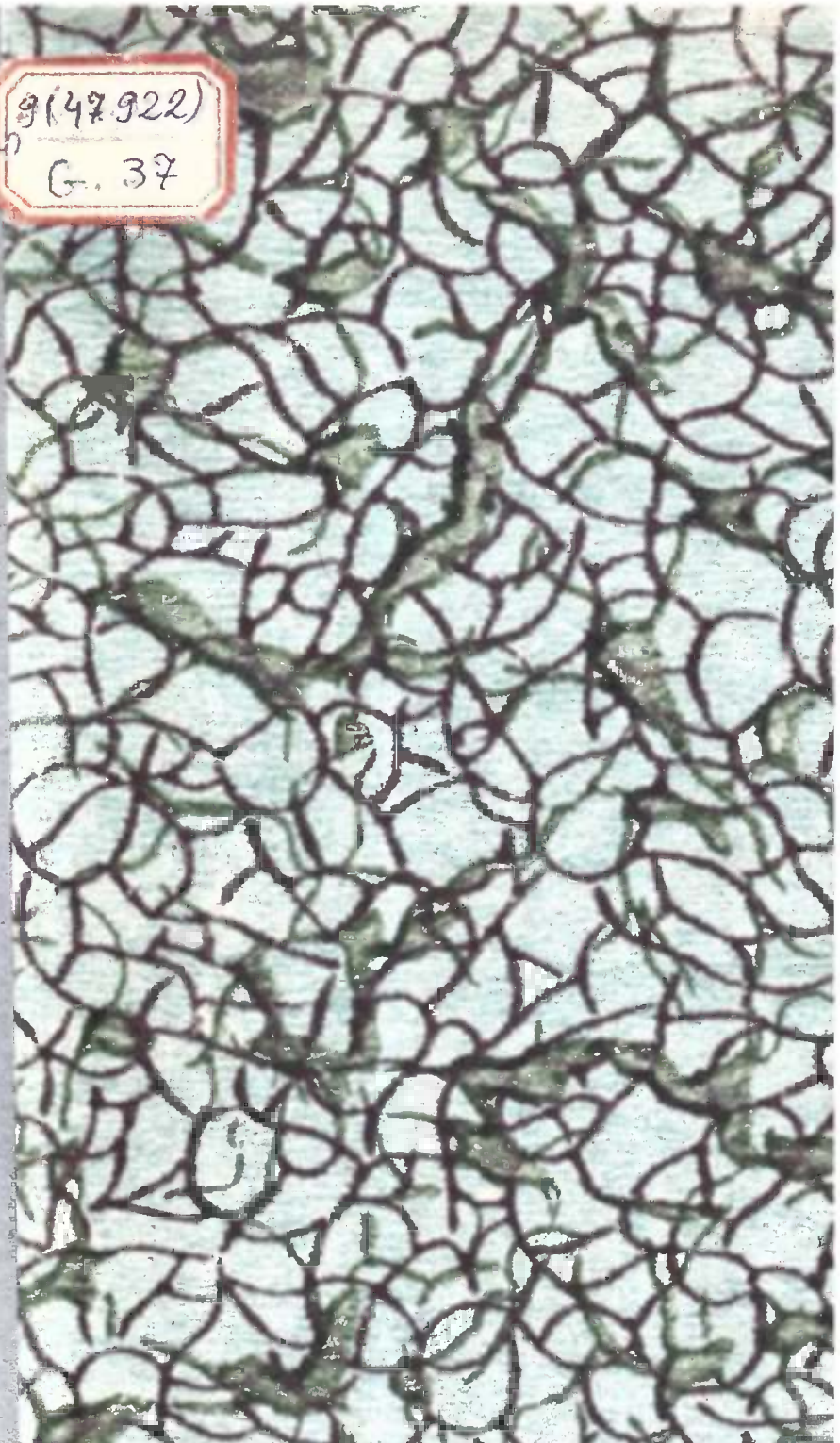


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GEORGICA

A JOURNAL OF GEORGIAN AND CAUCASIAN STUDIES

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Cross from Overseas. Z. AVALISHVILI	3
The Icon of the Crucifixion in the Dsalenjikha Church in Megrelia. (Plates.) E. TAQAISHVILI	12
Georgian Influences on the Cultures of the Balkan Peoples. ARCHIMANDRITE GREGORY PERADZE, Ph.D.	14
The Georgian Epic: "The Man in the Panther's Skin." TITUS MARGVELASHVILI, Ph.D. (Berlin)	24
The Rising of 1877 in Daghestan and Tchetchnia. JOHN F. BADDELEY	44
The Monument of Juarisa. (Plates.) GEORGE BODCHORIDZE	50
Ethnographical and Historical Division of Georgia. A. GUGUSHVILI	53
Colchian Didrachmas. (Plate.) SERGE MAKALATIA	72
The Date of the Building of the Cathedral "The Living Pillar". S. KAKABADZE	78
The Caucasian Race. ALEXANDER JAVAKHISHVILI	92
The Chronological-Genealogical Table of the Kings of Georgia. A. GUGUSHVILI	109
Four Basilican Churches of the Qvirila Valley. (Plates.) E. TAQAISHVILI	154
Tschubinaschwili: <i>Georgische Baukunst</i> . PROF. D. TALBOT RICE	174
JURGIS BALTRUŠAITIS. Armenian Architecture and Gothic Art	178
The Georgian Alphabet. A. GUGUSHVILI	181

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THE GEORGIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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1. To promote an understanding of Georgian culture.
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3. To promote the knowledge of the peoples and languages of Caucasia.
4. To encourage the study of history, ethnology, and archæology of Caucasia in general.
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GEORGICA

A JOURNAL OF GEORGIAN AND CAUCASIAN STUDIES

THE CROSS FROM OVERSEAS

By Z. AVALISHVILI

IN 1099, after great bloodshed, the Crusaders captured Jerusalem. There, and elsewhere, they founded principalities; they prayed and shed tears of penitence on Golgotha, yet strove to gain still further possessions, still greater riches at the point of the sword.

But it was not only carpets, gold, and silver that came from the East; thence came, as they had come once before, Light, Wisdom, and Knowledge. Rumours of heroic deeds were borne across the seas, from the land where stood the Holy Sepulchre, source of Grace.

At such a time, Galon, Bishop of Paris, was overjoyed when the tidings reached him, A.D. 1108, that Ansellus (Anseau in the vernacular) once his pupil, and now Precentor of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, was sending him a gift precious beyond all price—a cross carved from the very wood of the True Cross. A worthy Monk named Anselm was despatched to bring this holy relic, and his return to Paris was eagerly awaited.

In the spring of 1109, it was learnt that Anselm had died on his way back, but that his son Foulques, with a band of comrades, was returning to France; they had already reached Champagne by way of Greece, Hungary, and Germany. After a while they sent a messenger from Fontenet-en-Parisis to Bishop Galon, who, with his entire Chapter, set forth immediately to meet the Cross. It was solemnly borne from Fontenet to the Church of St. Cloud, on Friday, 30th July, 1109, and on Sunday, 1st August, it was brought with all pomp and splendour to *Notre Dame de Paris*. The great procession was headed by the Bishops of Paris, Meaux, and Senlis, and the crowd, who delighted in such pageantry, went wild with joy.

This was probably the first time that a large fragment of the principal "Instrument of the Passion" had been sent straight from

Jerusalem to France, and every ardent devotee regarded it as a genuine and material symbol of that Truth for which their brother knights and heroes had fought in Palestine.

The whole of Christianity is based on Christ the Crucified. The people were told that here was part of that very Cross on which their Saviour had suffered; no wonder, then, that they rejoiced at the sight of it, and bowed down in worship. The Church could not but encourage it.

However, the remarkable career of this Cross cannot be attributed solely to its arrival at the time when the fervour of the First Crusade was at its height. Of greater importance was the fact that it was placed in a great and illustrious Church—*Notre Dame de Paris*.¹ The Cross, indeed, played its part in the history of this Cathedral.

When the Cross was first brought to Paris, the throng of worshippers who longed to adore and receive grace from it, was so great that no church or square in the city was large enough to contain them. Nor could a suitable place be found on the outskirts of the capital, which consisted of vineyards, fields, woods, and thickets. Finally, a site was chosen in the plain of St. Denis, near the famous Abbey. Here there was plenty of space for the vast throng. Moreover, the ground was part of the Bishop's estate, and here every year, on each second Wednesday in June, took place the ceremony of the Exaltation of the Cross—the *Croix d'outre-mer*, as it was called in the thirteenth century. The procession formed by the Bishop and his Chapter, the clergy, and the people would start from Paris early in the morning. It was penitential in character; psalms were sung and prayers recited on the way. When they reached the spot, the Bishop, standing on a platform, delivered a sermon, after which he elevated the Cross in blessing.

There are authentic records in the twelfth century of this ritual. We also know that later the University and the Parliament of Paris too participated in the ceremony.

For centuries this solemn rite formed a traditional part of the life of Paris. At the end of the fifteenth century it was still being carried out in exactly the same way. But later, as Paris developed into a great city, this ancient, almost rural custom, fell into disuse. Anseau's Cross, however—*Crux Anselmi*—was still regarded with veneration by the faithful, and was zealously preserved in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Up to our own times a service was held

¹ In 1109, the Gothic basilica had not yet been built. In 1115–1130, the church was erected, on whose site the present Cathedral of Notre Dame was begun in 1163. (The body of the Cathedral was completed about 1200, the façade in 1240, and the whole structure was finished in the fourteenth century.) But from earliest times, a church had always stood on that spot, so that in 1109 Notre Dame had already considerable tradition behind it.

there, on the first Sunday in August, to commemorate the reception of the Cross, so precious to French Christians of bygone days.¹

From 1109 onwards, for nearly seven centuries, Anseau's Cross was piously preserved in Paris. It actually consisted of two crosses : the first of white wood resembling pine, was let into the second which was black and looked like oak. In Anseau's letter we read why two kinds of wood were used. (See p. 8, n. 1.) We are told in contemporary accounts that the Cross was overlaid with silver-gilt, and studded with pearls, diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and sapphires.

Six hundred and eighty-two years passed, and we find this Cross, the relic of the past, the mute witness of the Crusaders, in the midst of the storm that swept eighteenth-century France. The Revolution, as is usual with revolutions, did not respect it. In 1793 the Cross met with misfortune when, as we learn from an ecclesiastical record dealing with it at the time of Napoleon, "bands of impious marauders entered the churches and robbed them." It is difficult to discover what actually did happen. The treasures of Notre Dame were plundered ; anyhow the gem-encrusted Cruciform Casket that contained the Cross was broken up. But it has been established by official inquiry that in order to save the Cross itself, it was separated into halves, each half being entrusted to a reliable person. One half disappeared ; the other was divided into four small crosses, three of which were returned to the Cathedral when the persecution was at an end. These three crosses, after strict examination and searching inquiries, were pronounced to be genuine by the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris. In 1804 these relics were once more allowed to be exhibited, yet despite this resurrection, the eclipse of the *Croix d'outre-mer* was now complete.

The condition of the Cross in 1814, when the Bourbons were restored to the throne of France, is described in an inventory dated 1828. But during the Revolution of 1830, when the treasury of Notre Dame was again pillaged, Anseau's Cross received further damage.

According to a detailed inventory dated 1867, the remains of the original Cross were preserved in the following manner. A small cross of black wood was let into a large ordinary Church Cross (at that time black timber was no longer considered to be a relic of the

¹ The above facts are chiefly derived from sources no longer in existence by the Abbé Lebeuf (1687-1760) in his book, *Histoire de la Ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris*, vol. i, ed. 1883, pp. 540, onwards. See also *Histoire littéraire de la France*, written by the Benedictine Monks of the Congregation of St. Maur ; vol. x (Paris, 1756), pp. 400-3, and *Description Historique de la Basilique Métropolitaine de Paris et des Curiosités de son Trésor*, by A. P. M. Gilbert, Paris, 1811. The important Latin letters of Anseau, to which frequent reference is made in this essay, are written on parchment, and are still in existence in Paris. See description of them in the *Musée des Archives Nationales, Documents originaux de l'histoire de France exposés dans l'hôtel Soubise*, in fol., Paris, 1872, Nos. 125-6, in which 1108 and 1109 are given as their respective dates. For text of these letters, see Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, t. 162, Col. 729-731, and especially Robert de Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire Général de Paris*, t. i, Paris, 1887, pp. 171-2, Nos. 151-2.

True Cross). The remaining fragments of Anseau's Cross, both black and white, were incorporated into three crosses, of modern design, duly ornamented. One of these was presented by Napoleon I, another by Charles X of France.¹

Anseau's Cross was once the rarest of its kind in France. Later on, however, owing to the Crusades, and the increasing demand for relics, these holy objects became general all over Europe. In the Royal Chapel in Paris, for instance, there was a famous fragment of the True Cross, which had been there since 1241; this was presented to St. Louis by Baldwin II, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, when he was seeking his aid.² It comprises 220,000 cubic millimetres of wood, while the remains of Anseau's Cross (the white wood only) do not exceed 154 millimetres.

We all know how numerous these relics are. They have, in fact, provoked cutting comments from Erasmus of Rotterdam, Swift and Voltaire, and others. As if in reply to such criticism, a legend affirms that the True Cross never diminished no matter how many fragments were chipped from it. Even in our own times, the sceptical remarks that several warships might be built with the nails and timber stated to have belonged to the True Cross, have not been allowed to pass unchallenged. On the contrary, modern defenders of traditional faith have attempted to prove that should all the fragments of the True Cross be put together, the sum total would only represent a small portion of the wood needed for the chief instrument of the passion of Christ. However, we are not concerned with polemics of this kind, although they still persist to-day.³

Such briefly, is the history of the *Croix d'outre-mer*, and the part

¹ See Gosselin, *Notice historique et critique sur la Sainte Couronne d'épines de notre Seigneur Jésus et sur les autres instruments de sa passion qui se conservent dans l'église Métropolitaine de Paris*, Paris, 1828, in particular: Actes concernant les trois croix formées de l'ancienne croix d'Anseau. Cf. Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *Mémoire sur les instruments de la passion de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ*, in fol., Paris, 1870.

