: მ: გ	თალიკოზისაგან მოგე-
ბული: ამი[ს]	ბული ამის-
გ: ნვე: შე	განვე შე-
იმკო: კ: თლი	იმკო კათოლი-
კე: ეკლესი	კე ეკლესი-
სთს: სხზ	ისათვს სახარებ-
აი [sic]: ესე: მოი	აი ესე, მოი-
კსენე: ქ ე:	კსენე, ქრისტე!

Translation:—

"This Gospel, acquired by this blessed Epip'ane, Catholicos of K'ar'li, was adorned also by him, for the Catholic Church. May Christ Remember him!"

The "Catholic Church", mentioned in this inscription, denotes the cathedral church of Mtskhet'a, of the Twelve Apostles, and the column, in front of which is represented the Catholicos Epip'ane, can be no other than the "Living Pillar" of Mtskhet'a. The Cathedral of Mtskhet'a still bears the name სვეტი ცხოველი—The Living Pillar, for it was erected on the very spot where, according to tradition, Sidonia the Israelite of Mtskhet'a was buried with the tunic of Christ. On her grave stood, according to the same tradition, in the time of St. Nino the Enlightener of Georgia, the pillar from which the chrism flowed.

Thus it is clear that the once magnificent Gospel was prepared by order of the Catholicos Epip'ane, richly adorned by him with illustrations and cloisonné enamel, and placed in the Cathedral of Mtskhet'a. Bakradze and Khakhanashvili read the name Epip'ane (ეპიფანე) as Step'ane (სტეფანე). Moreover, neither of these two investigators paid any attention to the monogram ქ which in this case denotes ქართლისა, of K'art'li, resp. of Georgia. Bakradze translates the text as follows: "This Gospel, acquired by the blessed Catholicos Step'ane, is adorned for the orthodox church. Christ, mention . . ." But Bakradze himself was not quite sure whether he had read the inscription correctly, he writes: "I do not know whether I have correctly conveyed the sense of this inscription. The Catholicos Step'ane is unknown to me. I do not even believe that a Catholicos of this name is mentioned in the annals of Georgia."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bakradze, op. cit., p. 84. Khakhanov reproducing the text, after the reading of Bakradze, makes a mistake in reading შემკობილი instead of შეიმკო, op. cit., p. 19.



The name Epip'ane is also mentioned in the colophon of the scribe, at the end of the Gospel of St. Mark :

დავსრულა თ-ვი მ-რკოზისი.  
კ-ლითა ფ-დ ცოდვილისა იონასითა:  
მოძღ-როსა ჩ-მისა ეპიფ-ნესთ-ს.—

"The chapter of Mark is finished by the hand of the great sinner Iona for his master, Epip'ane."<sup>1</sup>

From the foregoing, it follows that the Gospel of Enashi should henceforward be known as *The Gospel of Catholicos Epiphanius*. If, moreover, the inscription of Ani proves the greatness of Epip'ane's intellect and his power as a pastor to lead his flock in the way of Christian peace and love, the Gospel of Enashi itself, once so richly illustrated and adorned with cloisonné enamel, bears witness to his deep sense of beauty and his desire to enrich his Cathedral with a magnificent work of art.

## II. SOME TYPES OF ICONOSTASES OF THE ANCIENT GEORGIAN CHURCHES.

It has long been established by G. D. Filimonov, and with some truth, that the altar partitions of the ancient Russian and Georgian churches were always low and open so that the congregation could see all that was displayed on the altar, and all that was going on in the chancel during divine service. The partition was usually in the form of a low wall of stone slabs rising two steps above the floor, with a space in the centre for a door; placed on the wall were columns or pilasters with cornice forming an arch, which were not filled in and the congregation<sup>2</sup> could see the entire altar.<sup>3</sup>

This type of altar partition or iconostasis was common for many years, almost in fact till the eighteenth century; from the sixteenth century, however, the construction of the open arches began to vary in height: either the arches were higher, or, the stone walls beneath them were built up, as can be seen in the Savane basilica. The ancient altar partitions are in most cases built of cut-stone, and are sometimes ornamented with beautiful figures of saints, and exquisitely executed Georgian interlaced pattern work. Later, from the fifteenth to sixteenth

<sup>1</sup> This colophon, omitted by Bakradze, is re-established and correctly read by Khakhanov, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Filimonov, G. D., *On the Original Shape of the Iconostases of the Russian Churches* (in Russian), in *Drevnosti*, Antiquities, published by the Moscow Archaeological Society, 1859.

<sup>3</sup> The same is true of Cyprus, where the large wooden iconostasis was only adopted at quite a late date. See D. Talbot Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus*, 1937, p. 62 ff. [Editors' note.]

century onwards, we find altar partitions built of alabaster, or stone faced with cement or alabaster stucco, decorated with fantastic arabesques in polychrome, or sometimes covered with fresco paintings of saints. The high, closed iconostases, with several levels, begin to appear, here and there, in the seventeenth century, and spread considerably in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the article *Four Basilican Churches of the Qvirila Valley*,<sup>1</sup> we mentioned several churches of Georgia, which still preserve remains of stone altar partitions with representations of saints, as well as the iconostases of the type we have in the basilicas of Savane and Speti. In this article I shall describe several types of altar partitions I have seen in churches of Georgia, the altars of which I photographed. In some cases I consider it expedient to give a brief account of the churches to which these iconostases belong, particularly such churches as have been written about but very briefly or not at all.

### *The Altar Partition of the Shio-Mghvime Laura.*<sup>2</sup>

The domed church of the Shio-Mghvime Laura, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, built in the second half of the sixth century, with subsequent structural additions and restorations, has preserved in its fundamentals the ancient type of altar partition. It is of particular interest on account of the exquisite ornamentations, and also for the reproduction of one of the episodes from the life of St. Shio. This barrier, in its present form (Pl. IV), consists of two parts, a lower and an upper. On the lower part are preserved three ancient carved stone slabs, with figures; the fourth stone, on the left, is missing; it had been removed and in the opening the north door had been placed. Formerly, it had only one door in the middle. The upper part of the partition consists of six small alabaster columns, with simple quadrangular bases and capitals. These columns do not support an arch, and in the spaces between them are placed large, painted icons of quite modern design. The royal door, which has the semblance of an

<sup>1</sup> See *GEORGICA*, 1936, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> I have inspected the Shio-Mghvime Laura three times. The first time was in company with A. Kutateladze, my colleague, when we described manuscripts and other objects of antiquity of the Monastery and copied and deciphered its inscription. On the second occasion I visited the Monastery with the artist-photographer, Theodore Kühne, who took photographs of all the monasterial constructions, inscriptions, miniatures, and also of the remains of the altar partition, reproduced below. At the same time measurements were also taken of the church above the grave of St. Shio, and a plan was prepared by Kühne. This plan and some of the photographs have been used by Professor G. Tchubinashvili in his comprehensive monograph, *Die Shio-Mghvime Laura. Ein Beitrag zur Architekturgeschichte Georgiens*, in the *Bulletin of the University of Tiflis*, Tiflis, 1925, vol. v, pp. 209-253. The third time I went with the Secretary of the Georgian Society of History and Ethnography, S. Gorgadze, during the Revolution, when we removed all the valuable MSS. to the Museum of the Society above-mentioned.

arch over it, is also new. The small columns are certainly of a much later date than the lower slabs. We must assume that originally these slabs supported six similar stone columns with carved arabesques, such as Dubois saw in the Sap'ara Monastery (see below, p. 104). The slabs decorated with figures are separated from the middle door by narrow, vertical plaques entirely covered with fantastic Georgian interlaced pattern work (Pls. IV, V, and VI). Next to these, on either side, there were two large slabs decorated with the figures of saints and bordered with fine ornamental work, but the second slab, to the left of the royal door, as we have already stated, is either missing, or is the carved slab placed in a glass case which is, at present, high above the west door of the church, and of which we will speak presently.

The first slab, on the left (Pl. V), shows a fine relief of the scene of the Crucifixion in a quadrangular carved frame. Below, at each side of the Crucified, are full length figures in the attitude of prayer: on the left, the Mother of God, and on the right, St. John the Divine with a Gospel in his left hand. Above are circular medallions, one at each side of the Cross, containing half-length figures of saints whose hands are folded over their breasts as if in prayer. The slab has a magnificent border of interlaced pattern work.<sup>1</sup>

The first slab to the left of the royal door shows an unusually fine relief of St. Simeon Stylites (+ 459), also placed in a quadrangular frame, while depicted below is a domed church with a cross, to the left of which is the beautiful full length figure of the Mother of God, in an attitude of prayer (Pl. VI). The column is fretted, as is also its capital, on which stands the bust of St. Simeon, haloed and hands upraised, as if in prayer. The right and left of the frame are carved in a double row of pomegranate flowers, the motif being exactly similar to that on the frames of Georgian metal icons.

The slab on the right of the royal door is of still greater interest, for it represents in relief a detailed scene from the life of St. Shio, the founder of the Laura of Shio-Mghvime (Pl. VII). It is known from *The Life of St. Shio* that he was one of the thirteen Syrian fathers who came to Georgia, and that he lived for the first twenty years in the Zedazeni Monastery, on the Aragvi, under St. John Zedazneli (of Zedazeni), withdrawing later into the cave on the left bank of the Mtkvari (Kur), where he lived as a hermit, far from worldly vanities, his nourishment brought to him by a dove. Evagre, the local feudal lord, possessor of the fortress Tsikhe-Didi, on the right bank of the Mtkvari, was shooting one day, in the neighbourhood of the hermit's cave, when he noticed the dove carrying food for Shio in its beak, and following the bird, found his way to the saint. Evagre was so struck

with the holiness of the hermit that he renounced his worldly life and became the zealous disciple of Shio.<sup>1</sup> The relief depicts the moment when Evagre, in the attire of a Georgian grandee, with high headgear, mounted on a horse of Georgian mountain breed, rides up to the mouth of the Shio's cave and, raising his hand in a salute, begins to talk to him. Only the upper half of the Saint, wearing high, peaked hood, is visible in the opening of the cave. We see Jesus in the act of blessing Evagre as he manifests his desire to become Shio's disciple; the Saviour holds a Gospel in His left hand. Only the upper part of the figure is seen, in a cave above that of Shio, while still higher on the mountain slope is shown a small basilica, which still exists although it has been altered. To the left is a conventionalized mountain tree with aculeate leaves, on one branch of which the dove, with food in its beak, has alighted, and is apparently waiting for the horseman to go in order to fly to the Saint. The figures bear inscriptions of the names in *asomt'avruli* (majuscule ecclesiastical) letters, namely (transcribed in the military alphabet),  $\text{წ}^{\sim}\text{ე} \text{შ}^{\sim}\text{ო}$ , St. Shio,  $\text{წ}^{\sim}\text{ე} \text{გ}^{\sim}\text{გ}^{\sim}\text{ე}$ , St. Evagri, while on each side of the head of Christ are Greek letters,  $\text{I-C X-C}$ , which are conventionalized.<sup>2</sup> The border of the slab is of exquisite Georgian interlaced pattern work. The precision of the drawing, the unusual fineness of the work, and the exquisite carving of the adornments leave no doubt that these slabs belong to the classic epoch of Georgian art, the eleventh to twelfth centuries, although the church itself was built in the second half of the sixth century. We mentioned previously a carved slab, kept in a special glass-lidded case, placed above the west door of the church (Pl. VIII, fig. 1) so high that we could not take a photograph of it as large or as good as those standing in the lower part of the iconostasis. From the small and enlarged reproductions given here (Pl. VIII, figs. 1 and 2), however, it is evident that this slab must have formed part of the iconostasis; this supposition is supported by the size of the slab and its quadrangular carved frame, which encloses figures in relief, as well as by the fineness and exquisiteness of the execution of the figures themselves. The subject of the relief is the visit of the Holy Trinity to Abraham, the so-called "Hospitality of Abraham", the angels received at the table of Abraham (Pl. VIII, fig. 2). This composition is called by both the Georgians and the Slavs "St. Trinity", as it is supposed that God visited Abraham in three persons of the Trinity in the form of three angels. The border surrounding the frame has not been preserved, but the frame itself is of the same workmanship as those of the other figures.

<sup>1</sup> A rather poor reproduction of this slab is given by I. Javakhishvili in his *History of the Georgian Nation*, vol. ii, p. 660.

<sup>2</sup> See Sabinin, M., *The Georgian Paradise*, (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1882, pp. 219-264.

<sup>2</sup> The letter X resembles the Georgian majuscule ecclesiastical  $\text{X}$ .

The remains of the altar partition of the Shio-Mghvime Laura resemble very much those of the Sap'ara Monastery near Akhaltsikhe. In Dubois' time, the iconostasis of the Sap'ara Monastery was still intact. Dubois was struck with the beauty of this iconostasis. "It is difficult to find anything more exquisite"—he says—"than the Sap'ara iconostasis set on a base of bluish sandstones. Its six small columns and the very fine carving of their arabesques are most wonderful. The spaces between the columns are adorned with four bas-reliefs, representing the Annunciation and other subjects from the Gospel; these are all executed with a taste that is astonishing in a country in which there is little plastic art; the figures are well-proportioned and full of expression. . . . I saw something approaching them at Katskhi, in Imeret'i. The workmanship is the same and is probably the creation of the same master."<sup>1</sup>

With equal enthusiasm, Zagurski, the well-known Caucasian ethnographer who visited Sap'ara in 1872, speaks of the remains of the iconostasis, for, by that time they were already destroyed, and only broken fragments lay by the wall, on a grave.<sup>2</sup> No less enraptured with the carvings of the remains of the iconostasis was the Countess Uvarova. Classifying the scenes represented on these remains as the Annunciation, the Visitation of Elizabeth, Candlemas, the Birth of the Mother of God, the scene of the Deesis, and two figures of the fathers of the Church, she writes: "These representations are so fine, their drawing so accurate and truthful, that we are very much tempted to ascribe them to a Byzantine master carver, in spite of the fact that the fine artistic frames enclosing them reveal, by the combination of their ornament, the artistic fantasy of the East. The architectural details reproduced in the scenes of the Birth and Annunciation take us back to the best miniature types of the tenth or eleventh century."<sup>3</sup> If these investigators had seen the slabs of the Shio-Mghvime Laura, I am sure they would have been as enraptured with them as with those of the Sap'ara Monastery, perhaps even more so. Indeed, in both cases, the figures are equally fine and accurate. The ornamentations are absolutely identical, as is also the border above the scene of the Deesis,<sup>4</sup> which consists of two rows of pomegranate flowers, with the border around the representation of Simeon Stylites in the Shio-Mghvime

<sup>1</sup> Dubois, *Voyage*, etc., ii, pp. 292-9. It should be here stated that nothing of what Dubois saw in Katskhi has survived to our day.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin (Izvestiya)* of the Caucasian branch of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society (in Russian), Tiflis, 1872, vol. ii, No. 2, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Materials for the Archaeology of Caucasus* (in Russian), Moscow, 1894, vol. iv, pp. 86-7. For the illustrations of the fragments, see Pls. XXXVI-XXXVII. The condition of the fragments in Uvarova's time was much worse than in that of Zagurski. These fragments were removed to Moscow by the Countess, but they have now been returned to the Museum of Georgia in Tiflis.

<sup>4</sup> Countess Uvarova, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVII.

(Pl. V). The border of the other slabs of the Sap'ara iconostasis is characterized by a different motif, but is of the same style as that of the Shio-Mghvime. There can be no doubt, therefore, that both of those iconostases are of purely Georgian workmanship and not, as Countess Uvarova supposes, Byzantine. Both belong to the same period—eleventh to twelfth century—and are quite possibly the work of the same master. In the Shio-Mghvime Laura I also collected fragments of carved stones which I found scattered here and there; in many cases it was impossible to determine their designation. Two of these fragments are reproduced on Plate IX. On the stone on the left there is a carved quadrangle, narrowing down at the base, within which is a carved circle in the shape of a round shield with a handle. This shield bears a starlike ornament, resembling an open chrysanthemum. On the stone to the right, in a similar carved quadrangle reinforced by a carved cross mounted on a carved pillar, there is the crude figure of a man. The inscription above the latter, in long *asomt'avruli* letters, is partly preserved, and reads (transcribed in the military alphabet):—

ქ-გ ზგწყგ . . . , Christ, have mercy . . .

Fragments of other carved stones are shown on Plate X. Amongst these, in the upper row, that with the charming carved cross attracts particular attention. Another fragment to the left, in the middle row, shows two human figures, the taller of which holds a stone cross. The other stones evidently are fragments of stone iconostases from other smaller churches and cells of the Shio-Mghvime Laura. Their carvings usually resemble those of the frames and borders surrounding figures of the above-mentioned iconostases in the principal church, while the circular, carved fragments may have served as bases or capitals of the small columns.

*The Ruins of the Tskhra-kara Monastery and the Altar Partitions of one of the Churches.*

Tskhra-kara denotes "nine doors", i.e. nine buildings; in this case, nine churches, including the ruins of the campanile. This name has also been given to the ruins of two monasteries in Kakhet'i, one of which was in the Alvani plain, and the other near the village Matani. Both monasteries are now in ruins. It is the Matani Tskhra-kara which interests us at the moment. The ruins of this monastery are situated on rising ground, in the shadow of a quadrangular tower, and are now completely buried in vegetation. The stone wall, with wide gates under an arch, which once enclosed the monastery, is now destroyed. The buildings stood in a row, close together, some built of rough stone, some of hewn stone, and others of brick. Three basilicas

are in a better state of preservation than the rest of the structure, of which one is three-aisled, and the other two one-aisled. Of these we will say a few words.<sup>1</sup>

The three-aisled basilica is built of unhewn stones, and is of an early Georgian type. The aisles are divided from the nave, not by columns, but by open arches, two on each side. The entrances, on three sides, are also made through open arches. The windows are narrow. The vaults of the aisles are cylindrical; they are not, however, joined together, but are separated from one another; in the middle of the southern aisle is a square space covered with a domed vault. The vault rests on an octahedral base, the transition of which to a cupola is effected by means of four pendentives each of which is cut from a single stone. On the west, there is a quadrangular chapel, with entrances to the west and south. In Professor Tchubinashvili's opinion this basilica is of the fifth century.<sup>2</sup>

The altar partition of the basilica is comparatively modern; it is built of brick, has one door in the middle and two openings, one on each side of the door, without columns.

The walls of the basilica are covered with fresco paintings in a very bad state of preservation, and which appear to belong to a later date. In the chancel is represented the scene of the Lord's Supper, and below it, four fathers of the Church, which are well preserved and bear inscriptions of the names in Greek. On the north wall are the Crucifixion, St. George, and St. Dimitrius; high up on the west wall is the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God, and below, King David, writing psalms on parchment, and, lower still, a female church-warden with a miniature church, who is being blessed by Christ's right hand extended from the skies. She is probably the person responsible for the painting of the church. The fresco is damaged.

The second church of Tskhra-kara Monastery is a one-aisled basilica,<sup>3</sup> built of hewn stone, and better preserved than the others. Its walls, particularly those on the east side are remarkable for their thickness. The windows are on the east, north, and south, and there is also a round aperture on the west. There is only one entrance on the west, above which is a plain carved cross, bordered with double carved bands (see Pl. XI); above the border is a carved knob;

<sup>1</sup> I visited Matani and Tskhra-kara during my third expedition to Kakhet'i, in July, 1914, together with the artist-photographer Th. Kühne, when we took all the photographs reproduced herein, and prepared the plans of the Matani church, dedicated to St. Nicholas, and of the one-aisled Tskhra-kara basilica. The plan of the three-aisled basilica, prepared by the architect, N. Severov, was published by Professor G. Tchubinashvili in his book, *Some Chapters from the History of Georgian Architecture* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1926, p. 46, fig. 6. Professor Tchubinashvili visited Tskhra-kara after I was there.

<sup>2</sup> Tchubinashvili, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> For its plan, see E. Taqaishvili, *Album d'Architecture Géorgienne*, Tiflis, 1924, pl. 80a.

over this, in a quadrangular stone slab, is a circular opening in a carved border, and above this, a carved cross, on another slab. The cornice is notched and of hewn stone. On the eastern side (or wall) the stones of the facing have fallen to the ground and are now covered with moss. Turning some of them over, we found carved circles with crosses of an early type, as shown on Plate XII.

The altar partition of this basilica resembles in the main those of the Savane and Speti basilicas,<sup>1</sup> but have their own distinctive peculiarities (see Pl. XIII). To begin with there are five arches instead of three, all of unequal sizes and different styles. The middle arch, which constitutes the only entrance into the chancel, is wider than the others, semi-circular at the top, and shorter than the other four. Furthermore, the upper parts are not festooned, as in the case of the Savane and Speti basilicas. The side arches of our basilica are higher and of horse-shoe shape. The columns, too, are totally different, being rounded out in the middle, and bearing a resemblance to amphoræ. My impression was that they were made of clay; their reddish colour contrasts sharply with the remaining surface of the altar partition, which was covered with stucco decorated with frescoes. These have been partly preserved in the upper part only. The figures are all half-length. In the middle is the scene of the Deesis, and on each side of it are Peter and Paul and other apostles. The Deesis bears inscriptions of the names in Greek, while those referring to the apostles are in Georgian *asomt'avruli*. Above the quadrangular capitals of the amphoræ-like columns there must have originally been represented cherubs and seraphs, for on one of them, to the right, traces of them can still be seen. This type of altar partition, in my opinion, though somewhat earlier than those of Savane and of Speti, is hardly earlier than the fifteenth century. The walls of our basilica are also covered with frescoes which are, however, in very bad condition. In the conch of the chancel is shown the Mother of God with the Son<sup>2</sup>; below, a chain of medallions of saints, and under these, fathers of the Church in sacerdotal vestments, and with crosses. In the vault of the church is the half-length figure of the Saviour; below, to the south, the Annunciation and Nativity, and on the south side, the Transfiguration. On the west wall are damaged figures of church-wardens, men and women, a boy or a girl (difficult to discern) between them, with outstretched arms. The painting on the walls of the basilica and the altar partition both belonging to a slightly later period. The inscriptions are in Georgian *asomt'avruli*.

In the altar partition, low down, on the right of the chancel,

<sup>1</sup> See GEORGICA, 1936, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Plates IX, XXVI.

<sup>2</sup> I have a photograph of it, but as it is not clear enough I do not reproduce it here.

there is a scrolled inscription in *asomt'avruli* (majuscule ecclesiastical) letters, which, transcribed in the military alphabet, reads as follows:—

ქ:¹ ლ:² ო:³ და: ცხრა: კ:⁴ ოსა: ლ:⁵ მ:⁶ შობელო: შ:⁷ ე: ბატონის: გულქანის: ასული: ანა: ყოფილი: ანასტასია: და:

ვინცა: წაიკითხოთ: შენდობა: ბოძანეთ: ბატონის: მამის: და დედის: ჩემისათვის (*sic*): და: ჩემის: ობლის: თავისათვის: თქვენის: იესოს: სიყვარულისათვის: და: ვინცა: აღმოკაცოთ (აღმოიღო-ცოთ?): ჩემისამც: ცოდვისათვის: განიკითხვის:

#### Translation.

“O, God and the Tskhra-kara Mother of God, have mercy upon the daughter of the lady Gulk'an, Anastasia, formerly Anna, and whoever readeth say, for the love of Jesus (Christ) 'forgive' for my father and mother, and for my orphaned self. And whoever effaceth (this inscription) be judged for my sins.”

From a history of Eastern Georgia there was, we know, a Gulk'an, who was a daughter of Bardzim, the Erist'avi of the Aragvi province, and the wife of Svimoni (Simon), brother of King Vakhtang VI. She died in 1717. It is to be assumed that Anna, under the veil, Anastasia, was her daughter, although she is not mentioned among the descendants of Simon and Gulk'an.<sup>2</sup>

In Tskhra-kara the third one-aisled basilica is also in a fair state of preservation. It is the usual type, fairly large, built of unhewn stone, with windows to the east and south; its altar partition, however, has disappeared, and its walls have not been painted.

#### The Church of St. Nicholas at Matani.

In the village of Matani itself there is a church with a cupola dedicated to St. Nicholas.<sup>3</sup> Owing to its frontons, it has a cruciform appearance, and is built of unhewn stone; the entrances are on the west, south, and north, and there is a window on the west, north, and south respectively, and three on the east. Prothesis and diakonikon are both without apsidal terminations. The drum is high and octahedral, built of brick, and resting partly on two round columns, partly on the thick walls of the chancel, with a window on each face. The cupola is high, tent-shaped, octahedral, and roofed with vertically laid bricks, like that of many other churches of Kakhet'i. The altar

<sup>1</sup> The original observes the three point punctuation, but we retain only two.

<sup>2</sup> See Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, vol. ii, part 1, pp. 114, 327.

<sup>3</sup> For its plan, see E. Taqaishvili, *Album d'Architecture Géorgienne*, Tiflis, 1924, pl. 79a.

partition is built of brick, having one door in the middle and two openings on each side. Under these openings are recesses for icons. The floor is of cement and the roof of stone. The date of the church is not known, but can hardly be earlier than the fifteenth to sixteenth century. A general view of the church is shown on Plate XIV.

#### The Ruins of the Monastery of Old Shua-mt'a and the Altar Partitions of its two Churches.

The ruins of the Old Shua-mt'a Monastery are in Kakhet'i, in the T'elav district, not far from New Shua-mt'a which sprang into being in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Of structures of Old Shua-mt'a in a fair state of preservation, those that deserve most note are three churches, the first of which is a three-aisled basilica. The second a fair-sized church, with a cupola, of the type of the Church of the Cross at Mtskhet'a, and the third a small church, also cruciform. I visited Shua-mt'a for the first time in 1898, and published a brief description of the ruins, inscriptions, and frescoes in Georgian in *Archæological Journies and Notes*, Tiflis, 1907, vol. i, pp. 270-2. Later, in another work dealing with the inscription of the carved door of the large domed church, I expressed the opinion that the church in question could not have been of a later date than the seventh or eighth century.<sup>1</sup>

Now, however, Professor Tchubinashvili ascribes both the domed churches to the beginning of the seventh century, and assumes that both of them were built by one and the same architect, while he considers the three-aisled basilica to be fifth century.<sup>2</sup> The plates illustrating this article are reproduced from photographs taken during my third expedition to Kakhet'i, in June, 1914, when I was accompanied by the artist-photographer Kühne. The ruins are accessible from the south only, and it is from this side that we present a general view of all the ruins, that is, of the three-aisled basilica, the large domed church in the centre, and the small domed church on the right (see Pl. XV).

The basilica of the Old Shua-mt'a Monastery is a replica of the three-aisled basilica of the Tskhra-kara Monastery both in plan and proportions; the only difference is that its south aisle has no square space with a domed vault in the centre (see above p. 106).

The altar partition of this basilica consists of three identical semi-

<sup>1</sup> See my article in *Collection of Materials for the Description of the Tribes and Regions of Caucasia*, Tiflis, vol. xliii, reprinted in my *Archæological Journies and Notes*, fasc. iv, pp. 163-7.

<sup>2</sup> *A History of Georgian Art* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1936, vol. i, pp. 29-30, 143-4. See the isometric projection of the basilica, executed by N. Severov, *ibid.*, p. 28, fig. 6.

circular arches, supported on four columns, with plain bases and capitals (Pl. XVI). These columns, however, do not stand on the transversal wall, but rise directly from the floor of the chancel. The middle arch is open and serves as the only entrance into the chancel, while under the side arches, between the columns, are placed low stone slabs; all these are covered with cement and have no ornamentation whatever. This type of altar partition is, in my opinion, the earliest and most primitive of all; I do not, however, wish to imply that it is contemporary with the basilica itself; on the contrary, judging from the material used, it is of rather later construction, although it approximates to the most ancient type of the Georgian altar partition.

The domed churches of Shua-mt'a, as we have already said, belong to the cruciform type of church, such as the Church of the Cross at Mtskhet'a, but the smaller is simpler in detail having no corner-rooms, these being replaced by semi-circular niches. In Professor Tchubinashvili's opinion (op. cit., p. 143), the original low drum and cupola of this church were made considerably higher in later times, and have consequently also changed their form. The altar partition of this church is completely destroyed. In the larger domed church, however, the altar partition (Pl. XVII) of the type of the Savane and Speti basilicas is still in existence.<sup>1</sup> It was originally divided into five arches, with one door in the middle, but the last arch, to the right, and half of the adjoining one, were blocked up when alterations were made later, while the north door was placed in the last arch to the left. The arches are supported on alabaster columns with bases and capitals; the latter are ornamented with rosettes. The columns and the lower parts of the altar partition were originally covered with monochromatic arabesques, which are now effaced. The upper parts, between the arches, and above the capitals of the columns, were adorned with half-length figures in fresco. The central figures represented the scene of the Deesis, having the inscriptions of the names in Greek, while those of the archangels at the extreme ends had Georgian inscriptions in *asomt'avruli*. Only three of these figures have been preserved, i.e. from the scene of the Deesis—Christ and the Mother of God; from among the archangels—Michael, to the left. The figures of John the Baptist and the archangel Gabriel have disappeared, when they removed the arches to the right. The plate showing the altar partition of the Shua-mt'a domed church, given here, has an added value, this partition having been completely destroyed by vandals during the Revolution. I do not think that the iconostasis under consideration, any more than those of Savane and Speti, is earlier than the fifteenth to sixteenth century and this opinion is further borne out by the style

<sup>1</sup> See GEORGICA, 1936, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Plates IX, XXVI.

of its upper frescoes, which is identical with that of the fresco remains on the walls of the church itself. I also ascribe the carved wooden door of the church, already referred to, to the same period.

An inner view of the chancel in the larger domed church is reproduced on Plate XVIII, which also shows the upper parts of the altar partition and the alteration of the square to the drum by means of pendentives. Besides these, we also photographed four external views of the large and small domed churches, one of which has been included by Professor Tchubinashvili in his *History of Georgian Art*, quoted above. (Vol. i, p. 142, fig. 103.)

*Two Small Basilicas in the Village of Patara-Oni in Radcha and the Altar Partition of one of them.*

Oni is the principal town of Radcha; Patara-Oni, i.e. Little Oni, is a village on the left bank of the River Rioni, considerably lower down than Oni. I visited this village in the summer of 1919, when all the photographs reproduced here were taken by the artist-photographer Kühne, who accompanied me. I borrow only one illustration (Pl. XIX, fig. 2) from G. Bodchoridze's article: *The Historical Monuments of Radcha*, published in Georgian, in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Georgia* (Tiflis, 1930, vol. v, p. 168, fig. 1). This is the only plate in Bodchoridze's article. The inscription has not come out well, but the ornamentation is, on the whole, clear enough. I give the translation of the inscriptions in accordance with Bodchoridze's text as I have not by me at the moment the inscriptions copied at Patara-Oni. Bodchoridze visited Patara-Oni after I did, and it is evident that he assiduously copied all the inscriptions, which he ascribes to the eleventh century. If this supposition be confirmed, the appearance in the Georgian churches of the iconostases of the Savane and Speti type is to be ascribed to the eleventh century, but we have as yet no direct evidence to this effect, and the question remains open. In the village of Patara-Oni are two basilican churches, one in the village itself, dedicated to St. George, which is of medium size, one-aisled, built of unhewn stone on cement, with entrances on the west and south, and four windows, one on each side. It was recently rebuilt, and whitewashed both inside and out. Above the west entrance there is a carved stone with an inscription in *asomt'avruli* of six lines (Pl. XIX, fig. 2) which reads, in English:—

“ Christ-God, possessor of all centuries, by the intercession of the Holy Mother of God, St. Nicholas, St. George, deliver from all transgressions, erist'avi Kakha and lady (*diop'ali*) Adelaide, and protect all their sons from all misfortunes. They built the porch of this door.”

Our basilica has no porch, and the local inhabitants informed us



that they took this stone from the destroyed porch of another basilica, dedicated to St. Nicholas (of which we will speak presently), and placed it above the west door of this church. Above the south door, too, there is a carved archivolt, with Georgian interlaced pattern work and leafy ornamentation (Pl. XIX, fig. 1). This is not, properly, an archivolt, but the tympanum of the archivolt, taken also, in my opinion, from some other, still earlier church, possibly from the one which stood on the site of the present reconstructed edifice.

*The Icon of St. George in this Church.*

There is in this church only one icon, that of St. George, in silver, 46.5 by 44 centimetres (Pl. XX, fig. 2). The Saint is represented in relief, on a quadrangular plate, in an upright position; he is clad in Roman military attire, and holds a spear in his right hand, while his left hand rests on a shield; his hair is curly. On both sides of the nimbus is an inscription of the name in long *asomt'avruli* ႫႫ (sic) ႫႫ, St. George.

On either side of the Saint is a design of pomegranate flowers. There is also a border of the chess-board pattern, with rhombs like nail-heads, adorned with the figures of saints in medallions which, judging from the inscriptions, are those of St. George, St. Theodore, St. John (above), and St. Demetrius (to the left); the fifth figure, to the left, bears no inscription. The icon is surrounded by a border decorated with grass pattern, which is probably of a later date. The icon is not earlier than the fifteenth to sixteenth century.

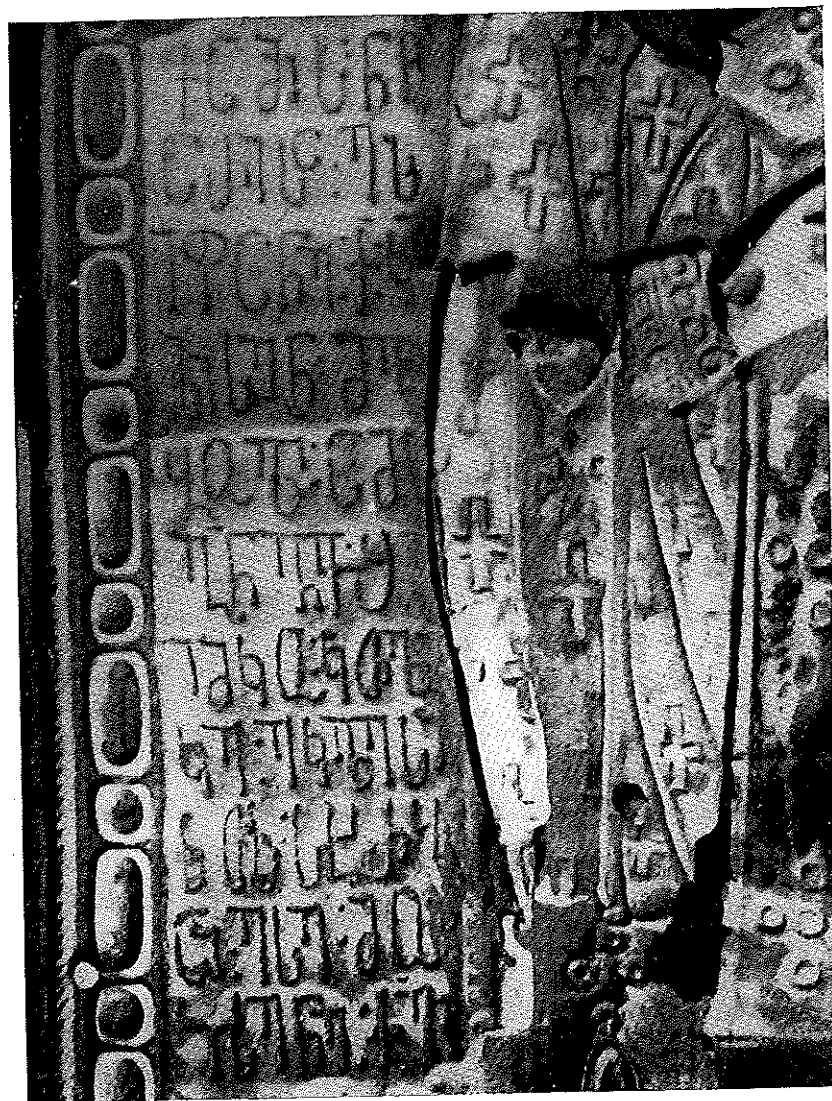
The other basilica, dedicated to St. Nicholas, is situated on a hill farther from the village, and is known as the Raket'i basilica. There was evidently a village here called Raket'i in former times; this is also indicated by the actual remains of ordinary houses. The basilica was built of hewn porous stone, but is now in ruins. The vaulted roof above the main part of the church has fallen in, while above the chancel is still intact; the south and north walls have crumbled away and the east wall is badly cracked. The basilica did not measure more than 25 ft. by 16 ft. 3 in. The windows, to the south and west, are damaged; they were entirely plain, but the window on the east, which must have been added later, has a cross above it. The entrances are to the south and west, formerly there was also an entrance to the north, but this has been blocked up for many years. The south and west doors have beautiful carved archivolts, but after a careful inspection of the church I came to the conclusion that these archivolts were inset at a later date, during the restoration of the church, certainly not earlier than the fifteenth to sixteenth century. Originally the church, like the south and west doors, had no ornamentation. That these archivolts are later additions is further proved by the stone of which they are constructed;



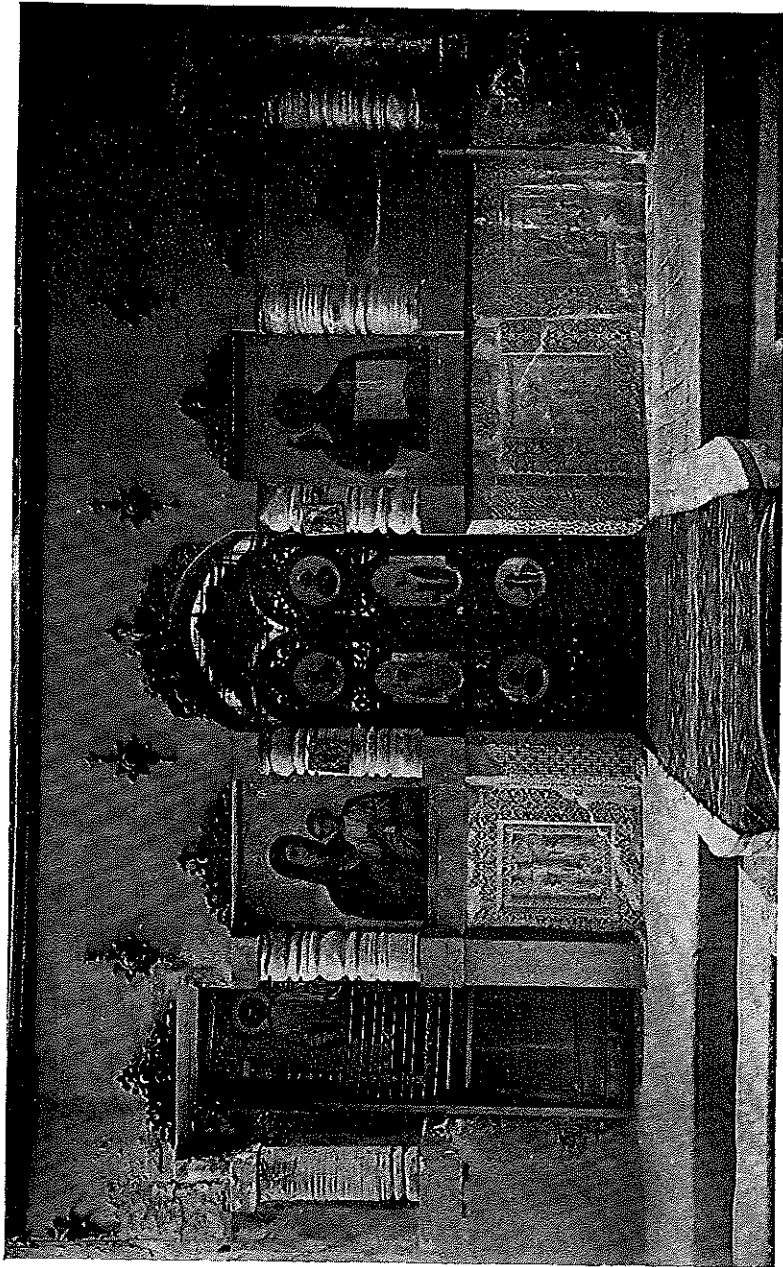
The Gospel of Enashi. The back cover.



The Gospel of Enashi. The front cover.



The Gospel of Enashi. An inscription on the front cover.

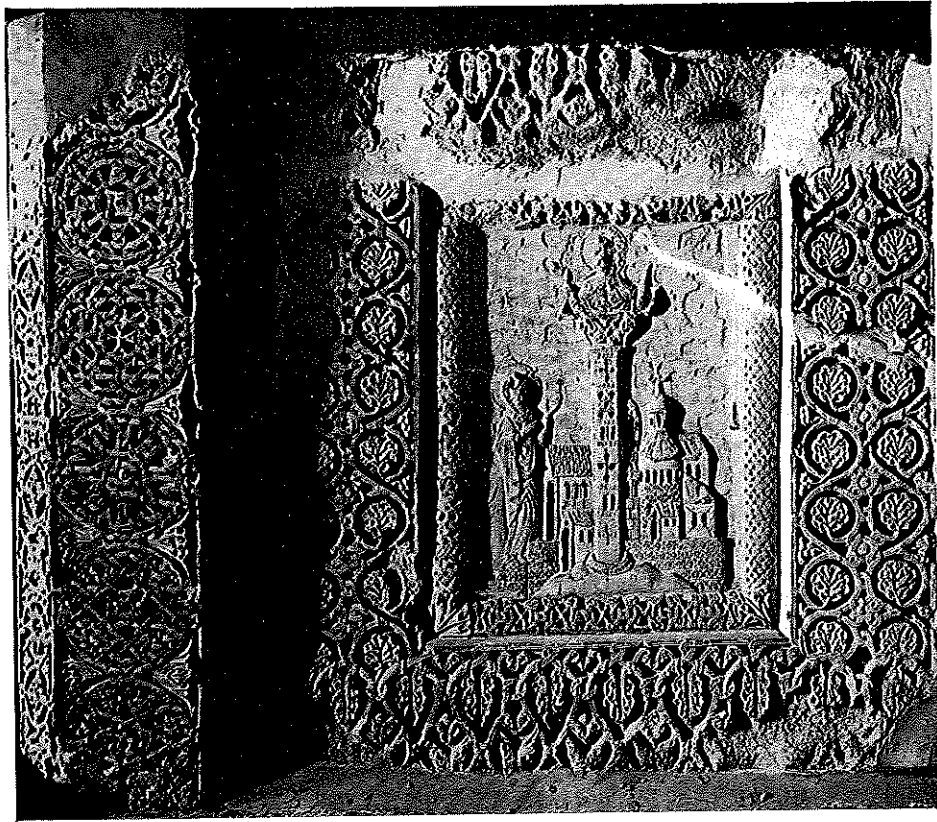


Shio-Mghvime. The iconostasis. A general view.



Shio-Mghvime. Details of the ancient iconostasis. The scene of the Crucifixion.





Shio-Mghvime. Details of the ancient iconostasis. Simeon Stylites.



Shio-Mghvime. Details of the ancient iconostasis. A scene from the life of St. Shio, the founder of the Laura.

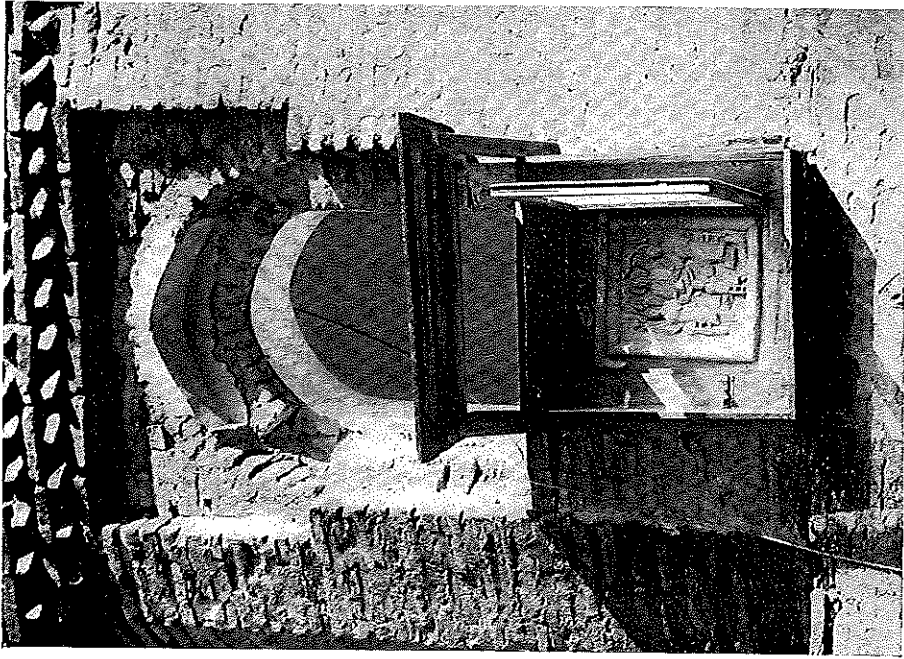
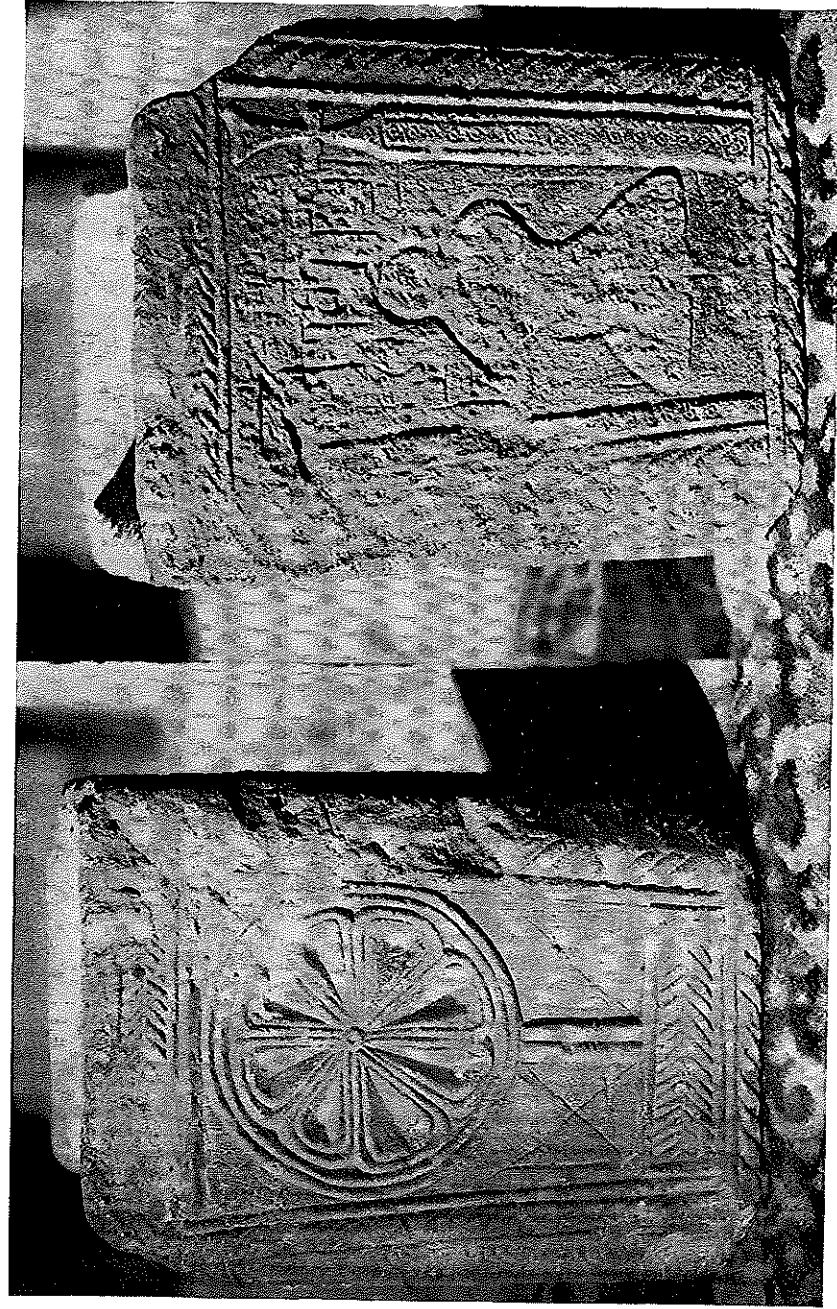


Fig. 1. Shio-Mghvime. A stone slab of the ancient iconostasis. "The Hospitality of Abraham."



Fig. 2. Shio-Mghvime. The enlargement of Fig. 1.





Shio-Mghvime. Fragments of carved stones.



Tskhra-Kara. Ruins of a single-aisled Basilica.

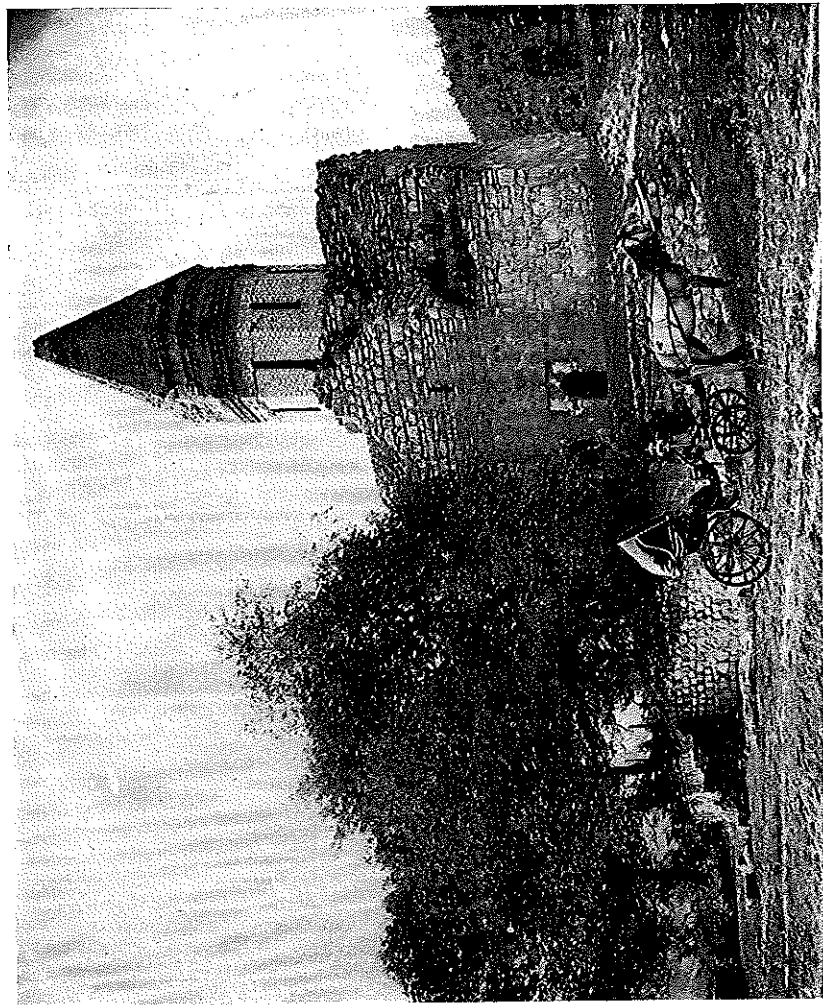




Tskhra-kara. Fragments of stones of the facing.



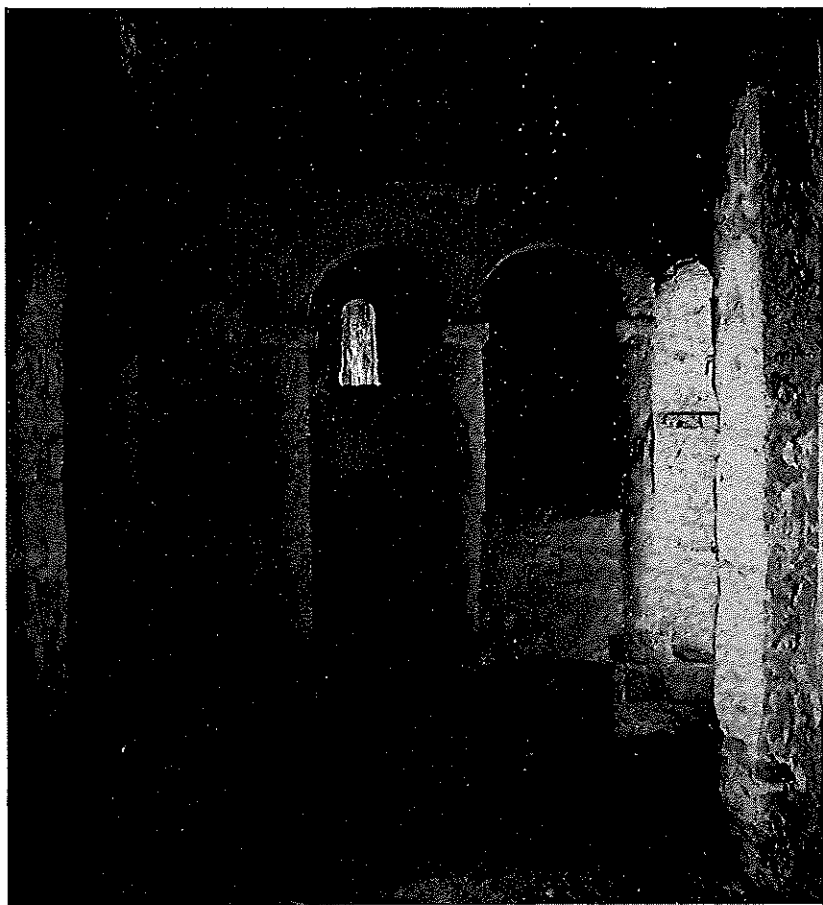
Tskhra-kara. The iconostasis. A general view.



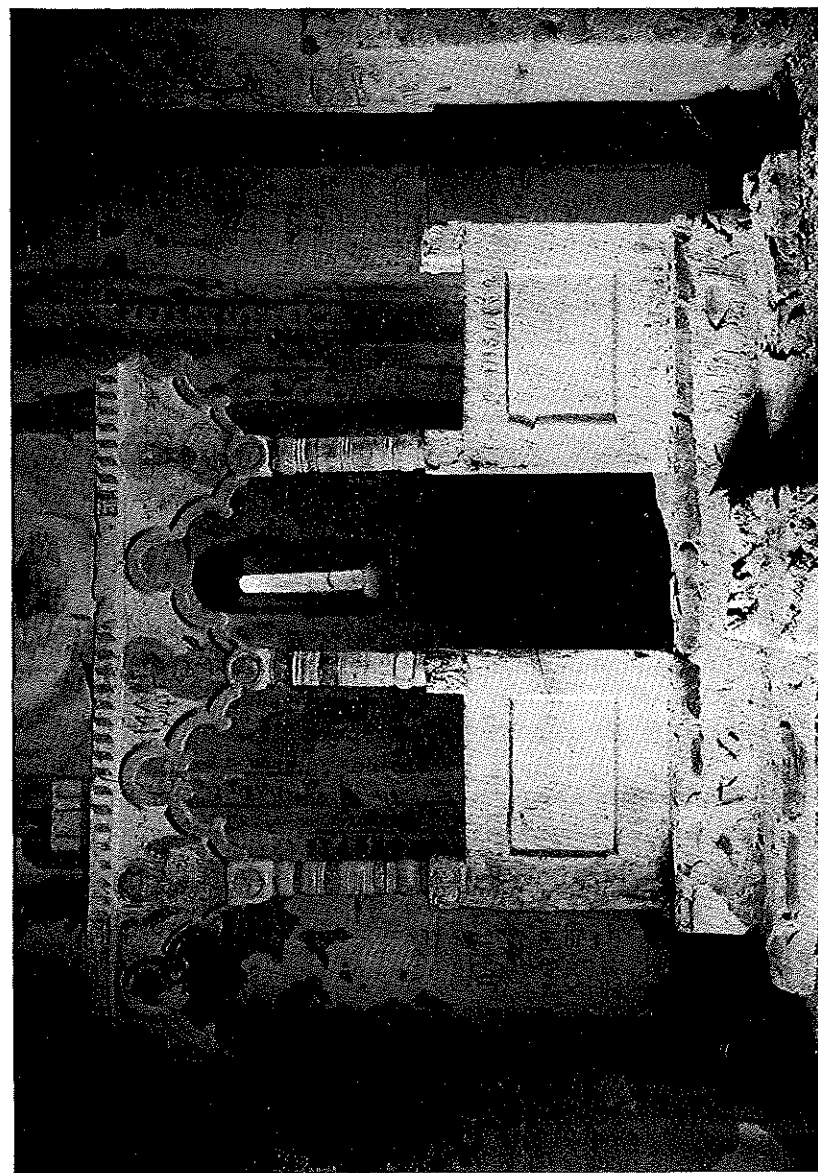
Matani. Church of St. Nicholas.



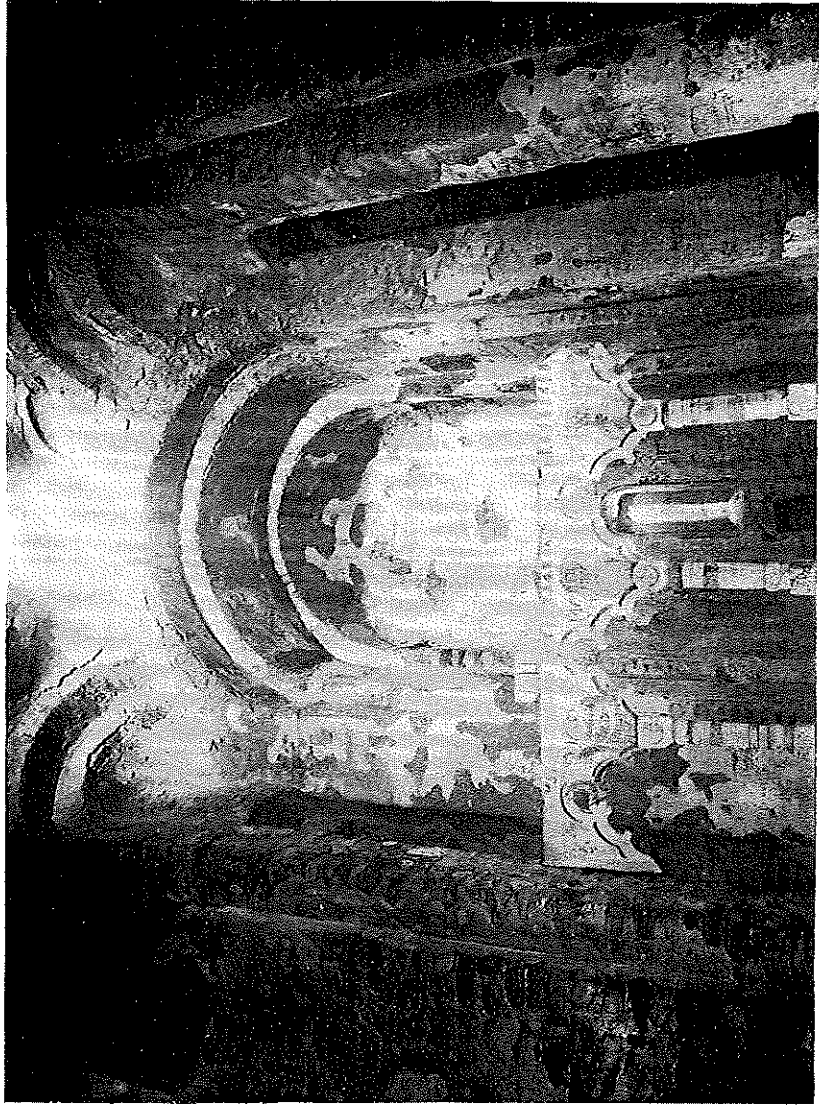
Old Shua-mt'a. The Basilica and two domed churches. A south view.



Old Shua-mt'a. Iconostasis of the old basilican church.



Old Shua-mt'a. Iconostasis. A general view.



Old Shua-mt'a. The interior of the large domed church with its iconostasis. An east view.

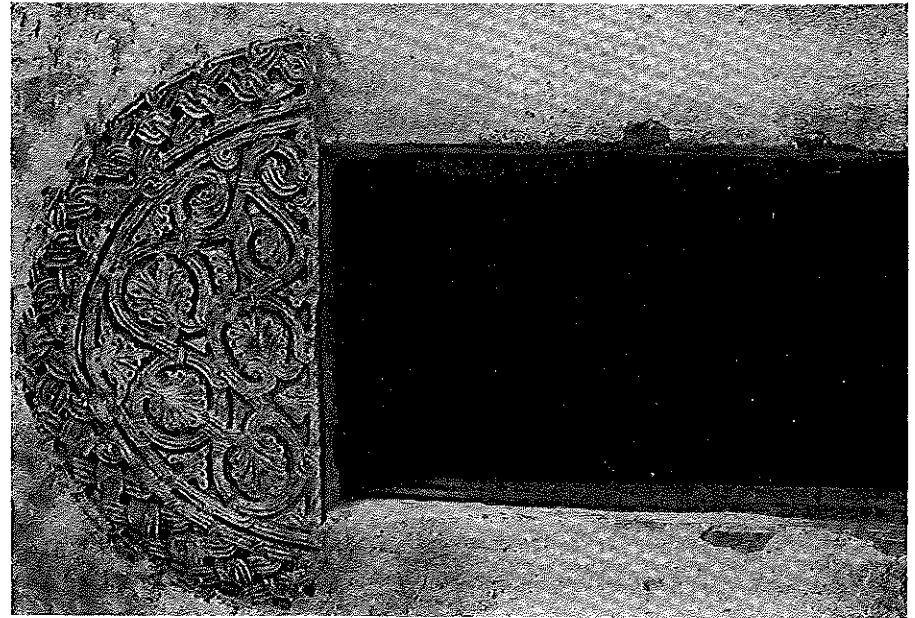


Fig. 1. Patara Oni (in Radcha). South door and its archivoit.



Fig. 2.





Fig. 2. Patara Oni. Icon of St. George.

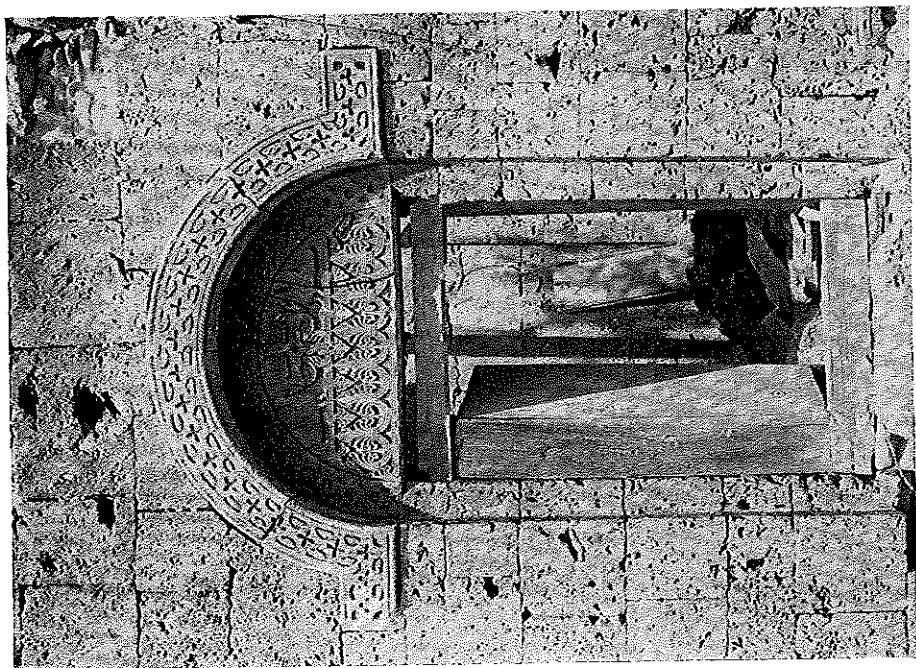


Fig. 1. Patara Oni. Archivolt of the south door.

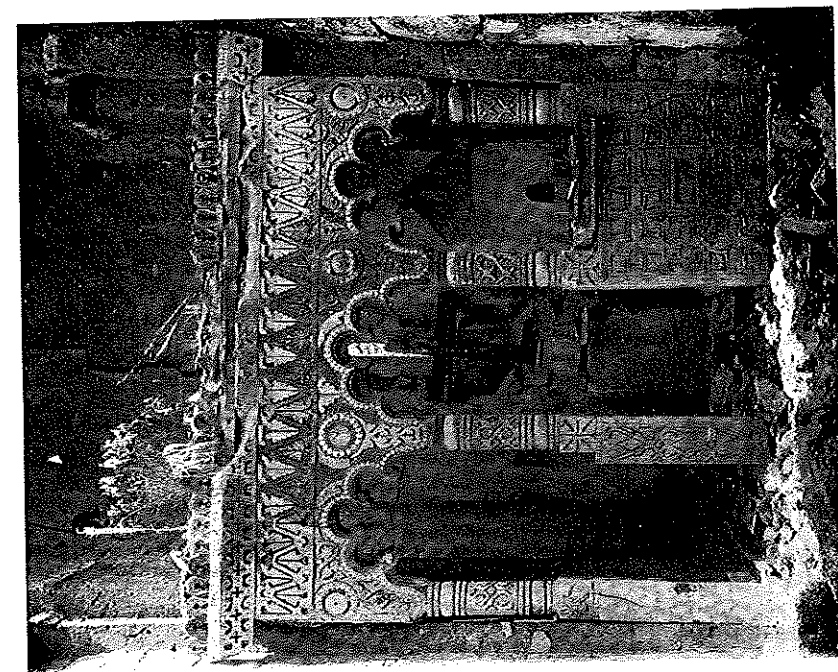


Fig. 1. Patari Oni. Iconostasis. A general view.

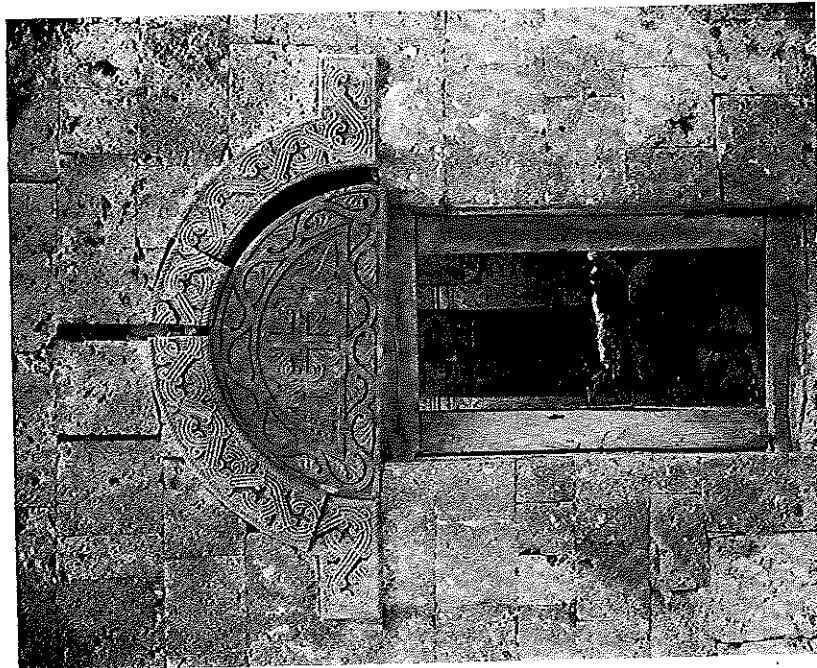
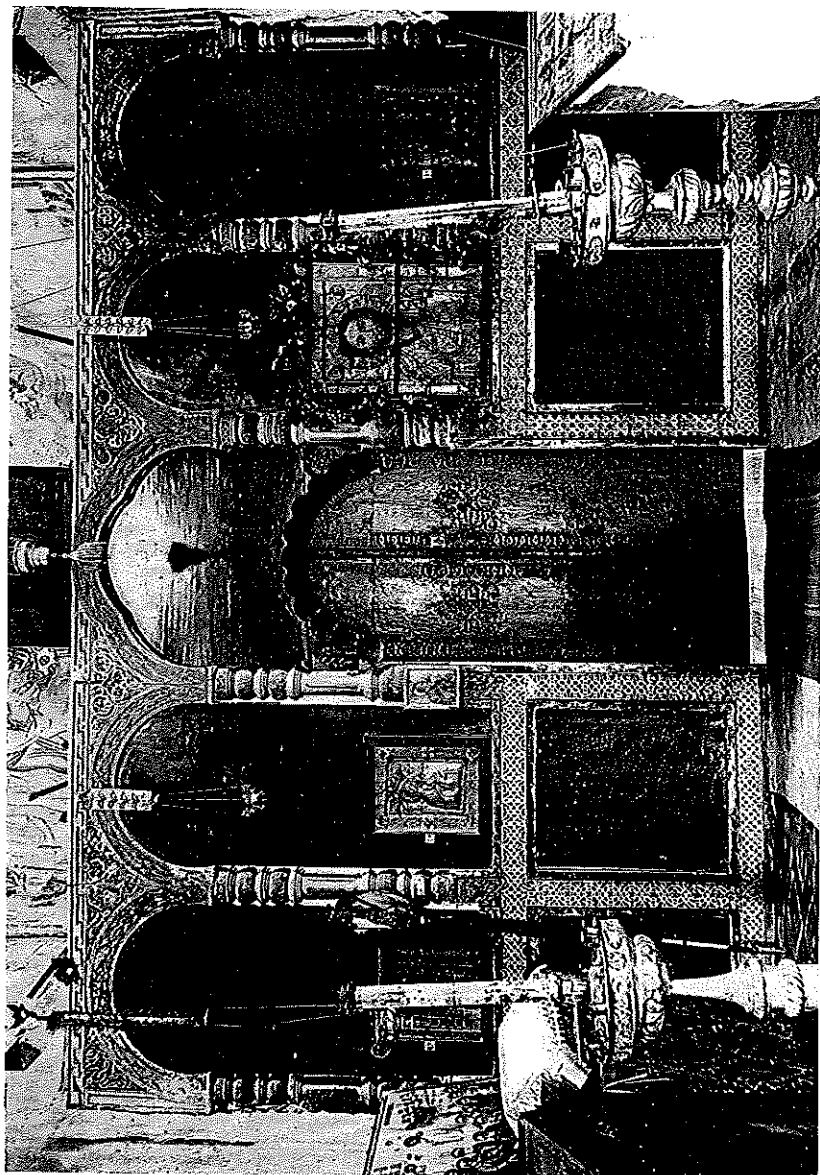
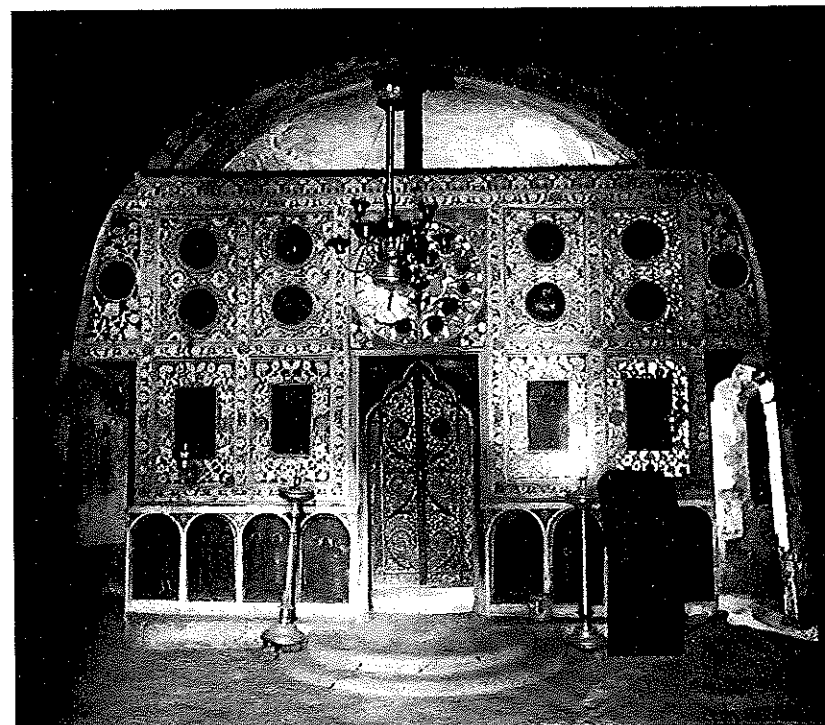


Fig. 2. Patari Oni. Archivolt of the west door of the small basilican church.

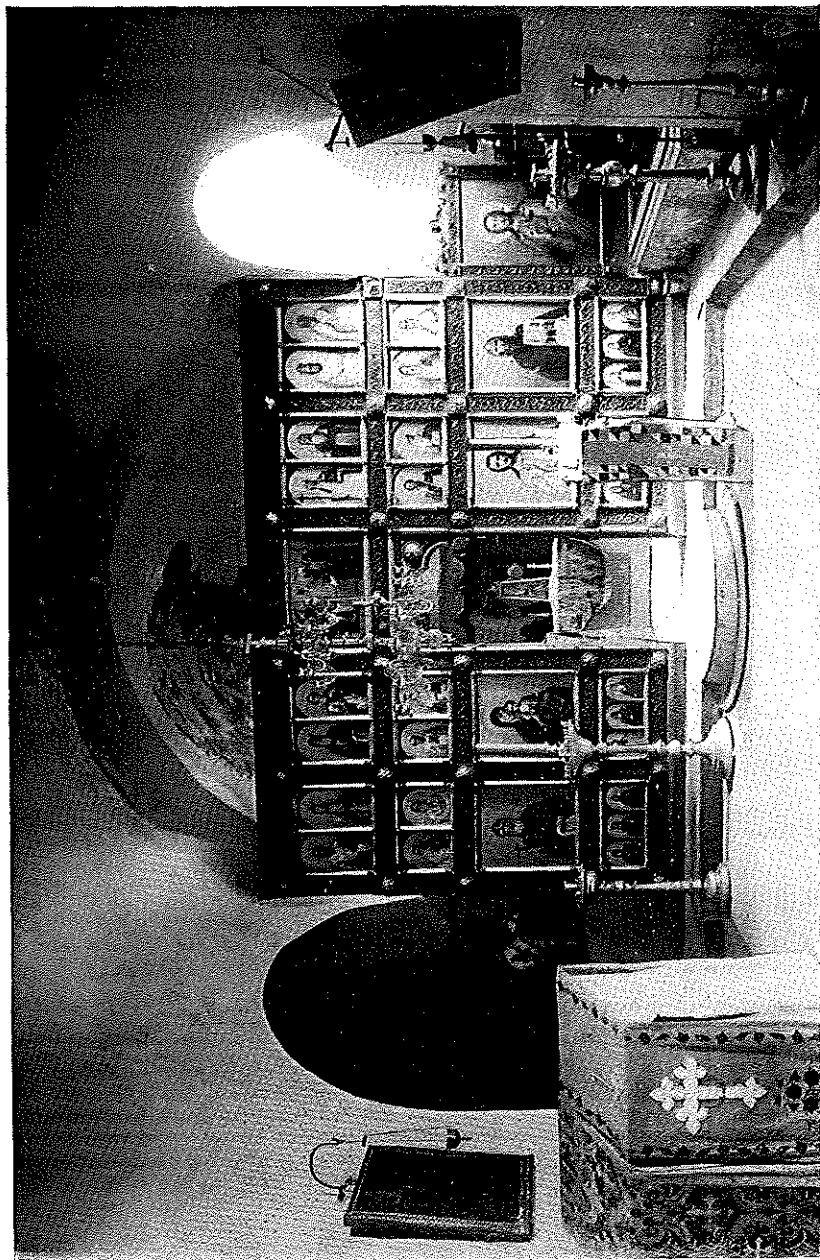


Khobi. Iconostasis. A general view.

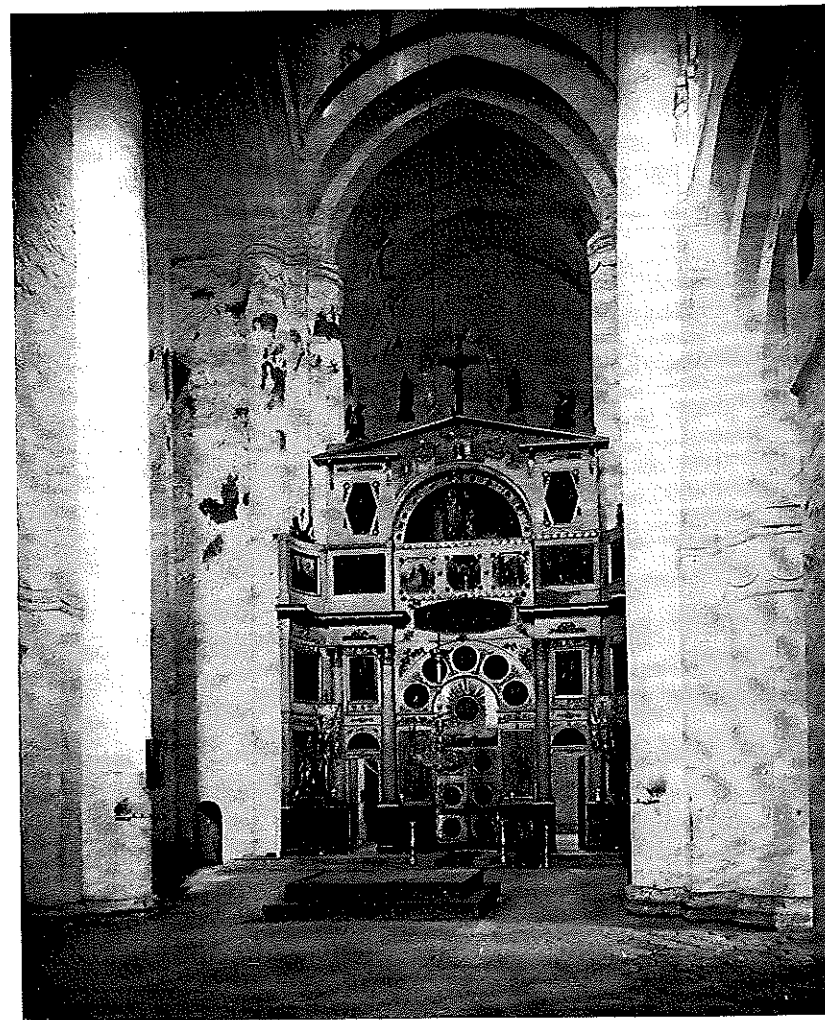


David-Garesja. Ancient alabaster iconostasis of the church of the Mother of God.





David-Garesja. Iconostasis. A general view.



Alaverdi. Iconostasis of the Cathedral.



New Shua-mt'a. Iconostasis. A general view.

this is smooth, yellowish in colour, and non-porous, while the stone used for the rest of the building is grey, porous, and much worn. Furthermore, the style of the ornamentation is in imitation of the classical type. The archivolt of the south door is semi-circular with horizontal imposts and is ornamented with interlaced pattern work. The tympanum is adorned with leafy ornamentation, above which is a plaited cross, on each side of which is a dove with a twig in its beak (Pl. XX, fig. 1). The archivolt of the west door appears to have been placed very carelessly; it has the same profile as that of the south door, but its carving is of a different pattern; the tympanum is adorned with a carved cross, flanked by two birds, not doves, however, but hoopoes (Pl. XXI, fig. 2). On this, the western side of the church, there was originally a porch which has been demolished; fragments of it still remain, and also of a stone with an inscription, the translation of which is given above. The east window is also a later addition; it is adorned with interlaced pattern work and is surmounted by a cross, consisting of four separate stones, yellowish in colour, and bearing the following inscription:—

წ<sup>~</sup>ო ჯ<sup>~</sup>ო, the Holy Cross.

On either side of the cross is an inscription carved on six stones, which has been so damaged that the last words are indecipherable; the remainder reads as follows:—

“ St. Nicholas, the Thaumaturgus, ruler of all centuries, be the protector for all the days of their lives, of Kakha and Adelaide, who built this holy Church, and absolve them of their sins. . . . ”

High up in the chancel there are deep, lofty recesses. The altar is set up against the wall. The church possesses a beautiful, high iconostasis, built of stone, that has been overlaid with alabaster and decorated with arabesques in polychrome, in the style of the Savane iconostasis. It consists of three open arches, with four small columns, and originally had only one door in the centre; later, however, another was built to the north. The cornice, consisting of three courses, has an ornament like that of the south door archivolt, and, in addition, bears an inscription in *asom'avruli*, of which only the beginning and the end are legible, the rest having crumbled away. I collected fragments of the inscription that were scattered about and placed them in the chancel recess. A general view of the iconostasis in the state in which I saw it is reproduced on Plate XXI, fig. 1. The photograph is of particular interest, as it appears that the entire iconostasis has now completely crumbled. Bodchoridze, when he visited it subsequently, found that only fragments remained. He has reconstructed part of the inscription on the basis of our photograph, as he himself states

(op. cit., p. 167), and from the fragments we placed in the chancel recess; it reads as follows:—

“ I, Kakha, in the name of God, and with the aid of St. Nicholas, erected this chancel . . . made (or did?) . . . ”

Neither Kakha, the *erist'avi*, nor Adelaide, his wife, is known from other sources. Bodchoridze assumes that all the inscriptions of the Church of St. Nicolas are, as I have already stated, of the eleventh century, and Kakha, the *erist'avi*, may possibly be the predecessor of the *Kakhaberidze-s*, the *erist'avi-s* of Radcha (op. cit., p. 169). But having, as already stated, carefully inspected the ruins of the church, my impression is that the basilica itself is undoubtedly much earlier, perhaps of the eighth to ninth centuries, and that it was radically reconstructed either at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century; a porch with the above-quoted inscription was then added, as well as the archivolts of the south and west doors, and the new window, to the east, with cross and inscription; at this time also, the iconostasis, identical with that of Savane, was erected.

Having made such drastic alterations in the original basilica, which until then had no ornamentation whatever, Kakha flattered himself that he was the actual builder of the church. If, however, the porch and the iconostasis had been built contemporaneously with the church itself, they would not each have borne a separate inscription; that to the east of the building would have sufficed. It is obvious that if the separate parts of the church had been simultaneously completed, one inscription alone would have sufficed. As it is, the separate inscriptions of the porch and the iconostasis clearly prove that the original basilica had neither the porch, nor the iconostasis. Finally, the vast difference between the materials used in the construction of the porch, the door tympanums, the east window, and the surmounting cross and those of the walls of the basilica and its south and west windows clearly indicates that not all the parts of the surviving basilica are contemporary. It should also be noted that the colours of the arabesques and of the iconostasis are as fresh as those of the Savane basilica, which could not have been the case had its iconostasis been erected in the eleventh century. Notwithstanding, I do not consider the question is finally solved. The basilica must be re-examined, the inscriptions carefully photographed and their palæographic character determined beyond doubt.

