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GEORGICA

A JOURNAL OF GEORGIAN AND CAUCASIAN STUDIES

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GEORGICA

A JOURNAL OF GEORGIAN AND CAUCASIAN STUDIES

THE GEORGIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By SIR E. DENISON ROSS

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FEW countries with a long historic past and a classical and modern literature are so little known to us as Georgia ; and it is a welcome sign of the times that a group of Englishmen should have thought fit to found a Society for the encouragement of the study of Georgian history and culture. The Society will not confine its researches to Georgia but will embrace in its survey the history and ethnology of all Caucasia. In order to carry out its object the Georgian Historical Society will publish a periodical under the title of *Georgica* of which the present is the first number. Two numbers a year is all the editors at present aim at, but they hope ultimately that it may be published quarterly. The Society also intends to arrange for lectures and discussions on such subjects as the political, religious, and economic history of Medieval Georgia and Caucasia. Attention will also be paid to the racial linguistic and national origins of the Caucasian peoples.

The number of Englishmen who have known the Georgian language is lamentably small, and a Georgian Scholarship tenable at Oxford has never yet attracted a student. I have often found inquirers incredulous when I have told them that Georgian cannot be associated with any of the well-known language families of Europe and Asia. Many people are equally surprised to hear that the Georgians have an ancient Christian church of their own and that they share with both pagan and Christian Europe many old legends such as those of the Golden Fleece and St. George and the Dragon. There is a fine Georgian literature rich in history and poetry, which is very little known in Europe. The history of Georgian art, so closely bound up with that of Byzantium is a subject still in its infancy.

The Georgian people have in recent times experienced many vicissitudes of fortune and large numbers of the *intelligentsia* are living in exile. This Society hopes by its literary activities not only to promote an understanding of Georgian culture, but also to pay a tribute to the members of a nation, small in number, but great in the quality of its contribution to the history of the Middle East.

THE PRESENT STATE OF CAUCASIAN STUDIES

By W. E. D. ALLEN

THE region which takes its name from the Caucasus mountains occupies a central and, indeed, a pivotal position in terms of historical geography. Tiflis is equidistant, as the crow flies, from Cairo and from Moscow and Kazan, almost half-way between Constantinople and Samarcand, rather more than half-way from Kiev to Baghdad and Tihran. The Caucasian mountains have always constituted a wall between the ancient settled lands of Western Asia and the nomad world of the Eurasian steppe. And the Caucasian isthmus, separating the basins of the Black Sea and the Caspian, has been a channel into which have dribbled the furthest ripples of contrasting world cultures extending westward to the shores of the Atlantic and eastward to the coasts of the Pacific.

It is difficult to study any period of history without being attracted ultimately towards the Caucasus. In relatively late historic times the importance of the Caucasian area is a commonplace. The crises, in the fifth and seventh centuries, of the age-long conflict between Rome and Persia were fought out in the valleys of the Rioni and the Kura. The Caucasian cities, under the Caliphate, became the centre of the medieval commercial capitalism of the Arabs, and the interplay of Muslim, Slavonic, and Turkish cultural forces influenced the development of history all over the Eurasian steppelands. In the Caucasian marches was carried through the decisive struggle between the Byzantine and Muslim powers. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Georgia and Shirvan became the battleground between the Southern and Northern Mongols, while at the same time the rivalries between the Italian mercantile city-empires were echoed round the eastern and northern shores of the Black Sea. In later centuries the destiny of Russia as a world power was decided in the Caucasian passes.

For the early historic period this region is no less significant. Archæological discovery and anthropological and linguistic research is directing the attention of students increasingly towards Caucasia. Yet the interest has remained "peripheral" rather than "central". Explorers in the fields of other cultures, like the late Professors Hall and Hogarth, in the course of formulating their own problems, have indicated their opinions as to the importance of Caucasia, but, since the works of the late Ernest Chantre and Jacques de Morgan, West European scholars have given little attention to the area in comparison

to the devoted labours which have been expended in other parts of the Middle East. This is the more remarkable when it is recalled that it is half a century since the important discoveries at Koban and in the Kuban, followed by Chantre's *Recherches Anthropologiques dans le Caucase*, revealed the rich possibilities of Caucasian exploration. The work of Sayce, Lehmann Haupt, and Belck laid the basis of Armenian and Urartian studies, and the pioneer work of Minns in the utilization of Russian periodical materials revealed to European students of the classical period the extent of the data which was becoming available for the reconstruction of the Hellenistic Pontic culture.

Minns limited his researches to the regions north of the Caucasian mountains, and no scholar appeared to supplement his great work of synthesis in the regions south of the range. It is a remarkable fact that in the volumes of *The Cambridge Ancient History* the Colchian-Lazic Kingdom, with Iberia and Albania, receive only scant references in contrast to the not inadequate material on Armenia and Pontus. The case is the same for medieval times. It is eighty years since Marie-Félicité Brosset published his voluminous sources for the history of Georgia, and a century since Dubois de Montpéreux's *Voyage autour du Caucase* appeared. In the historical field no fundamental work has since appeared by any West European writer, if we except Baddeley's valuable study in the military history of the nineteenth century and the achievement of the two Wardrops in the field of Georgian medieval literature. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, representing as it should the sum of the researches of West European scholars, almost ignores the kingdom of Georgia, although some space is given to the Armenian Bagratid kingdoms. Modern Byzantinists, the Russians not excluded, have given virtually no attention to the important interrelations of Byzantine and Georgian politics during the whole period between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, and the significance of the brilliant Georgian culture of the middle ages—comparable in the mingling of Muslim and Christian ways of thought to the life which flowed so splendidly in Spain and Sicily—has been virtually ignored.

In art history there has been some attempt to include Georgian architecture, iconography and metallurgy in surveys and discussions of East Christian art. The Russian works of Kondakov and Uvarova, Tolstoi and Bak'radze have attracted the interest of Deihl, Dalton, and other authorities, and the theories of Strzygowski, emphasizing the importance of Armenian architectural influences on the Byzantine world, have directed attention also to the wealth of monuments in Georgia. Nevertheless it is only in the last year or two that the French work of Baltrusaitis has revealed to West European students

some of the material which had previously been available to Russian readers in the fourteen magnificent volumes of *Materials for the Archæology of the Caucasus*.

In comparative linguistics, the importance of the languages spoken by the Caucasian peoples has long been recognized, and for nearly a hundred years philologists have evolved theories which have not failed to allow considerable significance to the various Caucasian languages. Schuchardt, Dirr, Meillet, Trubetskoi, Duménil, Trombetti, and Deeters have published valuable contributions to the study of Caucasian linguistics, yet it remains a fact that no practical grammar or dictionary of Georgian exists in English, while in French the student wishing to acquire a working knowledge of the language has been confined, until recently, to the works of Brosset and the elder Chubinashvili, now nearly a century old. The neglect of Georgian and Caucasian studies may be explained partly by the difficult political conditions which have been recurrent in the Caucasus both before and since the war. But it is also necessary to remember that the numerous Georgian scholars who have studied the history of their country have either written in their own rich and expressive language for a public which has been by no means small in relation to the total population of the country, or they have approached the outer world only through the medium of Russian—a language which itself has, until recently, been unaccountably neglected by West European students.

The periodical literature, in Russian, Georgian, and Armenian, devoted to the history of the Caucasian lands is voluminous. In 1874 Miansarov published his first volume of *Bibliographia Caucasica*, running into 800 pages. *The Acts of the Caucasian Archæographical Commission* fill twelve volumes, averaging nearly 1,000 pages each. *The Collection of Materials for the Description of the Tribes and Localities of the Caucasus* has reached its forty-seventh volume. During the last fifteen years the number of scientific societies publishing Proceedings has greatly increased, and such bodies as the Tiflis Museum, Tiflis University and the Historical-Archæological Institute in Tiflis produce valuable periodic publications. Similar activities are maintained in Erivan and Baku, and in Orjonikidze (Vladikavkaz) and Makhach-kala. The Georgians particularly have a fine tradition of scholarship. The founder of modern Georgian studies was the Frenchman, Marie-Félicité Brosset, and in the latter half of the nineteenth century he was followed by such competent students as Bak'radze, Khakhanashvili, and Chubinashvili. They gave way to a modern generation, many of whom have achieved an international reputation and who continue to work either in their own country or in exile. Among them are such men as Javakhishvili, who is still

engaged on his monumental *History of the Georgian Nation*; Taqishvili, the historian and archæologist, Chubinashvili, the younger, known for his studies in the history of art; and Michael Tseretheli, for his philological researches. The late Professor Marr had acquired fame as a historian and as the excavator of Van before he began to devote himself to the development of that Japhetic Theory which has aroused such acute controversy. Among younger scholars, the Georgian Orbeli, the Russians Meshchaninov and Baklanov, and the Georgian-Armenian Melikset-Bekov are making valuable contributions to contemporary research.

It is with the object of making available to students in this country the work of Caucasian and Russian scholars in all fields of historical research in Caucasia, and particularly in Georgia, that the Georgian Historical Society has been formed. It is hoped to continue the publication in *Georgica* of original papers by specialists in different fields of research, and at the same time to survey the principal publications devoted to Caucasian studies, both in the Caucasus and in Russia. The journal, as at present constituted, will be a bi-annual publication, but it is hoped that when the Society meets with the desired appreciation and support it will be possible to widen the scope of its activities and to publish the journal quarterly.

In the archæological field *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, published by Professor Tallgren, of Helsinki, with the support of the Finnish Government, has been rendering a great service to West European students in making available in papers in English, French, and German the results of contemporary research in Eastern Europe and Siberia. *ESA* enjoys the collaboration of such well-known Caucasian specialists as Professors Nioradze and Zakharov.

Professor Tallgren, in a recent note on Georgian archæology, observes that "the prehistory of Georgia is up till now almost completely enveloped in darkness". He indicates the importance of the connections of the Caucasian Bronze Age with the Eastern cultures. The work of Rostovtsev has suggested interrelations with the regions of Sumer, Elam, and Anau, and more recently Dr. Hančar has studied the influences which are in evidence in the prehistoric art of Caucasia and Luristan. But it is not only in archæology that Georgia and Caucasia are of importance to the student of history. Twenty years ago, Oliver Wardrop, in discussing the great body of Georgian customary law, remarked that "all this mass of legislation is only known in Europe by hearsay. It is of extraordinary interest to students of comparative legislation, and the large section which bears the name of Vakhtang, though edited by that prince in the eighteenth century, is based upon the most ancient customs of the Georgian race, and might profitably engage the attention of Assyriologists".

To the ethnologist, to the student of folklore, of comparative religion and of epic literature, Georgia and Caucasia constitute a region which up to the present has been too little explored. Even the names of the great settled sites of the early historic period in Georgia, Kutais (Kotatissium), Nak'alak'evi (Archæopolis), Up'listikhé, Caspi, Mtskhet' (Mestika) and Armazi (Harmozika) are scarcely known to the scientists of Western Europe.

Again the Caucasian area is of great interest to students of early Eastern Christianity and of Sassanian and Islamic Persia. And contemporary research can illuminate from Georgian sources many aspects of the development of trade and social conditions during the period of the Crusades and the Mongol hegemony, while the history of Georgian feudalism, of agriculture and peasant architecture, and of the tragic and significant slave trade cannot but prove suggestive to students in comparative subjects. It is the intention, then, in the journal to cover a wide field, in the belief that the varied researches of workers in that field, may prove of service to scholars in different branches of historical science in Western Europe and in America.

GEORGIAN CHRONOLOGY AND THE BEGINNINGS OF BAGRATID RULE IN GEORGIA

By E. TAQAISHVILI

Formerly Professor at the Tiflis University.¹

IN the Christian era, Georgians at first reckoned time, just as did other Christian peoples, both from the creation of the world and the Birth of Christ, or from His Ascension. Besides, the number of years was also often calculated from an important event in the history of Georgia, as, for instance, from the conversion of Georgia to Christianity (A.D. 323), from the reign of Wakhtang Gorgasal (A.D. 450–503), from the foundation of the Church of the Living Pillar, in Mtskhet'a, from the death of the first Christian king Mirian (A.D. 300–362), etc.

For the reckoning of time from the Creation until the Birth of Christ, Georgians used, up to the ninth century, three chronologies, viz., the Alexandrian of 5,500 years, the Greek or Byzantine of 5,508 years, and the Panodoran (*Πανοδορον*) of 5,492 years. This last-mentioned chronology is met with, mainly, in the works and manuscripts copied by Ioané (John) Zosimé, a well-known Georgian scribe of Sinai in the tenth century²; the Alexandrian is used in the ancient Georgian chronicle, *The Conversion of Georgia to Christianity*,³ and the Greek in *The Martyrdom of St. Abo of Tiflis*. St. Abo, according to his biographer, Ioané (John) Sabinisdze, was martyred by the Arabs in A.D. 790, or in the year 6298 from Creation. This latter date corresponds to the year 790 ($6298 - 5508 = 790$).⁴

From the end of A.D. 780 Georgians introduced their own chronology, reckoned according to the so-called *K'ronikon* or *K'oronikon*—from the Greek *χρονικόν*. At the basis of the *K'oronikon* lies the Paschal cycle of 532 years which is obtained by multiplying nineteen lunar years by twenty-eight solar years, and on which is founded the *Paschalion* or Perpetual Calendar. It is according to this

¹ Professor Taqaishvili, who now is one of the Georgian *émigrés* in Paris, was Chairman of the Historical and Ethnographical Society of Georgia, of which he was the founder; Chairman of the Historical and Archæological Institute of Caucasia; Secretary of the Caucasian Section of the Moscow Archæological Society; Inspector of Museums of Georgia, etc.

² M. Brosset, *Études de chronologie technique. Mémoires de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg*, vii série, vol. xi, No. 13, pp. 2, 6. K. Kekelidze, *Tp'ilsts Universitetis Moambe, Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis*, ii, pp. 394, 395.

³ E. Taqaishvili, *Opisanie rukopisey Obshchestva Gramotnosti*, the Description of the MSS. of the Society for the Diffusion of Literary Knowledge, Tiflis, 1906–1912, ii, pp. 718, 760. In a passage in *The Life of St. Nino* the Panodoran reckoning is evidently also used. *Ibid.*, 746. K. Kekelidze, *ibid.*, 395.

⁴ Sabinin, *Sak'art'velos Samot'khe*, The Georgian Paradise, p. 344.

calendar that Easter Day and the other movable holy-days of the Christian Church are determined. It is a perpetual calendar because when one cycle of 532 years ends, regardless from which year reckoning is begun, all the holy-days in the next cycle fall in the same months, in the same weeks, and on the same days of the week as in the previous cycle.

In the treatises on the ancient calendar by Georgian writers, this cycle is called *Asuruli*, i.e., Syrian, because it is taken from the Syrian Church.

Having adopted the calculation of time according to the *K'oronikon*, Georgians adopted at the same time a special chronology from the Creation to the Birth of Christ. According to Georgian reckoning, 5,604 years elapsed from the Creation to the Birth of Christ, that is 96 more years than the Greeks reckoned ($5,508 + 96 = 5,604$) or 104 and 112 more years than the Alexandrian and Panodoran reckonings respectively.

The question is: What made the Georgians abandon all three reckonings—the Greek, the Alexandrian, and the Panodoran?

Having accepted the 780th year as the beginning of Georgian reckoning, they had to fix the number of revolutions of the 532-year cycle from the Creation until the end of the 780th year A.D., so that the new reckoning could commence from the 781st year. In other words, it was necessary to find a number of years from the Creation to *anno Domini* which, with the addition of 780 years, could be divided by 532 without a remainder. Such a number is 5,604 ($5,604 + 780 = 6,384$). If 6,384 is divided by 532, the result is exactly 12. This means that the cycle of 532 years had recurred twelve times from the Creation to A.D. 780, that is, twelve revolutions had taken place by the year 780, and with the 781st year the thirteenth had begun.

The Greek method of reckoning was found unacceptable to the Georgians, for the reason that 5,508 plus 780 cannot be exactly divided by 532; likewise the Alexandrian method could not be accepted, because 5,500 plus 780 cannot be divided by 532 without a remainder; likewise the Panodoran method, for 5,492 plus 780 cannot be divided by 532 without a remainder.

It was all the more easy for the Georgians to decide on their new chronology, because the Greek and Alexandrian reckonings were arbitrary. That is why the Georgians found it necessary to reckon 5,604 years from the Creation to *anno Domini* and not 5,508 years as the Greeks reckoned, or 5,500 years as did the Alexandrian Church, or 5,492 years of the Panodoran reckoning.

This difference between Georgian chronology and the chronologies of other Christian peoples of the East, seems to have confused the later Georgian writers who have left us treatises on Georgian

chronology. They could not understand what had caused this difference. Ioané (John) Zosimé, mentioned above, thought it to have occurred through someone's mistake, while Abuseridze Tbeli, a writer of the thirteenth century, gives to the question—Why do Georgians reckon a greater number of years from the Creation?—the following answer, “Un tel arrangement a paru nécessaire aux saints de Dieu : pour éclairer notre sottise, ils l'ont attribué à la connaissance du Dieu unique, aimant les hommes, mais non à leur propre science.”¹

Thus the year A.D. 780 is the era of Georgian chronology, when by their method of reckoning, twelve revolutions of *K'oronikon* had been completed since Creation, and with the 781st year, the thirteenth began, and from this began the new Georgian chronology by the *K'oronikon*.

The thirteenth cycle of the *K'oronikon*, with Georgians, was completed with the year 1312 ($780 + 532 = 1312$); with the next 1313th year the fourteenth cycle began, which in its turn was completed in 1844 ($1312 + 532 = 1844$); with 1845 the fifteenth cycle began, but from this year Georgians began to reckon from the Birth of Christ only, and not according to the *K'oronikon*. Therefore, in practice, the *K'oronikon* is no longer in use. Thus, during the whole course of Georgian history, we meet with the application of the *K'oronikon* only in its thirteenth and fourteenth cycles.

In indicating the date, first the number of the *K'oronikon* is mentioned, followed by the number of cycles. For instance, when one reads—“this manuscript was written in the 258th *K'oronikon* of the thirteenth cycle,” it denotes the year 1038 ($780 + 258 = 1038$); or again, “this book was written in the 105th *K'oronikon* of the fourteenth cycle,” the year 1417 is meant ($1312 + 258 = 1417$).

Therefore the establishing of the date by Georgian reckoning apparently presents no difficulty whatever, when the number of the *K'oronikon* and of the cycle is indicated. But very often the cycle is not indicated, only the number of the *K'oronikon*. In such cases, the difficulty is overcome by establishing the number of cycles by other indications, such as the paleographic character of the scripts, materials (parchment, paper, ink), historical persons mentioned, etc. On this ground many disagreements and controversies have often arisen.

There has been an attempt to adapt Georgian chronology to the Pontic era. This attempt was made by a Georgian lexicographer, Professor D. Choubinov. At the Fifth Archæological Congress in Tiflis, in 1881, he read a report on the *Ethnographical Survey of the*

¹ Brosset, op. cit., p. 50. Kekelidze, op. cit., pp. 394, 395.

Population in Ancient Cappadocia and the Georgian K'oronikon,¹ in which, among other things, he tried to prove that at the basis of Georgian chronology was the year 284 B.C. In this year, according to him, the Pontic king, Mithridates III, conquered Lysimachus, and this year was declared a Pontic era, which was adopted in the Bosphorus kingdom, in Colchis, and, it seems, in Georgia, as well. Choubinov's calculations were as follows: In the year 284 B.C. ten cycles of the Georgian *K'oronikon* were completed ($5,604 - 284 = 5,320 \div 532 = 10$). The eleventh cycle was completed with the year A.D. 248 ($5,604 + 248 = 5,852 \div 532 = 11$); the twelfth with the year 780 ($5,604 + 780 = 6384 \div 532 = 12$), and from the year 781 began the thirteenth cycle. Many arguments against this assumption can be put forward, but for the sake of conciseness, it suffices to say that the Pontic era begins, not with the year 284, but with the year 297 B.C.² So Choubinov's whole calculation falls. In Choubinov's time, there was, among scholars, a discrepancy of eight, nine, or even twelve years in defining the exact year of the Pontic era. Choubinov chose the year 284 in order to make the Pontic era agree with Georgian chronology, but to-day this opinion is no longer tenable.

Another competent investigator of Georgian antiquity, the academician Brosset, who analysed in detail and edited the old Georgian treatise on the Syrian cycle or *Kinklos*, has the following to say about the beginning of this cycle: "On sait, en outre, que le premier millénaire de Rome s'acheva en 248 de notre ère, sous l'empereur Philippique. Rome n'existant plus dès-lors, comme métropole universelle, à quoi bon s'occuper d'un second millénaire? Pourtant ce fut l'époque initiale de ce que les Arméniens nomment l'ère des Horhoms ou des Grecs de Byzance. Or, en 780 s'acheva une période de 532 ans, depuis 248. La Géorgie s'étant reconstituée, six ans plus tard, sous un prince Bagratide, nommé Ashot, et des circonstances que nous ne connaissons pas ayant introduit alors dans le pays l'usage du cycle dont je parle, les Géorgiens en rattachèrent le commencement à l'année 780, le continuèrent en 1313 et l'ont prolongé en 1845."³

Thus, according to Brosset, the Georgians adopted a cycle of 532

¹ The report was published in Georgian in the journal *Iveria* in 1885.

² "Le point de départ de cette ère était l'équinoxe d'automne de l'an 297 avant J.C.... La prétendue ère pontique n'est que l'ère bithynienne, empruntée par Mithridate Eupator. L'adoption de l'ère bithynienne dans le Pont s'explique par le voisinage des deux pays et peut-être par des raisons politiques et commerciales; d'ailleurs l'événement inconnu qui en avait fourni l'origine coïncidait à peu près avec les premières conquêtes de Mithradate Ctistés; aussi ne doit-il pas être difficile de faire passer cette ère d'emprunt pour une ère nationale." (Théodore Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator roi du Pont*, Paris, 1890, p. 263.)

³ Brosset, "De la Chronologie technique géorgienne, ecclésiastique et civile," *Mélanges Asiatiques*, t. viii, 1 et 2, pp. 53, 54 = *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences*, 1864, p. 58, note 3.

years in A.D. 248 at the end of the first millenium from the foundation of Rome, but did not apply it until 780, for, as he himself admits, Georgians began their reckoning according to *K'oronikon* from 780 for some circumstances unknown to us. The millenium dating from the foundation of Rome, however, can have no connection whatever with this. Nor can the year 248 be accepted as the basis for Georgian chronology, for Georgian reckoning is based on the Paschal cycle which in principle was accepted only at the Nycæan Ecumenical Council. Furthermore, had the Georgians begun their chronology from the year 248, the first cycle of the *K'oronikon* would have been completed in the year 780 and from the year 781 we should have had the second cycle and not the thirteenth. Georgians, as we already know, reckoned the number of cycles from the Creation, assuming in so doing, that 5,604 years had elapsed before the Birth of Christ. But in the year 248 Georgians were not Christians. They became Christians in the first half of the fourth century, and, in 248 therefore, they could not have had a chronology either from the Creation or according to the Paschal cycle which was not in existence then.

Thus the fact that the Georgian chronology based on the *K'oronikon* was introduced in A.D. 780, remains unshakable. This was, as it were, the final stage of reform of the Georgian calendar which began with the introduction of Christianity in the first half of the fourth century. In the first place, the pagan names of the days and weeks were changed into Jewish-Christian or Arameo-Christian. The Sabbath system was adopted and the days of the week were counted from the Sabbath or Saturday as follows :—

Saturday	<i>Shabat'i</i> .
Sunday	<i>Ert'-Shabat'i</i> , one day of the Sabbath week. ¹
Monday	<i>Or-Shabat'i</i> , two days of the Sabbath week.
Tuesday	<i>Sam-Shabat'i</i> , three days of the Sabbath week.
Wednesday	<i>Ot'kh-Shabat'i</i> , four days of the Sabbath week.
Thursday	<i>Khut'-Shabat'i</i> , five days of the Sabbath week.
Friday	<i>Paraskevi</i> ² (<i>Παρασκευή</i>).

The Georgian heathen names for the days of the week have been preserved to us by the famous lexicographer Saba-Sul Khan Orbeliani. These names are astral and represent the names of the planetary deities they were dedicated to.

Saturday	<i>Kronosis dghe</i> (day of Kronos).
Sunday	<i>Mzis dghe</i> (day of Sun).
Monday	<i>Mt'varisa</i> (day of Moon).

¹ To indicate the days of the week Georgians use the cardinal and not the ordinal numerals.

² This word, which is Greek, replaces the Georgian *Eh'us-Shabat'i* (six days of the Sabbath week).

Tuesday	<i>Ariasi</i> (day of Ares or Mars).
Wednesday	<i>Ermisa</i> (day of Hermes or Mercury).
Thursday	<i>Ap'roditisa</i> (day of the Aphrodite planet, of the Morning Star, Lucifer).
Friday	<i>Diosisa</i> (day of Dios, Jupiter, Zeus).

From this enumeration it is clear that the Georgian literary language has not retained the proper Georgian heathen names of deities for some days of the week, but has replaced them with Hellenic ones. But the related unwritten tribal languages of the Georgian family—Megrelian, Lazian, Svanian, Abkhasian—have preserved them, and, according to Professor I. Javakhishvili, they correspond to the Hellenic or Greek names.¹

Further, Georgian heathen names of the months were replaced by the common Christian, Roman names. Paul Ingoroqva asserts, in his brilliantly-written article *On the Ancient Pagan Georgian Calendar*² that this change took place at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century A.D.—in any case, not later than the seventh century. From the seventh to the middle of the eighth century Roman names were in common use, but simultaneously with these, Georgian names were sometimes met with, so that both the ancient and new names are given side by side. From the middle of the eighth century this dual terminology is dropped, and instead of Georgian names and Georgian pagan-reckoning which disappear altogether, Roman names and Roman-reckoning of months alone are used.

Beginnings and ends of pagan months do not correspond with Roman, because the Georgian pagan calendar was Zodiacal. It was adapted to the Signs of the Zodiac. A month of the Zodiacal calendar begins when the sun enters a certain Sign of the Zodiac and ends when the sun leaves this Sign. The pagan Georgian months begin earlier than the Roman, the difference fluctuating between eight to twelve days. Thus the style of the ancient Georgian pagan calendar did not fit in with the new Christian, Roman one, just as at the present time the Gregorian Calendar does not fit in with the Julian Calendar. Therefore, when they were adapting the Georgian pagan month to the Roman, they had to translate the old style into the new style, and had to show to which date of the Roman month a given date of the pagan month corresponded, and vice-versa. In general, this agreement is found to be correct, but mistakes occur sometimes.

The table given below shows which Christian months were adapted

¹ See his *K'art'veli eris istoria*, A History of the Georgian Nation, vol. i, pp. 115–137.

² This article of P. Ingoroqva is in Georgian, published in *Sak'art'velos Muzeumis Moambé*, *Bulletin du Musée de Géorgie*, vi and vii. This is a series which is not completed yet.

ROMAN NAMES.	GEORGIAN PAGAN NAMES.	BEGINNING AND END OF MONTHS.	SIGNS OF ZODIAC
1. IANVARI <i>ganiskhadēbis-t've</i> . Month of Epiphany.	1. <i>T'ue Swrdqumisai</i> .	22nd Dec.—19th Jan.	<i>T'khis r'h'a</i> or <i>Vaisi</i> . The Goat, <i>Capricornus</i> .
2. T'EBERVALI.	2. <i>Apnisai</i> .	20th Jan.—18th Feb.	<i>Dsq̄lis-sak'aneli</i> or <i>Merdsq̄uli</i> . The water bearer, <i>Aquarius</i> .
3. MARTI.	3. <i>Mihrahamisai</i> ¹ or <i>Marialisai</i>	19th Feb.—20th Mar.	<i>T'evzi</i> . The Fishes, <i>Pisces</i> .
4. APRILI.	4. <i>Igrikisai</i> .	21st Mar.—20th Apr.	<i>Verdzi</i> . The Ram, <i>Aries</i> .
5. MAISI	5. <i>Vardobisai</i> , ² <i>Qvāvilobisai</i> , <i>Akhalt'ai</i> .	21st Apr.—21st May.	<i>Kuro</i> . The Bull, <i>Taurus</i> .
6. IVNISI. <i>Ivanobis-t've</i> . Month of St. John, 24th. <i>T'ibat've</i> . Month of Haymaking.	6. <i>T'ibisai</i> . ³	22nd May—21st June.	<i>T'qubi</i> or <i>Marchbivi</i> . The Twins, <i>Gemini</i> .
7. IVLISI. <i>Kvirikobis-t've</i> . Month of St. Cyriacus, 25th. <i>Mkat'at've</i> . Month of Harvest.	7. <i>K'uelli'obisai</i> . Of Abundance.	22nd June—22nd July.	<i>K'urchkhibi</i> . The Crab, <i>Cancer</i> .
8. AGVISTO. <i>Marianobis-t've</i> . Month of Virgin Mary, 15th.	8. <i>Arda-degisai</i> . Sun-staying.	23rd July—22nd Aug.	<i>Lomi</i> . The Lion, <i>Leo</i> .
9. SEKDENBERI. <i>Enkenis-t've</i> . Month of Enkeni or the Restoration of the Temple of Re- surrection in Jerusalem, 13th.	9. <i>Akhal d̄stisai</i> . of New Year.	23rd Aug.—22nd Sept.	<i>K'aidsuli</i> or <i>Sakhvi</i> . The Virgin, <i>Virgo</i> .
10. OKTONBERI. <i>Dstip'obist've</i> . Month of Maturity. <i>Ghv̄m̄obist've</i> . Month of Wine-making.	10. <i>St'velobisai</i> . Of Wine-making.	23rd Sept.—22nd Oct.	<i>Sadsori</i> or <i>Meughle</i> . The Scales, <i>Libra</i> .
11. NOEMBERI. <i>Gv̄ogobis-t've</i> . Month of St. George, 10th.	11. <i>Tiris-knisai</i> . Bouquet of Water.	23rd Oct.—21st Nov.	<i>Ghriakali</i> . The Scorpion, <i>Scorpio</i> .
12. DEKEMBERI. <i>K'ristes-shobis-t've</i> . Month of Nativity, 25th.	12. <i>Tiris-denisai</i> . Flow of Water.	22nd Nov.—21st Dec.	<i>Mshvidosani</i> . The Archer, <i>Sagittarius</i> .

¹ Month of Mithra.

² This name is preserved in the table of Brosset (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, viii, 1 and 2, p. 75), also in Choubinov's *Dictionary* of 1840 (p. 223). P. Ingorova says that the name of this month has not been preserved and that the name *T'ibisai* (June) is a parallel name for the month *K'uelli'obisai* (July), in proof of which he quotes evidences from the Manuscripts (op. cit., vii, pp. 273, 277). On another page, however, he has another quotation which proves that *T'ibisai* corresponds to June, viz. *Iv̄nisi romel ars T'ibisai*—June which is *T'ibisai* (op. cit., vi, p. 412). In view of the fact that the popular name *T'ibat've* also corresponds to the month of June, the name *T'ibisai* must be left to this month until another name for it is discovered.

to the Georgian pagan months, the beginning and end of each Georgian pagan month, and the Signs of the Zodiac ¹ in which the sun remains during each Georgian pagan month. The table also shows, in addition to the Roman names of months, the popular, or popular-Christian, names of the same months.²

This reform of the Georgian Calendar was followed by the introduction, in A.D. 780 of a purely Georgian chronology in accordance with the *K'oronikon*. The year 781 is the beginning of the Georgian era. But the question that now arises is: What event occurred to give the basis for this era? It can hardly be assumed that Georgians selected this year arbitrarily, without connecting it with some event important from their point of view. Brosset, as we have seen, says that such an event "is not known to us". Actually, in regard to this question we find no direct indications in any sources at present known to us.

There is reason to believe that the establishment of the new Bagratid dynasty in Georgia is the event which lies at the basis of Georgian chronology, and that the year A.D. 780 is the beginning of the rule of the Bagratids in Georgia. But it may be argued—How can this be? Did not the Bagratids come to Georgia in the sixth century? Yes, according to tradition, they did. In Brosset's edition of *K'art'lis Tskhovreba* (Life of Georgia) and in Prince Wakhushti's *History* this event is presented thus:—

In the first quarter of the sixth century (523) royal power ceased in Georgia; the country was conquered by the Persians who refused to allow a new king to be elected. Power then passed to the nobles and to individual *Erist'avi*-s (Dukes). Internal strife and disorder broke out, of which, by-and-by, everybody tired. About this time, too, Persian power began to wane (the Persians being then preoccupied with wars in Turkestan). So the Georgian *Erist'avi*-s of "the Upper and Lower country" gathered in council together and, coming to an agreement among themselves, despatched an ambassador to the Greek emperor with a request to nominate a king for them from among the descendants of the Georgian kings, stipulating, however, that the *Erist'avi*-s should be confirmed in their own provinces. The Greek emperor granted their request and gave them for king the son of the sister of Mirdat, son of Wakhtang Gorgasal and a Greek princess, whose name was Guaram, and who was the ruler of Klarjet'i. The emperor conferred on Guaram the title of *Kuropalat* and sent him to Mtskhet'a.

¹ In Georgian *burji* or *tshhovelt'a*—*sakhilveli* or *tshhovelt'a-sakhilavi*—indicator of animals.

² For the tables, see Ingoroqva, op. cit., vi, pp. 425, 427, 428, 429; vii, p. 320. See also Brosset, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, viii, 1 and 2, pp. 74-9; and the *Dictionary of Saba Suikhan Orbeliani*.

This Guaram was, according to Wakhusht a Bagratid on his father's, and a Khosroid on his mother's side, and he ruled Georgia from 575 to 600.¹ Guaram was succeeded by his son, Stephanos I. (600-619) who, however, when war broke out between Heracles, the Greek emperor, and the Persians, leaned to the side of Persia. He fortified himself in the fortress of Tiflis, but this was soon taken by the Greek emperor and Stephanos was executed. With him ended the first dynasty of the Bagratids. The power then passed to Adarnasé I (619-639), the Khosroide, son of Bakur III and this Khosroid dynasty reigned until the year 786, when a restoration of the Bagratids took place, in the person of Ashot I, the Bagratid, son of Adarnasé.²

The Bagratid dynasty certainly reigned both in Armenia and Georgia, but their early history preserved to us whether by Armenians or by Georgians, is full of controversies. The Bagratids in Georgia had their own historian, Sumbat, son of David, doubtless himself a Bagratid, who wrote a History of the Bagratids, entitled, *The Life and Information on the Bagratids, our Georgian Kings; Whence they came into this Country, and from which time they possessed the Kingdom of Georgia. Written by Sumbat, son of David.*³ This history of the Bagratids covers the period up to the eleventh century—to be precise, up to the year 1030—and probably the author lived at the beginning of the reign of Bagrat IV (1027-1072). In the compilation of the earlier history of the Bagratids Sumbat used two sources: (1) the Bible—to be exact, chapter i of the Gospel according to St. Matthew,—and (2) the historical chronicle, *The Conversion of Georgia to Christianity.*⁴

Sumbat begins the genealogy of the Bagratids with Adam, and follows it up to the king-prophet David, and from him on to a certain Solomon, the eighty-sixth descendant of Adam, to whom God granted seven sons during the Judaic captivity. These seven brothers went to Georgia from the country of the Philistines (Palestine) through Eklets (Akilisene, a province of Upper Armenia at the source of the Euphrates),⁵ where an unknown queen, Rachael, converted them to Christianity and changed the names of three of them. One of the three she named Bagrat, one she married to her daughter, and two others to the daughters of Armenian kings. The Armenian Bagratids, consequently, are descended from that Bagrat who remained in

¹ Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii, pp. 215-217. *History of Georgia*, by Prince Wakhusht, published in Georgian by D. Bak'radze, Tiflis, 1885, pp. 106-108.

² Brosset, *ibid.*, pp. 223, 227, 260. Wakhusht, *ibid.*, pp. 109, 119.

³ For the Georgian text of this history see *K'art'lis Tskhovreba*, the Variant of Queen Mary, edited by E. Taqaishvili, Tiflis, 1908, pp. 336-361; for the Russian translation, see E. Taqaishvili, *The Three Chronicles*, Tiflis, 1900, pp. 117-182.

⁴ E. Taqaishvili, *The Three Chronicles*, pp. 1-48.

⁵ J. S. Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i, p. 45.

Armenia. The other four brothers went to *K'art'li* (Eastern Georgia). One of them, named Guaram, was made *Erist'avi* by the Georgians and received the title of Kuropalat from the Greek emperor. "And the Georgian Bagratids" remarks Sumbat, "are the descendants and relations of this Guaram." The three other brothers betook themselves to Kakhet'i. One of these married the daughter of a Kakhet'ian *Erist'avi*, Bakur, son of Nerses, while the two others went to Kambechoan (the present day K'isiqi, province of Kakhet'i, which was formerly part of the province of Heret'i). There they killed the *Erist'avi* of the Persian Shah, Bezon, conquered for themselves Kambechoan and settled in Khornabuj (the ancient capital of K'isiqi or Kambechoan). "Their sons still rule there," adds Sumbat.

Thus, according to Sumbat, the kings and rulers of his time in Armenia, Kakhet'i, Georgia, and Heret'i were all of one dynasty, the Bagratid. While this is true in regard to Armenia and Georgia, it is still to be proved in the case of Kakhet'i and Heret'i. Other authors furnish no information on this matter, and it remains an open question. It should be noted here, also, that at the beginning of the eleventh century when Sumbat wrote his *History*, Kakhet'i and Heret'i were actually independent of Georgia, and only later became a part of this country.

In Sumbat's genealogy there is not only arbitrariness, but also a great contradiction, which the famous geographer and historian, Wakhusht, had already pointed out. According to Sumbat, the Georgians chose Guaram from among the brothers who came to Georgia and made him their *Erist'avi*, and it is from this Guaram that the Georgian Bagratids trace their descent. But from Guaram only Guaramids could have descended, and not Bagratids! To avoid this contradiction, Wakhusht declared Guaram to be the son of Bagrat, and the latter is supposed to have had a second son, Guaram, who was the first Bagratid king of Georgia and who passed on his father's name to his descendants.¹ But this explanation is not of much help. Sumbat has taken all his history of the Georgian *Erist'avi*-s, from Guaram to Ashot I, the Great, from the chronicle, *The Conversion of Georgia to Christianity*,² but has omitted several of the *Erist'avi*-s. In *The Conversion of Georgia* are mentioned eighteen *Erist'avi*-s, Sumbat has only thirteen. In *The Conversion* the genealogy of the *Erist'avi*-s is mostly not recorded, whereas in Sumbat's work it is given consecutively from Guaram to Ashot the Kuropalat, that is, each *Erist'avi* is the son of the previous one. Finally, Guaram in

¹ Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, p. 216, note 2; ii, 1, pp. 201, 621; *Additions*, p. 138.

² For comparison of texts of *The Conversion* and Sumbat's *History* see E. Taqaishvili, *Three Chronicles*, pp. 42-7, 123-134.

The Conversion is not spoken of as a Bagratid at all, whereas Sumbat speaks of him as one. This is Sumbat's whole point, and he needed it in order to show that the Bagratids came to Georgia in the sixth, and not in the eighth century.¹

The legend that the Bagratids are descended from the king-prophet David, as well as the statement that they came to Georgia in the sixth century had, however, been current in Georgia long before Sumbat's time. Sumbat only recorded in his *History* that which had existed before him. The legend probably appeared immediately after the consolidation of Bagratid power in Georgia. This assumption is justified by the fact that the legend had been recorded eighty years earlier by the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetes in his work *De Administrando Imperio*, written in 952, and had been recorded more clearly and more concretely than by Sumbat. Of course, Constantine Porphyrogenetes could not have invented the legend himself, but must have noted down the things he heard from the Bagratids themselves or from their envoys. This is what Constantine writes: " Il faut savoir que les couropolates Ibériens se vantent de descendre de la femme d'Urie, séduite par le prophète-roi David ; ils prétendent se rattacher à David, l'un des enfants nés de cette femme, par-là parent du prophète-roi David, et conséquemment de la Sainte-Vierge, issue elle-même de la race de David. C'est pourquoi les seigneurs Ibériens ne font nulle difficulté d'épouser leurs parentes, conformément à l'ancienne coutume des Juifs. Ils disent encore qu'ils tirent leur origine de Jérusalem ; que, pour obéir à un avertissement donné en songe, ils vinrent habiter dans la contrée de la Perse qu'ils occupent présentement. Ceux qui, en conséquence de cet oracle, sortirent de Jérusalem, furent David, ci-dessus nommé, et son frère Spandiates, lequel avait reçu de Dieu le don, à ce qu'il racontait, de ne pouvoir être blessé par l'épée dans les combats, à aucune partie de son corps, exceptée le cœur. Ainsi, durant les batailles, preservait-il, par une armure, cette partie, et se rendit-il par-là formidable aux Persans. Il les vainquit, les subjuga, et établit sa famille dans les contrées impénétrables où elle se trouve maintenant, où ils ont bientôt pris un accroissement immense et sont devenus une grande nation . . . depuis leur sortie de Jérusalem et leur entrée dans leur territoire actuel, il s'écoula quatre ou cinq cents ans jusqu'à l'époque où nous nous trouvons, indiction 106, l'an 6460, sous les empereurs Constantin et Romain Porphyrogénètes, fervents chrétiens." ²

¹ For a comparative list of Georgian *Erist'avi*-s according to *The Conversion*, Sumbat's *History*, and *K'art'lis Tskhovreba* (Life of Georgia), see E. Taqaishvili's *Akhali varianti dsmida Ninis Tskhovrebisa* (A new variant of *The Life of St. Nino*), Tiflis, 1891.