² The so-called relic of St. Louis was part of the booty of the Crusaders when they robbed Constantinople in 1204. This Cross was also kept in a valuable cruciform casket, the beautiful gems of which were later removed by Henri III, King of France, and pledged to Venetian usurers. The casket disappeared during the French Revolution, but the relic is still preserved in the Church of Notre Dame.

³ R. de Fleury (op. cit.) was the principal defender of the tradition; he employed positive argument, calculation, statistics, etc. For further reference, see Rev. William Wood Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition, History, and Art*, New York and London, 1898. There is a scholarly treatise on the subject in the *Encyclopädie der Katholischen Theologie*, etc., Bd. vii (1891); *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. ii (1902). For historical sources, and legends concerning the Invention of the Cross, see William Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. ii, pp. 882-5 (1880); L. J. Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'église d'Edesse*, Paris, 1888 (Appendix: *l'Invention de la vraie Croix*); Dr. J. Straubinger, *Die Kreuzauffindungslegende*, etc., Paderborn, 1913. Cf. also L. Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Eglise*, vol. ii, p. 81. There is also an important compilation by Eberhard Nestle, *De Sancta Cruce: Ein Beitrag zur Christlichen Legendengeschichte*, Berlin, 1889. The traditional point of view is stressed in *Kreuz und Grab Jesu*, by Eduard M. Clos, 1898, and in "La Vraie Croix perdue et retrouvée," *Recherches historiques*, by Louis de Combes, Paris, 1902.

it played in the religious life of Paris from 1109 to our own time. Now let us turn our attention to its earlier history, and to the remote country whence it came ere it was acquired by Ansellus *Gloriosissimi Sepulchri cantor et presbiter*.

Anseau tells us in his letter that he had acquired his Cross in Jerusalem from a widow of King David of Georgia, who was then residing there. He adds that it had belonged to the royal house of that country ever since the True Cross had been divided into sections and distributed among the various Eastern Churches and nations after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Saracens in 638.

As the origin of the True Cross is buried in legend, and as it is impossible to verify the story of its division under the Saracens, the history of our Cross in the East cannot be related in the same manner as its later phase in the West. Nevertheless, a few words on references to the True Cross in Georgian literary tradition and a short commentary on Anseau's letters should be of interest.

At an early date, Georgia became a member of Eastern Christendom, sharing in its life, dreams, and hopes. Bound up on one side with Syria and Palestine, and with Byzantine Greece on the other, it soon became permeated by the legends and doctrines which began to circulate about the relics of Christ's Passion (the True Cross, nails, robe, etc.).

As early as the sixth century, mention is found of monasteries owned by the Georgians in Jerusalem,¹ and other parts of the Holy Land. Naturally, therefore, the Georgians came under the direct influence of these legends.² Indeed, for many centuries, the True Cross, the Holy Sepulchre, Golgotha, etc., stood for many of them not only as objects of faith, but as an integral part of their daily life. The celebrated Monastery of the Cross, their last possession in Jerusalem, which they held until the beginning of the nineteenth century, was supposed to have been built upon the root of that very tree of whose wood the Cross was made. Calvary itself where the Saviour was crucified, was also at one time owned by the Georgians. Their entire life in Jerusalem was bound up with the legends of the Cross.

The Georgians, however, blended these traditions with their own particular national and religious conceptions. The chronicles of Georgia's conversion to Christianity obviously reflect the influence of the Cross legend. This cannot be fully dealt with here, but it may

¹ See the works of Tsagareli, Marr, Kekelidze, and others. Cf. also H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem, Recherches de Topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, t. ii, Paris, 1926.

² According to Christian tradition, the Invention of the True Cross is attributed to Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine. Eusebius of Cæsarea, writing about A.D. 338, makes no mention of it. But the tradition itself goes very far back, as does the Adoration of the Cross; it can be traced back to the fourth century. This ritual has been solemnized in Constantinople and the East ever since the fifth century.

be noticed that, in particular, mention is made of a fragment¹ of the newly discovered Cross being sent to the first Christian King of Iberia, Mirian (Mihran) by the Emperor Constantine himself.

After the cult of the True Cross had been established, the most important events in its history were its capture and removal from Jerusalem as a trophy of war by the Persians under Chosroes in 614, and its recapture by the Emperor Heraclius in 628. Both of these episodes made a profound impression on contemporary Christians. The Cross was restored to its original position, borne thither by the Cæsar himself. All these events contributed to stimulate the interest that the True Cross had already inspired.²

The capture of the Cross by Chosroes and its return to Jerusalem are also mentioned in the Georgian chronicle.³

Ten years later, however, in 638, Jerusalem was conquered by the Saracens, and a fresh misfortune befell the Cross of Christ, if we can believe the information contained in Anseau's second letter. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to verify the story he relates of the final division of the True Cross under the Moslems.⁴

As we have seen, the Georgians were in close touch with the Holy Land, and not only assimilated its legends, but sometimes gave them an original form. There is an elaborate legend, for instance, about the robe of Christ, in which this relic is attributed to Mtskhet'a, the old capital of Iberia and the cradle of its Christianity. This legend was current in Georgia up to our own time.⁵ I shall dwell at some

¹ i.e. of a portion of the True Cross and of the boards to which the Lord's feet were nailed. See *Life of Georgia*, ed. by Taqaishvili, p. 99. Compare Anseau's statement that his cross, formerly owned by the kings of Georgia (Iberia) was made of two different kinds of wood (. . . et crux ista quam vobis misi de duobus est lignis, quia crux inserta est cruce, inserta est de eo in quo pependit, in qua inseritur de subpedaneo in quo crux affixa fuit . . .). As to the period and the circumstances of the dispatch of these relics to Georgia, the difference between the two versions is obvious.

² Local traditions vary in their accounts of the return of the Cross to Jerusalem. The question has been gone into with scholarly thoroughness by V. Bolotov, *K istorii Imperatoro Ivachliya, Vizant. Vremennik*, St. Petersburg, 1907. Cf. also Angelo Pernice, *L'Imperatore Eraclio*, Firenze, 1905, pp. 317-321; Agapius, *Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius de Menbidj*, trans. by A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia orientalis*, vol. viii, Paris, 1912, pp. 467-8, where it is stated that the Cross was returned to Constantinople.

³ The source of this information is an interesting book on the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians, translated from a Greek original which is now lost. The Georgian version of it was edited by N. Marr, *Plenienie Jersusalima Persami v 614g*, St. Petersburg, 1909. Another Georgian manuscript of the same text was discovered by P. Peeters *De codice hiberico bibliothecæ Bodleianæ*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxxi, 1912. The Arabic text on which the Georgian version was based was discovered in the Vatican Library by the same scholar. See Paul Peeters, *Un nouveau Manuscrit Arabe du récit de la prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, in *Analecta*, vol. xxxviii, 1920, and *La Prise de Jérusalem*, etc., Beyrouth, 1923.

⁴ After the capture of Jerusalem, the Caliph Omar apparently pledged his word that the sanctity of churches, crosses, etc., would be respected. See M. L. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, 1900, p. 153; N. A. Mednikov, *Palestine from its Conquest by the Arabs up to the Crusades*, etc. (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1902, p. 531.

⁵ See N. Marr's study on old Syriac, Georgian, and Armenian legends, relating to the Lord's Robe.

length on another legend of long standing concerning the history of Georgia's conversion to Christianity, namely, the story of the Miraculous Wooden Pillar.

Mention of this wooden pillar which could not be lifted by ordinary means and was miraculously set up, etc., is found as early as the fourth century, i.e. very soon after St. Nino had converted Iberia to Christianity.¹ Subsequently, the Miraculous or Life-giving Pillar gave its name to the Mtskhet'a Cathedral, the seat of the Georgian Patriarchs, near Tiflis, and became its chief feature.

Is this a purely fanciful legend, or is it derived from an early pagan tree-cult of local origin? Possibly it refers to the ancient pillar-cult, traces of which are to be found elsewhere.² Be that as it may, at a slightly later date, this possible survival of the Pillar Cult was merged into the tradition of the True Cross. This intermingling had one extraordinary aspect. Indeed, if we consider the original version of the Living Pillar as given by Rufinus in the fourth century, we find that though the legend had become somewhat Christianized, it was pagan in character, and was not connected with the legends of the Cross. According to this legend, a tree was cut down to form the pillar of a church; it resisted all efforts to raise it, including those of the missionary, the priest, and the King, and could only be set up by miraculous agency. To some extent, the story suggests resistance to the new religion by those deeply imbued with the old creeds. A few centuries later, however, we find that the same legend recurs in a more elaborate form, and that the setting up of miraculous crosses has been added to the earlier pillar story. The whole conception (as found in the Georgian *Life of St. Nino*, copied about the end of the tenth century, but which is probably of much earlier origin) shows signs of having been influenced by various traditions concerning the True Cross. Finally, the Living Pillar of Mtskhet'a itself, is described as being cross-shaped, since in its natural pillar form, it was in no way symbolical of Christ. Thus, the Christianization of an early pagan pillar cult was achieved. So complete was the triumph of Christian symbolism over pagan tree-worship that, according to the Chronicle, many crosses were carved out of the supposedly Living Pillar, and distributed among the different churches in Georgia. Here again, the Georgian Pillar seems to follow the fate of the True Cross. In Anseau's letter, we find a full description of

¹ See Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, l. i, cap. x (Migne, P. L., vol. 21, col. 480-2), and also A. Glas, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisareia, die Vorlage für die beiden letzte Bücher der Kirchengeschichte Rufins*, Leipzig, 1914.

² The Georgian Legend of the Miraculous Pillar has been studied in connection with tree and pillar cult by Sir Arthur J. Evans in his work, *The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations*, London, 1901. See also M. Tsereteli, *The Asiatic Elements in National Georgian Paganism*, in *GEORGICA*, No. 1, § 10.

the cutting-up of the True Cross and the distribution of the various parts among the Churches and nations. Georgia seems to have received her full share of the relics; both her King and Patriarch were each presented with one of these fragments.

This brings us back to our subject. It was, indeed, no other than the Georgian royal cross which the French priest acquired in 1107 in Jerusalem, and which he presented to his *Alma Mater* Church in Paris. As we have said, he obtained his Cross under peculiar circumstances, from the widow of David, King of Georgia, by whom it had been brought to Jerusalem.

There is, of course, no trace of such a transaction in Georgian documents, but there is nothing improbable in the story. It may, in fact, be safely assumed that the Georgian dynasty of the Bagratids, proud of their descent from Jesse, David, and Solomon—i.e. from the Royal House of David through which they claimed consanguinity with Jesus,¹ not only venerated the True Cross, but cherished it as a family relic. They certainly possessed a large number of crosses that contained particles of the True Cross,² so that it was by no means unlikely that a Dowager Queen of Georgia, on her way to Jerusalem to enter a nunnery, should have taken with her the Cross which Anseau acquired and sent to Paris.³ She could not, however, have been the widow of King David of Georgia. The King in question is evidently the famous David II (1089–1125), known as the Builder (or Restorer).⁴ David II (b. 1070) was in his 38th year and still reigning at the time when Anseau's letter was dispatched from Jerusalem, i.e. in 1107 or 1108. It is possible that the Georgian Queen from whom Anseau bought the Cross was David II's first wife who was of Armenian extraction. She is mentioned by Matthew of Edessa in his Armenian chronicle, but there is no reference to her in Georgian documents. We may assume that the King had put her aside in order to marry the daughter of a Kipchak King in North Caucasia. Reference to this second union is found in the contemporary Georgian *Life of David II*. This marriage may have been dictated by political considerations; an alliance with the Kipchak rulers meant that Georgia's influence in Northern Caucasia would be strengthened. David's

¹ This claim is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenetos in *De Administr. Imperio*, written about the middle of the tenth century.

² For further details of these reliquaries (*staurotheka*) in Georgia and elsewhere, see Kondakov's profusely illustrated work, *Histoire et Monuments des Emaux Byzantins*, Zvenigorodski, 1892.

³ According to Anseau, she entered . . . "sub manu domini Gibellini patriarchae congregationem sanctimonialium Georgianorum, quae est in Jerusalem." Mention is made later, in 1162–1175, of another—"new"—Georgian nunnery. See Tsagareli, *Old Georgian Monuments in the Holy Land*, St. Petersburg, 1888, pp. 125, 170 (in Russian).

⁴ For a general survey of David's reign, see chap. viii, "Heyday of the Georgian Kings: David II to Thamar," in W. E. D. Allen's *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932.

marriage to a Kipchak princess, no doubt, facilitated for him the organizing of his private Royal Army which was recruited from among the Kipchaks.

David's first wife, who was in all probability innocent, became, as it is now disclosed by Anseau's letter, a nun on being repudiated. There is evidence that King David II did penance all his days, and perhaps it was to expiate this injustice.

Perhaps Anseau deliberately made the misstatement about the widow of King David in order to lend substance to the account he wrote to Paris of how the precious Cross had come into his hands. In 1108, David II was already known in Syria and Palestine, where there were many Georgians and Armenians. Shortly after, in 1119-1125, he achieved a wide fame by his victory, in 1123, over the Moslem coalition commanded by Emir Elghazi of Aleppo and Mardin, the Ortokide, then the most powerful opponent of the Crusaders.

The importance of Georgia from the point of view of the Crusaders is clearly indicated by Anseau. They regarded this country as one of their main supports in Western Asia, or, in military terms, as *antemurale*, a rampart, which strengthened their own position.¹

Anseau's reference to the guarding of the gateway through the Caucasus by the Georgian Kings, is particularly interesting. He repeats the old story of Gog and Magog threatening invasion from the North, and, according to his version, held in check by the mountains of the Caucasus. The essentials of his account are, however, historically accurate. In the days of David II, Georgia kept strict watch over the great mountain-chain, and especially over the gateway to it: the Dar-i-alan or Darial Pass, then only open for peaceful intercourse to Georgia's vassals and allies. In previous centuries, this Pass had been sometimes guarded by the powerful Empires to whom it was of vital importance—by Rome and Persia. Much later on, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the last descendants of David II put this vital weapon in the hands of Russia; they opened the Darial Pass to her troops, and this enabled her to subjugate the entire Caucasus.