#### *The Iconostasis of the Khopi Monastery.*

The type of the Georgian arched iconostases prevails throughout the seventeenth century. The arches, however, show a gradual increase

in height. I ascribe to the seventeenth century the wooden iconostasis of the Khopi Monastery in Megrelia (Pl. XXII).<sup>1</sup> The iconostasis is divided into five arches, resting on six columns, but the arches are comparatively high. Beneath them are quadrangular carved frames, instead of slabs, for the insertion of icons, and although the icons are now placed in the openings of the arches, the interstices were not originally for that purpose. The surface of the iconostasis and the small columns are carved in Georgian interlaced pattern work.

#### *The Iconostases of the Monasteries of David-Garesja, Alaverdi, and New Shua-mt'a.*

In April, 1913, I visited the group of cave and semi-cave churches of the David-Garesja Monastery, together with the archimandrite Nazari (who subsequently became the Metropolitan of K'ut'aisi) and the artist-photographer Kühne. We took numerous photographs of the ancient constructions, most of which lay in scattered ruins, and of the remains of the fresco paintings in the cave churches.<sup>1</sup> The more valuable MSS. were removed to the Museum, and an inventory made of the rest. In one of the churches, the iconostasis is still in existence (see Pl. XXIII). It is made of alabaster and covered with monochromatic arabesques in the Georgio-Persian style; it is very high and is divided into three tiers; the bottom tier consists of open arches, four on each side of the royal door, but the portion on the right has been altered to allow a second door to be erected on this side. The middle tier has two quadrangular windows on each side of the royal door. In the top tier are, above the royal door, a large round window in the form of a rosette and five circular apertures on each side. This iconostasis is unique of its kind. I have not seen this type anywhere else in Georgia. Nevertheless, it is comparatively modern; such high iconostases did not come into existence until the seventeenth century. This particular iconostasis was probably erected by the Crown Prince George, subsequently King George XII, who was very fond of the David-Garesja Monastery, which he frequently visited and where he buried K'et'evan, his first wife, in 1780.

Other iconostases of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries consist generally of many tiers, and are built of wood, and ornamented

<sup>1</sup> This photograph, with many others, was taken by Kühne, during my expedition to Megrelia in the summer of 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Of these photographs, that of the Lord's Supper has been used by Tchubinashvili in the catalogue *Georgische Kunst* . . . Berlin, 1930, *Abb.* 3, while that of the figure of Eustasius Plakides, represented on the stone at the entrance to the Monastery of John the Baptist, has been incorporated in his book, *The History of Georgian Art*, vol. i, p. 214, fig. 168.

with the painted figures of saints. As an example, we reproduce a wooden iconostasis with five tiers, belonging to the principal church of the David-Garesja Monastery (Pl. XXIV), as well as the wooden iconostases of the Alaverdi Cathedral (Pl. XXV) and the New Shua-mt'a Monastery, in Kakhet'i (Pl. XXVI). The two latter iconostases were sent from Moscow in the middle of the nineteenth century (1844) by Prince Erekle, son of King George XII.

## THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE ABKHASIANS

(From the materials on Abkhasian ethnography)

By N. S. JANASHIA

[A translation of the article published in *Khristianski Vostok*, The Christian East, Petrograd, 1915, vol. iv, No. 1, pp. 72-112.]

FOLLOWING the suggestion of N. Y. Marr that I should revise and translate into the Russian language my notes on "Materials on the ethnography of the Abkhasians", published 16-17 years ago in Georgian periodicals, chiefly in the journal *Moambe*, I made a careful review of all the collected "Materials", whether printed or still in manuscript form. In order to make the revision more complete I invited the aid of a special Commission from the Abkhasians of the village Adzvibzha, where the materials in question were actually collected.

The Commission consisted of the following persons: Mrs. Gidcha Janashia, my mother, with whose help the materials were checked originally; Kharikhan Tchengelia; Kelamat Delba, an eighty-year-old man, possessing a perfect knowledge of Abkhasian; Abdakhw Lolua, an orator; Alexis Dopua, who has a wide knowledge of tales and legends; Mushagw Tchengelia; and Alexis Janashia. The Commission worked with me for two days, the 2nd and 3rd July, 1914.

Furthermore, being still doubtful about certain aspects of my task, I checked the materials again at the meeting of the Adzvibzhuaans, during the month of August, and I found that all agreed in the main, differing only in matters of detail. One of my chief difficulties was that members of the Commission refused point blank to tell me tales I wanted to have in connection with my object, because "it is forbidden to tell tales in the daylight!" I therefore found it very hard to verify tales I had formerly taken down. So strong is the power of superstition nurtured for centuries! I am convinced that much that is incomprehensible in my "materials" would have been susceptible of explanation in the light of these tales.

All the ceremonies and rites herein presented are described by a man who has taken an active part in their observance; at first, during his childhood, when he was imbued with profound religious feeling, and later in life when, although no longer professing "faith", he approached them with the greatest interest with a view to their study. I have endeavoured to record all the details, discovering in them curious survivals preserved through the popular beliefs and customs of the Abkhasians. In my opinion these details represent invaluable material for the scientific study of religious observance.

I was at one time very much tempted to use the material I had

already collected for the writing of a full-size monograph dealing with the religious beliefs and customs of the K'art's, Ibers, and Svans. However, after some reflection I decided that the time was not ripe for such a task as some necessary data were lacking and I therefore decided to publish only the notes. Here and there, however, I have not been able to restrain myself from touching upon certain considerations and inquiries belonging to the larger plane, and these have overflowed in the form of footnotes.

The founders of Christianity, realizing that it was not so easy after all to eradicate from the consciousness of the majority of the population religious beliefs and rites observed for thousands of years, endeavoured to transform them, by wrapping them up in their own clothing and so adapting them to the Christian feasts and saints; thus they established their own annual festivals. Wherever possible I have followed in my account the established order of church festivals.

I should further point out that all the material herein described was collected in one village only, namely, Adzvizbza, in southern Abkhasia (the province of Abzhua), which, according both to Georgian and foreign (for instance, of the missionary A. Lamberti) historical sources constituted until the second half of the seventeenth century, part of Megrelia. This accounts for the fact that the Megrelian influence is so strongly noticeable. I think it is quite possible that some of the beliefs herein described may be capable of a different interpretation in Northern Abkhasia.

I begin my notes with Ayt'ar. In the first place, however, it will be expedient to explain my views on the chief deity *antswà*,\* God.

*Antswà* is a compound word, consisting of *an*, "mother," and *tswa* (*ratswà*)—"many," which together denote "many mothers" or simply "mothers"; the word is thus in the plural form.<sup>1</sup> "In a formal or grammatical sense," says Dcharaia, "it is not an error; only the word 'mother' forms in the plural *antswa* and 'God'—*antswà*, i.e. the difference is in the accent. But in colloquial speech both words,

\* The underlined *tsw* is a trigraph representing a sound uttered with one articulative effort or breath impulse, of which the digraph "ts" represents the front lingual affricate equivalent to German "z" (*Zeit*, time), and the labial semi-vowel "w", the labialization of the preceding "ts". "Tsw" thus represents a labialized variety of "ts". See N. Y. Marr, *The Abkhasian Analytical Alphabet* (in Russian), Leningrad, 1926, p. 31. [TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.]

<sup>1</sup> It would be premature at this stage to enter into the question of the identification of the conception "god", in Abkhasian, with "mother", and any attempt to give a morphological explanation of the form, which is incontestably the plural in *-tswa*, with the aid of the Abkhasian word *ratswa* would be superfluous (see N. Marr, *Definition of the Language of the Second Category of the Achaemenian Cuneiform Inscriptions* (in Russian), in *Zapiski* (Bulletin) of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, St. Petersburg, 1915, §62. See also his *On the Origin of the Name Anapa* (in Russian). It is the usual linguistic method of the Abkhassians to interpret everything, even suffixes, such as the plural termination *-tswa* in the above instance, by means of the Abkhasian speech, with the aid of the Abkhasian words that survive to this day. [Note by the Editor of the *Kristianski Vostok*.]

'mothers' and 'God', are often pronounced in the same manner."<sup>1</sup> "During the study of the different religious beliefs and customs of the Abkhassians," he continues, "we came across the following phrase among others: *antswà r-məzəzə*—'the cause, guilt of God' (properly, 'the guilt or fault of gods,' N. Janashia). The roman r is the pronominal characteristic of the third person plural. . . . The above quoted construction—*antswà r-məzəzə*—could not have been arrived at unless the word *antswà* was used in the plural," justly remarks the author; "were it in the singular, we would have had *antswà i-məzəzə*."

Abkhassians regard the elements and manifestations of nature as rational beings. Each of these rational beings has his own gods, whom the orthodox Abkhasian serves honestly, in the light of his understanding. If the name of one, or more, of these gods has been forgotten by the people, he, the god, is simply called *inkhwə*\*—"his 'part', 'share' of mother," or they use the full form *intswakhwə*—"his part of God," while under the influence of Christianity—*inəkhəkwə*, in which *əkwə* denotes "part, share, dole" and *ənəkhə*—"icon."<sup>2</sup>

In Abkhasian conception, God is One, but He is of infinitely numerous "doles" or parts. Not only each manifestation of nature, but also each tribe, family, or individual, has his own part of God, just as each Christian has his guardian-angel. The Abkhaz says *səntswakhwə*—"my (s- is the pronominal characteristic of the first person singular) part of God"; *untswakhwə*—"thy (u- is the pronominal characteristic of the second person singular) part of God." And it should be noted that one may offend against not only one's own "part of God", but also against "the part of God" of one's neighbour, or relation, etc. . . .

This conception of the Deity as a multiform being appears to account for the fact that the word *antswà* is in the plural. Here I will note that such a conception evidently did not prevail among the Abkhassians only; its traces remain to this day even among the

<sup>1</sup> P. Dcharaia, *On the Relation of the Abkhasian lang. to the Japhetic* (in Russian) in *Materials for Japhetic Linguistics*, St. Pb., 1912, vol. iv, p. 65.

\* The combination "khw" represents a sound uttered with one breath impulse. The underlined "kh" ("kh") constitutes actually a trigraph in which the digraph "kh" represents a guttural fricative equivalent to German *ach-laut*, and the *linea subscript* a hard diffusive glottal spirant, which is not to be identified with the palatal (front) "h", and which is represented elsewhere, independently, as "h"; the combination "kh" (= kh + h) is thus a deeper guttural, glottal, sound than the German *ach-laut*. The labial semi-vowel "w" represents the labialization of the preceding "kh". "Khw" thus represents a labialized variety of "kh". See N. Y. Marr, *The Abkhasian Analytical Alphabet*, pp. 48 and 39; see also his *Abkhasian-Russian Dictionary*, Leningrad, 1926, pp. xxxv-xxxvi. [TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.]

<sup>2</sup> I. Javakhishvili derives *ənəkhə* from the Georgian word *khali*, icon. May not *khali* be derived from the Abkhasian verb *akhal'ara*? *A-khə*, head, *at'ara*, to give, to set, to level the head. Or is it a mere consonance?



Georgians. Thus, according to Iv. Gv. Gomelauri, the well-known pedagogue, in K'iziqi (Signakh district, in Kakhet'i) they say: *tchemi dsili ghmert'i*; *sheni dsili ghmert'i*, "my part of God," "thy part of God." A. Dsuladze, who is well acquainted with the life of the Gurian people, told me that similar expressions were also used in Guria.

Further, as the reader will see for himself, the word *an*, "mother" constitutes part of the names of a series of gods, and several of these names are of the feminine gender, as Dcharaia has also justly noticed. In this connection I should like to direct the attention of the reader to the names of two gods, namely, *jabràn* and *zhwabràn*.<sup>\*</sup> Each of these words has in our opinion several connotations; *jabràn* is compounded of several words: *j* is the root from the word *a-j-ma*, a goat; *a-b*, father; *r* the pronominal characteristic of the third person plural; and *an*, mother. Thus *jabràn* denotes "father and mother of goats", i.e. "(fore)parents of goats", or "god of goats". In the same manner *zhwabràn* is compounded of *a-zhw*, a cow, and of the components just explained, so that the whole denotes "father and mother of cows", i.e. "(fore)parents of cows".<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that at the dawning of their religio-philosophical life, the Abkhassians evidently worshipped equally both their male and female ancestors. How strong is this ancestor-worship among the Abkhassians even to-day will be shown in my work *The Ancestor Cult*.

Thus, as is the case of Dcharaia, I think that the word *antswà* is derived from the word *an* in the plural. I also think that the name *antswà*, of the Supreme Being, arose from the deification of ancestors. At first it was evidently used with the plural termination, and in the feminine gender, and later, in the course of time, from "many mothers-gods" arose the One God *antswà*.<sup>2</sup> The changing of the gender of gods is often observed in the religions of the primitive peoples, and *antswà* therefore constitutes no exception.<sup>3</sup>

*Antswà* is One, but He is plural as to His parts. All the gods, of which we will speak below, are subject to and obey Him as the Supreme Being. In the tales, I was told, it is said that *antswà*'s mother came from a Megrelian princely *gvàri* of Mkheidze, the Abkhassian form of

\* The combination *zhw* is to be uttered with one breath impulse; it represents a labialized variety of "zh" (= French "j"). Cf. "tsw", p. 118, n. \*. [TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.]

<sup>1</sup> Such a morphological interpretation does not appear admissible, as the word *an*, if in this case it denotes "mother", is never combined with *ab*, father, but governs the first part of the compound word, *jab* and *zwhab*, which, judging from the relative infix *r*, is assumed to be plural. [Note by the Editor, *Khr. V.*]

<sup>2</sup> And not *antswa*, as it should have sounded and does really sound "mothers". See above, pp. 118-19. [Ed., *Khris. Vos.*]

<sup>3</sup> If this supposition turns out to be justified, and the word *antswà* is not of Sumerobabylon-Assyrian origin (from *An, Anu*), its significance as a term employed in the history of religious beliefs generally will be greatly increased.

which is *Khetsia*.<sup>1</sup> He has one sister from whom descends the demon family; that is why *antswà* has no right to destroy once for all the demons, his blood relations.

The Abkhassians appear to have made their gods after the image of man; one and the same god can be both good and evil in relation to a given person, according to the zeal with which he fulfils his duties towards him. The only means by which an angered god can be placated is by open-hearted confession and sacrificial offerings. And as the Abkhassians have a great number of gods their whole life is passed in continuous prayer and offering to gods.

## I. АYT'AR-NƏHWА\*

### I. *Jabràn*

The Abkhassians make preparations for Shrovetide with particular solemnity, for its approach coincides with the observance of a series of religious rites and offerings, known under the general name of *Ayt'ar-nəhwà*. Ayt'ar is a great god of procreation and fertility, particularly with regard to the breeding of cattle. He is, as we shall see presently, the head of a whole pleiade of gods, who appear to be subordinate to him, and each of whom constitutes a part of him. *Nəhwà*, which is derived from *a-nəhwàra*, to pray, denotes praying, prayer, whence *Ayt'ar-nəhwà*, meaning prayer, offering, to Ayt'ar.

The first in order of offerings is that performed in honour of the god *jabràn*, i.e. god of the goats (and sheep) (see above, p. 120).

On the Sunday, the last day of Shrovetide, the eldest woman of the family leavens dough from the flour of *ashə* (Georgian *shvria*, oat)<sup>2</sup> and places it in a warm corner. The dough is often kneaded with a stick, called *adswə*,<sup>†</sup> made specially for this purpose from the hazel tree, on account of which the dough itself is called *adswəwəsa*, a combination of *adswə*, a stick with a tapering end, and *ərsara*, to knead.

On the Shrove Thursday the eldest woman of the family—*ap'hwəs-isk'ya* ("woman pure")—takes a portion of this leaven, kneads it with the stick, adds some water and flour, boils it, and then bakes maizebread—*amgyal*. This maizebread must be baked on a hearth.

\* For the pronunciation of "h" see p. 119, n. \*. The combination "hw" represents a labialized variety of "h". [TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.]

† The combination "dsw" which is to be pronounced with one breath impulse, represents a labialized variety of "ds". For this latter sound see p. 329 (s'). [TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.]

<sup>1</sup> N. Y. Marr, *On the Religious Beliefs of the Abkhassians* (in Russian), in *Khristsianski Vostok*, "The Christian East," St. Pb., 1915, vol. iv, issue 1, p. 138.

(A translation of this work is given in this number, pp. 157-180, see p. 171. Ed. Georgia.)

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that in all these sacrificial offerings oat flour and, on rare occasions, millet flour, is used. Without this flour or unless it is at least used as an ingredient the offering becomes inadmissible. The reason for this is probably because *ashə* (and *ghomi*, millet) alone constituted the staple food.



When the woman places the dough on the hearth, she holds over it a pure *sulguni* (a round of cheese),<sup>1</sup> from the centre of which she cuts out a small round piece and places it in the middle of the maizebread; with the exception of this middle part, the maizebread is lented. When placing the dough on the hearth, she scatters bits of it, first in the direction of the sea, and then towards the mountains; and, as if calling to the goats, she says, *reyt, reyt* (the goat call), and mutters the following prayer: "Thou, *jabrà*, the great part of the great god (*Àyt'ar intswakhwədù jabrà*)! Grant us the warmth of thine eyes and of thy heart. Be the guardian of our herds! Bear goodwill unto us so that no harm should befall our herds, except their old moulted wool and old dung!" Apart from this introduction, which is always used, each says an improvised prayer. After this is over, as if calling to the goats they again exclaim, *reyt, reyt*, turning alternatively towards the sea and the mountains.

When the maizebread is baked, and the goats have returned from the fields, the eldest man in the family prays to god *jabrà*, muttering approximately the formula quoted above. The whole family joins him in uttering *dämen*, and the candles are lighted.

It is to be noted that during the prayer the participants also invoke the "god" *mkyamgaria*,\* and say: "May thy bounty never fall short on us." It seems to me that this deity is no other than the "Megrelianized" angels Michael and Gabriel (Geo. *Mik'el da Gabrieli*), with whom Christianity endeavoured, in vain, to replace *Àyt'ar* and his "parts" of gods; up to this day the pagan deities still take precedence, although they also pray to *mkyamgaria*.

The maizebread is first cut into four parts with two strokes of the knife, and only afterwards into small pieces; the neighbours are not forgotten either, a piece being sent to each. The maizebread is baked in rhododendron (*à-k'wazhwe*)† leaves.

## 2. *Zhwabràn* (god of cows)<sup>2</sup>

This rite is performed in the same manner as *jabrà*. The prayer begins thus: "Thou *zhwabràn*, the great part (of the great deity)

\* The palatal or mid-lingual semi-vowel "y" in "k'y", "gy", as also in "ky", "wy", "shy", "qy", etc., met with in this article, lingualizes or iotizes the preceding consonant sound, the combinations "k'y", "gy", etc. representing lingualized or iotized varieties of "k'", "g" (pronounced hard, as in "go"), etc. For the pronunciation of simple radical sounds see p. 328. [TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.]

† See p. 131, note \*.

<sup>1</sup> In Abkhasian *àtskyashwə*, pure cheese; cf. Megrelian (I. Kipshidze, *The Megrelo-Russian Dictionary*, s.v. *ant'ari*) *tsh'ebzə*, which is also an Abkhasian expression, denoting "pure (*a-tsh'ya*), good (*à-bza*)".

<sup>2</sup> In Guria this observance is known under the name of *bosloba* (an abstract form of *boseli*, cowhouse) or *iloroba*; the latter probably has some connection with St. George of Ilori. The Gurians often call a cow *ilora*. In Megrelia the god of cattle-breeding is known as *Zhini-An'ar*.

*Àyt'ar!*" etc. The dough is kneaded from the same leaven, only when calling to the cows they exclaim *wootsw*. Shrove Saturday is dedicated to *zhwabràn*.

## 3. *Anəkhha-nəhwa* (*Dopu-nəkhha*)

Near Adzvibzha is a little village called Dopukət, where dwell the Dopua-s who are attendants (Geo. *me-khat-ur-i*) of the "icon"—*Dopu-nəkhha*, revered by all the Adzvibzhaans and Dopukətans. This "icon" is known also as *shwəjàn-nəkhha*, i.e. Sujuna icon, under which is meant, no doubt, St. George of Sujuna in Megrelia. This "icon" is called *zhwarək'yə* by the wives of the Dopua-s, for the reason that the wives of Abkhasians have no right to call by name the eldest members of their husband's *gvari*, or his relations. D. I. Gulia thinks that the word *zhwarək'yə* is the same as the Georgian *zvaraki*, meaning sacrificial animal (the ancient Georgian *zuaraki* = *zowaraki*, Armenian *zowarak*).<sup>1</sup> In honour of this "icon" every Adzvibzhaan and Dopukətan family bakes, on the Shrove Sunday, a cake from millet flour (*sorghum*, in Geo. *ghomi*), which is offered as a gift to it. Prayers are said by the head of each family, and a handful of salt and a piece of wax candle are put aside for the "icon". The eldest of the Dopua goes round the houses and collects the salt and wax.

Mamsər Dopua told us: "At the present time our icon is in the village Sujuna."

## 4. *Àyt'ar-nəhwa* (*khwazhwə-kərə*, in the Bzyb dialect *khwazhw-kərə*)

On the first Monday<sup>2</sup> of the Great Fast the ritual of supplication to *Àyt'ar* himself is observed. This supplication is otherwise called *khwazhwə-kərə* (in the Bzyb dialect *khwazhw-kərə*). *À-khwazhwə* (Bzyb. *à-khwazhw*) is a special cake, sometimes coniform, and sometimes of round flattened shape. These cakes, which may be stuffed with cheese or not, but on this occasion are lented, are invariably included in sacrificial offerings of the Abkhasians. They may be boiled, as on this occasion, or baked. *A-kərə* denotes "to hold". After it is called, in Abkhasian, the month of February, *khwazhwəkən-mzà* (*a-mza*, month, moon). *À-khwazhwə* (Bzyb. *à-khwazhw*) denotes also rhododendron, the leaves of which are indispensable in the making of

<sup>1</sup> As a cult term this word is met with in the form *زجرخ* in Sabaeen (Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, ii, 24, 37, cf. p. 191, n. 179), see N. Marr, *The Baptism of the Armenians, Georgians, Abkhasians and Alans*, etc. (in Russian), in *Zapiski* (Bulletin) of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, St. P., 1906, vol. xvi, p. 203. (Ed. *Khrist. Vost.*)

<sup>2</sup> The Megrelians call this Monday *t'ut'ashkha bedniəri*, lucky, or happy Monday, lit. the moon-day. With the Abkhasians, too, *Àyt'ar's* day is Monday; they pray to the moon exclusively on Mondays.

sacrificial maize-cakes. Also on this day, in the early evening, are prepared from the above-mentioned leaven many *à-khwazhwə*, and three loaves, made in the shape, respectively, of the moon, the sun, and *aləhwara*.<sup>1</sup> In the latter are placed as many *aklakūt-s* (little wooden hammers, models of those used in threshing millet, or maize) as there are women in the family and an extra one symbolizing the desire for their increase. This correlation of the number of hammers with the number of women in the family arose, of course, from the fact that the threshing of millet was the woman's job. Soups of phasel and of fresh nettle (*à-khwats*) are also prepared. On this day no edible herb of any kind is allowed to be consumed, or used in cooking; *dsàsəm*, the Abkhasians say, that is, "it is not proper," "it is forbidden" (in Megrelian *vashiners*).

Late in the afternoon, when the cattle have returned from the fields, the prayers begin.

(a) *Antswà-hwa* (for God).<sup>2</sup>

The whole family gathers together. On the threshold of the house, *dishwa*, is placed a long and narrow table (in Megrelian *tabaki*), on which are laid all the eatables described above. Behind this little table stands the head of the family, and behind him all the other members. The wax candles are lighted. The head of the family takes three *à-khwazhwə*, and, addressing *Antswà*, God, prays that His favours and bounties may be showered upon his family, etc. The family repeat with him, *dāmen*. These cakes are put aside.

(b) *Āyt'ar*.

After this the head of the family takes three new *a-khwazhwə*, and says: *Wa, Āyt'ar—bzhwàyt'ar! bzhya-nəkkhak zənəp-yanū, bzhya—tswəmzək zəkədr—dso*, etc., "O, Āyt'ar—seven Āyt'ar, in the hands of whom are seven icons (to whom are subject seven gods), and to whom are lit seven candles,"—be thou the guardian of our herds! Multiply them so that we may milk seven men's load of milk! Let no harm come to our herd, except the old wool and old dung! etc. The introduction, given in Abkhasian, is uttered by all, while everybody improvises the rest of the supplication as best they can, repeating the mystic number seven every minute. As is shown by the introduction *Āyt'ar* is the head of a group of seven gods. The number seven appears in many prayers.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Aləhwara*—a large mortar (Geo. *tchashuri*) in which millet (*ghomi*) is husked.

<sup>2</sup> *hwa* is an abbreviated form of the word denoting "he says"; cf. the Russian *gori* heard in the existing colloquial speech.

<sup>3</sup> All this, and the fact that the Abkhasians up to this day still pray to the moon and the sun, makes us wonder whether the septenary *Āyt'ar* is closely connected with the Babylono-Assyrian septenary of gods, particularly as the names of the gods *An*, *Anu—Antswà*, and *Istar—Āyt'ar*, are very similar, while the moon and the sun are included in both pleiades.

The Megrelians also know this septenary, *shk'vit'-ul-i*, in honour of which the majority of families let loose a cow with a pierced ear. Her milk is not used for food. The bullock is offered in sacrifice, while the heifer is reared. The well-known Pshav *Kviria* is, perhaps, related to Megrelian *Āyt'ar*. I have pointed out above that among the Megrelians the god of cattle-breeding is called *Zhini Ant'ar*. *Ant'ar* is the Abkhasian *Āyt'ar*, while *zhini*, in Megrelian, "high," "heavenly," is equivalent to Abkhasian *khikh*. The Abkhasians, however, appear to have split up *Zhini Ant'ar* into two gods, *Āyt'ar* and *Khikh*. They appeal for help to the latter in the spring, when the cattle are taken to the mountain pastures. They pray to him under the shadows of trees. On four pillarets are placed poles, which are covered with leaves of trees, particularly of the wild hazel tree, the oak, or yoke-elm. A cheese curd wrapped in chestnut tree bark is placed on this table (*ashwamkyat'*)\* which is covered with greenery; on it is also placed *ətchamak'wa*, a kind of millet porridge, cooked with cheese. In front of it is also placed milk gruel. Women are not allowed to be present. The head of the family, standing with uncovered head in front of this green table, called *ashwamkyat'*, prays that *Khikh*, the great part of the great deity *Āyt'ar*, may increase his cattle and send all good things. While praying he spills a little of the gruel towards the sea and towards the mountains, uttering *wootsw*. The prayer over, he takes the cheese curd and passes over it cross-wise a hazel "knife", which is really a stick cut into a tapering, knife-like shape, after which he actually cuts the cheese curd with a real knife.<sup>1</sup> This ceremony of prayer is followed by a dinner, the remains of which are not cleared away. Three of the supports or legs of *ashwamkyat'* are cut off (each with one stroke), the fourth remains there untouched. It seems to me probable that the table itself received its name from this act of cutting. Megrelians also know this *ashwamkyat'*, which they call *sumket* (*sumi keti*), "three sticks," derived, perhaps, from *sumkvat'*, in which case it would denote "three cuttings" (*kvat' < kvat'ua* = to cut, to fell), i.e. "cut with three strokes."<sup>2</sup>

The Georgian Mountaineers also have their *Anator-i*.

(c) *Aləshkintr* (*aləshkintr*).

These cakes are also put aside. The prayer now takes three new

\* The combination *shw* represents a labialized variety of "sh"; cf. "zhw", p. 120, note \*. In *ashwamkyat'* the "sh" is not only labialized, but also lingualized or iotized, which lingualization is not, however, represented in the transcription. [TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.]

<sup>1</sup> By using the wooden knife, the Abkhasian probably pays tribute to that very ancient time when his ancestors used that kind of knife.

<sup>2</sup> If the first part *shwam* represents the Megrelian word "three", one should keep in mind not the "K'art'lianized" form *sumi*, but the original, Tubal-Kainian *shumi*; see Marr, *From the Journeys to Svania* (in Russian), in *Khrist. Vostok*, ii, pp. 17-18. (Editor, *Khrist. Vost.*)

*à-khwazhw* and entreats god *Alèshkintr* to grant the house faithful dogs—those best friends of man and reliable watchers of his weal; the prayer at the same time spills some of the hot *a-k'warpà* or *a-k'warpà* (a thick broth of *à-khwazhw*, or millet) towards the sea and some towards the mountains, uttering "*Wootsw!* Burn out the tongue of the evil-speaker, the eyes of the evil-eyed", and continues his prayer. In the opinion of the commission, *Alèshkintr* is also "part" of *Ayt'ar*. *Ala* denotes dog; *shkintr*, however, is incomprehensible.

The commission explained that "dog" was mentioned before "man" on account of the former being more capable of loyalty to a master than the latter.

It should be noted that the common law values the blood of a dog in proportion to that of its owner; the blood of a baron's dog is equal to that of a baron, of a peasant's to that of a peasant, etc.

From the lips of K. Dolbaia (Abkh. Delba), an 80-year-old Abkhasian, who possesses an expert knowledge of the Abkhasian language, I wrote down the following tale:—

"In ancient times, when Abkhasia was inhabited by giants and devas (daevas), Aslan, one of the giants, would not leave the devas in peace. Once, when he was asleep, the devas crept up stealthily, bound him with silk laces, blinded and killed him, and threw him into a pit as deep as a well. On their return from their usual hunting expedition, his dogs discovered their master, but they could not pull him out of the well. They fell upon an ox-cart driver who happened to be passing by, and compelled him to rescue their master from the well and unbind him. The dogs licked Aslan for three days and three nights, and so brought him back to life and restored his sight."<sup>1</sup>

The following superstition prevails among the Abkhasians. If someone, noticing the heavens bursting open, succeeds in uttering *Làri, vâri, khazà, jkhvâri*, he will have all his wishes fulfilled. Only one woman was honoured with this great good fortune, the widow of a Mukvabba. *Làri* is interpreted as *lala* which denotes dog; *vâri* (*vâri* from *aowya*,\* man) as man; *khazà* as whey; *jkhvâri* as the crust of millet porridge; uttered together they are supposed to mean "make me rich". My Abkhasian advisers repeatedly emphasized that the dog was mentioned first because of its unexampled loyalty and fidelity to man, his master.

(d) *Amza-nəhwa*, Prayer to the Moon.

The supplicant takes the moon-shaped cake and says: "Thou,

\* See p. 122, note \*. According to Marr, the throat participates vigorously in the production of this composite or diffusive sound, and in a way as if the sound of the guttural "z" (the ancient Arabic *ain*) were also heard. [TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.]

<sup>1</sup> The Academician N. Y. Marr has kindly directed my attention to Moses of Khoren, who describes how by order of Semiramis, the dogs of *Aralbèz* (cf. *Alèshkintr*) licked the corpse of *Aru* or *Araia*, the Armenian Prince, in order to revive him.

*Amza*, the great part of the great god *Ayt'ar*, guard over our men! Grant them beauty and strength!" Simultaneously the men-folk crowd around him, for the moon is the god of men; the women-folk stand at a distance. "Increase our cattle and all our weal! Burn out the eyes of the spell-binders, and the tongues of the evil-speakers! *Wootsw, Wootsw!*" the supplicant continues his incantation and, calling to the cattle, spills *k'uarpa* (*a-k'warpà* or *a-k'warpà*) now in the direction of the sea, now towards the mountains.

"The moon is a man, and the sun is a woman," say the Abkhasians.

I will now quote from my notes the following brief account of a very characteristic Abkhasian tale:

(1) "Seven very rich Abkhasian brothers had no sisters; whereat they were very aggrieved. Eventually, however, a sister was born, but from that moment the wealth of the brothers began to diminish; every night some invisible power drove away their cattle in herds. The youngest brother who was endowed with the gift of prescience (*ashàna*) said to the others: 'A demon has entered our house in the guise of our sister; if we do not kill him, our days and those of all in the whole district are numbered!' The brothers, however, would not listen to him. Thereupon he left his home, and travelled abroad, where he married a beautiful maiden-sun (*Amra*). After several years, feeling home-sick, he set out to visit his brothers. Alas! what did he find? There was nobody left alive in the whole district except a mouse and his own sister-demon (the witch). She at once devoured his horse, and stepped aside to sharpen her teeth. On the advice of the mouse, the moon-brother, to save his life, took to his heels; he managed to inform his wife-sun of his misfortune, who hastened to deliver him. But the sister overtook her brother and began to devour him. By this time his wife *Amra* had arrived. She pulled her husband, *Amza*, towards her, but the demon pulled also; and so a deadlock ensued. *Antswà* decided the matter thus: he allowed the wife-sun to have her husband, the moon, for fifteen days, and the demon to have him for the remaining fifteen days of the month. And from that time began the phases of the moon. As soon as the moon becomes full it means that the demon has begun to devour *Amza*, on which account the moon diminishes gradually; towards the end of *Amza*'s life his wife, full of love, comes to the rescue of her unfortunate husband, and as her caresses and care restore him to life the moon waxes again. When it is full the demon reappears and the story repeats itself!"

(2) "The Eclipse of the Moon. During the eclipse a monster, *Atv* (*Atəwya*), falls upon the moon to devour it. In order to save their

benefactor, the moon, the Abkhassians fire at the monster and thereby drive him away." <sup>1</sup>

(3) The Moon and the Sun. A beautiful Abkhasian widow woman had a son and a daughter, who often absented themselves from home for the whole day; they would go off early in the morning and return only late in the evening. No amount of coaxing or tenderness on the part of the mother sufficed to keep the children at home or stop them from indulging in their daily adventure, so she decided to shadow them. She found they were seated under the shadow of an ancient oak, in a thick forest, enjoying themselves in an agreeable pastime with the moon and the sun. Before them were all sorts of eatables. The mother, flying into a passion, flung fresh dung at the moon and the sun. The sun-sister, being a more fastidious creature, washed herself, but the less particular moon-brother did not do so, and hence arose the dark patches on the moon; the brother, the moon, and the sister, the sun,<sup>2</sup> then soared up to the sky for ever, while the widow and her children returned home."

Here I will also note that the Abkhassians always welcome the new moon by looking at its reflection through a mirror, or over a silver piece.

A certain mainly infantile disease, similar to convulsions, is called by the Abkhassians *àmzakra*, i.e. "to be caught by the moon".

(e) *Àmra-nə̀hwa*, Prayer to the Sun.

When he has finished the invocation addressed to *Àmza* (the moon), the supplicant takes the sun-shaped cake, and, with the women surrounding him, he says: "Thou, *Àmra*, *Ayt'ar intswakhwadù*, the great part of the great *Ayt'ar*, grant warmth, and caress the women of our family! Increase our cattle," etc., and then spills *k'uarpa* (*a-k'warpa*) in the usual manner, uttering *wootsw*.

According to D. I. Gulia, in the village of Dchilou they use the form *Amera* instead of *Àmra*.

(f) *Anə̀p'a-nàga*.

After that the supplicant takes *alañwə̀ra* (a large mortar) and, addressing himself to the god *Anə̀p'a-nàga*, says: "Thou, the great part of the great god *Ayt'ar*, send us the warmth of thine eyes and of

<sup>1</sup> Exactly what *Atə̀wya* denotes is difficult to explain. In connection with the above quoted tale, the etymology of this word may, however, perhaps elucidate its significance. *Atə̀* denotes the barn- or screech-owl; *wy* may be the root from the word *a-owya* (man); consequently *atə̀wya* may denote "man-owl". And by *atə̀wya* is, perhaps, understood the sister devouring the brother-moon.

<sup>2</sup> Their gender is often confused: sometimes the moon and the sun are sisters or brothers, sometimes the moon is brother and the sun sister.

<sup>3</sup> I think the Georgian word *mizazi*, cause, is derived from the Abkhasian *amə̀zə̀*, cause (from *àmza*, moon). (It is doubtful! Ed. *Khrisť. Vost.*)

thy heart! Grant us such a crop of maize that at its gathering we shall have to bend the stalks with a hook (Geo. *Kavi*), and cut them down with a bill!" *K'uarpa* (*a-k'warpa*) is then spilled, and the cattle is called by shouting *wootsw*. *Anə̀p'a-nàga* is the harvest god. In my opinion the etymology of these words is as follows: *Ap'arə̀* denotes "to twist or twine" something (a rope, for example), as well as "to pass with difficulty through something", for instance, a maize or millet field, crowd, etc.; *nàgara*—to carry: *inap'òo inàgə̀*—carriest thou by forcing thy way, by pushing asunder.

There is also an evil spirit of the harvest called *Jaja*, but we will speak of her (she is a goddess) separately, as she is not a member of this septenary.

(g) *Atchshə̀-shyashyàna* (god of horses).

Finally, the supplicant takes the cake whose shape represents a horse (or three *à-khwə̀zhwə̀*), and entreats (the god) *Atchshə̀ shyashyàna*—the great part of the great god *Ayt'ar*, to increase his horses (donkeys and asses). Again *wootsw* and *ak'warpa*. The word *atchshə̀* denotes horse; *shwyashyàna* or *shashana* is incomprehensible.

With this ceremonial *Ayt'ar-nə̀hwa* ends.

Judging from what has already been said above, it is clear that *Ayt'ar* is the head of a whole pleiade of gods, each of whom constitute a special part of him; it is noteworthy that in every supplication addressed to any one of these gods, *Ayt'ar* is also invariably referred to as one whose part is the deity in question. The religio-philosophical mind of the Abkhassians has arranged the hierarchy of these gods in the following order:—

ÀYT'AR: JABRÀN, ZHWABRÀN, ALƏSHKINTR, ÀMZA, ÀMRA, ANƏ̀P'A-NÀGA, AND ATCHSHƏ̀-SHYASHYÀNA.

*Ayt'ar* is one in seven parts. This conception of God in parts is prominently expressed in *Ayt'ar*.

(h) *Lə̀milañ* (*Nə̀mirañ* or *Shə̀mirañ*).

*Ayt'ar-nə̀wə̀ha* ends with *Lə̀milañ*. What this word denotes is difficult to explain. It appears to denote the god of conjugal happiness of the youth.

On the same evening, after the conclusion of *Ayt'ar-nə̀hwa*, the young people, boys and girls, meet at one of their houses, and begin to predict their fortunes. It is a time of laughter and gaiety, and the young people enjoy themselves to their hearts' content. *A-kwakwə̀r* of usual size is prepared in great quantities; and also enough of a smaller size, extremely salt in flavour, to enable each participant to have three. In one of these small *akwakwə̀r* is placed a hazel chip, called *ə̀nasp'adsu*, "stake of happiness." Each person is given three

small salt *akwakwār*. They then go out into the garden and eat their scones in silence in the dark, at the same time entreating *Lāmilañ* to bestow upon them a happy married life. Whoever finds the "stake of happiness" in his or her scone must celebrate this stroke of luck by giving a party for all the participants. On the following day the *Lāmilañ* party is given at the house of the lucky one. After consuming the little *akwakwār* all go back into the house and sit down to a supper which is also an occasion for gaiety. In order to maintain the feeling of thirst at its strongest, no one is allowed to drink anything. The Abkhazians believe that the thirsty person will be given a drink by the one with whom he or she is fated to share conjugal life. In such manner do the young people of Abkhazia tell their fortunes.<sup>1</sup>

## II. AMSHAP'

In this chapter I have collected together all those rites grouped around the festival of Easter, called in Abkhazian *Amshap'*.<sup>2</sup> The *Amshap'* celebrations began<sup>3</sup> two weeks before Easter Sunday, and continued for exactly three weeks, during which time custom forbade working in the field, except in the cotton field and the kitchen garden. On Sunday, two weeks before Easter Day, the Abkhazians decorated their houses with the first spring flowers, and this Sunday is called *aioba*, which is derived, probably, from the Megrelian *aia*, violet. Until *aioba*, playing football or other games was forbidden. After that day, however, seasonal games were in full swing. Dressed in their finest attire, the whole population gave themselves up to public sports. Among the most popular pastimes were football, wrestling, stone throwing, trick-riding, dancing, singing, and *akyobir* (in Geo. *rikhap'ela*, "game of skittles," according to Tchubinashvili's or Tchubinov's Dictionary).

The following Sunday—Palm Sunday—the Abkhazians call *baioba* (a "Megrelianization"). The name is derived from *a-baia*, a yellow flower which grows profusely in the fields of Abkhazia in the early spring.<sup>4</sup> On this day also the Abkhazians decorated their houses with flowers, particularly with *abala*.

<sup>1</sup> *Anasp'a dsw* has its double in Guria and Imeret'i *bedis-kveri*, cracknel of fate, which is known also to the Tiflis Armenians. I think the Pshav *dsadsola* arose on this ground.

<sup>2</sup> It is, in my opinion, a compound word, consisting of *amsh*, day, and *ap'* (*yap'u*), accepted, appointed, fixed; *Amshap'* thus denotes "pre-ordained day" (Geo. *mighebuli dghe*).

<sup>3</sup> These celebrations are no longer observed; they are traditional, and I am describing them from memory, or from the words of the Commission.

<sup>4</sup> According to Tchubinashvili (Tchubinov), and to R. Erist'avi (Eristov), *baia* is crows-foot, *rannunculus*. Erist'avi, considering the word to be Megrelo-Imero-Gurian, gives as its K'art'(l)ian equivalent *tshkhris-satekhela*. The word *a-bala*, in Abkhazian *a-mārtch*, is, according to the botanists of the Sukhum Botanical Garden, the equivalent of the Russian *lyutik iedhi*.

### I. Adzàrga-khwasha

Either during the night before *baioba*, or, according to some members of the Commission, on the Wednesday evening of Passion-week, is observed the rite of binding legs with wool threads. Having supped early, the family retires to bed, each individual thrusting out his or her right leg from under the blanket. The eldest woman in the family stands on a stool in the middle of the room, and spins thread from wool. She does her work in silence. Having spun the required quantity, she quietly approaches the beds, and binds with this thread the right leg of each of their occupants, murmuring: "May God grant thee to see such days for a hundred years!" *Adzàrga* (more correctly, *adzàga*) denotes a thick thread; *a-khwasha*—Friday, so that this rite was in former days, probably, observed on Fridays. The threads were afterwards burnt on the fire under the small cauldron in which was boiled the meat of the sacrificial animal, on Easter Day.

### 2. K'wab-gharghar\*

As soon as the binding ceremony was finished, the woman seized a copper cauldron, or a copper basin, and struck it like a gong, shouting at the top of her voice: "We have beaten! We have beaten!" The whole family then ran out into the garden, shouting *shwahk'wat'weyt!* "We have beaten you (outstripped)!" The "beaten" neighbours, annoyed to find themselves "beaten", immediately fell upon them, and a mock battle ensued. The battle was fought, of course, entirely as a joke, and with great merriment. In ancient times, a whole village often went to "battle" against another, beating copper cauldrons and basins. The "battle" was followed by dances and fun-making continuing till the dawn. *A-k'wab* denotes cauldron of copper, *gharghar*, knock, rap, clatter of a copper cauldron or basin.

### 3. Aqat'wara

This Abkhazian term denotes the following superstition: an Abkhaz considers it a great misfortune if he hears the warbling or chirping of a swallow or the call of a cuckoo, before he has had his breakfast (or has at any rate partaken of salt); the bird will have "beaten" him, and this he regards as a great misfortune. In order to avoid this he eats salt, or something salt-flavoured immediately on rising from bed, which means that he has won the "contest".<sup>1</sup>

\* The labial semi-vowel "w" in "k'w", "t'w", as also in "kw", "tw", etc., met with in this article, labializes the preceding consonant sound, the combination "k'w", "t'w", etc., representing labialized varieties of "k'", "t'", etc. [TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.]

<sup>1</sup> Georgians also have such a superstition.

4. *The Gathering of Medicinal Herbs*

On Maundy Thursday, young maidens, led by old women, go into a forest early before the dawn, to gather medicinal herbs. They must neither converse nor look back. When they dig out the herb, they throw salt into the soil, murmuring "*Ādgilā-dedop'al, bākhwə bāht'eyt*, the Queen-Earth, we have returned to thee thy share". The following herbs are considered as particularly healing: (a) *ajmshyə-rshwəga*, *Arum albispatum*,<sup>1</sup> literally denoting: *ajmshyə*, eyebrow; *ashwəga*, "that with which they paint (a paint)"; it is used against diphtheria and scarlet fever; (b) *aztqyil* or *abgar ləmha*, *Aristolochia pontica*<sup>1</sup> (birthwort); the second Abkhasian term denotes, literally, "jackal's ear," used against erysipelas (St. Anthony's fire); and (c) *ajaqwa*, veratrum, according to Tchubinov (Geo. *Kharis-dzira*). Having finished gathering, they return home in silence and without looking back.

Maundy Thursday is called by the Abkhasians *tchatchkhadəl*, derived, in all probability, from the Megrelian *tsashkha didi*, "the great Thursday."

5. *Jaja*<sup>2</sup>

On Maundy Thursday the Abkhasians offer a sacrifice to the goddess of fruitfulness (of husbandry and horticulture) called *Jaja*. For this occasion the Abkhasian women prepare all sorts of lenten dishes, taking care always to include a pumpkin. The dishes are placed outside the house, in a corn-field, the offering to *Jaja* being accompanied by a supplication as follows: "The great *Jaja*! We have done all that was required of us, and have made the customary offering. We therefore humbly entreat thee to show thy bounty towards us and grant us a good harvest in the field and in the kitchen garden!" As I have stated before, the Abkhasians have no set prayer formulas, and each prays as best he can.

As always, the offering is left for a few minutes wherever it was placed, and the supplicants stand before it, and watch with emotion how the spirit of the goddess invisibly satiates herself with the gifts of men! Needless to say they themselves consume the "remains".

As I have already remarked, there are two Abkhasian gods of fruitfulness: the god *Anāp'a-nāga* and the goddess *Jaja*.<sup>3</sup> *Jaja*, as imagined by an Abkhaz, is a broad-shouldered woman, of small stature. More than once Abkhasians have seen her wandering about the fields

<sup>1</sup> According to the botanists of the Sukhum Botanical Garden.

<sup>2</sup> It is of interest to elucidate what relation *Jaja* holds to Georgian *jojoba*; see I. Javakishvili, *A History of the Georgian Nation* (in Georgian), p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> The relation of these two gods is difficult to determine; nor do we know the relation of *Jaja* to *Ayt'ar*.

belonging to those who have failed to propitiate her, and muttering: "Corncobs (of Indian corn) of a digit size, corncobs of a digit size!" But if the owner of the field succeeds in frightening her and making her say *rāki, dzaki, rāki dzaki*, "of a cubit size," he will have a magnificent harvest.

On the day of *tchatchkhadəl*, after the offering has been made to *Jaja*, the seeds are taken for the first time into the kitchen garden.

6. *Āmshap'*

Easter Day is celebrated with great solemnity by all the Abkhasians. It must be noted that the Abkhasians to-day have no notion whatever of the Christian conception of this day. Even the greeting, "Christ is risen," usual on this day, is wanting in the Abkhasian language. Everyone able to afford it has a new dress made for this day. To emphasize the poverty of a person the Abkhaz says, "Even for *Āmshap'* he could not get himself new clothes." This is almost the only day when an Abkhaz considers it necessary to send to church at least one of the members of his family. And the service in the church begins early enough to enable it to be finished by sunrise. Everyone is in haste to be the first to light a wax candle and to place a painted egg on the graves of their dead. The Muhammadan Abkhasians also follow this custom, although they do not light the candles. It is known that Abkhasians bury their dead near their homes, in the places favoured by the deceased, and the graves, therefore, are scattered about the village. Owing to this custom the whole village is illuminated on this day of *Āmshap'*.

On this day each family must slaughter some animal. And those of the Abkhasians who follow the established custom of Paschal offerings, immolate two or three animals according to what his obligation is, what he "owes"—this word denotes "obliged", "must", "owes".

(a) *Antswakhwə* (or *Antswahwa*).

This is a compound word, consisting of *Antswə*, God, and (a)-*khwə*, part, share, and denoting "share of God", "for God", more exactly "to render to God that which is due to Him", briefly "praying to God". On this day most of the Abkhasians reverently offer up their prayers to God; but not all of them. There are families who are "not obliged" to render to God "His share". I have already mentioned that the Abkhasian makes offerings only to those gods under whose power his parents or he himself had come, and thus had become his tributary, so to speak. Very often separate members of a family have, in addition to the general family guardian-gods, their own personal



guardians, whose power extends to his descendants, but not to those of his brothers or sisters. In the village of Adzvibzha almost everyone is obliged to carry out this "praying to God", Christians as well as Muhammadans.

Every Abkhaz keeps in his cellar, in honour of "God", a special pitcher filled with must of the very best grade. However great his need, an Abkhaz will not, for any consideration in the world, open this "sacrificial" pitcher until the celebration of the cult of "praying to God".<sup>1</sup> Early in the morning, on returning from the church, the head of the family surrounded by the male members of his household, sacrifices a young he-goat over the "sacrificial" pitcher, and entreats "the great God to receive graciously the humble offering made by him in accordance with the instructions of his forefathers . . ." He humbly entreats the Great God "punish us not for our faults and trespasses", etc. After this the meat of the immolated goat is boiled, and sacrificial wheat-cakes are baked. All this is taken down into the cellar, and placed in front of the sacrificial pitcher. The members of the family kneel down, while the head of the family reverently cleans and opens the pitcher, and, holding in his left hand a hazel stick upon which the heart and liver of the goat are transfixed, he prays *Antwsa-du* (to great God) that He grant him and his family a long and happy life. In his prayer he never fails to mention that they are performing the rite "in the manner they were taught by their fathers and grandfathers". Afterwards he fills a glass with wine from the pitcher and pours it on the heart and liver and the sacrificial cakes; he then passes the latter, with the wine, three times over the heads of the supplicants who are kneeling down, and says: "Grant us the warmth of Thine eyes and of Thine heart! Protect us from all infirmities and sickness." Then follows again the libation of wine. Now they all rise, turn round from right to left, and each places a piece of frankincense on burning coals. For a few minutes they all stand still humbly, while the great God "receives" their offerings, and then, with strict observation of order of seniority, a glass of wine and a small piece of the heart and liver is given to each of the participants. It should be noted that only the household members are allowed to partake of these sacrificial offerings. Even the married daughters of the family are treated as strangers, and they are not allowed to share in the offerings with their husbands and children. It is sinful even to think of the sale of the wine. In most of the families the female sex is generally forbidden to partake of this offering.

Thus do the Abkhazians perform annually the domestic offering to God of "His share". But every three to five years each Abkhaz

<sup>1</sup> The same applies to other "sacrificial pitchers" referred to below.

is obliged to present "His share" (offering) to God, in a forest, for which purpose a clearing is chosen under the shadow of a tree, oak or yoke-elm. Here is offered usually a castrated goat the age of which is equal to the number of years since the Abkhaz last prayed in the forest. Women are not allowed to take part in this rite, although they help to prepare the sacrificial cakes. The prayer is said by the elder of the *gvari*, who receives the hide of the immolated animal. The offering takes place in front of *ashwamkyat'* (described above). The prayer ceremonial is the same as in the case of the domestic offering, although the pitcher of wine kept in the cellar is not used; for the purpose of the oblation a little wine is brought in a smaller pitcher. All the men in the neighbourhood participate in the ceremony, and when it is over they seat themselves on the grass; herbage is placed in front of them, and on this is served the dinner. A small piece of the heart and liver of the immolated animal is given to each of the participants. All the sacrificial food must be consumed on the spot; nothing may be taken home. The horns of the victim are hung high above the *ashwamkyat'* and left there. Three legs of *ashwamkyat'* are then cut, and the assembly disperses.

Some families dedicate to *Antswakhwə* cows which are let loose with perforated ears (see above, p. 125); these cows are called *adzatkə*, which is difficult to translate; it apparently denotes "pledge", "security". Bullocks born of these cows are offered in sacrifice in place of castrated goats.

(b) *Aylər-nəkkha*.

On the same day, simultaneously with *Antswakhwə*, a sacrifice is offered to *Aylər-nəkkha* (*Ilər-nəkkha*). The ceremony of offering the sacrifice is exactly similar to that described above. There is the same "wine pitcher", goat, cakes, and the same manner of praying. Also, at certain intervals, the sacrifice is made in the woods, in the manner described above. Many keep *adzatkə* cows in honour of the Ilori icon. The only difference being that women have a freer access to these offerings than to *Antswakhwə*. Here I will note that if the pitcher for the "sacrificial wine" becomes in any way damaged (even if only slightly chipped), a new one, larger and dearer, must be substituted without fail. This is a general rule for all pitchers of this kind.

*Aylər-nəkkha* (*Ilər-nəkkha*) denotes the "icon of Ilori". This appears to be the same icon of St. George, which is kept in the small, walled-in church of the village of Ilori. This village is situated on the seashore, three miles from Otchemtchire. What is this Ilori icon? Which saint does it represent? For what is this saint remarkable? The contemporary Abkhaz has no notion whatever. The masses do not know to this day that it is the image of St. George. All they know

is that the Ilori "icon" is omnipotent, and they, therefore, try hard not to incur its wrath. It is inflexibly just and punishes harshly those who deviate from the law; it is a goddess of equity, as it were; a kind of Themis; and in the practical life of the southern Abkhasians and of the Samurzaqanoans, there is, therefore, no "saint", no "icon", no deity equal to the Ilori "icon"; it determines finally and irrevocably all matters, whether civil or criminal, which the crown court has not been able to settle to the satisfaction of the popular idea of fair play. Even in the case of matters upon which judgment has been passed by crown courts, but where the decision has not satisfied the disputing parties, appeal is made to its tribunal. The trial is conducted as follows: A kind of arbitration court is set up which imposes upon the accused the obligation to take a propitiatory oath before the Ilori "icon". If the matter is unimportant it is determined by a village tribunal which provides one or two co-swearers; but if the matter is serious (insult to one's honour, murder, etc.) the representatives of the parties participate in the trial with the judges. "Swearing in" follows, but the number of co-swearers increases; thus, for instance, 1-2 *t'avadi-s*, 2-3 *aznauri-s*, 5-6 peasants, 1-2 namesakes, 1-2 maternal relations, 1-2 relations of the female line of the *gvani*, etc., are frequently appointed as co-swearers. The oath is administered on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*. The accused swears before the icon that he is innocent, the co-swearers confirm his declaration, and there the matter ends. If the accused is unable to take the oath, he submits obediently to the punishment imposed upon him. From the day of the taking of the oath onwards the plaintiff breaks off all relationship with the defendant and his co-swearers. "The icon is between us (parts, separates us)," says the orthodox Abkhaz. It is impossible to evade this custom; it is an Abkhasian's profound conviction that infringement of this custom (the re-establishment of relationship), as also a false oath, will not pass unpunished; the "icon" punishes with sickness and even with death, if the accused does not come to his senses in time and confess himself in the wrong. At the death of all the members of the guilty family, the wrath of the "icon" recoils on the plaintiff. To avert the chastisement of the "icon", as of Abkhasian gods in general, the guilty person must pray and make offerings to the "icon"; he must also compensate his opponent's material losses and obtain the latter's consent thereto; they both set out for Ilori with gifts, prescribed by sorceresses, and they pray there to the "icon" for forgiveness of their sins; they bring goats, bullocks, and money. This is called the reciprocal forgiveness-prayer (*eyba-nəhvava*). From this day normal relations are restored between the parties. If one of the parties does not agree to make peace, the other party can *akhə-dchəkhəra*, "buy back his head," i.e. redeem

himself, by placing before the "icon" also the amount he was to pay to the opponent.

Muhammadans also take the propitiatory oath at Ilori, together with the Christians.<sup>1</sup>

There are many stories current about the power of the Ilori "icon" to work miracles. I learned one of them from the lips of Biram Tkhazou and Seyt Zhania.

"In ancient times the Ilori 'icon' determined all the disputes of human mortals in the following manner. High up in the centre of the church, hung the golden scales of Justice. Under these scales stood the suitors, praying zealously to the Ilori 'icon', who inclined the scale over the head of the righteous. Knowing this, Abkhasians would not venture to break the law or wrong one another; peace and happiness reigned upon the earth. But men are cunning; an impious Abkhaz decided to deceive the great Ilori 'icon'. He owed a neighbour of his a hundred *manat'i* (= rubles) which he would not pay. The creditor complained. They both went to Ilori. When they appeared before the 'icon', the debtor handed to his creditor his staff which contained the hundred *manat'i*. The scale inclined towards the creditor, thus acquitting him of the charge. He took back his staff and left the church. The Ilori 'icon' was 'offended' and because of this fraudulence on the part of one Abkhaz it punished the entire people: the 'icon' took the scales of Justice to heaven for ever."

In ancient times the Ilori "icon" provided oxen for itself on the eve of the wake festival. The Commission assured me that eye-witnesses of this miracle were still living in Abkhasia, but none knew their names. As this providing of the oxen is described by A. Lamberti in the manner in which the Abkhasians relate it to-day, I will quote the description from his work.<sup>2</sup>

"On November 20th<sup>3</sup> they celebrate St. George's Day. A superstition prevails among the people that this celebrated martyr, on this day, procures for himself an ox from the neighbourhood and brings it by night into the Ilori Church dedicated to him. This church is held in great esteem, not only by all the Megreles, but by the neighbouring peoples also. Therefore it is very rich in gold and silver<sup>4</sup>—the icons are all made of these metals and are adorned, too, with precious stones; and even the doors are mounted in thick sheets of silver. So revered is this church by all the people, that, although situated

<sup>1</sup> In Northern Abkhasia *Dədərap'sh* is endowed with a similar power.

<sup>2</sup> A. Lamberti lived as a missionary for eighteen years in Megrelia (1635-1653), and, according to him (and also to other sources), the present-day southern Abkhasia (Abzhua) constituted then part of Megrelia, the northern boundary being the River Kodor.

<sup>3</sup> The 10th of our (old) style.—N.J.

<sup>4</sup> At the present time, too, it is the wealthiest and the most influential of all the churches of Abkhasia.—N.J.

in a distant country place and near the sea-coast, thieves have never entered there, nor has any enemy ship raided it or despoiled it of its wealth. Indeed, so highly is this saint (the Ilori 'icon') honoured, that not only would the valuable contents of the church not be stolen, but, even if precious stones were scattered *outside* the church, in its vicinity, no one would touch them. (It is the same even to-day, N.J.) In addition to the local population, this saint is also feared by the Abkhazes,<sup>1</sup> and even by the Turks, deprived though they are of the light of Christian religion. They all worship, and fear, this sacred object (the 'icon', N.J.) . . .

"On November 20th, the Prince (of Megrelia, N.J.) goes to the Ilori Church accompanied by his court officials, nobles, and the people of Odishi (i.e. Megrelia), to participate in the feast of the 'ox'. Not only do the Odishians go there on that day, but also the Abkhazes and Svans, in great numbers. The church is enclosed in stone walls about the height of fifteen spans. At its entrance are large gates surmounted by a beautiful campanile containing many bells. On the eve of the feast, in the dusk of the evening, the Prince, accompanied by a large retinue of bishops, princes, and nobles, rides up to these gates, orders them to be locked, then seals the keyhole with his own seal and returns home. The following morning, before dawn, the Prince, accompanied by the same retinue, again rides up to the gates. When they have assured themselves that the seal has not been tampered with, the Prince removes the seal and opens the gates. Within the Church walls, the ox is found. At the sight of this miracle, the people, with great fervour, offer up their thanks to St. George, and the church bells ring out the glad tidings of the miracle all over the country-side. Everyone is firmly convinced that St. George himself provided the ox and led it with his own hands into the enclosure. Also, it is said, the saint leads the ox thrice from the mountains to the sea and back, and offers the ox, thus sanctified, to the people as a gift . . .

"A long time ago, so it is said, an unbeliever (the Abkhazes say that he was a Muslim from Trebizond, N.J.) came here from a country many hundreds of miles away from Odishi. After witnessing the miracle and how the people celebrated the occasion, this obstinate man not only disbelieved, but began to mock the Christians, telling them that they were light-minded and foolish enough to believe anything. In spite of his attitude, the people tried to persuade him to embrace the true Faith of Christ, and unanimously affirmed that all the miracles of St. George were really true. 'Very well, then,' said he, 'I will do this. At my home, two hundred miles away, I have an

<sup>1</sup> In Ilori the Megrelian language prevails to this day; many, however, know Abkhasian also.—N.J.

ox of a certain colour. If the miracles you talk so much about are true, it should be an easy matter for St. George to bring my ox into this church to-night; then, certainly, I will gladly embrace your Faith.' The condition was accepted. On the following morning, early, on opening the gates, there was found within the enclosure an ox which the unbeliever recognized as his own. Thus he was convinced of his error, and embraced the Christian Faith."<sup>1</sup>

(c) *Indl-qwùba*.

The *T'avadi*-s Marshania, and all those Abkhasians who descended from the mountains (Dsabalaa, Dalaa, Pskhvu, etc.), offer sacrifices (a ram, without fail) in exactly the same manner to a sanctity, *Indl-qwùba*, instead of to the Ilori "icon". I could obtain no information of any kind about this "icon". Everybody I questioned gave the same answer: *Indl-qwùba* is equal in power to *Dadàrop'sh* and the Ilori "icon".

These offerings are performed early in the morning, and serve as breakfasts. Every Abkhas slaughters some animal for the meal (the favourite one is a castrated goat), it is often prepared on the Saturday. They also pay the customary Paschal visits. After the midday sacrificial meal they all go to the public square, where they indulge in games, chiefly football. During Easter week they also organize horse racing, the most popular sport of the Abkhasians.

### 7. The Second Day of Easter

This is a commemoration day. A variety of dishes are prepared, all of which are placed on a table by an open window. The eldest of the family, holding a candle and a glass of wine in his hands, prays to the souls of deceased relatives that they grant his family peace and happiness. Then follows the pouring of wine on the meat and wheat dishes. The whole family stand behind the supplicant. After the prayer each member approaches, places a piece of frankincense on burning embers, and pours wine on the food. Here stands too a smoking pipe. All remain seated in silence, in order that the souls of the deceased ancestors may eat in peace.<sup>2</sup>

The Abkhasian, as has already been stated, have no Paschal greeting such as "Christ is risen". They welcome each other with a kiss, saying: "May God grant us that we meet again next year," to which the other replies: "And for a hundred years."

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the Russian and Georgian translation of A. Lamberti's *Relazione della Colchide hoggi della Mengrelia nella quale si tratta dell'Origine, costumi e Così naturali di quei Paesi*. Published in Naples, 1654.

<sup>2</sup> This rite will be described in detail in my work *The Cult of the Ancestors*.

## 8. Thursday of Easter Week

(dsatchèkhur, mardyàni t'argyalàz).

On the Thursday of Easter week the Abkhassians offer a sacrifice to *dsatchèkhur, mardyàni t'argyalàz*. I do not know what the first word denotes. *Mardyàni* is the Megrelian *mardiani* (Geo. *madliani*) and denotes "beneficent", "blessed", "abundant"; while *t'argyalàz* is derived from the Georgian word *mt'avar-angeloz*i, archangel; it is not clear, however, which of the archangels is meant. According to the explanation of the Commission, this "icon" punishes the offending family by causing the death, in particular, of children. "If there are children in the family, it does not touch the adults," commented the Commission. Sacrifice to this "icon" is always offered by an oak tree. On the Thursday, early in the morning, sacrificial cakes are baked, and the whole family repair to their oak, which is usually situated nearby within the enclosure. Everybody kneels, facing eastward, and the head of the family makes a bloodless offering consisting of *akwakwàr* and cakes, and entreats the great *Dsatchkhur*, the beneficent *T'argialaz*, to forgive them their trespasses, voluntary or involuntary. *Aâmen* say the whole family. The oak tree is decorated with pieces of many coloured stuffs, some fastened with nails and some with wax. This oak is sacred and to fell, damage, or defile it is strictly forbidden.

On the same day, in the evening, but this time at home, the family make a blood offering to *T'argyalàz*. A fattened capon is immolated and cakes are again baked. Some families keep pitchers with "sacrificial wine" in his honour.

"In ancient times when people were not so depraved, *T'argialaz* procured for the day of offering a wild he-goat as his victim," Osman Kamkia informed me, "just as the Ilori 'icon' procured an ox. Now he no longer does so, for we are not worthy of his favours!" concluded the old man, sighing. The peasants Kamkia are *me-khat-ur-n-i* (Geo.), i.e. "attendants of the 'icon'." They keep a little cottage (*p'atskha*) where the "god" is supposed to dwell invisibly. A money-box is kept in the cottage, into which the faithful drop copper coins used exclusively for the purchase of sacrificial offerings.

An old Megrelian, whose name has unfortunately become effaced in my note-book, told me the following:—

"The all-powerful and miraculous icon, *Dsatchkhur*, was removed by the Svans from the Salkhino church, and taken to Svanet'i, where it remained for a long time; in the end, however, moved by pity for the Megrelians, the icon returned of its own accord and alighted on an oak which stands on the picturesque hill of Salkhino. Near this

oak the Megrelians built a church in its honour, in which this icon rests to this day. It has not forgotten the Svans whom it often visits." My Megrelian informant is an inhabitant of Salkhino.

9. *Ahvesa-rèmschap'*

Abkhassians call the first Sunday after Easter Low Sunday, *Ahvesa-rèmschap'*, i.e. Pascha for women. This day is set apart for public games. Early in the morning everybody assembles in the public square where they indulge in all sorts of sport, chiefly, however, horse racing and tournaments. Next day the Abkhassians go back to work, and ordinary life is resumed.

The public games (on holidays) are continued till Whit Monday.

10. *Adsyla-nèhwa*

In connection with *Amshap'* mention may be made of two supplications, *Adsyla-nèhwa* (cf. III (d)) and "*Supplication of the Leybaa*". I have not been lucky enough to have witnessed the latter ceremony, which, by the way, belongs to a cult of the Bzib Abkhassians.<sup>1</sup> The worship of the tree, so picturesquely described by ancient writers, such as Strabo, Procopius of Cæsarea, is preserved in a most conspicuous form with its sacred grove, in this supplication of the *Leybaa gvari*, as is also the name of the deity, in that of *Adsyla-nèhwa*; *Adsyla* denotes tree, *nèhwa* (*anèhwara*), praying, supplication. The deity of the tree itself is called *Adsyla-intswakhwà*, wherein the latter part denotes "his (of the male rational being) part of god, deity". The Abkhassians in their religion personify and "intellectualize" all manifestations of life, and they strictly distinguish the gender of each of them.

In order to protect wanton children who roam about without restraint, and love to climb trees, the Abkhassians make offerings to the "spirit of the tree", entreating the "great part of the deity of the tree" to guard their children against falling off trees and hurting themselves. The objects offered are capon and cakes. The oak (*a-j*) they consider as the sacred tree, to which they make the offering; walnut-trees (particularly the hazel-nut-tree) and yoke-elms are "pure" trees. If someone falls from the tree they must dig up some coal from under the spot where the person fell; if no coal is found, the accident is regarded as serious; and the person will not survive the fall. An offering is also made to the "spirit of the tree" in the case of certain illnesses, as directed by sorceresses, the sick person being supposed to have fallen ill through having incurred the wrath of the spirit.

<sup>1</sup> About this see the article by N. Pateypa, in the *Collaborator of the Transcaucasian Mission* (in Russian), 1912, pp. 107-112, 124-7.

## Notes and Considerations concerning Chapter II

It is of great interest to determine which pagan cult approximates, under the name of *Amshap'*, to Easter, the day of the Resurrection of Christ. I. Javakhishvili states in his well-known *History of the Georgian Nation* (in Georgian) that, according to Dubrovin, the Abkhassians called *Amshap'* also *Mizitkhu*. In my opinion this is another form of the Abkhassian word *mazakhwə*, i.e. "part of the moon," derived from *aməza*, moon, and *a-khwə*, dole, part, share. If this supposition is correct, *mazakhwə* would denote "to give to the moon its share, part", i.e. "praying to the moon."<sup>1</sup> It should be noted, however, that neither the members of the Commission nor anyone whom I questioned knew anything about this name of *Amshap'*. It is to be assumed that this name was noted down from the lips of the Mountaineers among whom it had evidently been preserved. In further support of the possible close connection between *Amshap'* and the moon cult (and the "tree spirit") there is also the fact that the most important role in these festivals is assigned to St. George of Ilori, to which saint, as Javakhishvili has proved in his aforementioned work, is assimilated the moon cult. The procuring by this saint of a bullock, its "purification" by leading it three times from the mountains to the sea and back, the dedication to him of the cow *adzəkwə*, and, finally, the Gurian name of *zhwabrən, Iloroba*, prove that St. George is closely connected with the Abkhassian pleiade. Here is yet another curious fact. In the village of Bandza there is a church dedicated to St. George and called Shourkari. There still exists here the following custom: On the Monday<sup>2</sup> following Low Sunday, after the domestic offering, the populace repair to the church, and on their way, singing *Kyrie eleison*, they uproot a tree without the use of any implement, carry it three times around the wall enclosing the church, and offer it to St. George. The tree is then left within the church enclosure until the next year when it is replaced by a fresh one. This, in my opinion, symbolizes the victory of St. George over the moon (= *t'ut'a* in Megrelian, and over the "tree").<sup>3</sup> Such a custom also prevails in the village Opshkvit'i, in Lower Imeret'i, where on the 23rd April the populace offers, in the same manner as at Bandza, a tree to St. George.<sup>4</sup>

Judging from the description of *The Supplication of the Leybaa*, by the priest N. Pateyna, which has been preserved in its purest state,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. N. Y. Marr, *On the Religious Beliefs of the Abkhassians*, p. 133 (or its translation in this Journal, pp. 175-6.)

<sup>2</sup> "Monday" in Megrelian is *t'ut'ashkha*, that is, the day of the moon (I. Kipshidze, op. cit., s.v. *dghe*). Noteworthy is Lamberti's description of the fear of the moon by the Megrelians.

<sup>3</sup> According to the information given me by Sh. P'aghava and El. Ot'khmezuri.

<sup>4</sup> *Opshkvit'-i*, judging from its form, is of Megrelian origin.

Wednesday was the day of the prayer to the tree spirit, with both the Abkhassians and the K'art'vels (and Megrels),<sup>1</sup> which is partly confirmed by the Megrelian name of this day, i.e. *jumashkha*; the latter consists of *juma* and *shkha* (Geo. *dghe*). What does the first component word denote? May it not be derived from the Abkhassian word *ajəma*, she-goat? The Pshavs have preserved the more salient *jumaghi's jvari*, wherein *jumaghi* = *ajəmagh* denoting "goat-seed, goat-male", he-goat. This term may have been obtained from the custom of the Abkhassians of dedicating, or offering, exclusively, a goat to the tree spirit. This supposition finds further confirmation in the legend of Dsatchkhur, which procured exclusively for its festivals the wild goat (male).

One may also note the concordance between the names of some days in the Megrelian language, and the fact that it is just on these days that the cult is observed of those gods to whom these days are dedicated. Thus on the Monday (*t'ut'ashkha*) the Abkhassians offer a sacrifice to the moon; on the Wednesday (*jumashkha*) they observe the cult of the tree, and on the Tuesday (*t'akhashkha*) the cult of the mother-earth.<sup>2</sup>

## III. NAN-ĤWA

The Abkhassians call the day of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin (15th August) (*a*) *Nan-ĥwa*.<sup>3</sup> They observe with great reverence both *Nan-ĥwa* and the Lent of the Assumption. With *Nan-ĥwa* are connected the following superstitions of the Abkhassians:—

(a) *Awəst'aä-ləkhəra* (Meg. *Dchinchat'oba*)

Abkhassians associate the night before the 1st August with increased activity on the part of evil spirits *awəst'aä*, demons; and

<sup>1</sup> N. Janashia evidently here uses *k'art'vel* as a generic term, including Megrels, but etymologically and linguistically such use of the term is definitely inadmissible. (Ed. *Khrist. Vost.*)

<sup>2</sup> The last two comparisons are made by the author, because for *jumashkha* he had also another etymology in connection with the Abkhassian *a-j*, oak, with which he identifies the Megrelian *ja*, tree; while in the first part (*t'akha-*) of the word *t'akhashkha*, he saw the Megrelian *dikha*, earth, soil. These doubtful etymologies have been eliminated. On the other hand, cf. *nerichi*, in I. Kipshidze's *Grammar of the Megrelian Language*, s.v., where this term is interpreted as "the basis of something, or the ground on which a house stands", and since the prayer dedicated to *nerichi*, or "master, lord" *nerichi*, as to a kind of deity, cannot be performed in a house with a wooden floor, I. Kipshidze concluded "that *nerichi* is god of the earth", in which supposition he was to a certain extent supported by definitions of the same word, given by lexicographers (S. S. Orbeliani: "the external side of the bottom"; Tchubinov (I): "bottom, the lower part of a vessel"; Tchub (II): "the lower part of the vessel, of the pitcher"). These materials N. Janashia supplements in his letter, dated 16th April, thus: "In Imeret'i *nerichi* denotes ceiling (see also V. Beridze, *Sitquiskona*, The Dictionary, s.v.), while in Megrelia, on the other hand, the rite is known under the name of *p'udzeshi do nerichish khvama*, 'the praying of the foundation and ceiling' if not 'of the floor.'" (Ed. *Khrist. Vost.*)

<sup>3</sup> In my opinion *Nan(an)* denotes mother, and *ĥwa*, "says" (from *ahwara*, see above, p. 124, note 2), that is, "for the mother," "the mother's day."



they, therefore, take precautionary measures to avoid becoming victims of the malignant will of the evil spirits. Nothing is left outside the house, or in the courtyard; nobody sleeps out of doors. To safeguard themselves from evil spirits, the superstitious attach pieces of wax to their hair. Crosses are made from *a-lakwòmħa* (Geo. *lekumkha*),<sup>1</sup> to which are appended acanthus leaves, and these are placed at the courtyard gates, house doors, the gates of the kitchen gardens and cornfields, the poultry and cow-houses, etc. Acanthus leaves are hung around the necks of the domestic animals. The Abkhaz is convinced that *awyast'aã* dare not approach these crosses, which are also a protection against evil eyes.

During this night the evil spirits go out to look for booty, under the leadership of their mother, *Arapap* (Meg. *rokapi*). On this expedition they are joined by human beings in whom evil spirits have taken their abode. Some of these evil spirits ride wolves or cats, and devour all the animals left outside by their owners who had no time, or had forgotten to drive them into shelter.<sup>2</sup> All evil spirits without exception stir abroad during this night; they wander growling from village to village and through the forests. For this reason it is easy to find out and catch them, and with this object youths go into the woods, where they make a large fire, using the wood of *a-lakwòmħa*. The youngsters hide behind the bushes and watch out to see if they can recognize those of their neighbours into whom an evil spirit has entered. It is believed that the demons never pass a bonfire without stopping and warming themselves a little by it. Often quarrels arise on this ground, with unpleasant consequences. This custom of seeking after the evil spirits, "demons," is called *Awyast'aã lëkhëra*, which denotes "the catching of the demon"; it is also known under the Megrelian name of *dchindchat'oba*. To this day an Abkhaz believes that an evil spirit can enter into, and remain in, a human body, particularly in that of an old woman.

The chief *awyast'aã* is the eldest son of the sister of God, and that is why He, being a blood relation, cannot destroy him, although he may frighten him off with thunder. Here it will be appropriate to quote the following popular story:—

"At the time of the partition of the work between God and the devil, the former, exercising the right of seniority,<sup>3</sup> suggested to the devil that they should divide the world between them. The latter

<sup>1</sup> The Russian *krushina*, according to the botanists of the Sukhum Botanical Garden, that is, *atalernus* (R. Eristov mentions the plant *lekukha*, but he does not explain it. Ed. *Khris. Vost.*).

<sup>2</sup> To safeguard an animal from wild beasts when he strays in the forest, they "bind the mouth" of the wild animals as follows: a pair of scissors is tied and a suitable prayer is uttered. "A sure remedy."

<sup>3</sup> The younger divides, and the elder chooses.

agreed. During the night God caused the earth to be covered with luxuriant vegetation. Captivated by the beauty of vegetation the devil suggested to God that the best way to divide the world between them would be for one to have the earth and the other the vegetation. God took as his share the earth, and the devil received the vegetation. God then ordered him to remove his vegetation immediately. Only now did the devil realize his mistake, which, however, he rectified thus: he restored the vegetation to God, and in return for it he begged and obtained from Him the right to the souls of those who fall from the trees, having climbed them without first praying to God for their safety. . . ."

(b) *Barbanjia* (*dchiakokona*)

Before sunset on the 14th August the Abkhasian youths light, in their respective courtyards, a fire of flax straw (at present, owing to the lack of this straw, they use dry fern, etc.). Each person leaps thrice through the flame of this fire, shouting "I have burnt the evil spirit; I have burnt the evil spirit". By so leaping through the flame an Abkhaz "purifies" himself of the evil spirit. After they have leapt three times through the flame each throws a piece of salt into the burning fire, and then, altogether, they begin to beat the fire with sticks to extinguish it, at the same time shouting the above quoted words. At the conclusion of the whole operation, the neighbours inform each other of their victory over the evil spirit by firing a gun. This manner of destroying the evil spirits is called "the burning of the demon" or *Barbanjia*. The denotation of the word is incomprehensible to me.<sup>1</sup>

(c) *Nàn-ħwa*

On the day of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, the "pure" (eldest) woman in the family prepares *a-tcha* ("a round bread stuffed with cheese"), boils a cock, and leads the whole family into the kitchen garden. Here they all kneel in front of the blossoming cucumber vine, and the eldest woman makes offering to Nan, saying: "the great Nan (*Nàn-du*)! We who offer thee this sacrifice, established by our ancestors, humbly entreat thee to have mercy upon our house: increase it like the stars in the sky!" etc. The kneeling family repeat with her, *Aãmen*. But no one knows who *Nan* (*Anan*) is; they only know that she is a goddess of procreation of the human race. Of the Mother of God there is no knowledge whatever.

<sup>1</sup> The Georgian equivalent is *Dchiakokona*, which is observed on Ash-Wednesday. *Dchiakokona*, according to Tchubinov, denotes "the leaping through the fire on Wednesday of Passion-week".

On this day also they "lay the table", that is, prepare a dinner, for the souls of the deceased, unless the day happens to be one of abstinence, i.e. Wednesday or Friday. In the latter event the feast takes place on the following day.

(e) *Adsyla-nəḥwa*

On the same day of the Assumption is observed *Adsyla-nəḥwa* (cf. II (10)). The children are taken to a meadow where they are told to place their right legs against a tree. Each holding an *akwakwār* in the right hand, they remain meekly in this position until the eldest in the family has addressed the prayer to "the spirit of the tree", entreating "the great part of the deity of the tree" to safeguard them from giddiness, from falling off the tree, and from injuries. The children must eat their *akwakwār* without removing their legs from the tree.

(f) *Anàna-gùnda* (the goddess of bees)

This is both a spring and a summer feast.

In the spring, when the bees begin to hive, the eldest ("pure") woman of the family takes some hirse (Geo. *p'etvi*) and an egg, and enters the apiary, where she passes the offerings three times over the hives, and prays to the goddess of the bees, *Anàna-gùnda*: "Submitting these as a pledge that the established offering will be made at the proper time, I humbly entreat thee, *Anàna-gùnda*, to be the guardian of our bees; safeguard them from all illnesses, multiply them, and grant them a good crop!" Hirse and the egg are hung over the apiary.

In the summer, between the 15th July and the end of August, before the gathering of the first honeycombs, more during August, on a Thursday or Saturday, the promised offering to the goddess *Anàna-gùnda* is made. A large corncake (*a-mgal*), stuffed with cheese, is baked, and placed on one of the hives; also an egg. The family kneel in front of the offering, and the "pure" woman again invokes the mercy of *Anàna-gùnda* upon the honey bees, and says an improvised prayer. The family repeat a long drawn out *dāmen*.

After the ceremony, she divides the corncakes crosswise, into four parts, with two strokes of the knife; and cuts these into smaller pieces. The family sit down there and then and dine. They do not forget the neighbours, sending a small piece each. The remains are placed in a basket and hung up in the apiary. Everybody passing by is obliged to enter the apiary and bless the honey bees and, scattering about a little hirse, eat a piece of corncake.

In ancient times when the Abkhassians irreproachably observed all the rites, the gods were more merciful to them. Thus, the goddess

of the bees as a sign of her good disposition towards a given family placed an egg (the egg of *Anàna-gùnda*) in one of the hives. No matter how much honey they took from that hive, there would always be a plentiful supply of it.<sup>1</sup>

IV. K'IRSA

Christmas is one of the four chief holidays<sup>2</sup> of the year. Abkhassians call it *K'irsa* (Megr. *K'irse*), which denotes Christ. An Abkhaz considers it a great disgrace if he fails on this day to kill a goat or some other animal. On this day "the table is laid" also for the souls of ancestors.

(a) *Agwə-nəḥwa*

For some families it is obligatory to make an offering early in the morning on this day to *Agwə-nəḥwa*, for which *akwakwār* are baked. The supplicant entreats that *Agwə-nəḥwa* grant them the warmth of his eyes and his heart. In translation the word denotes, "praying to heart." This "praying" is also known to the Gurians, under the name of "praying for the womb" (Geo. *Mutlis salotsavi*); Megrelians call it *Khatsitsi*.<sup>3</sup> According to I. Kipshidze, it is the New Year's Day breakfast.<sup>4</sup> In my opinion it is nothing more than a survival of the supplication described below.

(b) *Got'anua* (*sharp'è-nəḥwa*)

Some *gvari*-s have preserved to this day the following custom. On Christmas Eve, the family go to bed very early; they rise, however, at midnight, and begin praying. Enough chickens are killed to provide one for every member of the family (blackbirds also may be used), or in their place a young goat; *akwakwār* baked. All this is offered to *Got'anua*; the food is consumed immediately after the prayer is ended, and the remains, if any, are not left but burnt without fail. All return to bed. The dawn must find them asleep. In Megrelian *got'anua* denotes morning-twilight, dawn, to grow light, to dawn, the Abkhassian equivalent of which is *sharp'è-nəḥwa*, the morning prayer; the Megrelian term, however, is more in use.

I quote here the following story: "A female slave of a family,

<sup>1</sup> *Anàna*, in my opinion, is derived from *an*, mother; *gùnda*, probably from *gundi*, a swarm, a collection of something.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, the New Year, Easter, the Assumption, and Christmas.

<sup>3</sup> *Khatsitsi*—*khatsetsi* is called also a bride. (Cf. I. Kipshidze, *Gram. of the Megrelian Language*, s.v. *khat'etsi*.) (Ed. *Khrist. Vostok*.)

<sup>4</sup> *Grammar of the Megrelian Language*, s.v. (where is also a reference to the explanation of the same word in Georgian by V. Beridze, *Sitqviskona*, s.v., Ed. *Kh. V.*).

being angry with her masters, took a portion of the dough for *akwakwār* destined for the "god" *Got'anūa*, and placing it in a scoop of bitter-gourd (*akwapey*, Geo. *kope*), hid it in the loft. As usual the family went to bed after the ceremony. But unfortunately for them the offended *Got'anūa* soundly thrashed all of them, using for the purpose the very same scoop in which had been hidden the dough destined for himself. This *gvari* makes propitiatory offerings at the will of sorcerers to *Got'anūa* twice a year, during the night before Christmas and before the Assumption.