² *De administrando imperio*, ed. de Bonn, t. iii, p. 197. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie, Additions*, p. 140.

Thus, according to Constantine, the Bagratids came to Georgia from Jerusalem four hundred or five hundred years before he wrote his book, that is, before 952. That means that they came in 452 or 552. If we accept the latter date, it really corresponds with the time of *Erist'av* Guaram, that is, with the sixth century. This only proves that such a legend, as we have already said, existed before the appearance of Sumbat's *History*. It also proves the existence of the version of the legend about the descent of the Bagratids from an illegal union between the king-prophet David and the wife of Uriah, and on the coming to Georgia, not of Guaram with his brothers, but of David and Spandiat; and while, according to Constantine, Spandiat had no children, David had a son Bagrat, and from this Bagrat the Georgian Bagratids trace their descent.

The legend preserved by Constantine is more logical than the legend of Sumbat. According to Constantine, the forbear of the Iberian Kuropalats was Bagrat, and, therefore, they are called Bagratids. He makes no mention of Guaram.

The information on the origin of the Bagratids from Armenian sources is just as contradictory as that from Georgian sources. According to the Anonymous, Bagratids descend from Haik, the eponym of the Armenians.¹ This is strongly contradicted by Moses of Khoren, who entreats his patron not to believe this statement, for it contained no trace of truth. Moses of Khoren contends that the Armenian king, Hracheai, obtained from Nebuchadnezzar one of his chief Jewish prisoners, whose name was Shambat (Smbat, in Armenian), and settled him in Armenia with great honour. One of the descendants of this Shambat was Bagarat, from whom the Armenian Bagratids (Bagratuni) took their origin. King Vakharshak, or Valarshak, an Arsacid of Armenia, bestowed on Bagarat the title of *T'agadir*, which carried with it the hereditary right to place the crown on the head of Armenian kings, nominated him his viceroy, and made him general (*Aspet*) commanding the armies on the western borders of Armenia, where Armenian speech was no longer heard.²

Here we undoubtedly have a reflection of that historical fact when one of the generals of the Armenian king Tigran the Great, by name Bagarata, was appointed commander (*Strategos*) of Syria and Cilicia, which he governed for fourteen years. But after the conquest by Lucullus in A.D. 70, Bagarata hastened to Tigran's assistance and Syria reverted to the Seleucides. This commander,

¹ *Istoriya imperatora Irakla*, A History of the Emperor Heraclius, by the Bishop Sebeos; translated by K. Patkanov, St. Petersburg, 1862, pp. 7, 10, 177, note 33.

² *Istoriya Moiseya Khorenskago*, A History by Moses of Khoren, translated by Emin., Moscow, 1893, i, pp. 22; ii, p. 2. See also Jean Catholikos, *Histoire d'Arménie*, by M. J. S.-Martin, Paris, MDCCCXLI, p. 15. Brosset, *Additions*, pp. 140-4.

as Professor N. Adontz rightly supposes, must have been the founder of the dynasty of the Armenian Bagratuni, or Bagratids.¹

The whole of the early history of the Georgian Bagratids is closely bound up with the Chorokh valley, with Klarjet'i, Tao, and Ispir.² The Armenian historical sources also connect the Bagratids with the Chorokh valley. Faustus, the Byzantine, considers Sper,³ the Georgian Ispir, at the source of the Chorokh, as being a hereditary province of the Bagratids. Here stood their fortified town, Sembatovan, which had been, as legend tells us, built by Sembat, son of Biurat, who is mentioned during the reign of the Georgian kings Azork and Armazel, as Sembat Bivritianes.⁴ Ispir or Sper was from remote times inhabited by Chans or Lazes of the Georgian race, but it was early conquered by the Armenians and became partly Armenianized, as did also the neighbouring province of Chaldea (Khaldia), the country of the Chaldeans or Chalybes (Khalibians), of the same tribe as the Chans and the Lazes, which stretched from Ispir to Trebizond and its neighbourhood, where was formed, according to Plinius Secundus, *gens Armenochalybes*.⁵

If we abandon the legend of the foreign origin of the Bagratids, both the Armenian and Georgian, we must assume that they are rather of native Chano-Laz origin, just as their eternal rivals, the Mamikonians and the co-types of the Mamikonians, the Georgian Orbelianis, were. And Professor Adontz rightly recognizes the Chanian origin of both the Mamikonians and the Orbelianis.⁶ With regard to the Bagratids, however, he supposes that this dynasty arose on the Iranian or Atropatenian confines of Armenia, and he is inclined to recognize as the original province of the Bagratids, the province of Bagravand to the south of Airarat, and the canton Kog with the fortress of Daronk (now Bayazid), which served them as a family mausoleum. In his opinion, Sper was only an intermediary station in their wanderings from Armenia to Iberia.⁷

Who was then the first Bagratid to come to Georgia? According to Sumbat, as we have seen, it was Guaram, but this is not justified either by Armenian historians, or by Constantine Porphyrogenetes, or, which is of special importance, by more ancient Georgian sources

¹ N. Adontz, *Armeniya v epokhu Yustiniana*, Armenia in the epoch of Justinian, St. Petersburg, 1905, pp. 412-413.

² Brosset, *Additions*, p. 141.

³ Faust (the Russian translation), v, p. 44.

⁴ Brosset, *Additions*, p. 141.

⁵ *Naturalis Historia*, vi, sect. 12.

⁶ Adontz, *supra*, pp. 403, 404. See also the academician N. Marr, *Batum Ardagan, Kars* (in Russian), Petrograd, 1922, p. 38, in which Marr says: "The princes Orbeliani are also the Chenians, or Chanians by origin, with an evidence of this in their family nickname—Jan-Bakur—which name means 'the elder', 'the head,' or 'leader of the Chanians'."

⁷ Adontz, *supra*, pp. 307, 308, 412, 413; Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, p. 216.

than Sumbat's *History*. In the first place, as we have pointed out, in *The Conversion of Georgia to Christianity*, from which Sumbat drew his information about the *Erist'avi*-s of Georgia from Guaram to Ashot Kuropolat, Guaram is not called a Bagratid. Moreover, he is not called a Bagratid even in Queen Mary's Variant of the *K'art'lis Tskhovreba* which had not been examined by the Committee of King Wakhtang VI.¹ In the text of the *K'art'lis Tskhovreba* of the Committee of King Wakhtang VI, edited by Brosset, Guaram is called a Bagratid, but this information is introduced into the text of the Committee of Wakhtang from Sumbat's *History*.² In Queen Mary's Variant, Guaram is not only not called a Bagratid, but it is definitely stated that he was a relation of Mirian, the first Christian king, and therefore a Khosroid.³

In the *K'art'lis Tskhovreba* of Queen Mary, it is Adarnasé who is mentioned as the first Bagratid. Of him it is said: "When King Archil returned from Egrisi (Mingrelia-Megrelia) to Khidav (Eastern Georgia) a Mt'avar (grandee, seigneur, duke), was presented to him who was a descendant of the king-prophet David, by the name of Adarnasé, son of the brother of Adarnasé the Blind, whose father through marriage was connected with the Bagratids and was appointed by the Greeks *Erist'avi* in the country of Armenia. But at the time of a devastating invasion (by Murvan the Deaf, the Arab commander), he came to Klarjet'i to stay with the sons of the descendant of Guaram Kuropalat. Adarnasé asked Archil, saying: "If thou so desirest, make me your subject (vassal) and grant me some land." And king Archil gave him Shulaver and Artan (Ardahan).⁴

Again, from the same Variant of Queen Mary, we learn that Juansher, son of King Archil, had married Latavr, the daughter of Adarnasé, but that Juansher's mother had reproached her son, evidently for this *mésalliance*, "for," adds the Variant, "she was not well-informed of the fact that the Bagratids were relations of the king-prophet David."⁵ This statement is very important, for if the queen did not then know that the Bagratids were descended from the king-prophet David, then the legend was non-existent, or else was not popular. Further, it is said about Adarnasé that he, while his son-in-law, Juansher, was still alive (and probably with his aid), regained one-third of Klarjet'i, Shavshet'i, Adchara, Nigal, Ispir, Artan, the Lower Tao, and the fortresses that belonged to the descendants of

¹ E. Taqaishvili, *K'art'lis Tskhovreba—the Variant of Queen Mary*, Tiflis, 1906, p. 190.

² Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, p. 216. About the work of King Wakhtang's commission, see E. Taqaishvili, *Opisanie*, etc., Description of the MSS. of the Society for the Diffusion of Literary Knowledge, Tiflis, 1908-1912, pp. 72-132.

³ E. Taqaishvili, *K'art'lis Tskhovreba—Variant of Queen Mary*, Tiflis, 1906, p. 193.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

King Wakhtang Gorgasal, after which Adarnasé retired to Klarjet'i where he died. After Adarnasé's death, adds the Variant, "God favoured the reign of Ashot Kuropalat and he brought K'art'li (Georgia) within his boundaries . . . and the Greek emperor bestowed upon him the title of Kuropalat." ¹

The history of Ashot Kuropalat is given by Sumbat in sufficient detail. Sumbat's *History* becomes really independent, and, generally speaking, more trustworthy and exact, only from the time of Ashot Kuropalat (780-826), and the history is carried to the beginning of the reign of Bagrat IV (1027-1072). Sumbat gives mainly a genealogy and chronology of the numerous descendants of Ashot Kuropalat and these data are often supported by MSS. annotations, epigraphic inscriptions, informations by foreign authors, etc. But before the time of Ashot Kuropalat, as we have seen, Sumbat's *History* is legendary, particularly the first half, while the second half is based on the chronicle of *The Conversion of Georgia to Christianity*, some parts of which he has altered for reasons of his own.

Adarnasé, the first Bagratid mentioned in the *K'art'lis Tskhovreba*, was the son of Vasak, son of the Armenian prince, Ashot. This Ashot had been blinded by Mamikonian princes in 758, but after this misfortune lived thirteen years longer. Besides Vasak, who became the ancestor of the Georgian Bagratids, Ashot had another son, Sembat, the ancestor of the Armenian Bagratids.² In the *K'art'lis Tskhovreba* the names are confused,³ but that Ashot was blind is correctly recorded. The circumstance that Adarnasé came to Georgia, that he solicited land from King Archil, and that he became his vassal, shows that he was expelled from the Chorokh valley by the other Bagratids, or, perhaps by the princes Mamikonian; but, having become related to the Georgian reigning house, his position was so strengthened that he could regain his possessions in the Chorokh valley and pave the way for his son Ashot to power in Georgia.

Georgia was at that time under the Arab Caliphs, without whose consent no ruler could attain power, and Vardan the Great in his *History* informs us that "the ruler of the Ishmaelites gave Ashot, son of Atrnersekh (Adarnasé), son of Vasak, son of the Armenian prince Ashot, the land of Iveria, which he subdued on his arrival."⁴ One must assume that Ashot was confirmed as ruler in Georgia in 780. According to Sumbat, Ashot first resided at Bardav and Tiflis, but the great Arab power of the Emir of Tiflis would not tolerate so near

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 218, 219. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, pp. 259, 260.

² *Vseobshchaya istoriya Vardana Velikago*, General History of Vardan the Great, trans. by Emin., Moscow, 1861, pp. 95, 104, 125, note 353.

³ The text of the *K'art'lis Tskhovreba*—*Variant of Queen Mary*, when discovered was found to be in a damaged condition.

⁴ Vardan, p. 98.

itself another power, and soon Ashot was so persecuted that he chose to move to Byzantium with his entire family and retinue.

Their way led through the mountains of Javakhet'i, where, whilst sleeping on the shore of the Lake of Paravan, they were suddenly attacked by an Arab detachment, but Ashot with his retinue overcame them and destroyed the Saracens. Continuing his way, Ashot reached the Chorokh valley in the Shavshet'i Pass. But Shavshet'i and Klarjet'i, as well as the whole Chorokh valley, were at that time in a state of complete desolation. The expedition of the terrible Arab commander, Murvan, surnamed by the Georgians "the Deaf", had left no stone unturned. All fortresses had been demolished; villages, towns, churches, and monasteries destroyed to their foundations, and the population exterminated or taken prisoners. In addition, cholera, which had broken out soon afterwards, completed the misfortune. What few inhabitants remained, had hidden themselves in the woods. The arrival in Shavshet'i of Ashot with his followers filled the population with joy. They received Ashot with great rejoicing and begged him to stay and rule them. Ashot acceded to their request and set himself, with great energy, to restore the Chorokh valley.

Ashot chose Ardanuch as his place of residence, restored the fortress there which had been built originally by Wakhtang Gorgasal, and in front of it he laid out a town. In the fortress itself he built a church to St. Peter and St. Paul, where he erected a family mausoleum. Relying on the Byzantine emperor, from whom he had received the title of Kuropalat, he gradually became so powerful that not only did he extend his rule over Tao and Ispir and the whole of the Chorokh valley, but also managed to hold Eastern Georgia, the overlordship of which was disputed both by the Emir of Tiflis and the ruler of Kakhet'i. Into the Chorokh valley surged the population from Eastern Georgia. All who were dissatisfied, or oppressed by the Arabs, went over to Ashot. Particularly numerous and strong was the monasterial colonization headed by the great, energetic monk Gregory of Khandzt'a, who soon became the Archimandrite of twelve monasteries of Klarjet'i, of which five were built by him, and the others by his disciples. Ashot's cause was greatly aided by the fact that the Armenian population of the Chorokh valley was also orthodox, Chalcedonite.

In order not to dwell too long on this subject, it suffices to say that, under the wise and energetic reign of Ashot Kuropalat and his numerous descendants, the Chorokh valley and Tao-Klarjet'i became the centre of the political life of the Georgians, and this mountainous, little-accessible, and devastated province developed into a flourishing oasis and became the cradle of Georgian culture

during the second period of her history, from the middle of the eighth until the end of the tenth century.

In the ninth century this country had become already Georgian by language as well as by culture. It was from here that the unification of all Georgian domains began under the single crown of the Georgian Bagratids. At first Georgia united herself with the Abkhasian kingdom which at that time held not only the entire Western Georgia but also a considerable part of Eastern Georgia ; then she united with herself the Kakhet'ian domain and Heret'i. Finally, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Emirate of Tiflis was abolished, the Arabs driven out of Georgia, and the capital transferred to Tiflis. Georgia extended her power practically over the whole of Caucasia and took on the character of an empire.

Thus the first Bagratid ruler in Georgia was Ashot I Kuropalat, who for his services was surnamed " the Great ". It is probable that his coming to power served as the era of Georgian chronology, and although Wakhusht assigns the beginning of his reign to the year 786, it is evident that Ashot came to the throne in 780. According to Wakhusht, Ashot's father, Ardanasé, died a year earlier. In any case, the fact is this, that the *K'oronikon* system is first used in recording the death of Ashot I Kuropalat. He was killed, according to Sumbat, in the 6430th year from the Creation, in the 46th *K'oronikon* of the thirteenth cycle, on the 29th January.¹

The reckoning of time from the Creation according to the Georgian system, for the first time herein applied, corresponds to A.D. 826 (6430 - 5604 = 826). To this year corresponds also the reckoning by *K'oronikon*, the 46th *K'oronikon* of the thirteenth cycle (780 + 46 = 826).

Thus the first Bagratid who came to Georgia was Adarnasé, son of Vasak, son of Ashot the Blind, the Armenian prince, while the first ruler, the *Erist'avi*, was the son of Adarnasé, Ashot I the Great, who died in the year 826. That this is so we have very important written confirmation. In one of the brief chronicles found and edited by me, it is said, among other things : " After this (i.e. after the martyrdom of the Argvet'i princes David and Constantine), there appeared a descendant of the prophet David, by name Adarnasé, son of the sister of Baram, who became related by marriage to the descendants of Wakhtang Gorgasal and from this union the Bagratids, the descendants of the prophet David, trace their origin." ". . . And began their reign the Bagratids from the thirteenth cycle of the

¹ E. Taqaishvili, *K'ari'lis Tskhovreba—Variant of Queen Mary*, p. 345. *Three Chronicles* (in Russian), Tiflis, 1900, p. 142. In this work there is a printer's discrepancy in giving the date ; in place of 6830 it should be 6430.

K'oronikon. And was murdered Ashot the Great by the Mingrelians in the *K'oronikon* 46" ($780 + 46 = 826$).¹

So far we have not a single case in which the *K'oronikon* system is used before the death of Ashot Kuropalat, while from the death of Ashot, Sumbat dates all events according to the *K'oronikon*. In the Manuscripts, together with the *K'oronikon*, are given also the years from the Creation.

Let us give several examples of the application of the reckoning according to the *K'oronikon* system as practised in the ninth century.

In one of the frieze inscriptions of the Church at Ateni is given, "73rd *K'oronikon*" which corresponds to 853 ($780 + 73 = 853$); this *K'oronikon* is supported by the Mohammedan date which confirms the year 853.²

In the *Life of Gregory of Khandzt'a*, the contemporary of Ashot Kuropalat, a very complicated date of the death of this saint is given, but it does, among other things, indicate the 81st *K'oronikon*, which corresponds to 861.³

The *Adish Gospel* has the following date: "From the Creation 6501, in the *K'oronikon* 117, from the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1001."⁴

The first date from the Creation, according to the Georgian system, corresponds to 897 ($6501 - 5604 = 897$). To this year corresponds also the second date by the *K'oronikon* ($780 + 117 = 897$). The third date, from the Birth of Christ, 1001, K. Kekelidze adapts to the same 897 by reasoning as follows: (1) We know that the Alexandrian era differs from our Georgian era by 104 years. It follows, therefore, that $1001 - 104 = 897$; (2) By the year 1001, $5500 + 1001 = 6501$ years had passed from the Creation; if, as the copyist of the Gospel himself notes, we deduct from this figure the 5604 years of the Georgian system we have 897.⁵

Even with such reasoning, the date A.D. 1001 nevertheless causes some doubt, and is to be regarded as irregular and unusual. It would

¹ E. Taqaishvili, *Dzveli Sak'art'velo*, Ancient Georgia, ii, p. 35, Tiflis, 1913. When editing this chronicle I briefly expressed my suppositions as to the beginning of the reign of the Bagratids in Georgia, and the introduction of the Georgian chronology—suppositions which I am developing here. In the yet unfinished article of Mr. P. Ingoroqva, which I have already quoted, the author states that he has prepared an essay on the beginning of the Georgian chronology (*Bulletin*, vi, p. 412, note 1a). If this essay were already published, there would, perhaps, be no need for the present article. But as Mr. Ingoroqva's article has not yet seen light, I hope this article will give the British reader an opportunity to understand Georgian chronology and to have an idea about the beginning of the Bagratid dynasty in Georgia.

² Javakhishvili, *Khristyanski Vostok*, the Christian East, iii, pp. 278, 279.

³ Marr, *Zhitie Grigoriya Khandztiiskago*, Life of Gregory of Khandzt'a, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 148.

⁴ E. Taqaishvili, *Materialy po Arkheologii Kavkaza*, Materials for the Archæology of Caucasia, xiv, intro., p. 14.

⁵ K. Kekelidze, *Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis* (in Georgian), ii, pp. 396, 397.

seem that one and the same copyist, in making the date of the *K'oronikon* agree with the date from Creation, had taken the Georgian reckoning of 5604 years, while in making the date from the Birth of Christ agree with the date from Creation, he had taken the Alexandrian reckoning. This is, as it were, a double entry, nowhere else met with in Georgian MSS. Further, the difference of the Georgian reckoning with the three other, above-mentioned reckonings refers to the years that have passed from the Creation to the Birth of Christ, and not to the years from the Birth of Christ. In other MSS. the years from the Birth of Christ in no way depend on the difference of years from the Creation, whatever be the system of reckoning, and the number of years from the Birth of Christ has that very meaning which is expressed by the numerical value of the letters given, or the Arabic figures, without any calculation or combination whatsoever. In spite of this there is no doubt that the *Adish* Gospel was copied in the year 897.

The extensive parchment Chrestomathy preserved in Sinai was copied in the 84th *K'oronikon* ($780 + 84 = 864$); from the Creation 6468, i.e. in 864 ($6468 - 5604 = 864$).¹

There are a great many dated MSS. and inscriptions of the tenth and subsequent centuries, but we do not quote all of them.

To denote a number, the Georgians generally used the numerical letters of the Georgian alphabet, but from the tenth century the Arabic figures of the Eastern type make their appearance. Thus, for instance, on the floor in the cathedral of Kutais is given "223rd *K'oronikon*" and this number is given in Arabic figures. This *K'oronikon* corresponds to 1003 years ($780 + 223 = 1003$).²

In one of the MSS. of the tenth century in the Georgian Museum, No. 38, are given all the Arabic figures in order from the right hand to the left. At the beginning there is a cross.³

In the eighteenth century the use of the Arabic figures is very frequent, while from the nineteenth century, Arabic figures of the European type are used exclusively.

¹ A. Tsagareli, *Pamyatniki Gruzinskoy pismennosti na Sv. Zemle i na Sinae*—Monuments of Georgian literature in the Holy Land and Mount Sinai.

² *Dzveli K'art'uli ena da Literatura*, the Ancient Georgian Language and Literature, edited by Professor A. Shanidze, Tiflis, 1934, p. 303.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 295.

THE ASIANIC (ASIA MINOR) ELEMENTS IN NATIONAL GEORGIAN PAGANISM

according to information contained in ancient Georgian Literature¹

By Prof. M. TSERETHELI

[For list of Abbreviations see p. 66.]

I.

PROFESSOR I. JAVAKHISHVILI, of Tiflis, a well-known Georgian historian, gives us a picture of the religion of pagan Georgia in the second chapter of his standard work, *A History of the Georgian Nation*,² which is a result of his research into the customs and usages, tales and sagas of the Georgians.

Many interesting discoveries have been made by this tireless investigator of Georgian history and culture, which concern old Georgian paganism, as, for example, moon-worship in Georgia, which Strabo maintains was practised in Albania,³ and which according to Javakhishvili was doubtless in existence in the whole of Georgia from earliest times, and still exists there as the cult of St. George, etc. Also it has become much easier through Javakhishvili's researches to differentiate the elements of the Mazdaic religion—which influenced the whole spiritual life of the Georgians for several centuries before and after Christ—from the elements of national Georgian pagan religion.⁴

In spite of this, it must be said that the great Georgian historian is but a pioneer, and that Georgian paganism represents such a complicated subject for research, that science still has much to do to unravel its tangled elements.

Of course, all existing material on national paganism contained in ancient Georgian literature had been previously studied for this purpose, but, in our opinion,⁵ none of the Georgian or non-Georgian scholars who occupied themselves with the problem correctly grasped and estimated this information and in the end they even pronounced it to be of no value at all.

But, we consider that this very information of Georgian authors possesses great value, because it reveals the origin of those gods and cults which seem to have been known in Georgia from earliest

¹ The author gratefully acknowledges the help he received from Professor A. Götze, of Yale University, New Haven, U.S.A., and from Professor F. Sommer, of Munich, who directed his attention to many important details.

² Vol. i, 3rd ed., chap. ii, pp. 31–137, Tiflis, 1928 (in Georgian).

³ XI, iv, 7.

⁴ O. G. von Wesendonk, *Über Georgisches Heidentum*, Leipzig, 1924.

⁵ Expressed in *The Land of Hatti, its peoples, languages, history, and civilisation* (in Georgian), Constantinople, 1924.

times and which might be considered almost as native, whereas moon-worship and sun-worship, for instance, were practised throughout the whole of Hither Asia, Georgia included, without any possibility of ascertaining exactly from whence they originated.

Here we would like to examine once again the information preserved by the old Georgian authors concerning Georgian paganism which was misunderstood by the earlier scholars, and endeavour to show that this information points to quite different elements in Georgian pagan religion than it was formerly thought.

II

The most important works which contain some valuable material concerning Georgian paganism are: *The Conversion of Georgia*, *The Life of St. Nino*, *The Life of Georgia* (the "Georgian Chronicle")¹ and *The Life of St. John Zedazneli*. There is no doubt that there are indications in these sources which point to Asianic, i.e. Asia Minor, religious elements in Georgian paganism. *The Conversion of Georgia* was written in the seventh century; the oldest version of *The Life of St. John Zedazneli* which has been lost (we possess only a much later, altered edition, unfortunately)—at about the same time. *The Life of St. Nino* belongs to the ninth century, and the part of the *Georgian Chronicle* which deals with paganism, to the eleventh century.² Only *The Life of St. Nino* gives fuller details concerning paganism than does *The Conversion of Georgia*, while the author of the above-mentioned part of the *Georgian Chronicle*, Leontius Mroveli, merely quotes from *The Conversion* and copies *The Life of St. Nino* almost word for word.

The nature of the report, concerning paganism, which these sources contain, is so peculiar, that no question can arise as to whether these reports had their origin in the imagination of the Christian authors. Everything points to the fact that the authors compiled their works according to ancient traditions and ancient literary sources which to-day no longer exist, and thus the above-mentioned old Georgian sources have undoubtedly great value as material for research into old Georgian paganism.

The importance of the Georgian sources concerning the national paganism of the Georgians was, however, firmly disputed by the late Professor N. Marr, the eminent Georgian scholar of Armenology and Iberiology, in his *Bogi Yazycheskoy Gruzii* ("The gods of pagan Georgia"), published in 1902 in Russian in *Zapiski Vost. otd. Imperat.*

¹ Quotations below from this source are from the variant of Queen Mary (= QMV), Ed. E. Taqaishvili, Tiflis.

² Javakhishvili, *History*, i³, pp. 203, 334 f., 337 f.; K. Kekelidze, *Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis* (in Georgian), 1923, No. iii, pp. 28-31.

Russk. Arch. Obshch., vol. xiv. Professor Javakhishvili sided with him on this question of the value of information from Georgian sources and in the first and second editions of his *History*, vol. i, he shared Marr's views concerning deities mentioned in these sources.¹ In the third revised edition of his book, Javakhishvili doubts the reliability of the above-mentioned sources, as Marr also had done, and gives full explanations on this point. He proves incontestably that many of the accounts given in the sources concerning the conversion of the Georgians, the person of St. Nino and her mission in Georgia, the destruction of idols through the prayer of St. Nino, etc., are of fictitious and Christian-tendential character, even similar to such accounts by Agathangelos and Moses of Khorene, under whose strong influence were the authors of our Georgian sources.² But this does not at all diminish the value of the information as far as the deities themselves and the qualities ascribed to these deities are concerned—points which simply could not have been invented by the authors. And it is just this which is of primary importance to us.

III

In the above-mentioned sources, the following deities of the heathen Georgians are enumerated: *Armaz, Zaden, Gatsi, Ga* resp. *Gaim* in *The Conversion of Georgia* and in *The Life of St. Nino*; further *Ainina* and *Danina* in *The Life of Georgia* and in *The Conversion of Georgia*. Besides these in *The Life of St. Nino* and in *The Life of the Kings of Georgia* by Leontius Mroveli (in *The Life of Georgia*) still another deity is mentioned—The Chaldean goddess *It'rujan* resp. *It'rushana*.

Armaz, Zaden, Gatsi and *Ga(im)*, *Ainina* and *Danina* were idols in Mtskhet'a, the ancient capital of Georgia, set up by the kings. They were worshipped by king and people, who, on certain feast-days, brought sacrifices to them, as St. Nino herself had seen, and as, at the time of her Mission in Georgia, the reigning King Mirian had told her.

The information given in the old literature only mentions with certainty the feasts resp. the feasts and the offering of sacrifices to the god *Armaz* resp. to *Armaz, Zaden, Gatsi, and Ga*. But it may be assumed that there were other deities to whom idols were erected in the capital or elsewhere, and to whom, on their special feast-days, the required rites were performed.

¹ Marr has since changed his views on the subject, but he has never expressed them systematically. As many other scholars still share these views, we should like to criticize them—without dwelling on the fantastical views of Marr and his pupils, as, for instance, on the supposed identity of the name of the Georgian pagan god, *Zaden*, with the name of the Urtartean king *Sardur*, etc., expressed on many occasions.

² Javakhishvili, *History*, 1^o, chap. iv, § 11.

Marr has maintained that all these gods were of Iranian or Semitic origin, and that the details mentioned by the Georgian Christian writers did not refer to national Georgian paganism, but to Mazdaism introduced into Georgia from Persia; they had described the Iranian cult of fire-worship resp. they had made from the Semitic names of deities found in Syrian literature Georgian national deities. Even the name of the chief deity of the Georgian heathen Pantheon *Armaz* is apparently the Georgianized form of *Ahura-Mazda*: *Armaz* = Armenian *Aramazd* = Persian *Ormuzd* (*Öhrmazd*) = *Ahura-Mazda*.¹ But if we examine still more closely the names of these gods and their attributes, mentioned in our sources, we shall see at once that Marr was in many respects mistaken and that the deities that we have here to do with were of Subaræan-Asia Minor deities, and that only one Semitic and probably one Sumerian-Babylonian are mentioned in Georgian sources.

Marr and Javakhishvili are justified in their criticism only in so far as we have to deal here with a not purely national Georgian heathen Pantheon.

IV

The name of the chief god *Armaz* certainly bears some resemblance to the name of *Ahura-Mazda*. This similarity in sound, such as the name *Armaz* has with *Ormuzd* (*Öhrmazd*), *Ahura-Mazda*, may well account also for the rendering of the Georgian name in the Armenian as *Aramazd*.² The fact remains, however, that *Armazd* was considered in all sources as the native, national chief deity of the Georgian Pantheon, although not called an *ancient god* "of our fathers"—as were *Gatsi* and *Gaim*. The *Armaz* religion was considered in the literature also as opposed to the *Ahura-Mazda* religion, and just as a native one opposed to the Persian one. It seems to us to be more probable, therefore, that the similarity of names in the case of the Georgian deity and the Persian god is purely external, and that the gods *Ahura-Mazda* and *Armaz* have in reality nothing at all in common.

But, let us suppose the name *Armaz* to be really identical with that of *Ahura-Mazda*. Such an identification was evidently a tempting one to the scholars, for we know that Mazdaism was introduced into Georgia long before Christianity and exercised a great influence on the entire life of the Georgian people. The Persians carried out an intensive propaganda for their religion, even using harsh means, in Georgia as well as in every other country under their political

¹ Marr, op. cit., p. 4.

² Cf. *Life of St. Nino*, trans. by O. Wardrop, *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica*, Oxford, 1900, vol. v, 1; Armenian version by F. C. Conybeare, p. 74. Cf. J. Markwart: *Skizzen zur historischen Topographie und Geschichte von Kaukasien*, Wien, 1928, pp. 15, 18.

domination. This propaganda of the Mazdaic religion was directed, before the advent of Christianity in Georgia, against national paganism, and after the official conversion of the Georgians, against the Christian religion.¹ In Armenia, too, during Persia's long rule, Mazdaism had so uprooted national Armenian paganism that very little concerning the old Armenian pagan religion has survived. It might well be supposed, therefore, that Mazdaism had exercised a similar influence on the national Georgian pagan religion, so that Georgians might have used the name of the great Persian god *Ahura-Mazda* for their own chief deity in altered form of *Armaz*.² But this does not, at all, mean that they also acknowledged *Ahura-Mazda*, or that *Ahura-Mazda* had replaced their national chief deity.

Here now, the old Georgian sources come to our aid and from their description of *Armaz* according to the good old tradition, we learn that *Armaz* was an entirely different deity from *Ahura-Mazda*.

It is related in *The Life of St. Nino*, that St. Nino herself had seen the idol of *Armaz* when, on the great feast-day, she stood "near the idol at the edge of the wall". She had seen "a copper man (idol). On its body was a golden coat of mail, on its head a golden helmet. It had shoulder-plates on. It was adorned with onyx and beryl. And in its hand it carried a polished sword which flashed and moved in its hand, as if to warn any man who dared touch it, that by so doing he would sentence himself to death."³

According to Marr, Mazdaism had conquered and replaced national paganism in Georgia to such an extent, that at least the Georgian kings and noble followers of the official Iranian religion—no longer knew anything about the old national religion at the time of the conversion to Christianity in the fourth century. And therefore the authors of our sources could have had absolutely no idea of the genuine national Georgian paganism (although, perhaps, idols were actually in existence).⁴ The author of *The Life of St. Nino*, too, may have possessed no true information of the idol described in his work. He might have known only a description of the cult performed by the Persian magi in Mtskhet'a, that of fire-worship, and of the attributes of the magi, and from these attributes the author's imagination had produced the figure and the cult of *Armaz* (*ibid.*). We have to do here, namely, with the *barsman* of the magi, used for ritual purposes, and the tiara with pieces of cloth hanging therefrom, which covered the magi's cheeks and lips during the ritual.⁵

¹ Cf. Procopius, *BP*, I, 12.

² Cf. von Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, chaps. v. and vi.

³ Ed. Taqaishvili, p. 21; cf. Leontius Mroveli in *Life of Georgia* (QMV), pp. 70 f.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵ Von Wesendonk, *Das Weltbild der Iranier* (1933), p. 158; Fr. Spiegel, *Eränische Altertumskunde*, iii, p. 592; Fr. Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*, Leipzig, 1931, table v, 5.

Marr now lets the Georgian author's phantasy identify the *barəsmān* of the magi with the sword of *Armaz*, and the tiara with its overhanging pieces of cloth with the helmet and the shoulder-plates of *Armaz*, and in this way create the figure of the chief deity of the Georgian heathen Pantheon. But, even granting that a recollection of the above-quoted description of the magi might still have existed in Georgia at the time of the author of *The Life of St. Nino*, it is quite unlikely that an author would identify a *barəsmān* with a sword, and a tiara and cloth hanging therefrom with a helmet and shoulder-plates, or, in general create a *deity* from a mere *description* of the magi!

On the other hand, the god *Ahura-Mazda* whose name is supposed to be identical with that of *Armaz*, is represented on the Bisutūn rock quite differently from the *Armaz* of the Georgian writers. *Ahura-Mazda* sits here on the winged solar disc and carries a garland in his left hand. This representation of the Persian god arose, as is well known, under the influence of the Assyrians, who represented the god Ashur in the same way, only with a bow in his left hand. This Assyrian form goes back to Hittite influence; the Hittites on their part took the solar disc symbol from the Egyptians.¹ But these Persian, Assyrian, Hittite, and Egyptian representations have absolutely no connection with *Armaz*, as he is described in our sources.

Of decided importance, here, is the following passage in *The Life of St. Nino*, "In fear everyone worshipped *Armaz* who carried the terrible sword in his hand—and said: 'Woe betide me, if I fail in any way in my worship of the majesty of our great god *Armaz*, or if I sin by talking to Jews, or by listening to the *Magi* when I meet sun-worshippers, and to other unreasonable talk about a great God in Heaven.' May he (*Armaz*) perchance find no fault in me and not strike me with his sword, before which the whole world is in fear."²

There is no doubt that here a distinction is made between the different religions, which, in St. Nino's time had their followers in Georgia: that of *Armaz*—the national Georgian; that of the *Magi*—the Persian (Mazdaic); that of the Jews; and that of "the great God in Heaven"—the Christian religion, which after the conversion of the Armenians by St. Gregory, also had its followers in Georgia.³

The follower of *Armaz* is afraid that he may be suspected of leaning towards other religions, or of connections with their followers, and that for these supposed misdoings *Armaz* might vent his anger on him. Among these religions *strange* to him, the religion of the magi, that is, that of *Ahura-Mazda*, is mentioned, and hence it strictly follows that the *Armaz* religion must have been entirely different

¹ Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, pp. 35 f.

² p. 21; L. Mroveli, op. cit., p. 71.

³ L. Mroveli, op. cit., p. 73.

from that of *Ahura-Mazda* and that the gods *Ahura-Mazda* and *Armaz* could not possibly be identical.

Another passage of the same work is just as decisive on the question as to whether or not *Armaz* is identical with *Ahura-Mazda*. St. Nino related: "One day, when mighty and countless people set out from the town (Urbnisi, where St. Nino was at first) and went to the great city of Mtskhet'a, the seat of their kings, in order to do business there and to pray to their god *Armaz* . . . I went with them and we came to the city of Mtskhet'a, to the Magi's quarter, near the bridge. We stood there and saw the fire-worshipping people and the Magi, and I wept over their erring ways, because of their perdition."¹ This ends one chapter of *The Life of St. Nino*, and the second begins thus: "On the *following* day, booming and trumpet-blasts were heard, and countless people came out; in formidable crowds as numerous as the flowers (of the field?), came they out. The king did not yet move and at an indicated moment, everyone began to run and hide himself. Everyone ran to a hiding-place, when Queen Nana came out. And, when Queen Nana had driven past, all the people came slowly out again and adorned the square with drapery of every kind and with leaves (from the trees). And the whole crowd began to praise the king, and then King Mirian came out with his face shining. And I asked the Jewess this question, 'What is this?' And she said, 'The god of their gods, *Armaz*, commands them, that besides him there is no other idol.' And I went to see *Armaz*. The hills were covered with banners and with people, as numerous as the flowers. But I quickly entered the castle of *Armaz* and stood near the idol at the edge of the wall."² Then follows the description of the idol itself.

Marr thought that we had here a description of a feast which lasted two days, namely, the Persian religious festival. *The Life of St. Nino* and *The Life of Georgia* had, in his opinion erroneously taken this feast for two different feasts: the one was, according to these sources, that of the fire-worship of the *Persian Magi* and the other that of the worship of *Armaz* by the royal family and the people.³ Marr said that it is only in the later version of *The Life of Georgia* that this view is taken, but that the oldest one considers this to be one and the same festival. Now Marr maintains that the oldest version of *The Life of Georgia* is his abbreviated and imperfect Armenian translation of the twelfth century.⁴ But to-day we know for certain that Leontius Mroveli, the author of this part in *The Life*

¹ pp. 19 f., L. Mroveli, op. cit., pp. 69 f.

² p. 20; cf. L. Mroveli, op. cit., p. 70.

³ Marr, op. cit., p. 12.

⁴ The so-called *Armenian Chronicle*. See "Chronique Arménienne" in *Additions et Elclaircissements*, by Brosset, St. Petersburg, 1851.

of *Georgia* lived in the eleventh century and the compilation of *The Life of St. Nino* took place in the ninth century.¹ These texts are certainly much more reliable than the *Armenian Chronicle* of the twelfth century, which, as we have just said, is but an abbreviated and imperfect translation of the Georgian original.

The Georgian texts do not relate of *two* feasts; the passages in question are to be understood as follows: The authors of these sources knew that there were two pagan religions in Georgia: the foreign—Mazdaism—and the native—the worship of *Armaz*; and the difference between these two they strongly emphasize. They tell, neither of one feast which lasted two days, nor of two feasts, but definitely of only *one feast on one day*—of the *Armaz-feast*. St. Nino only saw the fire-worship accidentally, *on her way*, when she came to the city-quarter of the Magi “near the bridge”, in Mtskhet’a, and not as a feast, but as the performance of a religious rite. And the people and the royal family set out *on the following day*, to go to the *Armaz* feast. In no other way but this is it possible to understand the above-mentioned passage of *The Life of St. Nino* and that of L. Mroveli’s work. Indeed, the abbreviated Armenian version of *The Life of St. Nino* also tells of only one *Armaz* feast, without mentioning the passage concerning the fire-worship seen by St. Nino, which is contained in the Georgian original: “I followed the river (Kura) from the direction of the west, until the water turned to the east. And I reached Urnisi, and was there one month. And then I came with merchants to Mtskhet’a. And *on the day of the feast of Armazd* I followed the king, and all the people, . . .”² says St. Nino.³

Thus it is quite certain that *Armaz* was an entirely different god from *Ahura-Mazda* and that his cult had no connection whatever with that of fire-worship. What kind of god, then, was *Armaz*? Can we comprehend his character from the scanty details about him which our sources contain? We think this can be answered in the affirmative, for we consider *Armaz* to be identical with the Subaraean or Hurritic weather-god Teshub.⁴

Teshub was also the national god of the Mitanni people whose language is related to that of the Hurrites,⁵ and who was second in the trinity of gods—*Khaldi*, *Te(i)sheba*, *Ardini*—of the Urartaeans,

¹ Javakhishvili, *The Object, Sources, and Methods of History, etc.*, i; K. Kekelidze, *History of Georgian Literature*, i (both in Georgian).

² Translated by F. C. Conybeare in O. Wardrop’s op. cit., p. 73.

³ Cf. also Brosset, *Add. et Ecl.*, p. 21.

⁴ Cf. E. Forrer, *Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches*, ZDMG, N.F., i, Heft 2, p. 226; F. Sommer and H. Ehelolf, *Boghaz-köi Studien*, x, pp. 48 f.; A. Götze, *Kleinasien* (“Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients,” in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 3. Abt., I. Teil, 3. Band), p. 124; A. Ungnad, ZDMG, N.F. 10, pp. 372 ff.

⁵ Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, p. 57; A. Götze, *Das Hethiter-Reich* (*Der Alte Orient*, Band 27, Heft 23), p. 10.

that is, of the pre-Indo-European people of Armenia.¹ The cult of Teshub which was spread throughout the whole of Hither Asia, and also in Asia Minor, was practised, as it has been ascertained, by various peoples of the old Hittite Empire—not only by the Hurrites whose national god he was, but also by the Hittites, Luvians and proto-Hattians. He was worshipped, as is well known, by Western Semites and Babylonians and Assyrians under the names of *Hadad* resp. *Adad*. The Sumerians called the same weather-god, *Ishkur*.