¹ " . . . Porro David, rex Georgianorum, qui cum suis predecessoribus Portas Caspicas tenuit et custodivit, ubi sunt inclusi Gog et Magog, quod et filius ejus adhuc facit, cujus terra et regnum contra Medos et Perssa est nobis quasi antemurale . . ." (For definition of *antemurale* see Du Cange, *Glossarium med. et inf. Latinitatis*, ed. 1840.) In this context, Caspian Gate means the chief pass through the Central Caucasus.

THE ICON OF THE CRUCIFIXION IN THE DSALENJIKHA CHURCH IN MEGRELIA

By E. TAQAISHVILI

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IN the year 1913 I found a small icon of the Crucifixion resting on the altar of the Dsalenjikha Church. This icon no longer exists; it was stolen and destroyed during the revolution. The only reminder of it which we possess is the photograph of it which was taken then.¹ A short description of the icon, together with an analysis of the inscriptions, was published by me in Georgian in 1914.² Of course no photograph can replace the original, but under the circumstances we must consider ourselves fortunate that the photographs which I present here have been preserved.

The icon was of gold, in the form of a triptych, measuring when open 12.5 × 16 centimetres. On the outsides of the side panels were the full-length figures of St. George and St. Demetrius in Roman military attire (Pl. I). Both the warrior saints were represented as young men with nimbuses; St. George (to the left of the onlooker) is leaning with his left hand on an oblong narrow shield, and St. Demetrius on a sheathed sword. Both figures were surrounded with pearls, strung on a string. All but four of the pearls round St. George were lost; those round St. Demetrius were, with a few exceptions, preserved. This surface of the side panels was in addition decorated at top and bottom with other large precious stones all inset.

The central panel was of platinum and represented the Crucifixion in relief, with the Virgin and one woman standing on the left, and St. John the Divine and a trumpeting angel on the right. Christ's body was rather long and very thin, especially the knees (Pl. II). The whole central panel was copiously decorated with precious stones, the figures being almost entirely covered with them. On the inside of the flanking panels were represented on the left the Mother of God, and on the right John the Baptist, both in the postures of prayer, as in the scene of the Deesis (*Δέησις*). These figures were in their turn surrounded with pearls and precious stones. Among the local population there was a belief that the icon of the Crucifixion was made of the nails with which Christ was nailed to the Cross, for the platinum of which it was actually made was thought to be steel or iron. On the back there was an eight-line inscription, reading:—

¹ This was taken by the photographer, T. Kuhne.

² E. Taqaishvili, *Archæological Journeys and Notes* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1914, pp. 224-7.



PLATE IV



“*To Thee, Who for our salvation became man, and suffered crucifixion and death—what can we offer worthy of Thy deeds? With great eagerness do we, O Dsalenjikha Saviour, adorn Thy Cross, we, devoted to Thee: The Mandatur’ Ukhutsesi,¹ Dadiani Bedan, and I, their son, Dadiani George, who adorns it for the second time; and I, Dadiani Shergil and my wife Nat’el, who for the third time adorn Thy image—protect us and our sons from all misfortune.*”

Dadiani Bedan and his son George, who lived in the thirteenth century, are well known from the Georgian Annals. They were leading men in the time of Queen Rusudan (1223–1247), and her son David IV Narin (1248–1293).² At this time there lived, too, Shergil Dadiani, a fresco portrait of whom is seen on the southern wall of the Khopi monastery, with his wife Nat’el and their son Tsotne.³ All the personages mentioned in this inscription appear also in numerous inscriptions of the icons of the Khopi and Martvili monasteries, with their wives and children.⁴ Thus the Dsalenjikha icon of the Crucifixion was a work of the thirteenth century.

The icon was placed in a special silver case, 19 × 13 centimetres in size, with a chain for hanging it round the neck. On the lid of the case was embossed the scene of the Deesis with names inscribed above the heads (Pl. III). Christ is represented with a cruciform nimbus, in the act of blessing, and with a gospel in the left hand. The Mother of God and St. John, represented in a praying attitude, have their faces turned towards Christ. On the back of the image-case is represented a Cross, with flowering vine-branches underneath, and with an inscription round the Cross (Pl. IV):—

“O God, have mercy in both lives, upon the daughter of David Manaskiri⁵ the Queen T’ukharan.”

“O God, have mercy in both lives upon the prior Elise Japaridze, the adorer of Thy icon, Amen! Amen!”

The personages mentioned in these inscriptions are not known from other sources, but the style of the ornamentation and the character of the letters (*asomt’avruli*), show that the case could scarcely be older than the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

Below these inscriptions on the narrow smooth external margin, there is a late vulgar inscription of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century:—

“O God, have mercy upon Kandelaki German⁶ Kobalia, Amen.”

“O God, have mercy upon John Ejibia!”

¹ Chief of the Mandators or Proto-Mandator.

² Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, pp. 510–521, 533–5, 546.

³ Taqaishvili, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 134.

⁴ E. Taqaishvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–50, 137–9, 141, 143, 153.

⁵ This word is denoted in the inscription by the initial letter only; in my Georgian edition, p. 225, it was inadvertently omitted.

⁶ Or, perhaps, Gerasime (?). This word is so indistinctly written that it is difficult to read it correctly.

GEORGIAN INFLUENCES ON THE CULTURES OF THE BALKAN PEOPLES

Impressions of a research tour in Rumania, Greece and Bulgaria

By ARCHIMANDRITE GREGORY PERADZE, PH.D.

(Professor of Patrology, Warsaw University)

NOT until the summer of 1935 was I able to fulfil a long-cherished wish and visit the Athos monasteries. As my route lay across Rumania and Bulgaria, I visited these countries. I have given in the Georgian language a full account of my researches¹; in the present article I will only mention the chief results of my expedition.

First I visited Rumania.

Concerning the relations between Georgia and Rumania there exists no published work, but the historian can find much interesting material; only he must stay in the country rather more than ten days, which is all that I had at my disposal, since the prime object of my journey was the Holy Mountain of Athos. I had, therefore, to confine myself to what was most necessary and most important. I left aside the researches about the famous Georgian poet Bessarion Gabashvili, who spent the latter years of his life in Rumania, where he is buried²; I also had to leave researches in the archives concerning the fate of the numerous Georgian emigrants to Rumania in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the relations between the Georgian monasteries in Palestine and the Rumanian metochies in the Middle Ages,³ and several other subjects.⁴ Through the kind introduction of Professor N. Jorga I was given facilities to search in the Academia Romana the material left by the great Georgian Archbishop of Bucharest, Antim Iverianul (d. 1716).⁵ Antim, the Georgian, acquired much merit by his activities on behalf of the Rumanian church, and his name is held in great reverence throughout

¹ The complete account of my journey will appear shortly, in Georgian, in the ecclesiastical periodical, *Jvari Vazisa*, No. 5.

² See *Jvari Vazisa* (Paris, 1931), No. 1, pp. 19-24, where I have published a few unknown poems by Bessarion Gabashvili from a Georgian MS. in the Wardrop Collection (Oxford, Bodleian Library).

³ Considerable data for this work are to be found in the important records compiled by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, the *History of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem* (Bucharest, 1715). This patriarch was in Georgia in the years 1659, 1660, and 1679, collecting alms for his Patriarchate; in the above-mentioned work he gives impressions of his travels in Georgia, the history of the Catholicoses of Abkhasia and the history of Georgian monasteries in the Holy Land. Apart from Brosset, who drew upon it for a short essay, "De l'État Religieux et Politique de la Géorgie jusqu'au XVII^e siècle," *Bulletin scientifique* (St. Petersburg, 1839), translated into Russian by M. Selesniou in the *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction* (St. Petersburg, 1843). Nos. 11-12, pp. 1-44, no one has used the extremely important data given in this work concerning the history of Georgia.

⁴ For instance a theory has lately been upheld in Rumania according to which Georgian architecture influenced the architecture of Rumania. See Bals, *Influence de l'Architecture arméno-géorgienne sur l'Architecture de Moldavo-Valachie* (Bucharest, 1929).

⁵ He died a martyr's death, being thrown into the Danube by the Turks.

the country. Nor did he forget his native land. In 1707-8 he sent the printers who established the first printing press in Tiflis, where the first Georgian Gospels printed in the country were published in the following year. Unfortunately nobody has yet undertaken a study of this personage in the libraries and museums of Georgia, and there is very little to be found about him in the library of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences.¹

In order to go to Athos one must have a special *visa* from the Greek government. For this *visa* I waited at Salonika. This city was once the place of refuge of a Georgian, St. Hilarion (d. 875). He dwelt in it for a fairly long time and became famous for the holiness of his life and his miracles. After his death his relics were transferred to Constantinople at the command of Emperor Basil, the Macedonian (867-886), and a Georgian monastery was founded there. St. Hilarion's life was first written in Greek, and then translated into Georgian.² The Georgian monastery, Romana, in Constantinople, where St. Hilarion's relics found their last resting place, is mentioned in the year 1200 in the travel book of a Russian pilgrim.³ Pargoire had undertaken to identify the locality of this monastery, but death overtook him.⁴

Salonika has to thank divine Providence for having been the

¹ Joan Bianu, *Bibliographia romanisca veche*, 1508-1716. *Editioneana Academici Romane*, Bucuresti, 1903, in which mention is made of two Georgian works published in Tiflis: *A Liturgy* in the Georgian language, Tiflis, 1710 (pp. 483-4), and the *Georgian Gospels*, Tiflis, 1709 (pp. 543-8).

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (14th ed., 1929) contains the following account of the activities of this archbishop:—

"Anthem the Iberian, a notable figure in the ecclesiastical history of Rumania. A Georgian by birth, he came to Rumania early in the second half of the seventeenth century as a simple monk. He became Bishop of Râmnicu in 1705, and in 1708 Archbishop of Wallachia. Taking a leading part in the political movement of the time, he came into conflict with the newly appointed Greek hospodars, and was exiled to Rumelia. But on his crossing the Danube in 1716 he was thrown into the water and drowned, as it is alleged, at the instigation of the prince of Wallachia. He was a man of great talents and spoke and wrote many oriental and European languages. He acquired a thorough knowledge of Rumanian, and helped to introduce that language into the Church as its official language.

"He was a master printer and an artist of the first order. He cut the wood-blocks for the books which he printed in Tirgovishte, Râmnicu, Snagov, and Bucharest. He was also the first to introduce the Oriental founts of type into Rumania, and he printed there the first Arabic missal for the Christians of the East (Râmnicu, 1702). He also trained Georgians in the art of printing, and cut the type with which, under his pupil, Mihail Ishtvanovitch, they printed the first Georgian Gospels (Tiflis, 1709). Some of his pastoral letters are models of style and of language as well as of exact and beautiful printing. He also completed a whole *corpus* of lectionaries, missals, gospels, etc. See M. Gaster, *Chrestomathie roumaine* (1881) and *Gesch. d. rumänischen Literatur*, in Groeber, *Grundriss d. vöm. Philologie*, vol. ii (1899); and E. Picot, *Notice sur Anthim d'Ivir* (Paris, 1886)." [Editors' note.]

² Paul Peeters, S. J., *St. Hilarion d'Ibérie*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxxii (Brussels, 1913), pp. 236-269; contains a Latin translation of the Georgian version, with a scholarly introduction and notes.

³ Antonios, Archbishop of Novgorod, in his *Pilgrimage to the Holy Places of Constantinople* in the year 1200 (St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 36), describes his visit to the Georgian monastery in Constantinople, where the relics of St. Hilarion were preserved.

⁴ Peeters, op. cit., p. 242.

recipient of two wonderful epistles written by the Apostle of the Gentiles. In the byzantine and medieval periods it was the residence of many famous orthodox theologians, such as Simeon of Salonika, St. Gregory Palamas, and many others. It is also probable that the fame of St. Hilarion induced several Georgians to travel to Salonika. But whatever remains belonged to the ancient times were destroyed during the wars and the Turkish period.

In Athos I had two tasks to perform, that of the pilgrim and that of the scholar. As an ecclesiastic of the Orthodox Church, I wished not only to learn about the religious life of the monks, but to steep myself in it ; and at the same time I wanted to inspect the Georgian manuscripts of the Iviron monastery, and copy some of them, and collect on the spot some evidence of the life of the Georgians on the Holy Mountain in the nineteenth century ; finally I desired to obtain Georgian books and possibly some manuscripts.

The Holy Mountain, with its twenty monasteries, fifteen *skitis*, and more than two hundred cells, is an independent monastic republic¹ ; its capital is Karyes, the seat of the Parliament of twenty members (representatives of the twenty largest monasteries), and the residence of the President ; it has its own little harbour town, Daphni, and its tiny police force. Among these twenty monasteries, the five oldest play a preponderant part, and it is from them in turn that the President is elected yearly. They are (i) the Lavra, (ii) Vatopedi, (iii) Iviron, (iv) Chilandari, (v) St. Dionysios. Of these five monasteries four belong to-day to the Greeks, and only one, Chilandari, is Serbian. Formerly Iviron occupied the second place,² and belonged to the Georgians. This is already implied by the name. It was built in the tenth century by the Georgians Johannes (d. 928) and Thornikios Erist'avi.³ In the following century it became the centre of Georgian education and culture. Among those who lived there are great writers like Ek'vt'ime (d. 1028) and Giorgi Mt'adsmideli (d. 1065), who translated innumerable theological and philosophical works

¹ A *skiti* enjoys the same privileges as a monastery, but has no landed property and must pay annual rent to the monastery which owns the land. A cell is completely dependent on the monastery ; it must not contain more than four monks as occupants, it may not ordain any priest or dedicate any new church without the permission of the mother house. Celliotes also pay an annual tribute to their monastery.

² Cf., for instance, a very important document of the year 1169, whereon the Abbot of the Iviron monastery, a certain Michael, affixed his signature in Georgian and in the second place, immediately after the Lavra, *The Monastery of St. Panteleimon*, seventh edition, Moscow, 1886 (in Russian), p. 10.