*Got'anūa*, under the name of *Okhvāmuri*, evidently spread throughout Megrelia during the missionaryship of Lamberti.<sup>1</sup>

## V. DEITIES WHOSE CULTS HAVE NO FIXED DATES

### 1. *Et-nəkhā*—*Aga-nəkhā*

The sea, like other manifestations of nature, has its own "part of deity", called *Aga-inkhwə* or *aga-intswakhwə*. An Abkhaz makes an offering to this deity when he goes to the sea coast for any considerable time. The sea deity is not to be trifled with; if it is slighted it becomes turbulent, it surges, and punishes the unrespectful. Therefore even the children are forbidden to throw pebbles, or to spit into the sea. The worship of this deity has been preserved in its purest form among the Bzib Abkhazians, namely among the peasantry of the Gudout (Gudaut) district, of the *gvari* of Amp'arāa. It has been described by A. Tch(ukbar), in *Sotrudnik Zakavkazskoy Missii* ("The Collaborator of the Transcaucasian Mission"), 1912, p. 373 sqq., where the deity *Et-nəkh-Aga-nəkhā* is called *Et-nykh Ag-Nykh*. *Aga* denotes sea, (*a)nəkh*—"icon." But what does the word *Et* denote? <sup>1</sup>

### 2. *Ashkha-intswakhwə* (god of mountains)

Mountains also have "their part of God" known under the name of *Ashkha-intswakhwə*. *Ashkha* denotes mountain; *intswakhwə*, "his (of the male rational being) part of God." I have pointed out above that the Abkhaz often uses the word *nəkhā* in the sense of god, which in the Christian faith is understood, or more correctly, translated, as icon. The god of mountains "governs" all the mountains and the beasts inhabiting them. Abkhaz shepherds make offerings to this god twice a year, in the spring when they drive the cattle to the mountains, and in the autumn when they drive them back. To him are subject also mountain game. In order to preserve the game from

<sup>1</sup> A. Lamberti, op. cit., pp. 148-9.

<sup>2</sup> This word manifests a consonance with the Assyro-Babylonian name of the god of the sea, *Ea*. Is this a mere coincidence?

their enemies, the god ordered the bird *aqaqab* to watch over them; the Megrelians who have the same belief, call this bird *kakabi*.<sup>1</sup> As soon as this bird sights at a distance a hunter or some other enemy, it soars high up into the sky, and by screeching warns the game of the approach of danger. That is why this bird is always found near the beasts.

The god of the mountains demands respect. He punishes severely those bold enough to bathe in clear, transparent mountain streams. The Abkhaz shepherds do not, therefore, bathe in these streams, being afraid of drawing upon themselves the displeasure of the god of the mountains: the nude body is said to defile the waters of the mountain spirit.

### 3. *Azhwəyp'shaä* (gods of beasts and hunting)<sup>2</sup>

*Azhwəyp'shaä* are gods of beasts and of hunting. They dwell in impassable forests, and lead an ordinary family life. To them are subjected all game, and without their will no one can shoot bird or beast. These gods kill for themselves some wild animal, boil and eat its meat; they wrap the bones in its skin and then revive the animal by striking it with a wand. Only after an animal has been resurrected in this way is a hunter granted the right to shoot it, and then only the particular hunter for whom the gods have destined it: no one else, try as much as he will, can kill it. Of this the Abkhazians are aware, and they employ the following characteristic greeting when they encounter a fellow hunter: *zəp'sə-aakhəw yəzəp'shūr*, "Which is destined to die, that (animal) is waiting for thee!" the answer being, "For both of us is waiting!"

A few words may be said about the way in which Abkhazians divine the success or failure of their hunting on the day of the Assumption. Before starting out the hunter takes a sharp knife and repeatedly strikes the table, cutting nicks in it. Passing his palm over the table, he says: "Whether thou sayest fifteen, whether I say fifteen, whoever says fifteen (it will be) thirty, fifteen." If the nicks thus cut number exactly fifteen it is a good omen; the gods will reward him with game.

The Abkhazians learnt this method in the following manner. A hunter once followed a wild goat, but he could not shoot it. It led him into the thick of a wood, where he saw a huge cauldron, around which sat gods. They invited him to join them. Nearby stood a goat. They killed the latter and invited the hunter to partake of the meal. When the gods began to throw bones into the hide, the hunter concealed one of them, putting in its place a small stick (or a small knife,

<sup>1</sup> The word is consonant with the Georgian *Kakabi*, partridge.

<sup>2</sup> The term is construed as plural.

according to another version). The gods revived the goat and destined it to fall a prey to our hunter. On the following morning, on his way back, he sighted a wild goat, killed it, and to his horror and amazement in its body he found his stick (knife).<sup>1</sup>

These *azhwèyp'shaä* have eternally youthful daughters, who often have love affairs with the hunters whom they reward with plenty of game. They select bachelor hunters as their object of love. One of them, however, once fell madly in love with a married Abkhaz; their friendship lasted for many years; often she herself visited him. One day, at dawn, the hunter's wife found the daughter of the gods, whose beauty was more than earthly, in the arms of her husband. The two were asleep on the balcony of the corncrib. A light breeze had disturbed the golden curls of the lovely goddess, and a few tresses lay in the dust. The wife acted in a manner born of pure love and sympathy. Quietly approaching the sleeping couple she lifted up the golden curls of the beautiful goddess and placed them so that they would not fall into the dust. When the goddess awakened she was so struck with the magnanimity of the beautiful wife of her beloved that she restored her husband to her, and forever forbade her sister-goddesses to have love affairs with married men.

Hunting is a sacred sport to the Abkhazians, and it is the custom never to talk of the hunter when he is hunting, but to say, if necessary, "he has gone somewhere." The hunters divide their prey into equal proportions; the head of the animal or bird, however, is given in addition to the one who killed it. Anybody whom the hunters encounter by chance also gets an equal share. Nor are the neighbours forgotten. Each goes up to the prey, and sprinkling it and also the successful hunter with some grain, says: "May gods grant thee a better one on another occasion!"

Any kind of falsehood or evasion of the rules of hunting consecrated by custom is severely punished by order from above. The following story may be quoted as an illustration of this:—

A well-known hunter once killed a wild goat, and another hunter, having heard a shot, ran up to him. The successful hunter said: "Behind that corner there is hiding another goat which you can easily follow up; it will be better to take home a kill each than to divide one between." The second hunter ran in the direction indicated but found no goat there. For this lie the gods punished not only the hunter himself but also his whole *gvári*; they have never since shot a single head of game.

<sup>1</sup> This story is written down from the words of A. Kardava, a Megrelian shepherd. In his version the wild boar figures instead of the goat, and *iqashi-map'a*, king of the woods, instead of *Azhwèyp'shaä*.

#### 4. *Abna-intswakhwè* (god of the woods)

The woods also have their "part of deity", *Abna-intswakhwè*. *Abna* denotes wood, forest; *intswakhwè* we already know. When an Abkhaz enters a forest, or if he has to pass a night there, he prays to this deity for protection. I have, however, failed to collect more information about this god of the woods.

#### *Abna-wowyè*

In ancient times the forests of Abkhazia were inhabited by *Abna-wowyè*, "forest-people." *Abna* denotes forest, and *a-wowyè*, man. They were strong and courageous, but very ugly in appearance. Their bodies were covered with bristle-like hair. From their breasts projected a strange object, shaped like an axe and strong as steel, which served as a weapon; and by pressing an enemy to their breasts they could cut him into two. They preyed incessantly upon the people, who, however, in the long run, and with God's help, destroyed them. The last of them dwelt in an impassable forest, called *Urak'*, near the village of *Adzvibzha*. In the same forest there lived also the courageous *Khukhw Dchit'anää*, with his herd. Between *Khukhw* and this "forest-man" there was intense animosity. The ugly "forest-man" would come to *Khukhw's* hut every midnight, and inquire: "Dchit'anää *Khukhw*,<sup>1</sup> art thou at home?" "Yes, I am. If thou art not an old woman come and fight me," responded the fearless Abkhaz. The "forest-man", however, would never agree to a single combat. *Khukhw*, tired at last of these childish pranks, resorted to a ruse. Placing a log in his bed, he went outside and hid behind a bush not far from the hut. At midnight the "forest-man" came as usual, and receiving no reply, he concluded that *Khukhw* was soundly asleep. Entering the hut and seeing, as he thought, the sleeping form of his enemy, he was about to aim a blow at the log, when the Abkhaz, who had crept in unawares, fired a shot at him. The "forest-man", although mortally wounded, managed to crawl away, and on the following morning *Khukhw* followed up the blood-stained footprints, and finding the dead body of his enemy, buried him with due honours. *Khukhw* appropriated the wealth of the last "forest-man", and also married his beautiful wife. . . .

#### 5. *Atswaqwa*, the rainbow

The god of the rainbow is very vindictive; he soars high in the clouds and punishes, either by death or the infliction of disease, all

<sup>1</sup> A peculiarity of the Abkhazian; the surname precedes the Christian name.

who transgress against him. In order to avoid incurring the anger of this god, an Abkhaz will not draw water or wash himself when the rainbow is in the sky, and is generally careful about the use of water. Like any other god, *Atswaqwa* may bestow the "warmth of his eyes and his heart", in return for offerings and prayers. Whoever is affected by his wrath, grows icteritious, emaciated, to save his life he must, at the direction of the sorceresses, make the following offering to the rainbow god :—

On one of the Thursdays<sup>1</sup> the old ("pure") women take the sick person to the river, pass (Geo. *shemoavleben*) around his head 4-5 yards of variegated chintz, and pray: "The great god! Acknowledging his transgressions this sick person (the name is mentioned) has appeared before thee, and humbly entreats thee to accept this chintz as a pledge that he will perform the established offering at the proper time, at the direction of the sorceresses!"

On the following Thursday he is taken again to the same river and place. Usually three women say the prayer, but there may be seven. Men, with the exception of the patient, are not allowed to be present at this ceremony. The sick person is dressed entirely in white. The eldest woman<sup>2</sup> kills a capon and a hen; women carry out all the duties, preparing *ashwamkyat'*, "ghomi" (millet pudding), *akwakwar*, and *atcha-gvazal* (Geo. *ghvezeli*, an oblong bread), of each of which there must be seven of the usual, and seven of the very small size. All these are placed on *ashwamkyat'*, on which also burn seven wax candles. The prayer is said by the eldest woman. The patient kneels in front of the offering; he is taken home immediately the ceremony is over, and he must not look back. The seven small *akwakwar*, *atcha-gvazal*, and seven small portions of *ghomi* (*abast'a*—millet porridge), are thrown into the water; they represent the share of the female slaves (*ah'op'hwəs*) of the rainbow god. Everything else is consumed by the women themselves; the remains being thrown into the river, for nothing must be taken home.

Muhammadans must also burn candles at this offering. The candles are fixed on a kind of hoop made of grape vine. At the end of the ceremony the hoop with the burning candles is thrown into the river.

It should be noted that in some parts of the country this god is called *Atswaqwa-əlia* (the Rainbow-Elijah). So at least he was called, according to the testimony of D. I. Gulia, by Javaz, the famous woman supplicant.

<sup>1</sup> Thursday in Megrelian is *tsashkha*, the day of the sky. It is noteworthy that the Abkhazians perform usually on the day of the sky, the majority of rites that are seemingly connected with the sky, as in the case given.

<sup>2</sup> The Abkhazian women kill animals only on occasions of certain offerings.

### 6. *Akhyə Zoshən*

The Abkhazians ascribe diseases generally to supernatural influences or gods, but some diseases have their own special gods. The god of small-pox, for example, is *Akhyə Zoshən* (the golden Zoskhan), and also his consort, the goddess *Khanə Shkwəkwə* (Khanə the white). How important are the gods of the Abkhazians may be judged from the following circumstance which took place during the spring of 1914 in one of the settlements of the village Jgerdi. Throughout the winter and spring of the year Abkhazia was in the grip of a severe epidemic of small-pox. In order to check the spread of the disease vaccinators were sent to the affected areas. The following account of what happened was described to me by P. Janashia, one of the vaccinators. A certain settlement, fearing that the gods might wreak vengeance upon them, refused to admit the vaccinators; they preferred to safeguard themselves against this terrible disease, *atswarp'shəzə* (small-pox), by the adoption of the gods. *Atswə* denotes skin, rind, and *ap'shəzə*, pretty, beautiful; the whole, in translation, denoting "that which decorates (beautifies) the skin".

By pooling their resources, the settlement raised enough money to buy a couple of snow-white goats and a sufficiency of provisions, and made an expedition into the forest. Here, amidst the quietude and peace of over-hanging leaves, a sumptuous feast was prepared for the divine guests. When everything was ready, and the victim had been placed, according to custom, on *ashwamkyat'*, the head of the settlement said the prayer and made the offering to the gods. Nearby stood two bedsteads, adorned with silk bedclothes, on which sat two young women, an *aznauri* and a peasant woman; their naked breasts were covered with silk handkerchiefs. The whole assembly knelt down, while the head of the settlement implored the gods to accept their offering by kissing the breasts of the most beautiful women of the settlement, and thus become, in accordance with the ancestral custom, adopted sons of the settlement. Near the "foster-mothers of gods" stood two of the finest horses, one with a side saddle. The sumptuous feast followed the ceremony of adoption, and afterwards the people, holding the horses by the bridle, on which were to be riding the newly adopted gods, *Akhyə Zoshən* and *Khanə Shkwəkwə*, escorted the precious guests to the accompaniment of song, far away from the settlement. Thus they "turned away", or warded off, the small-pox.

"You may not believe it," an Abkhaz from the settlement told me, "but this 'adoption' saved us from the small-pox; not one of us fell a victim to it. You, the learned, have caused our ruin by bringing down upon us the anger of the gods of our fathers," he concluded, with a deep sigh.



## NOTE ON THE CAUCASIAN SNOW-PARTRIDGE

By W. E. D. ALLEN, F.Z.S.

N. S. JANASHIA, in his article, *The Religious Beliefs of the Abkhasians*, refers to *Āshkha-intswakhwā*, god of mountains, as follows:—

"The god of mountains 'governs' all the mountains and the beasts inhabiting them. . . . To him are subject also mountain game. In order to preserve the game from their enemies, the god ordered the bird *aqaqab* to watch over them; the Megrelians, who have the same belief, call this bird *kakabi* (note: this bird is consonant with the Georgian *kakabi*, partridge). As soon as this bird sights at a distance a hunter or some other enemy, it soars high up into the sky, and by screeching warns the game of the approach of danger. That is why this bird is always found near the beasts" (see herein p. 148).

There seems little doubt that the bird to which Janashia refers may be identified with the Caucasian Snow-Partridge (*Tetraogallus caucasicus*, Dresser, *Birds of Europe*, vii, pp. 237-240, plate 492; *Megaloperdrix caucasica* Pall., Radde, *Ornitologicheskaya Fauna Kavkaza*, pp. 264-270).

Dresser (1871-1881) quotes an article by Radde, which appeared in the *Journal für Ornithologie* (1873, pp. 2-6), and which forms the basis for Radde's concluding remarks in his section on *Megaloperdrix caucasica*, published in his *Orn. Fauna Kav.*, of 1884. It is re-quoted here:—

"In the mountains, close to the line of continual snow, at an altitude of between 2,000 and 3,500 metres, I made acquaintance with these giant Partridges, respecting whose habits so little is known. The Caucasian Snow-Partridge, discovered by Steven, and very early named *caucasicus*, is found here in comparatively large numbers; and the mountaineers all affirm that it lives in peculiar friendship with the Caucasian Ibex. The bird is said to whistle in order to warn the Ibex of the approach of the hunter; and the Snow-Partridge feeds on the dung of the Ibex; so that they are in a way dependent on each other. It is, however, probable that they exist on the same food; for when one examines both to see what they have been eating, one finds that the Ibex feeds on the various *Potentilla* plants which form the green patches in the mountains; and these low-growing plants, with their white and yellow blossoms and fruit, which bring them botanically near to the strawberry, serve for food to the Snow-Partridge as well as to the Ibex. This fact explains why the two are found together; and, moreover, it is possible that the insects which are found on the dung of the Ibex may attract the Snow-Partridge."

Both Radde and Dresser regard the Caucasian Snow-Partridge

as being restricted entirely to the Caucasian range, and as inhabiting a relatively restricted area therein. It is only to be found in the higher mountain parts, and only descends into lower altitudes when driven down by stormy weather. Radde is of opinion that the lower mountains which stretch in the direction of Armenia to other higher ranges are certainly not inhabited by the Snow-Partridge; nor is the Ibex found in the Little Caucasus.

"The Snow-Partridge lives strictly in pairs, and inhabits an area the size of which is scarcely known. If a pair are disturbed, they rise uttering a peculiar shrill whistle and a clear alarm-note like the words *tirok, tirok, tirok*, on hearing which other pairs in the vicinity also take wing. The flight of this species is swift and direct, and reminded me much of that of the Little Bustard, but was not so whistling. I cannot say if the Snow-Partridge, like the Grouse, drums in the spring; for it is almost impossible to visit the elevated portions of the mountains at that season. It seems, however, certain that this bird never perches in a tree, and is altogether in its habits a gigantic Partridge; besides it inhabits regions above the tree-growth."

Radde estimates that the coveys are about as many in number as those of allied species of Partridges. He adds that the natives compare this bird to the Turkey, and consider it to be a sort of mountain-Turkey, calling it *intaure*.<sup>1</sup>

There seems indeed to be considerable confusion among ornithologists as to both the scientific and the local nomenclature of this rare bird. Dresser lists the Latin forms adopted by Pallas, Motchulski, and others, and adds as the Russian forms: *Gornaya Indeika* (mountain turkey), *Tchurtka*, *Intaure*. Radde gives *Gornaya Indeika* as the Russian form, *Indaurō* as Georgian, and Imer(et')ian, *Mulkaurō* or *Mulkōrō* as Svanian, *Dzheruni* for Radcha and the sources of the Rioni, *zim*, Os(set')ian.

Radde (*OFK.*, 275) gives *kakabi* as the native Georgian name for *Caccabis saxatilis* Meyer, the Greek Partridge, which has a very wide range in the Mediterranean-Alpine area. *Kakabi* is certainly no more specific than the Russian *kuropatka*, and is obviously an onomatopœic word (cf. Armenian *kak'aw*, Turkish *keklik*).

Lastly, it is worth mentioning here the distinction between the Caucasian Snow-Partridge and the Caspian Snow-Partridge (*Tetraogallus Caspius*, Dresser, *BOE.*, pp. 241-3, plate 493; *Megaloperdrix Caspia*, Radde, *OFK.*, pp. 271-4). Dresser gives the Persian name as Russian; and *Ur-keklik* as the Turkish. Radde gives *Kabk-i-dars* correctly as Persian, *Shenakas* for Talish, *Ur-keklik* in Lenkorani Tatar. Although relatively uncommon and restricted to high altitudes,

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Georgian *Indouri* (Ind-o-ur-i), denoting lit. "Indian".

the range of this bird is much wider than that of its Caucasian fellow—stretching from the Gök Dagħ in Southern Asia Minor to the Northern Caucasus and from the south-east corner of the Caspian to the mountains of South-West Persia. It is not uncommon in the Bulghar Dagħ and Ala Dagħ—the great massifs of the Taurus to the north of the Cilician plain.

The comparative nomenclature of the flora and fauna of the Caucasian-Anatolian area is a subject which might usefully occupy the attention of individuals living in those countries who are interested in Japhetidological problems.

## ON THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE ABKHASIANS

By PROFESSOR. N. Y. MARR †

(A translation of the article published in *Khristianski Vostok*, The Christian East, Petrograd, 1915, vol. iv, issue 1, pp. 113-140.)

IT has been now established that the Abkhasians belong, if not to the pure Japhetic, at any rate to the Japhetidoid peoples. In both the former and the latter case, we have in the Abkhasians an ethnically mixed type, in which are blended tribes of at least two different peoples. In relation to the Abkhasian language this question is now being solved with sufficient conclusiveness.<sup>1</sup> Of no less importance in this respect is affinity of the religious beliefs of the Abkhasians with those of the Japhetic peoples.<sup>2</sup>

This article has been inspired by that of N. S. Janashia, *The Religious Beliefs of the Abkhasians*,<sup>3</sup> published in *Khristianski Vostok*, vol. iv, pp. 73-112.<sup>4</sup>

The religious beliefs of the Abkhasians have been for some time attracting the attention of the still existing Japhetic world. The interest of Janashia's work lies not in quantity or actual novelty, but in the quality of the material collected by him. Until now we have always had to deal with Abkhasian mythology or Abkhasian beliefs, which gave us no reason to suspect that all Abkhasians were not alike; that Abkhasia, in fact, might be divisible linguistically, as well as in regard to religion, into three parts, namely the northern or Bzibian, central or Abzhuian,<sup>5</sup> and southern or Samurzaqanoan. But we cannot yet deal with general Abkhasian mythology, or general

<sup>1</sup> N. Y. Marr, *K voprosu o polozhenii abkhazskago yazyka sredi yafetilcheshkikh*, "On the Question of the Place of the Abkhasian Language among the Japhetic," in *Materialy po yafetilcheshkomu yazykoznaniiu*, "Materials for Japhetic Linguistics," St. Pb., 1912, vol. v, cf. also P. Dcharaia, *Ob otnoshenii abkhazskago yazyka k yafetilcheshkim*, "On the Relation of the Abkhasian Language to the Japhetic Languages," in *Materialy for Japhetic Linguistics*, St. Pb., 1912, vol. iv.

<sup>2</sup> For a review of Marr's Japhetic theory see A. Gugushvili, *Nicholas Marr and his Japhetic theory in Georgia*, London, 1935, vol. i, No. 1, pp. 101-115. (Editors' note.)

<sup>3</sup> An English translation of which we offer elsewhere in this Journal (Editors' note).

<sup>4</sup> Before it was printed I read N. S. Janashia's work at the Session of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, on 24th January, 1915. The comments made at the time of the reading constitute the basis of the present article. The materials within a limited region afforded by the work of Janashia will, in my opinion, arouse general interest among all those interested in the archaic culture of Caucasia. It is to be hoped, also, as Janashia justly points out, that the Abkhasian materials concerning the cult will prove susceptible of correct explanation from the Abkhasian tales. A brilliant example of the utilization of tales for the explanation of the Japhetic cult of the moon is given in the work of I. A. Javakhishvili. There are still, to all appearances, many tales to be heard from the lips of the Abkhasian people. Only recently I received about sixty tales in the Abkhasian language, collected at my suggestion among the Bzib Abkhasians by the Abkhasian Society of Enlightenment at Lakhna. I had unfortunately no time to make use of them in this article.

<sup>5</sup> Derived from the name of the tribe Abzhuwaã = Abzhuwã to whom the district once belonged and not from the word denoting middle, centre.

Abkhasian religious doctrine. This question has to be preceded by a series of monographic treatises on the influence of neighbouring peoples (or on closer affinity with them) on the outlying Abkhasian provinces, such as the Circassians on the Bzib Abkhasians, the Megrelians—and the Svanians—on the Samurzaqanoan and even the Abzhuian Abkhasians. Events pointing to the opposite conclusion will not be excluded, and will be traced and explained.

N. S. Janashia describes in his work the religious beliefs not of all Abkhasians in general, but only those of a certain section—the Abzhuians. Moreover, the material collected by him has been checked by a special Commission appointed at his request, and some of his material has been taken down by him from the words of informants whose names and places of origin he gives.

A great point in favour of our author is the fact that, unlike the Christian writers on Abkhasia, he does not attempt to prove that Christianity among the Abkhasian people preceded pagan conceptions or that the remains of Christian teaching were supplanted by pagan deities and rites in their honour.

Nor does N. S. Janashia go to the other extreme of attributing primitive religious ideas to the Abkhasians, a tendency that characterized those investigators who saw in the Abkhasians the surviving representatives of a primitive people, and who were inclined to regard Abkhasian as a primitive language (Uslar, Dcharaia). Nevertheless, Janashia does incline towards this point of view. Some reflection of the "primitivism", if one may express it so, is also to be detected in the fact that Janashia is also apt to interpret the religious terminology of the Abkhasians, which represents the heritage of the remotest historical antiquity, with the aid of the linguistic material of the present-day Abkhasian language itself.<sup>1</sup>

It is not the survivals of the Christian religion in the contemporary popular beliefs of Abkhasia that now interest us, but those of pre-Christian paganism, of an ancient religion not only of the Abkhasians alone, but also of all the Japhetic peoples related to them. It is clear that if we are not yet prepared to give entire credence to the description of general Abkhasian mythology presented to us, still more are we justified in using discretion in our acceptance of the theories relating to Japhetic religion. There is an immense amount still to be done. We may find satisfaction, however, in the fact that this path of discovery is now being explored in two directions: one through

<sup>1</sup> Janashia resorts to analogies from the primitive religions; this, however, does not mean that he shares the theory of the primitiveness of the culture of the Abkhasians themselves, although the interpretation of the term *antswā*, god, as the plural form of the Abkhasian word *an*, mother, shows that this theory is not altogether unknown to N. S. Janashia.

ethnographic, the other through archæological researches, and both on a ground made clear by the Japhetic linguistic theory.

Actually the extra-Christian religious affinity of the Japhetic peoples is becoming apparent even without the aid of linguistics.

Dwelling, for example, on the Abkhasians, we detect, on the basis of the actual survivals, or generally, of the known facts of the religious pre-Christian life of the Caucasian peoples, their affinity, not only with the Qabardoans or Kabardinians (Circassians or Adāghes) on the north, and Megrelians on the south, and again with the Svanians, on the east, but also with the tribes and peoples who are by no means so near to each other that their relational traits could be interpreted exclusively as the result of neighbourly intercourse. It is enough to recall the material relating Abkhasians, from among the still existent tribes of the Georgian people, to the P'shavs and Khevsurs, and to those from among the dead peoples, to whom belongs the name of the god *an* of the cuneiform inscriptions, the name of the deity *khat* of the repertoire of the Christian terminology of the Georgians, and the cult term *margarey* → *margarē* (now *margarè*, and as the proper personal name *Margar*), "prophet," with related conceptions, in the repertoire of the Christian terminology of the Armenians, etc.

Interest will be aroused in the popular survivals of the pre-Christian religious life of the Japhetids independently of the data of the Japhetic theory, owing to the surprising contact of the most ancient pagan religions of the cultured East with the popular beliefs of the Japhetic peoples. The Japhetic linguistic materials,<sup>1</sup> now afford us an explanation for such hitherto enigmatic terms as the god Moon—Sin, not only of remote antiquity, as with the Babylonians and Assyrians,<sup>2</sup> but also of the latest period, as with the Harranians (*Sîn*), and the name, as also with the Harranians, of the sacrificial animal *زبرخ*, *zubarakh* (Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, ii, pp. 24, 37, cf. p. 191, n. 179), as well as the equally exotic god Thoth, of the Egyptians, so well elucidated in Russian literature.<sup>3</sup> Still more persistent is the inquiry into the pre-Christian beliefs of the Caucasian peoples, made through the study of the archæological monuments of the ancient non-Semitic, non-Aryo-European cultured peoples of Hither Asia. The results of this inquiry which has been long maturing in our country, thanks to the internal archæological pursuits originating

<sup>1</sup> So far the press has indicated only the linguistic material concerning *زبرخ*, see Janashia, *The Religious Beliefs of the Abkhasians*, p. 79 (or p. 123 of the English Translation in this number.—Ed.).

<sup>2</sup> Et. Combe considers the term as borrowed from the Chaldaeans (*Histoire du cult de Sin en Babylone et en Syrie*, Paris, 1908, p. 5): "Sin est un nom essentiellement chaldéen qui a été emprunté par les Sémites."

<sup>3</sup> B. Turaev, *Bog Tot. Opyi issledovaniya v oblasti istorii drevne-egipetskoj kul'tury*, "The god Thoth," Leipzig, 1898.

from within the limits of the settlements of the Caucasian peoples, particularly from the necropolises, are more clearly felt in the comparative archæological studies of the antiquities of Caucasia, and particularly in the new and extraordinarily stimulating work of B. V. Farmakovski, namely *The Archaic Period in Russia*.<sup>1</sup>

What is extremely important is that our author succeeds in maintaining his theses independently of the Japhetic linguistic theory, about which he says nothing. By a purely archæological method and a comparative study of styles Farmakovski arrives at the conclusions that have been already partly established, or are as yet only partly noted by the Japhetidological comparative linguistic method. *The many ethnically non-Semitic and non-Aryo-European groups of peoples, linguistically individuated from the borders of the Semitic world to the Caucasus Mountains and still farther north, constituted, from the dawn of history until the establishment of the Aryo-European supremacy, one inter-related circle, the Japhetic, which is still extant in the form of striking survivals in the contemporary linguistic picture of that region: to this circle also belongs as an inalienable part, the languages of the cuneiform inscriptions, the ancient Elamite, the language of the second category (of the Achæmenean cuneiform inscriptions), the Vannic, and, in all probability, the Hattic.* Herein, from the scientific point of view, is properly speaking the new thesis of Japhetic linguistics, which interests us at the moment.<sup>2</sup> *The Hittite art, the influence of which can be traced through the antiquities of Southern Russia, evinces something akin to the style of art represented by objects found in Caucasian graves, belonging, it is assumed, to the Urartaens who were separated from the southern centre of civilization by the culture of the Khaldians, a comparatively new people.* Herein, I repeat, lies the new, extremely interesting thesis, in so far as it can be proved, of our archæological science, as advanced by B. V. Farmakovski. The difference in the structure of the linguistic and archæological sciences consists in the fact that the Japhetic school of linguistics bases its conclusions concerning Caucasia, not on casual, incidental fragments or on isolated linguistic facts, but on a combination of rich, inexhaustibly rich, linguistic materials, represented by a whole complex of the living and

<sup>1</sup> A reprint (pp. 1-64) from *Materialy po arkheologii Rossii*, "Materials for the Archæology of Russia," published by the Imperial Archæological Commission, No. 34, pp. 15-78.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the study of the cuneiform inscriptions on the basis of the Japhetic linguistics, see N. Marr, *Opredelenie yazyka uloroy kategorii Akhemenidskikh Klinobraznykh nadpisey*, in *Zapiski* (Bulletin) of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, St. Pb., 1915, vol. xxii, pp. 31-76. Those who connect the Khatti language and generally the Khatti people with the peoples of Caucasia, on entirely their own grounds, work in favour of the Japhetic theory, even though, either because of imperfect acquaintance with this latest theory, or because they are confused by its novelty (which, however, has long since worn off), they may not use the actual terms of Japhetidological science.

extinct peoples; on their systematic study; and, so far as possible, on their adequate classification. It seems to me that such a science as this cannot be ignored without prejudicial results to inquiry. Even at this stage we find B. V. Farmakovski basing his argument on the opinion of Wirchow as to the origin of iron from Central Asia, leaning unconsciously to the old, much-vaunted but inadequate Uralo-Altaic linguistic theory, of the Uralo-Altaic origin of the pre-Aryan and pre-Semitic languages of the cultural hearth of Hither Asia. Wirchow himself was subsequently obliged to admit that his scepticism concerning the independent development of metallurgy in Caucasia was rather exaggerated. Of great interest in this connection is the difference of opinion among the scholars themselves when those with no grounding in a proper cultural-historical school intervene in the discussion with an air of authority.<sup>1</sup>

The linguistic science up till now had quoted the archæologists in support of the hypothesis of the Iranian origin of all those Eastern peoples that have played an historical role in southern Russia, and along the chain of the Caucasus Mountains; the establishment of the Iranian origin of only one people, the Ossetian, more correctly Os-ian, in the Caucasus Mountains, was enough to justify the search for Iranism in everything, and it became, due to the work of V. Th. Miller, the founder of Iranology in this domain, the key-note of every scientific work. Gradually successful discoveries of Iranism were made in such a manner and by such facile methods that at one time the hypothesis seriously threatened to turn the entire Caucasian world, which to a certain extent is certainly no stranger to Iranian influences, into the Iranians themselves. M. M. Kovalevski in his well known work *Zakon i Obytchai na Kavkaze*, "Law and Custom in Caucasia," already considers the numerous religious stories and aspects of the mode of life of the Georgian people as merely remains of the Persian teaching of Mazdaism or fire-worship.

<sup>1</sup> The author further deals with the controversy then carried on among the German scientists such as W. Belck, M. Blanckenhorn, M. Hörnes, etc., as to which of the ancient peoples were the discoverers of iron and inventors of the iron and steel industry. This part of the article has been omitted in this translation. Marr attributes this invention to the Japhetids. According to him the Japhetic linguistic theory not only confirms by linguistic data the pre-eminence of the Japhetids in connection with the metallurgical terminology, but also reveals, particularly concerning iron, a whole world of connections among objects of material as well as spiritual culture; "for the sky itself, in the imagination of the Japhetids, is represented as iron, and this Japhetic word, iron, in its definite Tubal-Kainian (subsequently Ivero-Dchanian and at present Megrelo-Lazian) form, or in the form of the *sh*-group (about this group see A. Gugushvili, op. cit., pp. 106-7), has passed into the languages of Armenia, where it has been preserved both in the ancient literary, and the modern, language in the sense of sky." "And the creators of metallurgical values, according to the evidence of all those who were in a position to verify the cultural successes of the ancient epochs, can be grouped in a definite region of the Japhetic world and bear definite, well-known, Japhetic tribal names, not only such as Tubals, Kains (or Kainites), but also Khalibs and others, among them also the Mosokhs or Meskhs." (Translator's note.)

The late A. N. Veselovski took yet another step, or, rather slide, along this all too smoothly inclined plane leading to the assumption that everything could be traced back to this all-embracing theoretical Iranism: he even perceived an Iranian god in the pagan (indubitably Japhetic) prototype of the popular idea of St. George that prevails among the peoples of Caucasia.

I. A. Javakhishvili quite justly points out that "A. N. Veselovski was profoundly mistaken. The cult of St. George in Georgia (and generally we would add among the Japhetic peoples) has no connection whatever with Iranian paganism",<sup>1</sup> and its source, in any case, cannot be traced to Iranism. Nevertheless Javakhishvili himself, in the course of the third chapter of the first volume of his *History of the Georgian Nation* devoted to the Japhetic religion, nearly falls into the same error by allowing himself to use the specific conception in place of the generic: so that, perhaps, involuntarily, the general Japhetic aspect is presented as Georgian, and is invariably alluded to as Georgian. Moreover the chapter itself, excellent attempt as it is at the characterization of the Japhetic religion, is entitled "The Paganism of the Georgians". And therefore not only Megreles, Svans, Abkhazes are described by him as Georgians, but also the peoples of Pontus and Phrygia. "It is worthy of attention," writes Javakhishvili "that in Pontus and Phrygia, where the Georgian tribes had dwelt, the cult of the moon, according to Strabo, was practised." Farther on, we read: "Thus, wherever Georgians had dwelt there remain traces of the moon cult; the worship of the moon as the principal deity must therefore be considered as the most ancient religion of the Georgian tribes." "Until now," he adds, "we have been standing exclusively on the soil of Georgia." We see from this how easily one may be led into a more dangerous morass of anachronistic misconceptions by an unintentional substitution of terms. No one, of course, will suspect Javakhishvili of wishing us to believe that he considers Pontus and Phrygia to be within the boundaries of Georgia, but even in spite of his qualifying statements, this is the impression he conveys.<sup>2</sup> Moreover not a little confusion may be roused in the reader's mind by his deliberate evasion of the question of the relation in which this "Georgia from the Caucasus mountains to Phrygia" stands towards Armenia, or at least to the pre-Aryan, purely Japhetic population of the country, which subsequently became so well known under the name of Armenia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A History of the Georgian Nation* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1913, vol. i, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of his work Javakhishvili gives an explanation of the method, or rather of the conditional use of the term.

<sup>3</sup> A translation of the chapter "The Georgian Paganism" from Professor Javakhishvili's monumental work, *A History of the Georgian Nation*, Tiflis, 1928, vol. i, pp. 33-136, will be published in a future number of *Georgica*. [Editors' note]

I do not by any means wish to imply that the K'art's, who represent the basic layer of the Georgian people, could not have had, or did not in reality have, any connection with those regions of Asia Minor. A close genetic relationship of the K'art's to some historical people of the archaic Asia Minor may in all probability have to be recognized in course of time, but only as a particular, a definite Japhetic people, namely as the K'art'ian people, and not as the Japhetids in general. Nevertheless, at the present time, we have not sufficient data at our disposal to enable us to identify the K'art'vels or K'art's-Georgians, with those K'art's, nor have we discovered as yet their real correlations or the degree of their affinity. Meanwhile, we are approaching a stage in the treatment of Japhetic ethnology, when we must concentrate no less on the divergences than on the similarities in the very interest of the so-called pre-historical period of the life of Japhetic ethnic masses, in particular in the interest of the history of the pre-Christian extra-Caucasian K'art's.

What is really of essential interest for the history of the purely Georgian people, of the K'art'vels, even for the comparatively later Christian epochs of this history, is to note more clearly the peculiarities of the peoples related to the Georgians or the Georgian tribes, but who are by no means identical with them. We must also classify not only these peoples, but also the authentic Georgian tribes, according to the extent to which paganism has survived among them. Apart from this, great interest attaches to the spectacle of the disintegration of the Japhetic cult, and also the manner of life connected therewith in the ascending degree, successively from the Svans and Abkhazes with the Circassians, to the Ingushes, then to the Georgian tribes, namely to the Khevsurs, P'shavs, the Megrelian people, and again to the Georgians. The scale of the descending degree in which paganism has been preserved is clearly illustrated by the names of the days of the week. In no case have the pagan forms been entirely preserved by any branch of the Japhetids, now extant, but while peoples, such as Megreles or Egrs, Svans, Abkhazes, Circassians, Tchetchens, Ingushes, etc., have apparently conceded to the dominating world religions only certain holy days, as, to Christianity, Saturday (or the Greek *σάββατον*), and sometimes also Friday (the Greek *παρασκευή*), or to Islamism, Friday (the Arabic *جُمُعَة*), retaining for themselves the names of the week-days, in conformity with their forefathers' conceptions, the Georgians have long since parted with their own native names for all the days of the week, replacing them with the Christian equivalents.<sup>1</sup> Such being the fact, we must not only refrain

<sup>1</sup> Especially will be considered the question as to whether we have to deal here with a concession of two feast days to new religions, or with a transition from a five-day to a seven-day week.



from classing general Japhetic paganism as Georgian, we must also admit that the Georgians, more than other Caucasian people have broken away from the traditions of Japhetic paganism. Moreover, we must recognize that the process of the absorption of the co-tribes, closely or distantly related, by the Georgians, brought about by the influence of Christianity, is not by any means complete; it has, in fact, not even penetrated beneath the surface, even within the limits of the Georgian speaking population. We notice at the same time that the various peoples, and even tribes, of the Japhetic world, which still retain a distinct form, differ from each other, not only by the degree with which they maintain their own, native pre-Christian gods, but also by their different hierarchies and peculiarities of their cults. Being generally astral, the Japhetic cult does not accord the same deity the first place among all the peoples around which deity the cult of the whole host of deities rotates. For example, certain (at the present time) Georgian tribes, the P'shavs and the Khevsurs, as has also been noted by Javakhishvili<sup>1</sup> "call the supreme deity, *Morige*". This deity "resides in the seventh heaven" and "it is a god of the living, while Christ is God of the dead". Javakhishvili explains that in *Morige* we have "the star Cronus or its co-ruler and representation". The Khevsurs themselves, guided undoubtedly by the popular etymology based on the Georgian grammar, i.e. deriving *morige* from the Georgian word *rig-i*, order, think that *Morige* establishes the world order, regulates the world. One must, however, suppose that *Morige* was known to the P'shavs and Khevsurs from the earliest times, before they were "Georgianized" linguistically; or from the time when their neighbouring province, if not their own territory, was, even within the memory of the Arab historians, under the domination of a Tubal-Kainian (Cain-ian) people—the Dsanars, and not under that of the K'art's, i.e. Georgians. It follows, therefore, that *Morige* may quite naturally have a totally different etymological significance, a significance, by the way, that is more in accord with the explanation given by Javakhishvili himself. Thus, in *Morige* we have in all probability the Tubal-Kainian form of the K'art'ian *marg*, i.e. a dialectical variation of the Egrian (Megrelian) *muritskhi*, star, more accurately \**morikhi*. Which star is actually represented by *Morige* is a different matter; it may quite possibly be "Kronos", but it is precisely the star the Japhetic name of which in the K'art'ian form *marg* constitutes the basis, on the one hand, of the Georgian *me-marg-e*, prophet, and, on the other, of the Armenian *marg-ar-ey*, prophet, properly "sacrificator—magician—prophet" of the god *marg* or *morig*, "astrologer." In pre-Christian times, of course, the supreme god of one Japhetic people

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 122, quoting Urbneli (in the Georgian journal *Iveria*, Tiflis, 1887, No. 185).

could have been imposed upon another related people or of one tribe upon another; but we have as yet no grounds for asserting that the Moon god was the supreme god of the Georgians alone, and not of some other extinct or extant Japhetic peoples, although, of course, the Moon god must in any case have figured amongst others in the astral cult of the Georgians as a Japhetic people.

The problem of actual cultural correlations has been made even more obscure and complex by the glib and facile interpretation of what is really a specific ethnological term applied to such extinct peoples and dead cultures as the Urartaeans, the Khatti, and the Khaldians.

In view of the readiness with which fashionable words are nowadays adopted, and loosely and inaccurately applied as has been demonstrated in the case of the term "Iranism", it is easy for the name Khattic<sup>1</sup> to become popular at the present moment as a generic conception in the archæological science, when actually the term Khatti ethnologically is a specific conception, and if archæologically the Khatti people reveal an affinity with the Caucasian world similar to that observed linguistically, it follows that in the Khatti people we must have one of the peoples of the Japhetic world, and not the people embracing the whole of the world of the ethno-cultural name. In particular, such a use of the specific conception instead of the generic, predetermines the question of the historical development of the art in question; for example, Khattic art having reached its highest point of development in the country of the Khatti people, it pre-determines its engendering within that country, as also the explanation of the related issues by the influence of the Khatti country or the Khatti people; furthermore, the same use of the specific conception for the generic may render the already attained and essentially correct position inconsistent with ethnological terminology, which is being worked out by a more competent science. When, for instance, Khatti art is compared with Urartian art, properly speaking with the art of the people responsible for the Caucasian graves, principally on account of characteristic belts, it would be premature to identify the Urartaeans with the Khatti, and still more so to contrast the Khaldians with the Khatti, even as a tribe, with a related people.<sup>2</sup> The Khaldians may be not only ethnically related to the Khatti; they may prove to be actually the same people, settled in a new locale; they may even prove to be the bearers of the same Khatti culture, which has simply become more complex owing to the introduction of new features as a result of contact with other peoples or other countries,

<sup>1</sup> The author uses, in Russian, the form *Khet*, which is akin to the Egyptian form of the name *Kheta*, an equivalent, according to D. G. Hogarth (*The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1924, vol. ii, p. 252) of *Khatti*. (Translator's note.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. B. V. Farmakovski, op. cit., p. 34.

for nothing has been finally determined regarding the Assyro-Babylonian cultural world, nor is the possibility excluded of its containing Japhetic cultural influences; consequently, not all that came to Van from Assyria, and became intermingled with Khaldian art, could be recognized *a priori*, as ethnically alien. In any case, comparative studies in the sphere of Japhetic ethnical terminology must reckon with the phonetic law of comparative Japhetic linguistics as regards the dialectic correspondence of the dental *d* (*t*) with the group *ld*<sup>1</sup>: this law gives a new illustration of the possible identity of the two ethnic terms, *khat*, resp. *khet*, and *khald*. Consequently in the Khatti and the Khalds who have been contrasted with each other, on the basis of the style of their respective arts, we may have two culturally different aspects of one and the same tribe, two offshoots of the same root culture. The divergence may have developed, as has been noted by Farmakovski, with the passing of time and different social conditions; the process of changing, however, must not be ascribed to one side alone. It must be borne in mind, however, that it is extremely dangerous to draw definite conclusions on the grounds of ethnological correlation, when, as a result of archaeological research, the Khatti, together with the Urartaeans, are contrasted with the Khaldians, who, in fact, although they may prove not to be ethnically identical with the Urartaeans, may be identical with the Khaldians. It should also be remembered that the people of the Khald prayed to the god *Khald*, and that this *Khald*, as has already been explained in a report on one of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van, finds its equivalent in a word of the still extant Japhetic peoples—*Khat*,<sup>1</sup> whose root meaning is god,

<sup>1</sup> We do not in this case stress the analogical occurrence in Georgian verbs, as in the root *kht-m*||*khld-m* to jump, leap gallop, ride, whence two verbs with the identical meaning of riding, racing, jumping: the verbal noun *khtoma* and *khldoma*, aorist *khhta* and *khlda*. Here the external similarity may well prove to have a different morphological explanation, but what is important is that in this case it is represented as inherent in one and the same language, while our law characterizes at least the dialectal divergence.

<sup>2</sup> The Georgian *khat*, image, icon, also image, form, likeness or resemblance, similitude (cf. the semasiology of the Geo. *Kerpi* and Arm. *Kerp.*, N. Marr, *Again about the word "ichelebi"*, in *Zapiski* (Notes) of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, St. Pb., 1911, vol. xx, issues II-III, p. 111). Megrelian *khati*, also *khanti*, which, opportunely, with its *n* in conjunction with the dental represents the nearest parallel (n||l) to *Khald*, resp. *K'ard* (see Marr, *Yafeticheskie nazvaniya dereviev i rastenii*, "Japhetic Names of Trees and Plants," in *Izvestiya* (Bulletin) of the Academy of Sciences, 1915, p. 827, § 12). Also opportunely, the anachronistic (Georgian word before the Arab Muslim influence) derivation of the terms from the Arabic *ḫat*, line, as it was already noted in Tchubinashvili's (Tchubinov) Dictionary (included in the well-known work of I. A. Kipshidze on Megrelian language), is based, not only on the consonance, but also on some coincidence of the meaning which was quite recent for the Japhetic word. By this, however, we do not wish to prejudge the question of correlation of the Semitic (Arab. *ḫat*, traced a line, was drawing) and Japhetic (*kht*, resp. *khlt*) roots, but rather to emphasize the analogical semantic correlation in the word *ḫat* (see Marr. op. cit., p. 106 sqq.). As a parallel to semantic anachronism, when the word *khati*, god, preserved in the imagination of

deity, sanctity, and which among the Christians, although not among all of them, came to denote a little god, icon.<sup>1</sup> This affords us even further support supplied by reals of the Japhetic world, for the identification of the ethnical terms *Khat* or *Khet* with *Khald*.<sup>2</sup>

The identity of the name of a people with that of their god recurs frequently in the Japhetic world. Concerning the question of religious beliefs, it is of still greater interest to note that the name of the god is given to his worshippers *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, that is, to his closest servants, priests, prophets, and to the dedicated; so that the religious-ethnical term *Khald* || *Khad*, in particular, survives to this day in its dialectical variant of *K'ad*<sup>3</sup> in the form of the word *K'ad-ag-i*, among the Georgian Mountaineers, signifying priest-prophet; whence its ancient Georgian meaning not only of predictor, but also of exhorter, teacher.

the popular layers they translate with the word "image", it is of interest to remember also the significance of *من* in the Arabic, which Chwolsohn translates by the word "representation", where it denotes properly "god", "idol" (N. Marr, *Again about the word "ichelebi"*, p. 141).

<sup>1</sup> Among the Georgian tribes themselves, namely among the Khevsurs, the word denotes generally the sanctity. On the other hand, the identification of the god *khald* with the Svanian *ghert'* as a dialectical variety can only be admitted if this Svanian stem, which appears in the genitive case *ghert'em* (*ghert'-e + m*), has nothing in common with *ghermet'* (*gherm-ei'*), that is, if it does not represent its abbreviation; we cannot hope for support from the Svanian variety *ghart'*; for example, we cannot regard this as representing a transition form between *khald* and *ghert'*: the variety *ghart'* represents a "deuterogenic" form of the stem *ghert'*, with a transvocalization, with a vowel character ("a") of the Dative case (cf. N. Marr, *From the Journey to Svanet'i* in *Khristianski Vostok*, i, p. 29). I may also point out that *ghert'*, god, is in Svanian often used in the plural; thus, in the form of the Lashkh sub-dialect *ghert'al* (*ghert'-al < gher-t'ar*); for instance, in one of the texts under publication, written down by the priest Arsen Onian, we read the following sentence: *Ichin mashene gher't'aleshd khagunikhk, gher't'al p'shivir khandsamkhk lashkhars*, "most of all (the Svans) are afraid of gods; they have great faith in gods."

<sup>2</sup> Also of special interest in connection with the term *khald* is the correspondence of *shl* to the dental *t*, resp. *t'* or *d*, which is observed in the phonetic correlations of the Svanian—namely, of one of its layers, with the K'art'ian and Megrelian, and in accordance with which we could obtain for the term *khat*, resp. *k'ad* which arose on dialectical grounds, not only *khald* || *k'ald* and other closest varieties, but also *k'ashd* || *k'asd*, and others. To this group belongs also the variety characterized by the alternating *r* and *l*, i.e. *k'ard*, whence also *k'art'*, the basis or stem of the ethnic denomination of the Georgians (*K'art'-vel-i*, a K'art'-ian) and of their native country *K'art'-I-i*, *K'art'-s* → *K'art'-ia*, etc. But we are not now generally concerned with the history of this ethnical-cultural word. We intend to deal specially with this interesting term and its numerous varieties in the ancient literary language of Armenia later on; in the meanwhile see, in addition to what has been said, my *Fundamental Tables to the Grammar of the Ancient Georgian Language* (St. Pb., 1908, p. 5, note); also the work *Again about the word "ichelebi"*. (On the question of the cultural significance of the Kurds in Hither Asia), pp. 122, 139-140. As a parallel to the use made by the Hebrews of the Japhetic word "iron" as the name of a Japhetic people, which I have already noted (*The Japhetic Elements in the Languages of Armenia* in *Izvestiya* of the Academy of Sciences, St. Pb., 1911, vol. i, pp. 140-1), it will serve a useful purpose to consider the following: the basis of the ethnic name *k'art'*, resp. *hard*, with the Japhetic plural termination, preceded by a vowel (*-akh*, *-ohh* → *uhh*, *-ekh*) or without it, with the Japhetic ethnic suffix *kh*, i.e. *hard-akh*, among the Syrians in the form of *hard-akh-a*, and among the Arabs in that of *hard-ah-un*, denotes "iron-smith".

<sup>3</sup> In the Armenian form of *khet* the first radical "kh" sounds *k'*, as *k'et-ats-i*, as it does also on the basis of this tradition in the Georgian equivalent of the Biblical reading *k'et-el-i*, for instance in Exod. iii, 8.

The termination *-ag* or *-ak*, which often loses its consonantal element, i.e. is reduced to *-a*, represents a Japhetic suffix; it indicates in certain cases the feminine gender, in others the plural,<sup>1</sup> but in each case it has different morphological functions, among others that of denoting diminutive names or terms of endearment, i.e. *k'adag*, as well as *k'ad* || *khat*, may have denoted a *little god*. In the Japhetic world, this term came to be applied, not only to the worshippers of a given god and to the priests, but also to different objects of his cult, and in particular, as we now know from the Abkhasian religious mode of life, to the sacrificial cakes. Indeed, the term *k'adag* in its apocopate form *k'ad-a* has been preserved among the Eastern Georgians as the name of a particular kind of pastry or scone most probably of cult origin. The same name in the form of *gat'a*, is also well known among contemporary Armenians,<sup>2</sup> a survival from the Japhetic world.

No matter how tempting it may be, it is impossible to draw definite conclusions from linguistic comparisons alone unless the terminology elucidated by linguistics receives material justification or support from the sphere of religion, from religious beliefs. On the other hand, the information of the ancients concerning the religion of Japhetic peoples is very fragmentary; while the written monuments in Japhetic languages are either confined to a dry enumeration of the names of deities and rituals, especially in the case of the most ancient, that is cuneiform inscriptions, or the ideas they convey have been altered or distorted in the Christian literature of the Armenians and Georgians. Under the circumstances, the importance of religious beliefs of the contemporary Japhetids and Japhetidoids is obvious. The collection of them in a systematic and scientifically accurate manner should be taken in hand without delay for two reasons: firstly, because the cultural historical questions of Southern Russia and of the Hittite region of Asia Minor are closely connected with them, and the historians of Japhetic Georgia and the Japhetidoid Armenia are urgently in need of them; and secondly, because those rites and beliefs themselves are becoming more and more distorted and are even dying out almost before our very eyes.

I also collected a few of the Abkhasian beliefs during my two visits to that country, particularly those of the Bzib Abkhasians. For some

<sup>1</sup> See N. Marr, *Japhetic Names of Trees and Plants*, in *Izvestiya* (Bulletin) of the Academy of Sciences, St. Pb., 1915, § 10, p. 778.

<sup>2</sup> Among the Svans, too, we find sacrificial animals bearing the name of the god to whom they are dedicated; thus, in accordance with the texts collected by the priest, Arsen Onian, the ox that is offered in sacrifice to the greatest god *Pusna-Buasdia* "is called *Pusna*", while the cow destined as the victim for *Lamria* (a Svanianized name of St. Mary—*La-mria*, which had displaced the Svanian name of the pagan deity) "is called also *Lamria*". Along the line of a similar semantic history, evidently arose among the Gurians, *ilora*, the name of the cows, more accurately of those sacred cows, which were formerly sacrificed to the god *Ilor*. See Janashia, op. cit., p. 78, n. 1; (or the English translation in this number, p. 121, n. 2. Translator's note.)

of the materials collected by Janashia I have Bzibian parallels or variants, as, for example, the legend of the moon and the sun.

We have also details concerning the prayer to the dogs *alaskintor*, evidently gods. When reading the story, written down by Janashia (op. cit., R. p. 82; Eng. pp. 125-6), as to how these gods-dogs *alaskintor* revived the mortally stricken hero Aslan, by licking his wounds, one is reminded not only of the part played by a little wound-licking dog in Georgian popular tales about Amiran, but also of the analogical role of *Arlëz-es* (vulg. *Arlëz*), the gods, who, according to Eznik, were derived from dogs (i, p. 98, 99 sqq.), and whose task was to revive by licking those who were dying from wounds received in battle; and of how, for instance, "these gods" of Queen Semiramis revived the Armenian hero Araia by licking his wounds, according to the story of Moses of Khoren.<sup>1</sup>

I will now deal with an Abkhasian song about the drought, which has attracted so much attention.

A. A. Miller quotes this song in a Russian translation, omitting the beginning<sup>2</sup>: "... The King's daughter is athirst, but wine she will not drink, and water there is none; she searches for a stream, even for a drop of water, a single drop."

"Unfortunately," adds Miller, "no one could interpret for me the initial phrase of this song. Its meaning—evidently purely pagan and religious—has long since been forgotten."

It is also to be regretted that we do not know which version was used by the person whom Miller consulted.

The Abkhasians, in fact, either refuse altogether to interpret the song, particularly its beginning, or they translate it by guess-work, as did, for instance, *Zvanbaia*, *Dcharaia*, and *Janashia*, the author of *The Religious Beliefs of the Abkhasians*.

Javakhishvili was the first to make an attempt at a scientific interpretation of the song on the basis of the comparative study of the Japhetic deities. The version at his disposal was one written down by N. S. Janashia, and published in the Georgian journal *Moambe*, in 1897 (ii, p. 76). I quote below the interpretation of Javakhishvili:—

"The incomprehensible word *dziwow* of the song, which is pronounced as in an invocation, must, I think, be a compound word, consisting of the two words *dzi* and *wow*; the former denotes 'water', and the latter must represent a parallel to the Svanran *wob-i*. *Dziwow* may thus denote either 'give, serve us, Wob, water!' or it may represent an invocation: 'O, water Wob.' Besides 'Wob' there evidently

<sup>1</sup> The question of the *Arlashintor*, and with it that of *Arlëz*, will be dealt with in a special article.

<sup>2</sup> From a *Journey in Abkhazia in 1907* (*Materials for the Ethnography of Russia*, i, p. 67).

existed in Abkhasian an equivalent of the Svanian 'god' *Web* in the form of *a-web*, \**a-we*, whence may have arisen the contemporary Abkhasian name for thunder (*taros-mekhis*) *A-fə*. The Abkhasian *A-fə* consequently corresponds to the Svanian *Web*, and the Abkhasian *Wow* to the Svanian *Wob*. This confirms my previous contention that the deity of the sky and clouds, and the deity of thunder and lightning were both originally called in Georgian *Web* or *Wob*."

Here we are again confronted by the danger of using the term "K'art'ian" in a generic sense. The deity of bad or stormy weather could not have been called, in Georgia, by the Svanian names *wob* || *web*, which represent two dialectical varieties, each peculiar to a definite group of sub-dialects of the Svanian language (*web* of the Ushkul, Ip'ar, Lashkhet', and Khald sub-dialects; *wob* of the Tcholor, Muzhalo-Mulakh, Tavrar, etc., sub-dialects), i.e. to two purely Svanian dialects. The Georgian pronunciations of the Svanian form *wob* or *web* is a question which, though not presenting insuperable difficulties, we need not dwell upon here, since the main point of interest is the Abkhasian god, *Wow*, taken from an Abkhasian text of a song about drought. It is the interpretation of the word *Wow* as the name of god that arouses a doubt in my mind. An equivalent of the Svanian god *Wob* did really exist among a tribe, related to the Abkhasians and Circassians, namely the Ubəkh, and was pronounced *Woby*.<sup>1</sup> This, however, does not determine the question as to the source from which the Svanian borrowed the word, whether directly from the Ubəkian or via the Megrelian in which language we find *wob* associated with the name of Friday: *vob-ishkha*.<sup>2</sup> As to *afə*, the Abkhasian god of thunder, its connection with the Svanian deity *web*, to whom the Svans dedicated Friday, cannot altogether be excluded; but for comparative purposes one should use a fuller form of the Abkhasian name, which has been preserved in the Circassian (Adəghean) where it is pronounced *wa-fe* and denotes sky, celestial, whence *wafe Khyopsk*, thunderstorm, lightning, *wafe-ghwagho*, thunder.

The Circassians, like the Abkhasians, in their prayer to Ayt'ar, who have preserved (as have also certain of the Abkhasians) survivals of the astral cult, chiefly in connection with the cult of sacred animals and trees, also retain a fragment of the invocation to the septenary, in the prayer to *Sozeresh*, the God-protector of agriculture, when they pray to *khamshkhut*, a statue of wood, or tree-trunk, with seven boughs.

<sup>1</sup> Uslar, *The Ubykh Glossary* (in Russian), p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> When we find in Megrelian *khe*, denoting daughter, woman, and in Imerian not only *khe*, but also *p'khe* (V. Beridze, *The Georgian Glossary*, s.v. *khe*), we should take into consideration not only the Abkhasian *ha*, resp. *a-p'ha* (N. Marr, *The Japhetic origin of the Abkhasian terms of relationship*), but also the Ubəkian *aphye-t'ku*, maiden, girl, *aphyesh*, woman, wife (Uslar, op. cit., p. 10).

As to the enigmatic Abkhasian song, it reads as follows:—

<i>dz'iwōw, dz'iwōw,</i>	The water is drying up, the water is drying up,
<i>dz'ar ik'wāk'wa</i>	The water has turned into dry clots
markəkləsh:	Pearly,
añ ip'a	Crown Prince's
5. <i>dzəsh adakəyt.</i>	The thirst has vanquished.
<i>dzə khwtək, dzə khwtək:</i>	There is little water, little water:
<i>khwtək azyə dañzət'eywom</i> <sup>1</sup>	Because of the shortage we do not sell,
<i>duk azaha dañt'eywoyt</i>	In abundance we sell.

The text is undoubtedly obscure and the translation requires commentaries, but the first verse is quite clear in so far as it represents a repetition of two words: the noun *dzə*, water, which when preceding a vowel becomes *dz'*, and the verb *iwow*, in the apocopated form of the present tense in place of *iwowp*, or of the present participle. One may argue about the meaning of the verb *iwowp* in this verse, but there can be no doubt that it is a verb in the form either of the present tense or of the present participle. If it is the participle, *dziwōw* represents an exact parallel of *dzit'ow*<sup>1</sup> which denotes (one) "sitting in the water" or (one "who) is in the water". In either case there is not, nor can there be, in the verse, the name of a deity or any proper name whatsoever.

When we speak of the Abkhasian astral cult in connection with the sacred irrational objects, such as animals or plants, we must not lose sight of the fact that we may speak not only of sacrificial objects, the sacred animals, for instance, but also of the fact that the wild animal is a symbol of the god, whether the celestial god takes up his abode in the animal or the animal manifests god in the world.

Sometimes the idea of the connection of a god with an animal is reflected only in legendary fables, as, for instance, we learn from N. S. Janashia (Rus. p. 76; Eng. p. 120-1 in this number) that the mother of the Abkhasian god *antswà* came, according to Abkhasian tales, from a "Megrelian noble *gvari* of the *Mkheidze-s*, the Abkhasian equivalent of which is *Khetsia*": *Mkheidze (M-khets-i-dze)* is the Georgian, and *Khets-i-a (M-khets-i < v > a)* the Abkhazo-Megrelian form of the same name, derived from the Georgian word *mkhets-i*, wild animal (ancient Georgian *mkhetsi*), and the suffix *-a* a fragment of the word *va* which in Megrelian surnames denotes, as does *-dze* in Georgian, "son."

The beliefs of the Circassians also emphasize the significance of

<sup>1</sup> For the pronunciation of "khw" cf. that of *khw* (p. 119, n. \*); for h see ib.; for *zy* see p. 122, n. \*.

<sup>2</sup> Properly *adz-it'ōw*.

animals in the Japhetic world. The so-called *Uddi* who are noted for their close connection with the spirits, and are endowed with the power of transforming themselves into animals (wolves, dogs, cats), assemble on spring nights on a certain sacred mountain, within the boundaries of the Shapsug tribe (*Srḃōāshkh*) "riding different animals wild and domestic" and there they "feast and dance until the dawn".

But the connection of the astral cult with metals and animals is most clearly illustrated by the name *khetchkhwama* of the principal festival of the smithy, among the Bzib Abkhassians. This holiday begins on the eve of the New Year. In ancient times, it coincided or was made to coincide with the new moon and began as soon as the moon rose. The devotees who intended to attend the rites to be celebrated in the smithy, said: "The moon will lead us to the smithy." The prayer had to be said before the rising of the new moon. The light of the moon is considered to be propitious to prayer. The festival lasts three days, but the praying takes place only on the eve of the new moon.

I will not dwell now upon the significance of the smithy as the greatest sanctity in the religious life of the Bzib Abkhassians; I will only note that the principal festival held in connection with it, *khetchkhwama* represents a term, Megrelian by origin, namely *ghejkh-wama* denoting "the praying of the swine" or "to the swine"; *khwama*, in Megrelian, denotes praying, prayer, and *gheji*, swine. The survival of the sacred significance of the swine, is also to be found among the Georgians, principally among the Gurians, in their welcoming of the new year, when the head of the pig is secured to the festival pole with streamers. What concerns us, however, is not the appearance of swine in the ceremony, but the fact that the word "swine" itself represented a sacred conception among the Japhetids. It is observed among the Svans: the Megrelian *ghej* (swine) with the usual transformation of the liquid *r* into the *j*, is pronounced *qer* in the Svanian, and while this very word, *qer*, which is the Svanian of the lower-Inguri Svanet'i (for example, in the Tavrar dialect) denotes swine, in that of the upper-Inguri, and the Tskhenis-tsqali Svanet'i, in the Ushkul, Ip'ar, Tcholour, Muzhal sub-dialects, denotes some divine force, power, sacred being; it sometimes signifies angel, sometimes "star breaking loose from the sky", sometimes "blessing". The word is usually used in oaths in conjunction with the word God; e.g. *ghert'em qergho*, "I swear by the blessing or angel of God," literally "I swear by the sacred swine of God".<sup>1</sup>

Whether there is a natural affinity between the Abkhassians and

<sup>1</sup> The Lashkh-ian Svans call this feast-day, *Shushkhwam*. In this term, the second component of which constitutes a Megrelian word *khwama*, praying, without the final "a", of special interest is the first component *shush*, which indicates that the feast is dedicated to the moon; but we shall return to this question in particular.

the Svans, or whether the Abkhassians were later influenced by the Svans, the fact remains that the details of the Abkhasian cult plainly reveal a connection with the Svans.

Janashia declines to translate the Abkhasian term *adzatwə*, sacrificial animal, but interprets it as pledge, security,<sup>1</sup> although what is really meant is an animal to be immolated. The term represents an Abkhasian necessitative participle in *-twə* from the root *dz*, which is present in the Svanian biliteral *dzh*, transferable also into a uniliteral *dz*, whence the verb *li-dzh-en*; to stab, kill, immolate: consequently *adzatwə* denotes "destined for immolation". This radical consonantal sound in the Svanian itself is represented by various later equivalents, but the Abkhasian has preserved a much earlier variant. The same is also observed in relation to the Megrelian. In the Megrelian language Thursday is pronounced *tsashkha* (lit. sky's, heaven's day), wherein *tsa* denotes sky, heaven. But this word is K'art'ian and not Megrelian, and its correct Tubal-Kainian equivalent should take *tch* instead of the consonant *ts*, which gives us *tcha*. We do indeed find it in the Dchanian, thus *tchatchkha* (← *tchashkha*),<sup>2</sup> which in its turn has been adopted by the Abkhassians in connection with one of the cult terms, namely *tchatchkhadil*, "Great Thursday" or Maundy Thursday.<sup>3</sup>

In all these examples, the appearance of *tch* in place of *ts*, may be explained by regressive assimilation under the influence of the succeeding *sh* or *tch*. In any case, if the Megrelian and Dchanian had preserved the real Tubal-Kainian equivalent of the K'art'ian *tsa*, sky, it must also have influenced a vocalic mutation (*o* instead of *a*) and the word must have been pronounced *tcho* (← *tchov*, resp. *tchom*). But as the native word for sky, heaven, has been expelled from both the Megrelian and Dchanian, and supplanted by the Georgian, and the Georgian variant is to be found not only independently, but also as part of the name of the day of the week mentioned above, we may assume that the denomination of Thursday as "the day of the sky", was adopted by the Megrelians and Dchans from the K'art'ians. This K'art'ian term was also appropriated by the Svans, as *tsāsh* in some sub-dialects, and *tsash* in others. I regard the term used by the Megrelians and Dchans

<sup>1</sup> Presumably on the basis of sound association or consonance with the Georgian *m-dzev-al-i*, hostage. Opportunely, there is also a cow *adzatwə* in honour of the Ilori "icon" (Janashia, op. cit., pp. 92, 100; Engl. pp. 135, 142 in this number), whence the name of the cows (*ilori*) in general among the Gurians (op. cit., p. 79, note 2; Engl. p. 122, n. 2, in this number).

<sup>2</sup> I. Kipshidze comments upon the Megrelian variety *tchashkha* also, but according to the pronunciation of a Jew from Sunja.

<sup>3</sup> N. S. Janashia, op. cit., p. 88 (Eng. trans. herein, p. 132). The *Geographer Vakhushi* (p. 396) also records the name of the village *Tchaisshi* (with *tch*) instead of the present day usual form *Tsaishi* (with *ts*), which is derived from the same word. See also Tchaiseli (instead of Tsaiseli), in the Synodic of the St. Cross Monastery (*Bibliotheca Armeno-Georgica*, iii, p. 28).



as of K'art'ian origin, owing to the fact that the day dedicated by them to the sky was evidently not Thursday but Tuesday. In modern Megrelian, Tuesday is pronounced *t'akhashkha* (*t'akha-shkha*) and denotes *T'akha's day*, i.e. it contains the same word *t'akha* which is also the Svanian name for the same day—*t'akkhā-sh* (dial. *t'akha-sh*). *T'akha*, however, cannot be explained on the basis of either the Tubal-Kainian languages or the Svanian.<sup>1</sup> It is more probable that, as in the case of the Megrelian and Svanian name for Friday,<sup>2</sup> here, too, we have to deal with the northern influence, and *t'akha* is some dialectical variant of the Adəghean word *t'ha* (Lopatinski: *T<sub>h</sub>a*); now generally denoting God. In any case, the Dchanian has preserved the Tubal-Kainian name of Tuesday in different dialectical variants, i.e. *e-rkina-tchkha*, *e-kina-tchkha*, *i-kina-shkha* > *i-kina-tchkha*, the significance being "day of sky", resp. "day of iron".<sup>3</sup>

The name of oak—also an object of reverence and worship among the Abkhassians (*a-j* in Abkhasian), is another word borrowed from the Megrelian; its root *j*, however, does not represent the first radical sound of the Megrelian *ja* (← *jal*), as it is interpreted by Janashia, which denotes "tree", but may also have denoted oak<sup>4</sup>; what it represents is the first radical sound of the Megrelian *dchqoni* (*dchk-on-i*), oak, the Dchanian *dchk-on-i*, resp. *m-dchk-on-i*, also *m-dch-on-i*, and the forms of this word in an archaic stage when it sounded *\*jikon*. Originally, this Megrelian contribution to the Abkhasian represented not a uniliteral but a biliteral word, without the final *n*, the consonantal indicator of plurality,<sup>5</sup> and it sounded *\*jiq*, resp. *jigh* or *jig*. It was given this sound in that remote epoch of the biliteralness of the Abkhasian root-words, when the Svans borrowed from the Abkhassians this same Megrelian word in the simple form of *jih*, denoting acorn, and in the plural form, with the Abkhasian suffix of the plural number *-ra*, namely *jihra*, denoting oak.<sup>6</sup> This happened before the Adəghe were split up into Abkhassians and Kabardinians or the present day Circassians who call themselves Adəghe; or while they still maintained the closest intercourse with the Abkhassians, from whom the Circassians borrowed this same Megrelian word, and which, in Circassian (Adəghean) is pronounced to this day *zhagh-ey*. This word manifests the initial consonant in the first grade of the series of the voiced consonants (*zh* ← *j*). The appearance of the voiceless *dch*, in place of the original

<sup>1</sup> Its identification with *dikka*, as suggested by Janashia, seems phonetically improbable.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 169-170.

<sup>3</sup> See N. Marr, *Japhetic Elements in the Languages of Armenia*, I, pp. 139-142. I have collected new data for the interpretation of the latter proposition, as well as for the Japhetic names of the days of the week in general, including the Megrelian *jumashkha*, Wednesday, but this is a separate question requiring special treatment.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> See N. Marr, *Japhetic Names of Trees and Plants*, 12, a.

<sup>6</sup> In Svanian we have also dialectically by the alternation of *y* with *h*, *jtra* (< *jiy-ra*).

voiced *j* in the Megrelian *dchqon*, oak, is explained by regressive assimilation of the dental with the voiceless *q* following the disappearance of the vocalization *e* || *i* < *ə* between them; as to the original Megrelian form *\*jeqon* || *\*jiqon*, it represents the lawful, dialectical Tubal-Kainian equivalent, evident in the Georgian *rkon-i*, which, with the loss of the final consonant *n*, as *rko*, denotes both acorn and oak. The dialectical variant, again Tubal-Kainian, of the same apocopated kind, namely, *\*shko*, has been preserved in the form of *shk-u* || *shg-u* in the Svanian, with the plural suffix *-ib* which has been added to the remainder of the word's original plural ending *-o* || *-u* (< *-on* || *-un*),<sup>1</sup> namely *shk-w-ib* (< *shku-ib*) || *shgw-ib* (< *shgu-ib*), acorn.<sup>2</sup> The full form, *rk-on-i*, has been preserved in Georgia, namely, in K'art'li, in the name of the village Rkon-i, where the prayer is now performed under a linden-tree or, more correctly, platanus or plane tree (Geo. *tsatskhvishkhe*), but it is evident that formerly, as Javakhishvili justly remarks, they used to pray here to the oak, as they also did at Dchqondidi in Megrelia. Thus, we find the same cult of the tree, the oak, prevailing from Eastern Georgia to Megrelia, and Abkhassia by the Black Sea, and, farther north, beyond the Caucasus chain.<sup>3</sup> These peoples at present so split up both in regard to their religion and their mode of life, were united in pagan times, not only actually by the cult they practised, but also formally, for denominations for the oak, which they all used in common, represented, and still represent, variants of words derived from the same Japhetic root.

If, on the one hand, the southern Japhetic world throws light on the northern, so also does the northern Japhetic world throw light on the southern, and we have to learn in general just as much from the inhabitants of its mountainous regions, the Mountaineers.

Thus, among the Abkhassians, apparently the northern Abkhassians, a few investigators, as Javakhishvili has noted,<sup>4</sup> have recorded the god of the woods—*Mizit'khu*. Javakhishvili has identified the god with *mesep'*, the Megrelian god of hunting, whom, in turn, he recognized in the name of the Abkhasian festival *Amshap'*<sup>5</sup>; as to *Mizit'khu*, in its first syllable, *Mizi*, he perceived a transmission of the name of the Megrelian god of hunting, *Mesep'*, and in the second (*t'khu*), the Megrelian *tqa*, forest wood, Georgian *tqe*. "Consequently," concludes Javakhishvili (p. 141), "two names of this deity appear to have been preserved among the Abkhassians: one, *Mizit'khu*,<sup>6</sup> presumably

<sup>1</sup> See N. Marr, op. cit., § 12, b. (*Iz. A. S.*, 1915, 840).

<sup>2</sup> See Marr, *ibid.*, p. 829.

<sup>3</sup> On the cult of tree, in particular of the oak, among the southern ethnical layers related to the Japhetids, see N. Marr, *Again about the word "tchelebi"*, p. 141, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *A History of the Georgian Nation* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1913, vol. I, p. 139, quoting Dobrovin, Savinov, Zvanbaia, Dcharaia.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., pp. 139-141.

<sup>6</sup> In the Georgian original (p. 141) given as *Mizit'khue* which is a misprint.

borrowed from the Megrels, the other, *Amshap'*, a word of purely Abkhasian structure."

Janashia, however, has formed another opinion: *Mizit'khu*, he says, is not a Megrelian but an Abkhasian word, *məzəkhw*, i.e. "part of moon". from *ə-məza*, moon, and *a-khwu*,<sup>1</sup> "dole," part. In point of fact, it is a Circassian deity, *Məzət'ha*, god of the woods, of which the first syllable *Məza* → *Məz* denotes, in Circassian, wood, forest, and the second, *t'ha*, god.

The precise influence of the Adəghean or Circassian mythology upon the more southerly situated Japhetids, namely upon the Megrels and Svans, is formally apparent even in the name of so popular a saint among them as St. George the Victorious. The Svanian *jgə-räg* (< *jgə-ra* + *ag*), dial. *jgərag*, and Megrelian *jgege* (*jge-ge*) with its variants actually represent the pagan cult term which has genetically nothing in common with the name George. The transference of the term to the Christian saint may have occurred on the ground of the consonance of the first syllable (*ge*) of this name with the identical syllable in the name of the pagan god.

In the Svanian *jgərag*, as in the Megrelian *jgege*, we have a pagan sanctity, namely oak, "sacred oak," with the name in the plural either because a grove of oaks was implied, or because it is simply a pluralis majestatis, or more probably because the trees have their names nearly always in the plural.<sup>2</sup>

Another important point is that the plural suffix *-ge* in the Megrelian form of the word, not to speak of the stem *jge-* itself (cf. the contemporary Adəghean equivalent *zhəgh-ey*), betrays the Circassian or Adəghean origin of the word's formation. I append separately to this article a table of the variants of this word in general, including the specific forms denoting St. George among the Megrels and Svans.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the pronunciation of "*khw*", see p. 119, n. \*.

<sup>2</sup> N. Marr, *The Japhetic names of Trees and Plants*.

<sup>3</sup> The Svanian verb *lejgri*, consecration, should also have been included in the table. The root *jgr* represents the stem of the same word "oak" in the plural, with one plural termination *-ra*: *\*jgəra*. This form has not yet received the second plural termination *-g*, more precisely the ending *-ag* (|| Circassian *ge*) which we have in the word *jgərag*. It is now known that it denotes exclusively George, but originally both *jgə-räg* and *\*jgə-ra* may have denoted only oaks, grove of oaks, later sacred oaks, sacred oak groves, sanctity; the consonants making up its ancient form *jgəra* were evidently utilized for the formation of the verb to denote "to consecrate", "to dedicate to the oaks". In the texts collected by A. Onian, we find the following forms of this verb: *adjərne* (*ad-jgər-ne*), he will consecrate; *zh-okhjgir-ne-kh tabəgs*, they consecrate, resp. will consecrate the table; *məjgri dəp*, consecrating priest (priest who consecrates). Further investigation of this detail will, perhaps, establish that the Megrelian and also the Dchanian adjective *jgir-i*, good, which has no equivalent root with this meaning in Georgian, is of the same origin, and that it denoted properly, saint, sacred, favourable, etc. In such a case, the fact that the Megrelian word loses the third consonant in the comparative case, would become comprehensible: *u-jgu-shi*, better, i.e. it shows the pure stem without the consonantal plural termination *r*: *jg* + *u-* (cf. stem *shgu-* in Svanian *shgu-ib* < *shgu-ib* given above, p. 175).

We now see that among the Megrels *jgege*, as also each of its variants *jge-he*, *je-ge*, *gege*, denotes in general the sanctity; according to I. A. Kipshidze (s.v. *jege*), "generally, a saint, an icon, a church"; when St. George is meant, they add the name George to *jege*, as *jege Giorgi*; in such a combination we find this term similarly related to Mary, as *jege Mariami*, "Saint Mary," etc. We thus obtain further grounds for linking up the cult of the oak grove among the Circassians and the Ilori St. George among the Abkhasians and Megrels, and even for the establishing of the role played amongst both by the self-appearing ox.

Both the common appellative term *jihra*, oak, and the cult term *jgərag*, which originally also denoted oak (strictly speaking, oaks or oak grove, sacred oaks, sacred oak grove, generally, the pagan sanctity), represent words from that layer of the Svanian language which is Tubal-Kainian in origin. The variant *jgərag* is not absolutely foreign to Tubal-Kainian languages: it has been preserved by the Megrels, in the name of the deity *jgeraguna* or *jgerəguna*, in honour of whom the damasceners on Christmas Day observe the ceremonial offering known as "the laying down of incense".<sup>1</sup> There is no equivalent of it in the Meskhanian layer of the Svanian language. Moreover there is generally no word even of another root from this source in contemporary Svanian denoting oak, of a root which, in accordance with the norms of the radical layer of the Svanian speech, would correspond with K'art'ian *dzeli* and Tubal-Kainian *ja* (← *jal*). In Georgian, on the one hand, and in Megrelian as also in Dchanian, the words quoted denote tree, but their Semitic equivalent, for instance, the Hebrew (אֵיל, plur. אֵילִים) is used not only in the sense of tree, but also in that of oak. The Svanian equivalent of the same Japhetic words (K'art'. *dzeli*, T.-K. *jal*) in accordance with its radical layer, i.e. Meskhanian, must have been pronounced either *\*qwil* or *\*sil* > *il*.<sup>2</sup> The variant *il*, with the plural suffix *-ra* which is still generally common in Svanian (*-ar*) or, in the names of trees (*-ra*), forms *\*il-ar* || *\*il-ra*.<sup>3</sup> These forms of the word are no longer in evidence, but we have a dialectical variant of the

<sup>1</sup> I. Kipshidze, *Megrelian Dictionary*, s.v. *kuma*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the equivalent of the K'art'ian word *dzali*, bone, preserved only in Dchanian through the radical layer of the Svanian speech; in Tubal-Kainian it must have been pronounced *\*juor*, which with the usual characteristic reduplication of the first radical sound and apocope of the final syllable, has been preserved by the Tubal-Kainian layer of the Svanian language in the word *ji-ju* (|| *ji-ju* < *\*ji-juor*), bone. In accordance with the norms of another—the Meskhanian, or the so-called radical layer of the Svanian, the same word must have sounded in Svanian *qwil* or *sil*, which indeed has been preserved by the Dchanian in two dialectical varieties *qwil-i* and *il-i* both denoting bone, see Marr, *The Grammar of the Dchanian Language*, p. 203, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> It should be remembered that the suffix *-ra* which is a twin form of the termination *-ar*, denotes in Abkhasian, when attached to the names of trees, "place grown over with them," "grove of them," see Marr, op. cit. § 7.

former, *il-or* (with the plural suffix *-or* instead of *-ar*),<sup>1</sup> which is represented evidently by the name of the sacred place known as Ilori,<sup>2</sup> rendered so famous by the icon of St. George. It thus becomes clear that Christianity in its struggle against paganism attempted to establish the cult of St. George in this locality, but the local pagan cult of "sacred oaks" or "sacred oak grove" has nevertheless survived. Furthermore, it becomes plain that the term Ilor is a vestige of ancient domination of the Svans in this country, in particular in the province of Samurzaqano at the time when the radical layer of their languages, however, was no longer represented in its purity.<sup>3</sup> Gradually, let us hope there will be determined the chronology of the succession of the three synonymous terms, the Svanian (radical or Meskhian), Megrelian and Adaghean, i.e. *ilor*, *dchqon*, and *jgege*, resp. *jgoräg*, which replaced each other in the country, in all probability in conformity with the passing of hegemony from one of the mentioned peoples to the other, or in conformity with the evolution of the mixed ethnical groups which replaced the earlier pure or comparatively pure representatives of the Japhetic peoples.

In conclusion, I would like to stress the point that it was never my purpose to suggest in any way that the Japhetic religion could be deduced from the survivals observed among the Abkhasian people alone. Still less was it my intention to enlarge the horizon by untimely references to the classical authorities whose evidences contain so much pertaining to Japhetic materials; or to Japhetic sources themselves, i.e. the cuneiform inscriptions. Needless to say I forebore still more deliberately from touching on the Semitic aspects of the question. Nevertheless I shall be satisfied if I have thrown light on the complexity of the cultural-historical questions raised by Caucasia, and have thereby emphasized the necessity for extreme caution in making use, not only of the contemporary, but of the early material. My sole purpose was to show that in the little Abkhasian people we have one of the few steadfast preservers of the Japhetic pagan cult.

<sup>1</sup> N. Marr, op. cit., § 12, c.

<sup>2</sup> In contemporary Abkhasian the term *il-or* has shrunk to the form *il-or* which with the prefix *a* gives *a-yl-or* (< *a-il-or*). N. S. Janashia points out (op. cit., p. 78, n. 1; Engl. p. 122, n. 2, in this number) that in the Gurian dialect of the Georgians cows are called *ilova*, and that among the Gurians there exists the rite of praying to the cows, known as *iloroba*, which is considered to be a survival of the cult of the sacred tree *ilor*, or, as Janashia himself says, "probably has some connection with the Ilori St. George."