The Asia Minor *Teshub* was represented with a thunder-bolt in his left and an axe in his right hand, with sword in his belt and with a cap, ball-shaped on top,² and *Armaz* as described in *The Life of St. Nino* and by Leontius Mroveli reminds us of this Subaraean god. The idol of *Armaz* which “stood on the hill” in Mtskhet’a³ with the “flashing sword” and the “helmet” is just the Georgian *Teshub*, named by Georgians *Armaz*. *Armaz* stands “on the hill” in Mtskhet’a; *Teshub* as represented on the relief of Yasilikaia is carried by a panther standing on a mountain-top. *Armaz* carried a “flashing sword” in his hand; *Teshub*, who wears his sword in his belt, holds the thunder-bolt and battle-axe in his hand. *Armaz* wears a helmet, *Teshub* his cap. In spite of a few deviations, the picture of *Armaz* is similar to that of *Teshub*. The Georgian conception of *Armaz* with his “polished sword which flashed and moved in his hand”, and his helmet, corresponds with that of *Teshub* who carried his thunder-bolt and his axe, and wore a sword in his belt and a helmet-like cap on his head. Both gods are represented as war-gods and *Armaz*, like *Teshub*, is a heaven-god, lord of the air, a weather-god, as his epithets show: “the giver of rain,”⁴ “the thunderer,” etc.⁵

Now we must admit that *Armaz* is not a Georgian name, its etymology cannot be ascertained from Georgian. But this is no argument against his cult in Georgia, resp. for his identification with *Ahura-Mazda*, with whom, except his name-similarity, *Armaz* has nothing in common. It is also true, that the weather-god was worshipped by many peoples of the Hittite empire (second millennium B.C.) where he was known by his native names, and invoked in the native tongues: by the Hurrites in Hurritic, as *Teshub*; by the Hattians or proto-Hattians in proto-Hattian, as perhaps,

¹ Cf. Sayce, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van*, xiv, 1882; *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*, 1928, 1935, etc.

² Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, p. 67, figs. 56 and 57.

³ Cf. *The Conversion of Georgia in La Langue Georgienne* by Marr and Brière, Paris, 1931, p. 570.

⁴ Cf. *The Life of St. Nino*, p. 37; Leontius Mroveli, op. cit., p. 87.

⁵ Conybeare, op. cit., p. 65 f., according to Moses of Khorene, *Hist.*, ii, 86. See, for instance, the epithets of the Babylonian weather-god, *bêl naqbi ū zunni* “lord of springs and rains” (V R 56, Col. ii, 41), *ilurammānu* “the thunderer” (H. Zimmern, *KAT*, p. 443) and many others.

*Zašhapunas*¹; by the Hittites (the ruling people who had a West-Indo-European language strongly interspersed with the elements borrowed from the non-Indo-European languages of the aborigines of Asia Minor) in Hittite, under a name not as yet known; by Luvians, who were related to the Hittite, in Luvian, as perhaps *Dattaš*.² This is the same *Zeus* of Labraynda, with the battle-axe, *Zeus Bροντων*, *Zeus Κεραυνιος*, *Zeus Στρατιος* of the later Asia Minor peoples and of the Ægean peoples related to them.³ Among none of these peoples do we find the weather-god called *Armaz* or any similar name which the Georgians might have adopted.⁴ But there were in the Hittite empire itself and in countries bordering on it, many peoples whose literary monuments are as yet undiscovered or never existed, and it is not impossible that the weather-god of one of these tribes bore a name identical with *Armaz*, or similar to it, and this name was adopted by the Georgian tribe *K'art'-u-el-i*,⁵ or another

¹ A. Götze, *Kleinasien*, p. 130, note 9; Sommer and H. Ehelolf, *Boghaz-köi Studien*, x, 49.

² E. Forrer, op. cit., and *Die Acht Sprachen der Boghaz-koï Inschriften*, Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. phil. hist. Kl., 1919; F. Fr. Hrozný, *Boghaz-köi Studien*, v; A. Götze, *Kleinasien*, p. 130, note 9.

³ E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, i⁵, §§ 481 f.; A. Evans, "Mycenean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations" (in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi, 1901), pp. 99 f.

⁴ *Arma(š)* (*m.Arma-dU = m.dSin-d.U-aš'* cf. A. Götze: *Hattušilliš* in the *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiat.-Aegypt. Gesellschaft*, 1924, 3, pp. 17 f., § 4, ll. 27, 33) was probably the Moon-god of the Lydians. (Cf. A. Götze: *Kleinasien*, p. 195) and therefore no weather-god and cannot be compared with *Armaz*.

⁵ The possibility of the connection between the Georgian ethnical *K'art' < *K'at'* (*K'art'-u/v-el-i < *K'art'-e/av-el-i* "Georgian") with *Kat-a-on(-ian)*, the name of an old proto-Hattian country (cf. Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, p. 156; Sommer-Ehelolf, *Boghaz-köi Studien*, x, p. 1) will not be discussed here. It should be remarked only, that the old Greek authors, as Strabo relates (xii, 1, 2), regarded the Kataonians as people quite different from the Cappadocians, although in Strabo's time they were not to be distinguished either by their speech or by their customs from the rest of the Cappadocians. Could then Kataonia have been the native home of the *K'art'-i* tribe who immigrated (in the first millenium B.C. and certainly after the invasion of the Cimmerians in Asia Minor) to Caucasia? Other tribes, *Kaškai*, *Mušakai*, *Tabalai* stood in the closest relation to the Hittite empire, both as subjects and as foes. The *Kaškai*, who lived in the north-eastern regions of the Pontic mountains, often fell upon the Hittite empire, and they, together with other related tribes, contributed to its collapse at the end of the thirteenth century B.C. (Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums II*², i, pp. 438, 443, 447, 472; A. Götze, *Das Hethiter-Reich: der Alte Orient*, 27, 2, p. 43). Since the time of the Assyrian King Tiglath-Pileser I. (12th cent.), these tribes were constantly at war with the Assyrians after they had gained a firm footing in the old Hittite provinces (in the whole of Cappadocia and Cilicia, although they had to recognize the supremacy of the Assyrians (Cf. G. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig, 1921, pp. 73-83). After the invasion of the Cimmerians (7th century B.C.) they went north-eastward, and at the time of Herodotus and Xenophon we find them on the south-east coast of the Black Sea and in Caucasia as Moskhians, Kolkhians, Tibarenians, etc.—the tribes who later made up the Georgian nation. It seems that this immigration of the Georgian tribes into Caucasia had been preceded by the immigration of other tribes, who now live in northern Caucasia, the Abkhasians, Circassians, etc. Of great interest in this respect is the work of Julius von Mészáros, *The Päkhy Sprache* (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, *Studies of Ancient Oriental Civilization*, No. 9) where the author seeks to prove the relationship between the Päkhy language, which is closely akin to the Abkhasian tongue, and the proto-Hattian (op. cit., pp. 28-33).—The Päkhy language is that of a small North-Caucasian tribe who emigrated from Abkhasia in 1871-6, and now dwell in north-west Anatolia, in the Vilayets Balikesir and Izmi'd.

tribe and retained after these people have immigrated into Caucasia and made their dwelling-place there. Much later, when Georgia stood in close relation with Persia, one thought of the similarity of the name *Armaz* to that of *Ahura-Mazda*, and probably this explains the following passage in Leontius Mroveli's work¹: "he (King P'arnavaz) made a big idol called after his name. This is *Armaz*. For *Armaz* was called *P'arnavaz* in Persian," that is $\chi^{\nu}ar\acute{e}nahvant$ —brilliant, splendid, endowed with $\chi^{\nu}ar\acute{e}nah$ —(mystic) brilliance. So they imagined in Mazdaic Persia the gods *Ahura-Mazda*, *Mithra*, etc., and the kings who were thought to be the earthly representatives of the heavenly ruler.²

But this has nothing to do with the true identity of the two gods *Armaz* and *Ahura-Mazda*. We need only call to mind Jupiter Dolichenus. The Jupiter, who was worshipped in the Doliche, Northern Syria, whose cult was introduced into Europe by the Syrian and Roman soldiers and also by the merchants and slaves in the third century B.C., was originally *Teshub*.³ This Jupiter *optimus maximus Dolichenus* was *natus ubi ferrum exoritur*, or *ubi ferrum nascitur*, as the statement on the inscriptions reads.⁴ According to Fr. Cumont,⁵ the worship of the god was brought to Kommagene by Khalybian smiths. On Syrian soil the god became *Ba'al* (*šamain*), that is, "Lord (of the Heavens)". In the time of the Achæmenides he was identified with *Ahura-Mazda*, because *Ahura-Mazda* was also represented as "the whole circle of the Heaven".⁶ Still later, in the time of Antiochus I. of Kommagene, he became *Zeus-Oromazdes*. Now the Khalybians, on account of their skill as smiths, were a famed Georgian tribe, but by what name they knew *Teshub* is not known to us, unfortunately.

Also the erection of idols to *Armaz* and to other deities, of which our sources relate, can in no way be considered as the first introduction of the cult of these deities. The question is of the building of places of worship for the gods worshipped in the country, who had probably such places of worship in various localities.

L. Mroveli recounts nothing else of King Rev but that he "brought home from Greece, his consort, who was the daughter of Logothetes,

¹ Op. cit., p. 21.

² Moreover, the weather-god, the director of the heavens and of the clouds, lord over hail, rain, etc., was called by the Georgian mountain-folk of the Khevsurs, *Pivimze* (Javakhishvili, *History* i³, p. 72) which means, word for word, "Sun-face," "brilliant," "radiant face"—the same epithet that *Armaz* must have had in the Persian tongue.

³ See Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, p. 119, fig. 89.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122 and p. 163 resp. p. 120.

⁵ *Die Orientalischen Religionen im Römischen Heidentum*, Leipzig, 1931, p. 135; cf. also *Revue Archéologique*, i, 1905, p. 190.

⁶ Herod., i, 131.

by name Sephelia, and Sephelia brought her idol by name, Aphrodite, with her and erected it on the height of Mtskhet'a".¹ The heathen Grecian woman even had built a place of worship for *her own* goddess in her new home; but this does not signify in any way that the worship of the Greek Aphrodite was thus introduced into Georgia.

Javakhishvili admits that *Armaz* and, in general, the information about him, with the exception of the name-similarity, have nothing to do with the Persian *Ahura-Mazda*.² But he also gives expression to his doubts thus: The cult of *Armaz-Ahuramazda* certainly existed in Georgia, but the information of the author of *The Life of St. Nino*, that Mazdaism had been the idol-worship in Georgia and *Armaz-Ahuramazda* was figured as an idol, is not correct. Neither by Gelasios of Cæsarea (fourth century) who in his history of the Church tells about the conversion of the Georgians according to the account of a Georgian (Bakur), nor in *The Conversion of Georgia* is mention made of the destruction of the idols of Armaz and of other gods through the prayer of St. Nino. It is Moses of Khorene, who in his *History*,³ relates how St. Nino, on the order of St. Gregory (the "illuminator" of the Armenians) had destroyed the idols after the conversion of the Georgians. The author of *The Life of St. Nino* gives the same information, but, according to him, the saint destroyed these idols before the conversion of the Georgians. Doubtless these miracle stories are later interpolations and go back to Agathangelos, the author of *The Life of St. Gregory*, which was the source used by Moses of Khorene in recounting these stories, the Christian tendential version of which was written in Cæsarea in the 7th century. In the Georgian hagiographic source *The Life of St. Shushanik*, by the priest Jacob (5th century) Mazdaism is not presented as idol-worship and *Armaz* and his idol are not mentioned at all. The Georgian historian, Juansher (11th century) also does not consider Mazdaism as idolatry, but describes it as fire-worship. The Georgian people could not have forgotten *Armaz* so completely after their conversion if he was really worshipped as their chief god in the 4th century and if his idol stood near the capital. The geographical name *Armaz-tsikhe* (Armaz-castle) does not justify us in taking the existence of the idol for granted and in believing that he, that is, *Ahura-Mazda*, was worshipped in the form of an idol. As already stated, we have in the oldest sources no information on this point, and *Armaz* has not been preserved, either as god or as mythical figure, in the popular religion. On the other hand, even to-day much of Mazdaism still remains in the popular religion of the Georgians. Moreover *Armaz*—in the geographical name of *Armaz-tsikhe* has

¹ Op. cit., p. 43.

² *History*, i³, p. 97.

³ II, 86.

perhaps some connection with the name of the Urartean King *Arame*, not with *Ahura-Mazda*.¹

Now we do not consider that Javakhishvili's objections can be taken as conclusive. Of course, miracle-stories of the destruction of the idols, etc., by the author of *The Life of St. Nino*, by Moses of Khorene and by Leontius Mroveli, are legends which the Christian authors recounted farther in their tendentious writings or perhaps they imagined them. But, as already stated, that cannot in any way affect the fact of the existence of the idols, or of the worship of the heathen gods, of *Armaz* and others. That Gelasios of Cæsarea and Rufinus² have written nothing concerning the destruction of the idols through the prayer of St. Nino, proves nothing. The Georgian, Bakur, might only have told Gelasios the essentials about the conversion of his country, or, which is more probable, Gelasios might have noted down what he considered to be the essential points in Bakur's story. It is true that in *The Conversion of Georgia* there is nothing about the destruction of the idols, but there are mentioned heathen gods and their idols which were "erected" by the kings,³ and it is this which is of decisive importance here. After all, the whole misunderstanding, as far as Javakhishvili is concerned, is based on the fact that Marr identified *Armaz* with *Ahura-Mazda* and that Javakhishvili himself shared this view. But if the Georgian *Armaz* and the Persian *Ahura-Mazda* are not considered to be identical, then immediately every difficulty disappears in the interpretation of the Georgian and also of the Armenian sources, for the Armenian authors must have taken their material concerning Georgian paganism from Georgian sources. Then it also becomes clear why the priest Jacob did not mention *Armaz*. There was no need to mention him because the apostate Wask'en the *Pitiakhsh* was converted not to the *Armaz*, but to the Persian Mazdaic faith, for which he was bitterly reproached by his wife, Shushanik, a pious Christian. In regard to Juansher's work too, the question refers to the *Persian religion* and not to *Georgian idolatry*, when he says: "And the Persians conquered K'art'li (5th century) and desecrated the churches. And the Georgians hid the crosses. And in all the churches of K'art'li the Persian fire-worshippers kindled fires."⁴ The author of *The Life of St. Nino* indeed does not identify *Armaz* with *Ahura-Mazda*, but strictly differentiates between the cult of *Armaz*, that is, the *Georgian idol-worship* and that of *Ahura-Mazda*, the *Persian fire-worship* as already mentioned above. Javakhishvili is disconcerted

¹ *History*, i³, pp. 97-101.

² A. Glas, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisareia, die Vorlage für die beiden letzten Bücher der Kirchengeschichte Rufinus* (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, Heft. 6).

³ Marr et Brière, op. cit., p. 570.

⁴ *Life of Georgia*, p. 117.

by the following passages in *The Life of St. Nino*: "The Georgians served strange gods", "worshipped fire and stones and woods", and at the same time the "saint saw the fire-worshipping people and the Magi", and she wept "over their erring ways", and he says: "Consequently it seems that Georgians of the fourth century must have been fire-worshippers—both king and people."¹ Not exactly that! St. Nino (according to the author of her *Life*), saw the performance of different cults, which were practised for different deities, both foreign and *native*, among these cults being the Persian fire-worship, in which, perhaps, Georgians also took part. It is about this that our source reports, and therefore no contradiction is to be seen in the above-quoted words of the hagiographer. That the name *Armaz* was forgotten by the Georgian people after their conversion is no wonder. The new Christian religion had taken care that the names of the pagan deities and their idols, as well as their cult in general, were eradicated, as St. Euthymius Mt'adsmindeli has also testified.² The god *Armaz*, that is, the weather-god (not *Ahura-Mazda*) appears under other names—St. Elias, Piri-mze (sun-face), etc., in the Georgian popular religion, even at the present time, just as the moon-god was worshipped and is still worshipped under the name St. George, by all Georgian tribes for centuries after the advent of Christianity—facts which have been so brilliantly demonstrated by Javakhishvili himself.³ The geographical name *Armaz-tsikhe* ("Armaz-castle") undoubtedly is no justification for believing that *Ahura-Mazda* was worshipped in Georgia in the form of an idol. This was not maintained by the authors of our sources, as already shown. But that the name is actually a combination—*Armaz-tsikhe* < *Armaz-is-tsikhe* ("Armaz-castle") cannot be doubted.⁴ In *The Life of Georgia* it is related: "This K'art'los (the Eponym-ancestor of the Georgians), at first came to the place where (the river) *Aragvi* unites with (the river) *Mtkwari* (Kur). And he ascended the mountain which is called *Armaz* and first he erected there a fortress and built himself a house. Until the setting up there of the idol to *Armaz* this mountain was called K'art'li . . ." (p. 5). "K'art'los died and was buried on the summit of K'art'li called *Armaz*" (ibid. p. 6). "The main fortress (near Mtskhet'a) which is *Armaz*" (ibid. p. 15). "King P'arnavaz (3rd century B.C.) set up the *Armaz* idol on the summit of (the mountain) K'art'li and from that time it (the mountain) received the name

¹ *History*, i³, pp. 99 f.

² *Ibid.*, i³, p. 80.

³ *Ibid.*, i³, chap. ii, §§ 2–3.

⁴ *Armaz* certainly had absolutely no connection with the Urartean King *Arame*, adversary of the Assyrian King Salmanassar II. (9th cent. B.C.). *Armaz* < *Arame* is phonetically impossible, and also historically no connection between these names can be imagined.

Armaz, after the idol" (ibid. p. 21). It is not the legends of K'art'los and P'arnavaz that are important here, but the names of the mountain and fortress, the castle near Mtskhet'a, which were called after the god *Armaz*—whether after the time of P'arnavaz or before him, is of no consequence here—and which names have been retained for centuries until the present time. *Armaz(is)-tsikhe* ("Armaz-castle") and *Armazis-mt'a* (Armaz mountain). *Armaz-tsikhe* is also to be found in the works of ancient writers, as Ἀρμοζική,¹ Ἀρμάστικα, erroneously Ἀρμάκτικα,² Harmastis.³

The Georgian ethnologist S. Makalat'ia in his work on the Mithra religion in Georgia, inclines to think that Armaz is rather to be considered as identical with Mithra. According to him the cult of Mithra, which was spread throughout Asia Minor and Armenia was probably also practised in Georgia, although neither the old Georgian literature nor the archæological monuments provide any direct testimony of it. But Moses of Khorene says that in Mtskhet'a "the people were wont at early morn to worship from their housetops that image (of Armaz) aloft their eyes",⁵ which might point to sun-worship. According to Marr,⁶ Zaden may be identified with Yazata of Avesta, even with Mithra. O. G. von Wesendonk also accepts this identification, for Iberians worshipped the sun deity which we probably have to recognize in *Zaden*, the equivalent of the Iranian Mithra.⁷ In different provinces, Georgians even to-day worship a deity, called by Megrians *Mirsa*, by Svans *Meysari*, by Gurians *Moysari*, which may easily be considered the equivalent of Mithra. Megrians celebrate the *Mirsa*-feast before Lent. On the feast-day, which is always on a Thursday, a pig is killed, rolls are baked, and eggs are cooked. The members of the family take these rolls and eggs, touch their eyes with them and beg *Mirsa* to protect them from eye-disease and to grant them good eyesight, etc. The Svans and Gurians celebrate this feast in similar fashion and pray to the deity for the same favours. Here we have to do with Mithra, for he was esteemed as the eye of *Ahura-Mazda*. His emblem was the eye. The egg, as the symbol of life, was considered by Mithra worshippers to be the symbol of the god; and the wild boar, as is well known, was Mithra's animal. On the silver handle of a cult vessel found in Mtskhet'a near the wall of the old cathedral (since 1879 the object was in the Caucasian Museum, but is now in the Georgian Museum in Tiflis), Mithra is portrayed with his

¹ Strabo, xi, C. 501.

² Ptol., v, 11, 3; viii, 19, 4.

³ Plin., vi, 29.

⁴ *Bulletin du Musée de Géorgie*, iii, Tiflis, 1927, pp. 180–192.

⁵ *History*, ii, 86; see Conybeare, op. cit., p. 66.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 7.

⁷ *Über Georgisches Heidentum*, p. 84.

attributes: solar disc, tiara, shoulder cover, staff, boar's head, raven-head and stove.¹ The bronze statue found in Megrelia in 1925 (now in the Museum of Zougdid) with the Phrygian cap and the remains of a shoulder-cover, is also undoubtedly a statue of Mithra. Old Georgian kings bore such names as *Mirian* < *Mihran*, *Mirdat* < *Mihrdat*, which contain the name of the god *Mihr*, that is *Mithra*. Perhaps the name *Amiran* (Arm. *Mher*) of the hero of the famous Georgian Amiran-Saga, may also be traced back to *A-mihran* < *A-mithran*. Javakhishvili also considers this possible²; and in general there is much in the Georgian version of the Shah-Nameh and in the Avesta texts that points to the resemblance between the Amiran tales and the Mithra legends. Again, in the Georgian *T'et'ri Giorgi* (St. George, the "White George" who sits on a white horse), Mithra is probably hidden. All these prove indeed that the Mithra religion truly existed in Georgia and justifies us in concluding that the *Armaz* described in *The Life of St. Nino*, with his helmet, shoulder-cover (?), polished-sword, etc., is one and the same god as *Mithra* of whom we have similar representations,³ and who is further described in *Khorda-Avesta*⁴ thus: "Mithra is a warrior with the silver helmet; he is clothed in the golden coat of mail; he carries a piercing dagger; he holds in his hand a long sword, and sits on the white horse," etc.

Now we should like to make the following observation concerning Makalat'ia's arguments: It is just from these arguments that we can suppose that the Mithra cult in Georgia, although in existence, was not widespread. Up to now, no Mithræum has been discovered in Georgia, and if one were found, it would have to be proved whether it was a Georgian sanctuary of Mithra. The information given by Moses of Khorene, that in Mtskhet'a *Armaz* was venerated at dawn, does not prove that *Armaz* was *Mithra*, the sun-god. *Armaz* was worshipped as the chief deity who was also god of heaven, spreader of the sun, etc. (See below, Section 5). The vessel-handle found in Mtskhet'a and the statue found in Megrelia are evidently of foreign, not Georgian workmanship, and they in no way point to the diffusion of Mithra cult in Georgia. There is also nothing to indicate that they belonged to a Georgian Mithra sanctuary. The worship of *Mirsa* (resp. *Meysari*, resp. *Moysari*) in Georgia may well go back to the old Mithra cult in this country, but does not show that *Mithra* was ever the chief god of the Georgian Pantheon, as *Armaz* was, but shows that he was worshipped as a foreign god of light, and it is only as the protector of eyesight that he is still invoked in some provinces of Georgia.

¹ *Bulletin du Musée de Géorgie*, iii, table viii.

² *History*, i³, p. 148.

³ Fr. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, ii, Paris, 1896 f., Nos. 61, 215, 218, 283, etc.

⁴ J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii, Paris, 1892; *Mihir yasht*, pp. 441-480.

Amiran (Arm. *Mher*) has hardly anything to do with *Mithra* (*Mihr*, Arm. *Mehr*): there is nothing to justify us in analysing *Amiran* as *A-mihran* (*-A-mithran*), the Abkhasian prefix *a-* + *Mihra*—(*Mithra*-). But if its analysis as *A-mihran* were correct, and if we could find some common features in the Georgian *Amiran* Saga, *Shah Nameh*'s legends and the *Avesta* *Mithra*-myths, there can also be found still more of other elements in the *Amiran* Saga, which are not to be traced back to Persian influence. Besides, the Persian religion after the founding of the Achæmenian empire was strongly influenced by Babylonian and Asia Minor religions. Even the gods supplanted each other. *Ahura-Mazda* has been identified with the Babylonian *Bēl*, *Mithra* with *Šamaš*, the Babylonian sun-god, resp. with the Asia Minor *Mēn*, the moon-god (*Mithra* with the horse), with *Attis*, *Anāhita* with the Asia Minor goddess *Kybele*, resp. the Babylonian *Ishtar*, etc.; in Greece, *Ahura-Mazda* with *Zeus*; *Mithra* with *Helios*, etc.¹ Astrology was appropriated by the Persian magi from the Babylonians,² and it still remains to be examined exactly, how much Babylonian resp. Asia Minor elements are contained in the Persian *Mithra* myths. In any case, the Georgian *Amiran* Sagas contain nothing Persian. And what might be considered as Grecian or Persian in these sagas, belongs much more to very old sources, from whence the influence on the Grecian *Prometheus* saga resp. the Persian *Mithra* legends might have originated. Some details in the cult of the Georgian *T'et'ri Giorgi* which remind us of *Mithra*, may also be traced back to the times when *Mithra*, himself, in the Pontus, was identical with *Mēn*, the moon-god, and the Georgian *St. George* is but the moon-god, as *Javakhishvili* has incontestably proved.³ *Wesendonk*'s identification of the *Zaden* of the Georgian sources with *Yazata*, *Mithra*, the sun-god who was also worshipped in Iberia, is unacceptable, as we shall see below. Besides, the Georgians worshipped the sun as a deity, not of the male, but of the female sex.⁴ The spreading of Persian personal names containing god-names in old Georgia (as *Mirian*, *Mihran*, etc.)⁵ still does not prove that the respective deities had their cult in the country.

Finally a few words about the representations and descriptions of *Mithra*. *Mithra* was, again under the influence of foreign religions, not only represented as god of light—neither of the sun, nor the moon, nor the stars, but observing the world with his thousand ears and ten

¹ Fr. Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra*, Paris 1902, pp. 9 ff., 73, 93, 102 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 100 f.

³ *History*, i³, pp. 43–56.

⁴ *Javakhishvili*, *History*, i³, pp. 53 f.

⁵ It is remarkable that *Ormizd* (*Öhrmazd*) as a Georgian personal name is not to be found in Georgia of that period. Since the 16th century in Georgia, under the influence of the *Shah-Nameh*, the Persian personal names are very popular, although the people have remained Christian.

thousand eyes—and not only as god of fertility, giver of abundance, of posterity and multiplicator of cattle, god of vegetation, giver of water, etc., but also as the fighter against evil spirits, the fighter for the Good, the helper in a fight for the Good, and finally the war-god.¹ It is therefore comprehensible that some features in his representations and descriptions remind us of other war-gods, among them *Teshub*.² But these representations of *Mithra* diverge greatly from the description of *Armaz* in *The Life of St. Nino*. The *Armaz* described there bears little resemblance to the *Mithra* who holds holy twigs in his left hand and stretches out his right hand to King Antiochus I of Kommagene³; still less to the *Mithra* who kills the bull,⁴ and none at all to the *Mithra* portrayed on the handle of the Mtskhet'a vessel.⁵ Also the Georgian *samkhreni* or *samkharni* in our sources certainly signifies "shoulder-plates" (pl.) and not "shoulder-cover" (of the bull-killing *Mithra*) as Makalat'ia seems to think.⁶ The *Mithra* described in Khorda-Avesta is the only one which resembles the *Armaz* of our sources, but in spite of this we cannot consider *Armaz* to be the same god as *Mithra*, because it is absolutely impossible that the Persian *Mithra* religion, if it had become the official religion of Georgia, would have been in such a strong opposition to, and publicly manifested hostility against, the likewise Persian religion of the Magi (fire-worship)—as our sources record. We should have had to do here with quite a curious phenomenon, for it was the Magi themselves who, from the time of Achæmenides, after the contact of the Iranians with other peoples of the East, and under the influence of their religions, had contributed in greatest measure to the development of post-Zarathustrian Mazdaism.

Thus, *Armaz* remains for us a totally different deity also from the god *Mithra*.

V

It is further related in *The Conversion of Georgia* that P'arnajom, the successor of King Mirvan (successor of Saurmag, who succeeded P'arnavaz), erected an idol to the god *Zaden* and built a castle on this spot.⁷ Which god, and whose god, was this *Zaden*? Marr thought that *Zaden* was none other than *yazata* of Avesta, pl. *yaztân* in

¹ Fr. Cumont, op. cit., pp. 3 f.

² Cf. the above quoted descriptions in *Khorda-Avesta*, and H. Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter*, Leipzig, 1930; p. 143, fig. 53, p. 149, fig. 56, etc.

³ H. Gressmann, op. cit., p. 143.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁵ *Bulletin du Musée de Géorgie*, iii, table viii.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 190.

⁷ Marr et Brière, op. cit., p. 570.

Pahlavi, in Persian *yazdān*, which means "the good deity", that is *Mithra*, *Mihra*, and then "god" in general. As we have already seen, Marr's opinion is shared by von Wesendonk¹ and Makalat'ia,² yet without either of them being able to give convincing proofs. Marr made the assertion that the Georgian (properly Persian) king's name *P'arnajom* was originally the epithet of *Zaden-Mithra* $\chi^{\nu}arənanuħaštəma$ "the highest brilliance of Mithra" (properly "the most sublime", "the most magnificent"³) and *P'arnajom*, the Georgian phonetic equivalent of this epithet.⁴ He maintained, also, that the Georgian king's name *P'arnavaz* (<*P'arnavazd*) was the Georgian form of the same epithet for *Ahura-Mazda* (without the final syllable *-ma*⁵). Now it is certainly true that the first component part of the name *P'arnavaz* and *P'arnajom*, *P'arna-* goes back to old Persian $\chi^{\nu}arəna-$ ("glory", "brilliancy", "sublimity", "majesty"), Persian *farnah-* (and it is also true that *hvar* "sun" is mentioned just in *The Life of St. Nino*: "This says the king of Persia, *Huara*, and the king of kings *Huaran-Huaray*," etc.⁶). But all this has nothing to do with the god *Zaden*.

Zaden, in our opinion, cannot be identified with *Mithra*, or have any connection with *yazdān*—at any rate we have no actual proof of it, but *Zaden* can be identified with the Asia Minor god *Sandon*, *Santas* (^dSa-an-ta-aš, *ZDMG*, N.F., Bd. 1, Heft 2, pp. 216f.). *Sandon-Santas* (cf. Pauly-Wissowa: *Realencyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*: Σάνδης, Σάνδας, Σάνδων) was, as is known, the god of vegetation, who was worshipped from Cilicia to Cappadocia and also in the west and south-west Asia Minor (by Lydians and others).⁷ That he was worshipped in Georgia as *Zaden*, we presume from the Georgian name *Zaden* (Luvian *Santas* of the Boghaz-köi texts = *Sandon* of Greek sources) and the characteristics of the deity given in *The Life of St. Nino* and by Leontius Mroveli. Marr denied the existence of *Zaden*-worship and of any *Zaden* idol in Mtskhet'a and considered the information concerning this god in the Georgian sources to be a fable arising from the Christian author's tendency to represent Georgian paganism as "horrible idolatry". But we can see in *The Life of St. Nino*, even admitting this tendency of the authors, quite clearly, what kind of deities *Armaz* and *Zaden* were. The existence of the idols of these gods and their cult in Mtskhet'a is no tale of the author's imagination; on the contrary, the "horrible idolatry" is described in our sources in such a way, that, apparently it actually existed in Georgia.

King Mirian says to St. Nino: "These are the gods who give

¹ Op. cit., p. 84.

³ Cf. Chr. Bartholomæ, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 7.

⁶ p. 46.

² Op. cit., pp. 184 ff.

⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

⁷ Götze, *Kleinasien*, p. 127.

luxuriant fruits and rule the world, who spread out the sun and give rain, who make the fruits of the Georgian soil to thrive—*Armaz* and *Zaden*, who explore everything that is hidden.”¹ Evidently they are : (1) the Subaraean god of Heaven, of light, of rain, of the air (*Armaz* =) *Teshub* ; and (2) the Asia Minor (Luvian) god of fertility, of vegetation, (*Zaden* =) *Sandon-Santas*, which in the Hittite version of the text *KUB*, ix, 31 is rendered through the ideogram of *Marduk*.² To this Javakhishvili remarks that in the Georgian text the attributes mentioned are ascribed to both gods and that it is hardly possible to infer therefrom the respective character of each.³ Yet for us this information from our text is all the more interesting as both gods were represented by different peoples with many attributes common to them. For instance, by Babylonians and Assyrians *Adad* (= Hurritic *Teshub*) was esteemed not only as a weather-god and war-god, but also as (1) god of abundance,⁴ (2) *Marduk* of rain,⁵ (3) god of oracle,⁶ (4) ruler of the world,⁷ (5) judge of destinies,⁸ (6) god of harvest,⁹ etc. *Marduk* was also esteemed as (1) god of abundance,¹⁰ (2) lord of exorcism,¹¹ (3) lord of the springs,¹² (4) lord of the world,¹³ (5) creator of mankind¹⁴—epithets of which there is no end in Babylonian-Assyrian literature. *Marduk* (worshipped by the Babylonians as the great god, creator of the world, sun-god, etc.),¹⁵ was also esteemed as the god of vegetation (the Babylonians had a special god of vegetation—*Tamūz*), hence the epithets which he has in common with *Adad* (= Hurritic *Teshub*) and *Tamūz* (= Asia Minor *Attis*), and his ideogram for the rendering of the name of *Santas* in the above-mentioned Boghaz-köi text. The case is just the same in our Georgian text, where the attributes common to both gods, *Armaz* and *Zaden* are enumerated, though the special character of each of them could not

¹ *The Life of St. Nino*, p. 37 ; L. Mroveli, op. cit., p. 87.

² E. Forrer, *ZDMG*, N.F., i, Heft. 2, p. 216 ; *Boghaz-köi Studien*, v, p. 37.

³ *History*, i³, p. 102.

⁴ *Hegallu* “abundance” : *CT*, xxv, 17, 31 ; *bēl hegalli* “lord of abundance” : *Codex Hammurabi*, xxvii, 64 ff.

⁵ *Marduk ša zu-un-nu* : *CT*, xxiv, 50, No. 47406, obv. 10.

⁶ *bēl-bēri*, “lord of the vision” : Zimern, *Beiträge zur babylon. Religion* : *Šurpu*, iv, 73 ; *bēl iḫzi* “lord of wisdom” : Virolleaud, *Astr. Chald.*, *Samaš*. xiv, 13.

⁷ *gugal šamē iršitim*, “ruler of the heaven (and) earth”, *KB*, iii, 1, p. 170 ; perhaps originally, “god of heaven” ; cf. Ungnad., *ZDMG*, N.F. 10, p. 379.

⁸ *paṣis purussē ša kiššat nišē*, “who decides the destinies of entire mankind” : Ebeling, *KARI*, No. 70, rev. 30-31.

⁹ *ša ušabši ašnan*, “who lets the crops thrive” : King, *BBS*, ix, col. ii, 10.

¹⁰ *naḍin hegalli*, “the giver of abundance” : King, *LIH*, 94, 2-13.

¹¹ *bēl šipūi*, “lord of exorcism” : Craig, *ABRT*, i, 59.

¹² *bēl naqbē šadi u tāmāti*, “lord of the springs of the mountain and sea” : King, *Magic*, No. 12, 28.

¹³ *bēl elāti u šaplāti*, “lord of all that is above and of all that is below,” *KB*, iii, 1, p. 184 ; *abkal kiššat šamē u iršitim*, “autocrate of the whole heaven and earth” : Craig, *ABRT*, 1, 59, K. 8961, 11.

¹⁴ *banū tenišet gimri*, “creator of all mankind” : King, *Magic*, No. 12, 33.

¹⁵ King, *The Seven Tablets of the Creation*.

fail to be recognized. But in another text the god of vegetation, namely the god of wine, is actually mentioned.

The Georgian translation of the Canons of the Sixth Ecumenical Council¹ contain the following remark by St. Euthymius Mt'adsmindeli: "The names of the destroyed heathen idols, which they (the Georgians) recognized as gods, of the male as well as of the female sex, are exterminated: *Dios* [*sic!*] and *Apolos* [*sic!*] and *Artemis* and *Bochi*² and *Gatsi* and *Badagon* and *Armaz* and the name of the horrible *Dionysos* which is invoked at the pressing of the grapes. . . . All that is devilish and was exterminated by the Christians." It is striking here that the name *Zaden* is not mentioned by Euthymius. But this name could not have been unknown to the great writer, who knew Georgian literature too well, and it is to be admitted that he used the Greek name *Dionysos* for *Zaden*, as he did in the case of other gods—*Dios*, *Apolos*, *Artemis*, for only *Zaden* can be identified here with *Dionysos*, according to his attributes as god of vegetation. Also *Sandon* is portrayed in "Hittite" dress, with a bunch of grapes in his right and a sheaf of corn in his left hand, on the rock near Ibriz.³

Armaz and *Zaden*, as our sources show, were worshipped not only as the weather-god resp. god of vegetation, but both were esteemed as gods of wisdom, the oracle-gods in Georgia, as *Adad* and *Marduk* were in Babylonia.⁴ Here we may point to one more attribute of *Armaz*: "the Chaldean goddess *It'rujan* and this our god *Armaz* are complete enemies to each other, for once *Armaz* raised up the sea against her and now she has taken her revenge and inflicted this (that is, the destruction of his idol) on him," said King Mirian to St. Nino,⁵ through whose prayer at the time of the *Armaz*-feast in Mtskhet'a, the idols were destroyed. This reminds us of *Adad*, the ruler of the elements, also of the sea, as he is characterized in Sumerian and Babylonian-Assyrian texts: *ša abūbi* " (the god) of the flood " ⁶; *esag-gal abzu* " the great prince of the water depths " ⁷; *bēl abūbi*, " the lord of the flood " ⁸; ⁴*Adad ša māti : ša tāmti namrīri ša birqi*, " Adad of the country: of the sea, of (the flood of) light, of the lightning " ⁹; *mu-ut-tab-bil šamē šadē ta-ma-a-ti*, " the destroyer of heavens, mountains and seas " ¹⁰; ⁴*Adad tāmta irahhis*, " Adad will

¹ Ed. Khakhanashvili, p. 113; Javakhishvili, *History*, i³, p. 80.

² Nothing exact is known of this god.

³ H. Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 103, fig. 43 and p. 104.

⁴ Concerning *Sandon* (identified with *Marduk* in the Hittite text mentioned)—the War-god, cf. Höfer in Roscher's *Mytholog. Lexikon*, iv, 330, 28; and concerning *Sandon*, the sun, cf. A. Jeremias, *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*, 1918, p. 114.

⁵ *The Life of St. Nino*, p. 24.

⁶ *CT.*, xxiv, 40, 48.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 16, 38; 29, 85.

⁸ King, *Magic*, 21, rev. 80.

⁹ Virolleaud, *Astr. Chald.*, *Adad*, xvii, 34.

¹⁰ King, *Magic*, 21, rev. 80.

overflow the sea, etc.”¹ It is to this attribute of the weather-god, presumably, to which Mirian refers, when he relates that *Armaz* had once raised the sea against the goddess It’rujan, his foë, for in Babylonia the same attributes were assigned to this god as in other countries, although we learn much less about the matter in the literature of other peoples than in that of the Babylonian.²

That the idols of *Armaz* and *Zaden* were erected near the city of Mtskhet’a, and that their cult was actually practised, is shown by the following passage from *The Life of St. Nino*: “Now there were in this land of K’art’li two mountains, and on these mountains two idols, *Armaz* and *Zaden*, from which arose the evil smell of thousands of first-born children, whom their parents brought as sacrifices—(these) *Armaz* and *Zaden*.”³ The custom, spread throughout Syria and Palestine, of sacrificing to the gods the first fruits of the harvest, and also the first-born of man and beast—a custom which might have come from Asia Minor to Georgia—is actually stated in our source, and we have no ground for doubting the truth of this information from the Georgian source. Also Strabo described the bringing of human offerings to the moon-god in Caucasian Albania, which embraced one part of Eastern Georgia.⁴ This custom, probably Semitic in origin, of sacrificing to the deity an adolescent son, especially a first-born, was native with the Canaan tribes (with Carthaginians still at the end of the fourth century),⁵ and apparently its influence spread to Iran, as we learn from Herodotus’⁶ account of the Magi in Thrace, who buried alive nine native boys and nine girls.⁷ It seems to have been native also in Georgia, as Strabo and the national sources show. At any rate it is in no way a phantasy of a Georgian writer, as Marr would have it.

In *The Life of John Zedazneli*, it is related that “formerly a tower was erected by the heathen on this mountain (of Zedazeni). An altar stood there which was used for the dreadful sacrifices to horrible devils offered by awful men, wickedly misguided by them” (= the

¹ Viroilleaud, *Astr. Chald., Sin.*, xxv, 48.

² In the Armenian version of *The Life of St. Nino*, an abbreviated translation from Georgian, the attributes of *Armaz* and *Zaden* are assigned to other gods (*Gayim* and *Gatsim*), while the translator leaves out *Armaz* and *Zaden* (Cf. Conybeare, op. cit., pp. 80 f.).

³ p. 30.

⁴ XI, iv, 7.

⁵ Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte*, i⁵, § 349.

⁶ Herodotus, vii, 114.