³ This was a glorious general, who, however, interrupted his military career and entered Athos. At that time occurred in the Byzantine Empire the rebellion of Bardas Skleros. At the request of the court, Thornikios exchanged his monk's habit for the uniform of the soldier, quelled the rebellion, and then returned to his monastery. In token of gratitude the *Iviron* received many lands and privileges, from the Byzantine Emperors. See the literature on this subject in Tamarati's *L'Eglise Géorgienne des Origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Rome, 1910, pp. 319-320. This happened about the year 979.

not only from Greek into Georgian, but also from Georgian into Greek.¹

The Athonite school marked a turning point in Georgian culture. Byzantium now took the place of Palestine, of Antioch and of the Coptic Church.² The cultural stock of earlier epochs was now submitted to a revision and often translated afresh from the official Byzantine texts. In all the fields of the theology a great effort was made to conform with and rival Byzantium.

The founders of the Georgian monastery of Iviron were on friendly terms with the founder of cenobitic monasticism in Athos, the founder of the Lavra, St. Anthanasios. The latter came from Trebizond, and his mother was Georgian.³ At first she dwelt with St. Athanasios, but later, when many Georgians had joined them she founded her own monastery. The site selected was on the bank of the bay of Clemens, where the Holy Virgin, accompanied by the Apostle John, came to Athos to make the Gospel known. It was across this bay that, during the persecutions, the holy bishop Clemens was led into exile, i.e. into the wilderness of Athos.

Soon after the building was completed, the Georgian monastery became the centre of the whole orthodox world.⁴ An image of the Blessed Virgin appears on the sea, and a monk—another Georgian, named Gabriel—walks upon the waves as if on dry land to seize the miraculous image and the latter is solemnly deposited in the church. The next morning, the monks behold the image hanging on the door of the monastery. They bring it back into the church. The miracle is renewed. During the night the Holy Mother of God appears to the monk Gabriel: "I do not wish to be guarded by monks, but I will myself guard the monastery," she says to him. A small chapel is then built for her next to the door and there she remains to this day. This wonderful story and the miraculous image brought untold wealth to the monastery from all Georgia, which was then at the zenith of its power. Churches, kings, and nobles of Georgia spared no expense in order to make the Iviron monastery reflect abroad the full glory and wealth of their country. In the seventeenth century (1647) a copy of the image was sent to Moscow and the monastery acquired immense riches and lands, as far as Russia:

¹ The lives of the Georgian Athonite saints have been translated from the Georgian into Latin by Paul Peeters: (1) *The Lives of Johannes and Ek'time the Athonites*, in *Histoire Monastique géorgienne*, Bruxelles, 1923, pp. 8-68; (ii) *The Life of St. Giorgi the Hagiorite*, *ibid.*, pp. 69-159. Gr. Peradze, *L'Activité Littéraire des Moines Géorgiens au Monastère d'Iviron au Mont Athos*, in *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, Louvain, 1927, fasc. 3, pp. 530-9.

² Cf., for instance, the life of Peter the Iberian, from fifth century, bishop of Maiuma, who played a great part in the monophysite Coptic Church. The life of Peter the Iberian is edited, by Richard Raabe, *Petrus der Iberen*, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1895.

³ In Pomialovski's edition, St. Petersburg, 1895.

⁴ A truly oecumenical deed of the Georgian monks was when they received the Benedictine monks in Athos and befriended them in every way.

The wealth and privileges of the monastery roused the envy of the Greek monks, who wanted to annex it at all cost. As early as the eleventh century, so we learn from Georgian sources, they attempted to expel the Georgians from their own monastery, but without success. In the following centuries it became much more difficult to protect the monastery against the Greeks. The following causes may be adduced. From the middle of the thirteenth century onwards the political power of the Georgians begins to decline. The country becomes weaker and poorer. The Mongolian invasion, the Persian and Turkish wars exhaust it completely. To these is added internal unrest; the country is split up into several kingdoms and a number of principalities. It becomes increasingly difficult to maintain the monasteries abroad. If the Georgians had possessed only one or two monasteries in foreign lands, they might have succeeded, but their number was much larger. In Palestine alone there were about twenty; then, there were the Georgian monastic colonies in Syria (on the so-called *Mons Admirabilis*), and on Sinai.¹ Pilgrims and monks from Georgia were robbed and murdered on their way by the Turks. The Georgians were forced to admit Greeks, because the maintenance of the monastery required many men. But the Greeks, once they were in the monastery, managed to occupy high situations, vouchsafed their protection only to their own countrymen and refused to admit Georgians. It has unfortunately not yet been ascertained² when this monastery passed into the hands of the Greeks.

In the nineteenth century the Georgian bishops endeavoured to bring the monastery again under Georgian ownership, but the Russian government supported us with too little energy. The Russians wanted Iviron to admit Russians also. This could only have meant that it would become Russian instead of Greek. The Georgians refused absolutely to satisfy this demand. Besides, it was not particularly desirable for the prestige of Russia on the peninsula that the monastery of a subject race should occupy the third place in the hierarchy of the Holy Mountain, while the Russian monastery of St. Panteleimon occupied the nineteenth. In Georgia the Russian policy was wholly directed towards annihilating the autocephalous tendencies of the Georgian church, and how could the Russian government assist in establishing new centres for the fostering of Georgian culture?

¹ The Jesuit father Meccerian, of Beirut, has discovered the ruins of a Georgian monastery in Syria and placed his photographs at the disposal of Professor Gabriel Millet of Paris. There were colonies of Georgian monks also in Cyprus, in Damascus at Aleppo, at Batchkovo in Bulgaria, etc. There are, as yet, unfortunately, no monographs concerning them.

² Serious works on the Iviron are only too few. I know two small studies by Ant. Natroyev, *The Iberian Monastery on Mount Athos* (in Russian), Tiflis, 1909; and *A Diary*, Tiflis, 1912; also Kalinowski, *Where is Truth?*, Tiflis, 1885 (in Russian), and Yoseliani, *The Pilgrimage of Timotheos, Archbishop of Kartli*, Tiflis, 1852 (in Georgian). Concerning the lives of the Athonite Saints see note 1, page 17.

However, the Georgian bishops acquired in Athos a cell, which stood where the former monastery of the Apostle John the Theologian once was. This cell was situated in the vicinity of the Iviron and belonged to it. It was in the possession of the Georgians from 1875 to 1919, and has played its part in the history of Georgian culture.¹ It is to be regretted that the history of this cell has not been written. When I was on the spot, I tried to obtain some material for such a history, but could obtain but little. Fifty monks lived there; they had a good library; apart from printed books, they also copied MSS. both from the Iviron monastery and from Georgian monasteries and museums. I have had the good fortune to acquire fifteen MSS., which I have brought with me to Warsaw.² The Greeks tolerated the existence of this cell, but were waiting for an excuse and a suitable moment to expel the Georgians from it. The favourable time came the year after the war, with the unrest in Russia and the rise of Bolshevism, while the young Republic of Georgia, which had many other problems to solve, lacked the means to protect its own monks in Athos.³ The Georgians were then expelled from the cell and turned out into the street. Some of the monks went to Georgia to seek protection. The others were at first received as guests in the cell of the Protomartyr Stephen (which belongs to the Russian monastery); then, from 1926 onwards, five of them rented this cell; of these five only three are still alive: they live there and occupy themselves with gardening. They are the brothers Matthew and Athanasius Gvasava, and Tikhon. Two other Georgian monk-priests, John and Michael, rented a small room in the Pokrov cell; lastly, the monk-priest Simeon

¹ This cell had only two abbots, (1) Benedict and (2) Ionas (1919). It possessed a large collection of copies of Georgian MSS., not only from the Iviron library, but also from the monasteries in Georgia. It also defrayed the expenses of publishing several important works printed in Georgia. I myself possess (1) *The Ascetic Doctrines of Father Dorotheos*, (2) *The Ladder of John Climax*, Poti, 1902, and (3) *Manna*, Tiflis, 1882.

² Among others: (1) *Apocryphal Lives of the Apostles*; (2) The complete works of Dionysios the Areopagite, with the scholia; (3) *Apophthegms*; (4) *The Teachings of Makarios the Great*; (5) *The Teachings of Isaac the Syrian*; (6) a genuine unpublished work by Jonas Khelashvili (a Georgian writer of the first half of the nineteenth century — important for the history of the Georgian immigrants in St. Petersburg). I shall publish a complete catalogue in *Jvari Vazisa*. Among the printed books I can mention here: (1) *The Paradise of Georgia*, being the lives of all the Georgian saints, an edition *de luxe* (St. Petersburg, 1882, very rare); (2) *Liturgical Books of the eighteenth century*; (3) a collection of *Catechisms of the nineteenth century*; (4) a *Penitehstarion*; (5) a *Triodion for the Great Fast (Tessaraktoste)*, and a number of other works.

³ The Georgians wished for the right to have a *skiti*. The Greeks refused. They did not allow the church built in honour of John the Theologian as far back as 1877 to be dedicated; it was not dedicated till the occupation of Athos by the Allied forces in 1918, without the knowledge of the Greeks. At the same time, the Greeks allowed no Georgian to be ordained priest, so that the cell had to engage priests ordained in Georgia. The first Georgian monk who received the priesthood was ordained about the same time as the church was dedicated: the Greeks had then to satisfy the demands of the Georgians and were unable to turn them out, even with the help of the Greek gendarmes.

Bagdavadze lives in St. Panteleimon's monastery, and for his work in the kitchen is allowed a small room and his board. The Georgians in Athos are now very old and very poor. They complain, however, not so much of their own poverty as of the fact that they will perhaps be the last Georgians on the Holy Mountain, and that with their death the seed of the Georgians will disappear. Their one prayer is for posterity. Perhaps some of the émigrés will send them disciples!

However, the Georgians were able, when they were driven out of the cell of John the Theologian, to rescue their library and bring it to their new cell. By mischance in 1932, fire broke out in the very building where their library was housed and destroyed all that was in it—a great loss for Georgian culture! One of the monks, Father Bartholomew, was burnt to death in the same conflagration. The present library consists of some 200 volumes and copies of MSS. Of these I have taken away some sixty.¹ The Georgian émigrés should undertake the task of removing to Europe what is left of this library. Over there everything goes to rack and ruin; here, however, the books could be turned to scientific use. The Georgian monks, as I have said, are now very old (the youngest, Tikhon, would be over 65), and have little to tell about their past. They are especially unwilling to talk about the Greek persecutions. Perhaps they are afraid that the Greeks might revenge themselves upon them, or they do this, as I am firmly convinced, out of Christian charity, which teaches us to bless our persecutors and meet hatred with love. In any case, with regard to religious and moral conduct, the Georgians still now occupy the first rank on the Holy Mountain, as I was assured by some Bulgarian and Moldavian monks.²

Apart from the above-mentioned cell, the Georgians also lived, in the nineteenth century, in the cell of the Prophet Elias. It also belonged to the Iviron, and is only a few steps away from it. That Georgians ever found admittance there is to be ascribed to a miracle. As has been stated, during the nineteenth century the Greeks admitted no more Georgians into the Iviron, but they made an exception for Benedict Kiotishvili, whom they had to admit at the command of the Turkish Pasha.³ Father Benedict's service was connected with the

¹ Cf. note 2, page 19. I shall also publish in *Jvari Vazisa* the catalogue of the books remaining in this collection.

² The poor old Georgian monks told me that "the Holy Mother of God loves our race and will also protect our country. She will see to it that the Georgian name is not wiped out!" One little episode of the nineteenth century is of interest. A copy of a much revered icon of the Virgin "Dignum est" was disposed of by lot, and it was understood that it would go to the worthiest among the Athos communities. Although the Georgians were last on the list they won the icon. When they were turned out of their cell, the Greeks did not allow them to take away this icon.

³ In the cell of the Protomartyr Stephen I found a small leaf containing only pages 33-4 of what is in all likelihood a fragment of the history of the Georgians in Athos in the nineteenth century. These pages refer exclusively to the Kiotishvili incident. They will be published in full in my account in Georgian.

icon of the Virgin. Towards the end of his life he begged for a cell. He even obtained permission to receive Georgians in this cell. The first to come was Bessarion K'ik'odze, the brother of the famous Georgian bishop Gabriel of Imeret'i (d. 1896). Bessarion K'ik'odze became famous on the whole mountain for his holiness. The Russians added his *Life* to those of the other glorious monks of the nineteenth century who were later to be canonized ; they celebrate his memory on the 10th October.¹ The last occupant of the cell was the monk-priest Elias, but, in the year 1919 as a protest against the expulsion of his countrymen from the cell of John the Theologian, he left the cell of the Prophet Elias and migrated to Georgia. Fortunately, he took away with him the most important MSS. which are now preserved in the Archæological Museum in Tiflis.²

In addition to these two cells there lived also other Georgian monks during the nineteenth century, in the various monasteries and cells of the peninsula. Most of these had been admitted into the monastery of St. Dionysios³ ; a few lived in the monastery of St. Panteleimon.⁴ The name of one of the most important representatives of Georgian monkhood in the nineteenth century, the monk-priest Hilarion, is worthy of notice. He was father confessor to the last king of Imeret'i, Solomon. After the conquest of Imeret'i by the Russians, Father Hilarion followed his king to Trebizond ; after the king's death he returned to Georgia, and then travelled to St. Petersburg to visit the queen of Imeret'i, who lived there in exile. Afterwards he went to Athos. The Greeks having refused to admit him into the Iviron, he was given hospitality in the monastery of St. Dionysios. He died in 1864, having already during his life performed several miracles. After his death his life was written in Greek by his disciple, the monk-priest Sabas. It is of interest to note that the *Lives* of both Hilarions, the Elder (875) and the Younger, were written originally in Greek. I have had this *Life* copied.⁵

In such a short time as one month it is naturally very difficult to obtain exhaustive information on all questions, to see everything, or to learn the most important details that would shed a light on the history of the Georgians on the Holy Mountain. Much work remains to

¹ See *Zhizneopisaniya otetchestvennykh podvizhnikov blagotchestiya XVIII i XIX vyekov*, October month, Moscow, 1909, pp. 119-123.

² Besides Benedict, Bessarion K'ik'odze and Elias, we also know the names of the monk-priests Theodosios (Prince Erist'avi) and Makarios.

³ In the seventeenth century Archbishop Timotheos met here six Georgians (Yoseliani, 79-83).

⁴ Unfortunately during my stay in St. Panteleimon I was not able to ascertain the names of these Georgians.