<sup>3</sup> The Svans know this sanctity well and under the name of *Ilor*. That it is represented in Svanian oral traditions is shown in a story about the Turkish invasion of Svanet'i, which was submitted to me by I. G. Gabliani: the Turks first invaded Megrelia (*woäish*) and "plundered the *Ilori* (sanctity) *jgoräg* or St. George"; Gabliani in a note written in Svanian points out that, in the Muzhal Church, there are to be found numerous fragments of icons, among them those from Ilori, taken there after this Turkish invasion, and that Megrels, on this account, often go there on a pilgrimage.

## AN APPENDIX

## A TABLE OF THE VARIANTS

(a) *shk*(|| *rk*) > *shg* > *zhgh* || *shkh*.

1. Svanian შკობ, *shg-w* + *ib*, acorn; in Lentekh dial., *sk-w-ib*, id.
2. Adaghean (modern) *zhagh-ey*, oak.
3. Adaghean *mā-shkh-up'e* (< \**mā-zhagh-u-p'e*), acorn.
4. Georgian რკონი, *rk-on-i* (oak, lit. oaks), name of a village > რკო, *rko*, acorn.

(a) *ge* in place of \**zge*|| (< *shge*).

With the Adaghean plural *-ge* in Megrelian.

- გეგე, *ge-ge* (< \**zge-ge*) [sacred oaks, god, sanctity >] icon, saint (in particular "Saint George"), church, whence  
 გეგეჰქორი, *gege-dchkor-i*, "slave of (the god) *Gege*," the Megrelian family name *Gegedchkori* (*Gegetchkori*),  
 გეგელო, *gege* + *la* in the Georgian family name *Gegelaishvili*.

(b) *jg*.

Adaghean in Megrelian:—

1. ჯეგე, *jege* [sacred oak, god], icon, saint [sanctity >] church.
2. ჯეგე მარიამი, *jege-mariami*, "Saint Mary."

Megrelian.

3. ჯეგე-ხანგარამი, *jege-khangarami*, "saint *Khangaram*," the name of a church in the village *Naesakia*, in the district of *Senaki* (A. Tsagareli, *Mingrelskie Etyudy*, Megrelian Studies, i, p. 72).

4. ჯეგეშია, *jege-shi-a* ["son of (the god) *Jege*"], *Jegeshia*, a male name.

5. With the Abkhasian suffix *-t'a*: ჯეგეთა, *jege-t'a*, "the place of (the sanctity) *Jege*, a hill in the village *Khe-t'a* (ხეთა), in the district of *Zugdidi*, with an ancient church, where, according to tradition, is preserved the spear of St. George.

In the plural.

With the Adaghean suffix *-ge* in Megrelian ჯეგეგე, *jge-ge* [sacred oaks, god, sanctity >] icon, saint (in particular "saint George"), church; *Jgegey*, a male name.

With the Adəghean suffix *-he* in Megrelian ჯგეჲე, *jge-he*, id.

With the compound Svano-Adəghean, or Abkhasian plural *-rāg* (<*ra + ag*) in Svanian ჯგეღრას, *jge-rāg* [sacred oaks, god >] "saint George".

(b) *jh* || *ji*.

(1) *jih* (< \**jig*) > *jiy* = *ji* :—

Svanian ჯიჲ, *jih*, acorn; plural: Sv. ჯიჲრას, *jih-ra* || ჯიღრას, *ji-ra*, oak.

(2) \**jeh* (< *jege*) > *je* :—

With the compound Svano-Adəghean plural *r + ge*: ჯეღრას, *je-r + ge* [oaks], *Jergey*, a male name.

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**AN ACCOUNT OF THE GEORGIAN MONKS AND  
MONASTERIES IN PALESTINE**

as revealed in the Writings of non-Georgian Pilgrims

By THE ARCHIMANDRITE GREGORY PERADZE, PH.D. (Bonn).  
Professor of Patrology, Warsaw University.

[For list of Abbreviations see p. 237.]

**INTRODUCTION**

THE history of the colonies of Georgian monks in Palestine is the most colourful page in the history of Georgian culture. The commencement of Georgia's relationship with the Holy Land is simultaneous with the beginning of Christianity in Georgia. Legends even maintain that this history begins with the coming of Christ.

Georgians spared neither energy nor money to preserve the holy places in good condition. They possessed many monasteries of their own, including Golgotha, the holiest spot in the whole of Christendom. The culminating point of Georgian rule in the Holy Land coincided with the Golden Age in Georgia—the tenth to the twelfth centuries. Another short period of prosperity was experienced by the Georgian monasteries in the late Middle Ages, due to the help of the Egyptian Mamelukes who originated from Caucasia. But with the beginning of Turkish rule in the Holy Land (from 1517), came the gradual decline of Georgian power. The apparently friendly relations between Russia and Georgia considerably aggravated the Turks and they began to oppress the Georgian monks with heavy taxation, persecuted them, and sold their monasteries to the Franciscan friars. It must not be forgotten, too, that this was the period of disintegration of spiritual life in Georgia. Of the prosperous colonies of monks in Palestine, not one remained after the middle of the nineteenth century.

The history of the colonies in Palestine is at the same time the history of the political power and culture of Georgia. These colonies were the source of our greatest literary gems, both translations and original works. To this very day, the Greek Patriarchate Library in Jerusalem possesses many ancient Georgian manuscripts. These have been described, first by Tsagareli, and, later, by R. P. Blake.<sup>1</sup>

This extremely important chapter of our past history has been very insufficiently dealt with; only one work on this subject has

<sup>1</sup> Of the Georgian MSS. of the Monastery of the Cross (400 of which Scholz saw there in 1820 (cf. also below p. 205, excerpts for years 1846, 1858) 147 MSS. have been described by Tsagareli (pp. 143-192), and later by Blake in *Catalogue des Manuscrits Géorgiens de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale Grecque à Jérusalem* in *La Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, Paris 1922-3, 3<sup>e</sup> série, t. iii (xxiii), N. 3-4, pp. 345-413. Blake found 164 Georgian MSS. in the Greek Patriarchate Library in Jerusalem. (Unfortunately I can only quote an exact description of the first 33 numbers; the other MSS. will be described in consecutive volumes of the ROC.)

been published, and this appeared in 1888.<sup>1</sup> Monographs relating to the individual monasteries are lacking. Tsagareli based his book on facts acquired from Georgian sources, but since its publication, new and important information has come to light. The Georgian sources cannot supply the whole of the material needed to throw light on the history of the Georgian monks; facts derived from Pilgrim literature must also be included. In the above-mentioned work, Tsagareli realizes the importance of describing the Holy Places according to the Pilgrims, but he does not delve very far into this matter.<sup>2</sup> To supplement this, and to fill an important gap in the research into the history of Georgian culture has been my task in presenting this essay.

In Part I of the present work I reproduce excerpts from Pilgrim literature which bear on the subject of the Georgian colonies in Palestine. I realize, of course, that here Pilgrim literature is not completely represented.<sup>3</sup> It is impossible, though, to find anywhere an entire collection of Pilgrim literature. No library in the whole world, not even that of the celebrated British Museum, possesses an entire collection of Pilgrim literature. Besides, the major part of this literature is not edited, and is lying—an undiscovered treasure—not only in the museums and libraries of Europe, but in private collections also—a fact which renders it even more inaccessible. Furthermore, Pilgrim literature exists in every imaginable language, and one cannot be expected to know them all.

It is a task for a scientific institute or society rather than for one man, since the compilation involves many preliminary studies, much travel, and endless library research. For the last ten years I have been collecting (with many interruptions) all the material in Pilgrim literature which concerns the Georgians. During this period I have been able to visit England several times, and to study the Pilgrim literature in the British Museum. I have also taken the opportunity during my sojourns in Paris and Leipzig (Library of the German

<sup>1</sup> This is Professor Tsagareli's notable work. In both the Georgian and Russian languages, there are a few popular descriptions of the colonies of Georgian monks in Palestine, but these are based chiefly on Tsagareli's work and add nothing new to the subject. Cf. M. Janashvili, Patriarch Kirion, An. Natroshvili, Iliia Peradze and others.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, viii.

<sup>3</sup> Practically every pilgrim who could read and write has left a description of his pilgrimage. Unfortunately, the work so successfully commenced in the last century by T. Tobler, Hein. Meissner, Reinhold Röhrich, Riant, Popadopulo-Keramews, and many others, has been discontinued since the Great War. These research workers have made it abundantly clear that this material constitutes an entirely separate branch of spiritual science.

As I have no opportunity in Warsaw of consulting the original sources in order to verify the accuracy of notes collected by me over a period of years, I have had, unfortunately, to omit several notes of which I doubted the accuracy. Probably some day I shall once again be able to work in a large European library and then these omitted notes will be verified and published.

Society of Palestine) to continue making my collection of notes on the subject of Georgian monasteries. In the summer of 1936, I had the great good fortune to visit the Holy Land. It was during this journey that I decided to publish my collection of notes.

In Part II, I give the result of research work into the subject of Georgia and the Georgians in Palestine as revealed in the writings of the Pilgrims. In many ways these writings fill up the gap in our knowledge of Georgian life and Georgian history.

## PART I

### Excerpts from Pilgrim Literature bearing on Georgia and the Georgian Monks in Palestine

Prior to the tenth century we find but scanty reference made to the Georgian monasteries in Palestine.<sup>1</sup> I have only succeeded in tracing six such references in non-Georgian literature of this period, namely :—

#### 1. Middle of the fifth century.

Peter the Iberian, Bishop of Mayuma :

" Thereupon St. Peter also chose a spot, above by the Holy Church of Zion near the tower known as ' David's ' to build, and thereon built a monastery still known as the monastery of the *Iberians*, and which lies to the left when one goes from the second portal of the aforementioned tower to the Holy Church of Zion."<sup>2</sup>

#### 2. Third to sixth centuries.

During excavation operations in September, 1932, an old cemetery was discovered on the site of the present Y.M.C.A. building. A gravestone with a Greek inscription (now in the Palestine Museum in Jerusalem) was found. This inscription, deciphered by J. H. Iliffe, reads :—

" Private tomb of (Samuel), Bishop of the Georgians and of the

<sup>1</sup> I have purposely omitted at present to mention the relations between Georgia and the Holy Land. The Apostle of Georgia, St. Nino, came to Georgia from Jerusalem. Rufinus, resp. his source Gelasius, heard of the conversion of Georgia to Christianity from a Georgian prince, Bakurios, in Jerusalem; the emissaries of the Georgian Patriarch Kirion I met the delegates of Pope Gregory the Great in Jerusalem. I shall discuss these questions in the second part of my investigation : *Georgian Monasteries in Palestine according to Georgian Sources*. I shall also pass over the subject of that problematic people the " Bessens " who are chiefly known to us through the monastery of St. Theodosius. Some research-workers think them to be the Georgians, see PFS, 1896, xlv, pp. 110, 310.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Raabe. *Petrus der Iberer, ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen und Sittengeschichte des V. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 46 (the Syriac text).

Monastery there (?), which they (i.e. the Georgians) purchased (or frequented) in the Tower of David."<sup>1</sup>

3. *First half of the sixth century.*

The testament of St. Sabba. (†531) of Hegiasmenos :

From this testament we learn that the Georgians possessed their own church in St. Sabba's monastery in the Kedron gorge.<sup>2</sup>

4. *Second half of the sixth century.*

Emperor Justinian (527-565) :

According to Procopius, Justinian restored—approximately in the year 560—"The church of the Iberians in Jerusalem and the church of the Lazes in the desert of Jerusalem."<sup>3</sup>

5. *Seventh century.*

An Armenian pilgrim in the seventh century mentions :

"The monastery of *Gogarenes*" (i.e. Georgians). "The Monastery of St. John near the Resurrection Gate. This is now occupied by the Georgians.<sup>4</sup> Three other monasteries belonging to the Albanians are now occupied by the Saracens."<sup>5</sup>

6. *Early ninth century.*

In the year 808 we read :

"On the Mount of Olives dwell four Georgian monks; in Gethsemane by the boulder dwell three hermits: a Greek, a Syrian, and a Georgian."<sup>6</sup>

From the tenth century, however, the references increase, and we find :

1050. "A part of Golgotha is obtained by the Georgian King Bagrat Kuropalat, by whom a Georgian bishop is appointed there."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Iliffe, *Cemeteries and a "monastery" at the Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem in the Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, vol. iv, Nos. 1-2. An extremely important and interesting work. The separate edition, which I possess, has, unfortunately, neither date nor place of publication. See pp. 70-80; especially p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Dmitrievski, *Tupika* (in Russian), Kiev, 1895, vol. i, pp. 222-4, based on the manuscript from the Sinai, No. 1096.

<sup>3</sup> Procopius, *The Buildings of Justinian*, translated by Aub. Stewart and annotated by C. W. Wilson and Professor Hayter Lewis, London, 1888, PPTS, vol. ii, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> P. Leon Alishan, *Deux descriptions arméniennes des lieux saints de Palestine*, in AOL, 1884, pp. 396-7.

<sup>5</sup> In the seventh century, the province of Gogarene = Gugark' = Gugaret'i was already Georgianized. Cf. K. Kekelidze, *Die Bekehrung Georgiens zum Christentum*, in *Morgenland*, Leipzig, 1928, Heft 18, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Alishan, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel Monasteriis*, ed. by Titus Tobler in his *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex Saeculo*, Leipzig, 1874, viii, ix, xii, and xv, p. 79.

<sup>8</sup> Janin, p. 14, according to *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, London, October, 1911, p. 185.

1106-7. A Russian pilgrim, Igumen Daniil :

"The Monastery of the Cross belongs to the Iberians."<sup>1</sup>

1108. The widow of a Georgian king enters the Georgian convent in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

1121-2. "The Mohamedans gather an army of 600,000 men and march against the Georgian King David. They want to destroy Georgia so as to be free to subjugate Jerusalem and Antioch."<sup>3</sup>

1170. An anonymous pilgrim :

"The monastery of the Cross outside Jerusalem belongs to the Georgians."<sup>4</sup>

1173. Benjamin of Tudela :

"It is full of people (in Jerusalem) whom the Mohamedans call Jacobites, Syrians, Greeks, Georgians, and Franks."<sup>5</sup>

1178. "The King of Jerusalem, Baldwin IV (1173-1185) confiscates the vineyard of the Georgian Monastery of the Cross and gives it to the Latin Canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre."<sup>6</sup>

1180. Jacques de Vitry, the Latin Patriarch in Jerusalem :

"There is also in the East another Christian people, who are very warlike, and valiant in battle, being strong in body and powerful in the countless number of their warriors. They are much dreaded by the Saracens and have often by their invasions done great damage to the Persians, Madies,<sup>7</sup> and Assyrians on whose borders they dwell, being entirely surrounded by infidel nations. These men are called Georgians, because they especially revere and worship St. George, whom they make their patron and standard-bearer in their fight with the infidels, and honour him above all other saints. They read the scriptures in Greek and administer the Sacraments after the Greek fashion. Their clergy have round tonsures, and their laity square ones.

<sup>1</sup> *The Life and Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot (Igumen) Daniil*, ed. by M. A. Venevitinov and published in PPS, 1885, vol. iii, pp. 82-3. Only three MSS. of this important description are extant; it is based on two MSS. from the Iberian Convent (ib. p. 83, n. 14). In 1102-3, Saewulf writes concerning the monastery of the Cross: "The Church of the Holy Cross, distant about a mile from Jerusalem on the western side, in the place where the Holy Cross was cut. It was much honoured and very beautiful, but it has been laid desolate by the pagans, yet not much destroyed except the buildings and cells about it." See the Rev. Canon Brownlow in PPTS, 1893, vol. iv, p. 21. Unfortunately he does not mention to whom the monastery belonged.

<sup>2</sup> For this Georgian king and his "widow", see Avalishvili, *The Cross from Overseas*, in *Georgica*, 1936, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 10-11. About the letter of Anselmus (Anseau in the vernacular) see *ib.*, pp. 3-11, and for the literature concerning it, *ib.*, p. 5, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> They are fortunately vanquished by King David who has only 80,000 men. *Callerii Cancellarii Bella Antiochena*, ed. by Riant, pp. 130-31. The complete literature by Avalishvili, pp. 66-7; cf. *ib.*, p. 73. See also footnote 242.

<sup>4</sup> *Theodorici libellus de locis sanctis editus circa A.D. 1172—cui accedunt breviores aliquot descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, ed. by T. Tobler, St. Gallen, 1865, p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> Marcus Nathan Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London, 1907, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Janin, p. 34, according to Popov, *The Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem* (in Russian), St.P., vol. ii, p. 167.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Midians.

Whenever they come on pilgrimage to the Lord's Sepulchre, they march into the Holy City with banners displayed, without paying tribute to anyone; for the Saracens in no wise dare to molest them, lest on their return they should revenge themselves on other Saracens, their neighbours. Their noble women, like the Amazons, bear arms in battle like knights. The Georgians were very indignant and threatened Corradinus, Prince of Damascus, because he presumed to break down the walls of Jerusalem against their will, when the Latins were besieging Damietta. They wear their hair and beards about a cubit long and have hats on their heads."<sup>1</sup>

1185. The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas in the Holy Land<sup>2</sup>:

"In the community of holy Saba are forty inspired men, of whom six converse directly with God . . . the fifth is a Spaniard."<sup>3</sup>

"In the monastery of St. Gerasimos (desert of Jordan) dwells an ancient monk ('Spaniard') to whom various miracles are attributed."

"In the same desert in the monastery of St. Chrysostom, there again dwells a Spaniard."

"The Monastery of the Cross," a monastery of Spanish monks."

"Immediately beyond Gethsemane, not more than an arrow-shot distant, stands the building called the "Kettle" <sup>4</sup> which is built upon the rock in a square form, of the height of two spears, and tapering like a pyramid from the base to the summit, wherein an Iberian monk has shut himself up, and is working out his own salvation."

1187. After the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin:

"An ambassador also came from the Georgians, with instructions relative to the places of pilgrimage maintained by that people in Jerusalem, which they were anxious to keep in good order; they complained that they had been dispossessed and begged the Sultan to have compassion on them and order the places in question to be restored to those in charge of them."<sup>5</sup>

1187. Saladin gives the Georgians the Monastery of St. Nicholas.<sup>6</sup>

1187. *La Citez de Iherusalem*:

"The monastery of the Cross belongs to the *Jorjans*."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem*, in PPTS, 1896, xi, pp. 83-4. [Under Corradinus, Prince of Damascus, Nur al-Din is probably meant. During his reign (1154-1174) Damietta was besieged in 1169. Editors' note.]

<sup>2</sup> *The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas into the Holy Land*, from the Leo. Allutius edition; translated by Aub. Stewart, PPTS, 1889, p. 22; ref. to note 6, pp. 30, 27, 24.

<sup>3</sup> An incorrect translation of the Greek name "Iber", a Georgian.

<sup>4</sup> Called *Kukumos* in Greek, see PPS, xxiii, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Saladin (Salah-ed-Din)* by Beha-ed-din, PPTS, 1897, xiii, p. 384.

<sup>6</sup> Popadopulo-Kerameus, iii, 27; it is not quite clear to me which Monastery of St. Nicholas is meant; the St. Nicholas Monastery in Jerusalem, or the Monastery of the Cross, called also St. Nicholas Monastery (see below for the history of these monasteries, pp. 40 and 47).

<sup>7</sup> *La Citez de Iherusalem*, ed. by T. Tobler in *Descriptions terrae sanctae*, etc., pp. 216-18, in addition, there are a few anonymous descriptions dating back to the twelfth century edited by Aub. Stewart, *Anonymous Pilgrims (eleventh to twelfth century)*, in PPTS, vols. i-viii "The monastery of the Cross is in Georgian hands" (ib., vi, p. 11).

1207-8. "The Georgians march with a countless number of warriors against the unbelievers and have already conquered three hundred fortresses and nine large towns. They will free the Holy City and subjugate all the unbelievers (Mohamedans)."<sup>1</sup>

1217. Magister Thetmarus places the Georgians fourth:  
"Syriani, Lacini, Jacobici, Georgiani, Armeni, Greci, Nestoriani."<sup>2</sup>

1219. "Surianos, Ethiopas, Armenios, Georgianos et Allios Asiae christianos Hierozolymam incolentes multos numero."<sup>3</sup>

1231. Ernoul:

"The Monastery of the Cross belongs to the Georgians."<sup>4</sup>

1253-4. "The Monastery of the Cross belongs to the Iberians" (that is, the Georgians).<sup>5</sup>

1280. Burchard, of Mount Sion:

"Who could tell how many monks and nuns (come to Jerusalem) from Georgia, Greater and Lesser Armenia, Chaldaea, Syria, Media, Persia, India, Aethiopia, Nubia, Nabatania, of the Maronite Jacobites, Nestorian, Greek, Syrian, and other sects that this day roam over that land in troops of one or two hundred each."<sup>6</sup>

1280. The fight of the Mongols against the Mamelukes:

"In the East there is also the race of the Christians. There are the Armenians, the Greeks, the Christians of the Cincture, the Nothormi,<sup>7</sup> the Jacobites, the Georgians, and the Indians; all these peoples are pining under the cruel yoke of the unbelievers."<sup>8</sup>

"In the year 1280 the Christians united with the Mongols against the Egyptians. There were 50,000 Mongols and 30,000 Greeks, Georgians, Armenians, and Franks."<sup>9</sup>

1299. "Gazan, the Chan of the Mongols, marched from Tauris against the Egyptians, on the 16th October, 1299. With him were united the Kings of Armenia (Hethun), of Georgia (David),<sup>10</sup> and of Cyprus."

<sup>1</sup> From a letter from Antioch to Besançon, ed. by Rh. Röhrich, *Regesta Regni Hierozolimitani (MXCXI-MCCXCI)*, according to Avalishvili, pp. 151-2, 137-8, who mentions the whole literature.

<sup>2</sup> *Magistri Thetmari iter ad terram Sanctam anno 1217*, ed. by T. Tobler, St. Gallen, 1851, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Testimonio minore de quinto bello sacro e chronici occidentalibus*, ed. by Rh. Röhrich, PSOL, Geneva, 1882, iii, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> *Itinéraires Français, xi-xiii*, Geneva, 1882. PSOL, *séries géographiques*, iii, par Henri Michelant et Gaston Raynaud, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> PPS, xl, 1895, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> PPTS, xii, 1896, trans. by Aub. Stewart, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the Nestorians.

<sup>8</sup> AOL, i, 1881, p. 354.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, p. 639; according to Barhebraeus (*Chron. Syriac*, p. 592) there were 5,000 Georgians among them (*ib.*, p. 23).

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, p. 643; this Georgian King David is supposed to have become a monk and to have received the name Johan (John).

"We also learn from Pachymere that Gazan had the Christians from Iberia with their Cross-banner in his army."<sup>1</sup>

1300. Octav of the Epiphany :

"In the year 1300 the Christians in Jerusalem were able to celebrate Easter. Gazan returned to the King of Armenia the territory that the Sultan had taken from him ; to his brother he gave Syria but to the Georgians he gave Jerusalem."<sup>2</sup>

1200-1308. "The official" report of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem concerning the Georgians :

"The Georgians came to Palestine about the year 1200, with the help of the Mamelukes and Circassians. They gave a great deal of assistance to the Greek Patriarchate and therefore the Greeks gave them the Monastery of St. Nicholas and later the Monastery of the Cross. As the number of Georgians was very large, they received from us the monasteries of St. Jacob, St. John the Theologian, St. Theodore, St. Demetrios, St. Thecla, St. Katherine, and in the year 1308, the Golgotha."<sup>3</sup>

1305. During the rule of El-Malek en Naser Mohamed, the Church of the Monastery of the Cross was taken away from the Christians.

"But in the year of the Hegira, 705 (24, vii, 1305), an ambassador came from the King of Georgia. In response to his plea the church was returned to the Christians."<sup>4</sup>

1335. Jacques de Verone, Augustinian friar :

"Near the Nubian chapel (in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) is the other Georgian chapel."<sup>5</sup> The Georgians are placed eighth."<sup>6</sup> "The Georgian monks live in the Monastery of the Cross."<sup>7</sup> "The Georgians have their altar in the Basilica of Bethlehem outside the Crypt" (where Christ was born).<sup>8</sup>

1336. Guilielmus de Baldensel :

"The Mount Sarrandarion belongs to the Georgians." The Georgian monks received Wilhelm of Baldensel very hospitably."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, p. 645, n. 50, the edition referred to is Bonn, ii, 457 (no date).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek Journal *Nea Sion*, vol. xi, Jerusalem, 1910, pp. 132-4.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et de l'Hebron*, Paris, 1876, p. 173 ; see also Vincent, *Jérusalem, Recherches de Topographie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, Paris, 1926, vol. iii, p. 978.

<sup>5</sup> ROL, iii, 1895, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Augustinermönch Jacob aus Verona*, ed. by Rh. Röhrich, p. 191.

<sup>6</sup> *Franciscani, secondo Greci, tercio Nubiani, quarto Abessini et sunt nigri sicut Nubiani, quinto Nestoriani, sexto Maronite, septimo Jacobite, octavo Georgiani*, *ib.*, pp. 197-8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 222.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 219.

<sup>9</sup> Although he is an extremely fanatical Catholic (and he is not the only one) ; Guilielmus de Baldensel, *Hodoeporicon ad Terram Sanctam*, by Henricus Canisius, *Antiquae lectione*, Ingolstadt, 1604, v p. 131 (in German).

1347. Ludolph of Sudheim :

"The Georgians have the key to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and not even for large sums of money will they give away so much as the smallest piece of stone from the tomb."<sup>1</sup>

1366. "The King of Cyprus, Peter Lusinian, an Armenian, conquered Alexandria which is in Egypt and slaughtered all the Moham-edans and Saracens who lived there. Because of his success, the Armenians in Jerusalem became audacious ; they bribed those in power and took possession of Golgotha, which they managed to keep in their power for a few years."<sup>2</sup>

1370. Archimandrite Agrethenios :

"In Jerusalem are the Iberian and Syrian monasteries."<sup>3</sup>

"In the Church of Our Lady, to the right of the Holy Sepulchre, stands the altar of the Iberians."<sup>4</sup>

"At the spot where the tree from which the Cross was made was cut down, stands the Iberian monastery."<sup>5</sup>

"In the main street in Jerusalem, towards the end of the town, there are three steps leading downwards ; here stands the Prætorium (in Greek *Phulaki*). . . The Holy Altar in this place belongs to the Iberians and the Iberian services are held here."<sup>6</sup>

"In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the tomb where the three crosses were discovered, twenty-nine steps lead downwards, and at the bottom stands a big stone pillar from which the fresh dew is perpetually gushing forth ; the Holy Altar here belongs to the Iberians. . . Another ten steps downwards is the spot where the Empress Helena found the three corpses, here also is an Iberian altar."<sup>7</sup>

"Below Golgotha is the Georgian chapel, and on Golgotha the Armenians celebrate their services."<sup>8</sup>

"In the cavern—in the Laura of St. Sabba—where the barbarians murdered forty monks, is the Iberian church."<sup>9</sup>

1384. Lionardo Frescobaldi :

"The Armenians live in the monastery of the Cross."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ludolphus de Sudheim de itinere terre sancte*, AOL, 1884, p. 353 ; he accords the Georgians the sixth place : "de Grecis, Sorianorum, Nubianis, Indorum, Armenis, Georgianis, Nestorianis, Jacobites, Maronitis de rito Coptorum, de Ysynis (perhaps the Abyssinians) de Maronitis" ; *ib.*, p. 369 ; "si quis de nocte vult videre sepulchrum dat Georgianis custodiibus unum venecianum denarium et intrat iterato et altera die omnes complentur exire." *Ib.*, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> This account is very interesting and extremely important in connection with the history of Golgotha. Three articles from the *History of the Russian Palestine Investigation*, by Archimandrite Leonid, PPS, xvi, 1889, pp. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> *The pilgrimage of the Archimandrite Agrethenios from the Monastery of Our Lady*, PPS, xlviii, 1896, p. 9. The names of these monasteries are unfortunately not mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> *Viaggio di Lionardo di Nic. Frescobaldi, fiorentino in Egitto e in Terra Santa*, Parma, 1845, appeared in the Series *Scelta di elegantissimi scrittori italiani antichi e moderni*, vol. lxvi, p. 120.



1391. Deacon Ignati :

"The Georgian service is held on Golgotha where the skull of Adam lies. Beneath Golgotha is the Iberian land and the Iberians hold the services. The Franks hold their services after the Georgians."<sup>1</sup>

"In the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lady (Gethsemane) the services are held by the Georgians."<sup>2</sup>

*End of the fourteenth century.*

"The Iberians own Mount Golgotha."<sup>3</sup>

"The Monastery of the Cross is the monastery of the Iberians."<sup>4</sup>

1389-1405. Ignati of Smolensk :

"The Georgians celebrate the services on Mount Golgotha where Our Lord was crucified and where the head of Adam lies ; after them the Venetians hold their services. Below Mount Golgotha is the Iberian land where the Iberians hold their services."<sup>5</sup>

"In Gethsemane, in the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lady, the Georgians hold their services on the right hand side."<sup>6</sup>

1420. Deacon Zosima :

"The Iberians own the Monastery of the Cross."<sup>7</sup>

"and from there we went to the Iberian monastery, where the tree was felled which was destined to be the Cross."<sup>8</sup>

1421. John Poloner :

"In the churchyard, outside the church of the Holy Sepulchre, there are four chapels . . . the third on the same side (left of the Holy Sepulchre) is that of St. John the Baptist . . . the third chapel belongs to the Georgians."<sup>9</sup>

"In the street of the Bishop of Jerusalem is the house of St. Zacharias, which belongs to the Georgians, and therein is a fair chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist."<sup>10</sup>

"Twenty-eight paces down the valley of Jehoshaphat, down forty-eight steps, there is a fair church, wherein is the Sepulchre of

<sup>1</sup> Archimandrite Leonid, *Jerusalem, Palestine and Athos in the reports of Russian pilgrims from the XIV till the XVIII century*. Lectures at the Imperial Society for the History and the Antiquity of the Russian Empire, in the Moscow University, January-March, Moscow, 1871, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> PPS, xxvi, 1890, the Greek text of Popadopulo-Kerameus, pp. xvi, 12 ; the translation of Destunis, 13-23, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *The Pilgrimage of Ignati of Smolensk*, edited by S. B. Arseniev, PPS, xii, 1887, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> See Archimandrite Leonid, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 27.

<sup>9</sup> John Poloner's *Description of the Holy Land*, translated from Tobler's text by Aub. Stewart, PPTS, vi, 1894, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, p. 16.

the Glorious Virgin Mary . . . the first altar, by the side of the Sepulchre, belongs to the Armenians ; the second, beneath a dark vault, belongs to the Georgians . . .<sup>1</sup> From thence (i.e. from the house where St. John the Baptist was born) one goes on to another well-ornamented church belonging to the Georgians, called the Church of the Cross, because the tree of Christ's Cross stood and grew there."<sup>2</sup>

1422. "The grave of Godfrey de Bouillon is in the Georgian chapel."<sup>3</sup>

1436, 1440. The Georgians in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are mentioned seventh by George Pfintzing.<sup>4</sup>

1440. Hans and Peter Rot :

"The Mary Magdalen chapel (in the church of the Holy Sepulchre) belongs to the *Cursy*."<sup>5</sup>

1451. Hieromonach Varsonofi :

"The Monastery of the Cross belongs to the Iberians."<sup>6</sup>

1461. Louis de Rochechouart :

"The Georgians have their own Alphabet. They own the Altar below Golgotha and the spot where the Cross was found."<sup>7</sup>

"The beautiful Church of the Holy Cross belongs to the Georgians."<sup>8</sup>

1461. William the Brave, Landgrave of Thuringia :

"Near the cleft in the earth where the Cross was found, there stands an altar, this is held by the Syrians, also a chapel below Mount Calvary (Golgotha). Here they practise their errors, almost in accordance with the custom of the Greeks. The same are, as they say, converted by St. George."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 23 ; according to Tobler this pilgrimage took place in the year 1422. See Tobler, *Descriptions*, etc., p. 497.

<sup>3</sup> Super sepulchrum germani sui iuxta ostium e dextris in Capella Georgianorum sculpta est hoc prosa : "hic iacet inclitus dux Gotfridus de Bullon qui totam istam terram acquirivit, cuius anima regnet in Christo." *Epitome bellorum sacrorum in Palestina* from Canisius, *Antiquae Lectiones*, p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> "Various new Masses are held every day in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre ; the first are the Indians who are the followers of St. Thomas, then the Jacobites, Latins, Saracens (Syrians), Armenians, *Kurgy* (Georgites), Nosteri (Nestorians), Maroni (Maronites)." Pfintzing's work was edited by Rh. Röhricht and Heinrich Meissner, and published in *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem hl. Lande*, Berlin, 1881, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> *Pilgerreisen der Basler Hans und Peter Rot*, edited by Bernoulli ; see reprint from *Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, Basle, 1882, i, p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> *The Pilgrimage of the Hieromonach Varsonofi*, ed. by Dolgov, in PPS, 1896, xlv, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Voyage à Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart*, ed. by C. Couderc. ROL, 1893, i, pp. 255-56.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 258.

<sup>9</sup> Here is an obvious mistake ; the Syrians are mentioned instead of the Georgians ; cf. Louis de Rochechouart (in preceding excerpt). *Pilgerfahrt des Landgrafen Wilhelm des Tapferen von Thuringen zum Hl. Lande*, ed. by J. Kohl Bremen, 1868, p. 117.

1464. Sebalt Rieter, sen. :

"In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre . . . first of all the discalced (barefooted) friars own the Holy Tomb and Our Chapel of Our Lady. Also the *Jörsy*<sup>1</sup> of Persia have the St. Helen's Chapel which stands on the spot where the Holy Cross was discovered."<sup>2</sup>

"The Holy Cross, the Crown, the Spear, and the Nail were discovered in a cleft rock. An altar stands there which is owned by the *Jörste* of Persia."<sup>3</sup>

"The Monastery of the Holy Cross belongs to the Christians from the *land of Jhohan*; there is also to be found the hand of the Virgin St. Barbara."<sup>4</sup>

"There are various kinds of Christians in the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre; the Catholics, the Greeks, the Christians of the *land of Jhohan* and Jevduny (?), Armenians, the Christians of the Cincture, and three other kinds of which I forget the names."<sup>5</sup>

1465-1466. A certain Vasili :

"the Iberian monastery of St. Nicholas; here the tree for the Cross was felled. In this church is the hand of the holy martyr St. Barbara."<sup>6</sup>

"In the big church by the Holy Sepulchre the services are held by Greeks, the Iberians, the Serbs, the Franks, the Syrians, the Jacobites, the Melchites, the Copts, and the Nestorians."<sup>7</sup>

1479. Sebaldt Rieter, jun. :

"In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are the discalced (barefooted) friars, the Greeks, and the *Georgittes*, also known as the *Jörsy*. They possess the Holy Mount Calvary as well as the chapel of our Beloved Lady below Mount Calvary."<sup>8</sup>

1479-1480. John Tuchern of Nürnberg :

"In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the *Jörsy* own the spot where the Holy Cross was discovered. They possess Mount Calvary which was not given to them until 1475. They also own the chapel

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Georgians; *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter*, Tübingen, 1884 (*Bibliothek d. litt. Ver. Stuttgart*, clxviii), ed. by Rh. Röhrich and H. Meissner, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the nails.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 20; according to the statement by T. Tobler (he does not mention the source) this chapel of the Invention of the Cross "belonged to the Georgians at the beginning of the XVI century". See his *Golgotha*, etc., p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> Read: *land of Johann* (i.e. John) for *land of Jhohan*, that is to say, the Georgians were known in Jerusalem by the name of their King David, who later became a monk and received the name of John. This David played an important part in the history of the release of Jerusalem, and received the city as a gift from the Mongol Chan Gazan in the year 1300 (see excerpt, years 1280, 1299, 1300). *Ein Pilgerbüchlein, Reise nach Jerusalem*, in Herrig's *Archiv für Neuere Sprachen*, vol. xi, Braunschweig, 1867, p. 313.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 316.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Pilgerfahrt des Herrn Wasili*, PPS, 1884, vi, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> See excerpt for year 1464 above.

below Mount Calvary, where the cleft went right through the rock. The chapel is named after Our Lady and St. John the Evangelist."<sup>1</sup>

1480-1483. Felix Fabri :

"The Georgians, who are also called Nubians and are most generally known as Christians of the Cincture—come from parts very far distant from the Holy Land, and are warriors who train even their women to fight. They are Christians, but tainted throughout with the same errors as the Greeks."<sup>2</sup>

"The Holy Sepulchre has, in a manner of speaking, three entrances. . . the second is that which leads from the little court into the first cave in the monument itself. This door is closed by a gate and fastened with locks; the keys of this door are now in the possession of the Latin Minorite brethren; but a few years ago the Georgians had them."<sup>3</sup>

"The Monastery of the Holy Cross belongs to the Georgian monks . . . they also brought to us an arm of St. Barbara, which we kissed."<sup>4</sup>

"They have not had this holy place long (Mount Calvary), but only for the last fifteen years; for they offered presents to the King of Egypt, the Soldan, who turned out the Armenians from it and put in the Georgians in their stead. They also own the place and cave of the Invention of the Holy Cross. . . they also own the chapel beneath Mount Calvary, wherein the Latin Kings of Jerusalem were buried."<sup>5</sup>

1483. Johann, Count of Solm :

"There is yet another people far from Jerusalem, whose kingdom stretches as far as the Caspian Mountains. They are a valiant, powerful race. These people have knights and many warriors in case of war—and are therefore much feared by their neighbours, the Saracens, Persians, Medians, and Assyrians. Although this nation is surrounded by unbelievers, it does not fear them; on the contrary the neighbouring races take care to avoid molesting them. They are called Georgians after St. George, whom they have chosen as their patron. Many of these live in Jerusalem and own many holy places—in particular, Mount Calvary and the cleft where the Cross stood. Here they have an altar and one of their number is always locked in to guard the place. They further possess the Church of *the Angels*,<sup>6</sup> which stands on the site of the house of Annas the Bishop. Like the Greeks, the Georgians

<sup>1</sup> *Reisebuch*, i, p. 663.

<sup>2</sup> *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, trans. by Aub. Stewart in PPTS, vii-viii, 1897, i, p. 435.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 407.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, ii, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, i, p. 407; Sepulchre of the Holy Virgin: "The altar which is nearest to the Sepulchre belongs to the Armenians; the second, which is beneath a dark vault, belongs to the Georgians," *ib.*, i, p. 468.

<sup>6</sup> The italics are mine.

are schismatic. With raised banners they travel to Jerusalem, enter the city and go hence without paying tribute. The Saracens dare not molest them, for fear that on returning to their native land, the Georgians would be revenged on their Saracen neighbours. The noble ladies of Georgia also join in warfare, using arms like the Amazons. In the holy laws and scriptures, they use the Greek language; otherwise the Saracen or Chaldean."<sup>1</sup>

1483-4. Hans Werli von Zimmer :

"In the Temple (Holy Sepulchre) there are many and varied Christians, of divers tongues, different faiths and divided sects. . . . There are the Greeks, the Jacobites, the *Georgits*, the Indians, the Abyssinians, the Nubians, the Armenians, and the Romans or Latins."<sup>2</sup>

1484. Count Philip Ludwig of Hanau-Münzenberg :

"On Mount Calvary where the Holy Cross stood and a cleft appeared in the rock, stands the beautiful chapel belonging to the *Corssen*."<sup>3</sup>

"The Church of the Holy Cross belongs to the *Kerchen*<sup>4</sup>; here one may see the hand of St. Barbara."<sup>5</sup>

1490. Jehan de Cucharmoy :

"In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are seven different sects: first, the Latins who have the Holy Tomb, then the Georgians who own Golgotha, also the Christians of the Cincture, the Indians, the Jacobites, the Greeks and the Armenians."<sup>6</sup>

1493. Heinrich von Sedlitz :

"The House of Annas, there is the church, it is owned by the *Kirchen*."<sup>7</sup>

"A church which stands between Jerusalem and the House of Zacharias<sup>8</sup> the one where the tree of the Cross grew, is owned by the *Kirchen*."<sup>9</sup>

"The *Kirchen* are also on Mount Calvary."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bewehrtes Reisebuch des Heiligen Landes*, Nürnberg, 1659, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Reisebuch*, i, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Jerusalemfahrten des Grafen Philip Ludwig von Hanau, Münzenberg, 1484, und Rheinhard von Hanau, 1550*, ed. by Rh. Röhrich, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, 1891, vol. xxvi, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 106; they cannot be Greeks as the editor presumes (*ib.*, note 1), because these were called *Krychen*, *ib.*, p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>6</sup> *Reproduction d'après l'édition de Lyon, 1530 par le comte de Mary*, SOL, Geneva, 1889, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> The Church of the Angels, according to T. Tobler (*Topographie*, i, p. 367) should have been in the possession of the Georgians in 1507, but see Johann, Count of Solm, in the excerpt for year 1483. In this year, the church was already in Georgian hands; these *Kirchen* are presumably meant to be Georgians and not Greeks. *Die Jerusalemfahrt der Heinrich von Sedlitz*, in ZDPV, xvii, 1894, p. 195.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. Ain-Karim.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, p. 282.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, p. 278.

1494. "The *Jorsii*, also called the *Georgittes*, own the spot where the Cross was found, also the Holy Mount Calvary, as well as the chapel below Mount Calvary (Golgotha). This chapel is named after Our Lady and St. John."<sup>1</sup>

"The Gurians own the chapel of St. Helena; therein they have their dwellings and celebrate their Masses."<sup>2</sup>

1493-9. Daniel, Metropolitan of Ephesos :

"The Iberians have built a small chapel on Golgotha."<sup>3</sup>

"We also visited the Monastery of the Cross, which belongs to the Iberians."<sup>4</sup>

1498. The Duke of Saxony, Henry the Pious :

"There are seven different sects in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: first of all, those of our Faith (that is, the Latins), then the *Jorsii*, also known as *Georgittes* who own the spot where the Holy Cross was found and also the Mount of Calvary which was given to them recently."<sup>5</sup>

1496-9. Cavalier Arnold von Harff :

"Below the mountain lies Golgotha where the skull of Adam was discovered. This chapel belongs to the Georgian Christians."<sup>6</sup>

"*Georgytes* or *Jorsy*, the Georgians, own the chapel where the Holy Cross was discovered, also Mount Calvary and the chapel below Mount Calvary named after Our Lady and St. John."<sup>7</sup>

"There are seven sects of Christians in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: the Franciscans, Greeks, *Georgytes* or *Jorsy*, Jacobites, Indians, Syrians and Armenians."<sup>8</sup>

"In the Monastery of the Holy Cross dwell the Greek monks known as the *Coleuri*."<sup>9</sup>

*Second half of the fifteenth century.*

"Golgotha belongs to the Georgian Orthodox Christians."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Eine Pilgerfahrt in das Hl. Land im Jahre 1494*, ed. by Theodor Schön; a reprint from *Mitteilungen des Institutes für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, xiii, heft 3 (no year), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6. The inhabitants of Guria, a province in Western Georgia.

<sup>3</sup> PPS, viii, ed. by Destunis, St. Pb. 1884, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Jerusalemfahrt des Herzogs Heinrich des Frommen*, by Rh. Röhrich, in ZDPV, xxiv, 1901, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Probably means the Chapel of Our Lady and St. John the Evangelist; *Die Pilgerfahrt des Reiters Arnold von Harff*, ed. by Dr. E. von Groote, Köln, 1860, p. 172, note 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 175.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, p. 163; i.e. *καλόγεροι*. One piece of information is most interesting: the Christian *Suriani*, *Jacobitani*, *Jheoriani*, *Abasiniani* believe that Adam broke the law on Mount Tabor and that this was where the Angels would proclaim the Last Judgment, *ib.*, p. 195.

<sup>10</sup> PPS, lvi, 1903, p. 164; there are other monasteries in Jerusalem: St. John the Baptist's, St. George's, St. Demetrius', St. Nicholas', John the Theologian's, St. Basil the Great's, Archangel Michael's, St. Katherine's, St. Euthymios', St. Thecla's. These monasteries belong to the Orthodox Christians, *ib.*, p. 167. (Unfortunately these Orthodox nations are not distinguished one from another.)

*Fifteenth century.*

Francesco Suriano, probably 1485 :

"In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre : 1, Frati (Franciscans), 2, Maroniti, catholici et orthodoxi, 3, Greci, 4, *Gorziani* (Iveri), Abassini, Copti, Jacobiti, Syriani, Armeni, Nestoriani." <sup>1</sup>

"The Georgians, or the Iberians, in Jerusalem live in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, in the Monastery of St. George and in the galleries of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre." <sup>2</sup>

"Very beautiful Monastery of the Cross, occupied by the Georgians." <sup>3</sup>

"Until lately the *Zorgians* had the Church of Simeon the Prophet ; at the present time (*al presenta anno*, in this year) they have left it." <sup>4</sup>

*End of the fifteenth century.*

"In the Holy Sepulchre there are also : 1, The Latins, who are the pious brethren from Mount Zion ; 2, the Greeks ; 3, the Georgians ; 4, the Armenians ; 5, the Jacobites, the Syrians, the Maronites, the Nestorians and Abyssinians." <sup>5</sup>

*Beginning of the sixteenth century.*

"Golgotha belongs to the Georgians, they are the Orthodox Christians." <sup>6</sup>

"Below Golgotha is a beautiful church. There, over the altar hang eight lamps, and behind the altar, twelve lamps. This church also belongs to the Georgians." <sup>7</sup>

1507 (24th November). M. Baumgarten :

"The Georgians are a people of the East, a very stout and warlike nation, so-called from a Georgian saint whom they own as their patron and protector, paying him most profound reverence. They say their dominions reach as far as the Caspian Mountains. This people, though encompassed by Saracens . . . as often as they have a mind to go to Jerusalem, they always march in order of battle, with flying colours, paying neither toll nor tribute, and so enter the city. The women of quality do use and wear arms, after the manner of the Amazons. They agree with the Greek Church in all the material points of faith. The men never cut their hair off, nor shave their

<sup>1</sup> *Francesco Suriano saeculo XV*, ed. by Girolamo Golubowich, Milan, 1900, p. 64. Tobler, *Bibliographia*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 132, n. 2 ; this monastery is called also Katamoni.

<sup>5</sup> *Wie unsere deutsche Vorfahren gegen Ausgang des XV. Jahrhunderts, nach Jerusalem walfahrteten, das heilige Land, 56. Jahrgang.* Köln, 1912, p. 271.

<sup>6</sup> *Eight Greek descriptions of the Holy Places in the XIV, XV, and XVI centuries*, PPS, lvi, 1903 (in Greek), ed. by Popadopulo-Kerameus, the Russian transl. by P. B. Bezobrazov, p. 243.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 244.

beards. Their clergy wear round caps, the laics foursquare ones. In the Temple (Holy Sepulchre) they have a chapel of the Invention of the Cross, and have the same, too, upon Mount Calvary and in several other places. They say Mass in the Greek tongue but in all other affairs they speak the language of the Saracens." <sup>1</sup>

"Lacini, Suriani, Georgiani, Jacobici, Ethiopi, Armeni." (These nationalities are represented in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre). <sup>2</sup>

1507. Georgii, prioris Gemnicensis Ord. Cart. :

"The Georgians possess in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, also the Mount Calvary ; furthermore, on Mount Sion, the Church of the Holy Angels, which is situated on the site of the House of the High Priest Annas. The Georgians use the Greek language for their mass ; for ordinary parlance they use the Saracen or Chaldean languages." <sup>3</sup>

1507. Duke Frederick II von Liegnitz und Brieg :

"The *Jorschittes* own Mount Calvary ; there is a beautiful chapel there." <sup>4</sup>

"Everyone can approach freely Mount Calvary—on its slopes and on the summit are many dwellings of the *Jorschittes*." <sup>5</sup>

In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are the following Christians to be found : "Barefooted friars, Greeks. The *Jorschittes* or *Georgittes* hold the third place in the ownership of the place of the Invention of the Holy Cross, also Mount Calvary ; this mountain came into their possession for the first time <sup>6</sup> in the year 1475. Furthermore, the chapel below Mount Calvary (Chapel of Our Lady and St. John the Evangelist) belongs to them." <sup>7</sup>

"Thereafter we came to a beautiful monastery, called the Church of the Holy Cross—here grew the tree, the trunk of which was used for the Cross—furthermore, one is shown here the hand of St. Barbara. We saw here the Bells, the only ones in the whole land. The priests of this monastery are of the faith of St. Paul." <sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Travels of M. Baumgarten*, see Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1732, vol. i, p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 419.

<sup>3</sup> Georgii, Prioris Gemnicensis Ord. Cart. *Ephemeris Terrae Sanctae II (Anno Domini 1507) de Thesanros anecdotorum novissimus II*, a Bernado Pezio OSB. (*Augustae Vindelicorum et Graeci*, 1721), p. 551.

<sup>4</sup> *Pilgerfahrt des Herzogs Friedrich II von Liegnitz und Brieg nach dem hl. Lande und Descriptio Templi Domini von Philippus de Aversa*, ZDPV, Leipzig, 1878, vol. i, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> Mount Calvary belonged to the Georgians before 1308, see the excerpt for this year, p. 188 ; also below p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> Tobler's *Golgotha* is cited, according to which the Georgians received Golgotha in the year 1479 (see *Golgotha*, p. 292), *ib.*, pp. 384-5, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 199.

1517. "Holy Golgotha, where Christ was crucified, is situated on a rock. Here are two churches, one on the summit, the other below. On top is the spot where Our Lord was crucified, and below, the place where Adam was buried.<sup>1</sup> These two churches belong to the Georgians."<sup>2</sup>
- "Outside Jerusalem is the Monastery of the Holy Cross; the monastery is beautiful and large, and possesses many cells. It belongs to the Georgians."<sup>3</sup>
1519. Jan Want:  
"There are several different Christian communities in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Latins, Greeks, Surians, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians and Indians. In Jerusalem there are many Georgians; they own numerous Holy Places, in particular, Mount Calvary with the spot where the Cross stood. The church on the site of Annas' House belongs to them (also)."<sup>4</sup>
1521. "The Corsy possess Mount Calvary."<sup>5</sup>  
"In the Monastery of the Holy Cross live various Christians called Gophty."<sup>6</sup>
1523. Philip von Hagen:  
"The Monastery of the Holy Cross belongs to the *Jorgans* who are good Christians."<sup>7</sup>
1542. Nikolaos Anagnostis:  
"On the spot where stood Our Lady and St. John the Apostle gazing upon the Crucified One, the Georgians celebrate their Mass."<sup>8</sup>
1550. Count Rheinhard von Hanau:  
"In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are found: Latini, Greci, Suriani, Abassini, Kopfti, *Goziiani*, Armeni."<sup>9</sup>
- 1558-1561. The Merchant, Vasili Pozniakov:  
"Golgotha belongs to the Iberian Christians; they are Orthodox.

<sup>1</sup> According to another version, Melchisedek's burial place (PPS, lvi, p. 244).

<sup>2</sup> PPS, lvi, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> *Eine Pilgerreise nach Jerusalem im Jahre 1519 vom Rechtsanwalt und Notar Weissweiler, in Das Heilige Land*, Köln, 1897, xli, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> Röhrich: *Zwei Berichte über eine Jerusalemfahrt in Zeitschrift für die deutsche Philologie*, xxv (date and place of publication unstated), i, p. 182.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, 190; probably an error.

<sup>7</sup> Conrady, *Vier rheinische Palestina-Pilgerschriften des XIV. XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden, 1882, p. 268.

<sup>8</sup> Nikolaos Anagnostis: *A short treatise concerning the Holy Sepulchre*, PPS, lvi, 1903; in this spot are also to be found the skull of Adam and the graves of the three youths and of Melchisedek, p. 177; "on Golgotha the Georgians celebrated their Masses, nearby the Franks also had their altar" (*ib.*, p. 178).

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, 155-6.

Igumen and Treasurer Galel (other versions: Galeil, Galiel) of the Iberians tends the Lamps."<sup>1</sup>

"Over the tomb of Christ burn forty-three lamps. Only the Treasurer of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre Galel can replenish their oil."<sup>2</sup>

1559. "The Georgians were forced by the Turkish Government to sell the Monastery *della Colonna* (the Monastery of St. John the Theologian or Salvator is meant by this) to the Franciscans."<sup>3</sup>

1561. Jacob Wormbser:

"Nine Christian nations are represented in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Barefooted friars, Greeks, Nestorians, Copts or Jacobites, Suriani, Armenians, Georgians who have their chapel on Mount Calvary, Maronites."<sup>4</sup>

1562. Albrecht, Count of Loewenstein:

"There are nine nations in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Barefooted friars, Greeks, *Gorgi* who possess the spot where the Holy Cross and the two other crosses stood—called *locus Calvariae*, Abyssinians, Jacobites or Suriani, Gophty, Nestorians, Armenians, Maronites. Two of these nations are under the Pope, namely, the Latins and the Nestorians<sup>5</sup>; the others, on the contrary, are independent."<sup>6</sup>

1489-1571. A Spanish franciscan:

"Around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre live the representatives of all the Christian nations, who have their special places and their lamps here. First come the friars of St. Francis, secondly the Greeks, thirdly the Syrians, fourthly the Jacobites, fifthly the Georgians."<sup>7</sup>

"We were able to see the house where was born John the Evangelist, and where is now the Church of the Georgians. Here you may see the gate of iron, formerly affixed to the old wall within the city through which St. Peter passed when he was liberated from prison."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Journey to the East and the Holy Places of the Merchant W. Pozniakov*, ed. by Loparev, PPS, xviii, 1887, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Ferdinando Massimiliano, *Storia di Gerusalemme*, Rome, 1857, vol. ii, p. 412; but the Georgians did not accept the money for it. (See also below for the history of this monastery," p. 222.)

<sup>4</sup> *Reisebuch*, p. 412; cf. also MS. 34 *supra* Selden (3422) of the Bodleian Library.

<sup>5</sup> Probably instead of Maronites.

<sup>6</sup> *Reisebuch*, p. 363.

<sup>7</sup> *A Spanish Franciscan's narrative of a journey to the Holy Land*, translated from the sixteenth-century Latin MS. in his possession and edited with notes, by Harry Charles Luke, London, 1927, p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 32; I believe this report was compiled before the year 1551, see herein "The Monastery of St. John the Evangelist", p. 222. The MS. is undated; it was written during the Venetian occupation of Cyprus, which lasted from 1489 to 1571.



1573. Leonhard Reuchwolffen :

"By the wonderful town of Trapezund on the Euxin Sea the country of the Georgians begins, and stretches towards the East as far as Armenia. They are kind, simple, but nevertheless powerful and grave warriors. Among their saints, they venerate above all others the knight St. George, whom they look upon as their patron and protector in time of war, and therefore they call themselves after his name. Their merchants come often with large caravans to Aleppo. . . . they have, like others, their Patriarchs and their Bishops, who, although already in conflict with each other on several points, still follow the errors and the doctrines of the Greeks. They have in Jerusalem their own places where they sing and hold their services, in particular, among others, in the Church of Mount Calvary and at the place near the Tomb of Our Lord Jesus Christ where He first appeared to Mary Magdalene in the guise of a gardener after His Resurrection."<sup>1</sup>

"The Jacobites, also known as Gosty, have the church close to the Georgian chapel."<sup>2</sup>

1583. Nic. Christ. Radziwill :

"On Mount Calvary are two big altars and on the left some smaller ones ; the Holy Places belong to the Georgians who dwell by the Black Sea."<sup>3</sup>

"The Monastery of the Holy Cross, called by the Greeks 'the Archangel belongs to the Georgians ; here is the seat of their Bishop."<sup>4</sup>

1584. The merchant, Tryphon Korobeynikov :

"In Jerusalem live the following Christians : Greeks, Syrians, Serbs, Iberians, Russians, Arabs, Italians (probably Latins)."<sup>5</sup>

"To the Iberian monk on Golgotha—at the seat of the Iberian Bishop Epiphanius—we gave a hundred gold pieces."<sup>6</sup>

1586. "On Golgotha are two altars, and there the Georgians celebrate their Masses."<sup>7</sup>

"The Sepulchre of Our Lady—a marble stairway of fifty steps

<sup>1</sup> *Reisebuch*, p. 633 ; in my opinion, three different chapels are mentioned here ; the Calvary chapel, the Sepulchre and the place where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene.

<sup>2</sup> Probably monophysite Copts, if this is not an error.

<sup>3</sup> *Hierosolymitani peregrinatio illustrissimi domini*, N. Ch. Radziwill, Brunsberg, 1614, pp. 52-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> See Leonid, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 60. The Bishop Epiphanius was probably President of the Georgian Golgotha Monastery and absent at the time. Tryphon mentions the monastery of the Holy Cross (gave forty gold pieces, *ib.*, p. 62) and the Metochion, the Monastery of St. Nicholas (gave twenty gold pieces, *ib.*). Unfortunately, the owners are not named.

<sup>7</sup> PPS, lvi, p. 195.

leads downwards, and on the last step is the altar of the Georgians. It is somewhat smaller than that of the Greeks."<sup>1</sup>

"The Monastery of the Holy Cross that always belonged to the Georgians was built by them. There are three hundred and sixty-five beautiful cells and twelve chapels. Who can build such chapels nowadays ?"<sup>2</sup>

"On the east side of Jerusalem stand the Gates of Damascus . . . beyond these gates, by the field of Agrippa, is the cemetery where Georgians bury their dead."<sup>3</sup>

1593-4. Tryphon Korobeynikov :

"On Golgotha we gave to the Georgian monks three gold pieces, and to each of the monks of the Patriarch, who work for the Georgians, two gold pieces."<sup>4</sup>

*End of the sixteenth century.*

"Golgotha belongs to the Iberians."<sup>5</sup>

"The Iberian Monastery of the Holy Cross with three hundred and sixty-five cells."<sup>6</sup>

1602-1603. Martinus Seusenius :

"The Chapel *Carceris Christi* belongs to the Georgians."<sup>7</sup>

"Mount Calvary : this chapel is the most beautiful of all and belongs to the Georgians ; they have fifty lamps burning there, and also allow the Latins to say their Masses in this place."<sup>8</sup>

"The chapels of the Syrians, Gophyts, Armenians, Jacobites, Abyssinians and Georgians."<sup>9</sup>

"The Monastery of the Holy Cross belongs to the Georgians."<sup>10</sup>

"In Jerusalem live many Georgians ; they possess Mount Calvary and the chapel where the Cross of Christ stood ; therein is an altar—one of their number is always locked in to keep watch. To them

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 223 ; cf. also Iliffe, herein p. 3, § 2. The churches in Jerusalem : The Baptist, St. Jacob, St. Demetrius, St. George, St. Theodor of Tiron, St. Basil, St. Nicholas, St. Michael, St. John the Theologian, St. Katharine, St. Anna, St. Thecla, St. Euthymios, the Church of Our Lady (*ib.*, p. 206). Unfortunately, the owners of these are not mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> PPS, xxvii, 1889, ed. by Loparev, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> *Three anonymous Greek descriptions of the Holy Land*. PPS, xvi, 1896, ed. by Popadopolu-Keramews, and translated by Destunis, p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 60. The second description states : "The Iberian monastery of the Holy Cross with 365 cells" (*ib.*, p. 87) and the third : "Golgotha belongs to the Iberians" (*ib.*, p. 112) ; "The Monastery of the Holy Cross belongs to the Iberians and has 365 cells" (*ib.*, p. 122).

<sup>7</sup> Martinus Seusenius, *Reise in das hl. Land von Ferd. Müller*, in ZDPV, xxvi, 1903, p. 38.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, p. 43, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, p. 47.

belongs also the Church of the Holy Angels that stands on the site of the house of the High Priest Annas. These Georgians follow the Greek ceremonies. Whenever they come to Jerusalem to visit the Holy Places, they enter with flags flying and they pay no toll. Their Masses are said in Greek." <sup>1</sup>

1608-1634. "When the Patriarch goes out, they go with him; each of them goes to visit his own people, and brings them the sacred fire. So also does one of the Iberians." <sup>2</sup>

"The Monastery of the Holy Cross belongs to the Iberians." <sup>3</sup>

1613. Hans Jacob Aman, citizen of Zürich:

"We came upon a monastery and a church standing in a valley occupied by Greek monks. . . . the monastery is that of the Holy Cross." <sup>4</sup>

1615. *Le pèlerin véritable de la Terre Sainte*:

"The beautiful Monastery of the Georgian monks which is called the Monastery of the Holy Cross." <sup>5</sup>

"The graves of the western kings of Palestine, Godefroid de Bouillon and his brother Bauduin are to be found in the Georgian chapel of St. John the Evangelist." <sup>6</sup>

"The Georgians hold their services in the Greek language; customarily, they use the Chaldean, Arabic, and Persian language." <sup>7</sup>

"The church and monastery of St. Jacob belong to the Armenians, although in the olden days a Spanish <sup>8</sup> king built them for the pilgrims of his country." <sup>9</sup>

*Beginning of the seventeenth century.*

"The Monastery of the Cross belongs to the Georgians." <sup>10</sup>

1634. Vasili Gagara:

"In the monastery of the Invention of the Holy Cross live the Georgian monks." <sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at the ceremony for the supplication of the descent of the Holy Fire, a Georgian was locked in, as well as the Patriarch, *Proskinitarion in Jerusalem and other Holy Places*, anon. and ed. by Popadopolu-Roramews, PPS, liii, 1900, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>4</sup> *Reise in das Gelobte Land by Hans Jacob Aman Bürger zu Zürich*, Zürich, 1830, 2 Auflage, p. 176.

<sup>5</sup> *Le pèlerin véritable de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1615, p. 386.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 287.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 293.

<sup>8</sup> "An Iberian" is understood; it is a great pity that the pilgrims confuse the Iberians of the East (Georgians) with the Iberians of the West (Spaniards).

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, p. 308.

<sup>10</sup> *Proskinitarion Through Jerusalem and other places*, PPS, lvi, 1901, ed. by P. B. Bezobrazov, p. 48; "under Mount Golgotha is the church of the honourable Baptist, and it belongs to the Orthodox" (*ib.*, p. 35).

<sup>11</sup> Leonid, p. 73.

1646. Christoph Fürers von Haimendorff:

"The Georgian monks own Mount Calvary; they follow the Greeks in their customs; like the Greek monks they wear dark grey gowns, black cloaks, and black cowls on their heads." <sup>1</sup>

1651. Gabriel, Archbishop of Nazareth:

"In the Holy town of Jerusalem there are many monasteries and churches. . . . the other church of St. Nicholas; there live the Georgian monks." <sup>2</sup>

"Outside Jerusalem is a spot called *Kaloni* where Lot planted three trees. There stands the Georgian monastery. The Georgian monks are very pious, they themselves labour in the fields and vineyards, receiving all strangers and ministering unto them." <sup>3</sup>

1651. Deacon Iona:

"The St. Nicholas Monastery, the Georgian Metochion." <sup>4</sup>

"The Monastery of the Cross; therein live the Georgian monks." <sup>5</sup>

1649-1653. Arseni Sukhanov:

"The chapel of Our Lady (in the Holy Sepulchre). Christ was imprisoned here. This chapel now belongs to the Greeks—but it was once owned by the Georgians." <sup>6</sup>

"The chapel where the Cross of Christ was found. It used to belong to the Iberians, but now the place where the Cross of Christ lay belongs to the Greeks and the other half to the Franciscans." <sup>7</sup>

"In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Easter Monday the festival service was held. The Metropolitans of Nazareth, Bethlehem, Transjordan, Chebron, the Serbian Metropolitan from Dubenica and the Georgian Metropolitan took part in the celebration." <sup>8</sup>

1688. "The Monastery of the Holy Cross belongs to the schismatic Christians called the Georgians." <sup>9</sup>

1700. Henricus Maundrell:

"In the galleries (of the Holy Sepulchre) around the church, as in the smaller buildings, there used to be rooms where pilgrims and monks used to stay. And here the greater part of Christian nations

<sup>1</sup> Christ. Fürers von Haimendorff Ritters, *Reisebeschreibung*, Nürnberg, 1646, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Concerning the Holy Places of Jerusalem*, by Gabriel, Archbishop of Nazareth, PPS, liii, 1900, ed. by S. O. Dolgov (the authorship of Gabriel is disputed), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 21-2.

<sup>4</sup> Leonid, p. 89; see also above p. 200, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> *Proskinitarion by Arseni Sukhanov*, PPS, xxi, 1889, ed. by Ivanovski, p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 157.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> *Relation nouvelle et exacte d'un voyage à la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1688, ed. by Pierre de la Vigne, p. 103.

supported small groups of monks. Each group had its own quarters as assigned to it by the Turks. . . . the Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Abyssinians, Georgians, Nestorians, Copts, Maronites, etc. So we see that formerly they all had their allotted places in the church. But, due to the greed and exigencies of the Turks, they could not stand the expense of these quarters and all but four of them gave them up. Now only the Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Copts are there."<sup>1</sup>

1717. Franz Ferdinand of Troilo :

"In Jerusalem live some of the Georgians ; they have houses and churches wherein they hold their services."<sup>2</sup>

1726. W. G. Barski :

"6.xi.1726. we visited the monastery of the Holy Cross, which was built by the Iberian King Tatian . . . the monastery is very old. . . . there are two hundred and twenty cells in the monastery. One enters the monastery by three portals : two are of iron and one of wood. In the church are paintings of Iberian kings. Under these pictures are many inscriptions ; they much resemble the Slavonic ones—none of us could decipher them.<sup>3</sup> On the floor are still to be seen the bloodstains of the monks who were massacred by the Ethiopians. After the service we were tended and served better than in the monastery of the Patriarch in Jerusalem."<sup>4</sup>

1744. "In the Monastery of the Cross live a few Georgians."<sup>5</sup>

1749. Serapion, monk from the Monastery of St. Matrona :

"The Monastery of St. Jacob is much richer than the Catholic or Greek churches in Jerusalem—the monastery now belongs to the Armenians, but before, it belonged to the Georgians. The Armenians bought this monastery from the Turkish Sultan."<sup>6</sup>

Description of the Monastery of the Cross : "At present there are no Georgians there. This monastery used to belong to the Georgians because the icons and the inscriptions below them are Georgian ;

<sup>1</sup> Henricus Maundrell: *Ganz neue Reisebeschreibung nach dem gelobten Lande*, Hamburg, 1706, p. 95 ; according to one report, this journey took place in 1697, not in 1700 (see Paulus, *Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisen in den Orient*, Jena, 1792, vol. i, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Ferdinand von Troilo, *Orientalische Reisebeschreibung*, Frankfurt-Leipzig, 1717, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> These inscriptions were in the Georgian language. See excerpt below, year 1749.

<sup>4</sup> *The journey to the Holy Places by Was. Grigor. Barski-Plaki-Alboff in the years 1723-1747* (In Russian), St. Pb., 1800, pp. 201-3.

<sup>5</sup> El. Horn, *Iconographie*, p. 149.

<sup>6</sup> *The Pilgrimage of the monk Serapion by Archim. Leonid*, in the series *A description of the pilgrimages of the epoch of Peter the Great, and the years following his reign* (in Russian), Moscow, 1873. This appeared in "Journal of the Imperial Society for History and Antiquity of Russia", vol. iii, p. 106.

furthermore there are many Georgian books there. The monastery is now held by the Greeks."<sup>1</sup>

1771. Dr. Richard Pococke :

"The Monastery of the Holy Cross, which belongs to the Greeks . . . it possesses a fine old church."<sup>2</sup>

1820. Scholz :

"Scholz saw, approximately, in the year 1820, four hundred Georgian MSS. in the Monastery of the Cross."<sup>3</sup>

1841. "In 1841, the Abbot of the Monastery of the Cross was Archimandrite Gerasimos from Georgia. After being Abbot for three years he relinquished his ecclesiastical position. This occurred in the year 1845."<sup>4</sup>

1846. C. von Tischendorf :

In the Monastery of the Cross. "What I found in the way of Greek or Georgian parchment MSS., I was allowed to keep as a memento. Here live four Georgian monks and an aged serving woman ; the latter was at once ordered to set a pipe and a cup of coffee before the visitor—a very early one, too."<sup>5</sup>

1847. "The kinswoman of the much-praised Georgian king, Heraklius, the Princess T'amar, came from Georgia to pray at the Holy Places."<sup>6</sup>

1858. Archimandrite Leonid :

"At the very height of their prime, the Georgians owned eleven Holy Places in the Holy Land. The Monastery of the Cross belonged to the Georgians to the end of the seventeenth century. This monastery had five churches and two hundred and twenty cells—there still remain Georgian fresco paintings of the Georgian kings, the guardians of this monastery. In one part of the church I myself saw, in the year 1858, piles of MSS. left unprotected from the ravages of damp, worms and scorpions ; among these, I discovered two Slavonic MSS.<sup>7</sup> The Monastery of St. Nicholas in Jerusalem belonged to them (the Georgians). In the wall of the church facing towards the garden

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 112-114.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Richard Pococke's *Description of Mongolia and other lands*, Erlangen, 1771, ii, p. 69 (of the German translation).

<sup>3</sup> C. von Tischendorf, *Reise in den Orient*, Leipzig, 1846, ii, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> T. P. Themelis, *The new catalogue of the Abbots of the Monastery of the Holy Cross* (in Greek) in *Nea Sion*, Jerusalem, 1910, b, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> C. von Tischendorf, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Themelis, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>7</sup> Archimandrite Leonid, *Jerusalem, Palestine and Athos*, pp. 8-9, note 7. See excerpt under year 1391.

of the Patriarchs, there are still some tombstones with Georgian epitaphs."<sup>1</sup>

1862. Abraham von Noroff :

"The Monastery of the Cross was founded by St. Helena, and has always belonged to the Gruzinian (i.e. Georgian) Order of St. Basil."<sup>2</sup>

## PART II

### Results of Research into Pilgrim Literature for facts bearing on Georgia and the Georgian Monks in Palestine

#### VARIETY OF NAMES BY WHICH GEORGIA AND THE GEORGIANS WERE KNOWN TO THE PILGRIMS

The greatest difficulty for the correct identification of the Georgian monasteries in Palestine is presented by the fact that the Pilgrims gave various different names to the Georgians and their country. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that Georgia was a great distance from Palestine, and the Pilgrims, knowing of her only by hearsay, found it difficult to differentiate between various Georgian tribal names. It is far from easy, therefore, to steer clear of confusion in research concerning the Georgian colonies of monks in Palestine.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, only one inscription of these "tombstones with the Georgian epitaphs" has been deciphered; this is edited by Tzagareli in ZDPV, 3-4, 1881, iv, pp. 222-3. Unluckily, Archimandrite Leonid only mentions two of these eleven Georgian monasteries: St. Nicholas and the Monastery of the Holy Cross.

<sup>2</sup> Abraham von Noroff, *My Journey to Palestine*, translated from the Russian into German by Zenker, Leipzig, 1862, i, p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> The Georgians are confounded with the Syrians. Take this quotation, for example, from William the Brave in 1461: "By the cleft in the earth where the Cross was found, stands an altar owned by the Syrians; they also have a chapel below Mount Calvary. Here they practise their errors, in practically the same manner as the Greeks. The same are, as they say, converted by St. George." That the Syrians are mentioned here instead of the Georgians is proved by the fact that in the same year (1461) according to Rochechouart, the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross belonged to the Georgians. Still more complicated is the account of Jacob of Bern (1346-7). He confuses the Georgians, the Nubians, the St. Thomas Christians and the Christians of the land of Johann (John): "The St. Thomas Christians from the land of Johann sing all day long and repeat Hallelujah during one Mass well over a hundred times; they enjoy great freedom, are permitted always to carry a cross in their hands, and need pay no tax upon entering the Holy Sepulchre. The reason is that if they wished to dam the waters of the Nile in their land of Nubia the whole of Egypt would be laid waste. The Nubians have three different baptisms: the circumcision, the baptism by fire by which a cross is branded onto the forehead, and the baptism by water. The garb worn by the Georgittes is similar to that of the Syrians, except that the latter wear white and the former black hoods." *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Hl. Lande*, ed. by Rh. Röhrich and Heinrich Meissner, Berlin, 1881, p. 52.

The privileges of the St. Thomas Christians are enjoyed by the Georgians in the Holy Land; it is the epoch of the Georgian rule in Jerusalem. Cf. Ludolph von Sudheim, above, p. 189: "After the Crusaders, the next position was held by the Syrians in Palestine" (Tobler, *Golgotha*, p. 291). By "the Syrians" probably "the Georgians" are meant; "the Monastery of St. Jacob belongs to the Jacobites" (see PPTS, vi,

The Georgians in Jerusalem made no attempt to impart a knowledge of their country's history and culture to every foreigner, as did, for instance, the Armenians. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that the authors of Pilgrim Literature were, with few exceptions, rather uneducated persons who were for the most part excessively zealous Catholics. To men such as these, the Georgians were the worst kind of schismatics, and, in any case, these Pilgrims only repeated what they had been told by the Franciscans.<sup>1</sup>

Georgia and the Georgians are called by the Pilgrims, as shown in the preceding excerpts, by a diversity of names, such as: *Iberians*, *Lazes*, *Gogarenes*, *Jorjans*, *Cursy*, *Avignia*,<sup>2</sup> *Land of Femenic*,<sup>3</sup> *Jörsy*, *Jörsites*, *Georgittes*, *Georgiani*, *Jorgani*, *Gorgi*, "of the Jorian,"<sup>4</sup> *Kurgy*, *Corsy*, the *Christians of the land of John*,<sup>5</sup> the *Christians of the Cincture*,<sup>6</sup> *Gorsses*, *Kerches*, *Kirchens*, *Gorgotas*,<sup>7</sup> *Gorziani*, *Jordiani*,<sup>8</sup> *Gregorians*,<sup>9</sup> *Gruzines*.

Sometimes one and the same author will give the Georgians various names: *Jorschites* or *Georgittes*; *Jörsies* or *Georgyttes*; *Jörsies* or *Jörsties* of Persia<sup>10</sup>; "the Georgians who are also called Nubians, and who are most generally known as the Christians of the Cincture. . . .

chap. x). Who are these Jacobites? To my mind, the Georgians are meant; compare also PPTS, v, 1891, under year 1172. That the name "Iberian" has been incorrectly taken to mean "Spaniard" has even been admitted by Tobler (*Topographie*, i, pp. 360-61, n. 6); as the Georgians had the same Orthodox faith as the Greeks, many contented themselves by writing "belonged to the Orthodox Christians" (see above, p. 195, n. 10).

Ludolph von Sudheim (PPTS, vol. xii, p. 103), describes in the year 1350 the Nubians as the owners of the chapel below Golgotha; probably we have here the same error concerning the Georgians. (See below the history of this chapel, p. 219.)

<sup>1</sup> According to one pilgrim, the Georgians had the same faith as the Greeks and Armenians (1653-6), *Palestinafahrt des Ignatio von Rheinfelden*, Würzburg, p. 151. Duke Frederick II (1507) describes the Georgian monks of the Monastery of the Cross as followers of the faith of St. Paul.

<sup>2</sup> Ernoul, 1231, p. 47. "la terre dont ils sont (des Jorians) a nom Avegie." In a document from the year 1261, Georgia is called: "Avegnia, terra Georgianum," ib., pp. 95, 158.

<sup>3</sup> "They (the Georgians) were said to come from the land of Femic where Amazons were still believed to ride to war," 1187, *La Citez de Iherusalem*, p. 217; Conder, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> 1187, *La Citez de Iherusalem*, p. 216; see n. 2 above.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 192, n. 4; cf. also Z. Avalishvili, pp. 150-51.

<sup>6</sup> "The Latins called the Georgians, 'the Christians of the Girdle,' Conder, p. 222. "With the other name, they (the Georgians) are called the 'Christians of the Girdle'. This is because St. George bound the serpent with his girdle and gave it to a maiden." 1422, Canissius, p. 269.

<sup>7</sup> "Di sotto a monte Calvario trovarete Gorgotas," *Viaggi in Terra Santa*, Napoli (Fibreno), 1862, ed. according to a MS. No. 396, della Biblioteca de Canonici Regolari di S. Salvatore in Bologna (unfortunately neither the author nor the time of the pilgrimage is mentioned), p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> From the 50th to the 60th years in the fourteenth century, L. Conrady, *Vier Rheinische Palestina-Pilgerschriften des XIV. XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden, 1882, p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Fifteenth century, Claes von Dusen, Conrady, see p. 209.

<sup>10</sup> Sebaldt Rieter, 1464; Johannes Schilterberger calls the Georgians: *Gurscy*, *Kurzy*, *Gursy*, *Gorsites*, *Gorgeles*—see his *Reisen in Europa, Asien und Afrika, in des Jahren 1394-1427*, ed. Carl Fried. Neumann, München, 1859.

Gregorians" (Georgians); Georgyts or Jörsies; Jheoriani<sup>1</sup>; Gorziani (*eo vero Iveri*) or Georgiani; Zorgiani<sup>2</sup>; Iberians or Georgians; Jorsies or Georgittes; Gurians.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE PILGRIMS' DERIVATION OF THE NAME "GEORGIA"

It is naturally impossible to accept all the statements made by the Pilgrims concerning Georgia without careful investigation and criticism, but those notes that have been verified are of great importance for the history of Georgian culture. First of all, the etymology of the word "Georgia" is of extreme interest to the Pilgrims. Some deduce the name of the country from St. George, the patron saint of the Georgians: "This people reveres St. George above all other saints; he is depicted on all their banners, and they venerate him with a particular form of worship".<sup>4</sup> According to others, the Georgians were converted by St. George and therefore bear his name<sup>5</sup>; this saint is, possibly, a Georgian by birth<sup>6</sup>; they are called Georgians because they follow the belief of "the Knight Georgius"<sup>7</sup> or, rather, of a certain heretic called George.<sup>8</sup> Franz Ferdinand of Troilo (1717) goes carefully into this etymological question. He discovered that the country was already called Georgia before the birth of St. George, and traces the word "Georgia" to the Greek *γεωργός*, meaning "agriculturist".<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 195, n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Fifteenth century, Francesco Suriano.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 195, n. 2. In his work *The Diverse Appellations of the Georgians* (in Russian, St. Pb., 1844), the late Plato Yoseliani (a noted Georgian historian), deals, I am told, with the different appellations, the Georgians and Georgia have been given by foreigners, but this work is, unfortunately, known to me only by name.

<sup>4</sup> Jacques de Vitry: "There are men called Georgians, because they specially revere and worship St. George, whom they make their patron and standard-bearer in their fight with the infidels, and honour him above all saints." See above, p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> William the Brave in 1461: "the Georgians are, as they say, converted by St. George."

<sup>6</sup> M. Baumgarten in 1507: "The Georgians are a people of the East, a very stout and warlike nation, so called from a Georgian saint, whom they own as their patron and protector, paying him most profound reverence." The sentence, "from a Georgian saint" means either that St. George was born in Georgia or that he was a Georgian.

<sup>7</sup> Ignatio von Rheinfelder, Würzburg, 1667, p. 151. The journey took place in the years 1653-6.

<sup>8</sup> Louis de Rochechouart in 1461, pp. 255-6.

<sup>9</sup> The account of Franz Ferdinand of Troilo is exceptionally interesting, and I give it here in full: "Many say that the Georgians received their name from the brave hero, George, and base their belief on the fact that the Georgians accord him great reverence and devotion; they carry his picture on every banner as a sign that they were converted to the Christian faith by him and him alone. Actually, there is not the slightest doubt that they were called Georgians before this St. George was even born, because Mela, who lived at the time of Emperor Claudius, refers to them in his first book that describes their country. Others believe that they were called Georgians because of their love of agriculture. Before this, they were called the Iberians by the Spaniards because they lived on the banks of the river Iberi. Later, they went to Asia Minor and called the land where they settled, Iberia. Others, again, call them Albanians, not from the Greek province, Albania, but from the eastern Albania which is now named Georgia" (op. cit., pp. 188-190).

#### THE STATUS OF GEORGIANS IN PALESTINE

An attempt has been made to write a short account of the history of the Georgians in Palestine based on the descriptions of the Pilgrims. Worthy of mention—apart from the works of Professor Tsagareli, which are chiefly compiled from Georgian sources—is *Les Géorgiens à Jérusalem*<sup>1</sup> by the Assumptionist R. Janin, a work of first rank. Unfortunately, though, it is written from the Catholic point of view and therefore shows bias. Consequently, the historical facts so well amassed here, are distorted; and of all the pilgrims, it is only those of Catholic faith who are quoted.<sup>2</sup>

As far as I know, there are no other monographs in European literature concerning the Georgian monasteries in Palestine. Short references to the Georgian colonies of monks can be found in the various monographs published on Palestine. Probably the most important of these is *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1291*.<sup>3</sup> According to this monograph, we find that the Georgians possessed, during the rule of the Crusaders, the following monasteries in Palestine:—

1. The Monastery of the Cross near Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup>
2. Quarantana near Jericho.<sup>5</sup>
3. A Georgian (Iberian) monastery on the banks of the Jordan. This was unfortunately washed away in 1185.<sup>6</sup>
4. The Monastery of St. Chrysostom, south of Jericho (now Tell el Kursi).<sup>7</sup>
5. Furthermore, the Georgians, together with the Greeks lived in the monastery of St. John the Baptist; and, together with the Latins, in the monastery of Kalamon.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have the Georgian translation of this by the Georgian Catholic Father Shalva Vardidze (Stamboul, 1921). The French essay appeared in the *Echos d'Orient*, Paris, 1913, vols. 98, 100; see Vardidze, p. iii.

<sup>2</sup> "Dieu veuille, que le souvenir de leur glorieux passé inspire aux Géorgiens . . . de reprendre bientôt la place de choix qui doit être la leur dans l'unique Eglise universelle fondée par Jésus Christ, qui est seule capable de les comprendre et de les traiter comme ses enfants!" states the Reverend Father R. Janin in his French Foreword to the Georgian edition of his work, see Vardidze, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. by C. R. Conder, London, 1897.

<sup>4</sup> "And in northern Syria sixty Georgian monks dwell in the ancient monastery of St. Simeon" (ib., p. 222).

<sup>5</sup> Quarantana is the name given to the place where Christ, after His baptism, fasted for forty days and nights, and was tempted by the devil.

<sup>6</sup> Here dwelt the Pillarists as in the Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites (ib.).

<sup>7</sup> Ib.

<sup>8</sup> Ib. C. R. Conder mentions, among others, the important works of E. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII-XIII siècles*, Paris, 1887; *La Cité de Jérusalem* (see above excerpt under year 1187) and Jacques de Vitry (1180). According to E. Rey (op. cit., p. 93) the Georgian monks in northern Syria had their own Bishop, who was



According to another writer in the period 1653-1656,<sup>1</sup> "Out of reverence for the Holy Place many of these live in Jerusalem, and make annual pilgrimages in large numbers through the Turkish kingdom with crosses and banners. No Turk dare molest them or demand a toll. They are feared by the Turks as they are the manliest and strongest warriors."