⁷ Fr. Spiegel remarks concerning this, and with reason, that there is either a misunderstanding here, or we have to do with the influence on Iran of a strange cult, because human sacrifice is incompatible with the character of Persian religion and it also contradicts all that Herodotus states elsewhere about this religion (*Erämische Altertumskunde*, iii, p. 593). Perhaps the offering of sacrifice on the heights may also be traced back to strange, probably Asia Minor influence (Herod., i, 131; Strabo, xv, C. 732).

devils).¹ Here we have the same true tradition as in *The Life of St. Nino* where the author makes St. Nino say to the women who have awakened from their dream of the fall of the mountains near Mtskhet'a and the flooding of the rivers Mtkwari and Aragvi: "... the mountains of unbelief in Georgia are now destroyed and the water (of the rivers) which is still, is the blood of the children sacrificed to the devils, which has ceased to flow."²

The converted King Mirian says: "I am the thirty-sixth king in Georgia from the (first) appearance of our fathers to my own day. And for the horrible idols they (our fathers) killed [word for word—devoured] their children and the innocent people of the country, and some of our fathers mowed down their children like hay, as to please the idols." "And especially on these two mountains of *Armaz* and *Zaden*, whose stones even are impregnated with the blood of little ones! And these mountains truly deserve to be destroyed by the fire of the wrath of God!"³

Leontius Mroveli also tells that King Rev (A.D. 186–213) "during his reign no longer allowed anyone in Georgia to offer up children, for children were sacrificed formerly. Instead, he ordered them to sacrifice sheep and cows. And therefore he received the name of 'Rev the Just'."⁴

The memory of human sacrifice must have remained alive with the Georgians long after they had embraced Christianity, seeing that the later Christian authors were able to give such a description of this custom several centuries after its disappearance.

VI

Unfortunately the Georgian sources report very little about the deities *Gatsi* and *Ga* or *Gaim*, although even these gods are considered as national deities. According to *The Conversion of Georgia*, Alexander the Great brought to Georgia *Azo*, the son of the king of *Aran-K'art'li* (var. *Arian-K'art'li*), made him king, and gave him Mtskhet'a for his royal seat. *Azo* then went to his father in *Aran* or *Arian-K'art'li* and brought back with him eight families and ten families of his fellow-tribesmen, and took his seat in old Mtskhet'a. He had with him the idols *Gatsi* and *Gaim*, which he worshipped as gods.⁵—"And on the right of him (that is *Armaz*) stood a golden idol, and his name was *Gatsi*, and on the left a silver idol by the name of *Ga*, which your fathers had worshipped as gods in *Arian-K'art'li*,"

¹ *The Georgian Paradise* (in Georgian), ed. Sabinin, Tiflis, 1882, p. 199.

² pp. 45 f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁵ Marr and Brière, *op. cit.*, p. 570.

St. Nino tells her listeners.¹ King Mirian calls them "old gods of our fathers *Gatsi* and *Ga*."² Human sacrifice was also offered to these deities, for *The Life of St. Nino* relates: "There were also in Georgia other royal idols (θεοὶ βασιλικοὶ) *Gatsi* and *Ga*. And a prince's son was offered to them, who was burnt by fire and his ashes strewn on the head of the idol."³

Where lay this land of *Aran* or *Arian*-K'art'li? Is *Aran* to be identified with Ἀράνη of Ptolemy⁴—a district of old Armenia Minor⁵—and have we to do here, in our Georgian source, with amalgamation of the legends of Alexander-romance with the obscure remembrance of the immigration of the Georgians from Asia Minor to Caucasia? Without doubt the reference is to the old home of those gods, who were brought by their worshippers to the Caucasian K'art'li, that is, to Georgia, for these gods were "old gods of the fathers" who had them in "Ar(i)an-Georgia". The bringing of the eight families and the ten families of his fellow tribesmen by *Azo*, the "first king" of Georgia, points also to the immigration of the chief tribe of the Georgian nation, the K'art'ians to Caucasia. Or has *Ar(i)an*, perhaps, a connection with the name of the city of *Arinna* which lay to the north of the Hatti country,⁶ and whose gods were invoked *ha-at-ti-li*, that is in proto-Hattian?⁷ A satisfactory answer to these questions, either affirmative or negative, we can only expect from Hittitological researches, but meanwhile we may be permitted to make some remarks on the explanation of this "Ar(i)an-K'art'ian" god-name which the Georgian sources have preserved.

Marr was right in identifying the name *Gatsi* with the semitized god-name 'Ate.⁸ In the Greek Ἀτάργατις we have 'Ate as the second component of the word. Also in a variant of *The Life of St. Nino* (MSS. No. 39 in the "Asiatic Museum"), Marr found *Gati* instead of *Gatsi*,⁹ but it is very likely that this form of the god-name is simply a mistake in writing by the copyist. This name 'Ate, said Marr, is indeed the name of a mythical personality mentioned in Melitos' *Apology*,¹⁰ who was worshipped in Adiabene, Syria.¹¹ *Ga*, too, according to Marr, is a semitic god-name or an epithet which signifies "exalted".¹²

¹ *Life of St. Nino*, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴ V, 6, 18.

⁵ N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Time of Justinian* (in Russian), pp. 74, 82.

⁶ A. Götze, *Kleinasion*, p. 127.

⁷ E. Forrer, *ZDMG*, N.F., 1, 1922, pp. 192 ff.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 22; cf. Vogué, *Syrie Centrale, Inscript. sémit.*, Paris, 1868-1877, p. 10; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1870 (24), p. 92.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁰ Cf. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1855, p. 44.

¹¹ Marr, *op. cit.*, p. 22; see also Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte*, 1⁶, § 487.

¹² Cf. Levy, *ZDMG*, 1869 (23), p. 320; Vogué, *Inscript. sémit.*, tab. 14, No. 3; Halévy, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 1886 (12), p. 157, resp. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1870 (24), p. 97, note 1; also Gildemeister, *ZDMG*, 1868 (22), p. 152, etc.

But for him only the name is of importance which has been preserved in Syrian Christian literature, and which, together with the other god-name 'Ate under the form *Gatsi*, the Georgian author versed in Syrian, had taken and made of them two national Georgian pagan gods.¹ Marr explains the form *Gaim* as being the Hebrew plural of *Ga* with *-im*.² Since the translations (Grecian, Armenian, and Georgian) from Hebrew have often retained the Hebrew plural sign, the Georgian author, too, ignorant of Hebrew, might have affixed this plural sign *-im* to the name *Ga*,³ as for instance the Armenian translator of *The Life of St. Nino* did with both names *Gatsi* and *Ga* when he rendered them in Armenian as *Gats-im* and *Gay-im*.⁴

But the problem, is not so easy to solve as Marr thought. Why the Georgian author versed in Syrian, who found in a Syrian book a semitized god-name resp. an epithet of another Semitic god, should have made of them national Georgian deities is quite incomprehensible to us. The Aramaic god-name 'Ate was certainly not taken out of Melito's book by a Georgian author, and introduced into the Georgian heathen Pantheon as *Gats-i* or *Gat-i*. 'Ate was indeed a Syrian deity, but originally an Asia Minor god, who was worshipped in Cilicia, Phrygia, Lydia, etc., known to Greek and Roman writers as *Attis*—a deity of the same nature as *Adonis* of Biblos and *Tamūz* of Babylon—who was admitted in the West-Semitic Pantheon as 'Ate. The Greek 'Ατάργατος is composed, as is known, of 'Αταρ and γατος, Aramaic 'Atar-'Ate, which means "the goddess", "the Ishtar" (the beloved) of 'Ate, of *Gárus*.⁵ From Asia Minor the cult of 'Ate must have spread all over Syria, and it is also very probable that this god was worshipped by the Georgian tribe of K'art'ians in their Asia Minor home, and followed them to Caucasian Georgia, and to this the accounts in our source seem to point. Also the name *Ga* of the Georgian sources has no connection at all with the component *Ga* of the proper names found in the above-cited Semitic inscriptions. Such a deity is not known in the Semitic Pantheon with certainty. Some of the scholars, as, for instance, Gildemeister and Nöldeke (see the quotations above) denied the existence of such a deity and considered the name to be an epithet. It is also improbable that *-im* of the Georgian *Ga-im* is the Hebrew plural ending, as Marr thought. We have a variant for *Ga(im)*—*Gatsay*,⁶ and perhaps the name *Gaimaa* [*sic!*] in Leontius Mroveli's work⁷ is the complete, uncorrupted form of the abbreviated *Gaim*: *Gaimay*. In the Moscow edition of the Georgian Bible, 1 Kings

¹ Op. cit., pp. 19–23.

³ Marr, op. cit., pp. 21–22.

⁵ Also *Γατῆ*: cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1870 (24), pp. 92, 109.

⁶ The *Dchelishi*—variant of the *Life of St. Nino*; cf. Javakhishvili, *History*, i³, p. 92.

² Cf. 1 Sam. vii, 4.

⁴ Conybeare, op. cit., p. 81.

⁷ Op. cit., p. 71.

vii, 3, 4, *Ga* stands as the equivalent of Astarte (Ishtar), as Marr himself has stated.¹ Now if we may interpret *Gatsay* as the feminine form of *Gatsi*,² then *Gaim* resp. *Gaima(y)* seems to be a compound word: *Gay-ma*. In this *-ma* we might have the name of the goddess of the Cataonian resp. Pontic Comana *Mā*, which is an Asia Minor pet-name for "mother". Then *Gay-Ma* would mean "Gay, the mother" and *Gay-ma(y)* would correspond exactly with the Greek *Δημήτηρ* "earth mother", Georgian *deda-midsa*, which now simply means "earth", but which was formerly the name of the Earth-goddess (Georgian highlanders still call her *adgilis deda*—"mother of the place = of the soil"). This is all the more remarkable as the first part *Δη* of *Δημήτηρ* seems to be an Asianic word signifying "earth" and that the Greek *γαῖα*, *γῆ* which is hardly to be explained as an Indo-European word, seems to be connected with *δη*.³

So we might have in *Gats-i* resp. *Gat-i* and *Ga* resp. *Gaima(y)*⁴ and *Gatsay*,⁵ the Asia Minor *Attis* and *Mā*, "father" and "mother",⁶ which under different names were worshipped in many countries of Western Asia: *Adonis* and *Aphrodite* or *Persephone* in Greek mythology; *Attis* and *Kybele*, the parallel figure of which is *Mā*, in Asia Minor; *Attis* ('*Ate*) and *Atargatis* ('*Atar-'Ate* = Ishtar of Attis), abbreviated *Derceto*, called *Dea Syria* in Latin, in Syria; *Tamūz* and *Ishtar* in Babylonia, which also greatly resemble the Egyptian *Osiris* and *Isis*—and the legends, cults and mysteries, and representations of which are known to us through the oldest inscriptions, through Greek and Latin literature, pagan and Christian, and through archaeological discoveries.⁷

As goddesses of love and fertility, of sexual life—in Asia Minor also of perverse love—*Ishtar*, *Kybele*, *Mā*, etc., were looked upon as the chosen brides of the Nature gods *Tamūz*, *Attis*, etc. Hence the complaint of the goddesses over the death of their beloved ones, their death symbolizing the periodic dying away of Nature in winter, and hence their joy over the resurrection of the dead gods, which also happens periodically in spring, with feasts which followed this joy.

As gods of Nature *Tamūz*, *Attis*, etc., were gods of vegetation

¹ Op. cit., p. 21.

² *Gatsi* has no connection whatever with the Georgian word *katsi*—man, person. Many have suggested this connection because they could find no other.

³ Cf. Javakhishvili, *History*, i³, pp. 85 f.; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, pp. 1164 f.

⁴ *Gatsim* in the Armenian version of *The Life of St. Nino* is clearly an analogous form of *Gayim*.

⁵ *Gatsay* is a quite un-Georgian formation of the feminine gender, and may be due to Greek influence.

⁶ See J. Friedrich, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1923, col. 217.

⁷ Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte*, i⁵, 470, 480, 485, 487; H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*, 1903; H. Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter*, 1930, §§ 2, 3, 5, 6, 7; H. Zimmern, *KAT, Tamūz*, etc.

and also parallel figures to the sun deities ; hence *Sandon* = *Marduk*, *Attis* = *Sandon*, in Asia Minor, etc. But, unfortunately, our old Georgian sources contain no more information about these gods and their chosen brides than that their names were *Gats-i* and *Ga* and that they were the " old gods " of *Ar(i)an K'art'li*, that is, of the original home of the K'art'ian tribe of the Georgian nation.¹

VII

We have another deity still to consider here, which, indeed, is not mentioned in our texts, but is worshipped, even to-day, by the Abkhasians, and seems to be of Asia Minor origin—the goddess *Ašahara* or *Ažahara*, who in our estimation is to be looked upon as the well-known Asia Minor goddess *Išhara*. This goddess is often mentioned in the Boghaz-köi texts² and was invoked in the Hurritic tongue. From earliest times she was also worshipped in Babylonia and Assyria, and an Elamite Naram-Sin inscription mentions her under the name of *Ašhara*.³

The similarity of the names *Išhara* resp. *Ašhara* with *Ašahara* resp. *Ažahara*, is not the only striking thing here, but also the similarity in the nature of the Asia Minor goddess with the Abkhasian goddess. Abkhasians esteemed *Aš/žahara* as the protecting goddess of the homestead, of the family. In Abkhasia, the father of a family prays *Aš/žahara* to protect his son's bride and the newly founded family. Georgian mountain-tribes still honour " the angel of the house ", " the mother of the place, " and the cult of these goddesses goes back to the earliest times, as we learn from the note in the Georgian translation of the Decisions of the Antioch Ecumenical Council : " We have also heard, that in Armenian and Georgian countries . . . they call the tempters (devils) ' angels of the house ' and serve them . . . and that they serve the *invisibles* (spirits) in the house or outside in the fields. " ⁴ Her epithets point to exactly the same character of the goddess *Išhara*, which we learn from Babylonian-Assyrian literature : ⁵ *dIš-ha-ra ummu rim-ni-tum ša nišē*, " *Išhara*, the merciful mother of mankind, " ⁶ *gaišat napišti*, " the giver of Life, " ⁷ *bēlit taṭmē*, " the mistress of the dwelling-place, " etc.⁷

¹ The name *Kybele* is perhaps to be identified with the Georgian *Kopala*, *Kopale*. *Kopala/e* is worshipped by the Georgian mountain-tribes (in Eastern and Western Georgia) as a male deity and indeed he is identified sometimes with St. George (the moon-god), and sometimes with *Kviria* (" manager of the earth "). Sometimes also he is called the god of hunting. But it is to be remarked that he is considered to be a great hater of women (cf. Javakhishvili, *History*, i³, pp. 90 f.) which surely points to some kind of sexual perversity connected with the cults of Asia Minor.

² *dIš-ha-ra-aš*, cf. Forrer, *ZDMG*, 1922, p. 192.

³ Scheil, *Délégation Sc. en Perse*, xi (textes élamites-anzanites), pp. 1 ff. ; cf. also Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte* 1³, §§ 402a, 433 ; p. 607.

⁴ Javakhishvili, *History* 1³, p. 82.

⁵ King, *Magic*, 57, 2.

⁶ King, *Magic*, 7, rev. 37.

⁷ IV R 59, col. iv, 1.

Experts of the Abkhasian language derive the word *Ašahara* from *aša*, "blood," "seed," "family," and *hara*, "protection," "rule."¹ If this etymology were correct,² we should be justified in believing that the original home of the Abkhasians, like that of the Georgians, was in Asia Minor, and that the cult of the goddess *Išhara*, even from earliest times, was spread as far south as Babylonia and Elam, and that later, with the immigration of the Abkhasians to Caucasia, it spread in the north.

VIII

A few words still about the goddesses who are mentioned in the old Georgian sources, but whose names do not appear to be of Asia Minor origin—*Ainina* and *Danina*. Unfortunately the texts report very little about these deities. *The Conversion of Georgia* only mentions that the idol of *Ainina* was erected by King Saurmag "on the road", and the idol of *Danina* by King Mirvan "on the road, opposite to it", near Mtskhet'a.³ Leontius Mroveli⁴ says that King Saurmag erected the idols of both goddesses *Ainina* and *Danina*⁵ on the Mtskhet'a road. Can this be a reference to the introduction of the cult of the Iranian *Anāhita* by the successors resp. the successor of the King P'arnavaz in Georgia? Certainly not, in so far as the *introduction* is concerned, for the cult of the goddesses probably existed before the erection of their idols by the Kings. But it is very probable that we have here to do not with *Anāhita*, but with two names of the Sumerian *Ishtar*: *Innina* and *Ni/ana* whose cult had also invaded other lands and who had been merged with local figures of *Ishtar*.

In the original Georgian texts probably stood not *Ainina* and (Georg. copula *da*) *Danina* resp. *Danana*, but *Ainina* and *Nina* resp. *Nana* (that is, in Georgian *Ainina da Ni/ana*). A later copyist wrote *da* twice (copula "and"), and thus the mis-spelled name *Dani/ana*⁶ has been introduced in historical literature.

In Persia, *Nana* was merged with *Anāhita* (originally a Persian water-goddess). Armenia (particularly Akilisene) was the chief seat of the cult of *Anahid* and *Nana*, who, like *Ishtar* in Babylon, was

¹ Javakhishvili, *History*, 1³, p. 83.

² There is no connection, indeed, between *Išhara* and the Armenian *Ašharh* "soil", derived from the Persian *χšathra* = "rule" "realm" (cf. Javakhishvili, *History*, i³, p. 95).

³ Marr et Brière, op. cit. p. 570.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 23.

⁵ In the Armenian Chronicle *Dadana* instead of *Danana* (cf. Brosset, op. cit., p. 10).

⁶ Cf. also N. Marr, op. cit. p. 9.

worshipped as goddess of war and identified with the Venus star ; and this cult was originally not Iranian, but resembled that of Babylonian and Asia Minor. In Asia Minor, *Anāhita* and her cult merged with the various figures of mother-gods and their cults.¹ The Sumerian *Ištar* was called ^a*Ninni* (CT, xxiv, 33, K. 4349, obv. col. v, 4, etc.), ^a*Irmina* (CT, xxv, 17, K. 2100, obv. col. ii, 11), ^a*Nanā* (Dhorme, *Choix de Textes*, etc., xviii, rev. 16), ^a*Nina* (Thureau-Dangin, *SAK*, p. 11 and *Gudea Cyl. A.*, xx, 16, etc.), ^a*Innana* (CT., xxv, 30, K. 2109, etc., rev. col. 1, 14), ^a*Irmini* (King, *Seven Tablets of the Creation*, append. v, 51), ^a*Innana* (IVR², 4, col. iii, 27), etc., and in the Sumerian-Babylonian religious and other kinds of literature, she is honoured with countless epithets such as "mistress of battle" (war-goddess), "goddess of morning" and "goddess of evening", "(the star) *Dilbat* = *Ištar*, mistress of the lands," "the morning which opens the way" (Venus star), "mistress of love," "creatress of mankind," "she who lets grow the young green" (goddess of vegetation), "mistress of the mountains and of the seas," goddess of the water and the fish, etc.

As already conjectured, we probably have the Sumerian names of the goddess in the Georgian *Ainina* and *Ni/jana* (instead of *Dani/ana*) which are two forms of one and the same deity, whose idols were placed opposite each other on the road, and whose cult resembled probably the Sumerian-Babylonian resp. the Asia Minor-Armenian cult of *Ištar*. It is to be observed here that *nana*, *nanina* of the Georgian lullabies, and also *arnani*, *nani*, etc. were most probably once invocations of these goddesses. The feminine names *Nina/o* and *Nana* which were largely used in Georgia, and still are, have hardly any connection with the name of the goddess. These names of women are Asia Minor pet-names, whereas the names of the goddesses *Ainina* and *Nina* seem to be Sumerian names for *Ištar*, and point to the existence of the cult of *Ištar* in Georgia, which only could come to this country from Babylonia through Asia Minor.

IX

Finally, which deity was the Chaldean goddess *It'rujan* who, as we have seen above, is mentioned in our sources as being opposed to *Armaz*. Marr correctly recognized in *It'ru*—the first part of the word *It'rujan*, the Georgian pronunciation of the Syriac '*esthru-(tha)* (= *Ishtar*). But his explanation of the second part *-jan*, of *It'rujan*,

¹ Cf. Windischmann, *Die persische Anahita*, etc., *Abh. der phil.-philol. Cl. der Königl. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss.*, viii, 1858, pp. 87-128 ; O. G. von Wesendonk, *Das Weltbild der Iranier*, pp. 119, 123, 145 ff.

is certainly wrong. According to him, *-jan* is connected with the Syrian word of feminine gender *geniatha* "idol". It is true, of course, that in Georgian the foreign sound *g* becomes *j*, as in New Syriac (for instance, Geor. *P'rangi* > *P'ranji*, "Frank," "French," "European," etc.). This word *Geniatha* is also used several times in the Syriac version of the Scripture, not just in the sense of idol, in general, but in that of the idol of Astarte.¹ From these elements, Syr. *'esthru-(tha)* and *genia-(tha)* (without the ending), the Georgian author must have made the goddess *It'rujan*.² But the Georgian *It'rujan* can hardly be explained in this way. It cannot mean "Idol of Astarte", as Marr thought, for a construction like *'esthru-genia* is impossible in Syriac, and impossible also is *'esthrutha geniatha* "Astarte of the idol (of Astarte)," which has no sense. Besides, such a god-name is unknown in Syria, or in any other Semitic country, and the wonderful ability which Marr ascribed to our Georgian authors for making gods from pure words cannot possibly be recognized.

The name *It'rujan*, in our opinion, is to be explained thus: It is the Georgian pronunciation of the name of the Aramaic goddess *'Atar-šamain* [= Assy. *Ištar (ša)šamē*], "goddess of the Heaven," "heaven-goddess" (the deity of the heavens, male sex, was called *Ba'al-šamain* by the Canaanites),³ which in the Assyrian-Babylonian literature is also called "stirrer-up of the sea" and "overwhelmer of the mountains".⁴ This *'Atar-šamain* is rendered as *It'rushana* in a passage of *The Life of St. Nino*: "this *Armaz* and the Chaldean goddess (in the text 'God', for in Georgian *ghmert'i* means both 'god' and 'goddess') *It'rushana* are complete enemies to each other," King Mirian says to St. Nino.⁵ And *It'rushana* is certainly the form which, phonetically, is still nearer to *'Atar-šamain* than *It'rujan*. As it is to be seen from *The Life of St. Nino*, the might and greatness of the Aramaic goddess of heaven, *'Atar-šamain*, were well-known in Georgia, for the Georgian explanation of the destruction of the idol of *Armaz* was as follows: "Once our god *Armaz* raised the sea against her, and now she has taken her revenge and has let this (that is, the destruction of his idol) happen to him."⁶ Being a foreign Chaldean goddess, an enemy of the Georgian national god *Armaz*, the one who destroyed his idol, *It'rujan* probably had neither idol nor cult in Georgia and perhaps we have in this rivalry between *Armaz* and *It'rujan* an echo of the resistance which the native Georgian paganism,

¹ Cf. *ZDMG*, 29, p. 111.

² Marr, op. cit., pp. 25-28; p. 27, note 2.

³ Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte*, 1⁵, § 348.

⁴ Cf., for instance, King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, 1, pp. 206 ff., 3, 4.

⁵ p. 37.

⁶ p. 24.

or what was recognized as such, made against the gods who invaded Georgia from foreign countries.¹

X

In connection with the worship of gods of vegetation, we must direct our attention to tree-worship and pillar-worship, the existence of which in Georgia we see quite clearly in our sources. Indeed, the accounts of the wonderful and miraculous trees and pillars given in *The Life of St. Nino* are not stories purely imagined by the authors, but are based on a good tradition which makes it possible to connect the old Georgian cult of trees and pillars with similar cults practised in Asia Minor and other countries.

When King Mirian decided to build a church, he asked St. Nino: "Where shall I build the temple to God?" St. Nino answered: "In that place where the sovereigns think good." And the King said: "I will not spare the royal garden, nor the height of the pine-trees, nor the fruitfulness of the vines and the perfume of the flowers, but in it I will build for my prayers a temple which shall last for eternity. . . ." "And wood was brought and they began to build. And they felled a pine and made a pillar of it, and at its roots the foundation of the church was laid." Now the largest of the seven pillars made was so heavy that it could not be raised, even by a great number of men. Then, surely in answer to the prayer of St. Nino, it was raised up by a heavenly youth and carried heavenward. And they saw how the pillar descended in the form of a column of fire . . . and how, in coming down, it stood still twelve ells from the ground and (then) slowly rested on its own cut surface." On the following day the king saw a great light in his garden and everybody saw that "the marvellous, light-radiating pillar had descended as if it were standing in its place on its stump, and had firmly fixed itself in position without ever having been touched by human hand."²

Naturally, this pillar performed many miracles in the king's garden, where the church was to be built. Hence the name "the living pillar," which was later given to the Cathedral of Mtskhet'a.

Surely this is a valuable testimony of pillar-worship in old Georgia—a cult which has been investigated by A. Evans on the

¹ Our explanation of the name *It'rujan* refutes that given by Brosset (*Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, p. 102, n. 2) and, after him, by Conybeare and Wardrop (*The Life of St. Nino*, p. 74, n. 1), who identified it with *Xisuthros*. The latter is indeed *Zi-ù-sut-ra* (cf. Br. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, ii, p. 114), the Sumerian name of the Babylonian *Ut-napištim* ("Noah" of the Gilgamesh Epic), which has no connection at all with the Aramaic goddess of heaven *Atar-šamain*.

² Cf. *The Life of St. Nino*, pp. 44-49; Leontius Mroveli, op. cit. pp. 92-96; cf. also A. Evans, op. cit. p. 145; Z. Avalishvili, *From the time of the Crusaders* (in Georgian), Paris, 1927, p. 28, § 9, note to the § 9, p. 38.

Islands of the Ægean Sea, in Greece, etc., and which apparently found its way into these countries from Asia Minor.

Concerning the erection of the "venerable cross" in Mtskhet'a, our texts tell the following stories which clearly point to tree-worship in old Georgia: "When the tree was felled (for the making) of the reverend and victorious cross, ten times ten men carried it upright, with its twigs and its leaves on, and brought it into the town, the people wondered at it because it had green colour and the leaves in early spring-time, when every tree is still dry. This one had no dead leaves at all and was sweet-smelling and beautiful to look at. Then they placed it upright on its roots at the south door of the church. And a light wind blew from the side of the river and shook the leaves and moved the twigs of the tree. Beautiful it was to look at and sweet-smelling, as we know from report of the aloe tree. This tree we felled on 25th March, on Friday, and it remained thus for thirty-seven days. And its leaves did not change but remained like those of a tree which has its roots near the source of a spring, until all the trees of the wood were clothed with leaves and adorned with blossoms. Then on 1st May, these crosses were made, and on the 7th of the same month they were erected, receiving the laying-on of hands from the king, amidst the rejoicing and great zeal of the whole city."¹ And with the same jubilation crosses were erected in many other places in accordance with God's desire.²

Still more interesting, perhaps, is the following passage from *The Life of St. Nino*, where King Mirian relates: "When I was informed about the erection (of the cross) I sent the carpenters out to look for a tree. How they had found a tree standing alone, growing on a rock, untouched by human hand, and how they had heard from hunters of the miraculous power of this tree, that a stag, wounded by an arrow, had run to the hill where the tree was standing, and had rapidly eaten seeds fallen from the tree, and had saved himself from death—all that they reported to me, and I was astounded. Therefore I had the tree felled, and three crosses made out of it,"³ etc. Leontius Mroveli gives the following: "At the time when the king and queen, their children and all the people were baptized, there stood a tree on a place, on an inaccessible rock. And this tree was beautiful and very sweet-smelling. The marvellous thing about this tree was, that a wild animal, wounded by an arrow, came (to it) and ate its leaves or its fallen seeds, and thus saved its life, although it had been mortally wounded. The former pagans thought this miraculous, and they told Bishop John about this tree." The bishop saw in it a sign

¹ *The Life of St. Nino*, pp. 55 f.; L. Mroveli, op. cit. p. 101.

² L. Mroveli, op. cit. pp. 102 f., and *The Life of St. Nino*, *ibid.*

³ p. 69.

from God and decided to have "the venerable cross" made out of it. Then the king's son Rev, the bishop himself, and other people, went and felled the tree and brought it to Mtskhet'a."¹

If we now compare these details from the Georgian sources with what we learn of the Asia Minor tree- and pillar-worship in the accounts of Greek and Roman authors, we shall see that without doubt a connection exists between the customs of Asia Minor and those described by the Georgian authors. The tradition preserved in the Georgian stories appears to be an echo of the most ancient pagan cult of Asia Minor.

In Asia Minor and northern Syria, indeed, every large tree, especially a tree standing alone on a hill or a rock, was the seat of a deity and possessed miraculous power, particularly healing power. On its twigs people used to hang offerings, etc., and similar representations and customs are to be found in Georgia, which are to be traced back to the old tree-worship.²

Naturally, the deity with his seat in a tree, was, in Asia Minor, the god of vegetation—Sandon, resp. Attis. From the seventh century B.C. to the end of the Roman Empire this cult is to be found in different countries of Asia Minor, in Greece, Rome, etc. In Hierapolis the Attis feast took place in early spring. Large trees were felled and erected on the sacred places and sheep, goats, birds, drapery and ornaments were hung on their branches, and then burnt with great jubilation.³ According to another account, the pine-tree, which represented the corpse of the dead Attis, was burnt, together with a picture of the dead god, a year later.⁴ Similar feasts in spring-time were celebrated also in Phrygia,⁵ Greece (Attika),⁶ and Rome.⁷ Also the pyre feast to the Sicilian god of vegetation, *Sandon*, who, sitting in the tree, is engraved on Tarsus coins of the time of the Seleucids and the Roman Emperors, is well-known.⁸

Finally, the cult of the deities of vegetation in Asia Minor may be compared with that of the Egyptian god Osiris. In the city of Busiris they erected a large tree which was supposed to represent the spine of Osiris, etc.⁹ Remains of the pagan cults of the deities of

¹ Op. cit. pp. 100 f., after which follows the above-quoted account of the entrance into the town of the wonderful tree.

² Tree-worship was also practised by Egyptian and Semitic peoples (cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte*, I^o, §§ 180, 182 f., resp. §§ 343, 347 f.), but not originally by the Aryans (ibid., § 582).

³ Lucian, *Dea Syria*, 49.

⁴ Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore*, xxii, 2.

⁵ Diodor, iii, 59, 7; Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore*, iii.

⁶ Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*, pp. 147 ff.

⁷ Gressmann, op. cit., § 7.

⁸ Böhling, *Die Geisteskultur von Tarsos*, 1913, p. 32; Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiver*, 1914, pp. 117 ff.

⁹ Plutarch, de Is. et Osir., 69.

fertility exist, even to-day, in many countries, also in Europe, and Georgia. In Georgia, at the beginning of spring, a big fire is lighted in the vineyard and a pyre is burned "to drive away the evil spirits"—a custom which may surely be traced back to the same old cult of the god of wine (*Sandon* in Asia Minor).

These deities of vegetation are everywhere represented as having their seats in trees. Together with the plants, periodically they die, and, like them, periodically they awaken again. Therefore in spring-time they are hailed with great jubilation, and in autumn their death is mourned. Hence tree-worship is bound up with the cult of the gods of vegetation.¹

Of course, in the stories told in the Georgian texts, these representations are amalgamated with the Christian legends, and obscured by them. The intention of the Christian writers, too, was naturally to represent to the readers of their stories the victory of Christianity over paganism as vividly as possible. Their accounts contain, however, apart from all the miracle-tales, true traditions of the pagan past of Georgia, including tree-worship. Then in Georgia, too, trees which stood alone on hills or rocks, were considered as miracle-performing trees; from such trees came the wood for the making of the crosses²; in spring-time such trees were felled and carried by crowds of people with rejoicing. And the whole story of the "erection of the holy crosses" in our sources appears in general to be the echo of the old heathen cult, which Georgians in Mtskhet'a performed in honour of their national god *Zaden* resp. of some other god of vegetation. Also, there is no doubt that the legend of the "living pillar" did not, as Marr was inclined to believe,³ come to us under the influence of the Iranian legend of Goshtasp and the cypress of Kishmar. In the *Schah-Nameh* we read, indeed, that Goshtasp planted before the fire-temple a cypress which came from Paradise and it grew enormously; the king built a palace near this cypress and commanded all to go on foot to this cypress of Kishmar, to follow Zerdusht's ways and to renounce the idols of China, to think no more of their ancient customs, to repose under the shadow of the cypress and to direct themselves to the temple of fire, following the order of the true prophet, etc.⁴ And all this legend has not the slightest resemblance to the Georgian "living pillar", miraculous trees and crosses made from them and with their worship!⁵

In the above quoted Georgian version of the Protocol of the

¹ Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte I*⁵, §§ 178, 484 f., p. 725; Hugo Gressmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 ff., 102 ff.

² Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 15 f.—Cf. Spiegel, *Eyānische Altertumskunde*, iii, p. 703.

⁴ Firdousi, *Le Livre des Rois*, trad. par M. Jules Mohl, vol. iv, pp. 364 f.

⁵ Cf. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

Ecumenical Council of Antioch, it is mentioned that in Armenia and also in Georgia "the invisibles" "in the trees" were revered. That points, indeed, to the fact that at this time in Armenia and Georgia tree-worship, just as much as any other heathen cult, had to be opposed by Christianity. Procopius of Cæsarea testifies also that the Abkhasians "until our time worship the woods and trees, because they in their simplicity consider them as deities".¹ Even to-day the tree cult is to be observed everywhere. The mountain-tribes of Khevsuret'i and Pshavet'i revere the "angel of the oak"; in K'art'li, a lime-tree (in T'edzam Valley) is adorned with offerings and white threads; the Abkhasians worship the god of the forest *Mizitkhu* and at the beginning of spring celebrate the first appearance of the flowers, with which all houses are adorned. In Megrelia we observe worship of large lime-trees and oaks, and the same belief in a god whom they call "king of the forest"; the Svans revere the "forest angel", etc.² It is the same with other Caucasian peoples in regard to tree-worship, especially with the Circassians,³ and, when we consider the details of this Georgian or Caucasian tree-worship, which still exists, we can come to no other conclusion than that it is related to Asia Minor tree-worship and that the old Georgian sources have really preserved the echo of the old Asia Minor - Georgian tree-worship.

XI

Now we should like to emphasize that the information in our sources concerning the pagan deities *Armaz* and *Zaden* cannot be considered as an echo, even a faint one, of the domination of Mazdaism in Georgia, as Marr thought. It is true that Mazdaism was spread in Georgia long before Christianity. In Mtskhet'a the fire-worship cult was practised. The magi had their altars there in a special quarter of the city, called Mogwt'ay (the quarter of the Magi). Many Georgians (but not the whole nation!) adopted some Persian customs, for instance, the non-burial of the dead, etc. Mazdaism, as we have said above, conducted an energetic struggle in Georgia against the first Christian propaganda, and also against the Christianity when it became the national religion of Georgia.⁴ But the national paganism defended itself against Mazdaism, just as Christianity did later on.

¹ *De Bello Gothico*, iv, 3, 14.

² Cf. Javakhishvili, *History*, 1³, pp. 86-9.

³ Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 134. Concerning holy trees, woods, etc., revered by Georgians, Abkhasians, and Circassians, see Vera Lomia, *The Cult of Trees in Georgia*, *Bulletin du Musée de Géorgie*, iii, Tiflis, 1927, pp. 164-178 (in Georgian); cf. also Javakhishvili, *History*, 1³, pp. 86-9.

⁴ Cf. *The Life of Georgia*, pp. 117-125.

Quite unequivocal on this point is the information given in *The Life of Georgia* concerning an episode during the struggle between the Persian religion and the national Georgian paganism. Indeed, Leontius Mroveli relates of King P'arnajom as follows: "He built the castle *Zaden* and made an idol by the name *Zaden* and erected it on (the mountain) *Zaden*. After this event, he leaned to the Persian faith, to fire-worship, brought from Persia fire-servers and Magi, and settled them in Mtskhet'a, at the place now called (the quarter) of the Magi. And he began to offend the idols publicly.¹ Because of that, the inhabitants of Georgia hated him, for they had great faith in their idols. The majority of the Georgian *cris't'avis* (dukes) rose against the king. They sent a messenger to the Armenian King, saying: 'Our king has turned disloyal to the faith of our fathers, he no longer reveres the gods, the rulers of Georgia. He has introduced his *father's religion* (that is, Persian, for P'arnajom on his father's side was a descendant of *Nimrod*, a Persian) and forsaken his *mother's religion* (that is, Georgian, for the king on his mother's side was a descendant of P'arnavaz, a Georgian). He is no more worthy to be our king. Give us thy son Arshak, whose wife is a descendant of the P'arnavazides, our kings. Bring us as help thy forces and we will expel P'arnajom, the introducer of the new religion. Thy son Arshak shall be our king and his wife, a daughter of our kings, shall be our queen.'" ² The united Georgian-Armenian military forces, so *The Life of Georgia* further relates, really defeated and slew P'arnajom; and Arshak, the son of the Armenian king, ascended the Georgian throne (at the end of the second century B.C.).

Marr found this account from *The Life of Georgia* very strange: "thus the Persian magi offended *Armaz* and *Zaden*, that is *Ahura-Mazda* and *Mithra*, and the Georgians defended them as their national gods! At any rate, the historical perspective is very interesting," he said, and traced this monstrous absurdity to the unreliability of the information.³ But we consider this account as one of the most valuable pieces of information which *The Life of Georgia* has preserved with regard to old Georgian paganism. Certainly it was the fault of the scholar himself that this account appeared to him so absurd; he had started with the entirely wrong supposition that Mazdaism had completely exterminated Georgian paganism and had held, without any reason, the national Georgian pagan gods, *Armaz* and *Zaden* for *Ahura-Mazda* and *Mithra*! Naturally the Georgian nation resisted the heresy of their king who wanted to introduce a new religion as the national religion. It was a struggle of *Armaz* and of *Zaden* against

¹ That is, the native, national idols—*Armaz*, *Zaden*, etc.

² *The Life of Georgia*, ed. Brosset, pp. 34 f.; *QMV*, pp. 24 f.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 11 f.

Ahura-Mazda, for the Georgians carried on not only a political and national, but also a religious struggle against the Persians, before and after the introduction of Christianity into their country. And this story of P'arnajom, of his sad end, and of the introduction of the new dynasty of the Arshakides into Georgia at the end of the second century B.C. is, as already stated, but one incident in that long religious struggle of which our texts relate.¹

Again, it must be observed here that the "horrible sacrifices" which, according to our sources, were offered to the gods in Georgia, are incompatible with the Mazdaic religion—human sacrifice, in particular. For even in later times, when Mazdaism must have lost much of its original purity through its contact with the native cults in many countries, it knew no such "horrible sacrifices" as our texts mention. Especially *Zaden*, to whom these sacrifices were offered, can have no connection at all with the *yazātān*, who were "angels", personifications of the original Zoroastrian notions as *sraoša* "obedience towards God" (oppos. *aešma*, "devil")—who represented the Good, and equally impossible is it to identify *Armaz*, whom *The Life of St. Nino* and Leontius Mroveli described as an idol carrying helmet and sword, with *Ahura-Mazda*.

As to the figurative representations of *Zeus-Oramazdes*, of *Mithra-Helios-Appollo*, etc., which appear on the memorial to Antiochos I of Kommagene (69–34 B.C.) on the summit of Nimrod-Dagh,² they are to be traced back to the later identification of Persian deities with local gods, as, for instance, of *Ahura-Mazda* with the Asia Minor *Teshub*.³

XII

So we think that the information from the old Georgian sources threw quite a different light on Georgian paganism than had been hitherto conjectured by many scholars—above all, Marr. Marr's theory, which holds *Armaz* and *Zaden* for Iranian deities, and *Gatsi* and *Ga(im)* for Semitic names of gods, which entered the Georgian sources by way of Christian-Syriac literature, etc., is wrong. Only the Semitic origin of the goddess *It'rujan* has been correctly recognized

¹ The Georgians asked the Persian king, Khosrau Anushirvan, for his son Mirian, who was to be betrothed to the daughter of Asp'agur, king of Georgia, to be their king. But among their conditions they demanded that Mirian should embrace the old Georgian faith and that Persians should not intermingle with Georgians (4th cent. A.C.).

² Fr. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, ii, p. 188.

³ Cf. Fr. Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römischen Heidentum*, pp. 117; 135; 284⁴⁰; H. Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter*, p. 144; O. G. von Wesendonk, *Das Weltbild der Iranier*, pp. 247 f.

by Marr, but the name was wrongly analysed by him. Therefore, we consider Marr's judgment about the information from our texts also to be unjustified. "We see, really," he said, "that the authors try to attribute to them (that is, *Gatsi* and *Ga*) even a special national significance; but their tales (that is, those of the authors) can only serve to provide the strongest proof that these deities in Georgia were nothing but groundless and empty words."¹ But these "tales" gain quite another meaning when treated differently than by Marr. In our opinion, even the following words from *The Life of St. Nino* are of importance: "(The Georgians) considered stones and woods, and copper and iron and bronze forged in relief, as creators, and worshipped them as gods."² There the stone-, tree-, and metal-cult are indicated, the first two of which continue to exist in Georgia even at the present time, and the third is of importance because in olden times certain Georgian tribes were known in Western Asia as the best metal-workers.³ But we cannot go further into this matter here.

A question which should be raised is, why Strabo, who had travelled in Georgia and described moon-worship amongst the Albanians, neighbours of the Iberians, does not call the gods of Mtskhet'a, *Armaz*, *Zaden*, etc., by their names, and does not describe their cult. It can only be answered after a special and detailed examination of Strabo's information about the Caucasian peoples. But of course, Strabo's silence does not bring into question at all the reliability of the information of the Georgian texts.