⁵ See also K. Leontiev, *Father Clement Tsederholm, the Monk-Priest of the Optino Desert*, Moscow, 1882 (in Russian), on Hilarion, 1-29. In 1836, Hilarion compiled at the request of Professor Tchubinashvili of St. Petersburg, the first catalogue of Georgian MSS. in the Iviron.

be done on the spot, and it will require several other journeys. It is not to be expected that anyone from Bolshevik Georgia will be able to come to the Holy Mountain. This will therefore be a duty of the Georgian émigrés and they should fulfil it as quickly as possible. With the passing of time the last Georgians may die and the few documents still extant be destroyed. Sufficient material must be deposited in the centres of Georgian culture abroad; in the Bodleian at Oxford (Wardrop Collection) and in Professor Goussen's Georgian collection in the Bonn University Library.¹

Returning to Poland my route lay across Bulgaria, and, although I was by then very tired and had been suffering from malaria for some weeks, I wished to spend a few days in Bulgaria. I was chiefly interested in the monastery of Batchkovo (Petritsoni) and in a mysterious manuscript in the State Library in Sofia, which in the catalogue was oddly referred to as "a MS in an unknown language". This MS might be a Georgian one.² As for the Batchkovo monastery it was founded by a Georgian magnate and general of the Byzantine empire, Grigol Bakuriani, who was killed in a war against the Petchenegs in 1086. It is situated near Plovdiv (Philipopol), some nine kilometres from a little town called Asenovgrad (Stanimake). The Rule of the monastery was drawn up by the founder in three languages: Georgian, Armenian, and Greek. Greeks were not to be admitted. The monastery was to conduct a mission against the sect of the Bogomils and maintain a seminary for the education of the Bulgarian clergy, and an almshouse for old men. This monastery has played a great part in the history of Georgian culture. Besides theology the monks devoted themselves particularly to philosophical studies. The name of John Petritsoneli is well known in Georgian literature. He was later appointed professor at the Ecclesiastical Academy of the Gelat'i monastery by the Georgian King David the Builder (early twelfth century). This monastery also played an important part in the development of Bulgarian culture, and its Rules, as has been shown by the well-known scholar, Professor Syrku,³ had a decisive influence over the Bulgarian monasteries. So far only the Greek text of this Rule was known, and only in a faulty version.⁴ I had the good fortune to discover that the mysterious MS in the Bulgarian National Library was

¹ The future expedition should also examine carefully the village of Ierisso (in the vicinity of Athos), as well as Batchkovo (see *infra*). According to Georgian tradition some Georgians lived at Ierisso, who were settled there by the Georgian kings; their task was to watch over the monastery and work for it.

² Tsonev, *Catalogue of the MSS. and Ancient Printed Books in the National Library of Sofia*, Sofia, 1910 (in Bulgarian), p. 517.

³ See Syrku, *On the History of the Correction of Books in Bulgaria in the fourteenth century* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1898, vol. i, fasc. 1, pp. 36-7.

⁴ Georg Musaeus, *Dissertationen von Jena*, iv, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 135-210; Louis Petit, *Typicon de Grégoire Pacourianos pour le Monastère de Petritzas (Batchkovo) en Bulgarie*, supplement to vol. xi of the *Chronica Byzantina*, St. Petersburg, 1904.

precisely the Georgian original of this Rule. This discovery created quite a sensation in Bulgaria, and a long and interesting article was devoted to it by the director of the National Library, M. Raitcho Raitchev.¹ This MS. was copied in 1702, which shows that a Georgian was probably living in the monastery at that time. But the date when the monastery passed into Greek or Bulgarian hands has not yet been determined. It still contains some Georgian remains: (1) an icon of the Holy Virgin (probably a copy of the Ivron icon) with a Georgian inscription; (2) a *kostnitsa* (ossuary) in the Georgian style, dated from the time of the founder, Grigol Bakuriani, and still used to contain the bones of the monks; (3) according to information given me by the distinguished Bulgarian historian, Stanimir Stanimirov, there is a Georgian inscription on the cross above the cupola of the main church, but I found nobody in the monastery who could copy this inscription for me; (4) Professor Laskov found in 1896 an inscription in the *kostnitsa*, and copied it; when he visited the monastery again in 1912 the inscription had disappeared²; (5) Syrku also copied the Georgian inscriptions in the Batchkovo monastery and placed them at the disposal of Professor Tsagareli. The latter gave a lecture on them, but this lecture, I think, was never published.³ That is all. Things are more satisfactory with regard to ecclesiastical subjects, crosses, chalices, etc., in enamel work some of which are to be found in the Ecclesiastical Museum in Sofia, while others are still in the monastery. These objects bear no inscriptions, but they must have been either made in Georgia or bought with Georgian money during the Georgian period. There is a very abundant literature on the subject in Bulgarian, part of which I acquired or was presented with; yet no fundamental work has ever been written about it.

The proper authority to undertake this study is the Bulgarian Church. It is absolutely necessary that the Georgian version of the Rule of the monastery should be compared with the Greek version and studied closely; the Georgian inscriptions in the monastery must be copied on the spot; and excavations made in important places in the monastery.

These are but small fragments of Georgian cultural activity abroad. We should consider it our sacred duty to search for those remains and to study them. This would not only prove to be a great help to Georgian history and Georgian propaganda in foreign countries but would give us strength to support the present days of affliction.

¹ In the *Tsora* (a newspaper), Sofia, No. 4878, 2nd October, 1935, p. 5.

² *Die georgische Inschrift im Kloster zu Batschkovo*, in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Bulgarie*, iv, 1914, Sofia, 1915, pp. 268-270.

³ Tsagareli gave this lecture in 1887 before the oriental section of the Russian Imperial Archæological Society, under the title: *A Report on the Georgian Inscriptions Found and Collected by Syrku in Bulgaria*, published in *Khristianski Vostok*, St. Petersburg, 1913, ii, fasc. 1, p. 150.

THE GEORGIAN EPIC: "THE MAN IN THE PANTHER'S SKIN"

By TITUS MARGVELASHVILI, Ph.D. (Berlin).

For this study concerning the Georgian epic, the author is indebted to the stimulus derived from *Das Gilgameschepos in der Weltliteratur*—that masterpiece of the German research scholar P. Jensen—which here, once for all, should be mentioned as the main source. In addition, the following sources were used: A. Ungnad and Hugo Gressmann, *Altorient. Texte und Bilder Gilgameschepos*, i, pp. 1-80, ii, pp. 81-230; P. Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, pp. 117-271; R. Campbell Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*; Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites*, p. 87 (84-90); A. Dirr, *Kaukasische Märchen*, Nos. 6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 26, 58; P. Jensen, *Das Gilgameschepos in der Weltliteratur*, ii, pp. 118, 149, 158, 161, 164; ii, 73-4, 285, 322, Anm. i, 439.

For the Georgian text of *The Man in the Panther's Skin* (in Georgian, *Vep'khis Tqaosani*), I have used K'art'velishvili's edition of the epic. This epic was written by Shot'a Rust'aveli at the end of the eleventh century A.D., at the latest about 1204. I have also consulted, for the benefit of the reader, the best translations of the epic. It must be admitted, however, that there are passages in the translations which do not always give a faithful rendering of the nuances and fine points of expressions of the Georgian original. Although the English translation¹ is closer to the original than the German one, the latter has aspired to convey the poetic value of the epic, whether successfully, seems questionable.

I have quoted passages, row by row, out of the Georgian, English, and German texts; the Georgian and English in verses corresponding to each other, the German according to page numbering. The quoted passages, as well as a few passages which are mentioned but not quoted, are merely a few examples out of many available in the text.

Among other works consulted mention should be made of the following: *Drevnegruzinskiye Odopistsy. Vityaz v Barsovoy Kozhe*, by the late Professor N. Marr; *A History of the Georgian Nation*, by Professor I. Javakhishvili (in Georgian). Among more recent works of merit stands Paul Ingoroqva's *Rust'veliana*, in which the writer shows brilliant command of his material and Georgian sources. He deserves great credit, too, for his many researches in the field of medieval culture of Georgia. Also Zurab Avalishvili's sketch, *The Problems of Vep'khis Tqaosani* (in Georgian). Z. Avalishvili was formerly known in Russia as an expert in international law; later, he was a Counsellor of the Georgian Delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference. As he applies the conclusions of European research to the Middle Ages, his work represents a welcome supplement to *Rust'veliana*.

In regard to the question of the relationship between the present Caucasian peoples and the civilized world of antiquity, of Hither Asia as well as of the Mediterranean area, use was made among others of the following sources: N. Marr, *Der Japhetische Kaukasus*, tr. by F. Braun; Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins: The Basic Population of the Near East*; Max Semper, *Rassen und Religionen im alten Vorderasien*. Idem, *Das Nichtarische im alten Persertum. Ephem. im Orient.* 1929, No. 37, pp. 1-4; B. Bleichsteiner, *Die Subaräer (Festschrift, F. W. Schmidt)*; W. Schmidt, *Sprachkreise und Kulturkreise der Welt*; E. Forrer, *Stratification des langues et des peuples dans le proche-Orient préhistorique, Journ. Asiatique*, 1930, pp. 227-252.

¹ *The Man in the Panther's Skin. A Romantic Epic by SHOT'A RUST'AVELI.* A close rendering from the Georgian attempted by MARJORY SCOTT WARDROP. Published by The Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1912.

In regard to the matriarchal system, the following works were studied : Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht* ; Ernst Kornemann, *Die Stellung der Frau in der vorgriechischen Mittelmeerkultur* ; M. Rostovtsev, *Le Cult de la grande Déesse et les Amazones en Russie méridionale, Rev. des Étud. grecques*, 1921 ; *Iranians and Greeks*, pp. 33, 34 *passim* ; M. Pancritius, *Aus mutterrechtlicher Zeit, Anthropos*, 1930, pp. 879-909 ; Chr. Bartholomæi, *Die Frau im Sasanidischen Recht, Kultur und Sprache* ; J. H. Thiel, *Zum vorgriechischen Mutterrecht, Klio*, 24, 1931, pp. 383 f.¹

OUR comparison will be principally between the old Georgian epic *Vep'khis Tqaosani* (*The Man in the Panther's Skin*) by Shot'a Rust'aveli (Shot'a from Rust'avi) and the old Sumerian epic, the *Gilgamesh* or *Gish epic*. Both epics are very different from each other in content, yet they have, nevertheless, many points of contact.

The heroes of both epics seek happiness away from their home land ; they are not content with their earthly opportunities and depart to seek something better, something greater and more sublime, beyond the boundaries of their own countries. Gilgamesh first seeks glory. He goes forth, therefore, to meet Humbaba. Apparently he attains his aim, overcomes Humbaba, kills him, and returns to Uruk as conqueror. But he is immediately seized with the greater and burning desire which gains mastery over him—the desire to solve the problem of life and death. This desire is aroused in him through the death of his friend. He now wants to find the secret of immortality. Again he goes forth, this time to seek immortality. Eventually he attains this aim, too, for he receives the herb of immortality, only, however, to lose it again immediately.

The second part of this story is not given in *Vep'khis Tqaosani*. Instead of it, the goal of the heroes, as sketched by the poet is earthly happiness—the fulfilment of love, the longed-for union with the beloved one. A period of three to four thousand years of human cultural development lies between these two epics, and it is very evident that the *motif* of the herb of immortality was too primitive a one for the highly intellectual, philosophical Shot'a from Rust'avi to use. The problem of Life and Death is, however, exhaustively treated in *Vep'khis Tqaosani* :—

" A narrow road cannot keep back death, nor a rocky one ; by him all are levelled, weak and strong-hearted ; in the end the earth unites in one place youth and greybeard. Better a glorious death than a shameful life ! " (Georg. and Eng., v. 781 ; Ger., p. 166.)

¹ This article was taken from the author's work in German and still in manuscript, which contains besides other material, his theory on matriarchy in general and on Caucasian matriarchy in particular, which is considered by him only as a cultural remnant of the racial substratum of the proto-Caucasians, for the Giorgio-Caucasian race was originally indubitably patriarcal, which circumstance is in the opinion of the author most important in connection with the question of its origin. In this work the author explains the historico-cultural importance of the Giorgio-Caucasian ethnic element and its contribution to the history of Asia Minor, Eurasia, and the Mediterranean.—ED.

“Alas! O world (Fate), what ails thee? Why dost thou whirl us round? What (ill?) habit afflicts thee? All who trust in thee weep ceaselessly like me. Whence and whither carriest thou? Where and whence uprootest thou? But God abandons not the man forsaken by thee.” (Georg. and Eng., v. 931; Ger., pp. 193, 194.)

“Their tale is ended like a dream of the night. They are passed away, gone beyond the world. Behold the treachery of time; to him who thinks it long, even for him it is of a moment . . .” (Georg. and Eng., v. 1572; Ger., p. 288.)

“This is such a world as is not to be trusted by any; it is a moment to the eyes of men, and only long enough for the blinking of the eyelashes. What seek you, what do you? Fate is an insulter. For him whom Fate deceives not it is better to be (happy) in both (worlds).” (Georg. and Eng., v. 1575; Ger., p. 288.)

Compare also v. 1191; Ger., p. 236, etc.

Gilgamesh is prince, chief, in effect, king, of the unwallled city of Uruk; the ruler of the people he governs. The building of high walls round the city of Uruk, as well as the imposition of hard labour on his people testify, among other things, to his absolute sway. Avt'andil and Tariel are also lords, that is princes, the sons of kings. Their absolute power is even better expressed than is a similar condition in the Gilgamesh epic.

As Gilgamesh excels all others in his city in regard to physical beauty, so also are both Avt'andil and Tariel blessed with the same “radiating loveliness”¹ which differentiates them from, and raises them above, all ordinary people. Gilgamesh glows with radiant beauty; with his shining beauty he resembles even gods. In fact, he is two-thirds god and one-third man! Let us compare Avt'andil in this respect:—

“O lion, I shall meet thee like a sun; meet thou me.” (Georg. and Eng., v. 130; Ger., p. 29.)

“The sun-faced had not wasted time in his rapid journey.” (Georg. and Eng., v. 147; Ger., p. 32.)

“She took him by the hand and led him forth, like the full moon. When Tariel saw him he thought him like the sun.” (Georg. and Eng., v. 274; Ger., p. 63.)

“O cypress-formed, sunlike-faced, brave as a hero.” (Georg. and Eng., v. 290; Ger. p. 67.)