This Georgian grandeur of which so much was written in the middle of the seventeenth century, gradually faded, and descriptions of Palestine, written in the present day, bring only a sad reminder of the glories that have vanished.

"Georgians once played an important role in Jerusalem, where they owned twelve churches and monasteries<sup>2</sup>; at present their church is but poorly represented. During the many wars with the Persians, Turks, and Caucasians, the power of Georgia began to decline; the Greeks and Armenians, therefore, possessed themselves of the formerly wealthy churches and monasteries, and left the Georgians with only the monastery of Deir-el Musselabeh. This stands outside the town on the road to Jaffa, and only shelters a few monks who live there under an Archimandrite. The library of this monastery contains many Georgian, Armenian and Arabic Mss."<sup>3</sup>

"The church of Georgia in Jerusalem"—writes Carl Ritter—is at present only represented by one monastery and a few pilgrims, despite which the Georgians still hold pride of place because of their great antiquity and former importance. At the height of their power, Georgians owned the twelve richest and most important monasteries and churches in Jerusalem, and when Turkey regained supremacy, theirs were the only pilgrimages to continue.<sup>4</sup> Georgians also own the

not subject to the Antioch Patriarch. The Monastery of Quarantana is supposed to have been taken possession of by the Georgians instead of the Latins after the victory of Saladin. William of Baldensel saw the Georgian monks in Quarantana (1356). (In Greek Quarantana is Sarrandarion.) William of Baldensel was possibly there in 1336, and not in 1356 (see under same year). Marr, in error, takes Sarrandarion to be the monastery of the forty Sebastian martyrs. See Marr, *The Historical Sketch*, etc., p. 118.

<sup>1</sup> Ignatius von Rheinfelden (Würzburg, 1667), p. 151. According to him, the Georgians held the same belief as the Greeks and Armenians. "The Georgians fear neither the Turks nor the Persians . . . they possess a great and fertile land, which, owing to the narrowness of the passes, is practically impregnable. . . the Georgians can always take their revenge on the Mohamedans, who are subjects of Turkey, if the Turks maltreat them in their country."

<sup>2</sup> Archimandrite Leonid mentions eleven monasteries (see above, p. 25, excerpt under year 1858). Unfortunately, he does not give their names; the Greeks name nine Georgian monasteries (1200-1308). See Bernhard Neumann, *Die Heilige Stadt und Ihre Bewöhner*, Hamburg, 1877, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 281, Neumann must have derived his information from a somewhat vague source, because at this time, as is clearly seen from page 303, the Georgians were not in possession of the Monastery of the Holy Cross.

<sup>4</sup> Carl Ritter, *Ein Blick auf Palestina und seine Christliche Bevölkerung*, Berlin, 1852, p. 26. The period here described is that immediately after the Latin rule in Palestine.

Monastery of the Cross . . . Manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts lie about on the floors of the cells.<sup>1</sup> The beautiful church and the Monastery of St. Jacob was formerly the property of the Georgians. As they were too poor to pay the Mussulmans the money they were extorting from them as the price of their ownership, they ceded both church and monastery to the Armenians. They also gave up to them the little church in the House of Caiaphas on Mount Sion (probably about the beginning of the sixteenth century) but retained their claim on all these buildings. The church was erected in the eleventh century. The archives of this ancient monastery still remain unknown."<sup>2</sup>

#### THE GEORGIAN MONASTERIES AND MONKS IN PALESTINE UP TO THE TENTH CENTURY

The history of the Holy City of Jerusalem and of the whole of Palestine from the Christian era till the tenth century falls into three important sections: Roman, Byzantine, and, finally, Arabic-Muhammadan. The Greeks consider the Emperor Constantine and his mother Helena to be the founders of nearly all the monasteries and churches in Jerusalem. The actual history of the origin of the many monasteries and churches in Palestine, however, is somewhat different, but unfortunately, it remains shrouded in mystery. The excavations in Palestine are still only in the first stage. Through important discoveries in the literary sphere, particularly those of Professors Marr<sup>3</sup> and Kekelidze,<sup>4</sup> we have recently become better informed concerning the sundry pages which deal with the history of Christian Palestine and with its liturgy.

It is no mere chance that Georgia, in particular, should have preserved these priceless treasures of the past. For the history of Georgian culture is closely bound up with the history of Christian Palestine and it is impossible to write the history of Christian Palestine without making use of the Georgian sources. How many more of these priceless documents still lie hidden in Georgian museums!

<sup>1</sup> It seems that at this time (1852), the Monastery of the Cross still belonged to the Georgians. (See Ritter, *op. cit.*)

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 27-8.

<sup>3</sup> The work of Antiochos Stratigos, *The Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in the year 614*, ed. by N. Marr in Georgian and in Russian, in *Texts and Researches of the Armeno-Georgian Philology*, St. P., 1909, vol. ix; the Greek translation of this work by Archimandrite Kallistos in *Nea Sion*, Jerusalem, 1909, vol. ix, pp. 81 ff.; and the German review by G. Graf in *Das Heilige Land*, Köln, 1923, pp. 19-29.

<sup>4</sup> Chiefly the famous Kanoniarion of Jerusalem of the seventh century. (Tiflis, 1912; Georgian-Russian); the German translation by H. Goussen, *Über die Georgische Drucke und Handschriften der Festordnung und den Hl. Kalender des allchristlichen Jerusalem betreffend*, München-Gladbach, 1923, from the periodical *Liturgie und die Kunst*, pp. 1-42; see also Peradze-Baumstark, *Die Weihnachtsfeier Jerusalem im siebten Jahrhundert in Oriens Cristianus*, Leipzig, 1927, series iii, pp. 310-318.

Anyone desiring to write a history of Georgian monasteries in Palestine up to the tenth century, will encounter, apart from lack of information, two difficulties.

First, during that era there were not so many marked differences among the various nations as are to be found to-day, whilst, secondly, there was no religious fanaticism, as the whole of Christianity (not taking into consideration the small section of Monophysites and Nestorians), consisted of one big religious family which spread as far as the Caucasus in Georgia. Up to the tenth century, pious pilgrims were quite contented and derived much religious edification if they were able to worship in peace and freedom at the Holy Places and it did not trouble them whether these were owned by Greeks or Romans, or Orthodox Georgians, or Syrians, or Orthodox Armenians. Besides, the geographical knowledge of many of the pilgrims was very limited.

The deadly poison of national and religious fanaticism was brought to the East by the Crusaders. It is not until after the tenth century that we begin to differentiate between the various Christian nations, to recognize approvingly their adherence to the "right" church, or disapprovingly censure their non-adherence to it.

The oldest report about the Georgian monasteries in Palestine occurs in the middle of the fifth century—Peter the Iberian, Bishop of Mayuma, built "above the church of Sion, near the so-called Tower of David, the monastery of the Iberians."<sup>1</sup> This is now St. Jacob's Monastery, the residence of the Armenian Patriarch. According to the Georgian sources, Peter the Iberian is also supposed to have built a hostel for the Georgian Pilgrims in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> At that time the number of Georgian monks and Pilgrims was so large that the Georgians probably had their own cemetery in Jerusalem. The discovery of the gravestone of a Georgian bishop (Samuel?) seems to point to the fact that the Georgian community in Jerusalem had their own bishop.<sup>3</sup> According to the Testament of St. Sabba, sixth century, we see that the Georgians had their own church in his monastery in the Kedron gorge.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, we know that the Emperor Justinian, in approximately the year 560, restored a church of the Iberians in Jerusalem (probably St. Jacob's, built

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 183, " (the monastery) which lies to the left when one goes from the second portal of the aforementioned tower to the Holy Church of Zion." The Church of Zion is the old sanctuary of the Franciscans; the Coenaculum, the first portal, the Portal of Jaffa and the second, that of David or the Portal of Zion. According to some research-workers, the monastery of the Iberians built by Peter the Bishop is the monastery of St. John, at present Salvator. See also below the history of the monasteries of the Cross (p. 40) of St. John the Theologian (p. 41), and of St. Jacob (p. 43).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. by Marr in PPS, 1896, xvi, ii. *The Georgian version of "The Life of St. Peter, Bishop of Mayuma"*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> See the inscription deciphered by Iliffe, pp. 183-4 above.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 184, § 3.

by Peter the Iberian) and a church of the Laz<sup>1</sup> in the desert of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

From an Armenian pilgrim in the seventh century we learn of the monastery of the Gogarenes<sup>3</sup> and the Georgian monastery of St. John near the Gate of the Resurrection.<sup>4</sup> In the ninth century we find two very important accounts which tell us that in the year 808 four Georgian monks dwelt on the Mount of Olives and that a Georgian hermit was living in Gethsemane.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE GEORGIAN MONASTERIES IN PALESTINE UNDER LATIN RULE

From 15.vii.1099 until 5.vii.1187, the Holy Land belonged to the Western nations. During this epoch we find a few more references to the Georgian monks and their monasteries. At the time of the Crusaders the following monasteries belonged to the Georgians: the Iberian Monastery in Jerusalem, the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist, also in Jerusalem, and possibly the Monastery of the Cross. The Laz (Western Georgians) owned a monastery in the desert of Jerusalem and Georgian monks were to be seen in Gethsemane, on Mount of Olives and in the Monastery of St. Sabba. We learn that the Georgians received a part of Golgotha from the Byzantine Emperor in 1050.<sup>7</sup> The Georgian king, Bagrat Kuropalat, appointed a Georgian bishop on Golgotha.

Such was the state of affairs when the Crusaders conquered Palestine. During the rule of the Crusaders we hear of a new Georgian

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 184, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> Some take this to be the Monastery of the Cross, others, the monastery in the desert of Jordan; see also above, p. 212, n. 1. There is a very interesting account from the year 530, PPTS, 1897, p. 14, "from Mount of Olives, the Lord ascended to heaven, and hard by, there is a cave called *Mazi*, that is, being interpreted as 'Of the Disciples'." D. Bernard states (ib.) that he "cannot offer any explanation of *Mazi* or *Malsi*". Tobler connects it with *māša* (barley cake). It is very interesting to note that *malsi* appears to be consonant with the Georgian word *molsap'et'a* containing the sounds of *mts*, which also means "of the Disciples".

<sup>3</sup> This possibly means that St. Jacob monastery that belonged to the Iberians. In those days, according to Kekelidze (cf. *The Conversion*, p. 51) Gogarene was the Armenian part of eastern Georgia, that is, Iberia.

<sup>4</sup> The present Salvator; see above, p. 184, § 5. In his Russian treatise, *The Georgian Monasteries outside Georgia* (Tiflis, 1899, p. 13), Mr. Janashvili mentions an account of how the Emperor Heraklius employed the Georgians to restore the Basilica of the Sepulchre. He cites this account from the Russian translation of the work of George Finlay, *Greece under the Roman Rule* (date and place of publication not stated), p. 452, note 1, which, unfortunately, was not accessible to me.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 184, § 6. An account from the year 847: "Up to the year 847, the Georgians paid their yearly Church tax of a thousand gold pieces to the Patriarch of Antioch. From the year 847 onwards, after a friendly understanding between the Antioch and the Jerusalem Patriarchs, it was paid to the Patriarch of Jerusalem" (PPS, 1889, xvi, p. 48).

<sup>6</sup> See the preceding chapter.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 184, year 1050.

convent in Jerusalem (in 1108)<sup>1</sup>; furthermore, we read that in 1178 the vineyards of the Georgian monastery were confiscated by the Jerusalemite King Baldwin IV (1173-1185) in favour of the Latin chapter in the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>2</sup> The united Muhammadan peoples, 600,000 in number, made war on the Georgian King, David, during 1121-2. King David only had at his disposition 80,000 warriors. The object of the Muhammadans was to put the Georgian king entirely out of action in order to be free to slaughter all the Christians in Palestine and Antioch. They were, however, vanquished by the Georgian king.<sup>3</sup> The Latin chronicles speak enthusiastically of his might and describe Georgia as the bulwark of Christian Culture (*antemurale*).<sup>4</sup> King David has become an almost legendary figure. Possibly he is that warrior who became a monk and received the name of John and because of whom Georgians were called till long after, the "Christians of the Land of John the Priest".

At the time of the Latin Rule, the Georgian monasteries in Jerusalem were in their prime. Latin rulers had no cause to spoil their

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, t. 162, pp. 729-731; *Histoire Littéraire de la France par les Religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de St. Maur*, Paris, 1756, t. x, pp. 400-403; in Avalishvili, op. cit., p. 34; perhaps the Monastery of the Cross is meant by this; see herein also p. 184, n. 7, and Avalishvili, *The Cross from Overseas*, in *Georgica*, 1936, vol. i, Nos. 2-3, pp. 3-11.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 185, year 1178.

<sup>3</sup> *Calterii Cancellarii Bella Antiochena*, with explanatory notes, ed. by Heinrich Hagenmayer, Innsbruck, 1896; de Riant, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. . . Historiens Occidentaux*, Paris, 1895, t. v, p. 131—the literary account originates from Avalishvili, op. cit., p. 67.

[René Grousset in his *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1934, vol. 1, pp. 528-9) describes the Georgian Crusade in the twelfth century as follows: "In enumerating the Muslim World's embarrassments, mention of the expansion of the Christian kingdom of Georgia, at the south of the Caucasus, must not be forgotten. In the reign of the Georgian sovereign, David II the Builder (1089-1125), Georgian expansion, which had been checked for a time by the Sultans Malik-shah and Muhammed, was again carried on, favoured by the Seldjuk decadence, and now began the liberation of Great Armenia. In August, 1121, the Sultan Mahmud ibn Muhammed, who was getting anxious, sent his younger brother Tughril and Il-Ghazi, the Ortokid Emir of Mardin, against the Georgians, but the invading army was destroyed by King David II who definitely retook Tiflis from the Muslims. In 1124 the victorious Georgians entered Ani, the ancient capital of Great Armenia."

This Turkish disaster in the north caused as great a sensation in the Islamic world as the Frankish victories in Syria. We find Muslims from Caucasia presenting themselves at Baghdad in order to obtain an anti-Georgian counter-crusade, just as the Muslims of Aleppo were urging there, an anti-Frank counter-crusade. Appeals which were all in vain. For at the end of the twelfth century we see that Georgian revenge still stands out. George III (1155-1184) led his victorious campaigns against the Turks right into the heart of Great Armenia, into the provinces of Erzerum, Ani, Dovin, Nakhidchevan, and Ganja. In the reign of the great T'amar (1184-1214), the Georgian armies, under the command of such distinguished generals as Zakhare and Ivane, triumphantly invaded the provinces of Erzerum and Erzincan, freeing and annexing Kars, defeating the Atabeg of Adharbaijan, and extending their invasions from this side as far as Ardebil and to the gates of Tauris.

Ibn al-Athir's text, already cited, testifies to the fact that between this arousing of Christian Transcaucasia and the Frankish occupation in Syria, the Seldjuk world felt it was menaced on all sides." Editors' quotation.]

<sup>4</sup> According to the letter from Ansellus (1108) from Jerusalem to Paris; "est nobis (Georgia) quasi antemurale," Avalishvili, op. cit., pp. 32, 35.

relations with such a powerful ally as the Georgians. In the years 1207-1208,<sup>1</sup> we hear of an important document relative to the power of the Georgians and its significance to the Crusaders.

#### THE GEORGIAN MONASTERIES IN PALESTINE FROM THE TWELFTH UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The true successors of the Crusaders in Palestine were the Georgians. As early as the year 1180, when Jerusalem still belonged to the Latins, we hear from the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Jacques de Vitry, that after the conquest of the Latins near Damietta, the Damascenian prince Corradinus had planned to tear down the Wall of Jerusalem without having asked permission of the Georgians, for which he was severely punished by them. This clearly shows that the Georgians—even during Latin rule—exercised a sort of protection over Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

When Saladin conquered the Latins in 1187, and drove them from Palestine, the Queen of Georgia sent an ambassador to the victor. His mission had a double purpose, one being to suggest that the Georgians should undertake the cost of restoring the damaged sanctuaries, the other to obtain a few privileges for the monasteries and the churches.<sup>3</sup> From this it may be concluded that the Georgians desired not only to protect their own monasteries but the Latin ones as well. Saladin granted their request, and this was followed by an attempt by the Georgians to gain possession of the sacred relic of the Cross which had been taken by Saladin as a trophy of battle. They offered him 200,000 gold pieces,<sup>4</sup> but Saladin declined to return the valuable relic—possibly he considered the amount too little.

Saladin gave the Georgians the Monastery of St. Nicholas,<sup>5</sup> and also various privileges. In the years 1207-8, the news spread amongst the remaining Crusaders in Antioch that the Georgians were advancing with a large army against the Unbelievers and that they had already taken three hundred forts and nine big towns.<sup>6</sup> In 1209, the Georgians allied themselves with "Gazan, the Chan of Mongolia",<sup>7</sup> against the Egyptian Mamelukes who were then rulers in the Holy Land. After their victory, Ghazan presented Jerusalem to the Georgians. It is not known how long the Georgian rule lasted. In 1305, we hear of a

<sup>1</sup> *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVI-MCCXCI)*, ed. by Rh. Röhricht, Oeniponti, 1893, pp. 233-4, 868, after Avalishvili, pp. 151-2; see excerpts for years 1207-8.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 206, n. 3; also p. 5, excerpt from Jacques de Vitry.

<sup>3</sup> See above, excerpt for year 1187.

<sup>4</sup> Tsagareli, op. cit., vi; Avalishvili, op. cit., p. 154, note 10.

<sup>5</sup> See excerpt for year 1187.

<sup>6</sup> See above, n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Ghazan the Mongol, Il-khan of Persia (1295-1304). See excerpts for year 1299 and 1300.

Georgian embassy<sup>1</sup>; evidently, Georgian government had come to an end by then.<sup>2</sup>

The Egyptian Mamelukes, whose power in the Holy Land only lasted until the Turkish Conquest (1527), made large grants to the Georgian monasteries. For these Mamelukes originated from Caucasia, and side by side with Muhammadan-Caucasian mountain-dwellers were many real Georgians. The latter were, of course, Muhammadan, yet remained true Georgian patriots at heart.<sup>3</sup> During the rule of the Egyptian Mamelukes, Georgian influence in Palestine reached its peak.

The gradual downfall of the Georgians in Palestine begins with the inception of Turkish rule. As early as 1551, the Georgians found themselves powerless to defend their rights to the Monastery of St. John the Theologian against the Franciscans, to whom they were forced to yield possession.

There were many causes for this downfall. The political decline of Georgian power and the division of the kingdom of Georgia into three independent kingdoms and four principalities, did much to weaken their influence.<sup>4</sup> Together with the political decline came the impoverishment of the land. The Georgians could not afford to pay the Turks further taxes for their monasteries. On top of these taxes, there were the bribes extorted by the Turkish officials, and here the Georgians could not compete with either the Greeks, Armenians, or the Latins. The corrupt officials received huge sums as bribes and those who paid most were favoured accordingly. It was at this time that the Georgians attempted to emancipate themselves from the shackles of the East, and sought support and alliance with the Russians who were of the same Orthodox faith as themselves. The Turks were fully aware of this Georgian policy, and showed their fury by persecuting the Georgian monks in Palestine. One more fact must be taken into consideration and regarded as yet another reason for the decline of Georgian power in Palestine: the new position of the Greeks as Turkish subjects in Palestine.

During the Egyptian rule, the Greeks had been treated as foreigners in Palestine and no official status had been accorded them. The representative of the native Christians in Palestine, an Arab, sat on the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem. But with the coming of the Turks, the authority of the Œcumenical Greek Patriarch was enforced in Palestine and the Phanariots also gained privileges and influence in Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> In July, 1305. See excerpts for year 1305.

<sup>2</sup> Jordania, *K'ronikebi*, etc. (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1895, vol. ii, pp. 357-368 gives an account of the second conquest of Jerusalem by the Georgians in the year 1527.

<sup>3</sup> I shall discuss these documents in my next article *The Georgian Monasteries in Palestine according to Georgian Sources*.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 222, "The History of the Salvator Monastery."

The organization of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem fell into Greek hands. Naturally the Greeks did not want another Orthodox influence to compete with their own, so they made an unauthorized attempt to wrest the monasteries from the Georgians by strength and violence. The political state of affairs and the situation in Georgia itself naturally helped their cause, and so began a great and tragic struggle which lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. The important and wealthy religious establishments of the Georgians, with their metochions and lands, gradually began to fall, one after another, into the hands of the Greeks. To lighten this task (and most probably to whitewash themselves) they accused the Georgian monks of heinous crimes.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE HISTORY OF THE INDIVIDUAL GEORGIAN MONASTERIES IN PALESTINE

The only attempt to write a short historical sketch of the individual Georgian monasteries, based on Pilgrim Literature, was made by Tsagareli.<sup>2</sup> I shall not go into detail concerning his important investigation until my whole study is completed. As far as I am concerned, I am endeavouring to give here a short history of the individual Georgian monasteries based on the material lying before me, namely, the foregoing excerpts.

##### 1. *The Georgian Chapels of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre*

The Georgians played an important part in the Basilica of Christ's Sepulchre. In 1347, we read that the key of the Holy Sepulchre was in the hands of the Georgians and that anyone who wished to spend the night in the Basilica had to give a small donation to the Georgian guardian. The Georgians kept this key until 1480-83.<sup>3</sup>

*Golgotha*.—The holiest sanctuary in the whole of Christendom was—at least part of it—in Georgian hands as early as the year 1050.<sup>4</sup> During Latin rule, it naturally belonged to the Latins. We assume that Saladin gave this sanctuary to the Georgians. In 1308, the Georgians, we read, received it from the Egyptian Sultan.<sup>5</sup> In 1366, Armenians wrested Golgotha from the Georgians<sup>6</sup> and retained

<sup>1</sup> See p. 234, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Tsagareli, pp. 89-130; see also herein p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> See excerpts for 1347 and for 1480-3.

<sup>4</sup> See excerpt for year 1050.

<sup>5</sup> Popadopoulos-Kerameus, iv, p. 441; see also excerpts for years 1200-1308, and for years 1389-1405.

<sup>6</sup> See excerpt for year 1366.

possession of it until 1391; that year saw the Georgians again in possession.<sup>1</sup> How long the Georgians asserted themselves after this is uncertain. In 1475, the Armenians relate that the Georgians took Golgotha from them in that year.<sup>2</sup> According to an unpublished MS. in Munich, they are supposed to have been on Mount Golgotha as early as 1474.<sup>3</sup> From that time it belonged to the Georgians continuously until the middle of the seventeenth century. The latest reference to Georgian rule on Golgotha is to be found, as far as I can discover, in a work dated 1646.<sup>4</sup> In the years 1050, 1583, and 1584, we read of Georgian bishops on Mount Golgotha.

*The Chapel of Our Lady*, also called *Carceris Christi*, belonged to the Georgians, according to an account written in 1602 and 1603.<sup>5</sup>

*The Chapel of Mary Magdalene*.—This chapel was evidently erected on the spot where Christ appeared to Mary dressed as a gardener. According to Tobler, this chapel belonged to the Georgians in the sixteenth century,<sup>6</sup> but we read of Georgians being there as early as 1440 and again in 1573.<sup>7</sup>

*The Chapel of the Invention of the Cross*.—According to Tobler, this chapel belonged to the Georgians at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Actually it was in their possession in 1370, 1649–1653. The Georgians undoubtedly owned this chapel, even before 1370.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See excerpt for year 1391. According to Archimandrite Agrethenios in 1370 "on Golgotha the Georgians celebrate the services".

<sup>2</sup> In 1440 (Peter Rot, p. 45), and 1464 (Sebaldt Rieter, sen., p. 18), the Holy Mount Golgotha, if these pilgrims are not confusing them with the Georgians, belonged to the Armenians; see excerpt for years 1479–1480, 1480–1, and 1507 (Duke Frederick II).

<sup>3</sup> See *München Cod. German. N. 3001, saec. XVI*, fol. 26. According to Tobler (*Golgotha*, p. 292), the Holy Mount belonged to the Armenians till 1479; according to Armenian accounts till 1475 (see excerpts for years 1479–1480, 1480–1, and 1507, Duke Frederick II), according to Marr (op. cit., p. 118), the Golgotha belonged to the Georgians from 1476 onwards.

<sup>4</sup> The Holy Mount Golgotha belonged to the Georgians in the years 1050, 1200–1308, 1389–1405, in 1479, 1480–3, 1484, 1493, 1494, 1496–9, 1498; also in 1507, 1517, 1519 [according to Georgian sources, Golgotha was restored by the Kakhetian King Leon II (1520–1574), in 1520 (Tsagareli, p. 113)], 1521, 1558–1561, 1562, 1573, 1583, 1584, 1586, 1593–4, and in 1642, 1646. The accounts for the years 1389–1405 (p. 10) and 1391 (ib.), refer to the discovery of Adam's skull on Golgotha. Actually this skull is below Mount Golgotha (see excerpt for year 1496–9). In 1479 the Georgians shared Mount Calvary with the Greeks and Franciscans (Sebaldt Rieter, jun.), and in 1484 with the Franciscans alone (Count Philip Ludwig). It seems that in 1484 the whole of Golgotha belonged to the Georgians. To protect the Holy Place from other nations and religions, the Georgians always kept a monk locked inside it (see excerpts for years 1480–3, 1483, and 1602–3). In 1300 when the Georgians held Jerusalem, Mount Golgotha would of course be in their possession.

<sup>5</sup> See excerpts: year 1602–3, p. 201; 1649–1653, p. 203. According to Arseni Sukhanov, this chapel already belonged to the Greeks.

<sup>6</sup> Tobler, *Golgotha*, p. 363.

<sup>7</sup> See excerpts for years 1440 and 1573.

<sup>8</sup> Tobler, *Golgotha*, p. 317.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 206, n. 3.

We find them referred to as the owners of this chapel in 1370,<sup>1</sup> 1461,<sup>2</sup> 1464,<sup>3</sup> 1479–1480,<sup>4</sup> 1480–1483,<sup>5</sup> 1494,<sup>6</sup> 1498,<sup>7</sup> 1496–9,<sup>8</sup> 1507,<sup>9</sup> 1507,<sup>10</sup> 1649–1653.<sup>11</sup>

*St. Helena's Chapel*.—This chapel is connected with the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross and is situated ten steps below the latter.<sup>12</sup> The Pilgrims always distinguished it from the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross. It belonged to the Georgians in 1370, 1464, and 1494.<sup>13</sup>

*The Chapel at the foot of Mount Calvary, or Golgotha*.—This chapel is referred to under different names by various different pilgrims. It is called: The Chapel below Golgotha (1370, 1391, 1389–1405); the Chapel below Mount Calvary (1461); the Chapel where Adam was buried (1517)<sup>14</sup>; the Chapel where the Latin kings were buried (1480–1483); the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist and of the graves of the Latin kings (1615); Our Lady Chapel below Mount Calvary (1479); the Chapel of Our Lady and St. John the Evangelist (1479–1480, 1494, 1496–9, 1507, Frederick II, 1542); the Chapel of St. John the Baptist (1421, beginning of the sixteenth century). In each and all of the above-mentioned years,<sup>15</sup> we have accounts of this chapel which invariably describe it as belonging to the Georgians.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Twenty-nine steps lead downwards; at the bottom stands a big stone pillar from which the fresh dew is perpetually trickling forth; the Holy Altar here belongs to the Iberians." See excerpt for year 1370; cf. the number of steps according to the various pilgrims in Tobler, op. cit., 308, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See excerpt for year 1461.

<sup>3</sup> Sebaldt, sen., probably refers to three chapels: the Invention of the Cross, St. Helena's chapel, and the spot where the Cross (?), the Spear, the Nails, and the Crown were discovered. All these three chapels belonged to the "*Jörtes of Persia*" (Georgians); (perhaps by the third chapel is meant the Longino Chapel; according to sacred tradition the inscription on the Cross was found here and the Cross itself was preserved here for many years), see Tobler, op. cit., pp. 337–9.

<sup>4</sup> See excerpt for year 1479–1480.

<sup>5</sup> See excerpt for year 1480–3; according to references in 1479–1480 and 1480–3, three lamps always burned in the chapel.

<sup>6</sup> See excerpt for year 1494.

<sup>7</sup> See excerpt for year 1498.

<sup>8</sup> See excerpt for year 1496–9.

<sup>9</sup> Duke Frederick II.

<sup>10</sup> Baumgarten.

<sup>11</sup> In 1649–1653, one half already belonged to the Greeks and the other to the Latins.

<sup>12</sup> See excerpt for year 1370.

<sup>13</sup> See excerpts for years: 1370, 1464, 1494; in 1494 this chapel belonged to the Gurians (Guria, a province of West Georgia).

<sup>14</sup> At that time, there was not only the grave of Adam, there were also the graves of the three youths and of Melchisedek.

<sup>15</sup> In 1464 the discalced (barefooted) friars had "the Chapel of Our Lady". This possibly means "our chapel". See below, p. 220, n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Here are the years in their order: 1370, 1391, 1389–1405, 1461, 1479, 1479–1480, 1480–3, 1494, 1496–9, 1507 (two accounts), 1517, 1542, 1615 (after the beginning of the seventeenth century, the chapel was simply referred to as belonging to the Orthodox. According to Tobler (*Golgotha*, op. cit., p. 298), this chapel belonged to the Georgians from the fourteenth till the sixteenth century, but we see from these notes that this chapel also belonged to the Georgians in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.



*The Galleries of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.*—Along the side of the numerous chapels, the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre also had galleries which were used as the living and sleeping quarters of the monks of the different nations who had their chapels there. It is obvious that as the Georgians owned so many chapels in the Basilica, had held the key of the Basilica for more than a century, and for a long time held pride of place in Jerusalem, they, too, shared these galleries. However, as these galleries contained nothing of interest or of worship for the pilgrims (apart from the monks' quarters) little mention is made of them in Pilgrim Literature. All the same, I have found three references. One dates back to the end of the fifteenth century and is by Francesco Suriano, the second was written in 1507 (Frederick II), and the third speaks of these Georgian dwellings in the Basilica as things of the past. In this year (1700), the Georgians no longer shared these galleries.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. The Monastery of the Cross

According to a Georgian tradition, the first Georgian king, Mirian, during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, received from the Emperor Constantine a building-site near the city, and there erected the Monastery of the Cross. This monastery, built in the first half of the fourth century, was afterwards restored in the eleventh century (1038) by the Georgian monk Prokhore.<sup>2</sup>

According to Greek tradition, the Empress Helena built a monastery there.<sup>3</sup> This district is known as Kaloni,<sup>4</sup> and is said to be

<sup>1</sup> See excerpts from Francesco Suriano (fifteenth century), p. 196; Frederick II (1507), p. 197; and H. Maundrell (1700), p. 203. Some of the pilgrims refer to the Georgian chapels in the Basilica in such a way as to make confusion inevitable. (1) Jacques de Verone in 1335: "Near the Nubian chapel in the Holy Sepulchre are other Georgian chapels" (est alia capella Georgianorum); two chapels of the Georgians are referred to here, but neither of them is named; (2) in 1464, Sebaldt Rieter's statement (see p. 12) that "The Chapel of Our Lady" belonged to the Latins, when he really means the Chapel below Mount Calvary, is also based on a misunderstanding; (3) Francesco Suriano (fifteenth century) refers to the Georgian "chasse del sancto Sepulchro". Does this mean the Chapel of the Holy Tomb (the so-called St. Kuvuklia) or some other chapel in the Holy Sepulchre?; (4) in 1507, Baumgarten refers to Georgian possessions "in several other places". Does he mean in the Holy Sepulchre or elsewhere in Jerusalem? (I am inclined to think this refers to other Georgian chapels in the Holy Sepulchre); (5) in 1573, Leonhard Reuchwollen confuses three entirely different chapels in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He says they had: "the church of Mount Calvary which stood near the tomb of Our Lord Jesus Christ, on the spot where he first appeared to Mary Magdalene, dressed as a gardener, after His Resurrection." Here are actually meant, (1) Golgotha (Mount Calvary); (2) The chapel of the Tomb; and (3) the Chapel of Mary Magdalene.

<sup>2</sup> See Tsagareli, pp. 89–111; Barski, in 1726, names the Iberian King Tatian as the founder of the monastery. The name, "Tatian" originates from the incorrect interpretation of the Georgian (Megrelian) name Dadiani. Prince Dadiani restored the Monastery of the Cross in the seventeenth century, and put up a large inscription of the restoration at the entrance of the monastery church. This inscription was published by Tsagareli, pp. 241–2; Tobler, *Topographie*, ii, p. 726 ff.; R. Vincent et F. M. Abel, p. 942.

<sup>3</sup> See excerpt for year 1862.

<sup>4</sup> See excerpt for year 1651; cf. PPS, 1891, 34, about the sixty new martyrs

the very spot where Lot sinned and planted three trees by way of atonement. Instead of three, only one beautiful tree grew; it was this tree that furnished the wood for the Cross. The historical sources first mention the monastery in the twelfth century. In 1102–3 Sæwulf discovered that it had been destroyed by the infidels.<sup>1</sup> By the year 1106, it seems to have been re-built,<sup>2</sup> and from this time onwards we hear of Georgian monks residing there.<sup>3</sup> In 1178, the vineyard of this monastery was confiscated by the Crusaders.<sup>4</sup> In 1305, an ambassador from the Georgians was sent to the Sultan of Egypt on behalf of this monastery.<sup>5</sup> Other names for this monastery are: the Monastery of St. Nicholas (1465–6); the Monastery of the Holy Archangels (monasterium S. Archangeli, 1583); and the Monastery of the Invention of the Holy Cross (1634).

In Jerusalem, the Monastery of St. Nicholas possessed it as Metochion.<sup>6</sup> In 1507, a pilgrim saw the bells in the monastery—the only bells in the Holy Land.<sup>7</sup> Amongst other relics (not including the spot whereon the tree of the Cross grew), was the arm of St. Barbara.<sup>8</sup>

This monastery was the centre of Georgian culture in Palestine, and the remains of its valuable library, consisting of about a hundred and sixty-four MSS., are still preserved in the Library of the Greek Patriarchate.<sup>9</sup>

of Kaloni: "Near the Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross is a place called Carnarium Leonis; here rest the bodies of many of these martyrs." It is interesting that the monastery of St. John the Evangelist (the present Salvator) is also called "convento della Colonna in Jerusalem". See Fernanda Massimiliano, *Storia di Gerusalemme*, Rome, 1857, vol. ii, p. 412. The last account was written in 1559.

<sup>1</sup> *The Pilgrimage of Sæwulf*, English translation by the Rev. Canon Brownlow, in PPTS., London, 1892, iv, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> See Ighmen Daniil's statement above, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> We learn that this monastery belonged to the Georgians. From accounts written in the following years: 1106–7, 1170, 1185, 1225–1237; see in PPS., 1884, v: *The Pilgrimage of the Serbian Archbishop Sabba* in 1225–1237, ed. by Archimandrite Leonid, pp. 31, 36; 1231, 1253–4, 1335, 1370, end of the fourteenth century, 1420, 1421, 1451, 1464, 1465–6, 1480–3, 1493, 1493–9, 1507 (Duke Frederick II), 1517, 1521, 1532, 1586, end of the sixteenth century, 1602–3, 1615, beginning of the seventeenth century, 1608–1634, 1634, 1651 (two testimonies), 1688, 1726, 1744, 1841, 1876, 1862. The account by Theodrich in 1172, translated by Aub. Stewart (PPTS., London, 1891, v), in which he states that the Monastery of the Cross belonged to the Syrians is probably based on a misunderstanding; the same can be said of accounts from the following years: 1384 ("the Armenians live in the Monastery of the Cross"), 1496–9, 1630, 1749, 1771 ("the Greek monks live in the Monastery of the Cross"), 1521 ("live various Christians called Gophty"); in 1484, the Georgians are described as Kerchens; the Greeks could not have been meant because they were designated as the Kerchens in the same documents; see excerpt for year 1484.

<sup>4</sup> See excerpt for year 1178.

<sup>5</sup> See excerpt for year 1305.

<sup>6</sup> An account from the year 1584.

<sup>7</sup> Duke Frederick II, p. 199. For some extraordinary reason, he describes the Georgian monks of this monastery as belonging to the faith of St. Paul. Of great importance for the history of the bells in the Holy Land are also the accounts of Kabatnik, 1491–2, ZDPV., 1898, xxi, and Jacob Wormser, 1541, p. 412.

<sup>8</sup> See excerpts for the year 1464, 1465–6, 1480–3, 1484.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 181, n. 1.

Amongst others who lived in this monastery, according to Georgian tradition, was the greatest poet in Georgia (perhaps in the whole world), Shot'a Rust'aveli, who lived there as monk, died, and was buried there. The 750th Jubilee of the creation of his great poem, *Vep'khis Tqaosani* ("The Man in the Panther's Skin") will be celebrated this year in Georgia.

As one of the last Georgians in this monastery, we have the report, in 1841, of the Archimandrite and Igumenos Gerasimos.<sup>1</sup> Since then, the monastery has been inhabited by Greek monks.

### 3. The Monastery of St. John the Evangelist (Salvator)

This is the oldest Georgian monastery in Jerusalem. According to Tobler, it is the monastery of the Iberians which Peter the Iberian built in the fifth century.<sup>2</sup> In the seventh century, it is mentioned by an Armenian Pilgrim as being the property of the Georgians. The monastery was built on the site of the birthplace of St. John the Evangelist. Accounts of it during the Middle Ages are scanty. In 1484, the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist (the place where he was born) is mentioned, probably by mistake, as being in Greek hands. Francesco Suriano mentions the Georgians as the owners<sup>3</sup> of this monastery. It remained in Georgian hands from 1489 to 1571.

More light is shed on the history of the monastery by accounts written in 1551. In this year the Franciscans were driven from their sanctuary on Mount Sion by the Muhammadans. They claimed an indemnity, and the Turkish Sultan, through the offices of the French Ambassador in Stamboul, suggested to them that they should choose any monastery they pleased in Jerusalem. The Franciscans selected the Georgian monastery of St. John, giving the following reasons for their choice:—

(1) Its proximity to the Holy Sepulchre;

(2) The fact that the Georgians already owned seven other monasteries in Jerusalem and could easily dispense with this one, especially as only three monks were living there. Furthermore, the Georgians were schismatics and therefore they (the Franciscans) were committing no sin in taking possession of one of their monasteries.

Boniface of Ragusa, who was then the Custodian of the Holy Land, wanted to buy the monastery from the Georgians,<sup>4</sup> but they

<sup>1</sup> According to Tsagareli (op. cit., p. 101) his name is Gregor, and he was an Abbot (supposed to have died in Jerusalem in 1864). According to Noroff (1862), "the Monastery of the Cross always belonged to the Georgian order of St. Basil." Thence one may perhaps conclude that in 1862, at the time when Noroff's description was published in Palestine that the Georgians still inhabited the Monastery of the Cross; see also below, p. 228. "St. Nicholas Monastery in Jerusalem."

<sup>2</sup> Tobler, *Topographie*, i, p. 335, note 3; Tsagareli, pp. 116-17.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 184, § 5; also p. 196 under fifteenth century; p. 190 under 1489-1571.

<sup>4</sup> How could the monks possibly sell the monastery? It belonged, not to them, but to the Georgian nation and Georgian church.

refused to sell it. Finally, however, the monastery was sold to the Franciscans by the Turkish Pasha, the Georgians were driven out, and the Franciscans took possession. This strife lasted from 1551 until 1558. By 1559 the Franciscans were in residence in the monastery of St. John the Evangelist which received the name of the Salvator Monastery. In 1560, the Franciscans requested the Pope to grant them the privileges, and accordingly the indulgences were transferred in 1561 to the Salvator from Mount Sion. In the same year, various old articles which had belonged to the monks, were sold before the very gates of the monastery.<sup>1</sup>

In 1593, an attempt was made by the Georgians to regain possession of the monastery, unfortunately without success. Further efforts were made in 1594 and in 1595. In 1723, the church was restored by the Franciscans; after a time, in 1729, it was enlarged, and later, in 1884, when it had fallen into a state of complete dilapidation, they rebuilt the church entirely. It may be added that the Franciscans, who had little learning of culture, destroyed—during the process of reconstruction—all the inscriptions, memorials, etc., which had been left by the Georgians.<sup>2</sup>

Although they had purchased an ancient Christian monastery on such favourable terms from the Turks, the Franciscans were troubled with pangs of conscience. This is evident from the fact that, right up to the present day, they have attempted to conceal the infamous action. Even in 1615, they informed an anonymous pilgrim that they had bought the monastery from the Armenians.<sup>3</sup> To-day, however, they describe the "Greek Gregorians", i.e. Georgians, as the former (and in fact, morally, they are even the present) owners.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably belonging to the Georgian monks; books and various effects which they had to leave behind when they were driven out.

<sup>2</sup> This is the description of the "sale" of this monastery, represented according to Latin sources. See Bonifacio Ragusino, *Liber de perenni cultu terrae sanctae*, Venetia, 1875, pp. xvi-xviii; Elzearius Horn, *Ordinis minorum Provinciae Thuringiae (1725-1744); Iconographia locorum et monumentorum veterum terrae sanctae*, Rome, 1902, pp. 187, 188, 189. From these reports, which are practically official (Bonifacius of Ragusa was the custodian of the Franciscan community in the Holy Land at that time) it is clear that the Georgians (to their credit, be it said) did not accept one penny for the monastery. Therefore, the report by Tobler (*Topographie*, i, p. 335, note 3) that "the Georgians sold the monastery to the Franciscans", is incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Pèlerin Vénérable*, p. 295: "the barefooted Friars have lived in the Salvator Monastery for fifty-five years (ever since they were driven from the church of the Holy Communion on Mount Sion, by the unbelievers). I was told that they had bought this monastery (Salvator) from the Armenians."

<sup>4</sup> For instance, *Album missionis Terrae Sanctae I, Judaea et Galilaea*, Venetia, 1893, p. 23: "When they (the Franciscans) were driven from their headquarters (Church of the Holy Communion on Mount Sion) in 1551, they bought the land and the building from the Greek-Gregorians." In spite of the fact that the church of the monastery was so often repaired and restored, it has to this day (particularly the tower of the church) retained the characteristics of Georgian architecture. Count Melchior de Vogue (see Tsagareli, p. 117) was also of the opinion that the building of the Salvator church was not of Latin architecture.

4. *The Monastery of St. Jacob*

According to the Georgian sources, this monastery was founded by the Georgian king, George I, in the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> In my opinion, it is the monastery of the Iberians which was built for the Georgians by Peter the Bishop, near the Tower of David.<sup>2</sup> It was restored by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century, and it is possible that it was again renovated by King George in the eleventh century. Evidently, during the Crusades, the Spanish Catholics laid claim to the monastery (Monastery of the Iberians may also mean Monastery of the Spaniards),<sup>3</sup> and the Custodian might have admitted those opportunist-chalcedonical Armenians who were Georgian subjects and who had, up to that time, lived in harmony with the Georgians. However that may be, after the Crusades we do not read of Georgians living in this monastery. In the twelfth century, the Monastery of St. Jacob belonged to the Jacobites.<sup>4</sup>

Again, national opinion in Jerusalem—which goes by unwritten traditions but bases its facts on the accounts of various pilgrims—points to the fact that the St. Jacob Monastery was built by the Georgians for the Georgians.<sup>5</sup> During my stay in Jerusalem, I was told this on all sides, and it is plain that this assertion must be based on historical facts. All I have to go on for estimating the Armenian point of view is a small, unscientific work by a retired French Post Office official whose object was to uphold the rights of the Armenians

<sup>1</sup> Tsagareli, pp. 117–120, George I (1014–1027) or George II (1072–1089) might be meant; see also *Jérusalem, Recherches de topographie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, by P. P. Hughes and F. M. Abel (Paris, 1914, xx, 419; ib., 1922, iv, 423–668; ib., 1926, 689–1035), p. 522, " Tchamitch (Armenian historian) place cette fondation entre 1072 et 1088."

<sup>2</sup> Of the same opinion is Professor Sepp: *Neue hochwichtige Entdeckungen auf der zweiten Palästinafahrt*, München, 1894, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> The research-workers, headed by Tobler, give the Georgians the advantage. Tobler, *Topographie*, i, p. 360, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 206, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> According to H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, the Georgians were only able to retain this monastery for the space of one century, that is, till the end of the twelfth century. The manner in which the Georgians ceded this monastery to the Armenians is not known (ib., 522); at the close of the fifteenth century "the founding of the church (St. Jacob's) is attributed by some to St. Helena, while the other numerous buildings owe their existence to the Spaniards, who, in the foregoing century, had built a hostel there for the Spanish pilgrims. At the time of writing, all this belongs to the Armenians." See *Die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem des Herzogs Alexander, Pfalzgraf vom Rhine, in Das Heilige Land*, Köln, 1913, lvii, p. 110. By "Spaniards", he means, of course, Georgians. He probably heard the name "Iberians" and translated it as "Spaniards"; see *Le Pèlerin Véritable* herein, p. 202, year 1615, and Serapion the Monk, p. 204, year 1749. According to Serapion, the Armenians bought this monastery from the Turks (compare the case of the Savior monastery, p. 222); see Carl Ritter's statement above, p. 210. The handing over of the monastery to the Armenians by the Georgians is supposed to have occurred before the thirteenth century, but it was ceded only on condition that the Armenians should pay them eighty ducats a year, though not for long. Williams, p. 455. According to Yoselian, there should still be documents referring to this question in the patriarchal court in Jerusalem; Tobler, *Topographie*, i, 361, note 1; with reference to the documents supposed to be in the patriarchal archives, see also Muraviov, in Tsagareli, 118.

to the monastery.<sup>1</sup> In any case, the destruction of the vast collection of treasures of Georgian culture which took place during the Armenian occupation of this monastery should be branded forever on their conscience.<sup>2</sup>

5. *The House of Annas*

Near the monastery of St. Jacob stands at present the Armenian convent. This convent was built on the site where the House of Annas, the High Priest, once stood.<sup>3</sup> This convent is also known as the Monastery of the Angels.<sup>4</sup> In earlier times (before the Latin rule), it probably belonged to the Georgians, but the earliest historical references I have been able to find only go back to the end of the fifteenth century. In 1467, the monastery belonged to the Armenians<sup>5</sup>; in the following years, 1483, 1493,<sup>6</sup> 1507, 1519,<sup>7</sup> we see that it has already passed into Georgian hands. In 1561, it is back again in the possession of the Armenians,<sup>8</sup> and in 1602–3, the Georgians regain it.<sup>9</sup> They may have retained possession until the middle of the seventeenth century, as it would appear that the Armenians did not wrest it from them until 1688.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that the land for the building of the monastery had been acquired long before by Peter the Iberian, and that it had always belonged to his Iberian monastery. In the course

<sup>1</sup> "Question sur la propriété du couvent de St. Jacques à Jérusalem," par Carlo Gurmani, ex-agent de la poste française de la Terre Sainte, extrait de la revue mensuelle *Le Sion* (armen. Jerusalem, 1867), p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> When I visited the monastery in July–August, 1936, they told me they had a few Georgian MSS., but when I paid a second visit there, the same priests told me they had none. P. Peeters and Tsagareli were also unable to see any Georgian documents.

<sup>3</sup> John, 18, 13–24; cf. similar references in Matthew, 26, 57–75; Mark, 14, 53–72, and Luke, 22, 54–71.

<sup>4</sup> Or prison of the Angels (1602–3); or Caiaphas' and Annas' house (1561, Wormbser, p. 410) or Monastery of the Olive Tree (Christ was supposed to have been bound to an olive tree). Tobler, *Topographie*, i, p. 365.

<sup>5</sup> *Description de la Terre Sainte par un Franciscain anonyme*, ed. by Kohler, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, Paris, 1911, xii, 19. The monastery was inhabited by monks and nuns.

<sup>6</sup> "Kirchens." This stands for Georgians, not Greeks. See above, p. 194, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> See herein excerpts for years 1483, 1493, 1507 (Georgii prioris Gemnicensis), 1519, and 1602–3.

<sup>8</sup> Jacob Wormbser, "The House of Caiaphas and Annas is in the hands of the Armenians," 1561, p. 410.

<sup>9</sup> According to Tobler (*Topographie*, i, 367), the Armenians were "probably" the first owners of the monastery: but in 1507, it was again in the hands of the Georgians. In 1556 the Armenians were again in possession, and "remained". We cannot definitely ascertain (and Tobler also admits this) whether the Armenians were the first owners of the monastery; furthermore, this monastery did not belong to the Georgians between 1507 and 1556, as Tobler thinks, but before 1483 until 1603 (with a short break in 1561; it is also possible that in the year 1561 the Armenians were erroneously mentioned instead of the Georgians).

<sup>10</sup> In 1688, the House of Caiaphas and Annas belonged to the Armenians; the Armenians allowed no pilgrims into this monastery, which they surrounded with high walls (see excerpts for 1688); it is quite possible that the Armenians were trying at the time to remove all traces of the Georgians (inscriptions, pictures, etc.) from the monastery, and did not want any witnesses to the deed.

of time, it probably became independent.<sup>1</sup> In Tsagereli's list of Georgian monasteries and churches in Palestine, no mention is made of this monastery.<sup>2</sup>

#### 6. *The Prætorium*

Tsagareli does not refer to this monastery. In the report of a pilgrim in 1370, we find that in Jerusalem: "In the main street towards the end of the town, there are three steps leading downwards. Here stands the Prætorium, in Greek *φδλάκη*, in our own language, prison. The Holy Altar here belongs to the Iberians and the Iberian services are held here."

This *φδλάκη* (Prætorium) might also refer to the House of Annas (but then compare, Prison of the Holy Angels), but to my knowledge, the House of Annas is nowhere mentioned as the Prætorium. The Prætorium is much more likely to have been the headquarters of the Roman Government, where the court sessions took place, and where, in all probability, the Governor lived. This monastery has retained the name "Prætorium" up to the present day. It is close to the Stephanus Gate, and belongs to the Greeks.<sup>3</sup>

#### 7. *Gethsemane, the Grave of Our Lady*

The Basilica, where the remains of Our Lady rest, belongs, according to tradition, to various nationalities, as does the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. The Georgians also had an altar there. This altar stood on the right of the Holy Grave of Our Lady and the Georgian services were held there. I found the earliest proof of this in a description dated 1370, but the Georgians had probably been there from the earliest times.<sup>4</sup> We find similar references in 1391 and 1389-1405. In 1421, this Georgian altar had fallen into the hands of the Armenians,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This may be the Georgian Convent in Jerusalem mentioned in 1108.

<sup>2</sup> Tsagareli, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9, mentioned as No. XX, the Monastery of St. Annas, the present Bethesda of the Latins, near the Stephanus Gate, or the Greek Monastery of St. Joachim and Annas. This monastery has nothing in common with the House of the High Priest Annas. Nevertheless on page 130, Tsagareli has a short account: "According to Tschudi, the Church of the Holy Angels belonged to the Georgians in Jerusalem in 1519." As Tsagareli himself does not attempt to identify this church, it is possible that the House of Annas is meant. See n. 1 above.

<sup>3</sup> This monastery is situated in the immediate vicinity of the Bethesda, which, according to Tsagareli, belonged to the Georgians in the Middle Ages (*op. cit.*, pp. 128-9). It now belongs to the French Government, and is under the care of the White Brethren. The Bethesda is situated between two Greek monasteries: the Prætorium and the House of Joachim and Annas; it is probable that in the Middle Ages these three monasteries formed one, and that all the ground upon which they stood belonged to the Georgians; see excerpt for year 1370.

<sup>4</sup> In Georgia, the worship of Our Lady is of great importance, and apart from St. George, forms the major part of the religious life of the people.

<sup>5</sup> John Poloner: "The first altar, by the side of the Sepulchre, belongs to the Armenians; the second, beneath a dark vault, belongs to the Georgians," see excerpt for years 1370, 1391, 1389-1405, 1421, 1480-3, and 1586.

and the Georgians only had an altar in the darkest corner of the Basilica. In 1480-3, we find that: "The altar which is nearest to the Sepulchre belongs to the Armenians, the second, beneath a dark vault, belongs to the Georgians." It appears that the Georgians lost even this altar. In 1586, the Georgian altar was at the entrance to the church: "A marble stairway of fifty steps leads down to the Basilica; on the last step is the sacrificial altar of the Georgians. It is somewhat smaller than that of the Greeks."<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, I possess no reference after 1586 to the Georgians in the tomb of Our Lady.<sup>2</sup>

#### 8. *The Garden of Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives*

We have two accounts concerning the Georgian anchorites in the Garden of Gethsemane, one dating back to 808, the other to 1185. As to the Georgian monks who lived on Mount of Olives, there is unfortunately only one reference, and this also belongs to the year 808.<sup>3</sup>

#### 9. *The Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Jerusalem*

I have, unfortunately, only one reference to this monastery, and this is dated 1421.<sup>4</sup> "This monastery now belongs to the Greeks." It was situated, as John Poloner<sup>5</sup> adds, between the Holy Sepulchre and the Tower of David.

#### 10. *The Monastery of St. George in Jerusalem*

The only information we have that Georgian monks lived here (in *sancto Georgio*) comes from Francesco Suriano in the fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

#### 11. *The Monastery of St. Simeon in Jerusalem (Katamoni)*

According to Francesco Suriano, the Georgian monks left this monastery in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here it does concern a sacrificial altar (probably the altar for the offertory)—perhaps at this time the Georgians still had their dark corner in the Basilica.

<sup>2</sup> According to Tsagareli (*op. cit.*, p. 129), the Georgians still had their altar in Gethsemane in the eighteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> The Stylites probably lived in Gethsemane; see excerpts for years 808 and 1185.

<sup>4</sup> See excerpt for year 1421.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, Tsagareli does not include this monastery. See the Armenian pilgrim in the seventh century (p. 4 *herein*); perhaps he is thinking of this monastery.

<sup>6</sup> See excerpt for fifteenth century; cf. also Tsagareli, p. 122.

<sup>7</sup> See excerpts for this period. As the reason for this, Francesco Suriano mentions the invasion of the Bedouins who murdered nineteen Georgian monks during 1515-1524 (*ib.*, p. 132). The same is said by Janin, p. 38, and Tsagareli, pp. 123-4. During the work of restoration carried out by the Greeks in 1859, a few Georgian (probably) tombstone inscriptions were discovered. These stones are still preserved in the church under the sacrificial altar. Neither Tsagareli (nor, for that matter, myself, in August, 1936), could decipher these inscriptions. I photographed them and a reproduction accompanies this work.

12. *The Monastery of St. Nicholas in Jerusalem*

The Monastery of the Cross is also occasionally described as the St. Nicholas Monastery.<sup>1</sup> The monastery in question is situated by the Holy Sepulchre, close to the residence of the Patriarchs. According to Timot'e,<sup>2</sup> this monastery was built by a Georgian Princess in the middle of the seventeenth century. The actual accounts of the monastery are, however, of a considerably earlier date.<sup>3</sup> In the twelfth century (1187) Saladin gave the Georgians the Monastery of St. Nicholas. The question is: is this the monastery that is meant, or is it the Monastery of the Cross? In my opinion, it is more likely to be the latter. In 1584 we find the Monastery of St. Nicholas described as the Metochion of the Monastery of the Cross. In 1651, two accounts refer to it as being owned by the Georgians. In 1858, Archimandrite Leonid saw the ancient tombstones with Georgian inscriptions still in the wall of the monastery church which faces towards the garden of the Patriarchs. Unfortunately, only one of these inscriptions has been deciphered and printed up to the present.<sup>4</sup> It is a pity that right by this spot all the excavation refuse is thrown out, and now only a small part of the inscription can be seen. (This was the case when I was there in August, 1936.) The archæological excavations in the garden of the Greek Patriarch's house will, I believe, reveal many tombstones with Georgian inscriptions.

13. *Sarrandarion*

This mountain, where, after His baptism, Jesus Christ fasted for forty days and forty nights, and was tempted by the devil, has been from earliest times the goal of Christian ascetics. After the overthrow of the Latin kingdom, Georgians lived here in place of the Latin monks. In 1336, the Georgians were still in residence.<sup>5</sup>

14. *The Monastery of St. John of Chrysostom (in the desert of Jericho)*

This monastery is in the same desert of the Jordan. According to *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1099-1291, Georgian ascetics lived in the Monastery of St. Chrysostom, which was situated south of Jericho.<sup>6</sup> Also John Phokas, in 1185, saw a Georgian ascetic there.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See excerpts for years 1465-6; Tsagareli, pp. 120-1, 123.

<sup>2</sup> A Georgian archbishop, who undertook a pilgrimage to Palestine in the seventeenth century and left this description (Tsagareli, p. 120).

<sup>3</sup> Probably the monastery was restored by this Princess.

<sup>4</sup> See excerpt for 1187, 1584, 1651, 1858.

<sup>5</sup> See excerpt for year 1336 and p. 209, where *The Latin Kingdom* is quoted.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 209.

<sup>7</sup> See excerpt for year 1185; perhaps he was also a Stylite.

15. *The Monastery of St. John the Baptist and the Monastery of St. Gerasimos (perhaps Kalamoni) in the Jordan Desert*

According to *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, the Georgian monks lived amicably with the Greeks in the Monastery of St. John the Baptist during the Latin rule,<sup>1</sup> and likewise with the Latins in the Monastery of St. Gerasimos.<sup>2</sup>

The monastery which, in 1185, was supposed to have been washed away by Jordan floods, was, I think, a part of the Monastery of St. Gerasimos.<sup>3</sup>

16. *The Laura of St. Sabba, in the Desert of Jerusalem*

In this famous Laura the Georgians had their own church, and we find proof of this as early as the sixth century.<sup>4</sup> In 1185 and 1370 Georgian monks lived here.<sup>5</sup>

17. *The Georgians in Bethlehem*

In 1335, we find that the Georgians had their own altar in the Basilica of the Nativity, outside the Cave of the Nativity.<sup>6</sup>

18. *The Georgian Convents*

We read, in 1108, of a widowed Queen of Georgia who entered the Georgian convent in Jerusalem.<sup>7</sup> Apart from this instance, the nuns lived, as did the monks, in the Monastery of the Cross.<sup>8</sup> In 1280 we find Georgian nuns coming as pilgrims to Jerusalem.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tsagareli (pp. 125-6) found three Georgian inscriptions on this site. Published *ib.*, No. XXXV-XXXVII, pp. 251-2. In August, 1936, I only saw No. XXXV.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> See excerpt for year 1185.

<sup>4</sup> According to Tsagareli (*op. cit.*, pp. 126-8), we cannot be sure which of the many churches in the Laura belonged to the Georgians. A possible indication is afforded us by the Archimandrite Agrethemius (1370): "In the cave where the barbarians murdered forty monks, is the Iberian (Georgian) church."

<sup>5</sup> See excerpt for years 531, 1185, 1370.

<sup>6</sup> See excerpt for year 1335. According to Timote in Tsagareli (*op. cit.*, p. 129), the Georgians had their altar in Bethlehem well into the eighteenth century.

<sup>7</sup> See excerpt for year 1108.

<sup>8</sup> As, for instance, in 1480-3, Felix Fabri: "Wherein (in the Monastery of the Cross) dwell Georgian monks with their wives"; the venerable father should know that monks do not have wives; in this case, he probably meant the old women (not nuns) who lived in the monasteries and performed various duties.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps some of these nuns remained in Jerusalem where there was a convent for them.

19. *The Monastery of the Laz in the Desert of Jerusalem*

The Emperor Justinian, according to Procopius,<sup>1</sup> restored one of the Iberian monasteries in Jerusalem<sup>2</sup> in the sixth century, as well as the Monastery of the Laz in the Desert of Jerusalem. Up to the present, this monastery has not been definitely identified.<sup>3</sup>

THE "OFFICIAL" REPORT OF THE GREEK PATRIARCHATE CONCERNING  
THE COLONIES OF GEORGIAN MONKS IN PALESTINE. GEORGIAN  
MONASTERIES OUTSIDE PALESTINE

From the foregoing—unfortunately, very brief—accounts,<sup>4</sup> we see that the Georgians were, at various times, in possession of twelve monasteries:—

1. The Monastery of the Cross.
2. The Monastery of St. John the Evangelist.
3. St. Jacob's Monastery.
4. The Monastery of St. Nicholas.
5. The House of Annas.
6. The Prætorium.
7. The Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Jerusalem.
8. The Monastery of St. George in Jerusalem.
9. The Monastery of St. Simeon in Katamoni.
10. Sarrandarion.
11. The Monastery of St. John of Chrysostom.
12. The Convent.

In addition to these, there are the Georgian altars in Bethlehem and Gethsemane by the Sepulchre of Our Lady, and the six chapels in the Holy Sepulchre (Golgotha, Carceris Christi, Mary Magdalene,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 184, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> It was either the Monastery of St. Jacob or of St. John (Salvator).

<sup>3</sup> According to C. Schick, this is the present Abu el Lassi, twelve miles distant from Jerusalem and six from Jericho: "the monastery or the House of Joachim." See *Mitteilungen von Baurath C. Schick über die alten Lauren und Klöster in der Wüste Juda*, compiled by K. Marti, ZDPV, 1880, iii, pp. 1-41; according to Oltarzhevskii, the Laura of St. Khariton is meant (PPS, xliv, 1896, p. 44).

<sup>4</sup> One of the most necessary tasks of Christian research in Palestine is to portray the history of the individual nations, based on accounts from pilgrim literature. My work is the first attempt in this direction. Much more information about Georgian monasteries in Palestine is needed for the completion of such a task.

Invention of the Cross, St. Helena's, the chapel below Mount Calvary, and also the galleries of the Holy Sepulchre). In the Laura of St. Sabba, the Georgians had their own church; furthermore, they lived (and perhaps had their own church) in the Garden of Gethsemane, on Mount of Olives, and in the monasteries of St. John the Baptist and St. Gerasimos in the desert of Jordan.<sup>1</sup>

According to the Greeks: "The Georgians came to Palestine towards 1200 with the help of the Mamelukes and the Circassians.<sup>2</sup> They gave a great deal of assistance to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tsagareli, in his work (op. cit., pp. 89-130), mentions twenty-six Georgian monasteries in Palestine, and gives their history, chiefly drawing the history from Georgian sources. In the second half of this work (*History of the Georgian Colonies of Monks in Palestine, according to Georgian Sources*), I shall take up the subject of Tsagareli's Georgian sources more extensively. Here, I shall only touch on the fundamental points.

- I. The Monastery of the Cross (pp. 89-111).
- II. Holy Sepulchre, Golgotha, the Basilica of the Resurrection (pp. 111-16).
- III. The Monastery of St. John the Theologian (Salvator) (pp. 116-17).
- IV. Jacob the Zebedaïd (pp. 117-120).
- V. The Monastery of St. Thecla (ib.).
- VI. The Monastery of St. Nicholas in Jerusalem (pp. 120-1).
- VII. Demetrius (ib.).
- VIII. St. Basil's (ib.).
- IX. St. Katherine's (pp. 121-2).
- X. St. Theodor's (ib.).
- XI. St. George's (ib.).
- XII. Patriarch Abraham's (p. 122).
- XIII. Monastery of the Presentation in the Temple which was allotted to the nuns (pp. 22-3).
- XIV. The other Monastery of St. Nicholas, near the Monastery of the Cross (ib.).
- XV. St. Simeon's (pp. 123-4).
- XVI. St. Samuel the Judge's (pp. 124-5).
- XVII. Georgian Convent (ib.).
- XVIII. St. John the Baptist's in the desert of the Jordan (pp. 125-6).
- XIX. St. Sabba's (pp. 126-8).
- XX. St. Annas (pp. 128-9).
- XXI. The Iberian Monastery restored by the Emperor Justinian (p. 129).
- XXII. The Monastery of the Laz restored by Justinian (ib.).
- XXIII. The Georgian altars in Bethlehem and Gethsemane (probably the grave of Our Lady, ib., p. 129).
- XXIV. The Georgian chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, St. Helena's Invention of the Cross, Mater Dolorosa and the Church of the Holy Angels (p. 130).
- XXVI. From Georgian sources comes the mention of two other monasteries (as yet unidentified), *Kapapa*, *Kaphala*, or *Kappala*, and the monastery of Shueti. With regard to the latter, Tsagareli thinks (because of the consonance of the word with *Sueti* = Pillar) that it is the monastery of St. Simeon Stylites near Antioch, where the Georgians also dwelt (ib.). As regard the words *Kapapa*, *Kaphala*, or *Kappala*, I think they are wrong, and should be *Γαββαθᾶ* (John, 1913), pronounced by the Georgians *Kappal'a*. If I am correct, this is no new monastery but possibly a praetorium, which the Georgians possessed.

<sup>2</sup> The Georgians were already in Palestine in the fifth century. It seems remarkable that the Christian Georgians should learn the way to Palestine through the Muhammadans! Between the third and the sixth centuries, the Georgian cemetery was probably in Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> More than half of the Greek possessions in the Holy Land belonged originally to the Georgians; the Georgians had fought many battles with the Muhammadans in defence of the Holy Land; no country could have done more than Georgia, yet what has she gained by her sacrifice?



and the Greeks presented them with <sup>1</sup> the monastery of St. Nicholas,<sup>2</sup> and later, the monastery of the Holy Cross. <sup>3</sup> At this time, as their numbers increased, the Georgians received: the Monastery of St. Jacob,<sup>4</sup> the Monastery of St. John the Theologian,<sup>5</sup> the Monastery of SS. Theodor Tyron and Theodor Stratilatos, the Monastery of St. Demetrius,<sup>6</sup> the Monastery of St. Thecla,<sup>7</sup> the Monastery of St. Katherine, and, in 1308, the Golgotha.<sup>8</sup>

If those who read through the present article will compare the remarks made in the above Report with the results of my investigation, it will be only too evident to them that this biased Report is based on very slender grounds.

By the way, we derive a few important facts about the Georgian colonies outside Palestine from these pilgrims' reports. They tell us of the life of the Georgians in Cyprus,<sup>9</sup> Syria,<sup>10</sup> Aleppo,<sup>11</sup> Sinai,<sup>12</sup> Cairo,<sup>13</sup> and Constantinople.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the whole history of the Georgian church I have not been able to find any mention of a single act of charity of the Greeks! (Cf. also my article, *Georgian Influences on the Culture of the Balkan Peoples in Georgia*, vol. i, Nos. 2-3, 1936, pp. 14-23.)

<sup>2</sup> The Georgians received this monastery from Saladin after 1187; before that, it had probably belonged to the Georgians but had been confiscated by the Latins during the time of the Crusades. See excerpt for year 1187.

<sup>3</sup> According to Georgian sources, this monastery was built by the Georgian monk Prokhore in the eleventh century (or perhaps only restored). Cf. P. P. H. Vincent et F. M. A. Abel, p. 942.

<sup>4</sup> This monastery was probably built in the middle of the fifth century by Peter the Iberian for his compatriots.

<sup>5</sup> According to Armenian Pilgrims in the seventh century, this monastery belonged to the Georgians.

<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, the monasteries of St. Theodor, St. Demetrius, St. Thecla, and St. Katherine are not mentioned by the Pilgrims; according to the Georgian sources, they were built by the Georgians. See Tsagareli, op. cit., pp. 120-2. In 1551-9, the Georgians had in addition to St. John's Monastery, seven other monasteries in Jerusalem. See also pp. 220-1 herein.

<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, the Greeks received the monastery of St. Thecla from the Georgians at the beginning of the seventeenth century. See Popadupulo-Kerameus, iii, p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> The Georgians were already on Mount Golgotha in 1050. The Orthodox pilgrims, when they enumerated the churches in Jerusalem, unfortunately omitted to mention to whom they belonged. The churches in Jerusalem in 1586: St. John the Baptist, St. Jacob, St. Demetrius, St. George, Theodor Tiron, St. Basil, St. Nicholas, St. Michael, St. John the Theologian, St. Katherine, St. Annas, St. Thecla, St. Euthymios, and the church of Our Lady. Compare another account from the second half of the fifteenth century: (In Jerusalem, there are also other monasteries: St. John the Baptist's, St. Demetrius', St. Nicholas', St. John the Theologian's, St. Basil the Great's, Archangel Michael's, St. Katherine's, St. Euthymios', and St. Thecla's. The monasteries belong to the Orthodox Christians. (See PPS, lvi, p. 164.)

<sup>9</sup> "On Cyprus, the Georgians live under the jurisdiction of the Greek Bishop and have their own monastery near Alamino in the district of Mazoto," E. Rey, *Les Colonies franques de Syrie au XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1883, p. 93; "In Famagost (on Cyprus) live many Christian sects; they have their own churches and hold their own services . . . the Georgians live there as well," 1335 (Jacques de Verone), p. 178; according to Jacob of Bern (1346-1347) the Georgians (*Jörgies*) lived in Famagost on the isle of Cyprus, see the *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem hl. Lande*, by Rh. Röhrich and Heinrich Meissner, Berlin, 1881, p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> According to E. Rey, in *Les Colonies Franques au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (pp. 93-4), "approximately sixty monks lived in the monastery of St. Simeon Stylites on the wonderful mountain near Antioch . . . a few of them were Stylites. The Georgians chose their own Bishop, and were entirely independent of the Antioch Patriarch."

## GEORGIA AND THE LIFE OF THE GEORGIAN MONKS IN PALESTINE

When the Georgians entered the Holy City, their banners—which were depicted the Cross and St. George—flew bravely; they paid no toll, neither in Jerusalem nor on their journey through Turkish territory. We also know that the Muhammadans dared not molest the Georgians lest they should avenge themselves on the Muhammadan subjects of Georgia.<sup>1</sup> The last reference to this which I discovered, dates back to 1653-6.<sup>2</sup>

The decline of Georgian power and influence in Palestine began somewhat earlier. The conflict of the Georgians and Franciscans for possession of the Monastery of St. John shows only too clearly the weakness of the former. The Armenians and Greeks—who were lying in wait, ready to seize on the sacred possessions of the Georgians—naturally made the most of the situation and took full advantage of it. The poverty-stricken little land, beset on all sides by the Muhammadans, could not withstand the heavy taxes and corrupt politics of the Turkish Government. And so, gradually, there began the decline

<sup>1</sup> "Many nationalities live in Aleppo: Greeks, Armenians, Georgites. Their merchantmen often come with large caravans to Aleppo." See Leonhard Reuchwollen (1573), pp. 552, 633.

<sup>2</sup> 1338: "The monks and dignitaries of this land (Georgia) live according to the rule of St. Antony and St. Makarios and they also dwell in the monastery of St. Katherine on the Sinai"—*Ein Niederrheinischer Bericht über den Orient*, ed. by Rh. Röhrich and H. Meissner, Halle, 1886, and published as a Supplement to the *Zeitschrift für die deutsche Philologie*, vol. xix, p. 17; according to Jacob of Bern, "a son of one of the Christian Kings of Jerusalem, Suanus, who also built the church in Bethlehem and was laid to rest in the Holy Sepulchre, was the founder of St. Katherine's Monastery (on Mount Sinai); see Jacob of Bern (1346-7), p. 59. The name *Suanus* presents rather a problem to scholars (see ib., the theories of Robinson: Theonas or Justinianus); but it is possible that *Suanus* means *Suanetes* (the *Suans*, a Georgian tribe). According to Georgian tradition, St. Katherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai was built by King David II of Georgia (who was, of course, King of the Suans as well); see Tsagareli, op. cit., p. 131 ff.; in 1479, Sebaldt Rieter, jun., heard from the monks on Mount Sinai "that the right hand of St. Katherine was in Jorsia" (Georgia); see 1479, p. 96; in 1577-1592, we get an account of the church "to the left of the court near the wall" dedicated to St. George. "This church was recently restored at the expense of the Iberian King"; see PPS, xxxv, 1891, Paisios Agiapistolit, Metropolitan of Rhodes, *Description of Mount Sinai* (in Greek), ed. by Popadupulo-Kerameus, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> According to Frescobaldi, 1384, p. 72, Latins, Greeks, Nubians, and Georgians lived in Cairo; among the Egyptian Mamelukes, who originally came from Caucasia, there were many Georgians.

<sup>4</sup> In 1200, the Russian Archbishop Antonius of Novgorod visited the Georgian monastery in Constantinople to worship the remains of St. Hilarion the Iberian, see PPS, li, 1899, p. 36; we also have a very interesting account of the life of the Georgians in Constantinople (the account is from the year 1579) by the court-chaplain Schweiger in the *Reysebuch des hl. Landes*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1609, pp. 34-6.

<sup>5</sup> The Georgians had already marched through the streets of Jerusalem with their banners during the rule of the Crusaders (see excerpts for year 1187); they had probably gained this privilege before the Crusades; see above, Johann, Count of Solm on p. 193; Baumgarten on p. 196, and Martinus Seusenius on p. 201.

<sup>6</sup> Ignatius of Rheinfelden, 151; according to Cotovicus (1619), the Georgians received these privileges from the Sultan of Cairo; they were merely confirmed by the Turks: *Itinerarium Hierosolimitanum et syriacum Joanne Cotovico*, Antverpiae, MDCXIX, 200; in 1649 to 1653, the Greeks were already in the Holy Places of the Georgians; in 1700, the Georgians no longer had any part in the Holy Sepulchre.

(which tended periodically to increase) of the Georgian element in the Holy Land. Georgians could no longer preserve for posterity the great inheritance of Georgian culture.

The Greeks and Latins (and probably the Armenians), through the mouthpiece of their wardens and pilgrims, were wont to speak of the low standard of the morals and religion of the Georgian monks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> To this is ascribed the loss of their monasteries. The religious ethics of the Greek and Latin monks were on the same low level at that time. The true cause of the Georgian downfall lies much deeper; it was the decline in Georgia's history. Georgia was on the verge of ruin; she had neither the time nor opportunity to concern herself with what was happening in so distant a land as Palestine.

The decline of Georgian power had already begun in the middle of the fifteenth century and later the hitherto united country split up into three kingdoms and four principalities. It was by no means unusual for these small states to make war against each other; at times, they even allied themselves with the enemy against their own kinsmen. The fact that the house was divided against itself was not known in Jerusalem until much later. The wealthy pilgrims who marched proudly through the streets of Jerusalem with banners waving and singing their hymns, gave the impression of great power and magnificence; an impression which recent events appeared to confirm.

To the honour of the Georgians, be it said that, despite their unhappy political situation, they always maintained their enthusiastic devotion to the Holy Land.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it was the crushing disappointment inflicted on them by the followers of their own faith, the Greeks, which forced them to turn their backs on the Holy Land for several centuries.

From about 1370 onwards, the Pilgrims differentiate between the Georgians and the Iberians, and in 1494, the Gurians are also

<sup>1</sup> Compare this detailed account of Patriarch Dosytheos in the *History of the Patriarch of Jerusalem* (in Greek), Bucarest, 1715; compare with this Francesco Suriano (the Latin Custodian of the Holy Land) in Janin, pp. 27-9.

<sup>2</sup> Until the outbreak of Russian Revolution, the richest properties in Georgia were owned by the Greek Patriarch. That the Greek Archimandrites in Georgia received large revenues is already proved quite clearly by the fact that subsequently they nearly all became Patriarchs of Jerusalem (probably by bribery)—as was the recently-deceased Patriarch Damianos; in 1847, we hear of the pilgrimage of a Georgian princess. According to the evidence of the—unfortunately very fragmentary—documents of the Monastery of the Cross, the Georgians bequeathed to the latter, during the course of centuries, 10,147 golden dinars, 26,600 drachmas, 62,500 pieces of silver, gold worth 10,000 silver pieces, 2,181 florins, 520 Venetian florins, 2,400 *miskhalt*, 930 ducats, 700 *martchili*, 120 *p'uli*, and 10 *dangs* (the words in italics represent Georgian monetary terms). See the *Historical Sketch of the Georgian church from olden times*, by Marr, p. 118; fragments of the records of Georgian bequests to the Monastery of the Cross have also been published by Marr. See his *Aghapni Jwaris Monastrisani* in the *Biblioteka Armeno-Georgiaca* (in Georgian), St. Pb., 1914, iv.

mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless as late as 1573, we read of Georgia, "whose boundaries stretched from the Black Sea to the Caspian". We learn that these Georgians were probably converted by St. George;<sup>2</sup> that they were simple and courageous people, that they had their own Patriarch,<sup>3</sup> that in Jerusalem they had two bishops, that they probably had two cemeteries outside Jerusalem, and may have had a special cemetery in Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> We also find that they allowed others (even the Latins) to read Masses at their altars,<sup>5</sup> that they respected the graves of the Latin kings,<sup>6</sup> and that they distinguished themselves by their chivalrous behaviour and hospitality.<sup>7</sup> During the period of their downfall, the greatest tragedy of their lives and in the history of their nation, they bore themselves nobly and gave no sign of their sufferings to the pilgrims. Compare their behaviour with that of the Armenians after they had been deprived of their unlawful possession of Golgotha by the Georgians! The Armenians babbled to every

<sup>1</sup> In 1370, the chapel below Golgotha belonged to the Georgians; on the other hand, the other sanctuaries (altar in the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lady, the Monastery of the Cross, the Chapel of the Invention of the Holy Cross and of St. Helena) belonged to the Iberians; in 1391, Golgotha belonged to the Georgians and the chapel below Golgotha to the Iberians; the same occurs in 1389-1405. The altar of the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lady belongs to the Georgians; in 1483, only the Georgians are mentioned; in 1494 we hear of the Gurians (the inhabitants of Guria, a province of Western Georgia) owning St. Helena's chapel. I assume the Georgians to be from western Georgia, and the Iberians possibly from eastern Georgia.

<sup>2</sup> See the section on the Pilgrims' Derivation of the name "Georgia", p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> See excerpts for year 1108, 1280, 1422, 1573.

<sup>4</sup> 1858, the tombstones in the wall of St. Nicholas' church. See also J. H. Iliffe and excerpt for year 1586.

<sup>5</sup> 1519, 1602-3. We are informed of a little episode which occurred in 1576; an Italian monk read the Mass in the Georgian chapel on Golgotha. This divine was prosecuted by the Georgians through the Prefect, and the Franciscan monastery was fined 1,000 ducats. "Christ once again enabled the Turks to make a large profit," it is stated. The Georgians were not actuated by selfishness or vindictiveness, their reason being that "the Italians have for their Order the Holy Sepulchre and although they allow other Christians to enter and perform their devotions, they permit none of them (i.e. of the Georgians) to read a Mass". In that case, why should they, the Georgians, permit it? See *Reysebuch durch das Hl. Land*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1609, i-ii, p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> 1347, Ludolph von Sudheim, pp. 352-3; the Pilgrim is surprised that the graves of the Latin Kings were not destroyed by the Muhammadans. See Tobler, *Golgotha*, p. 148. When these graves fell into the hands of the Greeks, they were laid level with the ground; 1422 gives us the inscription on the grave of King Godfrey de Bouillon; unfortunately, Tobler was not aware of the existence of this information; he therefore made a few errors in his reconstruction. Tobler, *Golgotha*, Supplement A. See also herein, excerpt for year 1615.

<sup>7</sup> They do not trade with the relics in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (1347); Melchior von Seidlitz: "The Georgians are the most distinguished Christians amongst the heathen." *Reysebuch*, p. 471, years 1523, 1556; the Pilgrim Barski was shown more hospitality by the Georgians than in the monastery of the Patriarchs in Jerusalem (1726); "The Georgians are kind and simple, but at the same time strong and valiant warriors" (1573, L. Reuchwolffen); in the Monastery of the Cross, the Georgian Bishop himself received and served the guests (1583, p. 200); at the entrance to the Monastery of the Cross, the Georgians had a "very beautiful fountain" (1602-3, p. 201; it was probably made for the delight of travellers); "The Georgian monks are very pious, they themselves labour in the fields and vineyards, receive all strangers and minister unto them" (1651); Tischendorf was hospitably served by the Georgian monks in 1846.

pilgrim they met the tale of this "deed of violence".<sup>1</sup> The Georgians, on the contrary, acted like true sons of a cultured and powerful nation whose religion and knowledge of church matters was utterly steadfast and unwavering.<sup>2</sup>

Georgia, the great ally of the Crusaders,<sup>3</sup> and the only Christian political power in the East after the Crusades, defended with her own blood the monasteries and churches of the Holy Land. She spared no expense to preserve these Holy Places in a fitting condition (see, for instance, the statement on p. 186 under the year 1187: the Georgians wanted to restore at their own cost the sanctuaries which had been destroyed after the expulsion of the Crusaders from the Holy Land. Other similar instances will be found in Part I<sup>4</sup>). When she was weakened by all the battles she had fought, other Christian nations took advantage of her situation in order to enrich themselves. It is sad to think that no Georgians now remain in the Holy Land.

<sup>1</sup> "The Armenians used to own Mount Calvary; four years ago, the Sultan gave it to the Georgians and the King of Georgia sent gifts to him." S. Rieter, jun., year 1479, p. 76; 1479-1480, Tuchern, p. 663; 1507, Frederick II; Radziwill, 1583, pp. 116-17.

<sup>2</sup> The Armenians, although they are not Catholics but belong to a heretic church, give out that they are Catholics to please the Pilgrims. Jacques de Verone, 1335, p. 218. "The Armenians are followers of the Roman church; The Georgians, on the other hand, are schismatics, 1336, p. 124; "The barefooted Brethren told us that the Armenians were good Christians." A pilgrim in 1506, from *Die Jerusalemfahrt des Caspar von Müllinen*, ed. by Rh. Röhrich in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1888, p. 189; 1615, p. 292. At one time, the Armenians wormed themselves into the favour of the European monks to such an extent that the latter presented them with a part of the great gallery in the hope that they would recognize the supremacy of the Pope. They own that section until this day and have never troubled themselves about the Pope" (1766). See Niebuhr's *Reisebeschreibung*, Hamburg, 1837, p. 61. For further information concerning the Armenian gallery in the Holy Sepulchre, see Tobler, *Golgotha*, 292, note 4; the Armenians probably did not receive this gallery till 1479.

The relations between the Georgians and the Greeks appear friendly. Two Georgian Bishops live in Jerusalem (one from the Monastery of the Cross, 1583, the other from Golgotha, 1584). In 1649-1653, a Georgian Metropolitan celebrated Mass in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, together with the Greek Metropolitan; at the ceremony of the Holy Fire, the Georgian Bishop was locked into the Kuvuklia with the Greek Patriarchs (1608-1634); the Georgian monks on Golgotha have the Greek monks to work for them (1593-4).