The main task in investigating Georgian paganism is to distinguish the native resp. the Asia Minor elements of the religion, in so far as they have been preserved in Georgia, from the Sumerian-Babylonian, West Semitic, Mazdaic, and Christian elements amalgamated with them. One step in this direction was made by the late O. G. von Wesendonk in his book *Über Georgisches Heidentum*. But whatever has been done hitherto in this domain of research must only be regarded as a beginning, however noteworthy some of the work may be.⁴ It is just the oldest, very scanty, indeed, but yet interesting information about national Georgian paganism contained in the old Georgian texts that have either not been taken into consideration or not quite truly appreciated, or have just been treated in Marr's fashion. Therefore, it seemed to us an important task to make a new endeavour to contribute to the right understanding of these

¹ Op. cit., p. 17.

² Cf. Leontius Mroveli, op. cit., p. 69.

³ Gen. iv, 22; Xenoph., *Anabasis*, v, 5, i; Strabo, xii, 3, 19, etc.—Cf. Schrader, *Die Metalle*, 1906, p. 98; Javakhishvili, *History*, I³, pp. 19 f., 23 f.

⁴ Cf. for instance, M. Kovalevski, *Law and Custom in the Caucasus* (in Russian), Moscow, 1890.

accounts, so as to render them useful for our research. Also in connection with old Asia Minor research, we think this may be of some interest.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ABRT.* = J. A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts.*
BBS. = L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary-stones.*
CT. = *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum.*
JRAS. = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
KARI. = E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts.*
KAT. = E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2. Auflage, besorgt von H. Winckler und H. Zimmern.
KB. = E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.*
KUB. = *Keilschrift-Urkunden aus Boghazhöi.*
LIH. = L. W. King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi.*
Magic = L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery.*
Maqlû. = K. L. Tallquist, *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû.*
I—VR. = H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.*
SAK. = F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften.*
ZDMG. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY GEORGIAN NEEDLE PAINTING IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK

By Z. AVALISHVILI

A BEAUTIFUL piece of Eastern Christian applied art—an embroidered cross—forms the subject of an exhibit in the Morgan wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Room F 2, case H) under the official description—"Slavic (Armenian?) XIV century".

The whole decorated surface of the cross is embroidered on linen canvas, chiefly in silver-gilt thread, though silk has been used occasionally.

The Saviour is represented as issuing from a chalice in the centre of the cross; the archangels Michael and Gabriel appear in the upper and lower parts respectively; and a six-winged seraph is shown on either side of the central medallion.

Several inscriptions, almost entirely in Georgian and Greek, form part of the adornment of the cross. Above and below the central figure of Christ are the usual Byzantine monograms: I C X C and N I K A; on the left of it the Saviour's monogram is worked in Georgian capitals, the *asomt'avruli* of the so-called "priestly hand" or sacerdotal writing; on the right of it appears the memento in Georgian—"Oh God, have mercy on Solomon"; while surrounding it is a Greek inscription in uncial writing which reads, in English:

"Thou would'st, for us incarnated, be most mercifully sacrificed like a sheep."

On the four extremities of the cross, on what seems at first sight to be used strips of brown velvet, but are not, the above-mentioned Georgian memento is again inscribed. This time it is in extended form, thus, reading from above to the left:

"O Lord Jesus Christ! O God, have mercy on sinful Solomon Shavrashidze. Amen."

Another Georgian inscription, in uncial sacerdotal writing, runs along all four limbs of the cross. Beginning with the second line from the top, it follows the border of the cross (excepting the four extreme strips just mentioned) and reads, in English:—

"God established the World that it shall not move.

Prepared is thine throne from there and from eternity Thou art. Amen."

This is Psalms, xciii, v. 1, 2.¹

In addition to these Georgian and Greek inscriptions, there is embroidered in Arabic writing on both sides of the nimbus in the central medallion, the Arabic equivalent of Jesus Christ's name, viz. *Isu' al Mesiah* (Jesus the Messiah).

Finally, in the nimbus, on the hands of a symbolic cross traced there, appear the three Greek letters often found in later Christian representations of the Saviour—*ο ω ν*—a reminder of God's word to Moses from the burning bush: *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν* (*Exodus*, chap. iii, v. 14, "And God said unto Moses: I am That I am").²

About the Greek inscription encircling the central figure of the Saviour, issuing from the chalice, there is nothing much to be said, except that both image and inscription clearly indicate the embroidery's close connection with liturgy, or, more exactly, with the Eucharist. But the four lines of the Georgian inscription which mention the donor can only be conveniently read when the four "hands" of the cross are allowed to hang down from the central medallion. When this is done, it is obvious that the work is a special *chalice cover* in cross form, not to be confused with the larger veil, the *aer* (*ἀήρ*) which covers both chalice and diskos or paten.³ Therefore the embroidered cross in question is not one of the kind which was used to adorn sacerdotal vestments, although it might easily be taken for such a one.⁴

To students of Georgian paleography or of the old Georgian versions of the Bible, the Georgian inscriptions on this cross, particularly the quotation from the Psalms, may prove of some

¹ The embroidered text closely renders the Greek text of Psalm xcii, v. 1, in the LXX version. In the English Bible we have: "Thy world also is established, that it cannot be moved, Thy throne is established of old; Thou art from everlasting."

This text is probably also reflected in the proud inscription, encrusted in bronze letters into a porphyry pavement of the Iviron on Mount Athos, by George, one of the Georgian (Iberian) monks, founders of this once famous monastery: "I established its columns, and it shall not move unto eternity. George the monk, Iber and founder." See this Greek inscription in the work of H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos Klöstern*, pp. 26, 27. Cf. also Schlumberger, *L'Épopée Byzantine*, i, 435. On this Georgian establishment on Athos a great deal has been written.

² A fresco painting of the fourteenth century is perhaps the oldest instance of this very bookish innovation.

See A. N. Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne, Histoire de Dieu*, Paris, 1843, pp. 48, 49. It was prescribed as obligatory by the relatively modern Greek *Handbook of Painting*, first made known through its French translation by Paul Durand in 1845. See also Kondakov, *Iconography of our Saviour Jesus Christ* (in Russian), in fol., Petrograd, 1905, p. 78.

³ One such cover in cross form (*κάλυμμα*) is mentioned in the catalogue of the Exhibition of Old Georgian Art in Berlin, etc., in 1930. Embroideries, p. 30. Cf. note 2, page 72. Richly adorned veils (*aer*) were often offered to the churches by the faithful all over the Eastern Christian world. For general information on the instruments and vestments used, see A. Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, London, 1911.

⁴ See, for instance, the Byzantine *omophoria* from the Putna monastery, Roumania, in the work of O. Tafrafi, *Le trésor byzantin et roumain du monastère de Pouina*, Texte, Atlas, Paris, 1925, especially the four embroidered crosses belonging to the *omophorion* (pallium) No. 107, plates lii–lviii.

Ecclesiastic

Transcription in
Military alphabet

წყ ჟგ
წიღა :: ყწ
საზოჯნ

ივ ქე
ღმერთო, შეიწყალო
სოლომონ

ΗΘΕΛΗΣΑΣ ΔΙΗΜΑΣΣΑΡΚΩΘΕΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΛΕΤΥΘΗΝΝΑΙ ΩΣ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΟΝ

1. ოფღზო, წყ ჟგ :: წიღ
2. ყწყრზგ გზ(ყზ)ყ სო
3. ზოჯნ ყღზ(ქ)
4. ზყყბგ ზნ

ოჯფაღლო ივ ქე ღმერთო
შეიწყალო ცოდვილი სო-
ლომონ შავრ
აშიძე . ამინ

1. ზღკყღქღ
2. იბგბბბ
3. სოფგზყ
4. ქღბღ
5. ზქღ ყგ
6. ყბბღს
7. ზნბზღზგყო,ზ ::
8. ზბს :: სღყზღბყ ::
9. ყგნყ ბიგბბბ
10. ზღნ ზღ
11. სღო,ყო,ზ
12. ყწ ზბ ზბნ

დაამყარა
ღმერთმან
სოფელი
რათა
არა შე-
იძრას
განმზადებულ
არს საყდარი
შენი მიერით
გან და
საუკუნითგან
შენ ხარ . ამინ



interest.¹ But our own purpose in examining these *asomt'avruli* legends is to ascertain the age and origin of this particular monument.

There is no date to be found on the cross. Nevertheless, our investigation into its age need not be guided by mere speculation, for, fortunately, the donor of the cross—*Solomon Shavrashidze*—is mentioned in the inscription, and in this second name, *Shavrashidze*, the family name of the hereditary rulers and princes of Abkhasia is easily recognized. These rulers, after the gradual dissolution of the medieval united kingdom of Georgia, managed to maintain their independence or semi-independence for centuries, even as late as the second half of the nineteenth century, when Russia destroyed their autonomy and confiscated their possessions.

In its Georgian form the name was always spelled *Sharvashidze*, though the reading on the cross is *Shavrashidze*. Such a metathesis, however, often occurs in Western Georgia, and even this particular well-known name is still pronounced by Mingrelians according to the latter spelling.

It is highly probable that the Solomon Sharvashidze mentioned in our inscription is the same who had the cover of the Gospels in the church of Bidchwint'a or Pitsunda, on the Black Sea, famous in Caucasian archæology, embossed in silver. On the front cover, below a relief of the Resurrection, there is a Georgian inscription in *Mkhedruli* (knight's hand), and addressed to the Mother of God, which asserts that :

“ . . . this exalted Book of the Gospels was adorned upon our order, of myself, Sharvashidze Solomon, and of my son, Arzakan . . . ”

On the back cover, below a relief of the Crucifixion, there is a second inscription which mentions the particular events which occasioned this donation, namely, some advantages which were gained by this Sharvashidze over his foes. It would take too long to go into details here concerning the Georgian struggles involved. For our purpose, it is sufficient to know that M. Brosset, the noted French scholar who as a member of the St. Petersburg Academy devoted his whole life to the history of Georgia, saw these inscriptions in 1848 and published them in his account of his fruitful archæological research work in Trans-Caucasia in 1847–8. Brosset places the events which led to this thanksgiving donation at about 1495.²

As the inscription on the embroidered cross contains no mention

¹ It is curious to compare the Georgian letters of the Metropolitan Museum embroidery with the Alphabet recently compiled by Professor Robert P. Blake from the eighth century Jeremiah Fragments. *The Harvard Theological Review*, xxv, 3, 1932.

² M. F. Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie . . .* St. Pétersbourg, 1849, 8ème rapport, pp. 131–4.

of Solomon's son, Arzakan, whose longevity was specially implored of the Virgin, it may be assumed that its workmanship is of earlier date than that of the silver embossed work described by Brosset. Thus, while the latter work is a few years younger than Columbus' discovery of America, the former, now in the possession of the Metropolitan Museum, is older and might be attributed, roughly, to 1480 or thereabouts. This is surely a very great age for a work of this kind, so perishable in itself, and so difficult to preserve!

Rich as were the churches and monasteries of medieval Georgia in every kind of implements and vestments, a relatively small proportion of them now remain after all the invasions and ravages, and the destruction which the country has undergone. Neglect, too, had its natural effect. Though there still is a certain amount of fine old embroidery in Georgia, very few pieces can claim the age of the cross in the Metropolitan Museum. Quite exceptional is the gold-embroidered *omophorion* in Tsaishi monastery, Mingrelia, which, as its date shows, was given to the Ancha church in south-western Georgia in 1312. On another part of the vestment there is an inscription bearing historical names which belong to the middle of the fourteenth century; also a later inscription which states that in 1652 the vestment was liberated from the Moslems for a sum of money given by a bishop David Zholia, whose sister, T'amar, mended it and offered it to the Virgin of Tsaishi.¹

As we have already said, however, there are but few church vestments still remaining in Georgia which can trace their origin back to such an early period. In 1930 an exhibition of old Georgian art was held in Germany—in Berlin, Cologne, Nürnberg, Munich—and in Vienna. A section of this exhibition was devoted to *Nadelmalerei*, needle-painting, and it included thirty-eight different pieces of embroidery such as vestments, covers, veils, etc.² The oldest of these works of art brought from Georgia was the *hypogonation*—a kind of lozenge or rhumb of cloth symbolizing the sword of justice—which came from the Jrudchi monastery in Imeret'i. It is adorned with a needle picture, *Feet washing by Christ*, and is a sixteenth-century workmanship.

¹ E. Taqaishvili, *Archæological Travel in Mingrelia* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1913-14, pp. 181-3.

² *Georgische Kunst. Ihre Entwicklung vom 4-18 Jahrhundert. Ausstellung der Deutschen Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas*, etc., Berlin, 1930. The studies are by Professor Georg Chubinashvili. See pp. 27-9: IV. *Nadelmalerei*.

Something has also been left by the former Georgian monasteries abroad. For instance, N. P. Kondakov, in his *Archæological Travel in Syria and Palestine* (in Russian), p. 274, describing the treasury of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, mentions (No. 5): "A Georgian silver and gold embroidered omophorion of fifteenth to sixteenth century, with numerous embroidered images." But this monument was not published by the eminent scholar who contributed so greatly to the study of Georgian art. One single needle-picture belonging to it was included by Gabriel Millet in his work, *Recherches sur l'icongraphie de l'Évangile aux XIV, XV, et XVI siècles*. Paris, 1916, p. 531, fig. 575. Also other pieces are known, in Jerusalem and elsewhere.

There is nothing exceptional about the fact that Greek and Georgian inscriptions are found together on a Georgian work of art, particularly when, as in the cross under discussion, Western Georgia is concerned. This part of Georgia was once closely connected with the Greek Church and some traces of this connection have survived even to the present day. In the Georgian churches of Abkhasia (the original home of our cross) and of Mingrelia, wall paintings often have Greek inscriptions. But the best illustration of this are the nine cloisonné enamels—representing Jesus Christ, the Virgin, John the Baptist, and others—which are preserved in the same room that contains our embroidered cross and of which the Metropolitan Museum is rightly proud. These enamels come from Jumat'i, an old Georgian monastery in the province of Guria which, together with Mingrelia and Abkhasia, formed the sea-front of medieval Georgia, as it does also of modern Georgia, along the Black Sea coast—so rich in reminiscences pre-classical, classical, late Roman, Byzantine, Georgian, Ottoman, etc.

The Jumat'i medallions bear Greek inscriptions. However, the medallions are now separated from the work of art they originally, and for many centuries, adorned. They formed part of the border decoration of a large icon of S. Gabriel which was embossed and chiselled in gilt silver and bore a monumental Georgian inscription below. Another set of enamels, bearing Georgian inscriptions, adorned in a similar way a gold relief icon of S. Michael. To these two archangels the Jumat'i monastery was consecrated.¹ Thus we see that the medallions, "superlatively fine in execution, design, and colour" to quote the *Handbook of the Pierpont Morgan Wing* (2nd ed., 1929, p. 55), before they reached the Metropolitan Museum via the Zwenigorodskoy and Morgan collections, belonged for about seven hundred years to a Georgian monument which was bilingual—Georgian and Greek—in its inscriptions.

Therefore, the presence of Greek inscriptions on a Georgian embroidery is in no way paradoxical. It is striking, however, that the Saviour's name appears on it in its Arabic form, side by side with Greek and Georgian. How can this be explained? Did the Georgian donor intend to give the chalice cover, embroidered in this way, to one of those monastic establishments in the Holy Land which Georgians had possessed from early times, the last of which—the Holy Cross monastery near Jerusalem—they lost to the Greeks in 1811? There, in Syria or Palestine, Arabic also was a Christian

¹ Both these icons disappeared some fifty years ago, but photographs showing them, in a very deteriorated state, with their enamelled medallions on them, still exist. See Kondakov and Bak'radze, *Inventory* (in Russian), fig. 48 (S. Michael), and especially the former's *Geschichte und Denkmäler des Byzant. Emails*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1892, p. 271, fig. 91 (S. Gabriel).

tongue, so there, it would seem, was the right home for such an accessory bearing trilingual inscriptions. But the most plausible solution of the puzzle seems to be this: The Arabic inscription was meant to recall the name of Jesus to those Abkhasians who had been recently converted by Moslem propaganda, and who already used Arabic letters. It is a matter of fact that Mohammedanism greatly increased all over north-western Caucasia from 1475, the time the Turks became masters of the Crimea.

It is now time we proceeded to the subject of the pictorial adornment of the cross. To be exact, the inscriptions, too, should count as part of its decoration, for they fill in the space between the central medallion and the other four images so effectively and soberly that they give to the whole decorated surface an appearance of well-balanced unity.

Time has not damaged the cross much. Of course, after four centuries and a half, the gold threads have tarnished and rotted so that only traces of them remain; and the silver threads have darkened with age. The original brilliancy of the colours, too, has gone. But, on the whole, the picture decoration and inscriptions are well preserved, and the artist's composition is as clear to-day as it was when originally designed. Very possibly the picture was inspired by a wall painting in one of the churches, for churches, especially in Western Georgia, were at different epochs embellished with frescoes painted, in some cases, by Greek artists.

A very young Jesus Christ is represented here—it is the "Emmanuel" type of iconography of the Saviour.¹ Issuing from the chalice symbolically recalls his mystical connection with the Eucharist, and this connection the Greek inscription makes clear, too, in theological terms.

Generally, in Eastern Christian art, pictorial representation of the liturgy and eucharist ranged from plain symbolical figures to elaborated and dramatized scenes such as that of *The Apostles receiving Communion* in S. Sophia, Kiev (now capital of the Ukraine), or those of kindred frescoes in some Georgian churches—in Lekhne, Pitsunda, for instance. But also a solitary chalice, object of mystical devotion, might be painted, as occurred, for instance, in Mistra.² Again, in a more sensual way, God's Lamb, the infant Christ, was sometimes represented as lying in a eucharistic vessel, as may be seen in the fourteenth-century painting in the Chilandary monastery, Athos.³

¹ For the explanation of the term, see H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, 102; Kondakov, *Geschichte und Denkmäler*, 307 and foll. Reproductions are many. See, for instance, plates 24, 1, 3 in R. Byron and D. T. Rice's *The Birth of Western Painting*, London, 1930.

² See G. Millet, *Monuments Byzantins de Mistra*, 107, 1-2; 119, 11.

³ See *Monuments de l'Athos*, published by Gabriel Millet. I. *Les Peintures*. Album of 264 plates. Paris (Leroux), 1927, in fol. No. 633.

Nearer to our time, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the *Agnus Dei*, the infant Jesus lying in the *chalice*, was pictured on embroidered eucharistic veils.¹ Emmanuel, issuing from the chalice of our embroidered work, represents a different aspect of the same conception. Of course, he was mostly represented independently of the chalice. This youthful image of the Saviour became popular in the fifteenth century. We meet it on Greek icons, on frescoes, on altar fans (*ripidia*).²

But to appear together as they do in our embroidery, a previous association of the chalice and Emmanuel forming one picture must have existed. Consequently, we must look for such an association.

A French traveller, a M. de Nointel, relates that he saw, in 1670, in a church on Prinkipo Islands, near Constantinople, a wall painting of an altar on which was a chalice with a juvenile Jesus Christ issuing therefrom. Similar representations, he says, far from being exceptional, were frequently met with.³ It is difficult to know, though, to what time these representations belonged. However, our embroidery has an exact and still more important parallel in a fresco of the Evangelisteria Church, Mistra. (See plate 135, 3 of *Monuments*, etc., by G. Millet.) The analogy there is complete, as may be seen from the plate. The Mistra paintings were done in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In this great display of Eastern Christian art our picture, too, finds its natural background.

While in both the Mistra painting and the Metropolitan Museum embroidery the lower part of the chalice is soberly decorated with conventional leaves, the motif attains fuller development in the embroidered cross, otherwise the chalices of both works are identical. From both sides of the embroidered chalice, acanthus shoots burst forth symmetrically, a symbol in Byzantine art of the new life Christ's sacrifice brought to mankind. This very old symbolism was expressed in many different ways. Single flowers, buds, shoots—new or advanced and sometimes even of exuberant growth—would equally well serve the purpose, especially when associated with the cross. No doubt, this floral or leafy ornamentation was better suited to a cross, presumably wooden, than to a chalice. Yet the blossoming chalice or

¹ See Kondakov, *Iconography of Jesus Christ* (in Russian), p. 73.

² See Kondakov, *op. cit.*, p. 77. For wall paintings, see the monumental edition of the Athos frescoes by G. Millet, 120, 1 and 160, 1, of the sixteenth century, sometimes with both hands raised for benediction as in our picture. Cf. Athos, 219, 1 Altar fans in Seres, Macedonia. See Fig. 94, 104 in Kondakov, *Macedonia. An Archæological Travel* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1909, etc.

On the embroidery the thumb and the little finger of Jesus Christ are carefully joined or possibly crossed, in one of the positions admitted or required in the circumstance; not quite as the *Greek Handbook of Painting* prescribed it later. We cannot dwell here on this point to which much importance was attached in the East.

³ See the design and the report in Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe. Études archéologiques*, etc., iv, 15, 16 (Paris), 1887.

vessel, too, was a very old and very popular artistic dream of Christianity.

Curiously enough, the acanthus shoots sprouting from the embroidered chalice in the Metropolitan Museum are quite similar to those sprouting from a cross chiselled on the back of a silver diptych in Shemok'medi monastery, Georgia, a work of the eleventh–twelfth century. An exactly similar ornamental cross with two acanthus shoots is also to be seen on the back of a Byzantine reliquary preserved in the treasury of St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice.¹

The six-winged seraphs are executed very effectively in accordance with well-known old tradition. Coming directly from those on the walls of the Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, they need no particular explanation. As to both Archangels, Michael and Gabriel, with their attributes, it would be hardly out of place to recall that their association with the Saviour—which had existed in earlier periods, too, as may be seen from the eleventh-century mosaic in St. Mark's, Venice—found special favour in Byzantine and kindred iconography in the time to which our cross belongs.

The archangels of our embroidery, not so resplendent now as they were in bygone times, obviously follow the best tradition. In their general attitude not unlike those on the Limburg reliquary or on the Daphni mosaic with their military cloaks fastened on breast and thrown over the shoulders, and with their usual attributes, they recall the great days of Byzantine art. Michael is represented with a blossoming sceptre. His armour was possibly embroidered in different colours, of which tarnished traces of blue, brown, and gold still remain. If this were so, then some enamelled or frescoed picture might have served as model, some picture of the type of the Venice icon where Michael's breastplate and his blossoming sceptre are given alternating colouring by inseting small shields of gold, emeralds, rubies, etc., like a chess-board.²

Thus, even in a small piece of embroidery, a great monumental art with its majestic wall- and vault-painting is reflected, where every detail had its symbolic sense, and all the means of a matured style were used to adorn, to show, to glorify what was considered as great, eternal, and of chief importance in life.

¹ See for the first, fig. 69, p. 132, of *Inventory* (in Russian), by Kondakov and Bak'radze; for the second, A. Pasini, *Il Tesoro di San Marco*, Venezia, 1885–6, p. 33, pl. xxiii.

² *Il Tesoro di San Marco*, ii; *Denkmäler*, i, 27.

THE HOLY LANCE OF ECHMIADZIN

By JOHN F. BADDELEY

IT was when in Tiflis after crossing the Mamisson (1898) that I bought the first eight numbers (six issues) of the *Kavkazskaya Starina*, and in them found a story of the Holy Lance of Echmiadzin which led to inquiries as to the origin and authenticity of that famous relic, with the following result, the complete accuracy of which I cannot, of course, vouch for. The story was written by an Armenian priest or monk—an eye-witness—in 1801, and first printed from his MS. in the Russian translation, whence I now take it, in 1873.

In 1797, only two years after Aga Muhammad's sack of Tiflis and indirectly, no doubt, as a result of that ghastly crime, the Georgian capital was sorely stricken by the plague. The King, George XII (and XIII), knowing the special virtue of the Holy Lance on such occasions,¹ sent to beg the loan of it from the patriarch Gukas, who excused compliance on the pretence that the precious relic had been lodged for safety's sake in Turkey. He sent the bones of a minor Saint instead, which, however, proved singularly inefficacious; the plague grew worse! The bones were sent back and the Lance once more entreated for, but in vain. It so happened, however, that ere long Echmiadzin itself was attacked, even the Monastery, wherein several of the monks succumbed to the fell disease, though their deaths were, prudently, put down to less alarming causes. After a while the state of things grew so bad in the neighbouring villages that the panic-stricken people gathered weeping outside the Monastery walls, clamouring for a sight of the Lance, for they totally disbelieved the story that had been palmed off, very rightly of course, on the Georgians. The patriarch could not long resist his own flock in their extremity; the Lance was shown, and from that moment a miraculous change took place. There were no more deaths, the sick became whole, the harvest, already over-ripe, was gathered in the nick of time and the final catastrophe, famine, averted.

When the news reached King George he took other measures. The lay ruler of Echmiadzin was the Khan of Erivan, a mussulman. His intervention was sought, and the patriarch gave way. Bishop Ovanes was despatched with the Lance in its own coffer under convoy

¹ It had been borrowed with good effect on the occasion of the Great Plague in Tiflis and all Transcaucasia in 1770. Oliver Wardrop, *The Kingdom of Georgia*, p. 125. The Lesgians were put off with a newly made copy, be it noted, which did just as well.

of the Khan's cavalry and at the village of Lesser Shulaveri the King came out to meet it, walking barefooted. When Tiflis was reached and the relic displayed the epidemic soon took a turn for the better, though there was no such sudden cessation as at Echmiadzin. The patriarch, after a while, urged the return of his treasure, but the answer was that the danger was yet great and that the people's only hope was in the efficacy of the Lance; in such circumstances it could not possibly be parted with.

Then Gukas died and a long intrigue ensued in the course of which the Georgians, the Russians, and a discontented Armenian ecclesiastic strove, each to secure the election to the "Ararat Throne" of their own candidate. It was then that Ovanes showed his metal. He sent secretly to warn his colleagues that the Lance would never be surrendered willingly. They, in turn, despatched a certain landowner, with a *sotnik* (centurion), Gabriel, and five of his men together with one of their own servants, Gregory, all mounted on the fleetest horses that could be procured, to the outskirts of Tiflis, where, avoiding observation, the rest of them waited while Gregory, at great risk, rode on to the Monastery where Ovanes was lodged, on the far side of the city, and handed him his credentials. The latter at once took the Lance out of its coffer, and entrusted it to Gregory, who, exercising the utmost caution, succeeded in rejoining his comrades unobserved; whereupon the whole party made off at full speed and, riding day and night, reached Echmiadzin with their precious charge in safety.

We may imagine how great were the rejoicings of all the people from the newly elected patriarch down to the humblest acolytes and villagers! Meantime, in Tiflis, demands to see once again the Holy Lance grew day by day more frequent, more insistent. Ovanes shammed sickness, and said he dared not open the coffer in his present state of health; several days were thus gained, but at last certain Georgian noblemen would wait no longer. Luckily just then secret intelligence reached Ovanes of the safe delivery of the relic at Echmiadzin. He announced, therefore, that his illness had suddenly left him, the Lance would be available the very next day, and, meantime, in gratitude for the kindness shown him, he invited all the inmates of the monastery, from the Abbot himself down to the least servitor to partake of a gorgeous banquet at his expense. The feast took place and, as intended, every human being in the precincts except Ovanes ended by becoming dead drunk, whereupon their wily guest, leaving all his baggage behind him, stole to the great gate, unlocked it and in a moment had mounted one of the two horses a trusty Tartar had in waiting and away they flew! Next morning a servant went to arouse Ovanes, but seeing him, as he thought, still sleeping off the effect of the banquet, of his charity, left him in peace.

An hour or so later he came again and this time discovered the fraud—the bed contained not a living bishop, but a mere dummy ! The alarm was given ; King George raged, threatening to march on Echmiadzin with an army, an idle threat in the actual condition of things, so he sent a letter instead full of most unkindly objurgations. The patriarch answered moderately, saying that he felt sure his Majesty, on reflection, would see the justice of his cause. But I find that in 1805, owing to the dispute still raging at Echmiadzin between the two claimants to the patriarchial throne, the Lance was brought to Tiflis again, this time for safe-keeping, and there Prince Tsitsianoff had a drawing made of it which he sent to the Emperor Alexander.

Now the relic, as de Mély tells us,¹ is not the head of a lance or spear at all, but of a banner-staff. It contains, however, forged or hammered in, a cross, also of iron, which is supposed to be made of one of the nails of Christ's own Cross ; and this brings me to a singularly interesting feature in the otherwise confused and difficult history of the Lance,² which I venture to summarize from de Mély's remarkable work.

It appears from this that what was held to be the real Lance of the Passion was, undoubtedly, venerated at Jerusalem in the sixth century A.D., though it is only in the eighth that we hear of its having come to light at the same time as the Crown of Thorns

There are now, or were in 1904, the date of the book I am quoting from, four Lances only having claims worthy of attention. The first is that of the German Empire, otherwise called " of St. Maurice ", the symbol of " Power derived from Above ", and used invariably from A.D. 1273 onwards at the investiture and coronation of the Holy Roman emperors.³ This Lance by the fourteenth century was looked upon as being the actual Lance of the Passion. It was kept at Augsburg, and elsewhere from time to time. In 1904 it was in Vienna. Then came the Lance of Cracow, the Lance of Echmiadzin, and the Lance of Rome (Vatican). Now we know that the Lance of Jerusalem *had the point broken off*, which point was sent to Constantinople by Nicetas in A.D. 614, after the capture of Jerusalem by the army of Chosroes. The Lance itself remained at Jerusalem in the Basilica of Constantine, and was recorded there in A.D. 670. According to de Mély it probably left Jerusalem between that date and A.D. 723, and, in any case, having reached Constantinople, was venerated by the Byzantine Court on

¹ *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. P. Riant, et F. de Mély, vol. iii, ed. de Mély, which I use, was published in 1904, after Count Riant's death. Vol. i is dated 1876.

² " Des grandes reliques de la Passion la sainte Lance est certainement celle dont l'identification présente le plus de difficultés," op. cit., vol. iii, p. 23.

³ " L'investiture par la Lance tient dans tout le moyen âge une place capitale." de Mély, p. 24.

Good Fridays. It was the only Great Relic there until the arrival of the Crown of Thorns and others from Jerusalem between the years 975 and 1063, so that for perhaps 300 years it's importance was supreme. The point was, we know, inserted in the "icon of Mursuphle", that valiant usurper, who did his best to defend the city of Constantine against the barbarous Latin invaders in 1204, but was presented to St. Louis by Baldwin II in 1241 and enshrined by him in his Saint Chapelle at Paris. It survived the French Revolution, having been transferred to the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, but in 1800 mysteriously disappeared. The Lance, itself, meantime remained at Constantinople, and Mandeville states in 1357 that he had seen it there thirty-five years previously, therefore in 1322. He mentions that the iron part was a good deal larger than the point in Paris.

In 1393 Alexander, a Russian pilgrim, saw it, and in the fifteenth century various travellers, including Clavijo, but in 1492 Bajazet II sent it as a propitiatory gift to Pope Innocent VIII, who had his brother in hold, and it has never since left Rome. In the Ambrosiana there is an old drawing of this Vatican Lance, with the point broken off.

The "Empire" Lance has a head into which is fixed, in a longitudinal opening (*à jour*), a nail of the Cross. This part was encased in silver and afterwards, over the silver, in gold.

The Cracow (as also a fifth, Hungarian) Lance was seemingly a more or less exact copy of the "Empire" Lance, and presented by the Emperor for purposes of investiture. These may or may not have had portions of a Nail in them.

Coming now to the Echmiadzin Lance : in spite of much confusion, it would seem that this may be the Lance discovered, miraculously, at the siege and capture of Antioch in 1098. It is supposed by some to have been the weapon which ribald Jews thrust into the side of Our Lord in a (?) statue or picture, whereupon blood and water flowed from the wound. It became, naturally enough, in course of time, an object held in equal estimation with the Lance of the Passion itself, and in comparatively recent times has been confounded, even by the Bollandists, with that weapon, though its point is whole and uninjured. After its discovery at Antioch, St. Gilles (Count Raymond IV of Toulouse) presented it to Alexius and it disappears from Byzantine history from the beginning of the thirteenth century at about the time when the Echmiadzin Lance is first heard of in Armenia. This latter was figured by Tavernier in A.D. 1712¹ and by James Morier in A.D. 1812,² and the two drawings agree fairly well ; but de Mély gives us a much better picture of it from a photograph supplied to

¹ *Les six Voyages de J. Baptiste Tavernier*, Utrecht, 1712, vol. i, p. 36 (the plate in the London Library copy being wrongly placed, on p. 236).

² *Second Journey*, p. 325.

him by Dieulafoy. He calls attention to the fact that the head of this "Lance" is, in fact, as already stated, not that of a lance at all, but of, say, a banner-staff. It contains a cross, also of iron, hammered or soldered into it and (?) made of a Nail of the Cross. So that the Vienna, Cracow, Hungarian, and Echmiadzin lances all apparently share this very remarkable feature, each having a Nail or something representing a Nail inserted in its head. Now Anna Comnena calls the Antioch relic *not a lance, but a nail*, while Abulpharagius and others describe it as a cross and lance-head *made of Nails of the Cross*. The Vatican Lance alone has no such feature, no such tradition, as though *being the original it required no further sanctification*.

The long gap in our knowledge after the Crucifixion is perhaps not to be wondered at. In any case, from the sixth century the history of the Lance seems fairly well made out, and while the Rome Lance alone would seem to be the original (of the sixth century at least), there is no need to stigmatize the other three (or perhaps four) lances as false and fraudulent. It is easy to understand how, representing the real Lance and being made of, or containing, Nails of the Cross, they gradually came to be considered, each in its own surroundings, as the original itself, or its equivalent.¹

¹ Constantine the Great is said to have sent to King Mirian of Georgia, St. Nino's convert, the foot-board and one nail of the Cross. These relics were brought to Moscow by King Archil in 1686 and lodged in the Cathedral of the Assumption (*Malan, Ioselian*, p. 25). The Nail, according to Brosset, was set in a crown of the thirteenth century.

GEORGIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN ENGLAND

By ARCHIMANDRITE GREGORY PERADZE, D.Ph.

(*Priest of the Georgian Orthodox Church in Paris ; Professor of Patrology, Warsaw University.*)

IN the research into ancient Christian literature, into patrology, or liturgy, or church history—briefly, into the history of our Christian culture—the literary monuments of Eastern Christian nations play a very significant part.

It is known that many Greek and Latin scripts have been lost and are only available to us through the medium of their Oriental translations. Often, too, the best and oldest version of some monument or other of ancient Christian literature happens to be the Oriental one. Hence the interest displayed by the European intellectual and research world in studying or collecting the monuments of these Oriental nations.

Included among these Eastern peoples are the Georgians, whose Christian literature in the past century, and even until quite recently, was much neglected, though it was not less rich than Syrian, or Armenian, or Coptic Christian literature. Fortunately, there are now several scholars with an excellent knowledge of Georgian who are working diligently in this field.

First among non-Georgian Bollandists in this respect is S. J. Paul Peeters, who has presented many treasures to research, the most noteworthy being the Georgian hagiographical texts. The Rev. Paul Peeters publishes his works in *Analecta Bollandiana*.

Of the British and Americans in this field, after Sir Oliver Wardrop and Conybeare, stands R. P. Blake, who was a pupil of the late Professor N. Marr, and a student at the University of Tiflis, and who is now a professor at Harvard University, U.S.A. Professor Blake used his American science scholarships to good purpose and has visited several times the centres of Old Georgian learning, namely, the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos, Sinai on the Sinai peninsula, and also at Jerusalem—the library of the Patriarchate. Some of his conclusions were published in French in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, but his works have appeared principally in English in *The Harvard Theological Review*.

Others in this field of research who deserve mention are : the Rev. S. J. Zorell of Rome, Mgr. Graffin, Rev. P. Brière of Paris, Professor Georg Graf of Munich, Rev. Ignaz Rückert-Oxenbronn, Professor R. Mecklein of Berlin, Professor Deeters of Leipzig, and Professor

Blechsteiner of Vienna. All of these gained their knowledge from Old Georgian texts. Perhaps in a later number of this new periodical I shall have an opportunity of specifying the characteristics of the work of these scholars.

From the foregoing it can be seen that interest in the subject is not lacking, and that every country in Europe has someone who looks after, and works for, Georgian studies.

Now the question is—what kind of material do these research scholars have to work from? It must be recognized that European libraries are poorly supplied with Georgian books, particularly the hand-written ones. Last year Pater Jean Simon, the young Bollandist, published a little work entitled *Répertoire des Bibliothèques publiques et privées d'Europe contenant des manuscrits géorgiens*,¹ and though in general it cannot be concluded from this how many MSS. we have in each of these libraries, yet it can be seen that England is by far the richest country in Europe in Georgian MSS.

There are three cities in England which possess Georgian MSS.: London, the British Museum and School of Oriental Studies²; Cambridge, the University Library, and Oxford, the Bodleian Library, where *the Wardrop Collection* is the most important and richest in Europe.

The MSS. in the British Museum were first described by A. Khakhanashvili in *Georgian* in 1905,³ and later by Sir O. Wardrop, in the *Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts* (London, 1913, British Museum).⁴ In all there are six MSS., which were written in different epochs—from the time of the beginning of Georgian literature to our most recent past.

The oldest of these MSS. is doubtless the text Or.6581 (Wardrop, No. 3, p. 406). It is a palimpsest, the lower and older text being Georgian and the upper one Old Hebrew. This manuscript came from the Genizeh in Cairo. In England there are also Genizeh palimpsests (old Hebrew over Georgian) in both Cambridge and Oxford, which have already been published by Professor Blake in *The Harvard Theological Review*.⁵ Evidently this MS. (the contents consist only of a few, not yet properly deciphered Georgian words) is only a part

¹ *Orientalia*, iii, 1 (1934), pp. 98–103.

² See note 5, p. 85.

³ *Moambe*, No. 8. Khakhanashvili has omitted from his description of the MS. Add. 11281 the lives of Ephrem of Syria and of Kyriakos (cf. Kekelidze in *Khristyanski Vostok*, ii (S.P.B., 1913), 301.

⁴ pp. 397–410 (pages of the reprint).

⁵ No. 3 (July, 1932), *Catalogue of the Georgian MSS. in the Cambridge University Library*, pp. 207–224, and Khanmeti Palimpsest fragments of the old Georgian Palimpsest fragments of the old Georgian version of Jeremiah; *ibid.*, pp. 225–276, especially pp. 209–213, 238–246.

of the other two manuscripts, and it is much to be regretted that Professor Blake paid no regard to this MS. in his otherwise very good contribution. The subject of the fragment evidently concerns a biblical text.

The contents of three other MSS. are of liturgical interest :—

(1) Add. Or.11282 (Wardrop, No. 2, pp. 405, 406) and the parchment is of the tenth or eleventh century; the beginning and ending are missing; it contains 221 pages. It is an Euchology (according to Wardrop it is of the thirteenth or fourteenth century) acquired by the British Museum from an Armenian clergyman in Alexandria in November, 1837.

(2) Si.1350 (Wardrop, No. 5, p. 408); paper; 154-2 leaves. Evidently a Psalter of the sixteenth century.

(3) Si.1338 (Wardrop, No. 4, pp. 406-8); paper; 128 leaves. Apart from the prayers and mementos (the latter are written by various persons and at various times), details of which are given by Wardrop, this MS. also contains two acathistic works: "In honour of Christ" and "To the Most Holy Mother of God". On page 124 there is also a very important memento: "Protect (O Lord) in this life and the next Catholics—Patriarch of all Georgia, Christophorus, at whose behest this book of Lazarus was written in the K'oronikon T'i (1622)."

Or.5315 (Wardrop, No. 6, p. 408) is quite a modern MS. It is a hand-written worker's newspaper of 1889-1891 called "Musha". This paper was published by the Georgian social revolutionary party and is very interesting as a history of the beginning of Socialist movement in Georgia. It was presented to the British Museum on 10.11.1897 by Prince Varlam Cherkezishvili.

Add.11281 (Wardrop, No. 1, p. 398-405) is the pride and treasure of the British Museum. It is a patristic MS. and originated during the golden age of Georgian church literature (eleventh century). It is a parchment, written in the Georgian Monastery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem. It contains 369 leaves, and is the work of the monk, John Shavi. This MS. contains the following works of Cyril of Skithopolis: 1. *The Life of St. Saba* (57r-144v); 2. Euthymios (162v-210r); 3. Theodosius (210v-227v); 4. Syriacos (286r-299v); 5. John, Eremita (319r-333v); 6. Gerasima (364v-369r). Of these *Lives*, only one—*The Life of John Eremita*—has been edited by Kekelidze in Georgia.¹ If we could make the acquaintance of the other, not yet edited, works, they might prove of the greatest importance to research and to the history of the lives of the old Palestinian monks. This MS. leads off with the *Life of St. Anthony* by Anthanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria (1-54v). To the same author are ascribed the *Lives of Stephanos and Nikon* (300r-305v)—a very interesting

¹ *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica* (Tiflis, 1918), 15-27. (In Georgian.)

matter for Athanasian research, even though the authorship may prove to be false. It is also important that these *Lives* should be edited. Next to the above, comes the *Life of Abba Simeon* by Leontius of Naples (Nikopolis) (333v-364v). Finally, anonymous Life Descriptions: 1. *Khariton* (145r-162r); 2. Barlaam the Syro-Caucasian (228v-245v)¹; 3. Ephraim the Syrian (246r-274v); 4. John, Catholicos of Edessa (274v-285v).²; 5. Bishop Paul and Priest John (305v-218v).