“P'ridon remained, the knight went away, the form the slayer of gazers.” (Georg. and Eng., v. 1003; Ger., p. 240.)

The following are references to Tariel:—

“and beauty such as his has ne'er been seen by man before.” (Georg. and Eng., v. 201; Ger., p. 47.)

¹ Strahlende Schönheit (Gressmann, p. 119).

"Lo! there he rides—look! like the sun and moon." (Georg. and Eng., v. 207; Ger., p. 48.)

"Is it not the sun of heaven?" (Georg. and Eng., v. 223; Ger., p. 52.)

"Tariel met him. They were both fit to be ranked as suns, or as the moon in heaven, cloudless, spreading her rays on the plain beneath. Compared with them the aloe-tree was of no worth; they were like the seven planets; to what else shall I liken them?" (Georg. and Eng., v. 275; Ger., 64.)

Compare also verses 284, 291, 595, 630, etc.

In the *Gilgamesh epic*, Gilgamesh is compared to a being of supernatural strength, to the fire-breathing bull of heaven, to the wild bull, etc. (pp. 7, 12, 32, 35, 39, etc.). In *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, too, the same custom is followed of identifying or comparing heroes with the powers supreme, but the cultured poet, in accordance with his times, selects the luminous bodies, the planets, with which to compare his heroes. See verse 275, "They were like the seven planets, etc."

WEEPING.—In the *Gilgamesh epic* the habit of weeping is of common occurrence among heroes. Enkidu weeps far too often; Gilgamesh, too, though two-thirds god and one-third man, frequently sheds tears and laments unceasingly. Weeping is also highly characteristic of the Georgian epic. Not only the ordinary characters, both men and women, but even Avt'andil and Tariel, these heroes of mankind, fall to weeping very easily.

"he sat weeping on the bank of the stream; the rose (of his cheek) was frozen in tears that welled up from his woe-stricken heart." (Georg. and Eng., v. 84; Ger., p. 16.)

"he (Tariel) wept on and heard not . . ." (Georg. and Eng., v. 87; Ger., p. 17.)

"tears were mingled with blood, and flowed forth as from flood-gates." (Georg. and Eng., v. 88; Ger., p. 17.)

"His disheartened hosts shed hot tears." (Avt'andil). (Georg. and Eng., v. 173; Ger., p. 40.)

"There seeks he the shedder of tears which flowed to increase the sea . . ." (Georg. and Eng., v. 180; Ger., p. 41.)

Compare also verse 260 (Ger., p. 60), etc.

Tariel weeps again and again; at each remembrance of his beloved, at the return or departure of his friends. The *motif* of frequent weeping, of shedding tears, is just as characteristic and indicative of the psychology of the whole of the ancient world. For instance, one thinks of Hector, "The ancient hero weeps much more easily than

the modern one does." This *motif* of weeping links the Georgian epic with the oldest epics of all time—the *Gilgamesh epic*, the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, etc. Compare 2 *Sam.* xiv, where King David, a great hero, weeps on leaving, and his people who accompany him weep incessantly, too.¹ Compare also Ortwin and Hedwig at their meeting with Gudrun (*Gudrun*, vii, 39) and in the army (*Gudrun*, viii, 1).

FRIENDSHIP.—The whole of the *Gilgamesh epic* is built up on the principle of Friendship. Engidu and Gilgamesh yearn for a friend before they meet each other. Engidu's yearning for a friend becomes particularly painfully felt after he has lost his innocence and has forfeited the affection of the animals which had hitherto befriended him. His longing and his feelings are "clothed by the *Hierodule* in words".

It is sufficient to mention that the principle of Friendship is considered the strongest and firmest of the whole epic. Evidently the "fact of Friendship was well established in tradition" at the time the epic was written. "The *motif* of Friendship was there, but it was left to the poet to describe this quality in full detail." There is an Albanian custom of friendship for life and death; this, too, is expressed in the *Gilgamesh epic*. Compare Gilgamesh's words: "Though great danger befall, a friend shall I have." Engidu takes upon himself the duty of a friend, that is, to protect Gilgamesh from all danger, and consequently he goes before him on the dangerous road to Humbaba's kingdom. In acting thus, Engidu did only what in Uruk in those days was considered to be the usual and sacred duty of a friend, a duty which was prescribed and advised by the city elders. Thus we see how general and how broad were the foundations of this custom, even at that time in the third millenium B.C. All this is repeatedly emphasized.

Now let us consider the Georgian epic.

Avt'andil swears friendship to Tariel (v. 645-7).

Tariel swears friendship to Avt'andil (v. 648-650).

"When he was gone thence sadness was surely slaying him; he scratched his face, he rent the rose (of his cheeks); his hand he shortened; all the beasts licked up the blood that flowed from him." (*Georg. and Eng.*, v. 654; *Ger.*, p. 142.) (Avt'andil separated from Tariel.)

"The fire of yon knight burns me, the flame that consumes him afflicts me; I am slain by longing and by not seeing the object of my desire; he would not grudge his life for me; what is due must be paid; one must love a generous ungrudging friend." (*Georg. and Eng.*, v. 715; *Ger.*, pp. 153, 154.)

¹ Gressmann, *ibid.*

" thou art separated from thy *sworn brother*." (Georg. and Eng., v. 829 ; Ger., p. 175.)

" Who seeks not a friend is his own foe ! " (Georg. and Eng., v. 834 ; Ger., p. 176.)

" Why hast Thou separated me from my friends ? Why didst Thou lure me on to such a fate ? One thinking of two, I am in a parlous plight ; if I die I shall not pity myself, my blood be on my head ! " (Georg. and Eng., v. 841 ; Ger., p. 178.)

" If, O Fate, thou partest me from him, my joy is past, to mine eyes another friend were reviled and shamed." (Georg. and Eng., v. 842 ; Ger., p. 178.)

" The fire of that knight burns me, I am consumed with hot fire ; I pitied him, and I became mad, my heart grew furious." (Georg. and Eng., v. 981 ; Ger., p. 201.)

" They multiplied the springs of tears ; they kissed, and both their fires were renewed ; the inseparable *sworn brothers* parted *like brothers*." (Georg. and Eng., v. 1003 ; Ger., p. 204.)

" His *sworn brother* . . ." (Georg. and Eng., v. 1250 ; Ger. p. 245.)

The culminating point of this friendship is reached when Avt'andil puts his friendship for Tariel before his love for T'inat'in and makes preparations to accompany Tariel and the latter's beloved, Nestan-Darejan, to India. It is only to the most urgent entreaties and demands of his sworn friends, Tariel and P'ridon, that he finally yields and turns back to T'inat'in. The epic is teeming with similar passages of complete devotion, wherein the sacred principle of sworn friendship takes precedence over love for woman. Everywhere in the epic are to be found instances of friendship relations—those of Shermadin, Rostevan, P'ridon, etc.—marked by absolute trustfulness, implicit devotion, faithfulness unto death to the friend ; these are the main principles and ground pillars of the whole epic ; the friend equal to a brother, even more than a brother.

All this is no mere incident, still less an isolated phenomenon. The friend is called brother, this is the principle of brotherhood. Sworn-brotherhood, in which loyalty and deepest brotherly intimacy were sworn to each other. Once this oath was sworn, then only death, and that not always, could separate the friends. Even in the World War, the Caucasian *sworn brother* went willingly with his friend to the War, and often it happened that a sworn brother sacrificed his own life to save that of his friend. The custom is deeply rooted in the people of Caucasia, especially among the West Georgians. Here, these brother-friends are brought up together as foster-brothers from childhood, and a lord even may take his foster-brother from peasant ranks. Whether foster-brotherhood, whether sworn-brotherhood,

both kinds of inseparable friendship are deeply, inextinguishably rooted in the whole being of the Georgian and Caucasian peoples. The existence of this relationship is best shown by this Georgian epic of the eleventh and twelfth centuries ; it is also shown by the whole of nineteenth-century Georgian literature, particularly by the brilliant and ethnologically-important works of A. Qasbegi. It was a custom observed throughout the whole of Western Asia. It was well known to Homer (Achilles and Patroclus) and in pre-Homeric times (Orestes and Pylon, Theseus and Perithaos). But of greater interest and of particular significance is the fact that the same custom and habit are revealed by all the historical documents which come from the area of Pontic culture and are associated with the Hatti people who were closely connected with the inhabitants of the Caucasian area, and whose country had neighbourly relations with Caucasia.

To give one example : The historically important treaty, made about 1275 B.C., between Hatti and Egypt, shows exactly the same features of brotherhood and friendship as we find in the *Gilgamesh epic* and in *Vep'khis Tqaosani*. S. Langdon has established that "good peace and good brotherhood" was a phrase characteristic of Hittite treaties and completely foreign to the Egyptian language. Furthermore, this "brotherhood" is often mentioned, and is strongly emphasized and implanted, as it were, in the above-mentioned treaty. **In the preamble to this treaty, it is solemnly mentioned four times ; in § 3 (Declaration of the New Treaty), ten times ; in § 5, twice ; in §§ 8 and 9, three times.** "Brotherhood" is, as it were, the foundation of the treaty ; "brother" is the qualification of the parties to the treaty. Therefore by means of this treaty, the Hittite king concludes a kind of brotherhood with the Egyptian king, and henceforth calls him "brother".

We expressly call attention to the existence of this custom in Western Asia and its universal observance by the whole of the Hatti people. Ample proof in regard to the latter is contained in the celebrated correspondence between the queens of both countries. In these letters, too, the kings, in pursuance of the treaty, are mentioned as "brother" and the brotherhood of both is emphasized ; the queens are correspondingly "sister". The same universality of the custom is noticeable in the letter of Hattushil to the Babylonian (Kassite) King Kadashman-Enlil (1283-1278), wherein the Hittite king admonishes King Kadashman and reminds him of the bond and "brotherhood" which had been concluded between him and the latter's father in his lifetime. "Did we not agree on brotherhood for eternity?" he exclaims. The frequent mention in this letter of "brother" and "brotherhood" reflects the deeply rooted conception of duty which lay embedded in the people, a duty in

regard to a sacred bond, to a relationship which was considered holy. These Hittite documents bear eloquent testimony to the universality of this custom, and still further testimony exists, also originating from Hittite Hither Asia, and addressed to rulers of other neighbouring lands to the north and south of Hatti, such as Shubbiluliuma's treaty with Mattiuaza of Mitanni.¹

AMBITION, the seeking after Fame and Honour, is a *motif* found in both the *Gilgamesh epic* and in *Vep'khis Tqaosani*. In both epics is *hero-glory* sung and *hero-ambition* praised. Gilgamesh goes forth to meet Humbaba in order to acquire great fame as a hero. Should he fall, he is content that it should be said of him that he fell fighting against the mighty Humbaba, thereby he would gain eternal fame ; his name would long be honoured. If he fails, therefore, he is certain of the glory that falls to the hero, and that is the powerful spur which, despite the earnest admonitions of friends and city-elders, urges him on to the fight. When Gilgamesh receives the herb of immortality, his first action is to hurry to take it to his people in Uruk so as to assure to himself the fame and name of a hero.

In *Vep'khis Tqaosani* we owe to this *motif* the classical expressions :

" It is better to get glory than all goods." (Georg. and Eng., v. 780 ; Ger., p. 166.)

" Better a glorious death than shameful life ! " (Georg. and Eng., v. 781 ; Ger., p. 166.)

" Now, painter, limn the sworn brothers more steadfast than brothers, these lovers of stars, excelled by none, both heroic knights renowned in bravery. When they go to K'ajet'i you shall see a battle of piercing lances." (Georg. and Eng., v. 1349.)

But quotations are unnecessary, for the whole epic is a hero-epic ; its whole construction is based on *honour* and *glory*. Mention need only be made that this spirit of heroism and the feelings it engendered, originated in a certain civilization whose area of diffusion was Asia Minor, and that all ancient hero-names and deeds stand in one organic connection with pre-Semitic, pre-Indo-European civilization. It is this " matriarchal " civilization which is the creator of heroism and the upbringer of generations of heroes ; here was begotten the foundation of that *hero-cult* which, later on, assured to it a lasting place in universal history.

¹ See Gressmann, pp. 97, 98-101, 135 ; R. Campbell Thompson, p. 15 ; S. Langdon and Alan H. Gardiner, *Journal of Egypt. Archaeol.*, 1920, pp. 179-205 ; E. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente, Bogh. Stud.*, 1923, H. 8S, 113 ff. ; E. Forrer, *Vorhomer. Griechen*, in *Mitt. Deut. Orient.* 1924.

THE ANIMAL-SKIN *Motif*.—In the *Gilgamesh epic*, Engidu is clothed like an animal ; he has a pelt like an animal and his whole body is correspondingly hairy. Such a description of his appearance is repeated many times in the epic, which right from the beginning characterizes him as clad in a pelt. In his exterior appearance, therefore, he is connected with the animal world. Also he lives with animals in woods and mountains. Together with them he goes to the water, eats grass, and shares their joys and sorrows. No sooner, however, does he lose his innocence with the *Hierodule*, than the hitherto-friendly animals shun him, and he feels lonely and unhappy until, through the *Hierodule*, he finds his friend.

In the Georgian epic, the animal-skin *motif*, one of the most interesting *motifs* in universal literature, is upheld in the case of Tariel.

“ His form was clad in a long coat over which was thrown a *panther's skin*, his head, too, was covered with a cap of *panther's skin*.” (Georg. and Eng., v. 85 ; Ger., p. 16.)

Here the animal-skin principle itself strikes one, especially the tiger-skin principle. The tiger-skin enjoys the greatest preference.

“ The maid laid down the panther's skin, the knight sat upon it . . . ” (Georg. and Eng., v. 261 ; Ger., p. 61.)

“ She stretched out the panther's skin he formerly used. They both sat down.” (Georg. and Eng., v. 902 ; Ger., p. 188.)

The poet gives his own explanation why tiger-skin is favoured, and in doing so not only betrays himself as the ingenious poet of Love, but **also portrays his feeling that an explanation of the tiger-skin is due to his readers :**

“ Since a beautiful panther is portrayed to me as her image, for this I love its skin, I keep it as a coat for myself.” (Georg. and Eng., v. 639 ; Ger., p. 139.)