With reference to the Greek language used for the services in the Georgian monastery in Palestine, 1483; 1507, Georgius Prior; 1507, Baumgarten; 160-3 (p. 57); 1615 (p. 293); 1619 (Cotovicus); 1646); see Janin (op. cit., p. 36) "a characteristic sign of the downfall of the Georgian monasteries in Palestine was due to the fact that the monks employed the Greek language instead of their own national tongue." The Greek language was used for the liturgy, according to the Pilgrims, even during the prosperous period of the Georgians in Palestine (1483). The whole report made by the Pilgrim seems to be based on a misunderstanding, the Georgians probably only said a few prayers in Greek.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the Georgian monasteries during the time of the Crusades; it is interesting to note that although the Latins refer slightly to the Georgians as: "they (the Georgians) who also want to be Christians" (1483, Johann, Count of Solm, p. 167) or "schismatics" (ib.), they nevertheless sought their help against the Muhammadans (see the letter of Pope Pelagius which the legates sent in 1221 to Avignia, "terra Georgianorum qui sunt viri catholici et potentes in armis, rogans et obsecrans ut et ipsi ex parte sua guerram moveant Saracensis"; also *Testimonium minore*, iii, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> The Christians have held Jerusalem only twice since the Fall of the Latin Kingdom, in 1300, by the Georgians (see excerpts for years 1299, 1300) and to-day by the British.

It is my intention to write on *The Georgian colonies according to Georgian and Greek sources* as soon as I have collected all the necessary material.

## LIST OF MAJOR ABBREVIATIONS

1. Avalishvili, Z. = *From the Time of the Crusades* (in Georgian), Paris, 1929.
2. AOL = *Archives de l'Orient latin*, Paris.
3. Janin, the Rev. Father R. = *Les Géorgiens à Jérusalem*, in *Echos d'Orient*, Paris, 1913, vols. 98-100. Translated into Georgian by R. P. Shalva Vardidze, Stamboul, 1921, and quoted according to this Georgian translation.
4. Marr, N. = *An Historical Sketch of the Georgian Church since Ancient Times* (in Russian), in *Tserkovniya Vedomosti*, St. Pb., 1907.
5. Popadopulo-Kerameus = *Analekta Ierozolimitekis Stachilogias* (in Greek) St. Pb., vol. i, 1891; ii, 1894; iii, 1897; iv, 1897; v, 1898.
6. PPS = *Pravoslavnyi Palestinski Sbornik*, St. Pb.
7. PSOL = *Publications de la Société de l'Orient latin*, Paris.
8. PPTS. = *Pilgrim Palestinian Text Society*, London.
9. ROL = *Revue de l'Orient latin*, Paris.
10. Tobler = *Golgotha, seine Kirchen und Klöster*, St. Gallen und Bern, 1851; *Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen*, Berlin, vol. i, 1853; ii, 1854; *Bibliographia Geographica Palaestinae*, Leipzig, 1867.
11. Tsagareli, Al. = *The Monuments of Georgian Antiquity in Palestine and on Mount Sinai* (in Russian) in the PPS., iv, St. Pb., 1888.
12. ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina Vereins*, Leipzig.

## APPENDIX

CONCERNING THE GEORGIAN INSCRIPTIONS  
IN PALESTINE

As material for the history of the colonies of Georgian monks in Palestine, the Georgian inscriptions on the walls of the churches and the gravestones, and on the various liturgical vessels and vestments that have been found in Palestine monasteries, are of great importance.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the interest in these monuments began too late. Of the numerous inscriptions that must have been written,

<sup>1</sup> Apart from these inscriptions, the mementoes in the Georgian MSS., written by various monks, are also of the greatest importance for the history of the Georgian monks in Palestine. Tsagareli, who produced for the first time a catalogue, unfortunately failed to include all these mementoes (see his work below). Blake, who in the years 1923, 13/XII-1297, 3/I, worked in Jerusalem in the Greek Patriarchate, unfortunately also took insufficient notice of these mementoes, see his *Catalogue de manuscrits*

there are very few that have actually come to light. However, the continual excavations in Palestine are bringing more and more of these important inscriptions to light.<sup>1</sup>

The first man who made a study of the Georgian inscriptions in Palestine his object, was Timot'e (Timothy), Archbishop of K'art'li, who visited the Holy Land in the years 1754-7.<sup>2</sup> It appears that he saw a number of Georgian inscriptions, but he tells us only of two; the one concerning Giorgi (George) Abashidze, who restored the Monastery of Abraham in Jerusalem,<sup>3</sup> and the other found on a patriarchal marble throne on Golgotha, which he describes in greater detail.<sup>4</sup>

After Timot'e, the next to leave any information was the monk Lavrenti.<sup>5</sup> In a marginal note, dated 1807, to the MS. No. 146, he

*géorgiens de la bibliothèque patriarcale grecque à Jérusalem in Revue de l'Orient chrétien, Paris, 1922-3, 3 serie, t. iii (xxiii), Nr. 3 et 4, pp. 345-413 (at hand I unfortunately have only the description of 33 MSS.).*

In the summer of 1936, during my work in the Greek Patriarchate in Palestine, I, on the advice of His Holiness, the Jerusalem Patriarch Tymotheos, gave my attention to these mementoes. Fortunately I was able to recover some neglected by Tsagareli and Blake. Perhaps one day I shall be able to publish them.

Apart from these mementoes, the deeds of donations, the so-called Agapae, have been for the history of Georgian monasteries in Palestine of great importance. Marr had studied this important branch of the Science of History and edited a very important text, *The Agapae of the Monastery of the Cross in Jerusalem* (in Georgian), St. Pb., 1914, in the series of the *Bibliotheca Armeno-Georgica*, vol. iii, xxviii, 93.

The University Library in Leipzig, a bequest of Tischendorf, has, among the Georgian MSS., the parchment sheets of these little deeds. The text of these Leipzig sheets are much older than those of Palestine, edited by Marr. I possess beautiful photographs of the Leipzig sheets, and when I, time permitting, write *A History of the Colonies of Georgian Monks according to Georgian sources*, I shall certainly go searching into the question of these texts.

<sup>1</sup> An Arab in Jerusalem, George Siksen by name (of Georgian descent, so he stated), told me of a gravestone with a Georgian inscription which had been found during the building of a house in Jerusalem. My search for this stone, or more information regarding it, was unsuccessful.

<sup>2</sup> This very important travel book has already been published by Plato Yoseliani in Georgian (Tiflis, 1852). The archbishop Timot'e descended from the family Gabashvili. E. Taqashvili mentions in *Dzveli Sakart'velo, Ancient Georgia*, a journal of the Georgian Society of History and Ethnography (Tiflis, 1909, vol. i, p. 36), a Bishop Timot'e Erist'avi, who also had made a pilgrimage to Palestine, and is supposed to have left a work on his travels. This one, however, may be some other, as yet unknown, Timot'e.

<sup>3</sup> Timot'e, op. cit., 139, 157 (the publisher, Plato Yoseliani, mentions in a footnote the year 1698 as its date). This is a bilingual inscription, the text being given also in Greek. Tchubinashvili saw this Greek inscription "which was larger than the Georgian". Unfortunately he did not copy them. See Plato Yoseliani, *The Genealogy of the Princes Tchologashvili, and the martyrdom of St. Bidzina Tchologashvili* (in Russian), Tiflis, 1866, p. 24. Tsagareli reproduces this inscription only in Georgian (see his *Pamiatniki gruzinshoi stariny v sviatoi zemle i na Sinaie*, in the *Pravoslavnyi Palestinski Sbornik*, St. Pb., 1888, vol. iv, No. 1, p. 250, n. xxx. Timot'e, op. cit., 148).

<sup>4</sup> Timot'e, 140, also 151, n. 86; unfortunately during the incendiary fire at the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre by the Armenian monks in the year 1808, this inscription was destroyed. A year before the catastrophe, the Georgian monk, Lavrenti (see below), speaks of this inscription. This inscription is reproduced after the reading of Timot'e, by Tsagareli (op. cit., 247, n. xxi).

Of the other Georgian inscriptions Timot'e speaks on pp. 148-155 and 156-160 of his book.

<sup>5</sup> This monk Lavrenti came from Imeret'i and stayed during the years 1805-7 in the Monastery of the Cross and repaired the old manuscripts; see Tsagareli, op. cit., 101, 171, 191.

mentions the inscriptions on the patriarchal throne and on the doors of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>1</sup> Again, in the marginal note to the MS. No. 36,<sup>2</sup> he mentions a Georgian inscription concerning the Georgian King Giorgi on a cypress gate of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, this monk did not go thoroughly into the matter.

Giorgi Avalishvili was in the Holy Land in 1820; his book has not yet been edited.<sup>4</sup> He has evinced a keen interest in the Georgian inscriptions, some of which he has noted in his book.<sup>5</sup> In 1865<sup>6</sup> Archimandrite Porphyry Uspenski brought a few Georgian inscriptions from Jerusalem to Russia, which were afterwards edited by Plato Yoseliani in the Russian journal *Dukhovnyi Viestnik*.<sup>7</sup> In his Russian work, *The Genealogy of the Princes Tchologashvili*, etc.<sup>8</sup> Plato Yoseliani gives nine of the inscriptions published by him in *Dukhovnyi Viestnik* in 1865. For the history of the colonies of Georgian monks in Palestine, this work of Yoseliani is of the utmost importance, and it is surprising that Tsagareli makes no mention of it.

The next to interest himself in the inscriptions was Tsagareli.

<sup>1</sup> For this note see Tsagareli, op. cit., pp. 188-191.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from the description of Blake.

<sup>3</sup> This inscription remained unknown to the Georgian research workers. I have copied it, and because of its value reproduce it here:—

იერუსალემს ხის კარები აბია და ზედ ქართულად გიორგი მეფე სწერია (folio 314v)—

"Jerusalem has wooden gates on which is inscribed in Georgian 'King Giorgi'" (George).

<sup>4</sup> This travel book is to be found, as far as I know, in the Museum of Antiquities in Tiflis. Tsagareli speaks only of seven Georgian manuscripts which Giorgi Avalishvili had brought from Jerusalem to Georgia (according to Qonjoshvili—see below, p. 240, n. 4. G. Avalishvili brought fifteen Georgian manuscripts and books with him from Jerusalem). Unfortunately Tsagareli does not mention Avalishvili's book of which use has been made by Qonjoshvili.

According to Ilia Dchqonia the library of the Society for the Diffusion of Literary Knowledge in Georgia possesses the MS. of the work of Giorgi Avalishvili entitled, *A Journey to Jerusalem through Greece and back from Jerusalem to Tiflis through Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Anatolia*. This book is in two volumes of large sizes, which contain some 300 pages. See Ilia Dchqonia's preface to another work of Giorgi Avalishvili entitled *The Sinner's Appeal to God* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1884, p. iv.

<sup>5</sup> At least Qonjoshvili mentions two inscriptions copied by Avalishvili. (1) A very important Georgian inscription from the Monastery of Abraham in Jerusalem, of the year 1599, 11th September (Qonjoshvili, pp. 27-8); (2) Avalishvili had also seen an inscription in the Monastery of the Cross. Unfortunately, however, he has not, it appears, included this in his travel book, and at the time of Qonjoshvili it was no longer in existence (ib., p. 80).

<sup>6</sup> In the thirties and forties, Professor D. Tchubinashvili was in Palestine. He published some information on Georgian MSS., as well as inscriptions in Palestine in his *Georgian Chrestomathy* (St. Pb., 1846), as far as I can remember, for I have not been able to acquire or borrow this *Chrestomathy*. Tsagareli in his work (op. cit., p. 101) speaks of Nicholas Tchubinashvili, a civil servant at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who about 1830 had collected in Jerusalem some information on the Georgian buildings and frescoes there. Plato Yoseliani refers even to this description of Tchubinashvili (see above, p. 237, n. 4), also Archimandrite Leonid, p. 3, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately I have never been able to trace this journal, and I do not know how many inscriptions have been edited.

<sup>8</sup> The copy I received had seven pages missing, and it contained only nine inscriptions from Palestine (pp. 20-5).

He was in Palestine in 1883, and published Thirty-seven Georgian inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> many of which, however, were already known.<sup>2</sup> The new inscriptions that this work brought to light were those from liturgical vestments. I need hardly add that many of these inscriptions have, in the meantime, perished.<sup>3</sup>

After Tsagareli, the Georgian Dean Qonjoshvili [later Bishop Petre (Peter) Alaverdeli]<sup>4</sup> visited the Holy Land. One deduces from his book that he had seen the manuscript of Giorgi Avalishvili's travel book,<sup>5</sup> and naturally also the descriptions of Timot'e and Tsagareli. He had found only one new Georgian inscription in Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An English version of Tsagareli's work was published by Sir Oliver Wardrop entitled *Professor Tsagareli's catalogue of the Georgian Manuscripts in the Monastery of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem*, in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, pp. 168-179. (I possess a reprint, unfortunately without the date of publication or the volume of the journal). Sir Oliver gave in his English translation only the catalogue of the Georgian manuscripts. Into the German language has been translated only the historical research section of Tsagareli's work: *Historische Skizze der Beziehungen Gruzien zum hl. Lande u. zum Sinai*, by A. Anders, with notes by Guthe, in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina Vereins*, Leipzig, 1889, vol. xii, pp. 35-73. There is also in German, *Gruzinische Kolonien in Palaestina*, translated from Tsagareli by Guthe, ib., vol. xi (1888), pp. 259-260.

<sup>2</sup> Tsagareli, op. cit., pp. 241-252. Apart from Timot'e, whose copy of the Georgian inscription on the Patriarchal throne on Golgotha he reproduces on p. 241 (No. xxi), Tsagareli makes no mention of the works of Avalishvili, Tchubinashvili, Porphyry, and Yoseliani. For the history of Georgian culture in the Holy Land, it would be of great importance if all these inscriptions (above all, those from the *Dukhounyi Viestnik*, and those of Avalishvili) were published together.

<sup>3</sup> Almost all the inscriptions of the Monastery of the Cross were inscribed by the monks. Of the inscriptions of this monastery described by Tsagareli, the following no longer exist (as ascertained by me in the summer, 1936): Nos. ii (p. 243), iii (pp. 243-4), v (p. 244), vi (ib.), vii (ib.), viii (pp. 244-5), ix (p. 245), x (ib.), xi (ib.), xiv (p. 246), xv (ib.), xvi (ib.), xx (p. 247). Thus, of the twenty Georgian inscriptions that were in the Monastery of the Cross in Tsagareli's time (in the year 1883), or rather of the eighteen [for Tsagareli knew No. viii (pp. 244-5) from the Archimandrite Antonin, and No. xviii (pp. 246-7) from the Bishop Porphyry's description published in *Dukhounyi Viestnik* (?)], only five have survived to this day. These are Nos. i (pp. 241-3), iv (p. 244), xii (pp. 245-6), xiii (ib.), xix (p. 247), from among which I photographed again Nos. i (Greco-Georgian), xii, and xiii. No. xvii (p. 246), a grave stone inscription at the main entrance of the church, is now undecipherable. To the right of the iconostasis by the entrance into the diakonikon is an undecipherable Georgian inscription; (is this the No. xviii of Tsagareli?).

Altogether Tsagareli has collected thirty-seven inscriptions: i-xx from the Monastery of the Cross, xxi, that of the Patriarchal throne on Golgotha (p. 247), xxii, an inscription on the Redeemer's icon in the Church of the Resurrection of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre; probably they are still there; inscriptions xxx-xxxvi had already been made known to us from Yoseliani, resp. Porphyry; inscription xxxvii is uncertain; inscription xxx was known from Timot'e.

<sup>4</sup> *A Journey to the Holy City of Jerusalem and to Mount Athos* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1901, xii, 223.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 239, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Marr found in the Church of the Resurrection of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre a Georgian inscription which is very difficult to read. He deciphered it as well as he could (op. cit., 48). This work of Qonjoshvili-Alaverdeli contains, among others, a very interesting piece of information: "In the year 1870 the Russians found on Mount of Olives, graves, crosses, and inscriptions. These inscriptions revealed that in the graves here rested the earthly remains of some Georgian kings. I found this information in a book written by a Russian, Aleksander Anisimov, published in the year 1899. Unfortunately they would not show me these inscriptions" (op. cit., p. 44). This information of the venerable priest is based, evidently on a misunderstanding. On Mount of Olives the Russians found, during the building of their church, resp. monastery,

At the beginning of this century the late Professor N. Marr visited Jerusalem where he worked in the library of the Greek Patriarchate. To my knowledge, Marr found no new inscriptions but he had, however, found and edited valuable texts of great importance for the history of the Christian Church in Palestine or of the Georgian Church and the colonies of Georgian monks there.<sup>1</sup>

In 1931, while I was studying in Bonn on the Rhine, I received from Professor Richard Meckelein of Berlin an interesting photograph of two priest's robes. These robes were from Jerusalem, and they bore most interesting inscriptions. I deciphered them with the help of the late Professor N. Marr, who was in Bonn at the time.<sup>2</sup>

In 1932, during the building of the Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem, an interesting gravestone was unearthed, with an inscription in Greek. Unfortunately this inscription is mutilated, but this much is known, that it came from the grave of a Georgian bishop, of the time of the fifth to seventh centuries.<sup>3</sup>

During my stay in Palestine (July-August, 1936), it was possible for me to examine the inscriptions which Tsagareli had described. I found three new inscriptions, but I was only able to take photographs of two (see Plates I, II). The third inscription I have only copied

very old and important Armenian mosaic inscriptions. In the Monastery Museum there is the old, well-known gravestone with a Hebraic inscription of the Hebrew King Hosea. It is possible that some of the pilgrims confused the Armenian, resp. old Hebraic writing with Georgian (this confusion occurs quite often, even among the educated). I do not know this work of the Russian priest Aleksander Anisimov, but I do possess a work of another priest of the same name, published in the year 1877 (in Qonjoshvili one should evidently read 1877 instead of 1899). The book is called: *Extracts from a Travel Diary in Jerusalem and other Holy Places in Palestine* (in Russian), by the priest Aleksander Anisimov, Kharkov, 1877. On pp. 167-8 Anisimov describes the old graves on Mount of Olives, but he does not speak of the Georgian kings (or generally of any king). On p. 48 of this book is found a curious piece of information: "On the 29th day of June we came to Lotokia (should read Latakia, the ancient Laodycea in Syria); around this town are ruins of castles. We were shown, among others, the castle where the Queen T'amar had been kept prisoner." Is here meant the famous Georgian Queen T'amar? Where did the priest Al. Anisimov obtain this information?

<sup>1</sup> See p. 237, n. 1. Marr published some very important documents relative to the History of the Christian Church in Jerusalem. Such is, for instance, *Antiochus Strategos. The Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in the year 614*, in the *Texts and Researches of the Armeno-Georgian Philology* (in Georgian and Russian), St. Pb., 1909, vol. ix. Cf. the Archimandrite Kallistos in *Nea Sion* (in Greek), Jerusalem, 1909, p. 81 ff., and G. Graf. *The Holy Land*, Koeln, 1923, pp. 19-29. Marr further published, in accordance with the Georgian MS., No. 2 of the Greek Patriarchate, his famous work, *Georgi Mertchul. The Life of St. Gregory of Khandz'ta* (written in the year 951), in the *Texts and Researches of the Armeno-Georgian Philology* (in Georgian and Russian), St. Pb., 1911, vol. vii. The Latin translation of this work by P. Paul Peeters was published in *Histoires monastiques géorgiennes*, Brussels, 1923, a reprint from *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxxvi-xxxvii (the Introduction, pp. 207-216; the Text, pp. 216-309).

<sup>2</sup> The letter from Professor Dr. Richard Meckelein of the 25th November, 1931. The inscription No. 1 mentioned Revas Endronikashvili. This name is known to us through Marr's *Agapae*, etc. (pp. xxi, 53). No. 2 unfortunately is almost undecipherable; it is, however, dated K'oronikon 390, that is, 1702. I believe these robes are now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin.

<sup>3</sup> See J. H. Ilife, *Cemeteries and a "Monastery" at the Y.M.C.A., Jerusalem*; a reprint, without date, from *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, vol. iv, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 70-80.



(see below, p. 246). Apart from these three inscriptions I have had all the fragments of gravestones photographed, which bore Georgian inscriptions, and which were to be found in Katamoni (the monastery of St. Simeon the God-receiver). One of these is a comparatively large fragment of stone (see Plate III, fig. 1), and three small pieces (Pl. III, fig. 2). Tsagareli saw these stones himself, but unfortunately they were in such a bad state that he was not able to decipher their inscriptions.

Thus is the history of the Georgian inscriptions in Palestine to be pieced together in emigration in a manner of mosaic work, from fragments collected from the various great European libraries. The new excavations in Palestine, and above all, the religiously disinterested research workers of England and America, may yet turn over a new page in the history of Georgian culture.<sup>1</sup>

For my work, *An Account of the Georgian Monks and Monasteries, as revealed in the Writings of Non-Georgian Pilgrims*, printed above, I wanted to give as an illustration, without a detailed description of them, the photographic reproductions of the new inscriptions I had discovered.<sup>2</sup> The editor of this journal, Mr. A. Gugushvili, had, however, sent these photographs to the master-decipherer of ancient Georgian inscriptions, the archæologist, Professor E. Taqashvili, of Paris. I must apologize that the valuable time of the Professor should have been taken up in this manner, although it is probably much more valuable to have a learned opinion from such an experienced scholar in this sphere, than that of a beginner.

This step taken by Mr. Gugushvili has led to my writing this appendix. I think that almost everything that has been written on Georgian inscriptions in Palestine has been collected in the bibliography given herein.

Now for the inscriptions accompanying this article.<sup>3</sup>

Plate I. Professor Taqashvili describes this piece of embroidery as follows:—

“According to the inscription itself, it is a Georgian *dap'arna*,

<sup>1</sup> It would be easier and less expensive if the Palestine Museum carried out excavations in the garden of the residence of the Greek Patriarch, nearer the Monastery of St. Nicholas. This place is now used by the Greeks as a rubbish heap. The inscription No. xxxi (Tsagareli, op. cit., pp. 250-1) can now be only half seen. Archimandrite Leonid had seen here many of the gravestones with Georgian inscriptions. So at least, he declares: “In the wall of the Church (of St. Nicholas) behind the garden of the Patriarch's residence are gravestones with Georgian inscriptions” (see his, *Jerusalem, Palestine, and Athos, in The Reports of the Russian pilgrimages of the XIV-XVII centuries* (in Russian) in the *Transactions of the Russian Imperial Society of History and Antiquity*, Moscow, 1871, January-March, pp. 8-9, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> My countryman, Dr. Dimo Tskhondia, helped me very much in my work in the summer of 1936 in Jerusalem. All these photographs were taken by him, and here I offer him my heartfelt thanks.

<sup>3</sup> The learned opinion of Professor Taqashvili will be placed, in each case, within quotation marks.

that is a cover or veil for putting over holy offerings, or over the chalice. However, judging from the scene embroidered, it is purely and simply a Georgian *gardamokhsna*, that is an altar cloth or cover, on which is represented the Descent from the Cross. In such representations the actual descent from the Cross is never depicted, but the body of Christ is shown as having just been taken down by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus and either placed in a white linen cloth or shroud, or simply laid on the ground. Some representations depict the lamentation for Christ (the threne, *Θρήνος*); others, the anointing with myrrh; while others again show both these themes at the same time. On our embroidery the anointing is represented, with Joseph and Nicodemus, two angels in white chasubles, and three holy women in an attitude of mourning. Similar scenes are repeated also on antimensia representing a consecrated cloth, or, sometimes, a slab of wood, used in place of an altar, and called *odiki* (sing.) in Georgian.”

In the background is seen the Cross with the extremely interesting Greek inscription: Ν Ι Β Ι (δ) Ναζωραῖος Ἰησοῦς (δ) Βασιλεὺς (τῶν) Ἰουδαίων.<sup>1</sup> To the right of the Cross is observed a cane pole with a sponge attached to it (see Mark 15, 36) and to the left, a lance (see John 19, 34). This whole scene is beautifully hand-embroidered in silk thread. On all sides is handworked an inscription in *asomt'avruli* (majuscule ecclesiastical) alphabet, which is reproduced below in the *mkhedruli* (military) alphabet:—

(Abbreviated)

1. ქ- ჩენ- ცვა- ფრათა- თქნთა- მნდობმ
2. ან- ამილხრის- ძემან- ვტნგ- და- მეცხე
3. ღრემნ- სარდლის- ასულმა- ყდ- უბდრკმნ- ელენემ: შე
4. ვაკეინთ: დაფრნა: ესე: და: შეესწრეთ- დბლსა- საფლსა: ოფისასა:

(In full)

1. ქ- ჩვენ ცვა-ფარათა თქვენთა მონდობილმ-
2. ან ამილახორის ძემან ვახტანგ და თანა მეცხე-
3. ღრემან, სარდლის ასულმა, ყოვლად უბადრუკმან ელენემ, შე-
4. ვაკერინეთ დაფარნა ესე და შეესწირეთ დიდებულსა საფლავსა უფლისასა.

Translation:—

“We, who trust in your support and protection,<sup>2</sup> the son

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is extremely important for the history of the title superscribed on the Cross. In Matthew this title is given as: “This is Jesus the King of the Jews,” in Mark (15, 26): “The King of the Jews,” in Luke (23, 38): “This is the King of the Jews,” and lastly, in John (19, 19): “Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews.” The Christian iconography and the Church have adopted this last superscription. In our inscription the word Nazoraeus (Nazarite) is placed before the name of Jesus.

<sup>2</sup> The appeal is made to all the Saints represented on the embroidery.



of Amilakhori, Vakhtang and (my) wife, the daughter of *Sardali*,<sup>1</sup> the most wretched Elene, have had this *dap'arna* made and have offered it to the glorious sepulchre of Christ."

In Taqaishvili's opinion, the persons mentioned in this inscription, Vakhtang Amilakhori and his wife Elene (Helen), are not known from other sources. The embroidery itself is, also in his opinion, of the seventeenth century; it is now kept in the depository of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre.

Plate II. A representation of an epigonation (*ἐπιγονάριον*) is described by Taqaishvili as follows:—

"The second item is the Georgian *enk'eri*, an embroidered square worn during Divine Service by prelates, suspended from the right shoulder. *Enk'eris* usually depict various evangelical characters and scenes. The scene embroidered on our *enk'eri* is generally called 'the Resurrection', *ἡ Ἀνάστασις*, or, in English, the 'Descent into Limbo'; Georgians and Slavs term it the 'Captivity of Hell'. In a circle surrounded by a Greek inscription, Christ, with His halo of divinity, is seen standing on the broken gates of Hell. His left hand bears the Cross, symbol of victory, whilst with his right hand he grasps the fore-arm of the kneeling Adam and raises him up; a symbol of the freeing from Sin of Man's progenitor. Behind Adam stand kings—the younger is David; the elder, Solomon.<sup>2</sup> On the left of Christ kneels Eve, imploring, while behind her stand two prophets. At each corner of the square there was originally depicted a half-length figure, evidently representing an evangelist, but one of these figures has been completely effaced. Around the whole picture runs a Georgian inscription in *asomtavruli*, in interwoven letters; this, however, is very defective. The text contains a troparion, which is said or sung at the ceremony of putting this vestment on a prelate, and which represents Psalm 44, 3-4, of the Georgian Bible.

Our text differs somewhat from the texts, already published by me, from the *enk'eris* of the Martvili and Tsaishi monasteries (see my *Archaeological Journeys and Notes*, ii, pp. 77, 187)."

This inscription, or rather what Taqaishvili has been able to decipher, we reproduce here in *mkhedruli* (military) alphabet:—

შეგ მახვილი შენი ძლიერო და შენ მიერთია შეგნებითა  
შენითა და შენითა სიკეთითა გარდაცე(?) და წარემართე:  
და სუფევდი ქეშმარიტებითა და პატროსნებითა

<sup>1</sup> *Sardali* means in Georgian the General, and as a surname it is unknown to me; literally translated it means "the General's daughter . . . Helen."

<sup>2</sup> According to Professor D. Talbot Rice, who was good enough to examine the photograph in question, the figures standing behind Adam represent David and Saul. This scene is, in the opinion of Professor Rice, "almost always employed in Byzantine iconography to depict the Resurrection, *ἡ Ἀνάστασις τῶν Χριστῶν*." (Editors' note.)

Translation:—

"Gird thy sword, O mighty, with thy glory and thy goodness.  
And go and rule in truth and righteousness."<sup>1</sup>

The embroidery is most probably of the seventeenth century; it is kept in the depository of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre.

Plate III, Fig. 1, represents only a "fragment of a gravestone inscription, found in Jerusalem during the restoration of Katamoni (the Monastery of St. Simeon) in 1859. It is a three-line inscription in beautiful *asomt'avruli*. Although some letters are quite clearly visible, it is useless to transcribe the inscription as, owing to its defectiveness, no sense can be derived". So Professor Taqaishvili informs Mr. Gugushvili. Tsagareli had seen this gravestone fragment and he mentions it in his book (op. cit., pp. 123-4).<sup>2</sup> In the first line of the inscription, to the right, is an abbreviated word *q̄b'l*, which reads in full *q̄b'ili* and signifies formerly, ex, late (literally "been"). It was the custom to attach this word to the first names of the ladies of the royal family (and, I think, even to those of the queens) who became nuns; see example in Tsagareli (op. cit.), Inscription No. xxxi (pp. 250-1),<sup>3</sup> wherein is mentioned, "The Queen of Kakhet'i, Elizabeth formerly Helen."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ps. 45, 3-4, of the English Bible. The Greek inscription, referred to above, which Professor R. M. Dawkins, of Exeter College, Oxford, was good enough to decipher for us, also represents Ps. 45, 3-4 = 45, 4-5 in LXX. (Editors' note.)

<sup>2</sup> See also *A Short Topographical Description of the Monastery of St. Simeon called also Katamonos, which is near the Holy City of Jerusalem*, Moscow, 1882 (a Russian translation from the Greek; quoted by Tsagareli, p. 123). On p. 15 of this book (Tsagareli, ib.), mention is made of this stone. In 1883 Tsagareli (ib., 124) saw this stone "in the chancel of the church lying on the floor to the left of the altar". Tsagareli could not decipher its inscription.

To the credit of the monastic authorities these stones (Pl. III, figs. 1 and 2) are very carefully preserved.

<sup>3</sup> See also Professor E. Taqaishvili's *Antiquities of Georgia* in this number, p. 108. (Editors' note.)

<sup>4</sup> This inscription has already been published four times; for the first time by Plato Yoseliani, probably in the *Dukhovnyi Vestnik*; then again by the same scholar in his *The Genealogy of the Princes Tchologashvili*, etc., as No. 5 (p. 23); it was published by Tsagareli in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, Leipzig, 1881, vol. iv, pp. 222, 223; and subsequently also by Tsagareli in his work so often quoted here (pp. 250-1). According to Yoseliani (ib., note 2): "Elene was the mother of King Giorgi, who is also known under the name of Leon I. After the death of her husband in 1492 she became a nun and died in Jerusalem. She is also mentioned in the Diptychs of the Greek Patriarchate." That does not, however, prevent the Greeks from using her last resting place as a rubbish heap. According to Tsagareli (*Zeitsch. d. Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*) she is "undoubtedly the daughter of the King of Kakhet'i, David II (+ 1604), and the sister of King Teimuraz I (1605-1648 with interruptions). In 1615 she went first to Persia and later, in 1624, to Jerusalem, where she founded the Monastery of St. Nicholas. She herself assumed a monastic life under the name Elizabeth".

According to Yoseliani (ib.) this inscription is placed "on the narrow altar" of the Monastery of St. Nicholas in Jerusalem. Tsagareli states that it is on socle of the altar of the St. Nicholas Monastery. I saw this inscription on the wall (not "on the narrow altar" or on its socle) of the Monastery of St. Nicholas that faces the Patriarch's garden. It is possible that in Archimandrite Porphyry's time, who brought a copy of



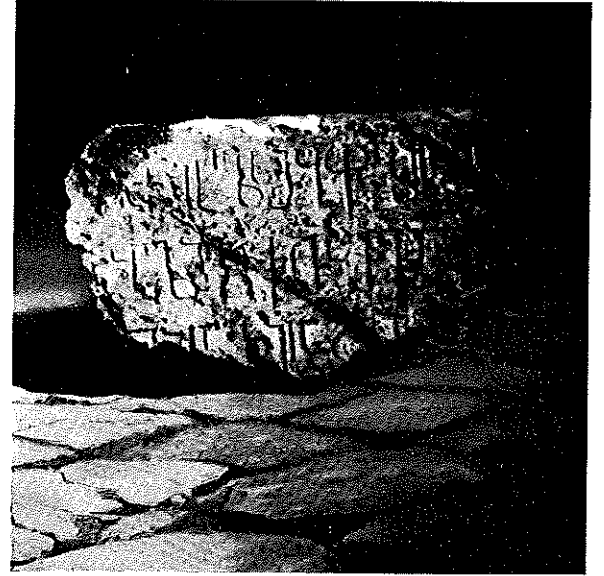
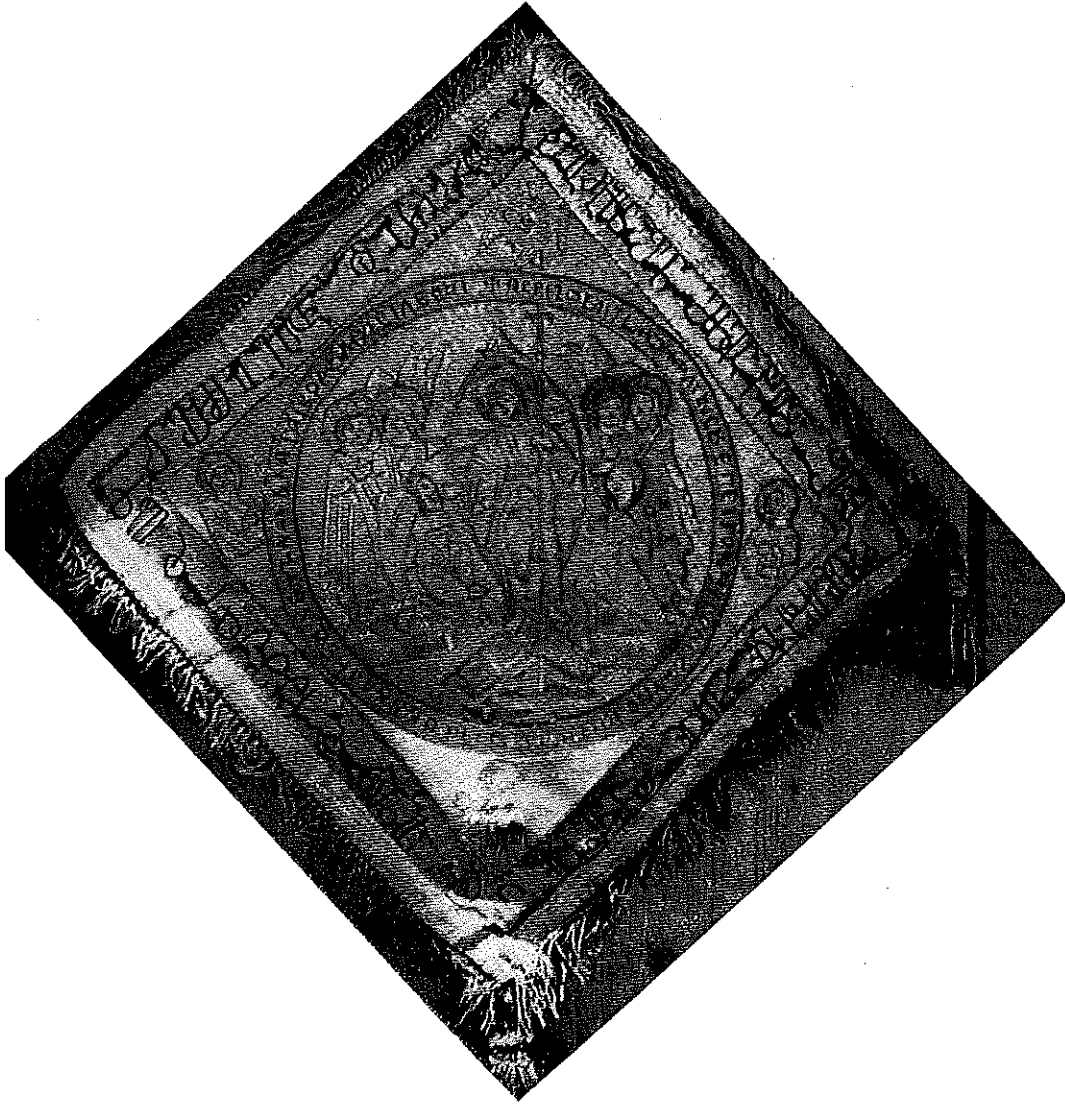


FIG. 1.

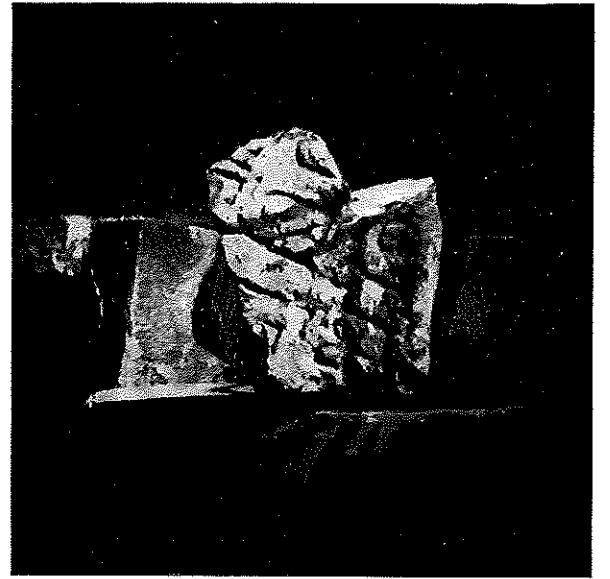


FIG. 2.

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## THE HURRI-LANDS<sup>1</sup>

By ARSHAK SAFRASTIAN

### I.

SOME fifty years ago the late Rev. A. H. Sayce<sup>2</sup> revealed the historical existence of the forgotten empire of the Hittites. In a small book he correlated most of the references from classical sources with recent discoveries of ancient monuments scattered between the region of Izmir and Northern Syria and the Middle Euphrates. The discovery of the Tell-Amarna letters in Egypt in 1887 was a further contribution to knowledge on the empire of the Hittites. But nothing definite was known of that people until Hugo Winckler unearthed the vast royal archives of the Hittites at Boghaz-keuy, some eighty miles east from Ankara, in 1906-7.

Like the discoveries of Assyrian and Babylonian libraries during the middle of the last century, these royal archives of the Hittites have opened up new historical perspectives by shedding most vivid light on the social and political conditions of Asia Minor and Armenia from nearly 2000 B.C. onwards. These cuneiform tablets, written in four different languages,<sup>3</sup> so far interpreted, contain a variety of information from laws and treaties signed by Hittite kings with neighbouring States, to such curious items as treatises on the breeding and training of horses. From these Hittite archives an amount of information has become available sufficient to revolutionize the historical conceptions held in regard to western Asia up to the beginning of the present century.

Before the Boghaz-keuy discoveries, archæological science and the historical research which is dependent on it had tended to disregard the relative significance of the region lying between the Euphrates, the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea. The vast cuneiform literature from the Assyrian and Babylonian libraries, affording an accidental priority in knowledge of the history of those areas, had created the impression—none the less based on solid epigraphic evidence—that Babylon and Nineveh had been the first centres of original cultures in western Asia, and that the "mountaineers" all around, from Elam to the Caspian and Black Seas, were "rebels" if they did not recognize the suzerainty of Aššur. These pretensions of the Kings of Assyria seemed the more unassailable, since the classical historians from Herodotus onwards unknowingly confirmed the cuneiform records of Assyria.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. W. E. D. Allen for his interest and advice on one or two points in this article.

<sup>2</sup> The Hittites: *The story of a forgotten Empire*, 1888. The introduction. Also his article in *Academy*, 1879, 1st November.

<sup>3</sup> B. Hrozný, *Archiv Orientální*, iii, pp. 285 et seqq.



Since Hrozný succeeded in deciphering the first Hittite texts from Boghaz-keuy in 1915,<sup>1</sup> every year has brought more light to bear upon the real position of affairs in western Asia throughout the second millennium B.C.

Among other interesting disclosures in the Hittite texts, a new people or a group of peoples—and a new language—have emerged from the oblivion of the earlier Neolithic Period. The Hittite Great Kings of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. speak of a political entity designated some times as Hurri-land and sometimes as Harri-peoples, against whom they waged wars and with whom they concluded treaties of peace and friendship.

Among several of the political treaties which the Hittite kings concluded with neighbour States, there is one which gives the amplest information on the position of the Hurri-lands. This political treaty was concluded by the Hittite Great King Šuppilulyuma (? 1390–? 1368) with King Tette of Nuḫḫašši, a small State in the Middle Euphrates valley.<sup>2</sup> Šuppilulyuma, probably the greatest Hittite ruler—whom the late H. R. Hall compared to Bismarck of Germany<sup>3</sup>—concluded another treaty in almost identical terms with King Aziru of Amurru. This treaty is of great value because it shows the real position of that country in relation to the other three greatest powers of the age.

The gist of the two treaties is that, if and when the Hittite Great King undertakes a campaign against, or if and when he is attacked by, the land of Hurri, the land of Mišri (Egypt), or the land of Karduniaš (Babylon), King Tette of Nuḫḫašši and King Aziru of Amurru shall come to his assistance with all their troops and war-chariots.

In the following sections of these treaties, by some sort of paraphrase which might be called the preamble to the treaty, Šuppilulyuma adds also two other countries of middle size, the lands of Aštata and Alše,<sup>4</sup> and smaller States like Mušiš, Ḫalpa, and Kinza. "And with my

<sup>1</sup> Hrozný, *MDOG.*, lvi (1915), pp. 47 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Weidner, Ernst F., *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, in the series *Boghaz-keuy Studien*, viii (1923). *Vertrag zwischen Š. und T. König von Nuḫḫašši*, pp. 58–9, 70–1, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William M. Ramsay* (1923), Manchester University Press, pp. 174 et seqq.

<sup>4</sup> For the purpose of this essay it is important to determine the position of Alše in relation to the lands of Hurri. Alše is the Hittite transcription of Alzi, mentioned often in Assyrian and Haldian (cf. *CICH.*, Textband 1, No. 19 rev., line 8), records. It is the old Armenian province of Aghšenik' (Աղձնիք), the Arzanene of the Greeks, the Beith Arzāye of the Syrians. Aghšenik' consists of the place-name Aghç = Alše, and the suffix -niq or -uniq, the local determinative so common in Armenian family and place-names, such as Budunik', Bznunik', etc. Unable to reproduce the exact sound of the Armenian letter ձ—ds, Greek classical writers turned the place-name Alše-Aghšenik' into Arzanene from the name of the historical city Aršn, the Zialet of the Kurds, some five miles to the north-west of modern Zoq, the administrative centre of the Turkish kaza of Kharzan. Both etymologically and topographically the land of Alše corresponds to the old Armenian province of Aghšenik' (cf. Hübschmann, *Alt-armenische Ortsnamen*, pp. 310–311).

friends," says Šuppilulyuma in the treaty, "he (Tette) shall be a friend, and with my enemies he shall be an enemy. When the King of the land of Ḫatti (stays) in the land of Hurri or in the land of Mišri or in the land of Karduniaš or in the land of Aštata or in the land of Alše, he must be . . ." a friend or an enemy in accordance with the political relationship of the Hittite king with those named countries.<sup>1</sup> As witness to these treaties and to their faithful maintenance the Hittite king invokes the blessings or imprecations of some forty gods and goddesses of the region, as well as of mountains, rivers and fountains, the great sea, the heaven and earth and clouds.

In the letter and in spirit it would seem that these two treaties reveal the distribution of political power in western Asia about the year 1370 B.C. There were three great countries besides the Hittite Empire itself, and two categories of smaller ones, which in the eyes of Šuppilulyuma were worth considering as potential enemies or rivals for the mastery of Anatolia. In each treaty the Hittite king mentions first the land of Hurri, then Mišri, and finally Karduniaš. From the texts of the treaties it is impossible to ascertain the motives which served as a basis for Šuppilulyuma's classification of the three countries in this order. It is to be supposed that the Hittite king viewed his adversaries from the standpoint of their military strength and political organization both at that particular juncture and for times to come. If this interpretation of the above-mentioned treaties be admitted, then it suggests that the land of Hurri was the most formidable power of the time, and that even the kingdom of Mitanni was a mere interlude—an accidental emergence within the vast union of the Hurri-lands. Weidner indicates a similar conception, in the Šuppilulyuma-Matiuaza treaty, in writing "Waššugganni, der Hauptstadt von Mitanni und vorher von Gross-Hurri".<sup>2</sup>

There are several other place and proper names in these Šuppilulyuma treaties which help to indicate the western and south-western frontiers of the land of Hurri in quite a definite sense.

The Hittite king speaks of his attack on the land of Išuwa, which lay on the eastern frontier of the Hittite kingdom. There can be little doubt that Išuwa is the Hittite form of the Old Armenian province of Dzop'k' = Ծոփք, the Sophene/Sophanene of the classical writers, the region lying between the great bend of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and to the west of the province of Alše-Aghšenik', as defined above. Roughly, Dzop'k' contained the districts of Harperd, Diarbekr, and Dersim. Weidner refers to A. H. Sayce, W. Belck, and M. Streck in confirmation of these identifications.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Weidner, *Politische Dokumente*, op. cit., pp. 60–1.

<sup>2</sup> Weidner, *Politische Dokumente*, op. cit., *Staatsverträge*, pp. 8–9, note 6.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 4, note 5.



Dzop'k' is in plural form, meaning thereby more than one district bearing the name. According to Armenian classical tradition three were two Dzop'k': (a) the great Dzop'k' corresponding to the land Šupani<sup>1</sup> of the Haldian records; and (b) Dzop'k' Šahûneats, corresponding to the land Šebiteriani of the Haldian records,<sup>2</sup> the centre of which is the modern town of Palu, just on the apex of the bend of the Euphrates.

A linguistic analysis seems to establish the origin of the place-name. If we drop the initial vowel *I-* of Išuwa, we get the radical -šuwa, and if we substitute respectively the *š-* and *-w-* of -šuwa by Armenian *dz-* and *-p'-*, we get exactly the provincial name Dzop'a, which can be Dzop'k' in plural in accordance with normal Armenian rule.

The land Šebiteriani, mentioned above from the Palu inscription by Menua, seems to be the native and therefore the more correct form of Išuwa, although in transcription they are derived from the same root: Šuwa = Šebi<sup>3</sup> = Dzop'(k'). As to *-iani*, the last portion of the Haldian Šebiteriani, it is the historic genitilic suffix of particularly Armenian, and also of Georgian, family names.

Thus the boundaries between the Hittite and the Hurri lands are fixed: in the south the land of Alše; in the west and south-west the lands of Išuwa-Šebiteriani. But in the same treaty Šuppilulyuma gives other details about lands and men, which enable the student to further identify the land of Alše. After fighting the people of Išuwa, the Hittite king attacked the Kaširi mountains, which may be identified with the Tur-Abdin of to-day. Immediately after follows the name Antara[*tla*]-the king of the land of Alše. In combination with the territorial names referred to above, this personal name Antara or Antara[*tla*] throws further light on the region under discussion. It may have been the patronymic of the kings of Alše, but for a later period of pagan Armenia the name has been associated with a sacred shrine, which has remained respected down to modern times by Christian and Mussulman alike. I identify this name Antara,

<sup>1</sup> Sayce, A. H., *JRAS.*, 1882, pp. 558 et seqq., No. xxxiii, lines 5-6; also Sayce, *JRAS.*, 1894, pp. 26 et seqq., cf. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *CICh.*, Textband II, pp. 57-8, No. 31, line 5, where among others is mentioned the land of Huzanani, that is, the district of Hozan, to-day, in Dersim.

<sup>2</sup> Sayce and Lehmann-Haupt on pages mentioned in the previous note.

<sup>3</sup> The group of signs which represents the letter *-š-* in cuneiform epigraphy, almost uniformly corresponds in Armenian with the letter *š-* *dz* or *g* *-ts*, both in proper names and in nouns and verbs. For instance, the Haldian verb *ašiu-* is equivalent to Armenian verb *ušhł -adzłł* (cf. Friedrich, *ZA.*, N.F., vi (1931), p. 281 and note 5); the passive form *ašuu* of the same verb, cf. M. Tseretheli, *NHI.* (1928), p. 16, E, line 11) seems to change the sense of the word: *šüşe*, young cattle, unweaned, is Arm. *ššhłp* = *dzedz-kër*, young children, lambs, calves, unweaned, and many other words.

resp. Antara[*tla*] with the place-name Andarutta, mentioned by Sargon II of Assyria (722-705 B.C.) in his eighth campaign against Rusas I of Haldia (? 733-714 B.C.). On completing his campaign, Sargon II sent his main army home and, escorted by 1,000 picked horsemen, he marched to attack Mušasir "par les défilés de l'Andarutta, le mont difficile. . ."<sup>1</sup> The Antara of the Hittites, the Andarutta of the Assyrians, are identical both historically and topographically with the Old Armenian place-name Vantër — *ušhłp*<sup>2</sup> since the Christian era replaced by the name Surb Aghberik, a very old sacred convent on the crest of the Armenian Taurus, at the western end of the wild and romantic valley of Khoyt'. It is evident that the geographer, Vardan, identifies Vantër with Surb Aghberik, in a very narrow sense. In Haldian times Vantër must have been the name for the entire district, stretching westwards to the giant peak of Mount Andok' in Armenian Sasun.

Another topographical fact relating to the region is the place-name Basur, which Weidner has produced from a badly-broken fragment.<sup>3</sup> This place-name seems to be the P'asur of to-day, the administrative centre of the *kaza* of Khulp, a large village at the entrance to a narrow pass on the borders of Sasun and Guinj. It is about six hours' ride from Vantër as the crow flies, towards the south-west—an altogether pathless and wild region.

In the light of these localizations, the land of Hurri, through the definition of its western and south-western borders, is brought to the watershed of the eastern Euphrates (Aradzani—Murad-chai) and the eastern Tigris (Bitlis-su, Motki-su), within a short distance of the Lake of Van.

After discussing the spread of the Hurrians from Egypt (the Hyksos) to Babylonia and Anatolia, Professor Pfeiffer thinks that the appearance of Indo-Iranians in Anatolia is still obscure "because we have no information concerning the place of origin and racial stock of the Hurrians. Their very name is in dispute and appears variously

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Thureau-Dangin, *Une Relation de la huitième Campagne de Sargon*, 1912, line 425. This identification of Andarutta-Vantër raises the whole problem of the locality of Uaias, Mušasir, and several dozens of other place-names as discussed by M. Thureau-Dangin and Professor Lehmann-Haupt. I hope to return to this subject at a later date.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vardan (thirteenth century), in St. Martin, *Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Arménie*, tome II, 1819, p. 430. The convent is situated on a gigantic cliff rising like a steep wall above the valleys of Khoyt' and Brnashen. It commands the mountain passes and roads which lead southwards to the Bohtan-su and Alše, and northwards to Taron (modern Muš). I have travelled in those districts several times. In 1907, in company with the late Mr. W. B. Heard, H.B.M. Vice-Consul at Diarbekr, we started from Bitlis, due west. The cliff referred to above is so steep that we had to crawl for half an hour, even although we had heavy iron-pointed sticks. A full description of the district has been published by me in *Handes Ansoyva*, the Armenian philological periodical published in Vienna, in the numbers for 1933-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Pol. Dok.*, op. cit., pp. 58-9, line 28.

in recent publications as Hurri, Mitanni, and Subareans".<sup>1</sup> In different words A. Götze thinks that "it is important for us to determine the geographical extent of the Hurri-lands because it is the sole means by which the sphere of the population ruling over it can be comprehended. . . . The Boghaz-keuy texts speak of the Hurri-lands in the plural. Beside North Syria two other important political regions belong to them: the Kingdom of Mitanni and the land of Hurri in the narrow sense. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

During the first period of Hittite research, namely from Forrer<sup>3</sup> to Sydney Smith, almost all investigators identified the land of Hurri with Armenia. Since the discovery of some inscriptions (in Hurrian?) at Ras Šamra and elsewhere in Syria, the scales have been turning towards Syria and Northern Iraq—particularly in the last few years. Towards the end of the above-mentioned first phase, Sydney Smith summed up the prevailing scientific view in the following words: "The land of the Hurri certainly lay in the mountain ranges which stretch from the Euphrates to Lake Wan, but on the exact limits of their territory there is no agreement."<sup>4</sup>

Before proceeding to a definition of the Hurri-land proper in a narrow sense—stretching from the Euphrates to the Caucasus Chain and the Caspian Sea—a few words must be said as to the expansion of the Hurri peoples—owing to causes hitherto unknown—from Palestine to northern Iraq and elsewhere.

With full citations of cuneiform texts and from the Old Testament, Speiser has proved the existence of Hurri elements in Palestine and as far as the borders of Egypt.<sup>5</sup> Nothing useful can be added to the cogent arguments produced by Speiser in so far as concerns the Hurri-lands between the Euphrates and the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Leaving research at that point, an attempt must be made to define

<sup>1</sup> Pfeiffer, Robert H., *Nuzi and the Hurrians*, in the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1935, p. 552. Probably also Pfeiffer will agree with Speiser and Joh. Friedrich "dass man besser von churrischer als von subaräischer Sprache reden sollte, da Hurri die genügend bezeugte einheimische Volksbezeichnung und Subaräer nur die unklare akkadische Benennung ist." (Cf. Friedrich, *Mélanges Linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen, Acta Jullandica*, ix, 1 (1937), p. 523, note 1.) As to the name Hurri, it seems that F. Sommer has removed all doubt as to the accurate transliteration of the name. (*Die Abhijawa-Uykunden in Abhandlungen der Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1932, pp. 42-3; Hrozny has done the same in *Archiv. Orientalni*, i, p. 92 et seqq., 1929). As to the native tradition, see following pages.

<sup>2</sup> A. Götze, *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrer. Hauptlinien d. Vorderasiatischen Kulturentwicklung im 11. Jahr. von Chr. Geb.*, published by Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie A, xvii, Oslo, 1936, p. 102. Götze quotes most of the investigators in favour of the form Hurri or the opposite.

<sup>3</sup> Forrer, E., *ZDMG.*, N.F. 1 (1922), pp. 224-8, 288-9, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, Sydney, *Early History of Assyria to 1000 B.C.*, 1928, p. 212; cf. also p. 71. His bibliographical note on pp. 384-5 seems to be fully confirmed by old and modern place-names of Armenia.

<sup>5</sup> Speiser, E. A., *The Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.* Publications of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Offprint Series No. 1, 1933; cf. also Speiser, *AASOR.*, xiii (1933), pp. 21 et seqq.

the Hurri-lands east of the Euphrates. An enumeration of family, district, and other place-names typical of the region covered by the above definition will give a definite indication as to the extent of the Hurri-lands in a north-easterly direction. This enumeration is by no means complete, yet sufficiently illustrative for the purposes of this essay.

No other region in western Asia can show such a large number of hereditary, family and personal names, ancient monuments, cities, fortresses, villages, convents, shrines, etc., beginning with the stem *Hur*, or occasionally *Har*, as the region lying between the Euphrates and the Caspian Sea, and on some of its peripheries. As will be shown below, such a collection of personal and place-names—many of them surviving until to-day—cannot be a result of mere coincidence. By every canon of historical reasoning and human experience it should mean one thing: that the Hurri people or peoples were dominant for so long a period in the region concerned that they were able to leave a prevailing cultural tradition which has impressed their name and their heritage, as it were, upon a vast arc in indelible ink. As a matter of historical fact, in no other region of western Asia has an historical tradition so tenaciously lingered as in the land or lands of the Hurri people. There have been many invasions of new peoples over this region; some completely alien elements have settled in certain portions of the Hurri-land; reputedly strong cultural and religious influences have for centuries been at work both from the east and from the west over the country formerly occupied by the Hurri; nevertheless all these elements seem to have failed to obliterate certain characteristics of the period of Hurri domination. The most telling evidence for such an assumption is the present toponymy of the land itself.

1. First, in eastern Cappadocia, must be mentioned the name of the River *Khurman-su*, flowing from a westerly direction into the Euphrates. On its banks stands the hamlet Izgin, about six miles west of Albistan. In this former place Sir William Ramsay and D. G. Hogarth<sup>1</sup> discovered the famous Hittite obelisk, bearing a "Hittite" hieroglyphic inscription which Hrozny seems to have just deciphered.<sup>2</sup> A close examination on the spot will alone establish whether the name *Khurman* is the modern appellative of "the land of the River *Haluya*", which appears in this "Hittite" hieroglyphic inscription of Izgin.<sup>3</sup> In any case it is worth recalling a historical fact of some significance: for nearly two and a half centuries (860-612 B.C.), Urartu and Assyria

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil des Travaux relatifs à la Philologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, xv, pp. 91 et seqq., and pls. 1 and 2. For a number of place-names, besides *Khurman-su*, like *Hori*, *Yarpuz*, etc., cf. Wilhelm Tomaschek, *Historisch-Topographisches vom Oberen Euphrat und Ost-Kappadokien in Festschrift für Kieperi* (1898), pp. 146 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Archiv Orientalni*, viii (1936), pp. 273 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 276-7, note 13.

waged an almost ceaseless warfare for the political mastery of these regions and of the Taurus passes leading to the Mediterranean. The wars between Arame of Urartu and Shalmanasar III of Assyria (860-824 B.C.) may be recalled; the domination over this region of the Urartian Kings Menua and Argišti (810-750 B.C.); and the fierce antagonism between Sardur III (?) and Tiglath-pileser IV (745-733 B.C.).

The old-Hellenic tradition places the Gates of Armenia at the chief ford of the Euphrates on the western bank. Eratosthenes (third century B.C.), basing his reckoning on the measurements of the engineers of Alexander the Great, gives a distance of 1,100 stadia between Thapsakos and Armenion Pylai<sup>1</sup> (Portae Armeniae). This Graeco-Roman designation of the Gates of Armenia is identified by modern research with Kōmür-khan<sup>2</sup> or with Izoli,<sup>3</sup> a little higher up the river. The inscription by Sardur III (?) at Izoli is the westernmost record by Urartian monarchs discovered up till now. Whether this inscription at Izoli has any relation to the Macedonian conception of the Armenian Gates on the Euphrates is an historical problem which deserves a fuller inquiry on its own merits.

At any rate, this secular strife on the part of Urartu for the possession of eastern Cappadocia, Commagene, and the Taurus passes cannot necessarily be considered as based only on economic and military grounds; it seems to show furthermore a claim of some underlying ethnic relationship.

2. Crossing the Euphrates eastwards one enters the Hurri-lands proper. The vast ruins of *Har* seem to be the western boundary of the Hurri in the loop of the river near the modern city of Kharberd (Turkish, El-Aziz). A well-known folklorist,<sup>4</sup> who on several occasions during the years 1876-1880 studied the surroundings of Kharberd, gives the following description:—

Coming down from Kharberd in a north-westerly direction, I arrived at Khar in two hours, where I examined the ruins of vast constructions large enough to form a city, now a Turkish village lying on the edge of Kush-ova. In the vicinity of Khar there are some small ramshackle villages, such as Khar-seak, Khochik, Chakkli-Mrza, Acob-mrza, Khorpe, and Dzar-ruk, in and around all of which I saw extensive ruins and long stretches of foundation-walls above the surface. The Armenian natives told me that

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, II, i, 26; cf. also XI, xii, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 et seqq., cf. also Jos. Markwart, *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen* (1930), pp. 8, 50, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, C. F., *Armenien einst und jetzt*, Band I (1910), pp. 479 et seqq. The photographs of the river scenery and of the site of the Urartian inscription, published on pp. 480-1 and 484, afford an intelligible geographical background to "the Gates of Armenia".

<sup>4</sup> Garegin Vard. Srwantstian, *Thoros Aghbar* (in Armenian), Constantinople, 1884, II, pp. 70-1.

there was a secret tunnel which led from the river to the castle of Khar, and that at Acob-mrza a long underground road was found, when *many years ago* an earthquake shock had cracked the ground. . . .

3. This Khar group of ruins is due south of Išuwa, the Dzop'k'-Dersim region of to-day. To the south and south-east of that group extends another group of old and present place-names beginning with the radical *Hor*, but evidently subject to varying degrees of change during the course of time. The centre of this second group is undoubtedly the famous fortress of Horē<sup>1</sup> (*Ἥορῆ*), about five hours to the south-east of the city of Kharberd.

The old fortress-city of Horē survives to-day as Hoghē (*Ἥογῆ*), in the two large Armenian hamlets called Upper and Lower Hoghē, lying on the main road from Kharberd to Diarbekr. Evidently unaware of this Horē-Hoghē equivalence, Markwart is led to believe that the Horē-berd corresponds to the present-day Kharberd (El-Aziz).<sup>2</sup> There can be little doubt that Horē and other fortresses mentioned in Armenian geography, such as Kṛni, Qrwik, Gaureg,<sup>3</sup> etc., form another group of Hurri survivals attached to—but separate from—the Khar group described above.

In the same place Markwart quotes the place-name Khartabert—as mentioned in M. Urhāetsi, the historian of the twelfth century, and adds that its origin is as yet unknown. Of course, without the revelations of the Hittite archives, and the subsequent reality of the Hurri, many of the place-names with the radical *Har* or *Har* would have remained unexplained.

4. Some difficulty arises from the uncertainty as to the exact locality of the canton Khortsiaink<sup>4</sup> (often mentioned in the plural as Khortsiaink' in Old Armenian sources). This much is certain that its chief city was Koghoy-berd, the Qyghy-Qassaba of to-day,<sup>5</sup> on the left bank of the Qyghy-su, a tributary of the Euphrates. As Shirakatsi places the city of Palu also in the canton of Khortsiaink', it must be

<sup>1</sup> Anania Shirakatsi (resp. Movses Khorenatsi: *Ašharhatsuyts*, ed. P. Arsène Soukry, 1881. In the French translation attached to the Armenian text, Soukry renders the paragraph as follows: . . . vers le sud, le canton de Palahovit; à l'occident, Sophène, Antzith; du côté du sud Dzowk' (*Ἥορῆ*) et Hoiē-berd (*Géographie de Moïse de Chorène*, p. 41). The authorship of this Armenian geography was formerly attributed to Khorenatsi, the historian. Professor H. Manandian, of the University of Erewan, wrote a book two years ago with a view to establishing the authorship of Khorenatsi; on the other hand J. Markwart, K. Mlaker, and others attribute it to Anania Shirakatsi, the astronomer and geographer of the seventh century.

<sup>2</sup> *Südarmerien*, *op. cit.*, p. 68, note 1; also p. 20, where some of the sources are mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Père A. Soukry, *Géographie*, *op. cit.*, p. 41. For a full discussion of the region on comparative lines, see Hübschmann, *Allarm. Ortsnamen*, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-5.

<sup>4</sup> Gelzer, H., *Georgius Cypricus*, pp. 182 et seqq., has presented the data with regard to the region from Greek sources.

<sup>5</sup> Hübschmann, H., *Allarm. Ortsnamen*, *op. cit.*, p. 290, and note 3.

assumed that the canton extended along and beyond the Euphrates from a point some twenty miles to the north-east of Kharberd.

Higher up the course of the river, almost due east, the Euphrates ceases to be known as such. It is called Aradzani (Arzania of the Assyrian records, and Arsania of the classical writers) by the Armenians, and Murad-su by the Turks. Almost halfway between Palu and the western edge of the plain of Mush, near Oghnut, the river cuts its way through one of the most formidable gorges of the world—surrounded at close quarters by the precipitous peaks of the Taurus. Oghnut is undoubtedly the half-ruined remnant of the historic fortress-castle Oghakan<sup>1</sup> (Օղական), the hereditary property of the Mami-konian princes, who for many centuries, both under the Armenian monarchy and afterwards, held the chief command of the national army. There is literary evidence to show that before A.D. 335-8 Oghakan belonged to the Manavazian or Ordunni families, the origins of which can be traced back to the Khaldian-Urartian times. At a later stage of this essay this problem will be considered in connection with the Hurri-lands proper.

5. On entering the level plain of Taron (Mush) along the river, the multiplicity of place-names with the stem *Hur* or *Har* is still more evident. Shrines, historic names, present-day villages, are numerous within a fifty-mile radius of the city of Mush. From west to east the following is the order:—

“The mountain Qargē,<sup>2</sup> at the foot of which lay the Vahevanian temple, in the land of Taron; a temple full of gold, silver, and treasures, presented by the great kings of Armenia; the temple of dragon-killing Vahagn, which was the place of sacrifice for the kings of Armenia Major. This temple lay on the Euphrates facing Mount Taurus, and on account of the frequent sacrificial festivals it was named Yashtishat,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Phaustos Būzand (Faustus Byzantinus), historian of the fourth century, Book V, C. 3 (ed. 1832), p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Agathangeghos, historian of the (?) fourth century; para. 809, p. 410 (ed. 1914).

<sup>3</sup> Agathangeghos alone uses the form *yashlishat*, while all other Armenian historians have *Ashtishat*. In any case the first syllable *yash-* or *asht-* recalls the Zoroastrian *yasht*. The origin of the word is Khaldian-Urartian, as for instance in the usual expression DINGIRMES -ašte KURBlaina-ašte, which may mean “(the temples of sacrifice) of gods (and) of the gods of the land Blaina (Van)”: cf. W. Belck, *ZDMG.*, lviii (1904), p. 181; also Joh. Friedrich, *Einführung ins Urartäische*, pp. 13, 29, etc.

It is to be noted that the Armenian word for “god” is *astwadz* (աստված), the first syllable of which is *ast-*, *ašt-*. There can be little doubt that the Khaldian *ašte* has come into the Armenian as *astwadz*. The most powerful word in the spiritual life of men does not change easily. Here is not the place to inquire in detail as to the site of Ashtishat, the location of the mother temples of heathen Armenia, going back to the second millennium B.C. Theodor. H. Gaster has traced the place-name Ashtishat in the Ras-Samra texts (see *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1936, p. 402). The first Khaldian monarchs set up their pantheon in Van, their capital; but Armenian literary tradition places the most venerated temples of the pre-Christian era at Ashtishat, the temple Vahevanian, mentioned above, “the temple of gods born of the golden mother, and born in gold and purple”; “the temple named of the goddess Astghik (Anahit), who is the glory of our land of Haiastan, called also the nuptial chambers of Vahagn.”

“because at that time (about A.D. 280) the three temples were standing and in a thriving state. . . .”

6. *Khoronk'* or *Khorni*, the birthplace of Movses Khorenatsi, the father of Armenian history. Other hamlets in the area, some mentioned in the oldest Armenian sources of the fifth century, others being well known shrines, are:—

7. *Khurts*, *Khartents*, *Ba-khor*, *Khoren-gomer*, *Khardkogh*, *Khartos* (Upper and Lower), *Kharibshah*, *Khoran*, *Khardzor*, *Khornkiz*, *Khur*, which is to-day the administrative centre of the *nahié* of Khuyt, south of the wooded hills which divide that district from the plain of Mush.

8. *Av-khor-ik*,<sup>1</sup> a mountain peak held sacred by every native; a fallen chapel on the higher levels of this mountain contains a small fountain to which are attributed unfailing curative powers.

9. *Khardkonk'*, *Kharts*, *Hartert*,<sup>2</sup> *Khartsngomer*, *Khorik*, *Kharso-mzre*, etc. *Fur-Fur-Qar* (Khur-Khur (?) -Qar), a giant and ominous peak

<sup>1</sup> The formation of this place-name seems to be an instructive instance of joint Hurri-Khaldian influences. The first syllable *av* means water, as in the Armenian term *avazan* (ավազան), a water-reservoir. In Iranian it has been vocalized as *ab*. This word *av-* has come into Armenian and Iranian from Urartu-Khaldia. In almost all the imprecatory formulas of the Khaldian inscriptions (cf. Sayce, *JRAS.*, 1882, p. 523; also Joh. Friedrich, *Caucasica*, Fasc. 8, 1931, p. 131, note 3), occur the words . . . *na-ara-a a-u-i-e u-lu-li-e*. The word *au-*, with the instrumental suffix *-e* (*auie*) means “by/with water”. *ululie* is the Armenian verb *oghoghāl* (ողողիլ), a common verb in the Armenian classics which means “to flood”. Therefore the last part of the sentence can be construed “to flood or deluge with water”. The second syllable *khor* seems to be the radical of the place-name, as in so many others of the region. As for *-ik*, it is the diminutive particle in Armenian.

<sup>2</sup> This large village on the right bank of the Aradzani (Murad-su), facing Bingöl, some forty miles to the west, is covered with ruins and surrounded by important mounds. Some two miles above the village is a small church amid more ruins and very old grave-stones. This site is called *Daghonk'* (Դաղոնք) by the Armenian peasants. In a study of the war between Shalmanasar and Arame (at present in MS.), I identify this *Daghonk'* with *Daiaeni*. Shalmanasar III, in his third year, marched up by the left bank of the Euphrates to Enzite, crossed the river Arzania (Aradzani), and approached the land of *Suhme*, which exactly corresponds to *Srmants-lea'n* (Տրմանց Լեան) of the Armenian classics, the modern Bingöl-dagh. He occupied *Uaštal*, which is *Ashtishat* (see above). He then departed from the land of *Suhme*, and descended against *Daiaeni*, which is *Daghonk'*. Shalmanasar's description of the region agrees with the Armenian tradition with surprising accuracy (cf. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria*, i, pp. 218-19). It is, therefore, a mistake to identify *Daiaeni* with the name of the province of *Taik'* (*Suyj*), Georgian [Tao(-kh-i)], which is in the region of the middle Dchorokh. A careful consideration of the place-name in all Assyrian records tends to show that the Assyrian scribes often confused the land names *Daiaeni* and *Adaeni*, both mentioned in the *Nairi* lands enumerated by Tiglath-pileser, I (1115 B.C.); cf. M. Streck, *ZA.*, xiii (1898), pp. 63-4: more recently, E. Forrer, *Realexicon der Assyriologie*, i (1928), p. 281. Shalmanasar III's description, as stated above, is fully in harmony with the Armenian tradition; therefore it seems correct to identify *Daiaeni* with *Daghonk'* (both seem to be collective nouns) and *Adaeni* with *Taik'*, the *Diau-land*, or the land of the *Diauhini* of Khaldian records (cf. the great campaign of King *Menua* of Khaldia against the King *Diauhini*, Sayce, *JRAS.* (1882), No. 30, pp. 540-3; *CICh.*, No. 27). *Menua* begins his record: “The Khaldians (the gods and troops) marched out with great force (army) towards the vast territories of the *Diauhini* (the son of *Diau*). The god *Khaldi* is powerful. The Khaldians' army is powerful. . . .”

in Sasun, shooting up into the sky like a spire, on the higher levels of which strong winds make most unusual tunes. The mountain is, therefore, respected and feared by the simple-minded natives, who draw omens and expect divine messages from the nature of the tunes sung by the winds.

## II. THE HURRI-LAND PROPER IN A NARROW SENSE

Before going further eastward to the Lake of Van to examine the Hurri toponymy in its basin, I must follow the Aradzani (Euphrates) to its headwaters in Bagrevand—namely to the Ardzap'-Diadin-Biazit region on the south-western slope of Great Ararat.

Even at the present stage of Hurrian research there seems to me to be already sufficient evidence for arriving at the deduction that the Hurri were by origin an essentially eastern Euphrates element, who grew in numbers and expanded in all directions. It is even permissible to suggest that the very name Euphrat, Accadian *Burattu* or *Purattu* (radical (?) *Pur-*, is the Semitic version of the very name Hurri (=Hur-). This may be a very bold hypothesis, yet it is worthy of consideration in the light of Accadian epigraphy. Various etymologies have been offered by competent scholars, but hitherto no agreement has been reached on this point.

Götze wrote that "Es ist . . . über allen Zweifel erhoben, dass ein solches Hurri-Land im engeren Sinne tatsächlich existiert hat. Die Quellen unterscheiden zu genau zwischen Mitanni-Land und Hurri-Land. So weit ich bestimmen kann, liegt das Hurri-Land an der Peripherie der altorientalischen Welt. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

Armenian historical tradition can fully substantiate the theories of Sydney Smith and Götze. After fully discussing the geographical and historical position of the Old Armenian canton of Khoṛkhoṛunik', Hübschmann <sup>2</sup> has added that "sonst Familienname von Xoṛxoṛ (intensiv-Bildung von Xoṛ (?) . . . Ursprung dunkel". Writing early in the present century Hübschmann logically could reach no other conclusion. Similarly P. Gh. Alishan, writing in Armenian ten years earlier, had concluded that the origin of Khoṛkhoṛunik' was unknown, and that the family name could not be explained by any rule of Armenian etymology.

Now we are in a position to learn the origin of the family-name from the Boghaz-keuy archives. The name Khoṛkhoṛunik' can be conveniently discussed first from a geographical, then from an historical standpoint.

In historical times the area of the canton Khoṛkhoṛunik' has

<sup>1</sup> *Hethiter, Churriter, und Assyrer*, op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Altarmenische Ortsnamen*, op. cit. (1904), p. 435; also p. 330 *ad fin.*

undergone many changes. Its approximate extent can best be explained by the Armenian geographical names. The Aradzani-Murad-chai rises in small rivulets from the northern slopes of the so-called Ala-dagh (Armenian Npat (?)). South of the hamlet of Diadin the river is already formed; it passes in front of this hamlet and the Convent of Surb Ohan (Uch-klissa), and for some twenty miles goes through a trough, on both sides of which basalt rocks rise as actual walls. Some thirty miles farther west, it bends southwards into Dutakh on the rim of the plain, and then due south to Manazkert (Old Armenian, Manavazkert). At times broadening to nearly half a mile in the level plain, the river enters the district of Bulanekh, where it turns westward through the foothills of Blejan-dagh to the south, and Khamur-dagh to the north. Through narrow gorges it rushes and splashes over huge boulders, and at places makes a deafening noise. After its junction with the Charbuhar River—formed from the Bingöl hills—the Aradzani enters the plain of Mush between the villages Khardkogh and Hartert, mentioned above.

The great plain extending between Dutakh and Bingöl-dagh, as well as the surrounding valleys possess one of the most fertile soils in the world.

This is the core of the Hurri-land in the narrow sense, having its capital in the central city of the canton of Khoṛkhoṛunik' (Manazkert?).

After a century of research and investigation, it must be confessed that we have failed up to now to locate the central city of the canton of Khoṛkhoṛunik',<sup>1</sup> the royal city of the Hurri-land. Even the surface has not yet been studied in the light of recent archæological discoveries—let alone scientific, or even casual, excavations.

On the other hand, it may now be accepted beyond any doubt that, inclusive of the notable names like Khoṛkhoṛunik', Bagratunik', Vahevunik', the Armenian historical tradition is the direct heir to the Khaldian-Urartian culture in its main aspects. As to the relationship between the Hurri and Khaldia, some linguistic links have already been established.<sup>2</sup>

A glance at the cuneiform inscriptions of the first four Khaldian kings<sup>3</sup> reveal some historical facts of great importance. Menua, alone

<sup>1</sup> Markwart, J., *Südararmenien*, op. cit., pp. 76 et seqq., pp. 301 et seqq., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich, J., *Analecta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 122, 127, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, C. F., *CIch.*, Textband ii, No. 49 (= Inscription of Ada); No. 50 (= Inscription of Khotanlu in regard to the construction of a canal; most of the place-names mentioned therein can be identified with literary references); No. 51 (= Inscription of Marmos; cf. Belck, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1901), pp. 260 et seqq.); Nos. 64-5 (= Inscription in Manavazkert itself, where Menua proclaims himself *LUGAL erila-ú-e*, i.e. "King of Kings"); finally, No. 71 (= Inscription of Bostankaya, a most significant stele, recording the foundation of farms, a village, vineyards, etc.).

(810-775 B.C. (?) displayed great constructional activity in the canton of Khořkhorunik'. All the sites mentioned in the previous note, are within the area of this canton. Again, Sarduri III, on ascending the throne of Khaldia,<sup>1</sup> describes the magnificent presents which he received from the people of the land of Sura.<sup>2</sup> Other epigraphic evidence can be produced to indicate that the Khaldian kings were making either special efforts to conciliate the people of Khořkhorunik', or to keep them in subjection by a display of force. It is not possible to develop this point in greater detail here, but from a combination of facts the provisional inference may be drawn that both Menua and Sarduri III were endeavouring to substitute their own influence for the deep-laid millenary tradition of the Hurri-land in its own cradle.

In this respect some difficulty arises from the overlapping of the two most ancient and historically significant cantons of Hark' and Khořkhorunik'.

According to Armenian geographical nomenclature,<sup>3</sup> Turuberan was one of the fifteen provinces of Medz Haik' (Armenia Magna), in fact, covering most of the territory of the Hurri-land proper. The province of Turuberan comprised sixteen cantons. Of the sixteen, those which concern us here lay in the eastern part of the province, namely the six cantons of Tuaradzatap', Talat, Hark', Vajnunik' (Աստանիք), Apahunik', and Bznunik'. This area is bounded roughly by Bingöl-dagh in the west, by Lower and Upper Basên (the watershed of the Araxes) in the north, by Bagrevand and the head-waters of the Euphrates in the east, and by the north-western shores of Lake Van in the south.

Along the shores of Lake Van extends the canton of Bznunik' (Բնունիք) including the historic cities of Khlat (Akhlata), Artskê (Adjavaz), and Tsipani (Sipan-dagh: the city itself has disappeared under the waters of the lake, owing to the rise in sea-level during the course of the last two centuries).<sup>4</sup> Historically Bznunik' comprised the whole of the Sipan-dagh, possibly also Nemrut-dagh, farther to the south-west.

From the foothills on the northern flank of Sipan-dagh begins the canton of Apahunik', (Ապահունիք),<sup>5</sup> which stretches in an easterly

<sup>1</sup> Marr and Orbeli, *Arxeologičeskaya Ekspeditsia*, 1916 g. v Van (1922), pl. xiv, 11, and the translation; resp. M. Tseretheli: *Die neuen haldischen Inschriften König Sardurs von Urartu, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1927-8, 5. Abhand.; cf. also idem, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxx (1933), p. 13, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> This place-name explains a fundamental problem of the pre-literary history of Armenia.

<sup>3</sup> Soukry, *Géographie*, op. cit., iv, p. 41, of the French translation.

<sup>4</sup> Lynch, H. F. B., *Armenia*, 1901, vol. ii, pp. 122 et seqq.; cf. Belck, in *Globus*, 55th vol., No. 19, pp. 301 et seqq.

<sup>5</sup> The canton of Apahunik', like almost all the others mentioned in the region, can be identified accurately from the Assyrian and Khaldian-Urartian inscriptions. The others referred to above require long citations and full discussion; but Apahunik'

direction to Ala-dagh. As the Khaldian records mentioned above indicate, Menua, Sarduri, and Rusa II made this and the adjacent cantons a special object of their constructional policies. To-day narrow strips at the feet of both of these volcanic mountains are sporadically covered with a hard layer of lava, due to eruptions, probably in post-Khaldian times.

Again, from the northern foothills of Sipan-dagh, but in a north-easterly direction, up to the Aradzani, is the canton of Khořkhorunik', with the city of Manavazkert,<sup>1</sup> the Melasgerd of to-day, on the left bank of the river.

The canton of Hark', an organic continuation of Khořkhorunik', both geographically and historically, lies on the right bank of the Aradzani, and includes the whole of Khamur-dagh, and the rugged heights and slopes of Sherian-dagh up to the city of Alashkert. Owing to the secluded and wild nature of the valleys, this most interesting canton has not been hitherto explored. It contains place-names like Aikan, Malkhas-su (see below), Kizil-kilissa, Alkhes, etc., which are significant to Armenian historical tradition. The name Khamur-dagh itself has no etymological sense. *Khamur* in Turkish means *leaven*, an idea utterly out of place among the hard precipitous ridges and bushy terraces of the mountain. It may be merely a perversion of a native historical name, most probably of the Armenian place-name Hark' (Khamur = Khamr = Har, the letter k' being the plural suffix in classical Armenian).

The remaining two cantons, Vajnunik' and Dalat, astride the Aradzani to the south-west and north-west respectively, are decidedly of Khaldian origin. The identification of the first requires a long

can be identified in a few lines. In the list of Nairi lands mentioned above (cf. also King, *AKA.*, p. 66), there is the land of Abaeni, which exactly corresponds to the KURApuni of Argišti (Sayce, xxxvii, line 12), and to the KURApunihi of Sarduri III (Marr and Orbeli, op. cit.; resp. Tseretheli, *Neuen hald. Inschriften.*, op. cit., F, line 14). The Assyrian Abaeni and the Urartian Apuni refer to the same district-name, and are identical with the Armenian Apahunik'. Markwart (*Südarm.*, op. cit., p. 15) has carefully defined these cantons. He is inclined to identify the name Apahunik' with *Phaunitis* of Strabo. I have concurrent epigraphic evidence to reject this identification. Phaunitis, as understood by Strabo, lay further to the east, and the preservation by Strabo of this place-name, even in its Greek transcription, illuminates a vital point of Old Armenian and Zoroastrian history.

<sup>1</sup> Phaustos Bûzand, *Patmuthewn Haiots* (fourth century), Book iii, cap. 5. The paragraph in questions runs as follows: "King Khosrov of Armenia (c. 331-8) gave to the Church the throne and the city belonging formerly to the *Nahapel* (the elder of the satrapal house) of Manavaziank', Manavazkert, and all the villages in the neighbourhood. . . ." Cf. also Book v, cap. 29; Book vi, cap. 2. The relationship between the older Khořkhorunik' and Manavaziank' is not quite clear. Many investigators have rejected any connection between the Khaldian King Menua and this Manavazkert, the object of his special solicitude, as shown above. I venture to suggest that that view held by previous investigators was based on a defective knowledge of the Khaldian inscriptions and the sites of their monuments. At all events, it seems certain that under the Armenian Arshakuni dynasty (first to fifth centuries A.D.) the Khaldian tradition was more prevalent than any other. Cf. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 456-8, for Arab and Greek information on the region.



elaboration of texts, whereas Dalař is simply to be identified without any doubt as the land of the Dalaians.<sup>1</sup> The place is called Thorlu to-day, a large village on the Aradzani, some forty miles north of Melazgerd.

The oldest historical traditions of Armenia have been preserved by Movses Khorenatsi, a historian of the fifth, or early sixth, century A.D. The question of the period in which the historian lived and wrote has been discussed by many investigators, but hitherto no evidence sufficiently convincing has been produced to alter the Armenian classical view in respect of the date of Khorenatsi.<sup>2</sup> At any rate the essence of the old traditions is in no way affected by one or two centuries, because these traditions have been confirmed in their fundamental parts both by Urartian and Assyrian records.