There is in existence only one single MS. (No. 56, Iviron Monastery on Athos) which is equal in age and importance to Add.11281, and contains the works of Cyril of Skithopolis. The other two MSS. which are in the Museum of Antiquities at Tiflis, No. 188 and No. 79, are of much more recent date. No. 188 comes from the thirteenth century, and No. 79, according to Kekelidze, contains a much more recent text.³

In the British Museum there is an enamel reliquary containing the portrait of the Georgian arch-martyr Demetrius. The enamel is marvellous work of the Middle Ages, and the reliquary is particularly precious to Georgians because our martyred Queen K'et'evan (1624 in Tabriz) carried this on her breast. It is to be hoped that in some way or other later on this relic will find its way back to the Georgian Church.⁴

I had often heard in Georgia, of the treasures from Old Georgia, which, it was alleged, were in the British Museum—for instance, Queen T'amari's dress adorned with pearls and precious stones and such-like things. It may be that there are precious Georgian relics there which are not shown to ordinary visitors, but during my many visits to the Museum I did not see anything Georgian of special worth, apart from weapons, costumes, and similar small objects.

In addition to those in the British Museum, there is a Georgian MS. in the school of Oriental Languages. It is the well-known Georgian dictionary by Saba Sulxhan Orbeliani (1726). This MS. is found in all European libraries where Georgian MSS. exist. The London MS. is distinguished from other ones though, in that it contains very beautiful miniatures at the beginning of each letter.⁵

¹ Cf. Marr's edition *Agiograficheskie materyaly po Gruzinskim Rukopisyam Ivera*, ii (S.P.B., 190), based on the MS. of the Iviron Monastery, Nos. 55, 229-246. The MS. in the British Museum agrees exactly with the Iviron Monastery text, excepting that the former has no hymns.

² Kekelidze's edition in *Khristyanski Vostok*, ii, 1 (S.P.B., 1913), 301-348.

³ *Monumenta*, xxxvii; Peradze: *Die alt-christliche Literatur in der Georgischen Ueberlieferung*, in *Oriens Christianus*, 3rd series, viii, 1 (Leipzig, 1933), p. 91.

⁴ O. M. Dalton in the *Seminar Kondacovianum* (Prague, 1926), 275-7; T'aqaišvili, "Georgian Antiquities in European Antiquarian Collections," in the Georgian newspaper *Sak'art'velo*, No. 2 (Paris, 1929), 4.

⁵ The MS. referred to was on exhibition at the School at the time of Father Peradze's visit. Acquired by purchase from the library of a Georgian family, it remains the property of a private individual in England (Editors' note).

The Cambridge University Library has eleven Georgian MSS. These are only single leaves—described and published by R. P. Blake.¹

Nos. 1 and 2 are palimpsests, the celebrated *Khanmeti* text: Jeremiah, xii, 10–16; xx, 9–16 respectively; No. 3 is a fragment from the fourteenth century, 1 Kings, xxiv, 3; Nos. 4, 5, and 6 are of a patristic character: a fragment from the *Apophthegmata* (tenth century), the *Martyrdom of Aretha*,² and the *Life of St. Ripsimé*. MSS. 7, 8, 9 are liturgical—*Menaia* for April, July, and August, and the fasting Triodion—all from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; No. 11 is a letter—in *Mkhedruli*—probably from the beginning of last century; very hard to read; the subject concerns a pilgrimage to Jerusalem about which I wrote a note on May 28th, 1932, in Cambridge.³

The richest collection of Georgian MSS. is contained in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In the history of the Georgian MSS. Bodleiana, two periods must be distinguished: (1) Pre-Wardrop, when there were only five Georgian MSS. in the library, and (2) Wardrop. Thanks to the great love which Sir Oliver Wardrop and his sister, the late Miss Marjory Wardrop, bore to the Georgian nation and to Georgian literature, the number of MSS. in the Bodleian Library has been raised to seventy-six. In addition to these, there are Georgian printed books, newspapers, and periodicals.

Unfortunately, there is as yet no catalogue of collected Georgian MSS. Therefore, until this gap is filled, it seems essential that we should print somewhere the very excellent description of the MSS. which Miss Ecca Cherkezishvili, has made in English.

The Wardrop collection contains five MSS.: (1) Georgian B.1, a very large MS. This contains the Lives of the Saints, which S. J. Paul Peeters very precisely describes in *Analecta Bollandiana—de codice Hiberico Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensi*, xxxv (Brussels, 1912), vol. 31. Unfortunately, some of the Life Descriptions were not mentioned in his review. For instance (489v–491v) *The Life of St. Patricia* by Abbot Daniel; the celebrated letter which Zacharias, Patriarch of Jerusalem, wrote from Babylon to Jerusalem to his flock, who had been spared by the Persians (160r–163r), and the list of the

¹ Cf. note 5, p. 83.

² A Georgian MS. with this very important life description is to be found in the University Library in Leipzig. This MS. was brought from the East by Tischendorf. Tischendorf, *Analecta sacra et profana*. K. Villers, *Katalog der islamischen, christlich-orientalischen, jüdischen und samaritanischen MSS. der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 432. This important MS., however, has been lost by the library.

³ It is to be regretted that Professor Blake, in his description of the MS., has not added photographs of this letter.

dead who were found in Jerusalem (1637-1650). The work treats of the Persian Invasion and Destruction of Jerusalem in the year 614. The best information on this subject has been preserved only in the Georgian texts, which have already been published by Marr. I believe that Marr did not know anything about the Oxford version, and it is very desirable (not only for research work on Palestine) that our Oxford MS. should be compared with Marr's edition.¹ I copied the *Martyrdom of St. Leontius* from this MS. (1807-1817) and shall shortly edit it for the Year-Book of the Georgian Parish in Paris. (2) Georgian C.1 is a fragment from Jeremiah in *Khanmeti* from the seventh or eighth century,² a beautiful photographic reproduction of which was published by Blake in *The Harvard Theological Review*. (3) Georgian d.1 is dated 1870 and is a writing-exercise. (4) Georgian d.2 is of the fourteenth century. It was written in the Cross Cloister (near Jerusalem) and was bought with the endowment fund of the Wardrop Foundation. It is a typicum MS., and it is very interesting to note that among the saints St. Nino is not mentioned, whereas other saints are, such as Euthymius of Georgia (13th May) (1047), Illarion the Georgian (19th November) (547) and St. Barlaham (18th July) (1127). (5) A Georgian grammar (378 pages) written in 1767.

Most of the MSS. in *The Wardrop Collection* are from the eighteenth century and form very rich material not only for the ecclesiastical but also for the secular history of Georgia, and may provide a stimulus for gospel research.

Among Gospel MSS., Wardrop 27 is interesting. This contains forty-eight pages and dates from the nineteenth century. In the Catalogue the MS. is described as New Testament history, but in truth we have to do with a Life of Jesus in a monophysitic setting. (Page 5 reads: "then Joseph of Arimathea bowed himself before the Cross and said the *Trisagion*, with the addition—'Thou who for us hast been hanged on the Cross . . .'.") Through the kindness of Sir Oliver Wardrop I was afterwards provided with a photograph of this MS. Perhaps this is a monophysitic setting for the *Diatessaron*? The future may provide an answer to this important question for Gospel research.

MS. No. 47 contains many and important photographs of the Georgian gospel pericopes, especially from St. Mark, which were partly made from the Tiflis MS. Among these photographed copies is one of the *Life of St. Romanus*, and it appears that Conybeare intended to edit this Life, which later on was edited by Kekelidze.³ As science

¹ For the literature on the Antiochos Strategos, the taking of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614, see Peradze, "Alt-christliche Literatur," in *Oriens Christianus*, 3rd series, iii-iv, 1 (Leipzig, 1929), p. 113.

² Cf. note 5, p. 83.

³ "Zhitie Petra Novago, muchenika Koptiiskago," in *Khristyanski Vostok*, iv 1 (S.P.B., 1915).

is now giving so much interest and attention to the Georgian evangels, it seems very desirable that the library authorities should have copies made of these photographs, for the text is very faded.

Among liturgical and church-historical MSS., two are of special significance :

(1) No. 56 in the *Apophthegm* of Georgian desert-monasticism by David Garesja and Nat'lisimtsemeli. I called this MS. *The Chronicle of the Monastery of Nat'lisimtsemeli* (John the Baptist),¹ and have already edited many extracts from it in Georgian. Here stands before us the figure of an ecstatic visionary, of an enthusiastic being, whose entire horizon is God and His Providence, who is ready at any hour for death and martyrdom from the Lesgians, the Mohammedan neighbours. Truly ascetic figures are these, whose saintliness and abstemiousness from inner joy, from natural and human love, in no way rank below those of the great Nitrian, or Thebaic saints. These are stories of the Georgian mystics of the eighteenth century. It seems very desirable that this treasure of the Georgian Church should be made known to the European public through an English translation.

(2) MS. No. 28 (39r-73r). *The Conversion of King Mirian by the holy apostle St. Nino* may, in some instances, on closer examination and comparison with other material, furnish some new points of view on the history of the beginning of Christianity in Georgia.

The Wardrop Collection is richest in secular literature and in the history of the Georgians. In addition to a Georgian-Armenian grammar of the nineteenth century, the dictionary section contains valuable material. No. 40 is a Georgian dictionary by Saba Sulkhani Orbeliani, copied on 26th March, 1753, by Hieromonach Ephrem. Other MSS., such as Nos. 38, 59, 61, 62, 63, and 6 are of lexical character. No. 38 was written in 1813 and is a Russian-Georgian dictionary; Nos. 59, 61, 62, and 63 were written in the eighteenth century. It is interesting to note that the Russian words are written with Georgian letters. Finally, MS. No. 6, written by Luke Isarlov in 1835 (135 pages). MSS. Nos. 48-129, 135-136, include S. S. Orbeliani's Dictionary. In the *Jvari Vazissa*, No. 1 (Paris, 1931), I carefully described MSS. 19-24 and quoted a poem from them which, in my opinion, comes from the pen of the celebrated Georgian poet, Besarion Gabashvili.

Among other MSS. the following are especially noteworthy : No. 54. *The Mekhita Rhetoric*, written on 10th July, 1764. Of special note is the letter of the Catholicos Anthony to King Irakli (8-19 pages); in it is an enumeration of the works of Catholicos Anthony, and it mentions also the Rhetoric of Bishop Dositheos Nekreseli, which must have been a very long one. No. 64 contains the records

¹ *Jvari Vazissa*, iv (Paris, 1934), pp. 7-30 (in Georgian).

of the Metropolitan Ivane Maqashvili for 1795, dated 1st September ; No. 41, the journey made by Saba Sulkhan Orbeliani in Europe, written 21st November, 1720 (the MS. dates from the year 1824) (152 pages). It begins " 1720, November 21st, I proceeded from the border province of France to the town which is called Antibes. We travelled ten miles . . . September 7th. There are seven captains on the Island of Malta, three French, 1 Italian, 1 German, and 2 Spaniards, and each of them has three men under him, so in all there are twenty-one ; they wear on their breast large . . ." Here the account breaks off. Unfortunately all the MSS. dealing with S. S. Orbeliani's journeys in Georgia and Europe contain only the second part of the description.¹ I have a French text about his stay and entertainment at the court of Louis the XVth in France, which I shall shortly publish.

Other interesting MSS. are No. 33 *Zilikhaniani*, which contains the history of Tiflis in chronological order from 1699 to 1795. Already I have made a comprehensive study of this, and shall shortly publish an article on it in my periodical, *Jvari Vazissa*. No. 66 is a very richly-illustrated MS. of the works of the celebrated Georgian Shot'a Rust'aveli. It dates from the nineteenth century and contains fifty hand-painted pictures. Attached to this MS. is No. 19a, the original copy of its translation into English by the late Miss Marjory Wardrop. There are also original copies of Sir Oliver Wardrop's works : No. 21, his English translation of S. S. Orbeliani's book, *The Book of Wisdom and Lies*, and No. 18, *The Kingdom of Georgia*. There are, too, No. 4, MS. of *Qaramaniani* ; No. 13, of *Archiliani* ; and Nos. 60, 25, and several copies of *K'alvazhiani*.

I cannot close this very short sketch, which is only a hasty review of the valuable Wardrop collection, without drawing attention to the very sympathetic letters of Gerhard Schnelle. There are in all three letters : the first in Norwegian, dated 27th August, 1825, from Mukhravan (the Georgian village of Mukhrani)—five pages ; the second letter is again in Norwegian, from Tiflis, dated 2nd July, 1828—also five pages long ; the last is in German, from Moscow, dated 26th September, 1831—one page only. All these letters are addressed to his relatives in his home town of Bergen, in Norway. They present a picture of the life of a tutor in one of the best Georgian families. We learn about the life of this family and its interesting details. Schnelle loved the land and was thoroughly appreciative of the hospitality of the Georgians. Nothing but the great misfortune of his son's sudden death in Elizavetpol could have forced the old gentleman to leave Georgia, which he did with a heavy heart.

¹ Tiflis possesses only two MSS. of this second part of the description of the journey. Museum of Antiquities Nos. 93 and 759. The Georgian Catholic Monastery in Constantinople has one MS. of this travel-description and is preparing it for publication. ✓

The other large libraries and private collections of England have no Georgian MSS. During my stay in England I wandered over the following celebrated collections of Oriental MSS.: The Selby Oak College Library in Birmingham, John Ryland's Library in Manchester, Dr. M. Gaster's Library in Maida Vale, London. Also, at Sir Oliver Wardrop's suggestion, I went to Windsor to search in the rich Eton College Library. Later on, I questioned my English friend, the Rev. C. B. Moss, in Eton, about this matter. Unfortunately, in all these libraries, in 1932, there were no Georgian MSS. However, in regard to the Georgian MSS. of the British Museum and the Bodleian there is so much research material there that it may stimulate some young people to take up a very satisfying study on behalf of Christian knowledge and of Georgia.¹

¹ M. Brosset was stimulated to his Georgian studies and research only through the Georgian collection in the national library in Paris.

ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES

I. The Svanian *Sakurtskhill*

By G. CHITAIA

This article is reproduced from a periodical of the Museum of Georgia, entitled *Sak'art'velos Muzeumis Moambé (Bulletin de Musée de Georgie)*, vol. ii, 1923-5.

In the Introduction which has been omitted in this translation, the author relates concisely the history of the development of ethnological science and the controversy which arose, and which still continues, concerning the methods of ethnological research. He points out which of the many methods elaborated by the different ethnological schools should be adopted by the Georgian scholars in their own ethnological research work.

"In the domain of Georgian ethnology, apart from Professor N. Marr's paleo-ethnological and linguistic-ethnological notes scattered in his various works, which only indicate clues, and from Professor I. Javakhishvili's epoch-making monograph on *Georgian Paganism* we possess almost nothing that is palpable or scientifically acceptable." Georgian ethnology being at such a stage of development, the author recommends the adoption of the descriptive method as most expedient, and explains the importance of clear and vivid description of every ethnological detail, no matter how insignificant it may appear—"for a detail often provides us with the explanation of great questions."

The author offers us his Svanian *Sakurtskhill* as a subject of one such detail, and for the same reason, too, we reproduce it here.

MANY travellers in Svanet'i and observers of things Svanian have pointed out that Svanian furniture presents most remarkable and noteworthy features. I. Bartholomaei expressed the opinion that Svanian furniture belonged to a most ancient epoch, and together with Ossetian furniture and with that of some of the Daghestanian peoples it constituted by its originality a style peculiar, and distinguishable from the furniture of the East.¹ Raddé, too, stated that Svanian furniture was most noteworthy.²

This remarkable Svanian furniture consists mostly of (1) *Sakurtskhill*, an armchair; (2) *Skam* or *lirgim*, a long chair or a garden bench; (3) *Bojg*, a three-leg chair; and (4) *P'ichk'* or *tabak*, a round three-leg table.³

Of these pieces of furniture, the first one forms the object of our present research study, namely, *Sakurtskhill*.

A picture of a *Sakurtskhill* is reproduced here from a sketch which I. Bartholomaei gives in the supplement to his work quoted above,

¹ I. Bartholomaei, *Poëzdka v Volnuyu Svanetiyyu in Zapiski Kavkazskago Otdëla Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva*, vol. iii, Tiflis, 1855, p. 198 (to be denoted Z.K.O.I.R.G.O.).

² G. E. Raddé, *Puteshestvie v Mingrelskikh Alpakh i v trekh ikh verkhnikh prodolnykh dolinakh*, *ibid.*, vol. viii, part i, p. 73.

³ (a) "T'avisup'ali Svani," *Ushgulis Aghdseva—The Description of Ushguli*. See *Iveria* (a Georgian journal), Nos. 35-44, 1888. (b) D. Margiani, *Svanety*, in *Sbornik Materialov dlya opisaniya mēstnostey i plemen Kavkaza*, vol. i, part i, 1890, p. 74 (to be denoted S.M.O.M.P.K.). (c) P. Eristov, *Zamētki o Svanetii*, Tiflis, 1898, p. 22.

and which was made by him in 1854 in the village of Mestia.¹ A second type of *Sakurtskhil* is preserved in the Museum of Georgia in Tiflis. It was brought there from the village of Ushgul in 1910 by A. Kaznakov and is registered in the catalogue of the Ethnological Department of the Museum under the number 50-10/146. Both of these types come from the upper valleys of Svanet'i, namely, from *Zhabkhev*, or, using a modern appellation, from Free Svanet'i.²

The *Sakurtskhil* in the possession of the Museum (see illustration No. 2) represents a carved wood armchair. It consists of four rectangular columns with the lower parts or legs thicker than the upper parts; in height they measure 67 cm. each; in thickness the lower part measures 10.8 cm., the middle part 8.7 cm., and the upper part 5.6 cm. The back columns are, in the middle, slightly canted outward, so that the person sitting in it might comfortably lean against the back. The upper parts of the front columns are tapered from the inside to create more elbow-room, while, on the outside, the columns are slightly concave. The tops of all four columns have turned finials.

Of the seat rails, the back one is wider than the others, and has both upper and lower sides serrated. The side seat rails have serratures only on the lower side. The front seat rail is bead-turned (the beads number twelve). Below this seat rail, at a distance of 8 cm. each, are two similarly turned rails. The central rail is connected with the seat rail by six symmetrically placed spindles, while it is connected with the lower rail by five similar spindles.

All the upper-part rails, whether of the sides or of the back, are similarly bead-turned. The side top rails are 33 cm. distant from the side seat rails, each having twelve beads. Parallel to these are centre and bottom rails, at a distance of 11 cm. and 13 cm. respectively. All the upper rails are connected with each other by spindles similar to those described above. At the sides, these spindles number five in each of the upper and four in each of the lower rows. The top, centre, and bottom rails of the back have thirteen, twelve, and fourteen beads respectively. The centre rail of the back is thicker than the front or side rails. The back rails, too, are connected by spindles, numbering six in the upper and four in the lower row. The latter evidently had five spindles, but only four are there now. Below the back and side seat rails, at a distance of 9 cm., are stretcher rails, one in each. These stretcher rails are of the same shape as the other rails, except that they are a little thinner and have fewer beads, which are of unequal size. At the ends these stretcher rails have no beads at all.

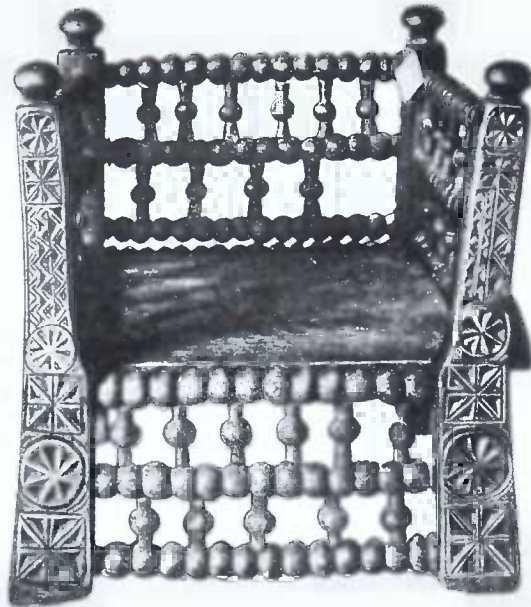
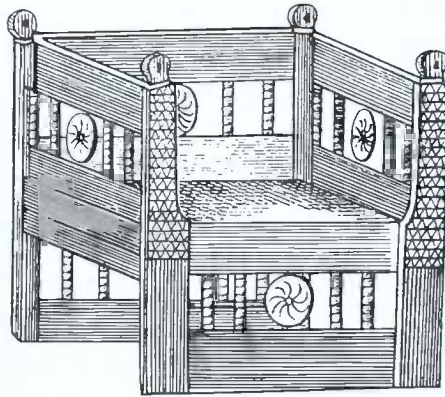
On the seat rails are placed three boards, forming the seat. The first or front board is wider than the others, and it and the third or back board are notched out at the corners to fit the columns. The front board, besides, is scribed to fit the beads of the turning of the front seat rail.

The faces of the front columns are carved. On the left column from below upwards the following figures are carved:—

A rectangle divided by four diagonals into eight equal parts, each part being a triangular chip carving.

¹ See note 1, p. 91, the supplement, tab. iii, No. 27.

² See note 3 (a), p. 91.



Above this rectangle is a circle from whose centre (this centre deviates a little from the exact centre) issue eleven radii. Among the radii, again, triangular chip carvings are effected. The circle is surrounded by two or three flutes wherever there is space.

Above this circle again is a rectangle with four diagonals and triangular chip carvings between the diagonals, similar to those of the first rectangle described above.

This rectangle is similarly followed by a circle, only smaller in size than the one already described. Its centre, too, is not in the right position. It has nine radii, and is surrounded by one or two flutes.

Higher up still on the right side, two six-runged ladders are carved, each 14.5 cm. in height. The ladders are separated from each other by a flute. Hereon, too, on the left side, to about the middle of the height of the ladders described, are carved two two-runged ladders (or zig-zag lines), and above these a wide ladder which has only two rungs.

Still higher up is a small rectangle of the type already described, which has four diagonals.

The small rectangle is followed by a semi-oval with nine radii.

The face of the right front column is also carved symmetrically with the carved figures of the left column. The only difference is that the first circle (from below) of the right hand column has only eight radii, while that of the left side has eleven. In the second circles there are nine radii in the one on the left, and ten in the one on the right. Again, on the left column the ladders are carved in three rows of equal height; the first two on the right side have six rungs while the third, which is wider, has four rungs. The semi-oval has eight radii.¹

The *Sakurtskhil* described herein is made of different materials. Its columns are of linden; all the rails, stretchers and finials are of spruce (*pinus orientalis*),² and the seat boards are of pine (*pinus sylvestris* var. *argentea* stev.). The sections of the *Sakurtskhil* are joined without glue or nails; even dowels have not been used. In making this piece of furniture, the following tools were used:—

sachvreteli (in Svanian, *echol*)—a chisel.

chk'ut'i (in Svanian, *chort'ai*)—a gouge.

*t'kheli dsaldi*³ (in Svanian, *latkhi*)—a thin hand bill.

The armchair is undoubtedly of local workmanship, although E. Kalveit, who visited Svanet'i in 1911, says that "while in other parts of Caucasia one meets with beautiful objects of home industry, made of wool, wood, clay, and metals, in Svanet'i one finds no craftsmen at all—neither a carpenter, nor a shoemaker, nor a potter, nor

¹ Messrs. Collett and Downer, of Sarratt, Herts, intend to make the armchair described herein (ill. 2); they will reproduce it most faithfully both in form and material and the chair will be on view at 23 Buckingham Gate, London, S.W. 1. (Translator's note.)

For the correct translation, particularly of the technical terms, the translator is indebted to Mr. O. Dixon, the wood-carver of Sarratt, Herts.

² On how the Svan regards spruce, see note 3 (a), p. 91.

³ We are not, unfortunately, in a position to reproduce herein the pictures of these tools, as the Museum does not possess such tools of Svanian origin among its collection.

a harness-maker; so that the Svans import everything—chairs, shoes, and urns from Tsageri.¹ How much this information is to be relied on is indeed questionable. We know very well that in the past, and not in the distant past either, such was not the position. I. Ivanyukov and M. Kovalevski, who travelled in Svanet'i in 1885, inform us that "in exchange for goods imported from outside, the Svans furnish honey, gunpowder, fruit, materials for wood utensils such as small tables, chairs, *the turned legs* of chairs, etc."² Further information as to the existence in Svanet'i of craftsmanship is given by C. Rommel.³

That carpentry in particular was well developed in Svanet'i is amply attested by Chimakadze and Stoyanov.⁴ But, apart from anything else, we know that even at the present time the Svans bring to the bazaars of Jvari and Lia objects of woodwork, and that wooden objects of Svanian craftsmanship are well known all over Megrelia, under the Svanian ethnic name of *Shonuri* (Svanian) for their good quality.⁵

Thus there can be no doubt that *Sakurtskhil* is the product of native Svanian craftsmanship and if, as may possibly be the case, it is no longer made there that should not be taken to mean that the Svans could not have made it in the past and that they were ignorant of the knowledge of the carpenter's art. It is admissible that the Svans in the past did not specialize in carpentry, that is, as a guild art, but they did carpentry work, and still carry it on, as a home industry.

The *Sakurtskhil* sketched by Bartholomaei (see illustration No. 1) is approximately of the same type as the one just described. On the face of its front columns diamond-shaped patterns are carved. The finials of this *Sakurtskhil* are ornamented with twine-like carvings. In front, below the seat rail, and at the sides and above the back seat rail, are placed four wooden discs decorated with a Swastika-like ornament. We do not know of what kind of wood this *Sakurtskhil* was made, as unfortunately Bartholomaei does not give us any information on this question.

Now let us consider what function this chair possessed in a Svan's life. In the first place, we must remember that the *Sakurtskhil* is

¹ (a) E. Kalveit, *Ocherk Selskago khozyaystva Verkhney Svanetii*, in Z.K.O.I.R.G.O. (see p. 89, note 1), vol. xxvi, issue 9, 1911, p. 46. (b) V. Teptsov, *Svanetiya*, in S.M.O.M.P.K. (see p. 89, note 3 (b)), vol. x, part i, pp. 57-8.

² I. Ivanyukov and U. Kovalevski, *V Svanetii* in *Vestnik Evropy*, September, 1886, p. 592.

³ C. Rommel, *Die Völker des Caucasus*, Weimar, 1808, p. 35. *Aus dem Archive für Ethnographie und Linguistik*, Band 1, Heft 1, *Besonders abgedruckt*.

⁴ (a) H. Chimakadze, *T'avisup'ali Svanet'i—Free Svanet'i*, in *Dzveli Sak'art'velo—Ancient Georgia*, vol. ii, Tiflis, 1911-1913, p. 9. (b) A. Stoyanov, *Puteshestvie po Svanetii*, in Z.K.O.I.R.G.O., vol. x, part ii, p. 426.

⁵ This information was kindly given me by A. Chanturia, the Director of the Museum of Megrelia in Zugdidi.

to be found all over Svanet'i, not only in Svanian homes, but also in numbers in their churches. Travellers have seen *Sakurtskhil* piled up with other pieces of furniture in many churches.¹ It is thought that in ancient times the *Sakurtskhil* must have been an object of cult offering. At the same time, a *Sakurtskhil* is an indispensable attribute to a Svan's home. No matter how poor a Svan may be, he will have a *Sakurtskhil* in his house.² And it cannot be otherwise, for the *Sakurtskhil*, as we shall see, plays an important part in his daily life.

The *Sakurtskhil* is the important armchair for the exclusive use of the eldest male of the family.³ It is a chair of honour⁴ and, apart from the eldest male of the family, only a guest of great honour is allowed to use it. Thus, for instance, I. Bartholomaei was seated in a *Sakurtskhil* in the village of Mestia in 1854 when he was sent there by the Viceroy and was therefore their guest of honour.⁵

Sakurtskhil usually stands by the hearth⁶ where, under the leadership of the *Mamasakhlisi* (father of the house), the family council foregathers and the great questions of the Svan's daily family life are decided.⁷

The hearth, for a Svan, has a peculiar religious meaning.⁸ With it, among other things, is connected the ancestry cult.⁹ During the performance of such a cult ritual, the *Sakurtskhil* plays an honoured rôle.

The Svans believe that the soul of a deceased person remains in the home for a year, during which period it must be accorded all honour and care on the part of the family. Such care is necessary even after this period, but on the anniversary the family, however poor, is obliged to observe a sumptuous *Agape*. For such an occasion, if necessary, even the sale of ancestral land is sanctioned by custom, an act which, for any other reason, would only bring shame on the family.¹⁰ And a whole year is spent by a Svan in preparation for this day, which is called *Kat'khtabak*, *Kat'dabag*, *lagvan*, or *Konchkhob*.¹¹

¹ Stoyanov, op. cit., pp. 391 and 393: "In the Church of our Saviour there are among other things several old Svanian chairs (wooden with carvings) with the back and arms." "The Church (of the Archangels) is lumbered with old Svanian furniture."

² *Supra*, note 3b, p. 91.

³ *Ibidem*. Cf. also *Samarto Shkami* of the Mokhevians. *The Collection of the Museum of Georgia*, N. 32-23-1.

⁴ H. Chimakadze, op. cit., p. 29. See below, note 11 (a).

⁵ I. Bartholomaei, op. cit., p. 198.

⁶ (a) Chimakadze, op. cit. (b) A. Dolgushin, *Cherez Svanetiyyu k Elbrusu*, S.M.O.M.P.K., vol. xxviii, part 1, p. 153. (c) P. Eristov, op. cit.

⁷ Dolgushin, op. cit., p. 154; Stoyanov, op. cit., p. 187.

⁸ L. Dadiani, *Chveulebebi Svanet'shi—The Customs of Svaneti*. In *Droeba* (a Georgian journal), No. 41, 1873.

⁹ *Supra*, p. 94, note 2, January, 1887, section ii, p. 29.

¹⁰ M. Kovalevski, *Zakon i obychay na Kavkaze*, Moscow, 1890, vol. ii, p. 58.

¹¹ H. Chimakadze, op. cit., p. 29; Margiani, op. cit., p. 80; Eristov, op. cit., pp. 39-42.

They fatten an animal, distil *aragi* (a kind of strong gin), and prepare cereals. As the day of *Agape* approaches, everything is ready ; tables are laid and the guests have arrived. But the remarkable part of the love feast, which arrests the attention of a foreign observer, is the following : Five or six tables are laid full of victuals. At the end of one of the tables, in the armchair of honour, an unusual figure is seated. On closer scrutiny it is seen that the figure is a dummy, dressed fully with hat and all, and placed in this seat of honour. The costume and the hat are those of the deceased whom the figure represents and in whose honour the *Agape* is being observed.¹ Here it should be added that some Svans observe such *Agapæ* even during their lifetime. On such occasions *lagvan* for the living is observed in the same manner as for the dead, the difference being only in this, that in the chair of honour, instead of the dummy figure, *lilshan*, sits the person himself, dressed in a new costume and fully armed according to custom, his family, if he has one, and relations sitting at his side.²

But the cult rôle of the armchair is by no means over yet. It has to play the same rôle of honour again on Remembrance Day when the Svans observe a ritualistic custom. This takes place about the time of Epiphany. It begins on 5th January and continues until the Monday of its first week. This remembrance for the dead (*lilp'anal*) is called *Adgoms*.

The Svans believe that the souls of deceased persons visit this world at least once a year, and that on such occasions they remain in their earthly homes for several days. It is, therefore, a Svan's moral obligation to welcome his ancestors with due honour, to please them in every possible way, to avoid anything likely to be offensive to them, and to bless their visit and their departure. On 5th January, therefore, everything in a Svan's home is washed, cleaned, swept, dusted, and polished, lest the souls should be offended and curse the home. Around the hearth tables are laid³ with Lenten dishes prepared in abundance for the souls. Besides the large tables, there stands at the head of the hearth a small three-leg table which is also laid with good dishes and by which is placed the chair of honour, the *Sakurtskhil*. This small table and the *Sakurtskhil* are intended for the principal ancestor, for the dead head of the *gvari*⁴ (family). In the dusk of the evening, lighted wax-candles are placed at the edges of the tables. And then, in the Svan's imagination, the souls of the former members

¹ H. Chimakadze, op. cit., p. 29.

² P. Eristov, op. cit., p. 42 ; Stoyanov, op. cit., p. 438.

³ This custom of laying tables around the hearth is followed also by the Bolkarians, a tribe bordering upon Svanet'i. See Kovalevski, op. cit., vol. i, p. 202. The Bolkarians are considered to be descendants of the ancient Basianians. Cf. Rommel, op. cit., p. 52.

⁴ For the explanation of *gvari* see W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932, p. 221. (Translator's note.)

of the family recently or long-since dead arrive and seat themselves at the tables and enjoy the meals so specially prepared for them. Complete silence prevails at this time; the members of the family hide themselves in corners. The head of the family, hat in hand, humbly approaches the table and the chair of honour, lifts a glass full of *araq*i, and in the name of the chief of the ancestors, thus addresses the souls "present": "*Khochav lakun jarkh, sablu, chis,*" etc., "A quiet rest be your lot," etc. Then, from a corner of the hall, *dchuniri* (a musical instrument) is played in a minor key.¹

Such hospitality, which later includes meat dishes, continues several days. On the day the souls are to return to their world the Svans bake special breads for them. The shape of these breads is specially noteworthy. One resembles a ladder, which Svans call *Kichkhildo* (a small ladder).² On this day, too, the blessing of the souls take place, and they are seen off beyond the house gates. For this purpose the head of the family takes into the garden the table of honour on which lie the remains of the meal. This denotes that the "guests" are leaving home under the direction of the head of the *gv*ari and taking leave of everybody.³ At the children's *lip'ane*, a table is not provided, but a plank or a table without legs, round which are placed low pieces of wood instead of chairs,⁴ called *kwil*.

As the above description shows, *Sakurtshkil* has an important part in this cult ritual, too. If we now put aside the cult customs, and turn our attention to other aspects of a Svan's life, particularly of his social life, we shall find that the *Sakurtshkil* in this sphere also plays a rôle of distinction.

It has already been noted that *Sakurtshkil* was designated for the use of only the eldest male member of the family. If we now examine closely the rights and prerogatives of this eldest member of the family, called *K'ora Makhwshis*, we shall see that *Sakurtshkil* plays a rôle in the function of the office of *K'ora Makhwshis*, and appears to be an attribute, perhaps even an emblem, of the rights of *Makhwshis*.

As an instance, let us consider the manner in which the Svans administer justice in their customary way.

In old Svanet'i, for the investigation of criminal actions and,

¹ Margiani, op. cit., pp. 84-5; Eristov, op. cit., pp. 42-4.

² N. Marr, *Iz poëzdkh v Svanyu* = From a Journey to Svania, in *Khristianski Vostok*, St. Petersburg, 1914, vol. ii, pp. 9-10:—"The festal sacrificial breads are called God's breads (*e Saghermat* = for the God), and the obituary or Mass breads 'for the souls' (*e Sakwnash*). The sacrificial breads are decorated with longitudinal impressions of three ornaments: (a) Chains of small rhombs; (b) diagonals in small squares with a small cross at one of the ends. (c) Nets of square checks. The first two are imprinted on both sides of the 'God's breads', and on the third, that is on the breads 'for the souls', the imprinting is done by a rectangular wooden plate about a palm's length and 'two fingers' wide, as Svans themselves defined it". (Translator's quotation.)

³ Margiani, op. cit., p. 85.

⁴ N. Marr, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

with some exceptions, even of civil suits, the plaintiff and defendant used to select reliable persons, or, as Svans called them, *Moravs* (sing. *Morav*, plur. *Morvar*). One party selected as many *Moravs* as did the other party. Before beginning the actual investigation the *Moravs* of both sides together visited now the plaintiff, now the defendant. In this way they acquainted themselves with the charges of both sides, and conveyed and reconveyed answers of one party to the other. Such visits continued four, five, or more days. Their hosts were obliged to welcome and entertain with honour "the God-appointed *Moravs*".¹ During such entertainments, although the host displayed great generosity and stinted nothing—always with the hope that he might win the *Moravs*' hearts—it was the host himself who was seated at the head of the table in the *Sakurtskhil*, the seat of honour, and from there he related the charges or gave answers to the mediators. It is to be noted that on such occasions *K'ora Makhwshis* was always seated at the table in the place of honour, and in the chair of honour, no matter who, or however important, any member of the *Moravs* might be, whether a *Makhwshis* of the village, a priest, or even the *Makhwshis* of the *Khevi* himself.² From this custom it is clear that the head of the family was a plenipotent master, worthy of all respect.

Of the manner in which the charge was delivered, Ar. Wonian records a somewhat different version. According to him, the complainant took his stand by the *Matswarash*, a section of the hearth, and, leaning on a stick, related his charges.³ But this version, too, emphasizes the social-ritualistic moment of the procedure, though instead of the head of the table here we have the hearth, and instead of the *Sakurtskhil* the stick-mace, the emblem of his right.

Again, another instance: On Christmas Day festivals when, by turns, this or that person undertakes to give an annual party for the entire village the seats at the table are arranged as follows: At the head of the table, in the seat of honour, is the head of the family; at his side the *Mamasakhlisi* of the village, and one of the oldest inhabitants of the village; farther on are the others, seated according to age. So the chief places, after the head of the family, are occupied by the old inhabitants of the village, whilst the younger generation take the last seats.⁴

From what has already been said, it is clear that the head of the

¹ Svani, *Samar'tlis Dsarmoeba Svanet'shi* = The Administration of Justice in Svanet'i, in *Iveria* (a Georgian journal), No. 27, 1886.

² P. Eristov, op. cit., p. 10; Svani, op. cit.; Kovalevski, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 22-3.

³ Arsen Wonian, in *Materialy po Yafeticheskomu Yazykoznanyu* = Materials for Japhetic Linguistic Studies, St. Petersburg, 1917, vol. ix, p. 48.

⁴ I. Ivanyukov and M. Kovaleski, op. cit., vol. v, August, p. 587; Wonian, op. cit., pp. 35-6.

family was endowed with great rights in his relations with outsiders, and particularly so if this relationship took place under his own roof. In his home he appears as the plenipotent master, and this pre-eminence he concedes to no one. In this respect he acts in the name of his home just as one plenipotentary representative of a sovereign state acts towards an equally plenipotentary representative of another sovereign state. Here family, *gvari*, is represented as an independent sovereign unit whose merits and prerogatives it behoves to guard when in relation with another such unit. The protection of such a merit is effected through the person of *K'ora Makhwshis* in conjunction with the *Sakurtshkil*.

Although it is quite true that in Svanet'i age is greatly esteemed, the Svan does not strictly observe it in intercourse between different families, or *gvaris*. Undoubtedly in ancient times there prevailed among the Svans the principle: the older in age, the greater in right,¹ but this principle evidently was observed only within a family or *gvari*. In exceptional cases, even among the members of the family, this prerogative could be shared between the elder and the younger, especially when the head of the family became incapable of leadership. In such cases *K'ora Makhwshis* surrendered his right in relation to his family to a younger member, "but in the domain of religious rites and customs *K'ora Makhwshis* retains his eldership, no matter how weak or old he may be."² When there were thus two heads in a family it was natural that two *Sakurtshkil*, two chairs of honour, should have appeared. That this was so is confirmed by Mr. Margiani who has so ably described Svanian customs and life.³

If we have already sufficiently proved the cult and social aspects of the *Sakurtshkil* in conjunction with the prerogatives of *K'ora Makhwshis*, as one of the attributes of the latter's prerogatives it now devolves on us to consider *Sakurtshkil* also from the hermeneutical point of view. In this case, the question relates first of all to the decoration of the object under review.

What is the meaning or significance conveyed by this embellishment—is it merely decorative, or does it represent marks or signs intended to convey some definite ideas? A positive answer to this question is unfortunately at the present stage of research impossible to formulate. As such ornaments have not been exhaustively studied hermeneutically, we are not in a position to compare them with those of similar groups of objects, and cannot therefore have even an approximate idea of their general character or meaning.

In a question of this kind, the deciding factor lies in the quantity of the objects. A comparison of one or two such objects cannot lead

¹ Svani, op. cit., *Iveria*, No. 55; Eristov, op. cit., p. 35.

² Svani, op. cit., *ibid.*

³ Margiani, op. cit., p. 74.

to any definite conclusion. In this respect the student finds himself in an exactly similar situation to that which Edward Gerhardt so wittily characterized: *Monumentorum artis, qui unum vidit, nullum vidit qui milia vidit, unum vidit.* Georgian ethnology has received scant attention from students. It is as yet virgin soil, but the soil promises to be very fruitful indeed. Possibly in the tilling of this soil we shall unearth features of the earliest times which will render comprehensible many of the phenomena at present incomprehensible to us. It is quite admissible that in the carved ornamentation of our *Sakurtskhil* we may have a reflection of the ancient cosmogony of the Svanians. This is all the more admissible if we can perceive in the concentric circles, in the rectangles and Swastika signs, the Geometric Conception of the most ancient peoples; that is, the earth's roundness in the former, and its rectangularity in the latter.

On the other hand, if we should not feel satisfied with the comparison made of the ladder forms represented in the *Sakurtskhil* with the shape of the ritualistic breads, these ladder forms could at any rate be a guide to the student in studying the ancient ornaments of the Spanish Iberians, just as the above-mentioned concentric circles, rectangles, and swastikas are a guide towards their source of *Urform*—the Proto-Elamite ornaments.¹ This, however, is just *en passant*. As stated previously, the subject is a very special one, and has to be studied seriously, in all its bearings and through local materials.