“ She crouched like a panther on the edge of a rock, her face flashing fury.” (Georg. and Eng., v. 506 ; Ger., p. 114.)

See also verses 887–891, which describe the struggle between the lion and tiger and Tariel's interference.

This ingenious analogy, as well as the utilization of the *motif* to the story's advantage, is doubtless the great poet's own. But the tiger-skin *motif* in itself is only one of the oldest examples of the creative activity of Western Asian folk-phantasy and folk-poetry in general. It is neither specifically Georgian (or Caucasian as a whole) nor the special property of our poet.

In almost all the folk-lore and traditional stories of Asia Minor the tiger-skin *motif* is deeply rooted. Hector wears the tiger's skin ; Heracles that of the Nemæan lion ; Kayumor (Gayumarth) the first man and the first hero-king of the early Persian (Elamite) tradition, wears the tiger's skin. Also Asia Minor's oldest hero, Bes, wears the tiger-skin.

Bes must have been imported into Egypt from Asia Minor, for G. Hüsing and W. M. Müller consider him to be the god of the Sumerian-Elamite culture on the Persian Gulf, yet his name is only preserved in Egypt. *Bes* signifies "tiger-skin". The tiger-skin, it must be remarked, was an essential part of a priest's vestments. There are many Bes-figures in existence, which depict him as small in stature, with a tail, and far from handsome. He was esteemed as the protector during *pregnancy*, protector of children, and statuettes of him were used as amulets. By 2500 B.C. Bes had already paled in people's imagination, hence he may be ascribed to the earlier epochs, before the time of Gilgamesh, Nimrod, or Isdubar. According to Eckhard Unger, the limestone relief of the royal carriage—the carriage in which the tiger-skin was carried to the grave—had its origin in Ur, the home-town of Gilgamesh, about 3300 B.C. In Sumer and Babylon at that time, kings were also the high priests, so the carriage must be considered also as the carriage of the high priest. On the other hand, the word, the name *Bes*, synonymous with tiger-skin, was used in connection with priestly vestments even at a later period. All of which indicates that the tiger-skin (as also the tiger itself), may have been originally closely connected with the religion or with the religious perceptions of oldest Western Asia. The very name *Bes* suggests these thoughts. At one time this god must have been known over a large area of Asia Minor and esteemed as a lion and dragon-slayer; as an armed warrior with sword and shield; as a protector of the living and dead. He was a good, not an evil, god. Everything indicates the great antiquity of Bes.

As a living *motif*, the tiger-skin had long since disappeared before Semitic and Indo-European culture-layers were superimposed. It belongs absolutely to a pre-Semitic, pre-Indo-European cultural stratum. In the third millennium the *motif* was only used traditionally, shorn of its original power. This *motif* appears particularly alive as the clothing of the dark-skinned Nubians of the old Egyptian army, likewise of the Puntians. Among these dark-skinned Nubians and Puntians the tiger-skin is familiar to every simple soldier and trader. It might even be that these dark-skinned Hamites once had a far greater distribution than has been proved as yet.

Though granting that the comparison of Tariel's beloved—Nestan-Darejan—to the tigress, because of the latter's beauty, may be due merely to a flight of the poet's imagination, yet the following parallels force themselves upon us:—

Almost all the goddesses of Asia Minor in antiquity are represented as standing or sitting on tigers or lions. Especially is this so in Hittite representations from Asia Minor, Syria, etc. (We will abstain from mentioning other animals here.) Pictures from different districts of

the Hittite cultural area need only be mentioned (Yazili Kaia, Eyuk, Carchemish, etc.). That these portrayals of goddesses represented together with tigers and lions—the goddesses Ma, Nana, the goddess of Arinna, the great mother of gods, and whatever else they were named—indicate the cult-connection existing between them and these and other animals, is beyond doubt.

Therefore it is to be concluded, that during the period 3000 to 1000 B.C. and still later, these animals, in the minds of the Hittites and peoples of related civilization, were connected with their gods. Unfortunately it is not yet known what kind of a connection there was; we only know that it existed. It is impossible for this connection, ascertained by means of archæological discoveries, not to have left some trace behind in the folk-lore, theology, or mythology of the historical races of Asia Minor.¹

The tiger *motif* of the Georgian epic reaches as far back as the pre-Indo-European, pre-Semitic cultural stratum, and therefore the fact that the great Georgian Queen Tamar, to whom *Vep'khis Tqaosani* was dedicated by the poet, is compared in Georgian annals with the tiger, gains in significance.

All this bears strong comparison with the panther-representations of antiquity. On the limestone orthostat from Tell Halaf, there is depicted a panther with a collar on, and this panther, from the position of its body, even seems to be a tame one.²

Again, on two silver vases from Maikop in Kuban Province, North Caucasia, panthers are represented with definite and clearly distinguishable collars; it may be taken for granted, therefore, that they were tame.

That these animals can only be panthers is proved by the shaded markings on their bodies.

The orthostat of Tell Halaf, as also the vases, have been ascribed

¹ G. Hüsing, *Der elamische Gott Memnon*, p. 64 (*Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell. Festschr. Hommel*, 1917-18); W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 310; E. Unger, *Die Bedeutung d. Königsnekropole von Ur f. Vorgeschichte* (in *Vorgeschichtl. Jahrb.*, iv, 1927 (1930), p. 6; R. Campbell Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, pp. 38, 49.

² Franz Weidenreich, *Gezähnte Panther im 3 vor-christlichen Jahrtausend*, pp. 22-6, *Natur. u. Museum*, 1933. Likewise holy axes in bronze in the form of a panther have been found in Beisan (Palestine), Mallia (Crete), Susa, and in Luristan. See G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéol. Orient.* ii, fig. 641, 642, 728. Contenau, *Civilis des Hittites et des Mitaniens*, 198, 243. *Anm.* i, 200. Axes in antiquity were cult-objects.

Concerning *Bes*, see Weidemann, *Aegypt. Gesch.*, pp. 5, 23, 367, 391; Punt., p. 23; Ermann, *Aegypt. Religion*, pp. 90, 180, 246, 247, 252, 257, 258; Ermann, *Aegypten*, pp. 212, 255, 258, 511, 611 (from Punt.).

Concerning animals as the symbol of gods, see John Garstang: *Hittites*, passim; John Garstang, *The Sun Goddess of Arinna*, pp. 109-115; John Garstang, *Annals of Archæol. and Anthropol.*, vi, 1914; John Garstang, "The Winged Deity and other Sculptures of Malatia," *ib.*, pp. 116-118.

Concerning the tiger-skin in Sumer, see Woolley, *Excavation at Ur*, p. 18, pl. v, fig. 1; Eck. Unger, *Im Vorgesch. Jahrb.* iv, 27 (30), 1.c.

Concerning trained tigers, see Heinz F. Friederichs, *Zur Kenntnis d. frühgeschichtl. Tierwelt S.W. Asiens*, 1933, pp. 31, 37, 40-44.

to the third millennium B.C., or later. In regard to the Maikop vases, the opinion is also held that they belong to the second millennium (Farmakovskiy). In any case, the great age of these panther representations of the Hurri-Caucasian cultural stratum remains beyond doubt.

The panther is an attribute of the gods. It was the symbol of Dionysius who rode on one, or, like his wife Ariadne, travelled in a carriage drawn by panthers. The Maenads, the attendants of Dionysius, played with, and nursed, panthers. The orgiastic rites and the mystery religion of Dionysius derive their origin, as is well known, from old Asia Minor.

To the south (Tell Halaf) and to the north (Maikop) of Georgia, it has been proved archæologically that the panther was a tamed animal, possibly a domestic pet; likewise it possessed a cult-significance in the religious conceptions of earliest times.

All this justifies us in the assumption that the panther *motif* in *Vep'khis Tqaosani* also derives its origin from that cultural sphere in which the panther was radically part of its religion, cult, and mythology—from pre-Aryan Asia Minor.

Dr. M. Tsereteli has already called special attention to the striking parallel which exists between *Vep'khis Tqaosani* and the *Gilgamesh epic* in regard to planet-worship by both Avt'andil and Gilgamesh.¹ In *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, this *motif* is especially characteristic, for the epic was written round A.D. 1204, in a strongly Christian-Orthodox land, where religion played no insignificant role, and rightly always helped to awaken the national consciousness and to keep it awake. This direct connection with planet-worship removes the whole epic from the framework of medieval Christian spirituality and associates it definitely with the oldest cultural conceptions of Asia Minor which formed with Georgia, also geographically, an inseparable unit from the beginning.

The whole frame of mind, habits, and customs of the Orthodox Christian Georgian State, and the planet-worship of the epic, are absolutely foreign to each other. Yet this *motif* was natural and native throughout the Asia Minor civilization of Antiquity, to which other *motifs* of the epic point again and again. This goes to prove that the contents of *Vep'khis Tqaosani* in some form or other derive their origin from the same Western Asian culture as the *Gilgamesh epic*, with which it has so many points in common. A brief illustration of how strange the contents of the *Vep'khis Tqaosani* were considered to be by the people of that age is shown in the following verse:—

" How shall I sing to David's harp, attuned and loud-sounding, these wondrous (rare) tales of strange, foreign monarchs! Old-time

¹ M. Tsereteli, *Das Gilgamesch Epos* (in Georgian).

customs and deeds, praises (eulogies) of those kings, have I found and done into verse. Thus have we chattered." (Georg. and Eng., v. 1574 ; Ger., p. 288.)¹

The parallel between *Vep'khis Tqaosani* and the *Gilgamesh epic* does not only consist of single *motifs*, but it extends also to various, rather poetically formed but nevertheless related single pictures. For instance, Engidu is a man of Nature, who lives in woods, valleys, fields, etc., a companion of animals, himself almost an animal. Let us compare Tariel with him :—

"I said to myself : ' No longer shall I rove and sail in vain ; perchance the company of beasts will make my heart forget grief.' " (Georg. and Eng., v. 633 ; Ger., wanting.)

"but I forsook the haunts of human tribes, the retreats of goats and stags seemed a fitting abode for me ; I roamed, I trod every plain below and hill above. I found these manless caves, hollowed out by Devis. . . . Mad I roam the fields ; sometimes I weep and sometimes I faint." (Georg. and Eng., v. 636-8 ; Ger., p. 138.)

Also verses 266 (Ger. wanting) and 640 (Ger., p. 139).

Again Engidu's sole counsellor and friend in the forest is a woman, the *Hierodule*, who makes his meeting with Gilgamesh possible and by so doing brings about their friendship for each other. We see exactly the same picture in *Vep'khis Tqaosani*. *Asmat'i* is the sole counsellor and friend of Tariel in the forest (except that she has no sex relations with him). *Asmat'i* and the *Hierodule* are both women, both are in the forest with their men, lonely and alone. Like the *Hierodule*, it is *Asmat'i* who is instrumental in bringing about the bond of friendship between Tariel and Avt'andil. In both epics the similarity grows, even to the identity of the persons in question (the *Hierodule*, *Asmat'i*), to their roles, their deeds, and even the aim of their actions. Both have only the meeting and the friendship-bond to arrange. This ends the part played by each in the epic—the *Hierodule* holds out love to Engidu ; *Asmat'i* is the intermediary and messenger of joy between the lovers Tariel and Nestan-Darejan.

One more picture—Engidu continues to tarry by the water when the hunter comes there. "A hunter, a catcher, stood on the opposite side in front of the drinking-place. . . ." The hunter was anxious and sad ; all happiness had left him. "His face was dark, in appearance he was like a wanderer from afar" ; he lamented and cried in anguish. Compare with this *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, verse 84 (Ger. p. 16)—Tariel also was found while sitting by the water ; he also frightens away the

¹ The late Professor Marr's emendation of the quatrain : "How shall I sing to David's psalterly these strange (either exotic, foreign or wondrous, beautiful) stories of the agility and battles of foreign monarchs. I chanced upon ancient, praiseworthy customs and deeds of those kings, and turned them into verse ; thus we entertained ourselves." Wardrop, footnote 8 to verse 1574.

servants of the hunter, King Rostevan, and makes him and his servants unhappy, sad, disturbed, and helpless, exactly as Engidu made the hunter feel in the *Gilgamesh epic*.

Again, compare verse 100 (Ger., pp. 20, 21) and also the lamentation of the king himself in verse 111 (Ger., p. 24). The royal hunter was just as unhappy because of the man by the stream as the hunter in the *Gilgamesh epic* was because of Engidu by the stream. Likewise, both hunters are compelled to give up the hunt ; both are hunters in the forest ; both meet the exceedingly strange, animal-skin clothed, nature-nurtured **stranger** at the water. The role of both is only to build up the plot of the epic, to bind it together and to make events move. In both epics this meeting is followed by long journeys and adventures of the participants, and by their struggles.

The heroes of the *Gilgamesh epic*, in order to complete their heroic deeds, must kill Humbaba. They go to a high, fearful, and wooded mountain, where the terrible Humbaba rules and up which there is no path. Humbaba's appearance is described as that of a devilish monster ; his mouth is fury, his call a *cyclone*, his face fiendish. The *fire-breathing* Humbaba has still other protectors for his cedars in the forest ; this protection was accorded him by Enlil.

We have the same high, pathless, wooded mountain in *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, where the fortress of K'ajet'i lies, guarded by devil-like monsters, the K'ajis, from whom K'ajet'i takes its name. Compare verses 1277, 1278, in which the same high mountain is described, without path or bridge ; a secret tunnel has been dug out for the devilish creatures, particularly for the use of the K'ajis (the devilish monsters) : in this tunnel it is impossible for men to fight.

See verses 1220, 1221 (Ger., p. 240). The charm-number 3 corresponds to the Babylonian number 7. Again, in verses 1225-7 (Ger., p. 241), the K'ajis are described just in the same way as Humbaba is described by Engidu. As Humbaba breathes fire himself and his call is a cyclone, so, too, the K'ajis defend themselves by means of a *terrible wind* and by enveloping the enemy with *fire*.

At the same time, these K'ajis are dreadful sorcerers. At their head is Queen Dularducht. In order to bring about the rescue of Nestan-Darejan, held captive by the K'ajis, the poet arranges for the K'ajian queen to leave to attend the burial of her sister, and, as the way to the burial-place is dangerous, to take away with her all her other means of sorcery ; thus it was made possible for the hero-skill of the sworn brothers to be realized, and Nestan-Darejan to be freed. See verse 1219.