After describing the origin and the wonderful personality of Haik', the eponymous hero of the Armenians, Khorenatsi proceeds to give an account of the great battle which Haik', his sons and grandsons, fought against the Assyrian Bēl. In full detail the historian describes the weapons, the mail-coats and the armoury of the Haik'ians, as well as the armoury of the Assyrians and the disorder in which the army of the Assyrian Bēl advanced to give battle. The care which Khorenatsi demonstrates in minutely describing the scene of the battle-field and the array of the two rival armies merits fuller inquiry than is possible here. Eventually the Haik'ian army defeats the Assyrians, and by his own bow Haik' disembowels and kills Bēl. The routed Assyrian army runs away in great haste.<sup>3</sup>

On the site of the battle-field Haik' built a city (Վասսակերտ), and named it Haik', in memory of the victory he had won, and for that reason the district is now called the valley of Haik'; whereas the hill on which fell the brave Bēl and his valorous troops is now called *Gevezmans* (graves). But after embalming the corpse of Bēl with medicaments, Haik' ordered it to be carried to Hark', and buried it on a high place within sight of their women and children. And our land, in the name of our ancestor Haik', is called Haik' (i, 11).

With a view to emphasizing one of the vital points of the national tradition, Khorenatsi seems anxious to return to it immediately at the beginning of the next chapter (I, 12), in order not to leave any doubt about it. After relating how Haik' distributed the spoils of war, Khorenatsi sends him to "live on the plateau named Hark'".

<sup>1</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, op. cit., line 189; also Luckenhill, *Ancient Records*, op. cit., ii, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Mlaker, K., *Armenica*, Fasc. 11 (1927), pp. 114-125; Markwart, J., *Caucasica*, Fasc. 6, Teil 2 (1930), pp. 10-77; also H. Manandian, . . . ] ռևհուսի (The Solution of the Secret of Khorenatsi), State Publication, Erewan (1934), p. 231. All three authors discuss the works of former investigators, with bibliographies.

<sup>3</sup> Khorenatsi, Book i, cap. 10-11.

In the mind of the responsible Armenian historian there seems to be no doubt that the eponymous hero of the race, in his words "our ancestor" chose to live and die in the canton of Hark'-Khor-khorunik', after having defeated the Assyrian Bēl. A reasonable inference which may be drawn from this style of writing is that Khorenatsi had sources at his disposal and was convinced that the canton of Hark' was the most ancient site of the Haik'ian race.

In I, 12, the historian continues to explain the ethnographical beginnings of the Armenian hereditary houses. "After having lived years, and having given birth to Aramaneak in Babylon, Haik' died trusting the entire race (the Armenian word here is *azn*, Latin *gens*) to his son Aramaneak.

It must be pointed out that Haik' = Hark' (Hurri) is the precedent period to Aramaneak.

"As to Aramaneak," continues the historian, "he bequeathed to his two brothers, Khor' (խոր) and Manavaz, all the army and the property<sup>1</sup> in the (district) named Hark', and to Baz, the son of Manavaz, who inherited Hark'. As to Baz, son of Manavaz (he inherited) the north-western shores of the Salt Sea,<sup>2</sup> and the canton, and he named the sea in his own name. And from these are said to have originated the *nahapetuthewns*<sup>3</sup> (նահապետներ), named Manavazian, of the Bznunik' and the Ordnumik' . . .

<sup>1</sup> The word used here is *uq'lu* (aghkh), which the writer has identified with the Khaldian word *ulguse*, see *Massis*, No. 57 (July, 1935), p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> The Lake of Van. In the earliest Armenian writers the Lake of Van is named Bznuniatz Dzov (Նշունիաց Ծով), i.e. the Sea of Bznunik', from the name of Baz—the patronymic of Bznunk'.

<sup>3</sup> The word is the abstract noun of *nahapet*—the eldest male member governing the hereditary family and the fiefs of the family. *nahapet* consists of *naha* or *nah*, the etymology of which is unknown, and *-pet* (պետ), the head or the chief of any group. I think that it is now possible to offer an etymology for the root-word *naha* or *nah*, which seems to be Khaldian. Argišti I and his son, Sardur, use the verbal form *nahadi* or *nahabi*, by which they mean *succeeding* to the royal throne of Khaldia. For instance, *CICH.*, No. 112, A 3, lines 17-19; cf. J. Friedrich, *ZA.*, N.F., vi (1931), p. 282:—

1. Lines 17-19

i-ú dHald-di-se iArgi-iš-ti-i-e	Me-nu-ú-a-ḫi-ni-e	LUGÁL-tú-ḫi	a-ru-ni
ierb Haldin Argištiin	Menuai vortiin	arqaiakan thag	afnait
when Haldi (god) to Argisti	to the son of Menua	the royal crown	brought
na-ḫa-bi LUAD-ni e-si-i			
nahapetets (na) — —			
(gave) succeeded (he) in (his) father's place			

2. (1) Line 2

-ú dHaldš-me	LUGÁL-tu-ḫi	aruni nahadi LUAD-sini esi
ierb Haldin zis	arqaiakan thag	afnait nahapetetsi (ies) — —
when Haldi to me	the royal crown	brought (gave) succeeded (I)

LUGÁL-tuḫini  
arqaiakan thagin  
(to ?) the royal crown

(cf. Sayce, *JRAS.*, li, iii, 3 et seqq.; also Marr-Orbely, resp. Tseretheli, *Die neuen hald. Inschr.*, op. cit., G. 2). It will be noticed that, with the exception of the three Accadian ideographs, the value of which is so far unknown in the Khaldian, the other words

"... As to the Khoṛ, he increased (his people) in numbers, arranged cities (շէր) for himself; and it is said that from him is descended the *nakhhararuthewn*<sup>1</sup> (նախարարութիւն) of the nation of Khoṛkhorunik' (խորխորունիք), brave and famous men, who are as well notable now among us.

Describing the reorganization of the Court, and the order of precedence of the ruling houses by King Vagharshak, Khorenatsi (II, 7), adds more information as to the Khoṛkhorunik' :—

"And he (the King) ordains his bodyguard from among the sons of Khoṛ, the *Haikazn*, picked and brave men, and arms them with lances and swords, and nominates as head of their *nahapetuthewn* one Maghkhaz (մաղխազ), a kindly and courageous man. But he maintains the original name of their nation. . ." (that is Khoṛ, Khoṛkhorunik').

This proves that under the Arshakuni dynasty, as probably under the Khaldian, the Khoṛkhorunik' supplied the men necessary for the royal guards, a privilege, which under the feudal system, as well as in modern times, conferred great honours on the commanders concerned.

Phaustos Buzant (op. cit., iii, 12) mentions "Manasp, the prince of Khoṛkhorunik' of the Maghkhazunian house" (նա). Another form used by this *regius* historian of the Armenian Arshakunis (iv, 11), is "Gartschâył Maghkhaz, the *nahapet* of Khoṛkhorunik' ". Onë of

are purely Armenian, both as to phonetics and sense. But what particularly interests me here is the infinitive of the verb *naha-* meaning "to succeed to the throne or to one's father". It seems that a hierarchical dignity attaches to the word, just as in Armenian tradition the word *nahapet* conveys the idea of the titular head of a great ruling house. It implies hereditary primogeniture, and therefore family nobility through a long line of succession. If this etymology be accepted, an obscure historical term in the Armenian classics will thus be clarified. It implies furthermore that Manavaziank', Khoṛkhorunik', Orduunik', Vajnunik', and a number of other names were at least of Khaldian, if not of Hurrian, origin.

Briefly, *nahapet* may be rendered as "the chief or the man who has the first title to succession".

<sup>1</sup> In his *Ֆեոդալ իրար հին հայաստանում* (*Feudal System in Ancient Armenia*), Erewan, 1934, cap. 4, pp. 32-124, Manandian has presented a masterly synthesis of the economic and political significance of Armenian *nakhhararuthewns* under the Arshakuni monarchy. The term "satrapy" is a misleading synonym for the Armenian word. Manandian gives the various etymologies of the word *nakhharar* by former investigators. Injijian, *Hnakhosuthewn*, ii (1835), p. 77, divided the word into its component parts: *nakh-* and *-arar*, equivalent to *praefectus*. Emin accepted this interpretation. Marr, *Zap. Vost. Old. Imp. Russ. Arxeol. Ob.*, xi (1898), pp. 170-3, pointed out that the original form of the word must have been *nahavarar*, corresponding to *nahapet* (see above), and the word *nahang* (= province): that is to say it consists of the syllables (*nah-* (resp. *mah*) = chief, and Iranian *var*, resp. *radh*. Adontz, *Armeniya v epokhu Iustinyana*, p. 451, thought that the second syllable *-arar* came from the Iranian *dar*. Meillet, *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, ii, i, pp. 1-3, gave an etymology by the example of the Sogdian *nāfādār*, "the head of a people or tribe," and supposed that the Parthian form of it was \**nāfādāra*, hence the Armenian *nahavarar*, and the dialectal *nakhharar*. It is to be noted that none of these etymologies takes into consideration the epigraphic priority of Khaldia. The writer has enough material in hand to justify the assumption that Armenian tradition has borrowed none of these essentially native words; on the contrary the borrowing has taken place the other way about. Manandian, rightly, seeks an equivalent of the word in the *duchés, comités*, of Western Europe. Like the word *nahapet*, the first syllable of *nakhharar* also (*naha* > *nakha*) may have some connection with the Urartian verb *naha-*, explained above.

the distinctive personal names which belongs almost exclusively to the Khoṛkhorunik' is Khorën (խորէն). A prince of this name led the Khoṛkhoruni cavalry against the Sassanians in A.D. 451, under a commander-in-chief of the Mamikonian family.

Corroborative evidence as to the political primacy of the Khoṛkhorunik' at the Court of Armenia is preserved in the *gahnamak*,<sup>1</sup> some sort of statute prepared at the Court of Persia during the first quarter of the fifth century. This *gahnamak* regulates the order of precedence, the official titles, the thrones, etc., of the Armenian *nakhhararuthewns* of the Arshakuni monarchy. It contains the names of seventy principal families, who possessed large estates and played an important role in the contemporary history of the country.

At the head of this list comes first, without a number: The first prince of Haik' (and ?) Maghkhazn (Մաղխազն); then (1) the *Ter* (— Master) of Siunik'; (2) *Aspetn* (the Bagratunik', etc.).<sup>2</sup>

At the State or social functions at the royal Court the heads of these seventy families had their respective thrones or "cushions", arranged, it is to be assumed, according to the degree of nobility, military strength, or size of the hereditary territory held by each.

It is impossible to produce definite evidence to show why "the first prince of Haik' (and ?) Maghkhazn" was placed at the head of the list and without a number. From the outset Armenian tradition and research have been unanimous in identifying "the first prince of Haik'" with the Khoṛkhorunik'; the more so as their name does not appear in the *gahnamak*. It seems improbable that this *nahapetuthewn*, which supplied troops and officers to the royal guard, should not possess a throne at the Armenian Court. Up to the present a doubt had been entertained as to the origin and exact relation of the word *Maghkhazn* to the first prince of Haik'. Samuel Anetsi (eleventh century) prefers the patronymic Khoṛkhorunik' instead of *Maghkhazuni*—a patronymic evolved from Maghkhazn. A confrontation of the texts seems to me to dispel all doubt on the subject. Agathangeghos never mentions Khoṛkhorunik'; but, together with the four great margraves who were invited to escort King Trdat, he mentions, among others . . . "and the Prince of the Maghkhazunian house (նա)." <sup>4</sup> As cited above, Phaustos Buzand describes Manasp of Khoṛkhorunik',

<sup>1</sup> Emin, N. O., *Istoriya Armenii Moisei Khorenskago*, 1893, pp. 296 et. seqq.; also Alishan, *Aivarat*, 1890, pp. 540 et seqq.; also G. Khalatians, *Armyanski Arshakidi*, 1903, pp. 294 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> For a full list of the seventy, see *Massis*, No. 53 (December, 1934), p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> J. Markwart and P. J. Messina, *Die Entstehung der Armenischen Bistümer, Kritische Untersuchung der Armenischen Überlieferung*, Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Roma, *Orientalia Christiana*, xxiii, 2, No. 80, September, 1932, "Maghkhazunik' ist ein anderer Name für den Gau Chorchorunik, der gleichfalls in der Provinz Taruberan lag."

<sup>4</sup> Para. 873 (ed. 1914), p. 451.

as the Prince of the Maghkhazunian house. This can only mean that the *nahapet* of Khorkhorunik' was also the overlord of the Maghkhazunian domains.

The word sounds of Semitic origin; but there is the record of Sargon II of Assyria to prove that such a region existed in the very heart of Khaldia. Sargon's reference to Maḥunia will be the more intelligible when it is remembered that in a hard-fought campaign he takes a purely strategic view of the region concerned; yet it shows the beauty and the strength of the Hurri-land at the time.

Ses trente villes fortes qui au bord de la mer ondoyant (Lake Van), au versant des grandes montagnes (Sipan-dagh), sont rangées et situées comme des bornes, Argištiuna, Qallania, ses puissantes forteresses, étaient solidement construites au milieu d'elles, sur les monts Arşidu et Maḥunnia, comme des étoiles, elles brillaient: à une hauteur de quatre soixantaines (de coudées) se voyaient leurs fondements.

Note the following:—

Les guerriers, ses troupes d'élite, aptes au combat, ceux qui portent le bouclier et la lance, soutiens de son pays, étaient en garnison à l'intérieur de ces (forteresses).<sup>1</sup>

The mountain Arşidu (= Artske-Adljavaz) is the southern side of Sipan-dagh; whereas the mountain Maḥunnia (=Maghkhaz = Marmos, *Ḥḥḥḥḥḥ*) is the northern side of the same massif, and really constitutes a separate peak.

This description of the cantons Bznunik', Khorkhorunik' and Manavaziank' by Sargon almost reflects the later Armenian accounts of them. The warriors of these families—*soutiens de son pays*—(Rusa I) may mean the regiments of royal guards posted there to cover the road to Uaias,<sup>2</sup> Old Armenian Baghaghesh (*Գաղղղղղ*), modern Bitlis.

In the fourth and fifth centuries of our era, for which there is ample literary material, no family is mentioned under the name of Maghkhazuni (resp. Malkhazuni), but merely as *z' iskhkann Maghkhazunian tann*, the prince of the Maghkhazunian house (Agathangeghos, op. cit., para. 875); or *Gartschüyl Maghkhaz nahapetn khorkhoruniats*, "Gartschuyil (personal name), *Maghkhaz* (evidently a distinctive title), the Nahapet of Khorkhorunik'" (Phaustos Bûzand, op. cit., iv, 2). On the other hand, P'arpetsi<sup>3</sup> mentions a prince named *z' Maghkhazn Gadishoy*, which leaves no doubt as to the identity of the title Maghkhaz with that of the *nahapetuthewn* of Khorkhorunik', because throughout the

<sup>1</sup> Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., lines 286-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, op. cit., line 299 "sa ville forte, sa grande forteresse, qui plus que toute ses autres forteresses est puissante . . . ses vaillants hommes d'armes".

<sup>3</sup> Ghazar P'arpetsi, *Palmuthewn Haiots* (fifth century), ed. G. Ter-Mkrtichian and Professor St. Malkhasian (1907), Book III, para. 64, pp. 247-9.

Armenian history the personal name Gartschüyl exclusively belongs to the Khorkhorunik'.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be presumed that Sargon's Maḥunia and Armenian Maghkhaz is preserved in the name of the village Marmos of to-day (Marmos = Makhmos > Maghkhaz: there are many other Armenian place-names beginning with Mar-).

W. Belck,<sup>2</sup> in his scientific expedition to the Sipan-dagh, started from Van to Akhlat, to Adljavaz, then climbed the mountain and descended to Marmos, where he found the inscription by Menua referring to the construction of a canal (*CICH.*, op. cit., ii, No. 51).

This Marmos, an Armenian village on the northern foothills of Sipan-dagh, some four hours ride to the north-east of Manavazkert, is the ancient domain of Maghkhaz, corresponding to the Maḥunia of Sargon. More than an hour to the north-west of Marmos lies the village of Bostankaya, where another inscription by Menua speaks of plantations, as mentioned above. North of Bostankaya lies Khotanlu,<sup>3</sup> on the main road between Bulanekh and Manavazkert.

It seems not unnatural to infer from the presence of these many historical monuments that legends grew up in regard to the ruling families under the Khaldian monarchy; that in later historical times one or other of these hereditary houses died out, their memory surviving only in literary texts and in the folklore of the people: and that the Khorkhorunik', having regard to their most ancient origin and their supreme status as the first prince of the Haik' in the Armenian feudal-military hierarchy under the Arshakuni monarchy, assumed the honorary title of Maghkhaz, and possibly absorbed the domains of many other smaller families.

The names of gods in the Khaldian pantheon recorded on Mheridur in Van<sup>4</sup> represent most of the country names which existed in the ninth century B.C. when the Khaldian monarchy achieved political hegemony in the Nairi lands. Several of these names of gods can be

<sup>1</sup> St. Martin, *Mémoires*, op. cit., vol. i (1818), pp. 248 et seqq.; also de Lagarde, *Agathangelus: Abhandlungen der König. Gesel. d. Wissen. zu Göttingen* (1888), pp. 63, 89, 145 et seqq. Both St. Martin and Lagarde cite Greek and other authorities and compare them with the data from Armenian sources. It is to be remembered that both these authors wrote long before archæological evidence was available.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1900, p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> *CICH.*, op. cit., *Lieferung*, ii, No. 50, in line 9 of the Menua inscription at Khotanlu there is the place-name URu U-qu-á-a-ni (Uquani), which is undoubtedly the Khaldian form of Khotan (-lu). In the small church of Khotanlu, the Armenian priest showed to me in 1911 a very old MS. Gospel wrapped up in half a dozen gold-embroidered handkerchiefs and locked in a silver box. All natives, regardless of race or religion, firmly believed that this MS. was the guardian saint of the village: it had cured incurables throughout the province; during many droughts it had brought rain; it had put a speedy end to various kinds of cattle disease; finally for many centuries it had been their hope and salvation.

<sup>4</sup> Sayce, *JRAS.*, 1882, No. v; resp. *CICH.*, op. cit., No. 18. This invaluable document, embodying the Khaldian pantheon, contains names which may be traced to the ancient and most sacred shrines of the early Haik'ian (Armenian) era.

traced to countries which are mentioned in the second half of the second millennium B.C. The names which concern the Hurri tradition at the period of the rise of the Khaldian monarchy are the following :—

Lines 11 and 49 : Ḫa-a-ra = Ḫara.

Lines 21 and 68 : A-a-ru-ba-ni = Arubani.

Lines 12 and 50 : Ū-ra-a = Ūra.

As will be observed, dialectal influences seem to have introduced some considerable variations in the vocalization of these essentially Hurri names even at the time of Išpuini and Menua (? 820—? 775 B.C.).

With all reservations, a passing reference should be made also to the Hurrian deities which have been revealed in the documents from Ras-Šamra,<sup>1</sup> and their comparison with similar names in Hurrian texts from Boghaz-keuy.<sup>2</sup> This is a vast but interesting problem bearing directly upon the subject matter of this essay. I will here only give a few identifications of these deities with Khaldian and present Armenian names :—

(a) The Hurrian *Simeki*,<sup>3</sup> to-day the village Simak and the very ancient ruined Armenian convent on the summit of a wooded height, on the main track leading from Bitlis to the *kaza* of Khizan, to the south-east.

(b) *Nupatig*<sup>4</sup> seems to have been preserved in the mountain-name *Npat*, the old-Armenian appellation for Ala-dagh.<sup>5</sup> Further north, and as a continuation of Ala-dagh, rises the broken range of Tendurak, the southern peak of which bears the name Khori<sup>6</sup> (*խորի*). The proximity of Khori to *Npat*—possibly the very same mountain—is easily explained. It must be added further that there are two villages named *Napat'*, one on the east shore of Lake Van, in the canton of Van-Tosp (= Timar), the other to the south-east of the lake, five hours' ride from Van. *Npat* or *Napat* have otherwise no meaning in Armenian.

(c) *Vi<sup>i</sup>-ša-i-ša-ap-ḫi*, resp. *Pi-ša-i-ša-ap-ḫi*<sup>7</sup> is undoubtedly the Armenian *Višap* (*վիշապ*), and the Georgian *Višapi*. N. Marr and Smirnov,<sup>8</sup> and lately A. Kalantar<sup>9</sup> have discussed this question.

With a view to establishing a new link between the Hurrian and Khaldian pantheons and Armenian forms, I venture to take one of the lesser known deities and offer an illustration.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Virolleaud, *Syria*, xii, pp. 389-390 et seqq. ; pp. 193 et seqq. ; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria*, x, pp. 255 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> B. Hrozny, *Archiv Orientalní*, iv, pp. 118 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, op. cit., p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Hrozny, *AO.*, op. cit., p. 120 ; cf. Götze, *Kulturgeschichte* . . . , p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> Markwart, *Südarmenien*, op. cit., pp. 16 et seqq.

<sup>6</sup> Alishan, *Airavat* (in Armenian), 1890, p. 487.

<sup>7</sup> Hrozny, *AO.*, op. cit., pp. 120-1.

<sup>8</sup> Minns, *Antiquity*, March, 1937.

<sup>9</sup> Kalantar, *Qare dar Haiastanum* (*The Stone Age in Armenia*), Norq. No. 5, Erewan, pp. 219 et seqq.

(d) *Hu-te-na*<sup>1</sup> seems almost identical with the Khaldian *Hu-tu-i-ni*,<sup>2</sup> who is mentioned after the three principal gods of Khaldia. The royal regulations for animal sacrifices laid down that pilgrims should offer six oxen and twelve sheep to *Hu-tu-i-ni*. Furthermore *Hutuini* is mentioned on the Menua-stele found in the great mosque at Van.<sup>3</sup> The fact that Menua dedicated the stele to *Hutuini* alone demonstrates the high position she (?) held among the Khaldian deities.

The central temple or sanctuary of *Hutuini* is to be sought in Armenian *Kha'ân Tiramor Vank'* "the shrine of the Lady-God-Mother", one of the most sacred and venerated convents in Armenia. The following description by Servantstian<sup>4</sup> was applicable until 1915 :—

About 8 hours' ride to the north of Van, lies the *Kha'ân Tiramor Vank'* on a lofty ridge just on the shore of the lake, at the end of a horn-shaped bay. The River Bendi-mahi flows into the lake on the other side of the bay. From the convent one can clearly see the old city of Arjish, which is yearly being swamped by the waters of the lake. There is a grave in the inner chapel of the convent where are buried some robes of the God Mother, according to the Armenian natives. They make their most solemn oaths of blessing or imprecation in the name of this grave. It has accomplished many miracles. Pilgrims come there from Persia and the Caucasus. Incurables of every sort, particularly lepers, come and devoutly serve in the convent ; they pray and slave, they walk for days in order to collect gifts in distant places vowed to the convent by the faithful—such as candles, frankincense, silk wrappings, gold and silver ornaments, sacrificial animals specially fed and cared for. Those oxen, cows and sheep, etc., are most propitious for the fulfilment of the vow which bear a white patch on the black foreheads. These white patches are called 'the sign of the God Mother'. In fact many incurables are cured in the course of a few years ; those few who remain incurable are said to be bearing 'the wound of the God Mother'.<sup>5</sup> On Ascension Sunday every year many thousands of pilgrims visit the convent, from Diarbekr to Kharberd, from Tabriz to Akhaltsikhe, from Erzurum and from districts in between. Kurds and Yezidis of the neighbourhood come to honour the pilgrimage in their gala dress. With their Armenian neighbours they play *jirit* (the oldest form of polo, described by Phaustos Bûzand). For two generations the Armenian headman's family of Gordzot' have always been the victors in the game. . . ."

As a prophetic conclusion to his description, Servantstian asks the following question : "Does this name, this captivating site on a hill-top and these ceremonies suggest any idea to the archæologists ? Can the latter say what kind of place has been *Kha'ân Tiramor Vank'* before the Christian era ?"

In western Asia, as in Armenia, there are dozens of convents and shrines among all Christian peoples which are dedicated to the God

<sup>1</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *Syria*, xii, p. 250 ; resp. Hrozny, *AO.*, iv, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Sayce, *JRAS.*, 1882, No. 5, lines 5 and 37, resp. *CIC.*, No. 18, lines 5 and 37 ; also No. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, op. cit., II, i, pp. 142-3.

<sup>4</sup> Garegin Vard. Servantstian, *Manana* (in Armenian), Constantinople, 1875, pp. 120 et seqq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, op. cit., II, i, p. 179.

Mother; but none of these bears the title Khat'ün (Lady). It seems to be that Khat'ün is the evolved form of the Hurrian-Khaldian goddess Hutuini.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the etymology offered in *CICH.*, Textband ii, pp. 118 et seqq., is unacceptable. Other literary evidence can be produced to prove this identification.

### III. THE HURRI PERIPHERIES IN THE NORTH AND NORTH-EAST

There are a large number of references to personal and place-names connected with the Khor'khorunik' and the adjoining cantons, which taken by themselves would not have conveyed any sense. These historical remnants, preserved, as it were, by early and medieval Armenian writers, have acquired historical significance in the light of the Hurrian and Khaldian documents. They mutually supplement and illuminate each other, thus demonstrating, as stated above, the authenticity of the Armenian tradition.

Following the line of Hurrian topographical outposts northwards, we find a number of place-names, each of which merits an essay in itself. Only the names, with short notes, can be given here.

The fortress of *Khorasan*, on the Araxes, about seven hours' ride due east of Erzurum. It may be established that Khorasan is Khu<sup>2</sup>—one of the summer camping grounds of the national army under King Pap<sup>3</sup> (A.D. 369–374).

The plain of Chaldiran (Khaldiran) lies between the River Araxes and the great fortress of Kars, east of which runs the River Arpa-chai. The Old Armenian name of this river is *Ahurian*<sup>4</sup> (Ահուրիան).

For the present leaving aside river names like Khram, the north-western boundary of the Hurri-lands is reached on the Kura, Georgian Mtkvari, Armenian *Kur*. The *kyros* of Hellenic tradition must have been approximated to the name during the earlier Achæmenian period—a process common enough among the Hellenic logographers. The native Georgian *-kuari* and Armenian *kur* may have something to do with the Hurri. One argument in support of such a speculation is that the Georgian province of Heret'i, north-east of the Kura, being almost unknown to the Greeks, maintained its original name more faithfully and correctly than the River Kura.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hrozný, *AO.*, iv, pp. 122–3: "the fête of the goddess Ištar of Nenuva and the goddess Hutenaša (?) in a Hurrian fragment of the Gilgames epic."

<sup>2</sup> Phaustus Buzand, op. cit., Book v, cap. 32. Buzand places Khû in Bagrevand.

<sup>3</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, xxix, i, 4; xxx, i, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Soukry, *Géographie*, op. cit., p. 45 of the French trans. The Armenian text has Ajurenî (p. 34).

<sup>5</sup> Brosset, *Description Géographique de la Géorgie par le Tzarevitch Vakhoucht*, 1842, p. 183: "... au dessus de Nageb est le Hereth, aujourd'hui Qaraia, ou d'après l'ancien nom, Garedjls-mtha, cf. also Markwart, *Caucasica*, 1931, p. 121, where, among others, Armenian historians, including Stephen Orbelian, are cited in regard to Heret'i; cf. also W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, p. 63,

South of the river there are names like the nation of Gargaratsik',<sup>1</sup> cantons named Tsoro-p'or, Koghba-p'or, Dzoba-p'or,<sup>2</sup> and finally the fortress Hnarakert<sup>3</sup> (MS. variant Hunarakert), the Georgian Khunani,<sup>4</sup> etc. These unexplained place-names, occurring in the old provinces of Gugark' and Taik', and uniformly ending in the suffix *-p'or*, have hitherto defied all scientific attempts at etymology.

Between Heret'i-Qaraia and Gugark' in the west, and the western shores of the Caspian in the east, the old native names have undergone such radical changes since the thirteenth century as to make them unrecognizable. There are many place-names beginning with the prefix *Qara*, of which the majority cannot possibly answer to the description "black". In the parallel of the Georgian Heret'i-Qaraia, for which there is unmistakable evidence in Tsarevitch Vakhoucht, we have the basis to proceed to the examination of the other numerous place-names beginning with *Qara*—a task which can be accomplished best on the spot.

The next important city further east is the old-Armenian Gantsak,<sup>5</sup> Ganja of to-day. The name occurs in the Nuzi texts in the form of Ga-sak<sup>ki</sup>. Meek<sup>6</sup> makes careful distinction between *Ga-sakgunnu<sup>ki</sup>* and Ga-sur, and leaves open the choice as to the correct interpretation. As the group of signs in 194, 14 shows, Ga-sak<sup>ki</sup> seems to be more correct, because this form of the name is common in the Hurrian region. Besides the above-mentioned city of Gantsak (Գանձակ), in the Kura region, there are other Gantsaks around Lake Urmia. According to the Armenian historians, there was a first and oldest

note 1." Heret'i means "the land of Her", and from the context of the Annals, it seems to be a name older than any Georgian tradition. It is possible that it indicates some survival of the Harri or Hurri of the Bognaz-keuy inscriptions among the early Georgians. The name-root is widespread. There is an Armenian canton of Her to the north of Lake Urmia, and a fortress of the same name in the province of Udi."

[Note by W. E. D. Allen.—Without endorsing the remarks of the author with regard to the derivation of the name Kura—which do not appear to me to strengthen his general argument—I would reinforce his interesting reference to Heret'i by drawing attention to the following four names: *Khorant'a*, called also Heret'i, described by Vakhushst as an ancient city in the triangle of the Yori and the Alazani, destroyed at the time of the Arab invasions; *-anta* is, of course, a common Asianic suffix; *Kherk*, described by Vakhushst as an ancient Jewish settlement in Kukhet'i. *Khornebuji*, an erstavate of Kakhet'i, referred to by Mroveli; *K'orikoz*, or *K'orepiskoposi*, the hereditary title of the ruling family of Kakhet'i until the early middle ages. *-episkoposi* is, of course, the Greko-Georgian *bishop*; the root *K'or-* or *Khor-* appears comparable to the Armenian Khor'khorunik'. *K'orikoz* is probably an intensive root identical in conception with *Khor'khor*.]

<sup>1</sup> M. Khorenatsi, op. cit., ii, 8; also cf. iii, 60.

<sup>2</sup> A. Soukry, *Géographie*, op. cit., p. 46, resp. p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> M. Khorenatsi, op. cit., ii, 8.

<sup>4</sup> M. F. Brosset, *Des. Geo.*, op. cit., pp. 141, 147; cf. Markwart, *Caucasica*, Sept., 1931, pp. 120, 141.

<sup>5</sup> This Gantsak is called G. Aghwanitz (of Arran); fully discussed by St. Martin, op. cit., i, pp. 150 et seqq.

<sup>6</sup> T. J. Meek, *Excavations at Nuzi*, vol. iii, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi*, 1935, Harvard Semitic Series, vol. x, p. x.

Gantsak Atrpatakani,<sup>1</sup> where the frontier garrisons of the kings of Armenia were stationed; "beyond Gantsak Atrpatakani lay the land of Persia." Secondly there was Gantsak Shahastani, the Tabriz of to-day, a great market-town now as in ancient times.

Lying between the Rivers T'atav and Djaghatu and their tributaries, all draining into the Lake of Urmia, Gantsak Atrpatakani had more strategic than commercial importance, although farming prospered as it does to-day.

This Gantsak held watch over roads leading in many directions, as well as on the famous Kiel-a-shin Pass, giving access into the plains of Iraq, and, therefore, also to Nuzi. If this evidence in support of the identity of Ga-sak<sup>kl</sup> be admitted, then it means that the Hurrians had set up a semicircle of military, and possibly commercial, posts, all named Gantsak or Gasak, from the region of the Kura to the Lake of Urmia and thence down to Nuzi.

It can be roughly established that the first great Caliphs of Islam also maintained such a line of communications, although the Arabs, being people of a hot climate, preferred Parda'a, in the mild steppe of Mughan, to the rather cold Gantsak-Ganja farther north-west.

Armenian and Arab sources have preserved a place-name on the Caspian shore, a rock-fortress and castle, which must have been a holy place for the ancient people of Arran.

A. Shirakatsi<sup>2</sup> mentions "Shirwan and the nation Khorwan as far as the Khorsvem" (Շիրակն եւ Խորվանն ազգ միմեջեւ զխորսվեմ). At the time of the Arab invasions, the rock-fortress Khors (خورس), on the Caspian Sea belonged to the ruler of Shirvan.<sup>3</sup> Whether borrowing from al-Baladhuri, or independently, al-Yakubi<sup>4</sup> says that Shirwan-shah was the ruler of Khors. This place-name exists to-day as Khorat, some twenty-five miles to the north-west of Baku, on the railway-line to Derbend, on the edge of a beautiful bay on the sea.

Farther east across the Caspian and towards the south-east stretches Khorasan, the historic province of Iran, one of the key positions in central Asia, which has played such a decisive part in the history of western Asia. The ethnical and cultural potentialities

<sup>1</sup> Ph. Bûzand, op. cit. Book iii, cap. 7; iv, 21; v, 4, etc. (in Langlois, *Collection des historiens... de l'Arménie*, i, pp. 259, 279, 282, 284, etc.). Also Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii, vi, 39... "per haec loca (in Media) civitates dispersae sunt plures, quis omnibus praestant, zombis... et Gazaca." The ruins of this Gantsak are described by Rawlinson, *JRGS.*, 1841, x, pp. 38-9.

<sup>2</sup> Soukry, op. cit., p. 27 (= French trans. p. 37 (18)) has "pays de Shirvan et Kheservan jusqu'au Chorsvem". Evidently Kheservan is wrong. In Armenian middle Mesrobian uncials  $\sigma = \delta$  can easily be confused with the letter  $\nu = s$ .

<sup>3</sup> al-Baladhuri, 209, 5 et seqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist.*, ii, 447, 1, cf. Muhammad bin al-Hasan bini Isfandiyyar, translated by Dorn as *Geschichte von Tabaristan. Caspia.*, in *Mémoires...* de l'Acad. Imp. de Russie, St. Petersb., viii<sup>e</sup> Série, Tome 23 (1875), page 3, note 2.

of the Hurri problem are vast and deep. It is wiser to stop here at this point and return to the Hurri-land proper. The entire region of the Old Armenian province of Vaspûrakan (վասպուրական), i.e. the province of Van with the basin of the lake, is a museum, as it were, of Hurri names and monuments.

On the northern shore of the lake, south of Khoṛkhoṛunik' and Apahunik', described above, are the following place-names:—

In the *cazas* of Akhlat and Adijavas: Khulik, Kharapa-šahr, Hersonk', P'rkhush, Khorants, Qarakeshish, Khorerov, Khoran-ghiazi, etc.

In the *cazas* of Arjesh, Berkri, and Timar: Qartis, Kharkên, P'iromar, Kharakants, Korakan (Upper and Lower), Kharakonis (famous for its medieval and modern Armenian bards and its pottery), Kart'alan, Kharents.

In the city and the vicinity of Van there are almost none, except one. Here it may be assumed that Van-Biaina being the capital of the Khaldian monarchy, the older Hurrian names were replaced by typically Urartian ones. There is only one remnant in the famous fountain named Khoṛkhoṛ, which bubbles out a volume of pure drinkable water from below the rock-castle of Van on the southern side,<sup>1</sup> some twenty yards from the great annal-inscriptions of Argišti I.

There is another fountain called Zam-zam at the north-western foot of the castle of Van. To the east of the castle is Zam-zam-dagh,<sup>2</sup> the Zam-zam caves and the huge pillar of Akerpi.

These two historical names Khoṛkhoṛ and Zam-zam seem to reveal both the ethnological composition of Khaldia and the relationship between the Khaldians and the Hurrians. These two names are attached to mountains and rocks of religious significance, caves, fountains, etc., the memory of which is never forgotten, particularly among nations of unbroken cultural continuity.

Zam-zam is the intensive construction of Zam (= Zamua),<sup>3</sup> just as Khoṛkhoṛ is the intensive construction of Khoṛ (= Hur, see

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Ed. Schulz, *J.A.*, III<sup>e</sup> série, tome lx, avril-mai-juin, 1840, *Mémoire sur le lac de Van et ses environs*, ed. by J. Mohl, pp. 266 et seqq. Schulz minutely describes the gates, the stairs, the caves, etc., but does not mention the famous Khoṛkhoṛ fountain, which in the eyes of the Armenian natives is a sacred memory. The reason for this is that Schulz got his information from the Turkish pasha, who could not have known anything about it. On p. 264 of his memoir Schulz describes "le Ghourab ou le château de Van". The Ghurab, the Iranian designation of the fortress, is in fact the direct translation of the Armenian name. *Ghur* = *Khur*, and *ab* = *water* (a-u-i, see above). Throughout his memoir Schulz does not mention any meeting with Armenians. Hence arises, it is to be assumed, the distinction which he makes between the Khoṛkhoṛ fountain and the Ghourab. It is too early to say more on the Iranian dialectal word *Gurap*, signifying bazaar or market-place.

<sup>2</sup> Schulz, op. cit., pp. 289 et seqq.; pp. 300 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria*, op. cit., ii, p. 74: "... the mountain land of Lullum—which they (also) call the land of Zamua"; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne*, line 11 ("qu'on appelle aussi pays de Zamua").



Hübschmann's etymology above). The existence of monuments of Hurri and Lulu origin in, and in the immediate vicinity of, the capital fortress and the chief temple of the Khaldian kings in Van may be interpreted as meaning that the Hurri and Lulu, either together or alternately, owned the district of Biaina, before Khaldia rose to political supremacy among the Nairi peoples; that Hurrians, or Hurrians and Lulu, must have been in possession of the castle of Van for such a long time as to stamp their ethnic name indelibly upon its topography. In support of this hypothesis it may be noted that Shalmanasar III of Assyria (859-824 B.C.), in his first attack on Arame of Urartu mentions Sugunia as the royal city of Arame. Having regard to the march-route and other place-names mentioned, I identify Sugunia with Sükünis, a large village in the old-Armenian canton of Andzavatsik' (modern Norduz) on the headwaters of the Eastern Tigris (Bohtan-su).<sup>1</sup> In a second attack on Arame of Urartu in 856 B.C., Shalmanasar III mentions Arzašku as the royal capital of Arame.<sup>2</sup> The identification of Arzašku is possible in full detail; anyhow among the dozens of place-names mentioned by Shalmanasar the name of Biaina-Turušpa does not occur. Furthermore, the direction of the Assyrian attack lay in the region of Aradzani up to Mount Ararat. According to the Assyrian account Arame fought Shalmanasar at Arzašku, then, in the middle of the Adduri Mountains. This fact implies that Biaina could not have been in the possession of the Khaldians under Arame (? 860-? 833 B.C.).

Khořkhor<sup>3</sup> as a place-name exists also in Andzavatsik' (Norduz), about two hours ride due north of Sugunia, as traced above. Another Khořkhor<sup>4</sup> appears in the list of the diocesan dues of the canton of Haband (province of Siunik—modern Qarabagh—in the Armenian Republic). Other place-names in the same list, and near to this latter Khořkhor, are: Khoria, Goru, Khrbink' (Upper and Lower), Khru, Khort'ageb, Khordzay, Khorotn, Khora-sanabak, and a number of others, more or less of this type. The old-Armenian name of the River Zangou, on which stands the city of Erewan, the capital of modern Armenia, is Huraztan.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, account must be taken of the Hurrian toponymy on the western and southern shores of Lake Van, and in some of the secluded cantons and valleys between the lakes of Van and Urumia.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, op. cit., II, i, pp. 71 et seqq. Note the photograph of Armenians at Sugunia-Sügünis on p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Billerbeck u. Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. vi (1908), i, pp. 39-40 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Khorēn Khrimian, *Hairenagit'utiun (Knowledge of the Fatherland)*, Van, 1883, vol. II, p. 27, and the sketch-map of the canton of Andzavatsik'-Norduz on p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Step'anos Orbelian, *Palmut'eun tann Sisakan* (thirteenth century), ed. Emin, Moscow, 1861, p. 375, No. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Sebeos (seventh century), *Prologue*, iv, ed. Patkanian, 1879, p. 45.

In the *caza* of Bitlis there are: Hormez, Khorvu, Khamrjur, Khakhrev, Poř, Hordap', Khultik, etc.

In the canton of Erewark' (modern Güzel-dere): Kharzit—a village and site of much archaeological value—Hortsak', Garp', Kut', Urdap'.

In the *caza* of Khizan (including the cantons of Karkar, Erun, Spaiert, and Mamřtank'), lying south of the range which separates it from the south-western shore of Lake Van, are: Kharkhots, Kharkev, Harponts, Bakhor, Qarasu (Upper and Lower), Hirut (Upper and Lower), Hargin, Khut, Harmus, Harut.

Along the shore eastward we come to the famous Old Armenian family- and province-name Rštunik', which covers the *cazas* of Karjkan, Gavash, and Haiots-dzor, where there are: Khoravel, Kharberd, Hirj, Qaradasht, Kharakants, Gerdz, Khurgom, etc.

It is significant that across the high ranges of Ardos and Egtherov to the south, where lay the picturesque valleys of Mokk' (Moxuene), and Dschemadzor (Shatak), there is an almost complete lack of such place-names, with the exception of Khumar, which seems to derive from the root *Khum-*. There is an historical explanation for this phenomenon, which has recently come to light. It cannot be dealt with here.

In the region south-east of Lake Van, in the cantons of Arwantunik', Trpatunik', Aghbak (to Khosab-Bashqala) there are: Hurt'uk, three different Akhoriks,<sup>1</sup> Heresan, Kharatun, etc. Further east extends the province of Atrpatakan, where is the very old canton of Her (Khoyn of medieval and modern times), and Khram, south of the River Araxes, near modern Julfa; both of these latter are in Iran.

Thus from the south-west a junction is formed with the region of the Caspian, although the intervening region between the Caspian and Lakes Van and Urumia has been subject to a very considerable extent to Iranian influences.

One matter which may be usefully raised at this point is that, in the full light of the Hittite, Assyrian, and Khaldian records, the pre-history of Media Atropatene and the origin of the Parthians have become new and real problems. Except in connection with a few names, the Persian logoi of Herodotus, and the classical writers who followed him, require complete revision in respect both of toponymy and etymology in the light of the data of the cuneiform texts.

#### IV

In relation to the Hurri-land proper and its peripheries, the land of Hayasa-Azzi,<sup>2</sup> as defined by Forrer, seems to fit well into the political situation of the later years of Šuppilulyuma and of his son Muřšiliš.

<sup>1</sup> The place-name Akhorik has nothing to do with the Armenian word *akhor*, which means *stable*.

<sup>2</sup> E. Forrer, *Hajasa-Azzi, Caucasia*, Fasc. 9 (1931), pp. 1-24.

As already stated the Hurri-land proper extended along both sides of the Aradzani (Eastern Euphrates), with its original kernel in the cantons of Khoikhorunik' and Hark'; whereas Hayasa-Azzi seems to have been a western Euphratean State, stretching along the Qara-su and westward to the Kamakh gorge. Its eastern border seems to have met that of the Hurri, roughly on the Araxes. This State of Hayasa-Azzi, and its significance, has been discussed by many investigators. There is much that can be said from the angle of the local literary tradition. I will confine myself here to the name *Azzi* only.

There are three historic names in the region which must have originated from Azzi. The old-Armenian name of Erzinjan is Erēz (*Երեզ*), the city "where King Trdat (A.D. 238-330), in the first year of his reign, went to Erez, in the canton of Ekeghiats, to offer sacrifices in the temple of Anahit".<sup>1</sup> In the Middle Ages it is mentioned as Eriza and Erzka<sup>2</sup> (MS. variant, Eznkan). Azzi seems to be concealed in the last syllable of Erez, and in the first of Eznkan.

Secondly, there was the city Ardzn (*Արձն*),<sup>3</sup> in the canton of Karin-Erzurum. This city attained a great commercial prosperity and became an emporium of transit and merchandise during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D.

Thirdly, there is the city of Erzurum itself, which, like Erzka, must have been really Ez-rum > Az-rum. It is not yet ascertainable whether the Hittite kings considered Azzi as one of the Hurri lands, like Mitanni. Through the downfall of the latter, however, or for some other reason, it appears that the kings of Hayasa-Azzi, benefiting by the weakness of Hurri-land proper, pushed their troops across rivers and mountains and occupied Hurri territory right down to the north-western corner of Lake Van. To my mind Forrer has established the topography in outline; but as the line of advance towards the lake seems to me doubtful, owing to the uncertainty of some of the place-names, it must rest at this point for the present.

## V

At the present stage of archæological discovery, Nuzi must be considered as the south-south-eastern limit of Hurrian influence and expansion.<sup>4</sup> This extremely interesting information from the Nuzi

<sup>1</sup> Agathangeghos, op. cit., p. 34, para. 48; p. 399, para. 786. M. Khorenatsi, op. cit., II, 14; II, 60. Most of the Armenian historians mention the place with slightly differing spelling; cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Mattheos Urhaietsi, *Chronography* (Armenian text ed. in *Vagharshapat*, 1898, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Aristakēs Lastivertsi (twelfth century), ed. Ghukasian (1912), pp. 63, 78, 83, 92, etc. The Byzantine historians have naturally given too much importance to Theodosiopolis, cf. F. H. Weissbach, in *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll Realencyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2 Reihe, 10. Band, 1934, col. 1923, et seqq. The Old Armenian name Karin can be established by the Hittite texts.

<sup>4</sup> C. H. Gordon, *BASOR*, No. 64 (December, 1936), pp. 23 et seqq. A comprehensive statement is given on the problems arising from the Nuzi texts.

texts explains, amongst other matters, the position of Urfa as another centre of Hurri culture. Urfa is too close to the site of Waššuggani<sup>1</sup> (modern Wiranšahr), the capital of Mitanni, to have been the capital of Hurri-land itself. Two great powers of ancient Asia could hardly have located their central administrations at such close quarters.

The Hurri people<sup>2</sup> exercised a great political and cultural influence over Syria and Palestine towards the end of the third millennium B.C., and during the first half of the second (2200-1500 B.C.). During the Hittite interregnum (? 1750-1400 B.C.) the Hittites must have come under Hurrian sovereignty.<sup>3</sup> The culture of Assyria was impregnated with the Hurrian influence. "Die östliche Grenze (of the Hurri-land) liegt am Bitlis-su oder an einem seiner Parallelfüsse.<sup>4</sup> Erst östlich kann das Hurri-land im engeren Sinne beginnen. Da ist ein Land mit ansehnlicher Macht und gleichzeitig doch wohl auch das Zentrum des ursprünglichen Hurriter-Gebietes sein muss, kann sein Mittelpunkt aus allgemein geographischen Erwägungen heraus kaum wo anders als in Vansee-Gebiet gesucht werden."

Exactly that is the point for the confirmation of which textual evidence and other material has been furnished.

The original Hurri State, in a narrow sense, as Götze says, cannot have been located anywhere else than in the region of Lake Van; that is to say in the cantons of Bznunik', Khoikhorunik', and Apahunik' up to the Araxes, the whole basin of the Lake of Van and the surrounding cantons, the plain of Taron (Mush), and the River Aradzani downward to the plain of Kharberd.

If at the end of the third millennium B.C. the Hurri people were cultured and powerful enough to influence Syria, Palestine, and the Hatti, then it must be assumed that the Hurri State dates back at least to the fourth millennium B.C. The most original version of the Gilgamesh epic itself may eventually prove to have had a Hurrian author.

<sup>1</sup> In a paper read at the XIXth International Congress of Orientalists in Rome, the author hopes to have ascertained the position of Mitanni. This paper will be published in the *Acts of the Congress* by the Royal Academy of Italy.

<sup>2</sup> Hrozný, *AO.*, op. cit., iv, p. 127; cf. W. F. Albright, *Horites in Palestine* in *Robinson Festschrift*, 1935, pp. 9-26.

<sup>3</sup> Götze, *Helthiter, Churriter*, op. cit., p. 55, 100 et seqq. On p. 104 Götze adds: "Ich sehe im Urartäischen Reich eine Erneuerung alter politischer Traditionen, die sich bis in die Zeit der höchsten Blüte der Hurriter zurückführen lassen, und finde in diesem Zusammenhang ein weiteres Argument für die These, dass das Vansee-Gebiet altes Hurriter-Gebiet ist."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.

## LIFE AND WORK OF Y. N. MARR, Jun.

By B. NIKITIN

Y. N. MARR was born in January, 1893, at St. Petersburg, and on 1st December, 1935, at an age when a man is just beginning to mature for scientific labour, he passed away at Abast'uman, in Georgia, bemoaned by those to whom he was near and dear, and a grievous loss to learning. His death thus followed close upon that of his father, the Academician, N. Y. Marr, the founder of the new linguistic school, who died on 19th December, 1934. In this manner there disappeared two men, one of whom was the accomplished scholar who had already laid firm foundations for the continuation of his work, the other, his son and continuator, whose exceptionally fortunate training gave promise of splendid achievement. The blow suffered by Japhetic studies was a severe one, and adepts in those studies can seek consolation only in the phrase of the father, that the son was so fond of recalling: "the collectivity of the living brings back the dead to life."

Y. N. Marr completed his secondary school studies in 1913, and his university studies at Petrograd in 1917, in the Arabo-Perso-Turco-Tatar section, while pursuing simultaneously the study of Armeno-Georgian philology. From 1919 to 1921 he held the post of librarian in the Georgian University, acting at the same time as translator to the Georgio-Russian telegraphic agency. In 1922-3, he was scientific collaborator to the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences, and Reader at the Institute of Living Oriental Languages in Leningrad. From 1922 to 1925 he further collaborated at the Institute of Scientific Research for the Comparative History of Occidental and Oriental Literatures and Languages. After a stay in Persia (1925-6), he returned with the first symptoms of tuberculosis and from that time onwards he had to go and live at the health resort of Abast'uman, in Georgia, paying only short visits to Leningrad and Moscow, and sometimes spending the winter at Tiflis. During this period, 1928 to 1935, he carried on scientific work as a specialist attached to the Caucasian Historical and Archæological Institute, and also at the Georgian offshoot of the Academy of Sciences, and as Reader to the State University of Georgia.

From his father he inherited the gift of tongues. He possessed a complete mastery of Russian, Persian, French, and English; in addition, he knew, of course, Georgian, and made use of German, Armenian, Italian, Ukrainian, Turkish, Arabic, Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, etc. He left poems in Russian and in Persian, being remarkably gifted for poetry with all its niceties. For his linguistic knowledge, he owed much, not only to his origin, but also to his many travels abroad:

in 1911 he accompanied his uncle, Professor Barthold, to Germany, France, England, and the United States, and became acquainted with the libraries and museums of those countries; in 1913 he visited Constantinople; in 1914, Syria; in 1916, Finland; in 1925-6, Persia, whither he returned once more in 1934 on the occasion of the Firdausi millenary celebrations. He also travelled with his father, or alone, to Ani and elsewhere in Caucasia, stayed on various occasions at his father's property at Bukis-tsikhe, and taught German in the state secondary school at Tchokhatauri.

Need it be mentioned that in the Faculty of Oriental Languages he had for teachers such scholars as Professor V. A. Jukovski, Professor N. I. Veselovski, and the Academicians Barthold, N. Y. Marr, B. A. Turaïev, S. F. Oldenburg, and, amongst younger savants, I. Kratchkovski, A. K. Samoïlovitch, etc.?

Thus his family surroundings (his mother is the sister of Professor Jukovski), his close friendship with eminent scholars, and his frequent travels were all circumstances combining to promote the happy development of those natural gifts which in his case went hand in hand with a passion for thorough and methodical work, even when his health was already undermined by merciless disease.

The problems which engaged his attention during the latter years of his life were many and varied, viz. (1) The literary bonds between Georgia and Persia; (2) Determination of the links between the study of poetic forms and of socio-literary tendencies; (3) Inquiries with regard to the vocabulary and technique of translation; (4) Latinization of the alphabets of various nationalities; (5) Interpretation of the monuments of material culture by the aid of literary works, etc. Simultaneously he was pressing forward the description and publication of Persian MSS., and investigating various items of Persian literary history. Questions of poetical technique interested him keenly. He was a fine connoisseur in such matters, and amongst his other writings he has left a valuable study on *The expression of the phonetics of verse in Persian writing*. His scientific work comprises over a hundred studies and shorter pieces ready for the press. About fifty (thirty scientific studies and twenty articles in periodicals) appeared during his lifetime. The remainder will shortly be published from his manuscripts. He wrote for the most part in Russian, Persian, and Georgian. Without here enumerating his works, in the majority concerned with Persia, we should, however, mention his unfortunately uncompleted *Perso-Russian Documentary Dictionary*, of which the first fascicule only has appeared. Despite the fact that it is incomplete this analytical vocabulary, with its literary, folklore, and sociological commentaries upon each word, deserves to be signalized for the methods and principles applied to it.

The sound quality of Marr's scholarship met with official recognition such as has few precedents, for the Qualifying Commission of the Academy of Sciences conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Iranian Literature on account of his works as a whole in that field, without calling upon him to present a thesis. On the occasion of the Firdausi commemoration at Teheran, Marr delivered an oration in Persian on behalf of the Academy of Sciences and the Hermitage, and read a paper on the metre of the Shah Nameh. These achievements on the part of a young scholar excited much notice and were abundantly commented upon in the Persian press. He had also brought with him certain excerpts from the famous poem of Rust'aveli translated into Persian from the Georgian original.

Those skilled in Persian and Persian poetry were unanimous in voicing the pleasure they had experienced at hearing Marr speak the language and recite its finest works with unsurpassed mastery and sense of music.

In the more special field, in which he collaborated with his father, we should mention particularly his investigations with regard to "linear language", as still in use among certain Caucasian peoples. It is known that N. Y. Marr attached great importance to the part played in the evolution of human language by gesture, which, in his view, preceded vocal expression and contributed to the development of certain mental functions differing from those of spoken language, while paving the way for it. As early as 1931 his son instituted a special commission for the study of kinetic language in Caucasia and submitted several memoranda concerning this phenomenon among the Persians, Arabs, Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Kurds, Turkomans, etc. He made a personal study of the "linear" language in use among the Kurds of Tiflis, and guided the researches of various expeditions operating in several regions of Armenia and Georgia.

Furthermore, Y. N. Marr contributed to semantic studies conceived in accordance with his father's theory. He proved, incidentally, in the domain of functional semantics, that "the horse" in Persian literature appears under the manifold forms, as, mule, ass, camel, reindeer, dog, and even *vishap* and snake. He was thus enabled to conclude, by means of concrete documentation, that not only *notions* and *words* develop in circumstances defined according to analogous laws, but that this also holds as regards *motives* and even *subjects*.

Y. N. Marr also aided considerably in the elaboration of the analytic alphabet for use in Japhetic studies. He directed the labours of a group at the Institute of Caucasian Studies entrusted with the preparation of a single analytical script for all the peoples of Caucasia. He was the first to create an analytical alphabet for Persian and Arabic, and, in addition, he published a Persian chrestomathy prepared

under his direction by V. S. Puturidze, in which there is a Perso-Georgio-Russian vocabulary using the same analytical characters for all three languages.

He introduced certain modifications into this analytical script, viz. by expanding the degrees of sonorization of the Japhetic languages of Caucasia, adding a fourth sound (in Greek characters in the first column of the table which follows):—

$$\pi \rightarrow \phi \rightarrow b \rightarrow \phi^1$$

$$\tau \rightarrow t \rightarrow d \rightarrow \theta$$

$$\chi \rightarrow k \rightarrow g \rightarrow q$$

In a popular exposition of his father's theory he shows very clearly the reasons for which Japhetidology may appear unintelligible and often mutilated by popularizers. This, he said, was neither a matter of style nor language.

"The cause of this lack of understanding lies elsewhere. One of the fundamental principles of the new theory postulates the inseparability of language and thought. Nevertheless, in practice, this principle has not been borne in mind, and in the preparation of popularized versions of these studies, intended also for those who do not partake of these ideas, the fact has been neglected that the reader may be not only less prepared, i.e. quantitatively inferior to the author or authors (such works having been written also by disciples of N. Y. Marr), but perhaps also qualitatively different, by reason of his mode of thought. It follows that, what is above all important is *not* that the writing should consist of simple words and phrases, but that it should operate with *intelligible thoughts*."

Finally Y. N. Marr laboured in the field of Caucasian studies, and of Georgian studies in particular. He delved deep into his favourite subject: the literary connections between Georgian and Persian. In this domain he followed his father and Professor Y. I. Abuladze, but went beyond his predecessors.

In 1926 he published, in conjunction with K. D. Dondua, a work entitled *Perso-Georgian Studies, I*; in this there figures an article by him: *The 𐌎𐌌 of Olug-Beg, translation by Vakhtang with Perso-Georgian glossary* (pp. 1-53). In 1929 he sent to the press: *A passage from Nizami referring to Caucasia*; in 1930 he wrote a paper on *The publication of the dictionary of Parsadan Giorgijanidze*, and in 1933 on *The translation with comments of seven sixteenth and seventeenth century Persian documents in the Georgian Museum*. Particular interest attaches to his work on the *Persian prototype of the poem of "Vep'khis Tqaosani"*. He was then studying the metrics of Rust'aveli and drew up a programme for the collective studies intended to throw light upon the

<sup>1</sup>  $\phi = p'$ ;  $\theta = t'$ ;  $q = k'$ . (EDITORS' NOTE.)

period and works of Nizami, Khakani, and Rust'aveli. (Fascicule No. 1 of this series appeared in print on the day of his death.)

All the deceased scholar's friends are untiring in their praise of his purely human worth. He possessed a peculiarly winning personality. He was always replete with energy, notwithstanding his precarious state of health, always full of plans for future work. He was a remarkable organizer and stimulator. Even among his fellow-patients at Abast'uman he formed a group for the study of ethnology and its meetings were held in his room.

Having thus attempted briefly to outline the figure of this young and lamented scholar,<sup>1</sup> it remains for us to quote a few passages from his works devoted to Georgian.

Thus, in the miscellany entitled *Khakani, Nizami, Rust'aveli* (1933), published in collaboration with M. M. Tchaikin and Dobronravin, he writes in the preface:—

"It seemed so simple—Rust'aveli is conversant with Arabo-Persian literature; in the odes of Tchakhrukhadze we observe the same technical processes as in the odes of Khakani, and separate verses in the poems of Nizami vaguely remind us of *Vep'khis Tqaosani*. All three lived almost at the same time. Was it not, therefore, possible that they were personally acquainted with each other, and in a certain manner reacted upon one another in their works?"

"The problem facing us was the study of these authors and this period. We were aware that there exist no satisfactory texts of the representatives of the Moslem *milieu*, just as there exists no true edition of Rust'aveli. But no sooner had we embarked upon the study than we were convinced that both the period and the writers have been the objects of scandalous neglect, and that in the presence of a mere semblance of scientific literature a fresh start must be made *ab initio*, and every detail checked and verified.

"But what has concrete work upon these authors yielded? It has shown us that the problem was far more complex than had at first sight appeared. The material study of a single ode by Khakani, addressed to Andronik Komnene, revealed that this cultivated Muslim was very thoroughly informed of what was taking place beyond the limits of the Moslem world, events of which, according to common belief, he was ignorant. In the absence of the necessary texts, a cursory examination of his biography reveals that, in all probability, he was not a Persian. As regards Nizami, it has already long been known that his mother was a Kurd.

"For a proper understanding of *Vep'khis Tqaosani* it proved necessary to review the whole Persian classical literature, bearing

<sup>1</sup> From the account by I. V. Megreliidzé, prefacing the collected articles and papers of Y. N. Marr. Moscow-Leningrad, 1936.

in mind particularly the possibilities which had taken shape following my paper upon the Persian prototype of the poem of *Vep'khis Tqaosani*. It was further suspected that the lost novels and the works suppressed by the clerical censorship in Persia, and which it appears were already unknown there in the time of Khakani (e.g. *Vamek and Azra*), might have been preserved in some form or other in Georgia, as was the case with the story of *Vis and Ramin*, and, it would seem, with the subject of *Vep'khis Tqaosani*.<sup>1</sup>

"Perusal of the later Persian commentators, 'medieval' and contemporary, showed that almost the same thing occurred in the case of Khakani as in that of Shot'a Rust'aveli. If, in the meanwhile, we are unable to prove the presence of subsequent interpolations, we can point with certainty to numerous perversions of the meaning of his verses through erroneous exegesis.

"In short, the boundaries limiting the study of these authors have been much extended, and, in order to throw light upon the period and the works belonging to it, it has become apparent that it is both possible and necessary to take into consideration fresh elements which had seemed to lie quite outside the main theme of works anterior and posterior.

"The two Muslim poets are contemporary with the representative of Georgia's florescent period. Study of them, while outstepping strictly regional limits, presents nevertheless great interest for Caucasian studies and furnishes an excellent starting point for a series of researches contemplated for a later time in the interest of the Institute for Caucasian Studies of the Academy of Sciences."

The foregoing quotation enables us to realize in what manner Y. N. Marr conceived the study of Perso-Georgian interpenetration. Thus an entirely new field was opened up for investigators, and the relations between the two countries, knowledge of which up till then had been confined principally to the political plane, now appeared suddenly in another light. The prosecution of research in this direction thus bids fair to prove particularly rich and fertile in data concerning a period very imperfectly studied. In his article dealing with the later commentaries upon Khakani, Y. N. Marr analyses in the first place a passage from the tale of *Khosrow and Shirin*, by Nizami, in which Shapur tells Khosrow of the exploits of Shemir-Semiramis, Shirin's aunt; comparison with the poem *The Valley of Sveti*, by Lipkin (Tiflis, 1914), which, according to the author, is the faithful

<sup>1</sup> "Further, we now have reason to believe," states Marr, "that contemporary authors were known in Georgia. In any case the article by Tchaikin on Khakani and the astrological prediction render it possible to furnish a different interpretation to a certain passage in Tchakhrukhadze's sixth ode, and assign a different date to the ode itself. Cf. my article on *Perso-Georgian Literary Relations*, in the periodical *Mnat'obi*, No. 9, 1934."

reproduction of a popular lay concerning queen T'amar, reveals a few striking similarities with the text of Nizami, whence Marr's hypothesis, according to which the Persian poet must have been inspired by the selfsame subject. He there interprets two quatrains from Khakani and proposes to replace the generally accepted translation of موئی *mūi* (hair, in Persian) by *moi, moi* ("come" in Georgian). The quatrain would then read: "For love of one who was handsome, curly-headed and gleaming, I came to dwell in Abkhasia, and set myself to speak Georgian. I said to him so often: 'come, come,' that my tongue has grown thin as a hair and my hairs have become tongues":

از عشق صلیب موی روی روئی      انجاز نشین گشتم وگرچی گوئی  
از بسکه بگفتمش که موئی موئی      شد موی زبانم هم موئی

In another quatrain by Khakani we come upon the same word موئی *mūi*, and Marr again proposes the same translation according to the Georgian and not the Persian meaning of the word.

"Oh, Georgian idol! thy breath (gives life) as the breath of Jesus. Thou art the Holy Spirit, how should I name thee idol? I am grown thin as a hair from having borne so many offences from thee. Come, come! I am become a hair of a hair because of my grief for thee":

گرچی صنما همدم عیسیست دمت      روح القدسی چگونه خوانم صنمت  
چون موئی شدم زبسکه بردم ستمت      موئی موئی که موی مویم زغمت

Marr makes a point of showing that the Georgian form *moi//moe*, to which objections had been raised, is well attested in the twelfth century, notably as a possible reading in *Abdul Mesia* (48, 2), and again very definitely in the Georgian version of the novel *Visramiani* (*Vis and Ramin*), pp. 242, 271, and 297 of the Tiflis edition.

Seeing the keen interest he felt for anything concerning the contacts between Georgia and Persia, it was impossible that Marr should fail to refer to the existence of a Georgian islet in Persia, namely in the district of Fereiden (Province of Ispahan). Amongst other things he described the conversation he had had with a Georgian coming from this region. The man, Met'aghia by name, was a soldier, whom Marr came across at Ispahan in 1925, and who supplied him in the first place with a list of the Georgian villages in Fereiden. They are: Akhore bala or Martqop'i, with 1,600 homesteads, 20 mosques, and 7 *hammam*. Then come: Dchughrut'i, Jaqjaqi, Sibak'i, Tashk'esana, Boyni, K'iamarit'oleli, Afusi, Shaurdi, Khamis liani, Uzun bulaqi. There is no village having less than 200 homesteads. There are grapes

(*qurzeni*), nuts (*kakali*), and manna (*gezi*) in plenty. In each house there is a spring (*dsqaro*). The inhabitants have their *tekke* and their Georgian performers for *teziye* and *ruzekhans* (all these terms relate to the Shiite religious ceremonies during the month of Moharrem). The houses are fine and of wood; their roofs are constructed otherwise than with the Persians (*gorji p'oshash*). When meeting, the villagers greet one another in Georgian with the words *nama khar! shenis dovlal'it' rogora khar?* and not with *gamarjoba, gagimarjos* as in Georgia.

With regard to marriage the following particulars are given. In the first place, the *maqaris katsi* goes to seek the bride and pay the "milk-price", *shir baha*, the money that the bridegroom pays to his mother-in-law to be. The future father-in-law, *qoris patrani*, undertakes the expenses of the reception held in honour of these emissaries. Afterwards the bride is conducted to the bridegroom's home where a feast is organized. On one side of the room some ten or twenty men line up facing the women on the other. They hold each other by the little finger (*niki*) and sing alternately. The thumb is called *did t'it'i* and the other fingers merely *t'it'i*. The musicians are usually Armenians. The inhabitants themselves only possess *stai da naghara*. They have amongst them poets (*sheiri*) and scholars. As for the soldier in question, he could read neither Persian nor Georgian (*me mola arā var*). Their mollahs are able to read also Georgian books (*k'et'abi*). When asked whether their poets came to Ispahan, he replied in the affirmative. They write in Georgian, using Georgian characters, so that the Persians cannot understand them.

Met'aghia remarked that two forms of speech (*ena*) were in use at Fereiden: *tchirdili* and *k'olgha*; he himself spoke *tchirdili*. He also related to Marr the story of a hunter who killed an ibex in the mountains. When he came up to it, the animal lifted its head and said with a smile: *khedalat'i* (Pers. *khajalat'*) *ar gaezide?*—Art thou not ashamed? The hunter swooned and was found lying beside a pool of blood. Shortly afterwards he died. In this connection Marr reminds us of the existence of a *bakhtyar* belief, according to which to each hunter is allotted a certain number of creatures he may slay. If he exceeds his portion, the animal killed looks at him with a smile and reproaches him with murder: thereupon the hunter dies.

To conclude we give below, quoting from a complete list of his works, those written by Y. N. Marr in Georgian, or dealing with Georgian or Caucasian matters.

Published

1925 The *زنج* of Olug Beg. Translation of Vakhtang with Perso-Georgian glossary. *Perso-Georgian Studies*, vol. i.



- 1929 A passage from Nizami concerning Caucasia.  
 1930 Memorandum upon the article by Abramian, "The Armenian Language".  
 The Georgian words in the quatrains of Khakani published by Salemann. A note on the translation of the description of the key of the gates of the wall of Gog and Magog.  
 On a conversation with a Georgian from Fereiden.  
 Concerning the names Nestandarejani and Amirandarejani.  
 Vishaps in Persian folklore.  
 1931 The linear language of the Armenians of Tamaly.  
 The linear language of the Armenian women of Akhaltsikh.  
 1934 Reciprocal Georgian-Persian literary relationships.  
 Interpretation of a passage of *Vep'khis Tqaosani*.  
 New edition of Nizāmī (in Georgian).  
 Commentaries on Khakani.  
 Persian prototype of *Vep'khis Tqaosani*.

*Unpublished*

- A short Persian grammar (in Georgian).  
 On the publication of the dictionary of Parsadan Giorgijanidze.  
 Translation with comments of seven sixteenth and seventeenth century Persian documents in the Georgian museum.

## THE ABKHASIAN NAME OF THE SUPREME BEING

By SIMON JANASHIA

A translation of the article published in Georgian in *Dselidsdeuli*—The Year Book, of the Georgian Philological Society, Tiflis, 1923-4, vol. i-ii, pp. 69-73.]

IT was Uslar who first observed that the Abkhasian name of the Supreme Being was in the plural.<sup>1</sup> He even quotes an example, i.e. *antswā dāuk'wa*,\* the great God, lit. (*les dieux grands*), in which the appearance of the adjective in the plural definitely testifies that, in the conception of the speaker, the ancient religious ideas—according to which God was not of one, but of many parts—were still in existence. The author remarks "only heathen Abkhasians say this", the Christian and Muhammadan Abkhasians conceiving God quite definitely as the One, absolute Being.

Such an assertion was, perhaps, an excusable mistake on the part of the distinguished linguist, who was an orthodox Christian. It is impossible to divide the Abkhasians into such groups on the basis of their religious beliefs, despite the fact that formally they belong either to the Christian Church or to Islam. The example quoted by Uslar is probably one of those fortuitous discoveries whereby there suddenly emerges from the routine of ordinary usage a product of the national-spiritual creativeness belonging to the depths of the remote past.

Later, the same opinion (about the plural form) was put forward by Dcharaia<sup>2</sup> and Janashia.<sup>3</sup> The latter, however, thought that the word in question may have originated from the same *an*-root which in Abkhasian denotes the *mother*-notion.

Professor Marr shares only the first part of this view: he writes,<sup>4</sup> ". . . of great interest is the word *an*, god, which, in Abkhasian, appears usually as the plurale tantum *antswā*, God, lit. 'gods'."

In the summer of 1921, while in Abkhasia, in the village Adzvibzha (in Abzhua, the Kodor district), where I was sent by the Tiflis State University on a philological research study, I was able to collect certain data which threw more light on the question, as will be seen.

In the course of my research work, I was able to establish the validity of the formation of the word in question by the discovery

\* For the pronunciation of *tsw* and *k'w*, see p. 118, n. \*, and p. 131, n. \*. (Translator's note.)

<sup>1</sup> Uslar, P. K., *The Abkhasian Language* (in Russian). Tiflis, 1887, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Dcharaia, P., *On the Relation of the Abkhasian Language to the Japhetic Languages*, in *Materials for Japhetic Linguistics* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1912, vol. iv, pp. 31-3.

<sup>3</sup> Janashia, N., *The Religious Beliefs of the Abkhasians*, in *The Christian East* (in Russian), St. Pb., 1915, vol. iv, issue i, pp. 74-5. [See the English translation in this number, pp. 118-9. Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Marr, N., *From a Linguistic Journey to Abkhasia* in *Izvestiya* (Bulletin) of the Imperial Academy of Sciences (in Russian), St. Pb., 1913, vol. vii, No. 6, p. 315.

of an analogical formation in a *sh*-root- (= creating, to create, whence the verbal noun *asharà*) word *ashatswà*, which represents an epithet of a deity, and is equivalent to Georgian *gamtcheni*, creator.<sup>1</sup> I have not heard this word used apart from its association with the word God. This root is usually used in its past-participle form. A popular Abkhasian expression is *antswà-hazshàz*, Creator God, but the following phrases are also in common use:—*ashatswà irshaz*, by the Creator (lit. creators') created (said of something very pleasing), and *ashatswà irmshaz*, by the Creator (lit., creators') not created (said of something unpleasing). In these examples *ashatswà* is understood to be in the plural, which is unmistakably borne out by the pronominal particle *r* (*i-r-shaz*, *i-r-mshaz*) which indicates the plurality of the subject (the determinative word in our examples).

It may, however, be argued that the phrases just quoted are composite, and that the particle indicated, a fossilized morpheme which has lost its meaning. We will therefore quote another phrase, *nas ashatswà irshàma art'*, "Is it possible that the Creator (lit. creators) created these?" (it was said of the animals), in which *ashatswà* is directly represented as the subject in the plural. This word, and the notion conveyed by it, must have simultaneously undergone the same metamorphosis as the basic name itself, i.e., they must have lost first the intrinsic and then the formal meaning; it became a simple plurale tantum, for instance, in the widely used name for a kind of sacrificial animal, *ashatswà-dzatwə*, the Creator's (lit. creators') sacrificial animal, in which we should have had, in accordance with the rules of the Abkhasian compound word-formation, the form *ashatswà-rdzatwə*. . . .

It is clear that in this case the result of the acute conflict between old and new ideas, and in connection with it, between dead and living forms, is far less definite than in the case of *antswà* itself. The changes to which the latter has been subjected have been more rapid; but nevertheless, owing to language inertia, we find facts which reveal the original meaning of the process of word-formation. One such fact, quoted by Uslar, is given above. Of no less interest, in my opinion, is an example I found: the heroine of a story which I noted down, bears the following name, *antswà r't'əp'hà khànkwla*, that is "God (|| gods)-their-daughter-Khakula" in other words, the god's daughter Khàkùla (Khàkùla being a girl's name). The same pronominal particle *r* (*r-t'əp'hà*) explicitly indicates here that for the remote ancestors of the speaker, God represented the union of numerous forces.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Megrelian, *odabade*. See Janashia, *The Abkhasian Cult and Mode of Life* (in Russian) in *The Christian East*, St. Pb., 1916, vol. v, issue 3, p. 168. Also Marr, *On the Religious Beliefs of the Abkhasians* (in Russian) in *The Christian East*, vol. iv, issue 1, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> See also Dcharaia, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Finally, it has already been noted<sup>1</sup> that this peculiar religious conception—in accordance with which, not only the supreme beings of the national pantheon, but even the elements (personified, of course), are forces of many parts, each one endowed with its own particular aspect, with its separate parts, must have been common to all the Georgian tribes proper. Thus, for instance, in the Summer of 1921, I heard, in the village Eredvi (in the district of Gori) the following expression:—*mashin gagvidsqra tchveni dsili ghmert'i*, "Then our part of god was angry with us"; and this year, in Tiflis, I overheard in the street:—*bnelashi ver vitsani, ai, ase venatsvale tchem dsil ghmert's*, "I did not recognize (him or it) in the dark, I swear by my part of God."

<sup>1</sup> Janashia, *The Religious Beliefs of the Abkhasians*, p. 75. [English translation, p. 119. Ed.] Expressions such as "my part of God", "my part of the Icon", are quite common among the Abkhasians. Of interest, in this connection, is the curse *umtsakhhu tsuaat*, "may thy part of fire burn out." According to Mr. Marghania (Maan), the Shepherds in Abzhua, when grazing their sheep in the mountains, pray to the Marshania-s' part of God (*Marshyànaa rantswakhwə*), because the guardian-god of these mountains is supposed to be the god (or part of god) of the Marshania *guari*.

## THE CAUCASIAN COUNTERPART OF AN OLD EGYPTIAN RACING CHARIOT

By L. MUSKHELISHVILI

(This is a translation of the article published in German and Georgian in *Sak'at'velos Museumis Moamba*, "Bulletin of Museum of Georgia," Tiflis, 1935, vol. viii, pp. 143-7.)

PROFESSOR H. Schäfer has published a short article in the *Proceedings (Sitzungsberichte)* of the Prussian Academy of Science, Phil-hist. section xxv, 1931, pp. 730-8, entitled: "Armenian wood employed by old Egyptian cartwrights," in which is discussed the question of the origin of the racing chariot excavated in Egypt from an unnamed tomb during the expedition of J. F. Champollion in 1828-9, and now in the Egyptian Museum in Florence. The wood employed in the construction of the chariot (chiefly birch and ash) points to the northern countries as being the source of supply. From the geographical distribution of plants, and on philological grounds, Professor Schäfer comes to the conclusion that "the present Russian Transcaucasia can probably be established as the source of the coach-building wood, or that of the ready-made vehicles" (see above-mentioned article, p. 737); a conclusion which, in its precision, supplies a noteworthy clue concerning the history of ancient civilization and, in particular, the foreign relations of ancient Egypt.

J. de Morgan unearthed a bronze girdle in Akhtala in Lelvar, on which was engraved a vehicle with two horses and a driver (J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique au Caucase*, i, pp. 140-2). This engraving, apart from being extremely interesting in itself, gains great importance in connection with the foregoing facts. If one compares the vehicle of Akhtala, reproduced by de Morgan from the engraving (Pl. I, fig. 2), with the Egyptian racing chariot (Pl. I, fig. 1), one is struck by the amazing similarity. Both vehicles are small and light, and only have enough room for one person, from which it follows that the Akhtala vehicle must also be a racing chariot. Both were drawn by two horses and have only one shaft, the form of which in each case is very nearly the same. Both have two four-spoked wheels, the bodies themselves are very much alike, and one is even tempted to regard the semi-circular body of the Egyptian chariot as identical with that in the Akhtala engraving. In any case, one cannot classify the Akhtala vehicle as a cart (*caisse*), as does de Morgan.

There is very little to offset these similarities. One difference is that the construction of the front end of the shaft, which in the case of the Egyptian chariot has one large and two little yokes attached to it, and is straight, whereas the front end of the shaft on the Akhtala vehicle is bent upwards and surmounted by a kind of floral ornament,

which probably represents the device to which the yoke would be attached. Another divergence is that the wheels of the Caucasian vehicle are comparatively much smaller than those of the Egyptian, while the body, however, is somewhat elongated.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, the Akhtala vehicle appears primitive and archaic; it seems to me that the smallness of its wheels particularly emphasizes this impression.

Professor Schäfer's conclusion is confirmed. It is obvious that the racing chariot was also well-known in Transcaucasia, which supplied wood for coach-building to Egypt. But Professor Schäfer's assertion that "we should not look for the inventors of the light racing chariots, as adopted by the Egyptians, in those highlands, but in the northern plains . . . in Scythia" is hardly sound (see above-mentioned article, p. 737). This conclusion seems to me to be unfounded. Transcaucasia is certainly a mountainous country, but it does not lack wide open plains. The historical importance of the undoubtedly proved relations between Egypt and Caucasia is, as has been mentioned, very great. No less great, however, is the importance of the Egyptian racing chariot as a means of determining the prehistoric chronology of Caucasia. The Transcaucasian graveyards are still undated, or, rather, the basis of the present dating is so vague and indefinite that it can only be treated with great reservation. On the other hand, the vehicle represented on the Akhtala bronze girdle, together with its Egyptian counterpart, offers to all appearances a safe ground for placing the chronology of the Transcaucasian graveyards on a definite basis, and of establishing the period of Lelvar to which it belonged to within a few centuries at least.<sup>2</sup> The bronze girdle of Akhtala was discovered, as de Morgan informs us, "dans une tombe de l'âge le moins ancien, qui se trouvait au milieu du massif des sépultures du groupe moyen" (l.c., p. 140). De Morgan ascribes the oldest of this group of graves, i.e. the fourth, to the seventh and fifth centuries, B.C. (ibid., pp. 204-5). But as the grave in question, apparently the No. 9 Akhtala, is the only one of its kind in Akhtala, and was among the graves of the third period (ibid., pp. 57-9), we shall hardly be wrong if we assign it to the third group despite the discrimination of de Morgan in ascribing it to the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. At the same time it becomes quite obvious that these dates are much too late.

According to O. Nuoffer, the construction of four-spoked wheels was "altogether abandoned in the Eastern territories towards the middle of the second millennium". (Quoted by Schäfer, op. cit., pp. 731-2.) "The two-wheeled carriage was introduced into Egypt—

<sup>1</sup> On the engraving of Akhtala the axle and the yoke are missing; it is perhaps also of importance that the axle of the Akhtala, judging by the position of the wheels, was placed rather more to the front of the vehicle than it is in the case of the Egyptian.

<sup>2</sup> Provided of course that the dating of the Egyptian monuments is correct. But it depends here chiefly on the method.

according to Schäfer—only in the 17th century B.C." (ibid., p. 757, note 3). The Egyptian racing chariot in question can therefore be dated to within two centuries. The middle of the second millennium B.C. can in all probability be accepted as the terminus ante quem for the vehicle of Akhtala and also for the third group of the tombs of Lelvar. The second and first groups must therefore be antedated accordingly.<sup>1</sup>

The Byblos Treasure, amongst which definitely Caucasian bronzes and needles were discovered, and which Hançar immediately assigned to the third Lelvar period because of their shape (F. Hançar, *Die Nadelformen des Kaukasusgebietes*, in *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, vii, p. 156), have been ascribed to the first half of the second millennium (2000–1700), an ascription which according to Hubert, is incontestable.<sup>2</sup> In any case, it is certainly remarkable that the date of the Byblos Treasure and that of the Egyptian racing chariot coincide so exactly, although arrived at entirely independently.

I know that many fundamental questions are closely connected with this problem. As, for instance, that concerning the presence of iron utensils in graves of such antiquity. I am also familiar with the doubts that must inevitably arise. However, we have no space here even to touch on these.

One word more. Professor Schäfer refers to "Armenian wood". Apart from the fact that there could be no question of "Armenian" during the first half of the second millennium B.C., this term, even to-day, is misapplied. For "Armenian" one should read "Transcaucasian".

<sup>1</sup> Unless de Morgan's scheme needs revising, or is to be altered entirely, which is quite possible.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hubert, *De quelques objets de bronze trouvés à Byblos*: Syria, vi, pp. 16–29. Unfortunately this volume is unobtainable at the moment, making it impossible to quote Hubert more exactly.

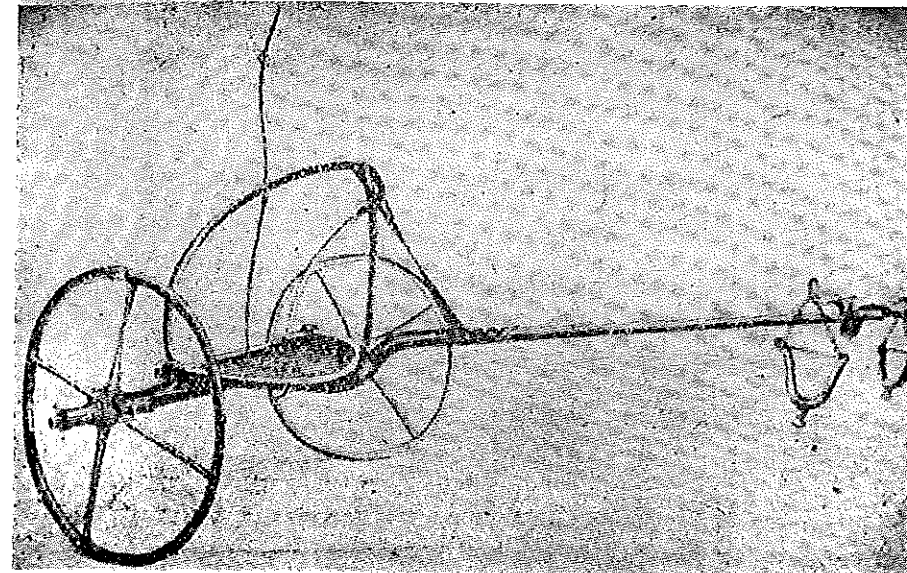


FIG. 1.—An Egyptian Racing Chariot. After H. Schäfer, *Sitz. d. Pr. Ak. d. Wiss.*, xxv, Pl. VII, 1.