A hermeneutical study of our object would not be complete if we did not consider the etymology of the name as well. This name we have in different forms. In the "Description of Ushgul" the *Frce Svan* (the author) spells it *Sakurtskhvil*.² R. Eristov uses the same form.³ D. Margiani gives *Sakurtskhil*.⁴ In the Russian-Svanian dictionary of Iv. Nizharadze we have *Sakurtskhvel*.⁵ In the catalogue of the Museum of Georgia, the form of *Sakurtskhil* is given.⁶

Although the word appears thus in different forms, it is clear that it is compounded of three elements: the prefix *sa*⁷ is a Georgian

¹ W. Gerthe, *Das Weltbild der Protoelamischen Kultur*, Wien, 1921, pp. 1-14; Sieret, *Questions de Chronologie et Ethnographie Ibérique*, p. 34. Cf. N. Marr's *Rit'i tskhovrobs iap'eturi enat'metsniereba*=What sustains the Japhetic Linguistics, Petrograd, 1923, pp. 35-6; Iv. Javakhishvili, *K'art'veli eris istoria*=A History of the Georgian Nation, Tiflis, 1913, vol. i, pp. 129-131.

² T'avisup'ali Svani, *Ushgulis Aghdsera*=Description of Ushgul, in *Iveria*, No. 35, 1888.

³ Eristov, op. cit., p. 22.

⁴ Margiani, op. cit., p. 72.

⁵ Iv. Nizharadze, *Rusko-Svanski Slovar*=A Russian-Svanian Dictionary, Tiflis, 1910, under the word *Kreslo*.

⁶ *Sak'art'velos Museumis Katalogi*=The Catalogue of the Museum of Georgia, 1910, p. 89.

⁷ N. Marr notes that the Georgian prefix *sa* is spread in the Edseri dialect of the Svanian. See op. cit., p. 9, note 1.

prefix, its Svanian equivalent would be *Na*-(←*ia*→)*la*. Its suffix *il* is Svanian (= Georgian *uri*/*uli*), while the vocalization of the root is characteristic of the Megrelo-Chanian, or belongs to the Megrelo-Chanian stratum of the Svanian.

The Georgian form of the word is given twice by Saba Sulkhan Orbeliani in his great Georgian Dictionary. It is given in the MS. Dictionary which belongs to the Museum of the Georgian Society for the Diffusion of Literacy (MS. No. 2664 Ecclesiastic Miniale) under the word *Skam* (chair) in the form *Sakurtskhuli*, and is explained as "a small piece of furniture with a seat and a back for leaning against".¹ It should be mentioned here that under the word *Skam* such a definition is not found in the Saba's Dictionary edited by R. Erist'avi. Nor is it to be found in some of the other dictionaries—for instance, in MS. No. 75 of the Museum of Antiquities, or in MS. No. 3 and MS. No. 1503 of the Museum of the Society for the Diffusion of Literacy. It is, however, mentioned under *Skam* in the MS. of Saba's Dictionary brought from Svanet'i, which at present belongs to S. Yordanishvili,² and the word is defined thus: "*Sakurtskhuli*—a small armchair."

In other places Saba inserts the word independently, and defines it as follows: "*Sakurtskhuli* is like a chair for sitting back and" (sic.)³ "*Sakurtskhuli*—a chair for sitting back and leaning against for a nap"⁴; "*Sakurtskhuli* is like a chair for sitting and leaning back, chair bed"⁵; "*Sakurtskhuli*—a small chair-bed b.b. (2, 2, *Dialog*)."⁶ The verification of the quotation did indeed show the word in Euthime Mt'adsmindeli's translation⁷ of Pope Gregory's *Dialogue*, but not in the second paragraph of the second chapter of the said treatise, as the dictionary points out, but in the second paragraph of the third chapter. Herein the word is used twice (the MS. of the Museum of Antiquities, No. 238, page 175).⁸ In this MS. the word is defined in the margin in red ink in the same handwriting, as follows: "*Sakurtskhuli* is a chair for sitting and leaning back" (page 175).

¹ D. Karidchashvili, *The Catalogue of the Library of the Georgian Society for the Diffusion of Literacy* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1905, p. 302.

² To Mr. S. Yordanishvili I express my heartfelt thanks for the loan of the MS.

³ The MS. No. 2664 of the Museum of the Georgian Society for the Diffusion of Literacy; in miniscule ecclesiastical script.

⁴ *Ibid.*, MS. 1509, in ditto.

⁵ *Ibid.*, MS. No. 82.

⁶ MS. No. 75 of the Museum of Antiquities, Tiflis.

⁷ K. Kekelidze, *K'art'uli literaturis Istoria*=A history of Georgian Literature, Tiflis, 1923, vol. i, p. 202.

⁸ Th. Jordania, *Opisanie Rukopisey Tifliskago Tserkovnago Muzeya*, Tiflis, 1903, vol. i, p. 256. The MS. is copied in 1793 by Gabriel, the well-known calligraphist. In the oldest MS. of the *Dialogue* (No. 1141 of the Museum of Antiquities) this word could not be found, as the corresponding pages in Chapter 3 are missing. Unfortunately we could not find in Tiflis the Greek text of the *Dialogue*, so we were unable to check it with the Greek word.

From this deviation it is clear that the word in question is a very old one. It is met with in documents of the tenth century. Its semasiology, too, in spite of insignificant variations, expresses a definite idea. Its root form resembles, on the one hand, the word *Kwartskhl-bek*, and on the other *Sa-katso* (*Sa-mama-katso*),¹ *Sa-katsebo* (= that which is intended for the man). In both cases, comparison reveals the implication of respect, esteem, honour, in the word.²

Thus an all-sided thorough investigation, in so far as it is possible at present, permits us to formulate the following conclusion: *Sakurtskhil* is a definite attribute of the ritual and social life of the Svans; it is an armchair of honour for the exclusive use of the head of the family (Chief), not only in his life-time but even after his death. But simultaneously with this conclusion a question arises—To what stage of social interrelationship and to what stage of cult order can we refer this chair of honour of the Svans?

A definite answer to this question, at the present stage of research, would be hasty and inconclusive. Its solution will have to wait until the ethnical problems of the Svans have been studied in all their aspects.

¹ *Kats*||*koch*||*dchäsh* resp. *Dchash*, Elamite *tashsh* and Sumerian *tash*||*tas*. For this etymology see Marr's *Opredelenie Yazyka vtoroy kategorii Akhamenid. Klinobr. Nadpisey*—"The definition of the language of the second category of the Achæmænian Cuneiform Inscriptions," in *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Ruskago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva*, vol. 22, 1913-14, p. 81, paragraph 46. See also Marr, *Zamêtki po Yafeticheskim klinopisyam*=*Notes on Japhetic Cuneiform inscriptions*, in *Izvestia Rossiiskoy Akademii istorii Materialnoy Kultury* 1923, vol. ii, pp. 294-6.

² Cf. *Sakatsravi*—befitting, seemly. The definition of Saba S. Orbeliani. See his dictionary referred to above.

NICHOLAS MARR AND HIS JAPHETIC THEORY¹

By A. GUGUSHVILI

IN tribute to the great service rendered to archæology and linguistic research by the late Georgian scholar Nicholas Marr (December, 1865–December, 1934), it seems fitting that we should give here a brief outline of his life and of the principles of his Japhetic theory.

Nicholas Marr was born in 1865 in Kutais, Georgia. His father, a Scotsman, was one of Georgia's pioneer tea-planters who settled in Western Georgia and eventually became a director of the Agricultural School at Kutais. The childhood of young Nicholas was spent on Prince Gurieli's estate at Ozurget'i, a town in the province of Guria, where, following the custom of the country, he received his early education from his Georgian mother. At school age, he entered the Kutais Gymnasium, and soon displayed a remarkable aptitude for the study of languages, in which he was encouraged and guided by M. Harbut, the teacher of French. Not only did his studies there include French, Italian, German, English, Greek, and Latin, but also Comparative Linguistics and Georgian history.

Marr entered the University of St. Petersburg in 1884 and enrolled as a student in the four sections of the Faculty of Oriental Languages, viz. Armeno-Georgian, Armeno-Perso-Turco-Tartar, Sanscrito-Perso-Armenian and Arabo-Hebraic-Syrian, following all four courses over the same period of time. Here his studies embraced the Georgian language, Armenian, Persian (modern and ancient), Pahlevi, Sanscrit,

¹ In compiling this article free use has been made of the following sources:—

- V. B. Aptekar. *N. Ya. Marr i Novoe uchenie o Yazyke*—N. Ya. Marr and the New Teaching about Languages. Moscow, 1934. (The main source of information on Marr's life).
- I. Meshchaninov. *Osnovnye nachala Yafetidologii*—The fundamental beginnings of Japhetidology. In *Izvestiya Obshchestva Obsledovaniya i Izucheniya Azerbaidjana*—Bulletin of the Society for the Investigation and Study of Azerbaidjan, No. 1, 1925.
- N. Ya. Marr. *Osnovnye Tablitsy k grammatike drevne-grazinskago Yazyka*—The fundamental Tables to the Grammar of the Ancient Georgian Language. St. Petersburg, 1908.
- *Yafetidy*—The Japhetides. In *Vostok*—The East, i, St. Petersburg, 1922.
- *Yafeticheski Kavkaz i tretiy etnicheski element v sozidanii sredizemnomorskoy kul'tury*—Japhetic Caucasia and the third ethnic element in the creation of Mediterranean Culture, Leipzig, 1920. (There is a German translation of this book, by Professor Friedrich Braun, published in 1923.)
- *Osnovnye dostizheniya Yafeticheskoy teorii*—Fundamental attainments of the Japhetic Theory, Rostov-on-Don, 1925.
- *Yafeticheskie Yazyki*—The Japhetic Languages. In *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, Moscow, 1931, lxv.
- *Novyy povorot v rabote po Yafeticheskoy teorii*—A new turning in the work on the Japhetic theory. In *Izvestiya Akademi Nauk S.S.S.R.*—*Izvestiya of the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R.*, 1931, pp. 637–682.

Tartar and Turkish, Arabic, Hebrew, Syrian, and even Etruscan and Basque.

His student days over, Marr was sent by the Faculty in 1890 to Echmiadzin and Sevan in Armenia, where he distinguished himself in his research into medieval Armenian manuscripts. Shortly afterwards he was appointed "Privat-Dozent" to the Chair of Armenian Linguistics and Literature. In 1894 and 1896 Marr attended the lectures in Strasburg of the then famous Oriento-Semitologist, Professor T. Nöldecke, and under the latter's guidance he learnt Aisorian, Palmyrene, Nabatean, Mandaic, and other languages. Thus equipped, he joined the expedition which N. P. Kondakov, the Russian Byzantologist and archæologist, led to Mount Athos in 1898, and there had the opportunity of studying the richest collection of Georgian manuscripts in existence. In 1899 the degree of Magister of Armenian Literature was conferred on him; in 1900 the Faculty appointed him acting extraordinary professor, and in 1902 ordinary professor, of Armenian and Georgian Literature. This last-mentioned appointment followed on his successful defence of his doctoral dissertation, *Hippolyte: An Interpretation of the Song of Songs*.

Another expedition, this time to Sinai and Palestine (Jerusalem) was made in 1902 by Marr, accompanied by A. A. Vassilev, the Byzantologist, and by I. A. Javakhishvili, the Georgian historian (and Marr's pupil) who, working on Georgian, Syrian, Armenian, and Arabic manuscripts, discovered rich treasure in a whole series of medieval texts.

Side by side with Marr's study of ancient languages and his revelation of secrets hitherto hidden in age-old manuscripts, he undertook the work of excavation of centres of ancient culture. As early as 1892-3 he was sent by the Faculty to Armenia to take charge of excavations at Ani, the medieval capital, and at Vornak. This work resulted not only in the unearthing of prehistoric monuments of archæological value, but convinced Marr that the history of material culture was vastly important to linguistic research. This conviction prompted him several years later to resume excavations at Ani at his own expense. He and his able pupil-assistant, I. A. Orbeli, worked there from 1904 to 1917 and brought to light priceless archæological treasures which substantially altered the popular conception of Ani's history, hitherto known only from old books and manuscripts. For instance, the excavations revealed that under Mongol rule Ani had flourished, instead of declined; that "Christian" culture had been inseparably bound up with "Mussulman" culture; that internal strife among the Armenians themselves, and not Mongol barbarity, had been the cause of the destruction of this once brilliant city. Naturally world interest was aroused. To satisfy Western Europe's

learned circles, a series of special scientific studies of the finds was published. In this connection the valuable services of Professor M. Strzygowski, of Vienna, must not be forgotten. Marr had inaugurated, in 1904, in the very place of excavation, a special Museum of Ani, which as years went by, grew to large proportions.

Other parts of Armenia besides Ani yielded treasure. An ancient pagan temple in Grani was discovered by Marr himself. About the same time, that is, in 1909 and 1910, he and Ya. I. Smirnov, the archæologist, unearthed the huge stone statues of *Vishapy* in the mountains of Gekham, south-east of Lake Sevan. Still later, in 1916, Marr headed a much-desired expedition to Van in Turkish Armenia and succeeded in bringing to light, among other rich finds, the cuneiform annals of a Khaldian king of the eighth century B.C.

Russia encouraged and rewarded Marr's work in these fields of research by signal honours. For his services in Caucasian philology and archæology, the Russian Academy of Sciences elected him "Adjunct of Literature and History in the Orient". In 1911 he was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Languages, University of St. Petersburg; in 1915 he received Russia's highest scientific award—the gold medal of the Archæological Society which was inscribed with the name "A. S. Uvarov", and in the same year the Academy of Sciences appointed him controller of Eastern Antiquities on the Caucasian front.

Marr's dream of establishing in Tiflis a Caucasian Historico-Archæological Institute was realized when, in 1916, he finally succeeded in obtaining the sanction of the Imperial Russian Government to his scheme. The organization of this Institute was immediately undertaken and the work of selecting and despatching to Tiflis two wagon-loads of books, manuscripts, drawings, archæological and ethnographical remains, etc., was in full swing, when, in October, the Bolshevik Revolution broke out in Russia, and suspended work for the time being.

Organization of scientific movements had always great interest for Marr. In 1918 and 1919 he took a leading part in the reorganization of Petrograd University and of the Lazarev Institute of Oriental languages in Moscow. He founded, too, a new scientific centre—The Academy of the History of Material Culture—of which he remained president until his death, and also The Japhetic Institute of the Academy of Sciences, which became the centre of Japhetidological research studies, and which, since 1931, has been known as The Institute of Languages and Mentality.

Marr's interest in acquiring more languages never flagged. Etruscan he had mastered when on a visit to Paris in 1911; the Vershik language of southern Pamir in 1918; the languages of ancient

Greece and Etruria in 1920-21 while working in Greece and Italy on monuments for the history of material culture ; the Basque language claimed his attention in 1922-23, and again in 1927-28, when he visited the Basses-Pyrénées ; the Chuvash languages in 1925-8 during which years he thrice visited Privolzhie and Priural in the Volga and Kama regions ; and the Breton language and living dialects of the French language in 1927-9 when Marr was in France for the purpose of delivering a series of lectures at the Ecole Orientale des Langues Vivantes in Paris.

The U.S.S.R. has not been lacking in recognition of Marr's great work. In 1928 he was elected a director of the Linguistic Section of the Communist Academy, and in 1930, in which year he became a member of the Communist Party, he headed an expedition of the Institute of the People of the East of U.S.S.R. to Udmuria. In 1931 he was sent by the Academy of Sciences to Bonn, and in the same year was elected a member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.

Almost to the end of his life Marr continued his activities in his chosen field of research. As recently as 1933 he went to Turkey, lecturing in Ankara, Istanbul, and Smyrna, and taking the liveliest interest in excavations in progress at Troy, Pergamum, Ephesus, in Crete, and at Athens. Truly a well-spent life in the cause of science !

* * * * *

The question of the origin of the Georgian language, of its affinity with other languages of the world—a question which later became the central problem around which he built up his subsequent research-work—began to interest Nicholas Marr while still a pupil of the Kutais Gymnasium. It was during his University years, while studying Arabic under Professor V. P. Rosen, the Russian Orientalist, that Marr first observed a series of resemblances between Georgian and the Semitic languages. Further study convinced him that here, at last, was the right line of investigation. For two years he worked upon this subject and then published, in 1888, in the Georgian journal *Iveria* (No. 86), an article on “The Nature and Peculiarities of the Georgian Language.”

Restrictions surrounding an academic life, however, hindered Marr from any immediate publication of progress made in this study, so that it was not until 1908 that *The Fundamental Tables of the Grammar of the Ancient Georgian Language* appeared, in which Marr claims to reveal the entire nature of the morphology of the Georgian speech, and particularly of the structure of Georgian verbs and their conjugation.

But it was in his Introduction to this work, under the title “Preliminary Information on the Affinity of the Georgian Language

with the Semitic Languages", and covering ten pages, that Marr's so-called "Japhetic Theory" was propounded. In this article he enumerated concisely the characteristic traits common to both Georgian and the Semitic languages, such as the formation of words with the aid of prefixes; the peculiar distribution of vowels as elements for the formation of etymological categories, and of consonants as stems; the trilateralness of stems; the affinity of the sounds themselves, etc. Yet, Marr added, "there is in Georgian much, and very much, which removes it from the Semitic. Georgian, therefore, cannot be said to be a Semitic language, it is only related to Semitic in a certain degree."

Having established the relationship of Georgian and its affiliated languages with Semitic, Marr's next step was to find a name for his newly-defined linguistic branch. As the Hamitic languages were then also supposed to be related to the Semitic, he decided to appropriate the name of the third remaining brother, Japhet, hence *Japhetic* became synonymous for Georgian and its related Caucasian languages. "For," said Marr, "the term *Japhetic* is not binding in any way. It is merely a conventional one which may be altered at will to cover any or all meanings according to results achieved in the process of research. Its meaning might even be completely altered."

In defining his Japhetic languages, Marr used the term "branch" and not "family". In his opinion, neither Semitic nor Japhetic formed a linguistic family. Each was only an individualized branch, and only together did they, the Semitic branch and the Japhetic, form one linguistic family. For this parental family, Marr appropriated the name of Noah (father of Shem, Ham, and Japhet) and called it *Noachian*—a conventional term, also.

Later on, though, Marr somewhat altered the degree of relationship which Georgian bore to Semitic. "The 'brotherly' relationship as at first outlined between the Japhetic, Semitic, and Hamitic languages," he said, "which made it permissible to call their common parental language *Noachian*, was found . . . to be a doubtful one. It is now clear that Hamitic languages are further removed from the Semitic than these latter from the Japhetic."

Still further progress in the study of Japhetic languages demonstrated how inappropriate was the term "brotherly" as applied to the degree of relationship existing between even the Semitic and the Japhetic languages. But Marr, in spite of the fact that some of the claims proved to be groundless, always stoutly maintained his opinion of the relationship of these linguistic branches.

In course of time, the sense conveyed by the term *Japhetic* was itself altered. The term in no way defined the biogenetic nature of a language, Marr said. A new materialistic approach to the problems of linguistics and the analysis of language as a specific ideological

social superstructure (which he calls "a new teaching of language") led Marr to introduce into the classification of languages the term *System*, in place of "family", "tribe" (ethnos), "branch" (*la souche, der Sprachstamm*), etc. However, the name Japhetic was retained because of its analogy with the names Semitic and Hamitic.

The first stage of development, the birth, as it were, of the Japhetic theory, was almost entirely taken up by the work of research into the nature of the inter-relationship of the Japhetic with the Semitic languages. Marr declared that the correct conception of the task of Japhetic linguistics at this stage was hindered, among other things, by the fact that, according to the then prevailing scientific interpretation, the circle of Caucasian languages, bound by ties of mutual relationship, consisted of only four living Trans-Caucasian languages, viz., Georgian, Megrelian, Chanian or Lazian, and Svanian. Even Abkhasian, it was thought at that time, did not belong to this circle—"Small as this circle of related languages was, its horizon was further shrunk by the predominance of the norms of only one historically cultural Georgian language."

The second stage in the development of Japhetic linguistics began with the concentration of research within the circle of the Japhetic languages themselves. After a prolonged investigation into the ancient, medieval, and modern literary Georgian and Armenian languages, Marr set himself the task of determining the exact nature of the inter-relationships within the Caucasian linguistic group itself. With this aim in view, Marr undertook an intensive research into other, particularly the unwritten, languages of Caucasia, which resulted in a complete revaluation of the importance of the living and dead languages. While working in this direction, his analysis of the Megrelian (Iberian) and Chanian (Lazian) languages showed that these were fully developed languages and not mere dialects of the Georgian, as they had been previously considered. He established that these were independent languages of the same Caucasian branch, and that each of them showed characteristic peculiarities which made it possible to classify them as follows:—

I. Sibilant languages :

- (a) Hissing (svistyashchie—dental-sibilant) characterized by *s* sound. (Georgian.)
- (b) "Hushing" (shipyashchie—palatal-sibilant) characterized by *sh* sound. (Megrelian and Chanian.)

II. Spirant languages, characterized by *h*, *k*, etc., sounds with a series of their compound dental and affricate sounds.

- (a) Mixed with the hissing lang. (I, a), (Abkhasian).
- (b) Mixed with the "Hushing" lang. (I, b), (Svanian).

III. Sonorous languages.

Such a classification further revealed that each division could be characterized not only by a consonant as shown above, but also by a vowel sound ; thus :—

a is the characteristic vowel sound of the dental-sibilant or *s* languages.

o, of the palatal-sibilant, or *sh* languages, and

e, of the spirant or *h* languages.

“Extraordinarily complex and fine, but transparent correlations of the unwritten languages, correlations detected only by ear, were instrumental in elucidating the hybridized state of many Japhetic languages,” Marr wrote. “Theoretical interest in hybridized types was consequently intensified. In the first place, languages purely Japhetic were examined, such as Svanian, which proved to be a mixture of the language of palatal-sibilant or *sh* group, and of the language of the spirant branch (II, *b*).”

As time went on, the process of hybridization was gradually detected in all the Japhetic languages. The so-called Armenian language proved of exceptional interest in this respect. It was found to consist properly of two languages : one, the ancient literary, and the other, the ancient unwritten, but still extant, Armenian language. Both languages were hybridized types of exceptional value. Marr demonstrated, in a whole series of works, that the Armenian people, their culture, and particularly their language, were most clearly bound up with the variegated, but essentially Caucasian *milieu*. The Armenian languages, it was concluded, were half Indo-European, half-Caucasian or Japhetic, and Marr explained why this was so in a series of articles under the common title : *Yafeticheskie Elementy v Yazykakh Armenii*, “Japhetic elements in the languages of Armenia.”

Here, while on the subject of Marr’s philological works which were devoted to the explanation of Armeno-Georgian, Georgio-Persian, Armenian-Syrian, Armeno-Greek, and Georgio-Greek, Armeno-Arabic and Georgio-Arabic literary interrelations, we must not forget his great magisterial dissertation, *Sbornik Pritch Vardana*, “A collection of the Parables of Vardan,” which appeared in three volumes during the years 1894–1899 (Vardan was an Armenian moralist preacher of the twelfth–thirteenth century). V. B. Aptekar holds that this occupies first place among Marr’s works. In it the author explains precisely, side by side, the lexical influences and the mutual contributions of all cultural languages belonging to the medieval Hither-Asian world.

“The problem of Armenology,” said Marr, was “to investigate the conditions under which the Armenian nationality was formed, and to define in historical sequence its independent, original

manifestations, however insignificant that may seem, on that common background of the political and cultural life of Armenia which was created as a result of strong external influences." To attain this, in his opinion, scientific prejudices must be renounced. "Armenology cannot found itself on only one philology in the narrowest sense of the word. Archæology with its discipline and ethnology with its folklore should interest the armenologist as much as linguistics and literature." Armenology being an independent science, would not establish itself on a firm basis until the student "equipped himself with real knowledge of local languages and real understanding of local antiquities."

The third stage of development of Japhetic linguistics began with the publication of the work *Opredelenie Yazyka vtoroy Kategorii Akhemenidskikh Klinobraznykh Nadpisey po dannym Yafeticheskago Yazykoznanija*, "Definition of the language of the second category of the Achæmenian cuneiform inscriptions in accordance with the data of Japhetic linguistics."

Extensive research into Caucasian languages brought in its trail the necessity of studying written monuments that were chronologically more ancient, that is, the dead cuneiform languages. Marr began to study these, mainly Elamite, particularly the language of the second category of the Achæmenian inscriptions, and Khaldian, the language of Ancient Van. The former he established as a Japhetic language of the sonorous group, and the latter as both spirant and palatal-dental in structure, that is, of the type of Svanian, Megrelian, and Chanian. Marr examined also Sumerian. "A most amazing and fundamental acquisition from these as yet unfinished investigations," he said, "is this, that although literature existed in at least one of them, namely, Elamite, long before the written Sumerian arose—and the antiquity of the Japhetic languages preserved in the cuneiforms is many millenia greater than any art of writing—nevertheless, the living Japhetic languages of Caucasia, including Georgian, represent, it seems, the most ancient type of Japhetic speech in perfect preservation."

The fourth stage began with the discovery in the Pamirs of a Japhetic language, namely, the Vershik, and with the definition of the European Japhetic languages, viz. the living Basque in the Pyrenees, and the dead Etruscan on the Apennine Peninsula. Deeper penetration into the study of chronologically more ancient written languages gave rise to the question: What relation does the written language bear to the living speech? This, of course, necessitated concentration of research on the collection of materials and on the study of the unwritten languages of present-day Caucasia.

It was only after such prolonged and persistent research into the

linguistic materials of the whole of Caucasia that Marr took up the problem of the relationship borne by Etruscan and Basque to the Caucasian languages, which relationship had already been indicated by western scientists. Theoretical analyses of these languages from printed manuals as well as from practical examination of the materials on the spot, established not only their affinity with the Caucasian, but also established them as Japhetic languages.

The fifth stage of the development of Japhetidology began with the investigation of the genesis of the Japhetic languages and of the relation of the population of the Mediterranean to the population of Caucasia. The fact that the Japhetic family of peoples had in their great variety been steadfastly preserved only in Caucasia, naturally led one to think that the Japhetic peoples of the Mediterranean had emigrated from Hither Asia, and in particular from the regions around Ararat. The region of Ararat was considered as their *point de départ* on account of the predominance, in the toponomics and tribal names of this region, of the stem "ras" (rosh), which is found both in the geographical name Urartu-Ararat, and in the ethnic name Etruscan-Rasenian. This idea, however, was abandoned when independent investigations in the sphere of Mediterranean toponomics brought to light a series of Japhetic names scattered all over the countries adjacent to the sea and over the islands from Spain to Caucasia. They were found even further eastward, in Central Asia, where the contemporary language of the Pamirian Vershik—Bureshikians—was found to be "most closely connected with the North-Caucasian Japhetic languages." "The more I had the opportunity of studying materials of the Hindu-Kush group of languages," said Marr, "the more I became convinced that in it we had a new group of Japhetic languages, the Central Asiatic. With this discovery arose the necessity, not only of raising the question of the migration of Japhetic languages from Hither Asia into Central Asia, but of the revision of the question of the migration of North Caucasian Japhetic languages from southern Armenia to northern Caucasia."

The study of the Vershik language stimulated Marr to research into the pre-Aryan languages of Iran. "Concentration of attention on the Japhetic languages and the bearers of its typological peculiarities . . . precised the Japhetidological methods, deepened the Japhetidological perspectives, and opened up the ethno-cultural strata of the history of Caucasia, which overthrew . . . our generally accepted idea of the influence of the external cultural-historical factors on the life of Caucasia, revealing in everything the primal predominance of the Japhetic norms and a great diapason of their influences, and the radius of the circle or volume of their reverse influence on the adjacent countries. We had to reject even the idea of what seemed to be the

Iranian influence of Persia over Caucasia . . . of the Iranian origin of certain aspects of social life of the people of Caucasia, of the Iranian basis of epic stories, and of the Iranian basis of their beliefs and of the origin of the names of the pagan gods of Georgia, as well as of the whole of the corresponding terminology."

"With the widening of our knowledge of the Japhetic ethnic world, of the tribal strata and sub-strata of the population of Caucasia, Iranism proved to be either a mirage or a result of later adaptation of local, or generally of the Hither Asiatic, immemorially Japhetic, ethno-cultural aspects and forms, under the cloak of the later Iranian cultural-historical deposits. In this connection . . . I was compelled not only to part with myself in the interpretation of a series of Georgian terms, but also completely to reject such work as *Bogi yazycheskoy Gruzii po drevne-gruzinskim istochnikam*, "Gods of pagan Georgia, in accordance with ancient Georgian sources," with all its Iranian interpretations. The source of such an upheaval in scientific thought was again an accumulation of new facts, a more extensive and intensive registration of Japhetidological data. These new sources, as yet mainly if not exclusively linguistic, revealed first the elements, and then layers, of the converse influence in the languages not only of the neighbouring but also of peoples far away from Caucasia. The same sources revealed a different degree of relationship of the Japhetic languages with the Semitic . . . The same sources made necessary, which is most important . . . the revision of the classification of the Japhetic languages themselves. In consequence, a completely new picture is now being visualized of the interrelationship of the Japhetides not only with the Iranians of Persia and beyond the limits of Persia . . . but also with the people situate within the limits of the rise and development of Mediterranean culture." (*Japhetic Caucasia and Third Ethnic Element*, pp. 11, 12.)

In 1920 Marr began to analyse the Japhetic elements in Greek. The problem of the Greek language he declared to be indissolubly bound up with that of Pelasgian and Etruscan. His linguistic researches in this connection related not only to the problem of the relationship of Pelasgians to Greeks, but also to the formation of the Greek nation in general during the process of hybridization with the non-Aryo-European Ionian tribes. "In the light of Japhetidological data the hybridization could have taken place on the Caucasian, or near-by soil. The hybridization may have taken place in the very region of the Black Sea Coast which, in historical times, was known for the development of Greek colonial life . . . while in the pre-historic times of Greek national formation, Greece is connected with Caucasia by a rich selection of most ancient myths."

Under the circumstances, the search for a centre for the dispersion

of the Japhetic race became pointless, and further extensive research led to the establishment of a third ethnic element in the creation of Mediterranean culture; this third ethnic element was a pre-Indo-European and pre-Semitic race, namely, Japhetic, which once extended all over the vast region of southern Europe and Hither Asia and later was submerged by Semitic and Indo-European waves which spared, however, the oases in the Pyrenees, in Caucasia, and in Central Asia in the region of the Pamirs.

Such a formulation of the problem, which later was again somewhat changed, led to the investigation of possible Japhetic survivals in the languages of modern European populations, namely, in the Romaic and Germanic languages, which, indeed, were found to contain Japhetic elements to a considerable extent. This direction of research, which ever widened the Japhetic horizon, established beyond doubt the impossibility of giving this linguistic group a name of any geographical region, even that of Caucasia. For in Caucasia, itself, we have, though well preserved, yet an insignificant part of what was once a vast region populated by this third ethnic element. The appropriateness of the conventional biblical term *Japhetic* is thus fully confirmed.

Each of the above-mentioned stages of development of Japhetic linguistics has its own problems requiring further research and clearer definition. One of many such problems is, for instance, the connection of Slav languages, in particular, of Russian, with Japhetic languages, which connection in Marr's opinion was effected through the Scythian language. "That the Scythians were originally Japhetides is clear from their name, 'Scythes' and from the national Scythian variety of the latter, viz. 'Skolot' . . ."

While working on this problem, Marr came across stories hitherto unknown from the history of ancient Russian and ancient Armenian literature. These he published under the title of *Knizhnye legendy ob osnovanii Kuara v Armenii i Kieva na Rusi (Skifskoe Predanie v Yafetidologicheskom Osveshchenii)*, "Book legends on the foundation of Kuar in Armenia and of Kiev in Russia (The Scythian tradition in the Japhetidological light)." In this work he established connections between Japhetic Caucasia and Russia.

From the foregoing it will be seen that Marr was constantly searching for this third ethnic element of Mediterranean culture in different parts of Asia, Europe, and even Africa, and he revealed it everywhere as forming the earliest racial cultural substratum. The fourth and fifth stages already mark the paleontological character of the research; with these stages, too, Japhetidology ceases to be a mere Caucasiological science.

Transferring the centre of gravity of his linguistic research from

the formal phonetico-morphological side to the inner sense of speech, that is, to Semantics, Marr noted connections between Japhetidological paleontology and the problem of the social origin of language. "The process of speech formation," he said, "and its typological transformation was taking place, of course, before the Japhetides became a separate particular family, and the human race in its pre-Japhetic state requires another denomination. The fact is incontestable, however, that the Japhetic languages, more obviously than any other, have retained the accumulation of the remote stages of the development of human speech; in them may be clearly traced the process of sedimentation of elements, even of whole layers of a language in its initial stage of development . . . Languages reflect the social state with its psychology of different epochs, including the most ancient. In the meanings of words, or Semantics, the abyss that separates pre-historical from historical times is revealed particularly clearly . . . The Japhetic languages show that originally 'word' was not conceived as something utterable, but as a means or weapon for conveying information. Japhetic articulate speech has preserved us such a conception of speech, among others, in the term 'to speak' properly denoting 'informing by mouth' or 'by face' (compare Georgian *pir-utqvi* 'wordless, animal', literally, one who cannot convey information by mouth or face). Human speech does not originate from some primordial single language, and the *Ur-Sprache* conceived in this sense is not a scientific proposition . . . Language is a creation of human society. . . . Language is one of the social superstructures. . . . The development of language is determined (or defined) by the development of material productive relations, the dialectics of which it reflects . . . the material productive relations determine the dialectics through the thinking which arises simultaneously and is organically connected with it. . . . The development of language does not proceed evolutionarily, but dialectically. . . . The mutual reaction of language and thinking is the mutual reaction of form and content."

It was this materialistic, ideological, and dialectic interpretation of linguistic problems that led Marr to introduce the term *System* in place of "family", which fact is mentioned earlier in this article.

Thus, according to Marr, a primitive articulate language, a unitribal language, does not, and could not have existed. It is only a product resulting from tribal economic interrelationship, and is a deposit left by this ever multi-tribal society.

Who, then, were these primal tribes whose common, social efforts are responsible for the creation of articulate speech? And how many tribes were there?

Investigation into tribal and toponomic names had established

a limited number of fundamental tribal terms in which very frequently occur the following stems: *rosh*, *ber*, *sal*, *yon* . . . which in their turn, by variation of the consonant element, expand to seven and more; or, on the other hand, contract to three: *rosh*, *ber*, *sal*, which by the process of hybridization have given rise to many ethnic names and languages.

The usual method of establishing the basic meaning of the word is completely rejected by the Japhetic theory. According to it the word "sky" denoted, not only "sky" or "heavens", but also everything that the imagination of pre-historic man connected with the sky, such as clouds, planets, stars, and even birds. After extensive research into this question, Marr came to the conclusion that the above-mentioned fundamental Japhetic tribal names with their derivatives lay at the basis of all the Semantic series, for these tribal names could be detected in the name of "heaven" in all its Japhetic aspects, viz., of the upper (the sky in its proper sense), the middle (the earth), and the lower (the infernal regions, also waters).

In this way it became clear that each of the fundamental tribal names indicated was at the same time also the name of the heavens. But this name was also passed on to its derivatives, in particular to its derivatives from the world of animals. Thus, connected with the upper firmament are birds; with the lower, water and creatures of the infernal regions. Separate animals, too, and even metals appeared to bear the same radical or tribal name. Hence the task of Japhetology was to establish which animals were connected with which tribe and to such animals to assign the term "totem". For instance, "horse/bird" was found to be the totem of the Urartians-Etruscans.

Research in this direction was complicated by emergence of the fact that the basic Japhetic tribal names were detected in morphological particles; in the first place in the suffixes of the plural (tribe → posterity → children → plurality). It was also revealed that the verbs "to speak", "to create", "to build", "to move", etc., were connected with tribal terms, so that peoples, as Meschchaninov puts it, *rosh*-ed, *sal*-ed, *ber*-ed, or *yon*-ed, in different meanings of speaking or acting. In other words, during the long process of development of human speech, the action had become bound up with the actor, that is, the action was only an external manifestation of the man himself, more exactly of the tribe itself. Likewise, the tribal names were detected in social terms, as "the tribe-subduer" and "the tribe subdued".

Naturally, while working in this direction, Semantics held the first place in Marr's attention, and consequently he traced out a whole Semantic series, such as: Sky → top → mountain → head; Sky → mountain → temple → house; Sky → deity → sovereign; or Sky → deity → lord, master → power → ruler; hand → own, possess → power

→ ruler, or Sky → water → birth → to create → to do, and hand → to do, make → create, etc., and with the accumulation of such data Japhetidology goes deeper and deeper into the process of the creation of speech. Thus Marr established that the primal Japhetic tribal names form the basis of the whole of human word-formation and word-derivation of a definite period, when sky held the foremost place in man's conception of the world.

Japhetic languages do not represent a racially individualized group, but a definite stage in the development of languages in general. This "stadium" under pressure of the changed conditions of social life, became transformed into Indo-European, the only survivals of this process of transformation being the Basque language in the Pyrenees and the Caucasian languages. Semitic and Hamitic are likewise branches of the languages of the Japhetic stadium, which circumstance explains the relationship of Georgian to Semitic, as Marr expounds in his "Tables".

Finally, "among the many original explanations provided by the Japhetic theory, let us quote the case of the Grammatical Comparative degrees. The lower, that is, the positive degree, is explained as a deposit of the name of the lower social class; the middle or comparative degree as a deposit of the middle class; and the superlative as a deposit of the upper class. And as the social class or rank represents a survival of the tribes ("the tribe subduer and the tribe subdued"), therefore, in the corresponding degrees of comparison of the primitive adjectives "good", "bad", names were detected of the tribes who made up the people in whose language the degrees of comparison mentioned were used. In other words most of the basic social terms in Caucasia are of ethnic origin, the result of particular tribal relations and of the transformation of tribes into social classes. Thus the common or lower social class both in Georgia and in Armenia bears the name of the people known to the European antique world as Colchians, viz. Georgian *glekhi*; Arm. *grehik* "a peasant"; of the same origin is also the old Georgian adjective and noun, *glakhak* ← mod. Geo. *glakha* "dirty, bad, a beggar". A certain class of nobles (in Russian, *dvoryane*) was originally known in Georgia, and is still known among the mountain peoples of Caucasia, not excluding the Svans, under the ethnic name of a Japhetic tribe, viz., *Varg*//*Marg*, whence the Georgian adjective *vargi*, *varga* "useful, good". The name of the *Moskhians*//*Mosokhians*, the local popular form of which is *a-mysta*, has been preserved by the Abkhasians as the title of a certain rank of their nobles, etc.¹

In Marr's own words, his new teaching of language introduces two aspects: One concerns the affinity and interrelationship of

¹ N. Marr, *Batum, Kars, Ardagan* . . . (in Russian), Petrograd, 1922, pp. 31-3.

the indigenous languages of Caucasia, "the Japhetic languages," found also outside Caucasia—an aspect of teaching which has a local importance for the regions where these Japhetic languages are spoken, that is, in Caucasia and Mesopotamia, in the Pyrenees Peninsula, and in the Pamirs; the other concerns the paleontology of human speech, namely, the general universal question of the origin of languages in general, of its different aspects, and, in connection with this, of the classification not only of Japhetic languages, but also of the languages of the entire world.

REVIEW.

Z. AVALISHVILI: "VEP'KHIS TQAOSANIS SAKIT'KHEBI," "The Problems of 'The Man in the Panther's Skin'." Paris, 1931. pp. 174. Reviewed by V. NOSADZE.

The problems of Shot'a Rust'aveli and his wonderful poem, *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, have, in the last decade or so, become an almost absorbing theme.¹

The 700th anniversary of Rust'aveli which takes place next October, will, no doubt, be celebrated in Georgia with great national pomp. It is with this anniversary in mind, that several works on the subject have been written in Georgia. Georgian *émigrés* in Western Europe too, despite the difficult conditions under which they live, have not been behind in paying their tribute. So from Mr. Z. Avalishvili the occasion has called forth the brilliant critical study under review.

This study comprises four essays on the following Rust'avelian 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.

One of the principal heroes of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, Avt'andil, while on his way to Mulghazanzar, offers prayer to the Sun, Zual (Saturn), Musht'ar (Jupiter), Marikh (Mars), Aspiroz (Hesperus, Venus), Otarid (Mercury), and the Moon. Mr. Avalishvili points out that, in this sequence, and in general, Rust'aveli follows the Ptolemaic cosmography which exercised such a great influence in the Middle Ages. However, his hero accords first, instead of the

¹ 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 Marjory Scott Wardrop (published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1912). Other translations have been attempted—in French by Meunargia (a Georgian), in German by A. Leist, in Russian by Poltoratski, Stalinski and, recently, by Balmont. There are incomplete translations also in Armenian, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and Polish. From the point of view of poetical merit Balmont's translation published recently in Paris by D. Kheladze is considered to be the best. Of these translators, however, none has so truly interpreted the poet's message as Miss Wardrop, and to her labour of love in so faithfully rendering into modern English this old knight-errant tale, Georgians, together with all lovers of real literature, gratefully pay tribute. [Editors' note.]

fourth, place to the Sun in this prayer to the Planets. This deviation, according to Mr. Avalishvili, is to be explained by Rust'aveli's poetic licence.

Mr. Avalishvili analyses the significance given to each planet in astrology and their reflections in Rust'aveli's verses. He draws, for instance, parallels between Avt'andil's prayer in the poem and the rites of Harranian planet-worship preserved in the literary tradition of the East. On the other hand he shows how all that is borrowed in the poem from astrology is subordinate to the theme of love and serves to adorn Avt'andil's love for T'inat'in. All these quatrains, mighty and tender, addressed to the stars, are but an appeal to her.

Of course, astrological allusions were much and universally used. The author mentions, among others, Chaucer, and dwells on Dante, from whom he quotes parallels. He then returns to Fakr ed-Din's *Vis and Ramin* (in Georgian *Visramiani*)¹ and Nizami's *Haft Paikar* (in Georgian *Bahram-Guriani*).²

"In unfolding the theme of the Seven Planets," says the author, "astrological scholasticism here [in *Haft Paikar*] serves mystic scholasticism; scholastic astrology reveals scholastic mysticism. In comparison Rust'aveli's verse appears to us as an art direct, pure and untendentious. By an abstract pen-picture of the planets, a cosmic landscape of impressive grandeur is created. The characteristics of planets, accepted in Astrology, are so chosen by Rust'aveli in these appeals of Avt'andil that their deep lyricism is thereby enhanced and the 'prayer' itself quite naturally falls within the frame of the narrative of loves of Avt'andil and T'inat'in. Neither does Rust'aveli give, like Nizami, the whole gamut of astrological colours—he is satisfied with the black of Saturn and the red of Mars; nor does he pay attention to the sequence of the days corresponding to that of the Planets, like Nizami. In a word, in following the astrological traditions, he is a free artist, master of his means, holding command of his aims . . . In the centre of this cosmic landscape is Avt'andil himself and the cries of his soul; Avt'andil obedient to high Powers, courageous and human in his entreaties to them; Avt'andil filled with thoughts of love and of sworn brotherhood; the sharer of the struggles and joys of this world."

The author clearly shows that if Shot'a Rust'aveli's great neighbour, the Mohammedan poet Nizami, is a Sufi, Rust'aveli is not; nor is he a follower of any mysticism at all. In his poem we see no

¹ *Visramiani*. The story of the loves of Vis and Ramin. Translated from the Georgian version by Oliver (now Sir Oliver) Wardrop. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1914.

² *The Haft Paikar* (The Seven Beauties). Containing the life and adventures of King Bahram Gur, and the seven stories told him by his seven queens. Translated . . . by C. E. Wilson (Probsthain's Oriental Series), London, 1927.

traces of mystic communion, but brilliant pictures of living love and friendship, of human actions, joys, and sufferings, directly and humanly comprehensible. "But," adds Mr. Avalishvili, "with Rust'aveli, just as with the great Persians, the feeling of that 'One'—the, for him, invisible and unreachable—the feeling of God, is always present. And thereby, too, *The Man in the Panther's Skin* conveys a decided colour of religious grandeur and exaltation without any confessional sectarianism. The profession of the 'One' which unites Rust'aveli and the Sufists on the common ground of Neo-Platonism is but a common faith of Christians of all sorts, of Jews, and of Mohammedans alike. The contemporary Georgians, and particularly the intellectual society of that time, imbued with a common ideal, demanded from the poet a confessional neutrality. This state of mind was a product of time-honoured culture as well as of the special conditions then prevailing in Georgia. Indeed, the politically-united or federated and culturally-akin Georgians, Armenians, and Caucasian Mohammedans then represented a society with whose views Rust'avelian Theism and Cosmopolitanism conformed naturally. His pen is silent with regard to both the Trinity and the doctrine of Mohamed, for his poetry is already independent from all confessional prejudices, and his free Muse is directed towards humanism."

Such is the conclusion of Mr. Avalishvili in regard to the religious questions arising out of Rust'aveli's poem. On the whole the author touches many questions of interest on which he expresses original opinions, and about which more will have to be written in future.

The second essay of Mr. Avalishvili relates to the person of the poet himself and his supposed Manicheism.

The author deals with Mr. P. Ingoroqva, the author of *Rust'veliani I, The Date of Vep'khis Tqaosani, Who was Shot'a Rust'aveli?*, published in Georgia in 1926, who declares Shot'a to have been the Erist'avi (duke) of Heret'i, a province of Georgia, and a Manichean.

Mr. Avalishvili analyses in detail this equally complicated question and refutes the arguments of Mr. Ingoroqva. Of particular interest is the following conclusion of Mr. Avalishvili:—

"The search for Manicheism, or, in general, for any definite religious tendency in the poem, was from the very beginning doomed to failure." After following the subject in all its bends and turns, he states:—

"Indeed, the problem of the 'One' and the 'Many', considered by Plato in his 'Parmenides', did, through Neo-Platonism, influence both the Christian and Mohammedan conception of One God, and it is to be assumed that Rust'aveli in this regard, too, followed the trail

of the Greco-Georgian scholasticism. The 'One', not the Manichean dualism, is Rust'aveli's firm faith."

Here, too, as in the first essay, many attendant and parallel problems are touched and most interesting views are expressed.

In his third essay, Mr. Avalishvili examines the origin of an allegory used by Rust'aveli, namely, the Serpent and the Moon. The use of astronomic similes is a well-known and universal art in poetry and Shot'a Rust'aveli employs them too. Comparison to the sun and moon, as well as to precious stones, to the aloe-tree etc., "represent rather external embellishments". But there are also comparisons which have a particular significance. For instance when Rust'aveli compares the riding Nestan Darejan to the radiant planet: "She was like the Sun, the best of Heaven's lights when it mounts the Lion."¹ his aim is, according to Mr. Avalishvili, to remind the reader that the sun is in the constellation of Leo.

In olden times astrologers often placed this sign of Leo in the horoscope of kings and great nobles. The author refers, for example, to an episode of the thirteenth century. Qiasedin Kaikhosrau II, the Sultan of Rum or Iconium (1236-1243) desired to have his wife's face embossed on the coins of the realm. When, however, this was declared to be contrary to the Mohammedan Law, the Sultan solved the problem by having his wife's horoscope embossed on the *Dirhems*—namely, the "Lion and the Sun". The Sultan's wife was T'amar, daughter of Queen Russudan of Georgia and grand-daughter of the great Queen T'amar. It is clear that the astrological import of metaphors such as that quoted above about Nestan Darejan was quite comprehensible to the reader of that time.

But the author's object in this essay is to discourse on the problem of the origin of this simile, the Serpent and the Moon. In the stanzas "The moon remained full unswallowed by the serpent",² "How pitiable is the full moon swallowed by the serpent,"³ "They saw the moon was freed from the Serpent to meet the Sun,"⁴ or again, "The Sun was obscured by the Dragon, it dawned not upon us,"⁵ our essayist does not see a mere elaborate development of metaphor; on the contrary, he thinks that here we have to deal with astrological symbols. The eclipse of the Sun by the Serpent or the swallowing of the Moon by the Dragon, we have already in the Georgian version of *Vis and Ramin*. The Dragon and the Serpent are met with in all the folklore and ancient art from China to Scandinavia. Even in Christian mythology they have a place of honour . . . "What is of

¹ Wardrop, p. 191, q. 1179.

² Ibid., p. 196, q. 1208.

³ Ibid., p. 184, q. 1136.

⁴ Wardrop, p. 191, q. 1176.

⁵ Ibid., p. 227, q. 1396.

greater interest to us is not their mere representation . . . but their re-echoing in the thoughts of enlightened mankind . . . in the different sections of literature." The terms: the dragonhead, dragon's tail (*cauda, caput draconis*), etc., are also used in astronomy. "Definite traces of this dragon, 'the swallower of planets,' are observed even to-day in scientific language."

But how did these traces find their way into modern science? They found their way directly from the Arabs who in turn had received them from the ancient Persians (of the Pahlavi period). As to Rust'aveli's serpent, the author's opinion is that its place of origin is probably India, and Alberuni's account of India is his authority. But how did the serpent find its way from India into *The Man in the Panther's Skin*? To answer this question the author (his answer is: via Persia) turns back to the admitted but absolutely unproved idea that Rust'aveli utilized for this poem a Persian story, a story whose existence had not been verified to date and is consequently not known to anyone. This repeated statement of the author, though based on Rust'aveli's own admission, is not proved with any precision or by any document and remains, therefore, only a hypothesis.

The author himself says: "If it is accepted that the Serpent and the Moon already adorned the 'old Persian tale' which Rust'aveli mentions,¹ then we must presuppose that this original tale, later rendered into Georgian and utilized by Shot'a, must have been written at the time and in the sphere of interpenetration of Arabo-Perso-Indian influences." In order to render this thesis of his more tenable and acceptable, Mr. Avalishvili defines the geographical places mentioned in the poem, e.g. Arabia, India, Khwarazm, Khataet'i, the domain of P'ridon, the city of the King of the Seas and K'ajet'i. The Persia of the poem is Khwarzmia ("In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Khwarazm Shahs ruled Persia and sometimes even a great part of India"); Arabia is Arabia (and there not a few kingdoms were to be found). Khataet'i is probably the same as Cathay (China), or more correctly, Rust'aveli's Khataet'i denotes the Eastern or Chinese Turkestan or Khata which is a Turanian country. India, the fatherland of Tariel, the principal hero, "gives the impression of a country lying towards the sea." In connection with this, the author analyses "Amirbar"—the title of Tariel. In the opinions of Chubinashvili, Marr, and Miss Wardrop, "Amirbar" is a high Court title equivalent to Lord Chamberlain. Mr. Avalishvili contends that "Amirbar is the equivalent of Amir-al-bahr, i.e. the Amir of the Seas or Admiral.

"In Tariel's title of Amirbar preserved by chance in *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, we thus have perhaps an echo of the time when

¹ Wardrop, p. 3, q. 16.

the Arab Muslims first conquered Sind from the sea in the eighth century and when their overlordship of India depended rather on their sea-power. The sea in *The Man in the Panther's Skin* covers a large area and Gulansharo, the city of the King of the Seas, must be placed at the crossing of sea routes connecting Arabia, Baghdad-Basra, Persia and India." After a complete analysis of the question, Mr. Avalishvili draws the following conclusion:—

"In a poetical work like *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, geographical and historical 'truthfulness' is not to be expected, but the basic geographical scheme given in the poem is sufficiently clear. From the poem it is clear, also, that the actions of its heroes take place in countries or places greatly distant from each other. Tariel's chief place of refuge 'the cave of the great rocks', lay rather towards Arabia . . . whereas the little kingdoms of P'ridon, Gulansharo and K'ajet'i itself, we must imagine rather in the vicinity of India . . . Of course if Tariel's sheltering place was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Arabia, the Kingdom of P'ridon and other countries mentioned in the poem would be in the East—but where? We cannot trace them on the map . . . Mulghazanzar, Gulansharo and K'ajet'i must be looked for in the world of imagination, the geographical direction of which is quite determined and the historical circumstances of which are known." And from this the author draws a significant conclusion:—

"The direct esthetic value of the poem is quite independent of the question of the origin of its fable. From the historical standpoint it is, however, possible to connect the unknown prototype of the Persian tale utilized by Shot'a with that historical surrounding and that literary atmosphere from which, it is natural to imagine, it originated. These must be looked for in that old Indo-Perso-Arabian inter-influence which must have provided also the earlier background for the *One thousand and one Nights*, and the importance of which in the history of other great works, such as *Kalilah and Dimnah* is indisputable."

Other details too, for instance, the far-famed Badakhshan ruby, the Gulansharo *Navroz* of Sassanian times, probably also the word *Chachnagiri* (cupbearer), geographical names, and a few others, must be, according to the author, survivals of that old story Georgianized in ancient times.

Personally, we do not think that the method the author has chosen to solve these questions proves his theory, but the author's deep knowledge and ingenuity, provides the commentators of this poem with a new starting point and a new set of questions, thus enlarging considerably the field of research.

The subject of Mr. Avalishvili's fourth essay is Love and Friendship, which form the main motives of the poem and constitute its dynamic force. In Rust'aveli's poem pre-eminence is accorded to Friendship and to Love that expresses personal rather than family or tribal feeling. Love's main aspect in the poem is *mijnuroba*—mad-love—and of Friendship, sworn brotherhood. The definition of *mijnuroba* is given by the poet himself in his introductory quatrains, of which let us quote two :—

“ Love-madness is a wondrous fair thought, hard to be apprehended ; it cannot be compared with carnal passion, it is something different ; love is one thing, lust is another ; their bounds are separated by a vast space. Confuse them not. Do ye hear my words ? ”

“ The lover must have an exquisitely fair exterior and shine like the sun ; he must be sage, rich, open-handed, he must be a knight (lit. : have the qualities or attributes of a knight), he must have leisure ; he must be a master of speech, a possessor of intelligence, a conqueror of all powerful adversaries. He who is not endowed with all these things has not the qualities of a lover.”¹

This theme of love attracted the late Professor N. Marr's attention, and he likened Rust'aveli's knightly love to the ideal expressed in the Provençal Troubadour poetry. But whereas Marr did not make this theme an object of profound study, Mr. Avalishvili has treated it very closely. He sees a resemblance between the Rust'avelian Love and the *amour courtois* of the Troubadours chiefly in this, that their common ideal—a kind of cult for women, love-maddened knight-hood, developed both with Rust'aveli and with the Provençal Troubadour poetry or, generally, with Troubadour and Minnesänger poetry, outside of religious theocracy and church influence. This is only an analogy and an interesting one, but in order to explain the meaning of *mijnuroba* and to throw light on its origin, Mr. Avalishvili looks Eastward ; he even shares the opinion of those who consider that the Provençal *l'amour courtois* itself is possibly linked with Arabic literature through Arabic-Spain. In his analysis of the Georgian *mijnuroba* Mr. Avalishvili keeps in mind both West and East “ between them at that time the boundary space was not so great after all ; the extreme left wing of the East reached far West and had its *point d'appui* in Arabic Spain, while much of the treasure of the ' West ', the ancient Greek science and philosophy, was preserved in the literature of the East.”

The author examines in the first place the introductory quatrains of the poem which contains the praise, or *Khotba*, panegyric of T'amar the King, and analysing it, he points out that in particular, the praising of T'amar is Troubadourian in character.

¹ Wardrop, Appendix i, p. 263, qq. 12 (9), 14 (8).

Both the Provençal and Georgian love doctrine have in common that basic element in accordance with which love represents a definite department of knowledge, just as poetry, too, is knowledge. So according to F. Dietz, love in the Troubadour and Minnesänger poetry is a kind of art, in which a knowledge of love—*Saber-d' amor*—is understood. This definition, in the opinion of Mr. Avalishvili, fits in well with Rust'aveli's conception. He, too, portrays *fin amador, domney*, as "courage, generosity, knightly courtship, gaiety, restraint, politeness, loyalty, bravery—all of which constitute a kind of Love Institution. As we see, Rust'aveli's love has definite and obligatory laws, and the introductory quatrains contain the codification of these laws." "Who has not all these qualities lacks the character of a lover," says the poet.

Love poetry, too, in the opinion of Shot'a has its own laws; so have also the *Leys d' Amors* of Provençal poetry. The Troubadour considered himself the vassal of his lady-love, so in our poem the lover—*mijnuri*—is proclaimed a vassal too.¹ But in spite of this common aspect, there is also a great difference, and it is this, that while the object of the Troubadour's or Minnesänger's love is always a married woman, in *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, on the contrary, it is a marriageable maiden.

While the ideal of the Provençal *Amor cortes* is "fleshless" love, and of the *Minnesänger's hohin Minne* too, the matter in the case of the *Man in the Panther's Skin* is a little complicated by the fact that, while Rust'aveli in his abstract definition of *mijnuroba* (in introductory quatrains) appears to be a singer of platonic love, in the poem itself the *mijnuroba* of his heroes is undoubtedly and definitely human and physical. What is the explanation? To answer this, Mr. Avalishvili turns again to his proposition concerning the origin of the romantic story which forms the ground-work of the poem, which in his opinion is organically connected with some as yet undiscovered Persian story.

The author then passes on to the question of the relationship that existed between T'inat'in and Avt'andil and analyses the pearl which T'inat'in promises Avt'andil on his return from the search of Tariel. "Pearl" here can be understood in two senses; as a precious object, and as a symbol of maidenhood with which significance it is used by Nizami in his *Haft Paikar* and by Saadi (A.D. 1258) in his *Gulistan*. And if in the poem Rust'aveli does not clearly convey which of these two meanings we are to attach to the pearl, he does so, in the opinion of Mr. Avalishvili, because he wished to hide the bold metaphor of the pre-existing Persian tale he made use of for his poem,

¹ Wardrop, pp. 2-3, qq. 12-14.

and wanted the pearl to be understood in its literal meaning of a jewel. This assertion of the author, however, is lacking in sufficient proof and conviction.

The author now analyses the *grande passion* pictured by Rust'aveli of the love of Tariel and Nestan. He draws parallels between "heavenly" and carnal love, as portrayed in literature (Plato, the Provençal-Troubadours, Dante, Richard Wagner's *Tannhäuser*), and concludes that: "the dilemma of 'heavenly' and 'carnal' love put forward by the Troubadours, and the Minnesänger, is essentially fruitless and without outlet. While analogical contrast of both kinds of love is expounded by Rust'aveli in his introductory quatrains, they are blended harmoniously in the poem itself by uniting in love earthly desire and moral union, and this is but the ideal of the literature of the whole universe."

Generally speaking we must agree with the author's view that it is in the Arabo-Georgian inter-relationship that one of the roots of the Rust'avelian love (*mijnuroba*) is to be sought, because in the ninth and tenth centuries the Arabs exercised a great influence over Georgia, and naturally one could not have avoided the influence of the culture which produced Ibn-Daud-Al-Isfahani's *Kitab-al-Zohrah* (tenth century) or Ibn-Qozman of Cordova, whose motives of love are supposed to have spread from Spain northward.

Mr. Avalishvili analyses also the divine *mijnuroba*, love towards God, towards the "One", as alluded to in the poem, and draws parallels from Mystic Sufism (al-Hallaj, A.D. 998); from Nizami, Hafiz, Ibn Sina (Avicena) and others and comes to the conclusion that Rust'aveli too knows the love of the "One", the divine love, but—and in this he is very much a Georgian—does not like this kind of love and particularly the poetry which expresses it. Rust'aveli hates "heartless love", "vulgar love", but he also hates the unduly ecstatic transport of Divine love, or erotic exaltation. Rust'aveli, rightly concludes Mr. Avalishvili, "is undoubtedly an idealist of 'earthly' love and the singer of *l'amour passion*; in *The Man in the Panther's Skin* he, Rust'aveli, is a free and sovereign painter of all the aspects of love."

In connection with the problems of love and friendship in the poem, Mr. Avalishvili raises directly or indirectly many interesting questions; some of these he analyses, at others he only hints. The raising and formulating of these questions is in itself a great achievement in a critical study of the poem, and in the future they will no doubt receive their due attention from specialists.

The whole work will undoubtedly merit great attention and hold first place in the critical literature of Rust'aveli's poem, which provides rich material for everybody and for all time, for the problems

represented in the poem are themselves eternal, or, using Mr. Avalishvili's own words :—

“ As it was inevitable in the course of time, transitory and unenduring proved to be kingship, feudalism, knighthood, *mijnuroba*, so brilliantly painted and sung by Rust'aveli, yet permanent are those deep and unchanging heart-voices of love, friendship, action, and sacrifice, the beauty of the Heavens and Mother Earth, and the sorrows of the Universe—and these constitute the soul of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. And above all, enduring is that great Art, that tuning (*musikoba*) of tongue and thought, which makes Rust'aveli sing.”

THE GEORGIAN ALPHABET

TRANSLITERATION, PRONUNCIATION, AND CLASSIFICATION OF
GEORGIAN SPEECH-SOUNDS

By A. GUGUSHVILI

GEORGIANS possess two alphabets, namely, the *Khutsuri*—sacerdotal or ecclesiastical, and the *Mkhedruli*—military or secular.¹

Formerly, the *Khutsuri* alphabet, as the name indicates, was used in ecclesiastical texts, and the *Mkhedruli* in secular literature,² but 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.³

It is regretted that it is not possible to give in the Table the sacerdotal alphabet side by side with the military one. After an extensive inquiry, no printer was found who possessed the fount of

¹ *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".

² 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.

³ N. Marr, *A Grammar of the Ancient Georgian Literary Language* (in Russian), Leningrad, 1925, p. 2.

this alphabet. It is hoped that the fount can be procured, however, and that the sacerdotal alphabet can be reproduced in some future number of this journal.¹

The Georgian alphabet consists of forty letters of which the 39th and 40th, namely, **ϕ**, **ϑ**, 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, have gained stability in modern Georgian which uses the letter **Ɔ** to represent the sound of **f**. The letter **ϑ** 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 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 **ǰ**, 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 **ē**, **y**, **w**, **z**, **o**, **ϕ**, **ϑ**.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE GEORGIAN LETTERS

While Georgian collaborators of *Georgica* have expressed their preference for the late Professor Marr's system of transliteration, English collaborators and advisers find it unacceptable for reasons with which Georgians are unable to agree. The advantage of Marr's system lies in the transcription of the affricates, whereby an affricate is indicated by a letter representing the stronger element of the sounds making up the affricate in question, and a diacritic indicating the participation of the weaker element in the engendering of that affricate. The same diacritics ($\overset{\cdot}{-}$ $\overset{\vee}{-}$ $\overset{\cdot}{-}$ $\overset{\wedge}{-}$) are always the indicators of the participation of the spirants (*h*, *ǰ*, *y*, etc.) in the engendering of the guttural, and of the sibilants in the engendering of the dental or palato-dental affricates (cf. page 134).

Such a truly analytical transcription, reflecting as it does the nature of the composition of the affricates, should be of great help to students. Especially strong was the objection shown to Marr's $\vartheta//\theta$. Of course we could have replaced this $\vartheta//\theta$ by **t'**, and have done so,

¹ For an idea of the shape of the letters of this alphabet see the photographic reproduction of a Georgian inscription, p. 68, which contains twenty-five of the thirty-seven letters of the alphabet.

THE GEORGIAN ALPHABET

Name	Mixed Military	Transliterations used by						Numerical Value	Proposed Trans- literation	
		Marr	Blake	Deet- ers	Dirr	Wardrop	Brosset (French)		Analy- tical	Popu- lar
1 ა	ა	a	a	a	a	a	a	1	a	a
2 ბ	ბ	b	b	b	b	b	b	2	b	b
3 გ	გ	g	g	g	g	g	g	3	g	g
4 დ	დ	d	d	d	d	d	d	4	d	d
5 ე	ე	e	e	e	e	e	e	5	e	e
6 ვ	ვ	v	v	v	v	v	v, w	6	v	v
7 ზ	ზ	z	z	z	z	z	z	7	z	z
8 თ	თ	ey, ē	ē, ey	ē	ee, h		ē	8	ē	ey
9 ი	ი	θ//θ	t'	t'	t'	t'h, th	th	9	t'	t'
10 კ	კ	i	i	i	i	i	i	10	i	i
11 ლ	ლ	k	k	k	k	c	c, k, c'	20	k	k
12 მ	მ	l	l	l	l	l	l	30	l	l
13 ნ	ნ	m	m	m	m	m	m	40	m	m
14 ივ	ივ	n	n	n	n	n	n	50	n	n
15 იე	იე	y	y	y	ie		ie	60	y	y
16 ო	ო	o	o	o	o	o	o	70	o	o
17 პ	პ	p	p	p	p	p	p	80	p	p
18 ჯ	ჯ	j(-)	ž	ž	ž	zh	j	90	ž	zh
19 რ	რ	r	r	r	r	r	r	100	r	r
20 ს	ს	s(-)	s	s	s	s	s	200	s	s

Name	Mxedruli Military	Transliterations used by						Numerical Value	Proposed Trans- literation	
		Marr	Blake	Deet- ers	Dirr	Wardrop	Brosset (French)		Analy- tical	Popu- lar
21 ტრკ	ტ	t	t	t	t	t	t	300	t	t
22 ვე	ვ	w	ü, w	w	vie, vi		vië	} 400	w	w
23 ურ	უ	u	u	u	u	u	ou		u	u
24 ფრკ	ფ	φ	p'	p'	p'	p'h, ph	ph	500	p'	p'
25 ქვრ	ქ	q	k'	k'	k'	k	k	600	k'	k'
26 ღვრ	ღ	ğ	γ	γ	γ	gh	gh	700	ğ	gh
27 ყვრ	ყ	k	q	q	q	q	q	800	q	q
28 შირ	შ	ш (-)	š	š	š	sh	ch	900	š	sh
29 ჩირ	ჩ	ჭ//θ	č	č	tš	ch	tch	1,000	č	ch
30 ცვრ	ც	ჭ//θ	ç	ç	ts	tz	tz	2,000	ç	ts
31 ძიღ	ძ	ძ	dz	j	dz	dz	dz	3,000	dz	dz
32 წიღ	წ	წ	t	c'	c	ds	'ts	4,000	t'	ds
33 ჭვრ	ჭ	ჭ	t	č'	č	dš	dch	5,000	č	dc
34 ხვრ	ხ	ხ	q	χ	χ	h	kh	6,000	χ	kh
35 ჯვრ	ჯ	ჯ	q	χ	χ	hḥ	khh	7,000	χ	kh
36 ჯვრ	ჯ	ჯ	d	j	j	dž	dj, j	8,000	j	j
37 ხაღ	ხ	ხ	h (-)	h	h	h	h	9,000	h	h
38 ხოღ	ჰ	ჰ	oy (ü)	ō		h, oe	ho	10,000	ō	hō
39 ფ	ფ	ფ	f		f		f		f	f
40 ე	ე	ე	e						e	e

but we have not thought it wise to follow this up in the case of affricates containing the sound of **t'** as it would have entailed the use of two diacritics. For instance, the sound represented by us as **č** and by Marr as **ǰ** would have to have been represented by **t'**, that is, by two diacritical marks, the dot below the symbol indicating the participation of the sibilant **š** ($\text{ǰ} < \text{ǰ} + \text{š}$, or, as we have it, $\text{č} < \text{t}' + \text{š}$). Likewise the sound represented by our ligature **ts** would be **t'** (Marr's **ǰ**). The use of two diacritics in the representation of one sound might not in itself have been objectionable had it not been for the fact that the substitution of Marr's **ǰ** by **t'**, and the **t'** or **t'** consequently resulting therefrom, complicated matters somewhat when we came to the sounds **ts'** and **g**, which Marr represents as **ṫ** and **ṫ** respectively. We should thus have had five **t'**s, namely, **t'**, **ṫ**, **t'**, **ṫ**, **ṫ**, which, apart from orthographical confusion, would have been bewildering, to say the least.

So Marr's transcription had to be either adopted or rejected in its entirety. The latter step was chosen, temporarily at least, our idea being to submit the question of transliteration for the consideration of experts who, perchance, may read this journal and, it is hoped, may interest themselves in this question. Partly for this reason and partly because the articles printed in the present number had already been prepared, the transliteration proposed by us (see the Table of the Alphabet), which we call rather incorrectly "analytical", has not been used in the present number.

As soon as a proper analytical transliteration is worked out, or, failing this, the adoption of Marr's transcription is decided upon with the concurrence of all those interested in the question, *Georgica* will be glad to remedy the anomaly of the transliteration in its present number.

To facilitate the task for those who may interest themselves in the question, we have given side-by-side in the Table, by way of information, the systems of transliterations used by some prominent writers, past and present, on the Georgian language.

It should be pointed out that, in our opinion, the diacritical mark, as in **t'**, **p'**, **k'**, etc., is not quite a voluntary and happy choice on our part, for in phonetic science generally this sign has come to denote an aspirated pronunciation of the letter to which it is attached. Since in Georgian the sounds denoted by **t'**, **p'**, **k'**, etc., are not aspirated **t**, **p**, **k**, etc., respectively (see page 134), the anomaly of the use of this diacritical mark is too obvious.

While on this subject of transliteration, we consider it our duty to acknowledge gratefully the very helpful advice and suggestions given on this question by H. W. Bailey, M.A., D.Ph., the Hon. Secretary of our Society, and by R. T. Butlin, B.A., a member of the Society's Council, both of the School of Oriental Studies. Our thanks are

particularly due to Mr. Butlin, with whose help we hope to publish in this journal (possibly in the second number) the Kymographic tracings of Georgian sounds and a full scientific description of them.

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 **ө** and **ყ**, 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. 134).
- i is like the English high-front-wide **ĩ** as in *ill, until*, otherwise represented as in *foreign, mischief, breeches*.
- k has a sound purer than that of English **k** or "hard" **c**; 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. 134).
- ž 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. 136).
- 4/w is very much like the English voiced semi-vowel **w**, and, like the latter, may be called "consonant *u*".¹
- 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. 134).
- 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**.
- ḡ a back linguagutturopalatal; 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*.
- ḡ like German **z** in *zeit*, or like **ts** in *tsetse* (fly).

¹ 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 **ŭ**. In Mod. Geo. this **u** became, when followed by a vowel, separated from the latter by **v**. Later still it disappeared altogether. e.g. *T'k'uen* → *t'k'uen* = *t'k'wen* // *t'k'wen* → *t'k'ven*. [See N. Marr, *A Grammar of the Ancient Literary Georgian Language*, Leningrad, 1925, pp. 4-7 (in Russian).]

- dz a front linguadentalalatal 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 linguadentalalatal 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.
- ç 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*.
- χ̣ 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 **ḳ**, i.e. **ḳ** with the sound of **q̣** (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 *kıŋ*¹ (**ı** without a point), or the Russian "hard" **і** (**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*.²

¹ See Kipshidze, *A Grammar of the Mingrelian (Iberian) Language*, St. Petersburg, 1914, p. 012 (in Russian).

² Marr., op. cit., p. 3.

q 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**, **ğ**, **ç**, 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. 131-3, 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.¹

The Georgian affricates may be described as consonantal diphthongs of the following combinations:—

ts' ← **t** + **s**²; **dz** ← **d** + **z**; **ts** ← **t'** + **s**; **ç** ← **t** + **š**; **j** ← **d** + **ž**;
č ← **t'** + **š**;

q ← **k** + **h**; **ğ** ← **g** + **y** or **g** + **h**; **χ** ← **k'** + **h**; **χ̇** ← **k'** + **q̇**.³

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

¹ 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.

² In popular transliteration **ts'** is represented as **ds** in order to distinguish it from **ts** = **ts**.

³ See Kipshidze, op. cit., p. 04.

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*).]

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*, *q*) with the gutturals.¹

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."²

¹ For a fuller explanation see Marr, *op. cit.*, p. 040 and pp. 10-12.

² See *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, trans. by Miss Marjory Scott Wardrop, published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1912, p. x.

CLASSIFICATION OF GEORGIAN SOUNDS

I. Consonants ¹

	Voiceless	Voiced	Half-Voiced			
Point-teeth	t	d	t'	} Plosives	Simple, Strong.	
Back	k	g	k'			
Lip	p	b	p'			
Lip-nasal	m	v	(f)	} Liquids		
Lip-teeth						
Blade	s	z		} Hissing	} Sibilants	
Blade-point	š	ž				} Hushing
Back	h			} Fricative		
Point-nasal	n	l	r	} Liquids		} Simple, Weak
Point-teeth						
Point-trill						
Lip-back		w				
Low-mixed-n.	q	y				
Front-open						
Point-teeth	tʰ	dz	tʰ	Hissing-Spirants (Assibilated)	} Affricates (Composite, Strong)	
Back	q	ğ	χ	Aspirated		
Blade	ç	j	č	Hushing-Spirants (Assibilated)		
Back			χ	Aspirated		

2. Vowels ²

Simple	a, e, i, o, u
Obscured	ə
Semi-vowels	y, w
Diphthongs	ay, ey, oy, uy
Long	o (← ō = aw) u (← ū = ew) ³

¹ Based on Marr's Classification of Consonants. See his *Grammar* quoted above. Cf. also N. Marr and M. Brière, *La langue Géorgienne*, Paris, 1931, pp. 18-22.

² This is Marr's classification reproduced in full (ibid.).

³ According to Marr these vowels are long by origin, that is, representing a blending of corresponding elements of the diphthong (ibid.).

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Hebrew.

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בארצות נכריות

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地 話 之 價 目 表 不 可。

Phonetics.

ngvibñ nabá:ntʷu úkumó:kʰʷa
sathò lamá:ndʒa ʋe ŋkʰó:mə

Greek.

Κατάλογοι εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην
γλῶσσαν εἶναι χρήσιμοι διὰ τὰς
ξένας ἀγοράς

Burmese.

ꨀꨃꨁꨂꨃꨄꨅꨆꨇꨈꨉꨊꨋꨌꨍꨎꨏꨐꨑꨒꨓꨔꨕꨖꨗꨘꨙꨚꨛꨜꨝꨞꨟꨠꨡꨢꨣꨤꨥꨦꨧꨨꨩꨪꨫꨬꨭꨮꨯꨰꨱꨲꨳꨴꨵꨶ꨷꨸꨹꨺꨻꨼꨽꨾꨿ꩀꩁꩂꩃꩄꩅꩆꩇꩈꩉꩊꩋꩌꩍ꩎꩏꩐꩑꩒꩓꩔꩕꩖꩗꩘꩙꩚꩛꩜꩝꩞꩟ꩠꩡꩢꩣꩤꩥꩦꩧꩨꩩꩪꩫꩬꩭꩮꩯꩰꩱꩲꩳꩴꩵꩶ꩷꩸꩹ꩺꩻꩼꩽꩾꩿꪀꪁꪂꪃꪄꪅꪆꪇꪈꪉꪊꪋꪌꪍꪎꪏꪐꪑꪒꪓꪔꪕꪖꪗꪘꪙꪚꪛꪜꪝꪞꪟꪠꪡꪢꪣꪤꪥꪦꪧꪨꪩꪪꪫꪬꪭꪮꪯꪰꪱꪴꪲꪳꪵꪶꪷꪸꪹꪺꪻꪼꪽꪾ꪿ꫀ꫁ꫂ꫃꫄꫅꫆꫇꫈꫉꫊꫋꫌꫍꫎꫏꫐꫑꫒꫓꫔꫕꫖꫗꫘꫙꫚ꫛꫜꫝ꫞꫟ꫠꫡꫢꫣꫤꫥꫦꫧꫨꫩꫪꫫꫬꫭꫮꫯ꫰꫱ꫲꫳꫴꫵ꫶꫷꫸꫹꫺꫻꫼꫽꫾꫿꬀ꬁꬂꬃꬄꬅꬆ꬇꬈ꬉꬊꬋꬌꬍꬎ꬏꬐ꬑꬒꬓꬔꬕꬖ꬗꬘꬙꬚꬛꬜꬝꬞꬟ꬠꬡꬢꬣꬤꬥꬦ꬧ꬨꬩꬪꬫꬬꬭꬮ꬯ꬰꬱꬲꬳꬴꬵꬶꬷꬸꬹꬺꬻꬼꬽꬾꬿꭀꭁꭂꭃꭄꭅꭆꭇꭈꭉꭊꭋꭌꭍꭎꭏꭐꭑꭒꭓꭔꭕꭖꭗꭘꭙꭚ꭛ꭜꭝꭞꭟꭠꭡꭢꭣꭤꭥꭦꭧꭨꭩ꭪꭫꭬꭭꭮꭯ꭰꭱꭲꭳꭴꭵꭶꭷꭸꭹꭺꭻꭼꭽꭾꭿꮀꮁꮂꮃꮄꮅꮆꮇꮈꮉꮊꮋꮌꮍꮎꮏꮐꮑꮒꮓꮔꮕꮖꮗꮘꮙꮚꮛꮜꮝꮞꮟꮠꮡꮢꮣꮤꮥꮦꮧꮨꮩꮪꮫꮬꮭꮮꮯꮰꮱꮲꮳꮴꮵꮶꮷꮸꮹꮺꮻꮼꮽꮾꮿꯀꯁꯂꯃꯄꯅꯆꯇꯈꯉꯊꯋꯌꯍꯎꯏꯐꯑꯒꯓꯔꯕꯖꯗꯘꯙꯚꯛꯜꯝꯞꯟꯠꯡꯢꯣꯤꯥꯦꯧꯨꯩꯪ꯫꯬꯭꯮꯯꯰꯱꯲꯳꯴꯵꯶꯷꯸꯹꯺꯻꯼꯽꯾꯿가각갂갃간갅갆갇갈갉갊갋갌갍갎갏감갑값갓갔강갖갗갘같갚갛개객갞갟갠갡갢갣갤갥갦갧갨갩갪갫갬갭갮갯갰갱갲갳갴갵갶갷갸갹갺갻갼갽갾갿걀걁걂걃걄걅걆걇걈걉걊걋걌걍걎걏걐걑걒걓걔걕걖걗걘걙걚걛걜걝걞걟걠걡걢걣걤걥걦걧걨걩걪걫걬걭걮걯거걱걲걳건걵걶걷걸걹걺걻걼걽걾걿검겁겂것겄겅겆겇겈겉겊겋게겍겎겏겐겑겒겓겔겕겖겗겘겙겚겛겜겝겞겟겠겡겢겣겤겥겦겧겨격겪겫견겭겮겯결겱겲겳겴겵겶겷겸겹겺겻겼경겾겿곀곁곂곃계곅곆곇곈곉곊곋곌곍곎곏곐곑곒곓곔곕곖곗곘곙곚곛곜곝곞곟고곡곢곣곤곥곦곧골곩곪곫곬곭곮곯곰곱곲곳곴공곶곷곸곹곺곻과곽곾곿관괁괂괃괄괅괆괇괈괉괊괋괌괍괎괏괐광괒괓괔괕괖괗괘괙괚괛괜괝괞괟괠괡괢괣괤괥괦괧괨괩괪괫괬괭괮괯괰괱괲괳괴괵괶괷괸괹괺괻괼괽괾괿굀굁굂굃굄굅굆굇굈굉굊굋굌굍굎굏교굑굒굓굔굕굖굗굘굙굚굛굜굝굞굟굠굡굢굣굤굥굦굧굨굩굪굫구국굮굯군굱굲굳굴굵굶굷굸굹굺굻굼굽굾굿궀궁궂궃궄궅궆궇궈궉궊궋권궍궎궏궐궑궒궓궔궕궖궗궘궙궚궛궜궝궞궟궠궡궢궣궤궥궦궧궨궩궪궫궬궭궮궯궰궱궲궳궴궵궶궷궸궹궺궻궼궽궾궿귀귁귂귃귄귅귆귇귈귉귊귋귌귍귎귏귐귑귒귓귔귕귖귗귘귙귚귛규귝귞귟균귡귢귣귤귥귦귧귨귩귪귫귬귭귮귯귰귱귲귳귴귵귶귷그극귺귻근귽귾귿글긁긂긃긄긅긆긇금급긊긋긌긍긎긏긐긑긒긓긔긕긖긗긘긙긚긛긜긝긞긟긠긡긢긣긤긥긦긧긨긩긪긫긬긭긮긯기긱긲긳긴긵긶긷길긹긺긻긼긽긾긿김깁깂깃깄깅깆깇깈깉깊깋까깍깎깏깐깑깒깓깔깕깖깗깘깙깚깛깜깝깞깟깠깡깢깣깤깥깦깧깨깩깪깫깬깭깮깯깰깱깲깳깴깵깶깷깸깹깺깻깼깽깾깿꺀꺁꺂꺃꺄꺅꺆꺇꺈꺉꺊꺋꺌꺍꺎꺏꺐꺑꺒꺓꺔꺕꺖꺗꺘꺙꺚꺛꺜꺝꺞꺟꺠꺡꺢꺣꺤꺥꺦꺧꺨꺩꺪꺫꺬꺭꺮꺯꺰꺱꺲꺳꺴꺵꺶꺷꺸꺹꺺꺻꺼꺽꺾꺿껀껁껂껃껄껅껆껇껈껉껊껋껌껍껎껏껐껑껒껓껔껕껖껗께껙껚껛껜껝껞껟껠껡껢껣껤껥껦껧껨껩껪껫껬껭껮껯껰껱껲껳껴껵껶껷껸껹껺껻껼껽껾껿꼀꼁꼂꼃꼄꼅꼆꼇꼈꼉꼊꼋꼌꼍꼎꼏꼐꼑꼒꼓꼔꼕꼖꼗꼘꼙꼚꼛꼜꼝꼞꼟꼠꼡꼢꼣꼤꼥꼦꼧꼨꼩꼪꼫꼬꼭꼮꼯꼰꼱꼲꼳꼴꼵꼶꼷꼸꼹꼺꼻꼼꼽꼾꼿꽀꽁꽂꽃꽄꽅꽆꽇꽈꽉꽊꽋꽌꽍꽎꽏꽐꽑꽒꽓꽔꽕꽖꽗꽘꽙꽚꽛꽜꽝꽞꽟꽠꽡꽢꽣꽤꽥꽦꽧꽨꽩꽪꽫꽬꽭꽮꽯꽰꽱꽲꽳꽴꽵꽶꽷꽸꽹꽺꽻꽼꽽꽾꽿꾀꾁꾂꾃꾄꾅꾆꾇꾈꾉꾊꾋꾌꾍꾎꾏꾐꾑꾒꾓꾔꾕꾖꾗꾘꾙꾚꾛꾜꾝꾞꾟꾠꾡꾢꾣꾤꾥꾦꾧꾨꾩꾪꾫꾬꾭꾮꾯꾰꾱꾲꾳꾴꾵꾶꾷꾸꾹꾺꾻꾼꾽꾾꾿꿀꿁꿂꿃꿄꿅꿆꿇꿈꿉꿊꿋꿌꿍꿎꿏꿐꿑꿒꿓꿔꿕꿖꿗꿘꿙꿚꿛꿜꿝꿞꿟꿠꿡꿢꿣꿤꿥꿦꿧꿨꿩꿪꿫꿬꿭꿮꿯꿰꿱꿲꿳꿴꿵꿶꿷꿸꿹꿺꿻꿼꿽꿾꿿

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