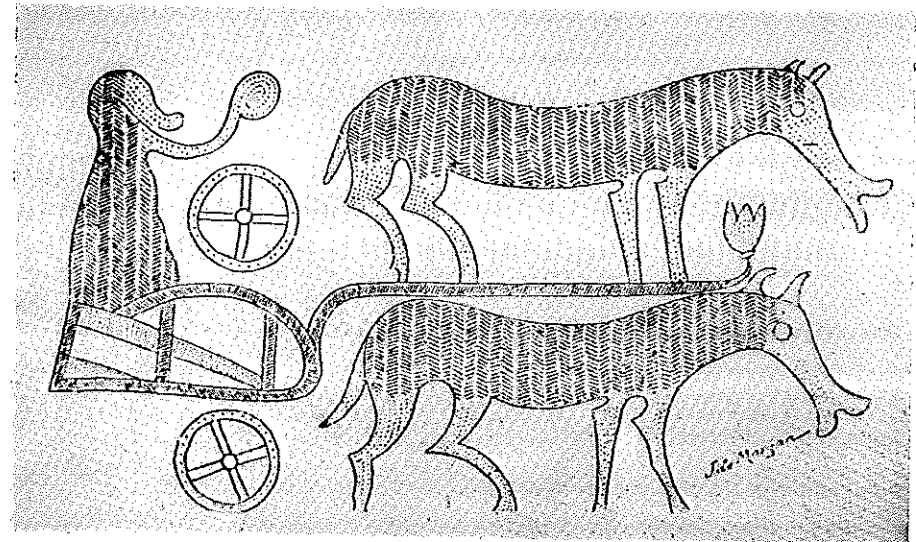


FIG. 2.—A Transcaucasian Vehicle (Racing Chariot). (Circa 1500 B.C.?) Engraved on a bronze girdle excavated in Akhtala. After J. de Morgan, *Mis. scient. au C.*, p. 141, fig. 145.

## THE BATTLE OF ASPINDZA<sup>1</sup>

An Historical Story

By JACOB GOGEBASHVILI †

IN 1769, Catherine II, Empress of Russia, declared war on Turkey. At the same time she wrote to the Christian peoples who dwelt, and still dwell, beyond the Black Sea, asking them to join with Russia in attacking Turkey, the enemy of Christianity. She also wrote in the same strain to Solomon, King of Imeret'i, and Erekle, King of K'art'li and Kakhet'i. The Greeks, Montenegrins, Serbs, Bulgars, and other nations of the Balkan Peninsula, feared Turkey, however, and turned a deaf ear to her appeal. Not so Erekle. He immediately began to make preparations and actually declared war on Turkey. His motives were twofold: he wished to please Catherine and so strengthen his alliance with Russia, and, secondly, he hoped to restore to Georgia her lost provinces. Javakhet'i and the province of Akhaltsikhe (Samtskhe) had from ancient times been part of Georgia; but Turkey, in the preceding century, taking advantage of Georgia's weakness had invaded and occupied these provinces. And now Erekle saw his chance to free them from the Turkish yoke.

King Solomon was already engaged in war with Turkey, and naturally was glad to ally himself with Russia.

### KING EREKLE AND TODTLEBEN

The Empress Catherine sent 4,000 Russian troops under the command of General Todtleben to the aid of King Erekle and King Solomon. The Russian force crossed the Caucasus by way of the Georgian Military Road, passed through K'art'li, and encamped at Surami. Erekle quickly mustered an army 7,000 strong and, taking with him only three cannons, set forth with Prince George, his heir, and two Bishops who carried with them a movable church. . . . At the beginning of April, 1770, the Russians and Georgians joined

<sup>1</sup> This story was written and published in Georgian in Tbilisi (Tiflis), in 1919, and is based, as the author points out himself, on the following sources:—

1. *K'art'lis Tshkhoureba*—"The Life of Georgia."
2. Tsagereli, Professor A. A., *Gramoty i drugie istoricheskie dokumenty XVIII stoletiya odnosyashchiesya do Gruzii*—"Charters and other Historical documents of the eighteenth century, concerning Georgia," St. Petersburg, 1891, vol. i, 1898; vol. ii, p. 1, 1902; vol. ii, p. 11.
3. Kishmishov (General), *The Life of Nadir Shah* (in Russian).
4. Potto, V. A. (Major-General), *Istoricheski Ochevki Kavkazskikh Voyn*—"A Historical Sketch of the Caucasian Wars," Tiflis, 1899.
5. Dubrovin, N., *Zakavkazie*, "Transcaucasia."
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forces near Surami, and marched towards the Borzhom defile. On the way a disagreement suddenly arose between Erekle and Todtleben owing to the fact that Todtleben wished to assume supreme command of the combined Georgio-Russian forces. Erekle, however, considered that, being a monarch as well as an experienced general, the command should devolve upon him. The breach between them widened, until each regarded the other with hatred. The combined forces nevertheless marched on, through Tashis-kari, the Borzhom defile, Borzhomi, and finally drew up near the fortress of Adsquri, which was garrisoned by the Turco-Lezghian troops. This fortress of Adsquri (= Adsqveri), stood (and still stands) on the right bank of the Mtkvari (Kur) on an inaccessible rock, enclosed by impregnable walls; and its capture appeared to be almost an impossibility. So much so that King Erekle was of the opinion that they should not attempt to take the fortresses of Adsquri and Akhaltsikhe, but that they should engage and defeat the enemy forces in the open. In this way they would occupy the surrounding country, isolate the garrisoned troops, cut off the supply of stores, and thus force the besieged to surrender. Todtleben, on the other hand, who had great confidence in his cannon, obstinately maintained that they should storm first the fortresses of Adsquri and of Akhaltsikhe. Much against his better judgment Erekle finally yielded and siege was laid to the fortress of Adsquri. The Georgians attacked from one side, while from the other the Russians opened fire with their heavy guns. The defenders of the fortress responded with a fire of equal intensity. The air was rent with the thunder of the guns, whose echoes resounded through the surrounding defiles. The attack continued for two whole days, but no impression was made on the stout walls of the fortress. The shells might have been mere stones catapulted against the ramparts for all the harm they did. On the third day Erekle suddenly learnt that Todtleben had quietly withdrawn his forces and was already on his way towards K'art'li. Astounded, the King immediately set off in pursuit of him. In order to induce him to return, Erekle informed him that he was prepared to agree to his taking supreme control. Todtleben, however, would not be persuaded. He raised all sorts of objections, amongst them the fact that he had not sufficient provisions for his men or forage for the horses. Erekle replied that he had sent agents into the surrounding country, and that they would supply him with more than enough provisions and forage, "Only turn back and let us continue the attack together," Erekle entreated. But Todtleben now said that he had no orders from his Empress to carry on a war in the Pashalic of Akhaltsikhe; that the enemy was superior in numbers and strength; and that it was useless to sacrifice his men. Erekle pressed him in vain; Todtleben, now courteously apologetic, refused to turn back. At this juncture Prince

George, Erekle's heir, lost patience. "Let him go!" he said to his father, "let him sneak away! We alone will defeat the enemy and put him to shame!"

Todtleben hurried on towards K'art'li, and Erekle rejoined his forces. In his own mind he saw quite clearly why the Russian General was deserting him. "No doubt he believes that I dare not return, and will fight the Turks alone, with my small force. If I do so, I shall be defeated and slain with all my men. My son, too, will meet his death on the battlefield, and thus my Kingdom will be within the traitor's grasp."

#### THE CONSEQUENCES OF TODTLEBEN'S BETRAYAL

The Russian withdrawal had a demoralizing effect on the Georgians. Todtleben's conduct naturally incensed them, and their fury reached such a pitch that they thirsted for revenge. With Erekle at the time was *Knyaz* Mouravov, a Russianized Georgian, son of a Georgian who had emigrated to Russia. He was sent from Russia as an intermediary. Mouravov was born and educated in Russia, and was in the Tsar's service. Besides Russian he also knew Georgian; he was therefore a very suitable intermediary between Russia and Georgia. He had with him a body of Russian retainers and several Cossacks, and the infuriated Georgian soldiers came very near to wreaking their vengeance upon them. Erekle, however, pacified them by explaining that Todtleben was not a Russian by origin, and that on a previous occasion he actually betrayed even Russia. This act of treachery had almost cost him his life. Furthermore, Erekle told them that Todtleben's own officers, as well as the rank and file, were completely dissatisfied with their general, although they were forced to obey him.

Todtleben's unexpected desertion created a further difficulty for King Erekle. The Georgian troops were losing their *morale*, and doubts as to the possible issue of the enterprise began to torture them. The Turks, they declared, must have vast forces at their disposal, else why should Todtleben have left them in the lurch, and hastily retreated into K'art'li? The disaffection among the Georgian troops soon became known to the Turks, who took advantage of it to make a surprise attack from the fortress; they fell upon the Georgians, and although they were driven back, after a sharp engagement they succeeded in taking about eighty prisoners. The situation was extremely critical, but it was just on such critical occasions that Erekle exercised his amazing influence upon his soldiers. With a few inspired words he dispelled the fears of his men, and imbued even the most faint-hearted with the spirit of courage.



After the King had inspected his troops, he reminded them that Georgian soldiers had many times defeated an enemy ten and twenty times stronger than themselves. "We must either vanquish the enemy," he told them, "or be exterminated. Any other course would bring great shame upon us, for what are we to say to our mothers, our wives, our sisters, the whole of Georgia, if we return empty-handed? Since when has cowardice been a trait of the Georgians? No, fellow-soldiers, we must be true to ourselves as Georgians, whose courage has never been questioned. Forward to victory!"

#### GEORGIAN FORCES ON THE ROKETI ROAD

When Erekle set out from Tpilisi, he took with him only three cannon, relying on those of Todtleben. To attempt to storm Adsquri fortress with only these three cannon would have been futile. Erekle was in a quandary; he did not know whether to continue the siege of Adsquri, or whether to carry on a campaign in the open country. While in this state of perplexity, he received intelligence from the Javakhs that a strong Turkish force was coming to the assistance of the fortress of Adsquri by way of the shorter road of Aspindza.

It should be stated here that two roads led from Adsquri to Aspindza: one running along the left bank of the Mtkvari, and the other along the right; the former road, called the Akhaltsikhe Road, was the better, being wide and straight, but it was the longer way round. If Erekle were to follow this road, he would have to make first for Akhaltsikhe, a distance of 13-14 miles, then, turning east, he would have to traverse a distance of some 20 miles, to reach Aspindza. The second road was much shorter, being about 14 miles, but it was in a bad state, corrugated with deep ruts, and very narrow. Moreover, it wound a tortuous way up rugged mountains, where transport was almost impossible. Nevertheless, Erekle chose this second road, knowing that the enemy intended to send relief to the fortress by this shorter if more difficult route. As it led over the mountain of Roketi, this road was known as the Roketi Road.

#### GEORGIAN TROOPS IN JEOPARDY AT IDUMALA

Erekle therefore raised the siege, and led his troops along the Roketi Road. Progress was difficult owing to the roughness of the track and to the fact that it was little known. As soon as the Turks learnt of the raising of the siege, a large part of the enemy force issued from the fortress, and, choosing a still shorter route, outstripped the Georgian troops; they joined another detachment encamped near Aspindza; thus forming a force 2,000 strong. This force suddenly fell upon the Georgian advance guard near Idumala. The main body

of Georgians was marching slowly over the difficult mountain road, far behind the advance guard, which was therefore in danger of being cut off. Taken by surprise and unable to execute tactical movements, it was thrown into confusion, overwhelmed, and forced to retreat. Had not the King himself saved the situation by his amazing bravery a disastrous defeat would have been inevitable. Regardless of danger Erekle, followed by several nobles, his personal bondsmen, and seven Khevsurs, charged headlong at the enemy. When those who were retreating saw the peril which their beloved King was facing so dauntlessly, they rallied, and a wave of fresh courage swept through them. They wheeled round on the enemy and such was the ferocity of their attack that they completely routed them. Of the enemy's 2,000 men, only 1,000 saved themselves by flight. Half of the Turco-Lezghian force fell on the battlefield, dead or wounded.

Erekle's action on this occasion reminds us of that of Julius Caesar, the greatest commander-in-chief of the ancient world. When campaigning in Spain Caesar's forces were put to flight by the army of Pompey's sons. Caesar at once mounted his horse and, thundering at his men: "Will ye suffer such babes to defeat me?" rushed at the enemy. The scattered troops seeing their beloved leader in deadly danger, re-formed and, charging with magnificent courage, utterly routed the enemy.

#### THE ENCAMPMENT OF OUR FORCES ON THE HEIGHTS OF ASPINDZA

The supreme trial of Erekle's skill and bravery, however, was yet to come. Only a few hours had elapsed since the last encounter, and the exhausted troops had barely recovered when news was brought to Erekle that the main force of the enemy, composed of Turks and Lezghs, 10,000 strong, was marching from Akhaltsikhe against him, and would cross the Mtkvari in a few hours' time. Erekle had in all 4,000 men at his disposal; the rest had been sent foraging. Some of these had not yet returned, and still others were either wounded or sick. Moreover, these 4,000 men were not all Georgians; among them were 1,000 Bortchaloan Tatars, on whose loyalty Erekle could not depend. The situation bristled with difficulties. A mere 3,000 Georgians remained to engage in battle the 10,000 of the enemy, on a terrain little known to them. But, as we have already said, it was at such crucial moments that Erekle revealed the genius of the born leader. Erekle realized that everything depended on good generalship and an advantageous position, since the enemy forces far outnumbered his own. Passing through Idumala, therefore, the King made for the heights between Idumala and Aspindza, along the right bank of the Mtkvari where a narrow strip of flat land, a mile wide,

runs ribbon-like, between the mountains and the river. This was the site then chosen by the King for the projected battle, and so he drew up his small force behind the mountains. He divided his troops into three sections, under the command of himself, Prince George, and David Orbeliani. Erekle took over the central section, David Orbeliani occupied the position to the left, and Prince George to the right, some distance away from his father. He had been ordered by Erekle to take no part in the battle at the beginning, but to reserve his forces, so that in a crisis, he might come to the aid of his father.

The Georgian army had hardly taken up its position on the heights of Aspindza when the Turkish forces began to cross the bridge spanning the Mtkvari above Aspindza. They soon covered the ribbon-like strip of plain, and slowly approached the Georgian positions. Nightfall, however, caused the battle to be postponed until the next day.

#### THE BATTLE OF ASPINDZA

Throughout the night both sides were preparing for the battle. At daybreak, the Turks slowly began to advance, and as soon as they were within gun-shot, they opened fire upon the Georgians. The latter, however, were so skilfully concealed behind the rocks that the rain of bullets merely raised the dust without causing any casualties. The enemy were confident that Erekle's small force would be soon at their mercy, and this confidence was further strengthened by the fact that no shot had as yet been fired from the Georgian side. They attributed this inaction to fear, but they soon discovered that it was due to Erekle's tactics. He had given orders to his men that they were not to fire a single shot, until the enemy were close upon them, when they were to open intense and accurate fire, simultaneously and all along the line.

The Turks and the Lezghs advanced rapidly, firing continuously. Suddenly, Erekle gave the signal and immediately the Georgians fired a broadside into the enemy. Practically every bullet found its mark. The first enemy line was mown down, as though by some gigantic scythe. The second line, consisting of experienced veterans, coolly stepped over the corpses and the wounded, and filled up the breach. But before they could open fire, the muskets of the Georgians rang out again, and they too fell. And now the third line advanced, only to meet a similar fate. Panic-stricken, the fourth line wavered; nevertheless, since they were already within range of the Georgian bullets, they also were doomed. The front lines had borne the brunt of the Georgian fire, but the rear ranks fared no better. Two thousand muskets shot out a hail of bullets amongst them, and the effect was all the more deadly since the Georgians were firing from the heights.

Moreover, the valley was so densely packed by the on-coming enemy that the havoc was appalling. Fully aware that the Georgians were formidable swordsmen, the Turks dared not attempt a sabre charge. Even had they dared, they were too closely wedged together to move. Both sides continued to fire, but while the Georgians' bullets still further thinned the ranks of the enemy, those of the Turks and Lezghs rebounded harmlessly from the rocks.

So heavy were their losses that at length the Turks began to lose heart. Their Commander finally realized that the Georgians were in an unassailable position and that if he continued the attack his force would be exterminated. He therefore decided to fall back slowly, recross the bridge, march along the left bank of the Mtkvari, find a ford, lead his force across the river and take up a position from which he might attack the Georgians from the rear. Still firing, the Turks began to withdraw. Thereupon, by order of Erekle, the Georgian soldiers sprang up and swarmed down the heights into the valley, their muskets spitting flame. The Turkish force halted, turned back and gave battle. Erekle meanwhile dispatched messengers to his son, Prince George, but the latter for some reason remained where he was. The situation became critical. Ten thousand Turks on the one side and 2,000 Georgians on the other, were about to engage in a struggle to the death.

#### THE SLAYING OF KOKHTA THE LEADER BY EREKLE, AND THE CRUSHING DEFEAT OF THE ENEMY

Suddenly a thousand horsemen, all Lezghs, moved from the enemy ranks. Brandishing their sabres, they rode like the wind straight at the Georgians. They were led by a youth renowned for his valour and celebrated throughout Daghestan as an intrepid fighter. He was known as Kokhta the Brave. His fleet-footed thoroughbred carried him far ahead of the others. Now, from the Georgian side, sprang a fiery steed, which rushed towards Kokhta. The rider was richly dressed and past his first youth; he was of middle stature, well built, a little bent in the shoulders. His eyes flashed like those of an eagle, and his every movement revealed amazing strength and dexterity. The rider was none other than King Erekle, who, sabre in hand, was spurring to the encounter of Kokhta. Behind him galloped the seven renowned Khevsurs, their sabres gleaming. The crucial moment was at hand. The two steeds seemed to collide. The sabres of Erekle and Kokhta flashed. Skilfully avoiding the sabre thrust made by Kokhta, Erekle struck a swift and mighty blow, and Kokhta, his head cleft and his lifeless body drenched in blood, fell heavily to the ground. Then Erekle, rising in his stirrups, roared like a lion: "Georgians,

sabre these sluts ! " Whereupon the cavalry, inspired by the amazing courage of their King, fell upon the enemy with fury, showing no mercy. The slaying of Kokhta, the heart-rending neighing of his noble steed which, masterless, careered wildly in front of the Turco-Lezghian troops, struck terror into the enemy, confused and weakened them, and finally completely demoralized them. Our infantry now threw themselves at the enemy with fury and they began to fall back, their courage sustained by the belief that they would soon reach the bridge behind them, and gain comparative safety on the other side of the Mtkvari. It did not dawn upon them that the astute Erekle had foreseen this contingency. No sooner had the first of the retreating forces set foot on the bridge than fearful cries rent the air, and as the shrieks grew louder and more piercing, what was happening became apparent to the rest—the bridge was collapsing.

The Georgians had been at work. From the very beginning Erekle, confident of victory, and intending to deprive the enemy of any possible means of retreat, had ordered three of his most daring and resourceful officers to steal out with a few soldiers, and destroy the bridge unobserved. These officers were : *t'avad* Aghabab Erist'avi, Prince Simon Bagration of Mukhrani, and Khudia the Bortchaloan. They carried out their mission in the dead of night with such skill that the enemy had not noticed anything wrong with the bridge. To all appearances it was absolutely intact ; the Georgians had merely sawn through its main supports. No sooner had the first batch of the retreating enemy stepped on to the bridge than the main supports gave way, the planks crashed into the river carrying with them wave after wave of doomed soldiers. This unexpected disaster completed the demoralization of the enemy while the Georgians, inspirited by the victory of the King over the widely famed Kokhta the Daghestanian, fought like lions. Faced with certain death at the hands of the foe, the Turco-Lezghs flung themselves into the Mtkvari in the desperate hope that, with Allah's help, they might swim to safety. But the attempt was in vain. It was April, the river, flooded and angry, swirled and eddied with elemental fury. In the pandemonium that ensued men plunged pell-mell into the water, falling over one another and in their own death struggles pulling their fellows down with them into the whelming waters. Those who hesitated on the bank were cut down by the sabres of the Georgians ; the others were swallowed up by the rushing waves of the Mtkvari, which was so choked with the drowning Turks and Lezghs that in many places the torrent, reddened with blood, overflowed its banks.

Three thousand Turco-Lezghs fell victims to the sabres of the Georgians and lay scattered in heaps over the battlefield ; many more were drowned in the Mtkvari. Only about forty men escaped. These

had plunged into the water at the earlier stage of the battle, on their thoroughbreds, and after great difficulty had reached the other side of the river and found safety in flight. About sixty were taken prisoners by the Georgians. Many illustrious and courageous Turks or Lezghs fell in this battle. The Turks lost Gola Pasha, and all the beys of the Pashalic of Akhaltsikhe. The Lezghs lost, besides Kokhta, three other renowned leaders, famous throughout Daghestan for their bravery and military leadership, and about a 1,000 distinguished horsemen. The Georgians captured an enormous amount of booty—weapons, cannon, horses, precious stones, pearls, money, and other valuables.

The Georgians had won this glorious victory at a cost so small it will seem hardly credible to those not fully acquainted with the story of this battle and with the military genius of Erekle. In the Battle of Aspindza, thirty men were killed and about a hundred wounded ! There were no noble Georgians among the killed ; whilst among the wounded there numbered only two distinguished names : *t'avad* Alexander Tsitsishvili, one of the commanders, and *t'avad* Iase Erist'avi.

But it was not only the battle of Aspindza that Erekle, the " Little Kakh ", won at so small a cost. In every battle or campaign which he won, he lost only an infinitesimal fraction of his forces. His great victories were won at small sacrifice, and he defeated a numerous enemy with only the smallest of forces ; he obtained brilliant successes with a handful of men at his disposal, and herein lies the highest merit of a commander. This invaluable quality was indispensable for the leader of so small a country as Georgia.

Now that the main Turkish force in the neighbourhood was annihilated, all roads to Akhaltsikhe were open to Erekle. He could have taken the fortress with great ease, but certain circumstances prevented him from following up his victory. News reached him from K'art'li that Todtleben intended to march on Tpilisi, occupy it, depose the King, abolish the monarchy, and annex Georgia on behalf of Russia, compelling the people to swear an oath of allegiance to the Russian Empress and declaring himself Governor-in-Chief of Georgia. " My suspicions have been completely justified," said Erekle, on hearing of this preposterous intention of Todtleben, and, losing no time, he hastened towards the capital, taking the direct route across Javakhet'i.

#### A WICKED RUMOUR

On the very day that Erekle was winning so brilliant a victory, a sinister rumour was being spread in Tpilisi, the capital of Georgia. It was whispered that the King and his forces had perished near Akhaltsikhe.

How this rumour arose is simply explained. When Todtleben and his Russian soldiers reappeared in K'art'li without Erekle and his Georgian troops it was assumed that disaster had befallen Erekle. The rumours grew in force when the Russians added to the grim story their assertion that King Erekle, left alone in the enemy country, would have little chance of escaping from the perils he had deliberately invited. Furthermore, no news of any kind was being received, either of the King or of his forces in Samtskhe. The rumour which started in Zemo-K'art'li, travelled rapidly, grew to alarming proportions, and, on reaching Tpilisi, caused consternation among the populace.

For some time the terrible "news" was withheld from the Queen, who was staying in the capital at the time. At last one of the ladies who was honoured with her intimate friendship presented herself to Her Majesty, and, with tears surging into her eyes, in a voice trembling with emotion, said: "Your Majesty, we should move quickly from here to some place of safety; His Majesty the King with his force, is in great peril." Dumbfounded, Queen Darejan rose immediately, and, leaving the palace, hastened to the Sion Cathedral, there to commend her husband the King, his army, and the whole of Georgia to the Lord in tearful and fervent prayers. The example of the Queen was followed by the Court and the whole of the capital. Shops were closed and the entire populace made their way to the Sioni. They all sought consolation in heartfelt prayer. Their fears gained in intensity when it was remarked that the waters of the Mtkvari had suddenly turned red. The fear-stricken populace leapt to the conclusion that it was the blood of the Georgian forces that had dyed the waters, and became frantic with grief. A whole night passed in this awful suspense of fear and grief, a night of dreadful forebodings. The next day the swollen waves of the Mtkvari flowing through the capital bore with them the bodies of countless drowned men. They were all Turks or Lezghs. Not a single Georgian was among them. Sorrow turned into rejoicing when the truth dawned on them, and the entire populace knew that this time rumour had lied! Suddenly a shout of joy resounded through the city. In the distance was seen King Erekle approaching with a group of horsemen. They swiftly descended the mountain slope and rode towards the palace, the King mounted on his beautiful steed. Queen Darejan hastened to welcome her royal husband. Tears rolled down her cheeks, but they were the tears of unfathomable joy shed freely at the moment of blissful re-union. The whole capital welcomed its beloved King with boundless enthusiasm. Dismounting from his horse the hero of Aspindza first embraced his consort and then, with raised hand, greeted his subjects. The King and Queen, followed by the people, went straight to the Sioni where a Thanksgiving Service was held by Catholicos Anthony. All Georgians offered fervent thanks

to God for the safe return of the Georgian army and the defeat of the enemy. Next day Erekle celebrated his brilliant victory by giving a great banquet in his beautiful palace, which contained 200 rooms. The whole capital gave itself up to three days of joyous merrymaking.

#### THE END OF TODTLEBEN. THE FURTHER BRILLIANT VICTORIES OF KING EREKLE AND KING SOLOMON IN TURKEY

Todtleben soon learnt of Erekle's triumph, and full of foreboding hastily returned to Tpilisi. The King, who had succeeded so brilliantly without his aid, would now be in a position to vent his anger, and might even carry out reprisals for the treachery that had left the Georgian troops exposed to defeat; but what if he were to imprison him and bring him to justice? These thoughts tormented him. His fear intensified when he heard that some of the Russian officers were openly condemning the unsoldierly behaviour of their commander. To avoid unpleasant complications he broke up his camp at Surami and hastily marched off towards Dushet'i, halting at the foot of the Caucasus chain. He encamped at Ananuri, where there was a strong fortress. Here there was no danger of his being cut off from Russia, and feeling more secure his fears soon evaporated, and his churlish character reasserted itself; he began to bully the inhabitants of the surrounding villages into renouncing King Erekle and swearing allegiance to the Russian Empress. Those who refused to comply were beaten, and their properties pillaged. At the same time he sent dispatches to St. Petersburg suggesting to the Russian Government that if they would only send him a small reinforcement he would take King Erekle a prisoner, send him to Russia and annex Georgia. But the Russian Government refused to listen to these specious promises. They pointed out that Georgia was too far away from Russia and that the means of communication were insecure; also that there were many mountain tribes between Russia and Georgia yet to be subdued, and that the scattered character of these tribes made it impossible to annex Georgia.

Erekle was unaware of the extent of Todtleben's secret machinations; moreover, he held the Empress Catherine in great esteem. He therefore ignored Todtleben's churlish conduct as he had already forgiven his treachery, and continued to treat him in a friendly manner. Convinced at last that Erekle did not intend to molest him, Todtleben moved from Ananuri and, in accordance with the orders he received from Petersburg, marched to Imeret'i to support King Solomon.

King Solomon was fighting the Turks, who held some fortresses in his Kingdom on the one side, and the Mt'avars of Guria and of Megrelia on the other. As events turned out it would have been far

better if Todtleben had not come to his aid at all. In no case did the Turkish garrisons in the fortresses exceed twenty to forty men, yet Todtleben failed to storm a single fortress. When at last a fortress was abandoned by the Turkish soldiers because there was no more food, Todtleben deliberately and mercilessly harassed the local population and plundered their possessions. Such was the hatred of him that fortresses held out still longer and the garrisons fought to the last man. No one trusted Todtleben's word or solemn oath. In the end he was compelled to solicit the help of Queen Mary, the consort of King Solomon, who was highly respected throughout Western Georgia. Every Imeri trusted Queen Mary implicitly and when she pledged her word that fair treatment would be accorded them, the garrisons immediately submitted to Todtleben. The importunate and tactless general even failed to maintain good relations with his ally, King Solomon, with the result that the Russian and Imerian forces were soon fighting the Turks independently of each other. Once, however, when Todtleben's forces were under Poti, the Turks approached unobserved so near that they would have annihilated them, had not Solomon come to their aid at the crucial moment and repulsed the enemy. Todtleben's harshness and cruelty extended even to his own troops, and such was his avarice that he starved his men of food and equipment. The whole force became weary and physically enfeebled, and many a Russian soldier died from exhaustion in this remote land.

At last the truth reached Petersburg and the Empress Catherine recalled Todtleben and sent General Sukhotin in his place. But this general also proved to be an unworthy leader of the Russian forces, and soon he too was discredited, and in 1772 the whole Russian force was withdrawn.

Thus the two Kingdoms of Georgia, Eastern and Western, were left to carry on the campaign against a powerful enemy unaided. The Turks were naturally furious with the Georgian Kings for having allied themselves with Russia, and many a Georgian feared that disaster was imminent. But their fears were soon dispelled. The two Georgian Kings—Erekle and Solomon—chose the right moment to settle their differences; an alliance was formed and the united forces invaded Turkey from Akhaltsikhe. Making no attempt to storm the fortresses, they concentrated on the conquest of the provinces where they won battle after battle and carried their triumphant march as far as Erzerum. But just then peace negotiations began between Russia and Turkey and hostilities ceased. The Georgian Kings were thus in 1774 obliged to withdraw their armies and return to their Kingdoms.

Erekle and Solomon naturally hoped that the Peace Treaty

between Russia and Turkey would contain a clause restoring to them the Georgian territory which Turkey then held. Unfortunately this hope was not realized. Russia failed to justify the trust placed in her. Turkey retained Georgian provinces formerly conquered by her, actually ceding very little to the Georgian Kings. But Russia obtained for herself important concessions from Turkey, thus considerably expanding her southern boundaries.

## THE THOUGHTS OF A WARRIOR

(Concerning the Poem *T'ornike Erist'avi* of Akaki Tseret'eli)<sup>1</sup>

By GENERAL G. KVINITADZE

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WHEN reading for the first time *T'ornike Erist'avi*, the historical poem of Akaki Tseret'eli, I was moved to delight. The reflections it aroused in me made me wish to share them with others. How was it, I wondered, that little Georgia had succeeded in holding out against the powerful enemies that surrounded her?

Who was not her enemy ?

Before the Christian era, there were Persia and Rome. Afterwards Persia again, then the Arabs, the Turks, the Mongols, the Persians once more, the Turks once more, the Lezghs, and finally the Russians. . . .

Georgia resisted them all.

She has retained her physiognomy, her language, her religion, and customs. She lost only part of her territory: Lazistan, Ispir-Tao-Klarjet'i, and a considerable number of Georgians who were deported to Persia and Turkey.

Nevertheless, Georgia survived till the nineteenth century as a State, with her own king, territory, people, and government.

For 120 years, Russia held sway over Georgia, but she failed to Russify her people, to turn her into a Russian province. . . .

Our earlier wars have not yet been studied ; we do not know the degree of development to which the Georgian art of war had attained during the flourishing periods of Georgia's history ; nor how it originated and developed. No serious attempt has yet been made to trace the evolution, and though there are, no doubt, numerous diverse materials and sources, these have yet to be studied by students of research. In the poem *T'ornike Erist'avi* there is, however, much food for thought. Although the author, Akaki Tseret'eli, was not a soldier himself, he writes very much as a soldier might, and shows such knowledge of military matters that the reader is convinced from the start that the poem is not only a work of imagination, but a description based on documents.

Let us turn to the poem.

I must begin by warning the reader that this article does not

<sup>1</sup> A. Tseret'eli (1840-1916) was the greatest lyric poet of Georgia. He was, besides, an orator and publicist of the first rank ; also a dramatist and novelist of distinction. *T'ornike Erist'avi* is his greatest historical poem. (Translator's note.)

claim to be a comprehensive study of the evolution of the Georgian art of war ; I have no materials at my disposal for such a work. My object is simply to examine the poem from a military point of view, that is, so far as it touches on military scenes.

The Georgian and Greek armies, under the command of T'ornike, a Georgian *erist'avi* (Duke), stood on the bank of the River Halys.

The Georgians were 12,000 strong ; no mention is made of the numerical strength of the Greeks.

Bardas Sclerus had rebelled against the Emperor of Byzantium, and the situation was so threatening that the Emperor appealed to David Kuropalat, King of Tao (+ 1001),<sup>1</sup> for help, entreating that an army with a commander should be sent to his assistance. In compliance with the request, T'ornike *Erist'av-i* and 12,000 men were sent to aid the Emperor.

Sclerus dared not give battle in the open field against the united forces of the Georgians and the Greeks, even though his forces were numerically superior.

He therefore encamps, " fortifies ambushes," " tries to trap," to take the enemy by surprise. He employs various stratagems to draw T'ornike into an ambush, but he failed to lure him ; on the contrary, he himself is entrapped.

The Greeks resented the appointment of T'ornike as the commander-in-chief, and did not hide their displeasure. T'ornike decided to turn this circumstance to his advantage, and, in order to induce Sclerus to come out into the open, pretended to take offence and quitted the Greeks, to make it appear as if he were on his way back to Georgia.

Sclerus, deceived, came into the open, and, attacking the seemingly abandoned Greeks, defeated them. While he was rejoicing and celebrating his victory, he little knew that near by, " in the hills," T'ornike was encamped, and was giving orders to his generals for the morrow's battle. These orders are so important that it is better to quote this passage of the poem in full :—

With thee will I begin first, Javshanidze,  
Grown old in the battlefields thou art  
Experienced also, and, of course,  
Restraint will know thine heart.  
A thousand men, grown grey like thee,  
Select, and form a force for the action ;  
Lead them and in secrecy go,  
Take the enemy's hiding station.  
And when we shall begin the fighting  
You will not take in it a part,  
Unseen, unheard you should be hiding . . .  
Let no one this dare counteract.

<sup>1</sup> About this King see A. Gugushvili, *The Chronological-Genealogical Table of the Kings of Georgia*, in *GEORGICA*, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 121-2. (Translator's note.)



Whatever happens here, you must there  
 Nevertheless remain. . . . Let no one make undue haste  
 And by giving way to his passion  
 In excitement an arrow waste.  
 Only when the enemy, driven back,  
 Seeks his hiding place again,  
 Then unexpectedly him attack,  
 And let terror over him reign.  
 Send thou also men secretly  
 To the Halys banks, and if they can,  
 Let them all the bridges by undersawing  
 In such a manner damage  
 That the weight of the crossing crowd  
 Additionally they should not bear,  
 And, collapsing into the Halys river,  
 The hostile forces in its flowing waters drown.  
 Now, Orbelidze, tell thee I must,  
 As a general, the front thou art,  
 And from thee will always blaze  
 The war's fire and battle's flame . . .  
 Four thousand men, all of them young,  
 Impetuous hearts, wilt thou lead;  
 Like a hurricane upon the enemy burst,  
 And, in thy manner, strike terror into their breast.  
 Gamrekeli's the general of the right  
 And Lomkats Savarsamidze of the left;  
 Each has a force three thousand strong,  
 And they represent the battle's strength.  
 The remaining thousand men,  
 Here, with me, as retinue, will remain,  
 And Jojiki is their chieftain,  
 In case of difficulty to be sent to the aid.  
 I will say no more; there's no need  
 For excessive words and counsel.  
 Let St. George be your shield,  
 And from above may God give you heed.

The art of war is the expression of a nation's statecraft, its culture, and, in fact, of every aspect of its life.

The success or failure of a nation is determined in war, which reveals its strength and weakness. The army is, as it were, a mirror of the peoples whom it defends. . . .

In accordance with the order, Javshanidze himself, "grown old in war," is charged to lead the thousand men "grown grey", like himself, to occupy the enemy's "hiding station" and to saw through the supports of the bridges. T'ornike's intention is to cut off the enemy's retreat, his object being not only to defeat, but to annihilate his foes, the one logical object of a battle. . . . What device does he use to attain this object?

The enemy have left their ambush and, if defeated, will

undoubtedly retreat there; that is why T'ornike enjoins Javshanidze to occupy this hiding place and to remain there unobserved until the defeated enemy returns. It is clear that, if the enemy is not defeated, this Georgian force would be exterminated, but T'ornike knows and Sclerus, too, is convinced, that the Georgians will undoubtedly win the battle in the open field.

It is extraordinarily nerve-racking to watch the progress of a battle and to take no part until the moment comes. It calls for great experience, self-confidence, and strength of character. This was why the Romans placed the tried of their legionaries, the so-called *Triarii*, in the third rank. When relating the tale of a hotly waged battle, the Romans would sum up the difficulties by saying: "Even the *Triarii* had to participate in the fight." It is interesting to note that T'ornike entrusts this difficult task to warriors "grown grey", rather than to the younger men.

In accordance with the order, 1,000 men are sent to occupy the enemy's place of retreat; Orbelidze and 4,000 men constitute the "front army",<sup>1</sup> the centre of the formation; Gamrekeli and Savarsamidze, each with 3,000 men, "the right" and "left" armies respectively.<sup>2</sup> Jojiki is in charge of the auxiliary force of 1,000 men remaining at the disposal of the commander-in-chief.<sup>3</sup> This disposition of the forces is worth noting.

The army is divided into sections, each having its own clearly defined task. Orbelidze, "the centre," opens the attack. The right and left sections form "the battle's strength". The main attack revolves upon the centre and the auxiliary sections. The left section is drawn up by the Halys River, and is thus protected. Lomkats Savarsamidze is to command. The right section is under Gamrekeli, "the fox of the black rocks, and the wolf of the earth," who, being the more experienced and resourceful commander of the two, is better able to deal with the greater difficulties expected on this side. This division of an army into separate units, each with its own objective, is now the usual battle formation, although it was not so in former days. Only the greatest commanders put this principle into practice. It was employed later on, by Napoleon. Before Napoleon revived this method, armies had attacked each other in a solid, wall-like formation, with one and the same object, a frontal attack. Instead of being divided into separate bodies, the troops were drawn up in lines.

Jojiki's 1,000 men remain with T'ornike. This is also worthy of note. This auxiliary force constitutes one tenth or one twelfth of the

<sup>1</sup> Corresponds to the *Dsina Spa* of the Georgian military formation (see p. 81 of this number).

<sup>2</sup> Correspond to "the from the right and from the left approaching chargers' armies" (*ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup> Corresponds to the *Rok'is Spa* (*ibid.*). (Translator's Notes.)

entire army. In this connection it may be recalled that the auxiliary troops of the Japanese during the Russo-Japanese war, constituted one tenth or twelfth of all their forces, and that they only fell back upon them in a crisis. Everything is carefully planned before the battle; the army is divided into separate sections, each having its own objective, designed to carry out the commander-in-chief's plan as a whole. Thus we see that T'ornike Erist'avi's main object is to surround the enemy and annihilate them, in order to attain which he gives orders respectively to Orbelidze, Savarsamidze, Javshanidze, and Jojiki.

Let us now follow the course of the battle.

The battle begins at dawn with an attack by the archers; as soon as the sun rises high in the heavens, Orbelidze, brandishing his sabre, rushes upon the enemy with his troops.

Why did not Orbelidze attack immediately, instead of waiting until dawn? He knew that the rising sun would shine full in the eyes of the enemy, while his men had the sun behind them. Apart from this favourable circumstance, his cavalry charged at full gallop, the correct procedure in military science. It is curious to note that the Roman cavalry always dismounted and fought on foot, while even in Napoleon's time the cavalry, when going into action, never galloped at full speed but rode at a fast trot. What has already been said clearly demonstrates the high level of development of the art of war in Georgia.

Orbelidze overpowers the enemy, but, while they are on the run, he falls into danger; the enemy succeed in surrounding him on the plain. Orbelidze is killed, and his riderless stallion dashes madly over the battlefield. T'ornike recognizes the horse and realizing that Orbelidze's forces are in danger decides, at the critical moment, to bring up his auxiliary force. He orders Jojiki to go to their assistance. Now, Sclerus's forces are in danger. Sclerus meets the difficulty by ordering the Taronites, "both his flanks," to reinforce the centre; by doing so he upsets the battle formation with the inevitable result. Gamrekeli, this "fox of the black mountains and the wolf of the earth", who is tailing the enemy, informs Savarsamidze of what has happened, and, joining forces with him, he encircles Sclerus.

The slaughter begins.

Here we see the manoeuvres used on both sides. Sclerus carries out his principal stratagem, sends his auxiliary forces against Orbelidze, the Georgian centre, and when, as a counter-measure, Jojiki intervenes in the battle with the commander-in-chief's auxiliary force, Sclerus finds himself short of troops, and is compelled, in order to save his centre from disaster, to transfer forces from his right and left flanks. The Georgians profit by this change of tactics.

Gamrekeli shows his initiative by acting in concert with Savarsamidze and in carrying out an encircling movement on the plain. The enemy is hard-pressed. T'ornike intends to annihilate the enemy, but they still show fight although they are hopelessly surrounded. The slaughter continues on both sides. At this point, the commander-in-chief intervenes, who gives the following order :—

Do not bar the road for the unfortunates.  
Let them escape, give them way.

They are therefore allowed to retreat, but only in a westerly direction. The enemy naturally make for their "hiding station". Now the ultimate purpose of T'ornike's order can be seen. Javshanidze is lying in wait for the enemy, in the enemy's own concealed base!

When Sclerus' forces found their place of retreat occupied by the Georgians, they were terror-stricken, and, throwing up their arms wildly, they stampeded towards the Halys river. The bridge, already tampered with, broke down beneath their weight, and there "survived only Sclerus himself and a few warriors". Thus the battle ended, not only in a crushing victory, but in the complete annihilation of the enemy.

If we compare Tseret'eli's *T'ornike Erist'avi* with Pushkin's *Poltava*, we shall see that the description of the battle in the latter does not convey a clear idea of the tactics employed; there is no plan of the battle, no account of its course. We do not get a complete picture in *Poltava*, but a series of disjointed scenes. For instance, there is the poetic description of the participation of Peter the Great in the battle, and that of Charles XII, etc. In *T'ornike Erist'avi*, on the other hand, the reader is able to picture, not only isolated incidents, but the general plan of the battle and the whole of its course. The battle is described with such truth in the poem, that there can be no doubt that the author must have closely studied some historical account.

As has already been said, we find in this poetic description T'ornike's general military plan and strategy, as well as the tactics of Orbelidze and Gamrekeli. We also see the battle is not a simple charge, but a carefully planned engagement comparable to those carried out by such military geniuses as Hannibal, Julius Cæsar, and Napoleon.

IZ ISTORII DREVNEY METALLURGII KAVKAZA. "From the History of the Ancient Metallurgy of Caucasia." By A. A. IESSEN and B. E. DEGEN-KOLVALEVSKI. 8vo, 420 pp. Moscow-Leningrad, 1935.

The book quoted above, which is the 120th issue of The State Academy of the History of Material Culture, founded by the late Professor N. Y. Marr, in 1921, and now dedicated to him, represents a careful and documented study of the prehistoric and historical metallurgy of Caucasia. It consists of two independent works, namely, *K Voprosu o drevneyshey metallurgii medi na Kavkaze*, "On the question of the ancient metallurgy of copper in Caucasia" (233 pp.), by A. A. Iessen; and *K istorii zheleznogo proizvodstva Zakavkazya*, "On the history of the iron production of Transcaucasia" ("According to the evidence from excavations of an iron-foundry at Tchuber, in Upper Svanet'i, Western Georgia") (185 pp.), by B. E. Degen-Kovalevski. The authors treat their respective subjects in a most extensive and exhaustive manner, and their works form a valuable contribution to the study of ancient Caucasian metallurgy. Both works are provided with a summary in French, supplied by the authors themselves, and we present below an English translation of these summaries.

### I. THE ANCIENT COPPER AND BRONZE INDUSTRIES OF CAUCASIA

"In the sphere of prehistoric research to-day is to be noted a conspicuous lack of works devoted even to a superficial study of different primitive industries.

The present memoir's general object is to contribute to the solution of the problem of primitive metallurgy by a special examination of all the evidence at our disposal on the copper industry in Caucasia.

In Chapter I (pages 8 to 22) we review the theories which can be found in the historical and archaeological literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

It was still in accordance with Biblical tradition and Greek authors that Dubois of Montpereux, Abich, Rougemont, Weidenbaum, and Bertrand were impelled to assign first importance to mining work and to the bronze industry of Transcaucasia by assuming that the metallurgist tribes, who appear in the sources indicated, the Chalybes, Tubal-Tibarenes, Mesech-Mosches, dwelt in those regions.

Later began archæological researches on places which were to

provide a great number of facts about the use of metals in the country. Filimonov, Uvarov, Virchow, Chantre, and especially J. de Morgan, concentrated on the problem of metallurgy in Caucasia. All these scholars established the existence of a local metallurgy dating from prehistoric times, but made it an importation from the East. These migrationist hypotheses took into account the historical environment in which the populations of Caucasia evolved and also the existence in the East of a much more advanced social order. Other authors, amongst whom Wilke must be named, tried to show that the bronze industry discovered in Caucasia had a European and especially Danubian origin. These assertions were based on purely typological comparisons of isolated objects. Finally, during these last twenty years some authors (J. de Morgan, 1925-7, Frankfort, and others) have maintained the theory of an Armenian and perhaps partly Transcaucasian origin of the ancient metallurgy of copper and bronze not only for Caucasia but for the neighbouring countries of the East, like Mesopotamia and Elam.

Summing up the preceding works we reach the conclusion that research into the metallurgy of Caucasia is capable of advancing in proportion to the study of evidence actually obtained in the country itself by connecting it with an examination of the historical development of corresponding societies. This method alone can keep us from the errors inherent in premature migrationist hypotheses.

Our task in the present work will be the review of facts about the most remote periods of metallurgy, those previous to the foundation of the iron industry in Caucasia.

Chapter II (pages 22 to 28) is devoted to origins and methods of our work. To be able to state convincing conclusions on the ancient metallurgy of copper in Caucasia we must first examine the following subjects:—

- (1) natural resources, that is to say the existence of cupriferous deposits, etc.,
- (2) the remains of ancient mining and metallurgical works,
- (3) copper and bronze objects found in Caucasia, their chronological and topo-geographical distribution,
- (4) the ancient written sources on metallurgy and the use of copper and bronze in Caucasian territory.

In Chapter III (pages 28 to 34) we see how primitive societies worked cupriferous deposits. Reasons of technical and economic order necessitate our adopting a point of view differing from that of the modern geologist when we try to assess the mineral wealth of any region in prehistoric times. The relative value is fixed by the number of

outcroppings rather than by the richness of each deposit which the primitive miner could not work at a great depth owing to primitive technical facilities at his disposal.

Considered from this point of view the resources in copper ores of Caucasia and particularly of Transcaucasia were rich enough to carry out most vigorous exploitation for that period.

The distribution of cupriferous deposits in Caucasia and the neighbouring territories of Turkey and Persia has been traced on Map 1 (p. 24) where will be seen thirteen groups of deposits.

Remains of ancient working of all these deposits, as well as of copper foundries, are fairly numerous, though they have never been specially studied by archæologists from the historical standpoint. With the sole exception of J. de Morgan, who visited the ancient copper mines at Lelvar, it is only engineers and geologists who supply us with the scanty information which we have on these works.

In Chapter IV (pages 35 to 72) are enumerated all the places of ancient working which can be seen marked on the same Map 1.

In spite of the insufficiency of information at our disposal to-day we are in a position to state that the mining and metallurgy of copper existed in all the cupriferous regions of Caucasia and was much more developed in Transcaucasia than in the immediate vicinity of the main Caucasus chain.

We can distinguish two stages in the history of the extraction of copper.

During the first stage they confined themselves to working the oxidized ores and carbonates of copper, while in the second they began the working of sulphuretted ores which form the principal value in Caucasian copper. Absence of observations does not allow us to assign a definite period to the transition from the first to the second stage; only a few isolated facts allow us to surmise that this transition occurred during the bronze age. Works of the first stage are hardly known up to now in Northern Caucasia—they have been noticed only in Transcaucasia.

Observations on the tools of the miner, the types of mines, the organization of works are still too inadequate for sound conclusions.

The finds allow us to state that copper was worked in Transcaucasia during the time of the Greek colonization on the shores of the Black Sea and again in the Middle Ages. When this activity ceased (except, it seems, in the Trebizond region) is not clear, but it is asserted that at the time of the Russian conquest copper was worked nowhere in Caucasia with the single exception of Georgia where these works had been resumed after 1768.

The following chapter (V) (pages 72 to 192) deals with copper and bronze objects which have been found again abundantly in

Caucasia. We are trying to form them into distinct chronological and geographical groups by starting with the assumption that, in the primitive social condition which existed before the formation of antagonistic classes, the production of metal objects intended for export was very unlikely, and that, in consequence, the district abounding with objects of similar type must include the centre (or indeed many centres) of their production. For the examination of these centres we assign great importance to the chemical analysis of these objects. The problem of the technical processes used by ancient metallurgists cannot yet, for want of technological observations and analyses, be solved with the accuracy needed, and is here dealt with as a secondary matter.

Coming to the stages of the evolution of copper metallurgy in Caucasia we can distinguish three periods preceding the foundation of the iron industry.

The first period (pp. 80 to 92) can be dated from the end of the third millennium and the beginning of the second millennium before our era. This period follows the epoch of the neolithic cemetery at Naltchik where we find pearls imported from the South, and some copper objects (two little copper foils, two spirals) which form a part of the most recent tombs in this cemetery. The monuments of this first stage have been discovered up to now only in Northern Caucasia in the basins of the Kuban and the Terek (Map 2, p. 88). The metal objects of this period (Figs. 3 and 4) are of pure copper along with others of gold and of silver (Maikop, Tsarskaya, etc.). Their local production, though fairly probable, cannot be strictly established in view of the utter lack of remains of foundries dating from this period. The oldest objects have much in common with those of Hither Asia and of South-East Europe.

The second period (pp. 92 to 111), dating from the second millennium, is represented by a large number of objects in all Northern Caucasia and by objects less numerous and of different types in Transcaucasia. The group of Northern Caucasia and of the adjoining territories of Georgia forms a clear unity (Map 3, p. 104, Figs. 5-8). We can assert that the production of objects of this group was local—which is proved by some moulds which have been found in the central part of Northern Caucasia (Figs. 9-10). Up to now we are not aware of any objects made of tin which belong to this period.

The third period (pages 111 to 183) is the Kobanian, well known for its metal inventory of bronze, thanks to the publications of Virchow, Chantre, Uvarov, and to the excavations carried out in Transcaucasia. Because of the great abundance of the materials, spread over the whole cemetery, it is possible to distinguish three main divisions, each characterized by its special metal inventory, the Koban, the Southern

Transcaucasian, and the Talysh groups. Two of these groups can be subdivided again: the Koban into two (those of Northern Caucasia or Kobanian properly so-called, and of Western Georgia), and the Transcaucasian also into two (of Eastern Georgia and that of Armenia and North-West Azerbaijan). Map 4 (p. 120) shows these sub-divisions. The period corresponding to the Kobanian can be settled as the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium before our era.

A detailed analysis of these groups allows us to state positively that a local metallurgy did exist in each of the corresponding territories. The examination of the types, their geographical distribution, the discoveries in the aggregate, notably of the smelters' depots (map 4), is the principal means of establishing the aforesaid classification.

Specimens of objects and moulds of different groups are shown in Figs. 11 to 32. (1) West Transcaucasian group—Fig. 14 (objects from Zenit'i), 15–16 (moulds from Tagilioni), 17 (objects from Jvari), 18, 19, 26 (1); (2) North Caucasian group—Figs. 11–13 (moulds from Koban), 20, 21; (3) Central Transcaucasian group—Fig. 24 (1–4), 25, 26 (2), 28 (1); (4) Talysh group—Fig. 24 (5–6). The distribution of different types of axes is shown on Map 5, that of bronze swords on Map 6 (pp. 152 and 168 respectively).

When studying all these facts we can establish a remarkable coincidence of cupriferous and mining districts with the grouping of bronze objects (Maps 1 to 4), which proves once more that copper production was local within the boundaries of each of these territories. The production of tin used in the making of bronzes is dealt with in a special study (to appear in part 110 of this series). Besides the different metal objects of local origin, we have in Caucasia a certain number of forms of foreign manufacture: Fig. 22, types from the Pontus found in Northern Caucasia; Fig. 27, native dagger from Hither Asia. But Caucasian objects are found in the steppes (Fig. 28, 2—from the Dnieper) and perhaps also in Hither Asia.

At the end of the archaeological chapter of our memoir we give a brief outline of the evolution of bronze metallurgy in Caucasia after the introduction of iron (p. 183) and a synoptic table (p. 188) marking the chief features of the development studied in our work.

Chapter VI (pages 192 to 205). Besides the archaeological documents we have a certain number of accounts written on the use of bronze in the regions to the South of Caucasia during the first millennium before our era. The Vannic cuneiform inscriptions (as also those of Assyria), when detailing the spoils of war, never refer to the metals of Transcaucasia. This interesting fact permits us to believe that Transcaucasian metallurgy was less developed than that of more advanced southern regions. The well-known inscription of Sargon about the capture of Musasir proves that these countries, almost unknown

from the archaeological point of view, were actually very rich in metals.

The Tabal (Tubal, Tibarenes), the Mushki (Mesech, Mosches), and the Chalybes, mentioned in the Bible and by Greek writers as workers in bronze, could not have been located in Transcaucasia with the sole exception, possibly, of the Mosches whose territory adjacent to Colchis might have extended a little beyond the actual frontier of Transcaucasia. It is the cupriferous regions of the Dchorokh and of Trebizond which were the seat of metallurgy for these tribes.

Chalcocondyles' account about the copper industry of the Alans cannot, as has been asserted, be ascribed to the periods when the weapons of the bronze age were used in Caucasia.

Everything leads us to believe that the mining and metallurgical industry of Transcaucasia was, in the second and first millennium before our era, less developed than that of the neighbouring regions of Hither Asia. Our conclusions on the historical question may be stated thus (pp. 205 to 210):—

(1) The first copper objects are brought into Caucasia from the countries of Hither Asia, which were more advanced in their social and economic development during the third millennium before our era.

(2) The evolution of aboriginal societies, including that of their metallurgy, is stimulated and accelerated by contact with the South.

(3) The end of the second millennium before our era is marked by a brilliant advance of the bronze industry in Caucasia, although the latter does not play an important part as a source of metals for more southern countries.

(4) The problems to be solved in the history of ancient Caucasian metallurgy are, first of all, the problem of the origins of a local metallurgy of copper and that of the transition to iron industry.

With regard to method it should be remarked that satisfactory results can only be obtained, when inquiring into industries of primitive societies, by including in our analysis the whole cycle of production, from the extraction of raw materials to the final making of objects.

In short, it is necessary to examine the archaeological facts from the point of view of evolution of autochthonous social and economic conditions. This alone will allow us to understand the actual historical development. Migrationist hypotheses could never result in conclusions offering so high a degree of accuracy.

Future works on Caucasian metallurgy, if they are to have any value, will have to take into consideration mines and ancient foundries which so far have never been the object of archaeological research on the spot. Moreover, all the archaeological materials in the museums

must be studied from the point of view of the history of technological processes. In the appendix (pages 210 to 233) are collected all the analyses known so far of bronzes of Caucasian origin. A new series of analyses prepared through the Academy will be published shortly. Analyses 1-9 relate to periods 1 and 2, Nos. 10-58 to the third period of Northern Caucasia, Nos. 59-98 to the same period of Transcaucasia, and Nos. 99-142 to the Scythian epoch and to the Middle Ages of Northern Caucasia."

## II. ON THE HISTORY OF IRON MANUFACTURE IN TRANSCAUCASIA

(According to the evidence from excavations made in 1930 of an old iron foundry at Tchuber, Upper Svanet'i.)

"In 1928, in the valley of the River Nesgura (Upper Svanet'i, in the north of Western Georgia), in the community of Tchuber, a district uninhabited for several centuries and only peopled anew about 1890, have been found traces of former production of iron, such as heaps of slag, bits of tewels, pieces of ore, etc. A thorough archæological exploration, made in 1930, has allowed us to reconstruct the chief technological features of the production and to deduce therefrom certain historical questions.

The remains of this production are confined to the region of the village of Upper Markh (comprising about ten families), the territory of which still preserves the traces of a former habitation, and which has been a source of numerous archæological finds—amongst others of gold coins of Alexander and Lysimachus. At both ends of this locality stand two foundries actually presenting the appearance of two cone-shaped hillocks separated from the primary bank of the Nesgura by ditches. From an examination of the upper platform of foundry No. 1 (in Svanian *Shkhibar*) the different processes of treatment can be ascertained with more or less accuracy and precision: it was there that the ore was roasted, crushed with hand-millstones. There, too, probably was introduced the treatment of hot iron, and a forge installed, fragments of which are still preserved in the shape of a portion of a wall that is falling into ruin, with traces of an iron-grating structure. Lower down, along the slope (at a distance of about 25 metres), stretched a belt of furnaces of which more than a dozen have been discovered at different times. The construction of furnace No. 2, which has been examined, may be compared with exactitude with the foundry installations of Bengal (Orissa), Yakutia, and of ancient Sweden (*Osmund-offen*), well known in literature.

What specially characterizes the Svanian furnace is primarily its method of loading—exact and practical—in the shape of a sloping groove for the powdered ore cast with some calcareous flux, flanked

by two pits for the charcoal, as well as by two separate openings for the outlet of scoria and for the extraction of the pig-iron. The simplified construction of the No. 1 furnace points to the existence of a process of two stages of iron-manufacture by heating the crude pig-iron in a furnace of the second stage. The discovery of pieces of ore (magnetite of excellent quality) and of several tools and other iron objects allows us, by making use of chemical and metallographical analysis, to reconstruct the metallurgical process itself. The principal product, imposed as much by the construction of the furnace as by the character of the technological manipulations, appears to be a crude malleable iron of excellent purity, but there is good reason to posit a manufacture of a steel of average hardness capable of being tempered to a considerable degree.

The scientific interest aroused by the remains of iron-manufacture in West Svanet'i is increased by the fact that although, at the time when the country was annexed by Russia (nineteenth century), there existed no trace of local production in the country, the rare representatives of this craft held a predominant social position in the "ethnographic" life of Svanian society; moreover the evidence of the cult, folklore, and language (by the light of Professor Marr's materialistic theory of speech) bears witness to the survival, in Svanian traditions and mentality, of notions engendered in ancient times and connected with primitive iron metallurgy.

The character and archæological ambience of the installations at Tchuber preclude any attempt at their comparison with analogous objects of the Hellenistic period, and lead us to assign them—with all due precaution and reserve—to a period far more recent, to the tenth-eleventh centuries of the Christian Era. A dim legend, existing among the Svanian people, retains the memory of wealthy Svanian communities called *Sal* and *Fazhe*, established at a remote period in the neighbourhood of Tchuber, and pursuing on a vast scale the extraction and smelting of different metals, which gave rise to a lively trade with neighbouring tribes. These communities have also perished under the attacks of hordes of unknown robbers from the Northern slopes of the Caucasus, who were attracted by the rumour of their wealth. A minute examination of the archæological site of Tchuber allows us to recognize a certain degree of historical probability in the main outlines of the legendary story without, however, letting us fix the date of this disaster, or the exact origin of the plunderers, owing to the inadequacy of scientific sources at our disposal to-day.

To give the precise chronology of the development and the sociological structure of the production of Tchuber, it is essential, in the presence of materials so valuable, to have recourse to parallel data, sometimes even analogous, borrowed from the iron metallurgy of other



Caucasian tribes, the stage of the developments of which is comparable to their social development. Use has been made of all these data, especially for the analysis of the monument, and the systematizing of materials necessitated by the very process of the work has led us to certain general propositions.

(1) The insignificance of the technique of the forge in the bronze production did not necessitate the differentiation of the smelter's and smith's crafts ;

(2) on the contrary, the great perfection of iron production attained during the last stages of the archaic society of Europe, Caucasia, and Africa, enables us to suppose that the separation of the smith's craft from that of the smelter in the process of the development of iron-manufacture had been effected already under the system of the archaic society ;

(3) the great importance, sometimes exclusive, of the master-smith, determined at last by the part he played in the process of the division of labour, corresponds to a certain stage of the archaic society, its decline, and it cannot be deduced from the norms in force in a feudal society or in one practising serfdom ;

(4) the cult and even magical significance of the forge and smith (very superior to that of the smelter) was formed at a time when the survivals of a magic and even "cosmic" mentality had not yet lost their efficacy in the communal consciousness.

The chief stages in the organization of metal manufacture seem to be thus :—

(1) Communal smelting and forging practised without breaking with agriculture ;

(2) the differentiation of the community of smelter-smiths brought about by hereditary transmission ; these two stages are common to copper and iron ; what, above all, characterizes iron manufacture is—

(3) the discrimination between the master-smith and the smelter within the community itself, and

(4) the release of the master-smith from the bonds that bound him to the community, and the establishing, for products made by the master-mechanic, of the system of private industry.

All production, as well as all society, does not necessarily repeat all the stages of the schema and in the course of an evolution generally polystadial, it carries in its structure as many survivals from the past as germs of the future. That is why in order to analyse the ancient Tchuber foundries, in order to determine their stadial date and indeed

to establish their historical connections with the craft of the forge of later Svanet'i, all the materials collected are by no means sufficient, but they nevertheless indicate connections with very diverse stages of social development.

It is necessary to recognize as an indispensable social and economic characteristic of iron manufacture at Tchuber, on the one hand, the archaic features of its organization—the union of the foundry and the forge, in one and the same communal installation, without breaking with agriculture ; and, on the other hand, its considerable range which exceeded the economic needs of the pre-feudal highland communities. The whole of the sources at our disposal, although scarcely sufficient for the drawing of definite conclusions, does permit us, however, as a working hypothesis, to consider Tchuber and the entire western part of Svanet'i, during the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian Era, as populated by a number of old communities pursuing the manufacture of iron (and possibly of other metals), and, by their products, providing not only for their own needs but also more amply for those of the feudal markets of Transcaucasia and Northern Caucasia. The questions here raised can be cleared up only by actual further archæological investigations at Tchuber and throughout all Svanet'i.

The present work is regarded by the author as a first step in his studies devoted to the history of Svanet'i and iron-production in Caucasia."

### THE SOCIETY FOR PALÆO-MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

The following communication, concerning the foundation of the above Society in Paris and its activities, was received from the Society's Secretary and Treasurer, Monsieur B. Nikitin.

THE first meeting of the initiatory group having been held on 22nd April, 1936, this date may be regarded as the first step towards the founding of the Society for Palæo-Mediterranean Studies.

The aim and function of the Society were then defined as follows:—

What is known or what may be vaguely discerned concerning the most ancient civilizations, languages, and races of the Mediterranean basin and neighbouring regions renders advisable the establishment of constant liaison between investigators in the various specialized fields, both scientific and geographical: between ethnographers, archaeologists, linguists, etc. . . ., on the one hand, and on the other between those whose particular spheres of research are Caucasia, the Aegean world, the Etruscans, the Basques, etc. The connections which are felt to exist can be accurately determined only by collaboration on the widest scale, whereby each investigator will enjoy both means of comparison and means of criticism exactly proportionate to the extent of the field to be explored.

The Society for Palæo-Mediterranean Studies proposes as its aim to facilitate such collaboration. Its members will pool their special knowledge, and will aid and correct one another in their efforts towards synthesis, which will thus gain in strength without losing the advantages pertaining to individual enterprise.

The Society professes no preconceived doctrine; it will welcome and examine with scientific freedom of judgment any serious hypothesis, whatsoever it may be. The question of the relationship between the Caucasian languages and Basque is, for example, one falling pre-eminently within the scope of its inquiries, and the fact that the Society counts among its members specialists both in Basque and in Caucasian studies attests its interest in this problem. But neither upon this point nor upon any other does it look upon any solution as already established. It asks its members only to search and to discuss.

The seat of the Society is in Paris.

On 13th May, at the second meeting, M. Przulski, Professor at the Collège de France, announced his readiness to preside over the activities of the Society, and on 3rd June a first working meeting took place on the premises of the Institut de Phonétique, 19 rue des Bernardins, very kindly placed at the disposal of the new-born Society by Professor P. Fouché. At this meeting M. Przulski, in a succinct and comprehensive exposé, put forward a plan of inquiry concerning the *Dea Mater* and her various manifestations. Continuing on the same lines, M. Dumézil, at the meeting of 17th July last, before the

vacation, read a paper on a *Georgian folklore* theme. The meeting in October, after the vacation, was devoted to re-establishing contact, and that of 6th November to a paper by M. Nikitin on *Water and the Horse in Mediterranean folklore and mythology*. Since that date meetings have taken place regularly each month. On 4th December M. Baschmakoff spoke on the *Palæo-ethnology of Nearer Asia*. On 8th January, 1937, the statutes of the Society, as drawn up by M. Leune, were scrutinized and were subsequently voted upon and adopted at a general meeting held on 5th March. Meanwhile, on 5th February, M. Fouché expounded his views with regard to the *Place of Basque in relation to the African and Caucasian languages*, whilst on 5th March, M. Namitok examined *The extension of Circassian toponymy and ethnonymy in the Mediterranean basin*; on 9th April, M. Lacombe analysed the *Passive construction in Basque*. On 5th March, the governing body of the Society was elected, consisting of Professor J. Przulski, President; Professors P. Fouché and Lacombe, Vice-Presidents; Messrs. Leune and Nikitin, discharging conjointly the duties of Secretary and Treasurer. The following were present at the General Meeting, and took part in the voting of the statutes and the election of the Governing Body: Messrs. Baschmakoff, Dumézil, Kucharski, Lacombe, Leune, Namitok, Nikitin, Przulski, Vatchiants, and Zavriev.

On 7th May, M. J. Leune set forth *The principles governing the structure of the soil and the character of the population in prehistoric times*. On 4th June, M. I. Zavriev spoke upon the *Theories of N. Marr with regard to Armenian*, and finally on 2nd July, Mr. A. Safrastian journeyed from London to talk to the Society about *The relationship between Urartian and Armenian*.

The Society has already enlisted a certain number of adherents both in France, elsewhere than in Paris, and also in other countries, e.g. England, Poland, Russia, Austria, and Latvia. After the printing and dispatch of the statutes it will be possible to determine how far these recruits are permanent. In order to strengthen these connections and to confer a more regular character upon its labours, the Society hopes to institute a periodical journal, this question having been debated at an extraordinary meeting held on 23rd April.

## THE GEORGIAN ALPHABET

By A. GUGUSHVILI

GUGUSHVILI: THE GEORGIAN ALPHABET

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GEORGIANS possess two alphabets, namely, the *Khutsuri*—sacerdotal or ecclesiastical, and the *Mkhedruli*—military or secular.<sup>1</sup> Formerly, the *Khutsuri* alphabet, as the name indicates, was used in ecclesiastical texts, and the *Mkhedruli* in secular literature,<sup>2</sup> and in modern usage the *Mkhedruli* prevails over the *Khutsuri* alphabet.

*Khutsuri* script has two forms: *aso-mt'avruli* majuscule, and *nuskhuri* minuscule; while *Mkhedruli* script has only one form: minuscule (if handwritten script is not taken into consideration).

Until the beginning of the eleventh century the ancient literary Georgian language was written entirely in sacerdotal characters, the majuscule form of the alphabet being almost exclusively used up to the beginning of the tenth century, but later this was gradually displaced by the minuscule form.

The sacerdotal alphabet, in both its majuscule and minuscule form, is, according to Marr, generally a product of the Georgian Christian culture, which arose with the adoption of Christianity and which represented first the religious and then also the social interests of Georgian Christian society.

The pre-Christian alphabet, i.e. the alphabet that served the cultural interests of Georgian pagan society, has not come down to us. In Marr's opinion, the military or knights' alphabet is probably a survival of this one, developed further in secular military circles, and influenced by the sacerdotal alphabet while having, in its turn, a reciprocal influence on the latter alphabet in the formation of its minuscule type.<sup>3</sup>

The Georgian alphabet consists of forty letters, of which the 39th and 40th, namely, *ჟ*, *ზ*, were introduced into new Georgian in the eighteenth century, the former to represent the Latin or Russian *f*, and the latter to represent an undefined sound in Georgian which, though formerly unheeded, was recognized by Anton I, Catholicos of Georgia, the writer among other works of an extensive Grammar of the Georgian language. Neither of these two letters, however, has gained stability in modern Georgian which uses the letter *p'* to represent the sound of *f*. The letter *ზ* has been included in the Alphabet in this journal for the reason that, occurring as it does in the Svanian, Megrelian (Mingrelian) and Chanian languages

<sup>1</sup> *Khutsuri*, an adjective, is derived from *Khutsesi* (*Khutseys*)—*sacerdos*, -*otis*, a priest. *Mkhedruli*, an adjective, is derived from *Mkhedari*—a horseman, a cavalier, a knight. The *Khutsuri*, therefore, may also be called the "priestly" or "priests' hand", the *Mkhedruli*, the "knightly" or "knights' hand".

<sup>2</sup> The written language of Georgia, according to Marr, developed in the cultured section of the Georgian army (consisting by preference of cavalrymen), in circles of distinguished warrior-knights.

<sup>3</sup> N. Marr, *A Grammar of the Ancient Georgian Literary Language* (in Russian). Leningrad, 1925, p. 2.

of the Georgian linguistic family, it is thought that it may be of use in the transcription of words of these languages containing this sound. For the same reason an additional sound, which occurs in Megrelian and is represented by *ჟ*, has been explained in the paragraph on the Pronunciation of the Georgian Letters.

Modern Georgian uses only thirty-three of the forty letters given in the Table, the seven letters now obsolete being: *ey* or *ბ*, *y*, *w*, *ჟ*, *o*, *ფ*, *ე*.

THE GEORGIAN ALPHABET

Name	<i>Mkhedruli</i> , Military	<i>Khutsuri</i> , Ecclesiastical		Numerical Value	Provisional Transliteration	
		<i>Asomt'avruli</i> , Majuscule	<i>Nuskhuri</i> , Minuscule		Analy- tical	Popular
1 ან	ა	Ⴀ	Ⴁ	1	a	a
2 ბან	ბ	Ⴂ	Ⴃ	2	b	b
3 გან	გ	Ⴄ	Ⴅ	3	g	g
4 დან	დ	Ⴆ	Ⴇ	4	d	d
5 ენ	ე	Ⴈ	Ⴉ	5	e	e
6 ვინ	ვ	Ⴊ	Ⴋ	6	v	v
7 ზენ	ზ	Ⴌ	Ⴍ	7	z	z
8 პე	ძ	Ⴎ	Ⴏ	8	ē	ey
9 თან	თ	Ⴐ	Ⴑ	9	t'	t'
10 ინ	ი	Ⴒ	Ⴓ	10	i	i
11 კან	კ	Ⴔ	Ⴕ	20	k	k
12 ლან	ლ	Ⴗ	Ⴘ	30	l	l
13 მან	მ	Ⴚ	Ⴛ	40	m	m
14 ნარ	ნ	Ⴝ	Ⴞ	50	n	n
15 პეგ	ე	Ⴟ	ღ	60	y	y
16 ონ	ო	Ⴠ	Ⴡ, Ⴐ	70	o	o
17 პარ	პ	Ⴢ	Ⴣ	80	p	p
18 ჟან	ჟ	Ⴤ	Ⴥ	90	ჟ	zh

Name	Mkhedruli, Military	Khutsuri, Ecclesiastical		Numerical Value	Provisional Transliteration	
		Asomt'avruli, Majuscule	Nuskhuri, Minuscule		Analy- tical	Popular
19 რე	რ	ⴑ	ⴒ	100	r	r
20 სან	ს	ⴓ	ⴔ	200	s	s
21 ტარ	ტ	ⴕ	ⴖ	300	t	t
22 ვი	ვ	ⴗ	ⴘ	400	w	w
23 უნ	უ	ⴙ (ⴚ)	ⴛ, ⴜ (ⴝ)	400	u	u
24 ფარ	ფ	ⴞ	ⴟ	500	p'	p'
25 ქან	ქ	ⴠ	ⴡ	600	k'	k'
26 ღან	ღ	ⴢ	ⴣ	700	ǰ	gh
27 ყარ	ყ	ⴤ	ⴥ	800	q	q
28 შინ	შ	⴦	ⴧ	900	š	sh
29 ჩინ	ჩ	⴨	⴩	1,000	č	tch
30 ცან	ც	⴬	ⴭ	2,000	ts	ts
31 ძილ	ძ	⴮	⴯	3,000	dz	dz
32 წილ	წ	ⴰ	ⴱ	4,000	ts'	ds
33 კარ	კ	ⴣ	ⴤ	5,000	c	dch
34 ხან	ხ	⴦	ⴧ	6,000	x	kh
35 კარ	კ	⴨	⴩	7,000	χ	kḥ
36 ჯან	ჯ	⴬	ⴭ	8,000	j	j
37 ჰაე	ჰ	⴮	⴯	9,000	h	h
38 ჰოე	ჰ	ⴱ	ⴲ	10,000	ō	hō
39	ფ	—	—		f	f
40	ფ	—	—		ə	ə

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE GEORGIAN LETTERS

- a** is neither short nor long in quantity; in quality it approaches very near to the English **a** in *artistic*.
- b** as in English.
- g** is always "hard" as in *get*.
- d** as in English.
- e** very much like the English mid-front-wide *ě* in *end, intellect*, otherwise represented as in *many, any, friend, feather*.
- v** as in English.
- z** is "clearer" than in English, that is, it is fully vocal like the French or Russian *z*.
- ē (ey)** is a descending diphthong representing a combination of *e* and *y*, and is the equivalent of what in English is commonly called "long a" represented otherwise as in *rain, veil, obey*.
- t'** is very much like the English *t* as articulated when not preceded by *s*, e.g. *two, too*, etc., having the same medium point position and the same "thick" or "dull" effect (see p. 330).
- i** is like the English high-front-wide *i* as in *ill, until*, otherwise represented as in *foreign, mischief, breeches*.
- k** has a sound purer than that of English *k* or "hard" *o*; in articulating it there is a stronger puff of breath; the breath, however, is not allowed to escape, the voice being sounded simultaneously with the opening of the closure; it is thus free from any breathy effect or breath-glide.
- l** differs from the English *l* in that it has a much "clearer" sound and that in articulating it the tongue is kept quite straight.
- m, n** as in English.
- y** is a voiced palatal semi-vowel as in *year, young*.
- o** as the first element *o* of the diphthongs *oy* or *oi* in *boy* or *oil*.
- p** is like the French *p*, as in *Paris* (see p. 330).
- z** is like the English palatal *z* or *s*, as in *azure, pleasure*.
- r** is like the English *r* before a sounded vowel, as in *red, dry*.
- s** is the "sharp" *s* in *snow, see*.

- t is like the French t in *toute*, that is, it is, in general, more clearly dental than in English; its sound approaches that of the English t in words like *stick*, *stock*, i.e. when preceded by s (see p. 330).
- w is very much like the English voiced semi-vowel w, and, like the latter, may be called "consonant u".<sup>1</sup>
- u as ou in *group*, *soup*.
- p' is a bilabial in articulating which the lips are brought very lightly and much less firmly together than in the case of the Georgian p; it is slightly "duller" than the English p which seems to have a medial sound between the Georgian p' and p, particularly when not preceded by s (see also p. 187).
- k' a back linguapalatal, very much like ch in *chemistry*, *Christ*; its articulative position is the same as that of k or rather "hard" g; the explosive release of the closure, however, is much weaker than in the case of k or g, due to a feebler impinging of the breath from the tongue upon the palate. It is slightly duller than the English k which seems to have a medial sound between the Georgian k' and k.
- ǰ a back linguaguttuopalatal; it is an aspirated "hard" g resembling the German central g after back vowels, as in *Tag*, or the modern Greek γ before a, o, u, the Georgian articulation, however, is somewhat more guttural and clearly fricative.
- q a back linguaguttural, the articulative position of which lies somewhere between those of k and χ ("ach-sound"), and is uttered by imparting the k-sound (see k above) into χ. According to the late Professor Marr (op. cit., p. 10), it is nearer to χ with, however, none of its frictional rustling of breath; in articulating it, the breath is suddenly and completely stopped at the moment of its inception. It is just a strong, deep, but short, guttural ejective stop and mute like k.
- š as in *ship*.
- č as in *church*.
- ts like German z in *Zeit*, or like ts in *tsetse* (fly).

<sup>1</sup> In ancient literary Georgian the symbol w in combination with o represented the sound of u like English ou in *soup*. Later, however, this u (= ow) before a vowel began to be pronounced like w, but the graphic representation of the full pronunciation was retained. In the eighteenth century u pronounced like w began to be distinguished by a circumflex, thus ū. In Modern Geo. this u became, when followed by a vowel, separated from the latter by v. Later still it disappeared altogether. e.g. T'h'uen → t'h'uen = t'h'uen || t'h'uen → t'h'uen. [See N. Marr, *A Grammar of the Ancient Literary Georgian Language*, Leningrad, 1925, pp. 4-7 (in Russian).]

- dz a front linguadentipalatal articulated by imparting the d-sound into z, to do which the ts-position is assumed and the blade of the tongue is pressed hard against the back of the upper teeth without, however, making the tongue very tense, the resulting explosion is energetic but somewhat dull. This sound is not simply d + z, as in Italian *mezzo*, or in English *adz*, but an intimate blending of these two consonants, in which one can hear neither element.
- ts' a front linguadentipalatal akin to the sounds of ts and dz graphically best represented by tsz (t ts z) the blending of which into a single sound is effected by assuming the ts-position and exerting a stronger pressure on the back of the upper teeth with the tongue very tense, the resulting explosion being a short, sharp note resembling the sound peculiar to chicks.
- č a front linguapalatal akin to č. It is made in the same manner as the preceding ts, the tongue, however, being placed in the č-position; the resulting explosion has the note resembling the chirp of sparrows.
- χ a guttural (back) fricative like ch in Scotch *loch*, or like the so-called German "ach-sound" in *noch*, *suche*.
- χ a linguaguttural articulated in modern Georgian exactly like the preceding χ, but in old Georgian literary monuments they are strictly differentiated and never confused. According to the late Professor Marr (op. cit., p. 8) its sound is nearer to that of k and is the aspirated k, i.e. k' with the sound of q (see below) organically blended with it into one sound.
- j as in *jam*, *jar*.
- h as in *hill*, *home*.
- (h)ō a diphthong used as an interjection; it is merely a conventional symbol representing a long ō or the Greek ω.
- f a labial fricative like English f.
- ə a semi-vowel, or rather a sound of an undefined character with a strong guttural articulation like the Turkish ı in *kuş*<sup>1</sup> (ı without a point), or the Russian "hard" ı (и) in comparison with which it is, however, somewhat shorter and weaker. Being of indefinite quality it used to replace both u and e//i.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Kipshidze, *A Grammar of the Mingyelian (Iberian) Language*, St. Petersburg, 1914, p. 012 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> Marr, op. cit., p. 3.

q̇ represents the half-softened sound of the strong guttural q; in its articulation the throat-contraction required for q is diminished; it resembles very much the ancient Arabic 'ain.

## OBSERVATIONS

The student who wishes to master the difficulties of Georgian phonetics should pay particular attention to the five composite affricates, namely, ts' q, ḡ, ḡ, and χ, and to the weak ejective q̇, which have no equivalents in any of the Western European languages. The pronunciation of these sounds, as explained on pp. 184-186, should, therefore, be carefully studied. Of the other affricates, namely, dz, ts, χ, j, and č, any average student will probably be quite familiar with the first three—a kind of approximation to the dz-sound being found in the English word *adz*, and ts and χ representing sounds of frequent occurrence in German (Ger. *z*, *Zeit*, and *ch*, "ach-sound," *noch*) or the latter one in Scotch *loch*. The last two affricates, being exact equivalents of English j (*jam*) and ch (*church*), require no comment, of course.

The student should also carefully distinguish the percussive and acoustic effects of the half-voiced stops (t', k', p') and the voiceless stops (t, k, p). Concerning these sounds it might further be said that t', k', p', are not t, k, p, respectively, each followed by, or combined with, the sound of h, or a breath-glide which may be symbolized by h, that is, they cannot be assumed to be th or t'h, kh or k'h, ph or p'h. They represent actually the sounds of t, k, and p, or b in their respective less forcible, weakened forms, made so by a looser or feebler contact of their respective organs of articulation.<sup>1</sup>

The Georgian affricates may be described as consonantal diphthongs of the following combinations:—

ts' ← t + s<sup>2</sup>; dz ← d + z; ts ← t' + s; č ← t + š; j ← d + ž;  
č ← t' + š;

q ← k + h; ḡ ← g + y or g + h; χ ← k' + h; χ ← k' + q̇.<sup>3</sup>

They are not, however, simply ts, dz, etc., or kh, k'h, etc., i.e. a mere junction of t and s, d and z, etc., pronounced in succession with each component sound somewhat audible; they are composite sounds with their component sounds so changed and blended into each other as to form a single, simple sound. [See the description of the dz-sound above. Cf. the English j and ch (*chop*).]

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller explanation see Tsagareli, A., *Mingrelian Studies*, issue ii, pp. 31, 38, and 42 (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1880. See also Marr's *Grammar*, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> In popular transliteration ts' is represented as ds in order to distinguish it from ts = ts.

<sup>3</sup> See Kipshidze, op. cit., p. 04.

A close examination of these consonantal diphthongs will show that Georgian affricates represent a combination of a strong stop or explodent, with an immediately following weak sibilant, or spirant of corresponding organic positions, and that the sibilants (s, z, š, ž) blend with the dentals (t, d, t') and the spirants (h, y, q̇) with the gutturals.<sup>1</sup>

Further, it should be noted that consonants in Georgian are tense and lax, that is, they are pronounced with the tongue tense or loose. This distinction, not so noticeable in English, is of importance in Georgian, and depending as it does upon the degree of approximation of the organs, the manner and place of the formation of Georgian consonants, particularly of those peculiar to Georgian, should be learnt orally.

The Georgian alphabet claims to be a true phonetic rendering of the language, every word being pronounced as it is written. It follows, therefore, that if the pronunciation of each letter is mastered, one can pronounce and read and write any word, known or unknown, correctly.

In Georgian several consonants are frequently found grouped in a word and for this reason the language has been thought by some foreigners to be "a cacophonous assemblage of consonants with many gutturals". But as the late Miss Marjory Scott Wardrop put it, "herein lies the vigour of the language." Miss Wardrop, the admirable translator, among others, of a masterpiece of twelfth-century Georgian literature into English, quotes a modern Turkish poet who addresses a Georgian lady thus: "O thou whose speech is like a lion's roar." We fail to recollect any Georgian lady whose speech could be likened to a lion's roar; the comparison may, of course, be a poetic licence, or due to an excessive sensibility of the tympanic membrane of the poet's ears. Miss Wardrop herself, however, has the following to say in regard to the sound of the Georgian language: "This, however, is but one phonetic aspect of a tongue which in its love lyrics and lullabies can be as soft and caressing as Italian ('sweet-sounding Georgian') in its rhetorical and philosophic passages as sonorous and dignified as Castilian."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller explanation see Marr, op. cit., § 040 and pp. 10-12.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, trans. by Miss Marjory Scott Wardrop, published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1912, §. x.



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Obtainable from The Hon. Secretary, The Georgian Historical Society,  
Commonwood House, Chipperfield, Herts, England.