In *Vep'khis Tqaosani* the well-known *motif* is further developed in conformity with which the person whose life is in danger is turned adrift upon the water. Nestan-Darejan is put in a simple boat in the

company of two black sorcerers. Here the poet may have thoroughly worked up his materials, namely, the basis of the *motif*, underlying those old Asia Minor tales about Sargon, Moses, Cyrus, etc.

Similarly, too, the lion and tiger *motif* are characteristic of old Asia Minor traditions, religions, art, etc. In no way can these *motifs* be considered purely Georgian or Caucasian. The poet, indeed, had a field where lion and tiger *motifs* were abundant. At every step and turn Tariel, Avt'andil, P'ridon, etc, kill tigers and lions as if they were sparrows, just as do Gish and Engidu. In legends of this kind, the fauna of old Asia Minor, Anatolia, Babylon, and Elam fit in better and more naturally than do the fauna of Caucasia of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. This fact indicates, too, that the subject of *Vep'khis Tqaosani* was indigenous somewhere in the South, and there it must have taken form. The idea that the contents of *Vep'khis Tqaosani* are the fanciful creation of one ingenious poet alone, seems inadmissible, for if this were so, then the *motif* elements and pictures of the epic would be completely inexplicable. The epic has an Asia Minor home in a period of culture totally different from the age in which the great poet put it into writing in its final form.

In this view we are strengthened by still further passages from the Georgian epic. Among others, verse 558 (Ger. wanting), and verse 716 (Ger. p. 154). Expressions of this sort take us back to old Sumerian, old Babylonian notions which were rooted in the cultural relations of Mesopotamia and Elam—gods' *nets*, devils' *nets*, kings' and high priests' *nets*; catching of the enemy with *nets* and dealing with them in general.¹ All this is just the primitive native element of the oldest Babylonian culture.² When we find the same element repeated in the Georgian epic, it is not accidental; the source of the Georgian epic was richly saturated with elements most characteristic of the oldest Anatolian culture when it came into the hands of the gifted poet.

We find in the Georgian epic certain things which remind us of the Medea myth. Medea's sorcery is well known. It even mastered Nature's forces, as did that of the K'ajis in *Vep'khis Tqaosani*. Sorcery was Medea's greatest weapon, for Jason and against her own father and brother. Against all adversaries she is victorious through her sorcery. With this weapon she frustrates the efforts of her father, her brother, etc. The Colchian Medea is the niece of the greatest sorceress of antiquity—Circe—the sister of Aetes. Medea could bring back youth to the old and change Nature's rules at will. Jason becomes king of Corinth only through and thanks to Medea, who alone has the right to the throne. The cult of Medea was well known in Corinth.

¹ "I told her God's, she has caught her in the devil's net." "The sight of him caught my heart as in a net, therein it stays."

² Cf. Dr. Alfred Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorient. Geisteskultur*, pp. 364, 374, 429, *passim*.

Annually on the feast-days of Hera Acraia, seven boys and girls were sacrificed to her, although she came from Colchis. Traditionally Colchians were a dark-skinned race (see Pindar, Herodotus compares them with the Egyptians).¹ In all the legends of antiquity, Colchis is known as the land of the Golden Fleece and of Medea's sorcery. This same sorcery is found in the *Gilgamesh epic*. This same sorcery is again found in *Vep'khis Tqaosani* of A.D 1204. See verse 559, where we see that Davar, Nestan-Darejan's teacher was herself brought up in K'ajet'i, and was so well-versed in the art of sorcery that she herself could inquire into the secrets of heaven. The sorcery of the K'ajis has already been mentioned—verses 1219, 1220, 1221, 1225-7, 1278, etc.

One gets the impression from the epic that no ordinary person, but only a K'aji or at least a black or dark-skinned person could be a sorcerer. As Medea was a king's daughter, so, too, Davar is the sister of a king, of Nestan-Darejan's father. (See verses 319, 558, 560.) Dularducht the Mighty is the queen of K'ajet'i and a sorceress at the same time, as is shown by verses 1199, 1200, and 1201. In the Medea myth, and likewise in *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, the sorceress belongs to the highest class of society. She is the king's daughter, or king's sister, or a queen (Medea, Circe, Davar, Dularducht). Davar is "dark-skinned", as are all dealers in witchcraft in *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, where they are always described as being dark-coloured, even black; Davar is possibly the person referred to as "a black woman" in verse 563. Elsewhere a black person is always mentioned as a sorcerer (see verses 1216, 1245, 1247, 1255, 1263, etc.).

K'ajis, too, were described as black, dark-coloured and as sorcerers (see verses 564, 609, 1263). Nestan-Darejan compares all the K'ajis of K'ajet'i to the two black men, that is, to the sorcerers, from whom she had recently been freed. Likewise in verse 1275, she calls her black slaves "sorcerers" and does so whenever she mentions them. The sorceress Medea and Colchians in general were dark-coloured. On a previous page, the tiger-skin *motif* led us to the dark-skinned Puntians and Nubians; so, too, the sorcerer's art in the Georgian epic leads us to the dark-skinned races.²

As the chief organ of sorcery, the heart was considered to be the seat of the highest supernatural sensibility and the most mystic

¹ On the colour of the skin of the Colchians, of Medea, Circe and Jason, see W. Sieglin, *Die Haare der indogermanischen Völker des Altertums*, 1935, wherein the author exhaustively quotes classical writers, as to the dark as well as to the white complexion of the above. The dark colour of some of the Japhetic or Caucasian peoples in the second or third millennium B.C. is, in our opinion, the result of their mixing with the substratum population, just as is the dark colour, for instance, of the Persians, Hindus, etc., the result of a similar mixing.

² J. R. Bacon, *The Voyage of the Argonauts*, 1935; Hesiod, Theo. 956-961; Homer, II, vii, 467-9, xxi, 40, 41; Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv, 67 and foll.; Homer, *Odyss.*, x, 137, xi, 69-72, 254-9; Herodotus, ii, 104. Our own, *Colchis. Iberien und Albanien um die Wende des I. Jahrh. vor. Ch.* (a dissert.), Berlin, 1913-14.

perception. The sentimentalism and sensualism of the "matriarchal" culture derived their *Sofrosyne*, their *Dikaiosyne*, etc., from the feelings and perceptions of the heart. Here we have a different world, peculiar in its construction and principles, on which all life was based. At this particular stage in cultural development, when the ideal of Heroism emerged, sensitive sentimentalism had to maintain as the central point of its belief that powerful basis of society, namely, the heart of the wife and mother, of the mistress and the sorceress. It is astounding how expressions relating to this theme, like tell-tale remains from antiquity have been preserved in *Vep'khis Tqaosani* even to our own day. It is characteristic, too, that such expressions should be uttered by the "nature-people" of the epic—Tariel and Asmat'i. Verse 828 (Asmat'i) and verse 886 (Tariel).

According to Tariel, wisdom, which guides justice and fair judgment, has its seat in the heart, also. This idea derives its origin from earliest times, whence came Medea's "wisdom" too. From the *motifs* in the Georgian epic which we have enumerated it seems probable that some parts of it belong to the same cultural stratum to which the Medea myth belongs; and as the latter was certainly known far and wide before the fall of Troy, it may thus be ascribed to the second millennium B.C.

Here is another example which expresses the same sphere of civilization, the same customs and feelings:—

Medea cuts her brother Aspatus in pieces, and pretends to kill her own children, at least this is so according to some traditions, which is sufficient in itself, for the very fact that the tradition existed shows that it revealed a certain point of view, or even culture. The killing of her own children (or brother) reflects the highest degree of bitterest feeling, of soul-tragedy and experience of the impossible in a state of society where the woman stood higher than the man in their relations to each other and claimed and possessed more right, and where the right of the woman took precedence over everything else. In the Georgian epic the same *motif* is preserved as a form of curse. See verse 1079, where the mother-tragedy is in the same form and reaches the same degree as it does in the Medea legend. Thus we have the same point of view, the same tradition, the same circle of ideas, and therefore the same degree of culture expressed in the *Vep'khis Tqaosani* as in the Medea legend.

Nevertheless, in the true sense of the past, it is considered that God's greatest punishment is to cause extirpation of descendants, of "the seed".¹ To have no seed, that is, no descendants, was esteemed by the ancients as the greatest misfortune, the worst curse the gods could place on mankind. One who had no descendants had no funeral,

¹ Alfr. Götze, *Kulturgesch. d. Orients*, 144, 145, 160; n. o. a. a. Werke, Jeremias, l.c.

no parentalia, no hearth and grave cult, also for him there was no retaliation on the enemy in a case of revenge, which, of all customs, was the one most closely connected with the " matriarchal " system.

Well-known authorities have drawn attention to the fact that the fire-breathing bulls of the Medea legend and the fire-spouting wild bulls of the *Gilgamesh epic* presented striking points of resemblance ; Is not the bull, or especially the ox, sufficient indication of the " matriarchal " civilization to which both traditions are fundamentally, basically, and naturally related ?

In *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, in the *Gilgamesh epic*, and in the Medea legend, however, there is one factor of decided significance in regard to the question as to which cultural phase these three oldest creations and traditions of universal literature belong. In all three legends women play the principal, most active, leading, determined, and decisive roles. To men only the executive roles are left. Women function everywhere as the real heads, the leaders, princesses, and queens. Men receive their kingdoms through the medium of women, who take the initiative in everything.

T'inat'in herself declares her love to Avt'andil and expresses the desire to take him for her husband (verse 128, etc.). Nestan-Darejan, too, takes the initiative and acts likewise in regard to Tariel (verses 347, 348, 399). She even strongly and expressively emphasizes her right to do so (verses 511, 512). Ishtar in the *Gilgamesh epic* and Medea in the Medea myth are the first to tell their love and their desire to their chosen men, and follow this up by their actions. Ishtar promises Gish every earthly happiness, Medea procures for Jason the king's throne in Corinth. In *Vep'khis Tqaosani* the same thing occurs.

Thus women take the most active initiative in *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, in the *Gilgamesh epic* and in the Medea legend. This is no accident, for this initiative is always accompanied by superior cleverness, far-sightedness, and careful planning on the part of women.

T'inat'in gives Avt'andil the plan how he may seek and find Tariel ; Nestan-Darejan tells Tariel how and why he must defeat the *Khataelni* ; Asmat'i gives Avt'andil the plan and advises him how to win Tariel's favour ; P'atman gives Avt'andil the plan whereby he may learn the abode of Nestan-Darejan. How Medea helped Jason is known by everybody. Ninsung gives advice and plans to Gish how to conquer in fight, etc. The *Hierodule* advises Engidu how to get a friend. Everywhere we find women behind matters which require foresight, superior wisdom and intelligence, who, in truth, take the lead in everything. This fact, together with other instances mentioned above, forces us to conclude that *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, the *Gilgamesh epic* and the Medea myth contain the essential characteristics of the

“matriarchal” culture, whence the contents of the three stories are derived.

A further characteristic feature is that in *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, Nestan (the beloved one) begs her chosen lover Taniel to murder her unwanted suitor; and that P'atman desires and received from Avt'andil the trophies of his murdered rival. Are these not the finely-polished rudiments of a head-hunting age? (See verse 526.) In addition to other facts and instances, these passages, too, gain in importance by pointing to the “matriarchal” system.

Thus the Georgian epic is of great significance for cultural-historical research. To estimate its value as a poetical work is far from our purpose, though we cannot refrain from the remark that European students have not yet estimated it at its true worth. The poem is as good as unknown there, for through translation it cannot be fully appreciated. One wonders what might have been said about the *Iliad* and other epics if these had only been known through their translations and not in their full and perfect beauty and in nuances which unaffectedly render the highest and finest poetical expressions and the most charming, touching and thrilling flights of poetic fancy simply in the mother tongue. Epic and romance alike, in its final form, as the creation of one poet, possesses many advantages; unequalled harmony of form and content; unity of action; the happiest grouping around a common purpose, and a natural simplicity in the unfolding of the subject.

Let us now turn back to verse 1574, and ask ourselves whether, from the point of view of the history of culture it was possible for the content, the fable forming the groundwork of the Georgian epic, to have been taken by the poet from a foreign land. We consider that it was quite possible. It may easily be supposed that the story would spread and be told and retold in Asia Minor and as far as India. The Georgian epic, the Medea myth and the *Gilgamesh epic* are culturally-historically of pre-Indo-European, pre-Semitic origin; they may even be of “Japhetic” origin, belonging to the “matriarchally influenced” human stratum of Western Asia, the surviving descendants of which are to be found to-day chiefly in Caucasia. That the Georgian epic in its content belongs to the “matriarchal” culture is certain; that it is of “Japhetic” origin may be assumed as probable, but cannot be absolutely proved. In any case, as a tale, as saga, the story of the epic became more widely known afterwards when the seats of the former “Japhetids” (Hatti-Elam) were occupied by people of different races—Semitic, Indo-European. Therefore the verse 1574 has a special interest in helping to establish in what language and in what form he had the fable when the Georgian poet composed his epic. If the verse 1574 is not the original creation of the poet

himself (as many scholars maintain), the fact remains that the contents of the Georgian epic were regarded by its readers, at a relatively short period after the poet's time, as strange, coming from foreign parts ; and the interwoven *motifs* and the whole scene, the culture it portrays, justify this. Arising from the " Japhetic " sphere of culture, the fable of the Georgian epic may have been fostered and preserved by Semites and Indo-Europeans for thousands of years, only to be handed down again to a branch of the Caucasian " Japhetids "—to the Georgians.

To summarize briefly, the fable of the Georgian epic certainly belongs to the epoch of " matriarchal " culture. As the latter, in Western Asia, is chiefly but not exclusively the distinguishing mark of some of the ancient pre-Georgian Japhetids (for instance, of the Tsanars, etc.), that is, the Caucasian peoples, it may have been a saga of any one of the oldest " Japhetic " peoples. That is probable, for the Georgian epic bears many resemblances to the Medea legend, which is certainly " Japhetic ". And as the Georgian epic further reflects elements of Western Asian culture, it may be that its component elements were preserved and further disseminated in the traditions of the heirs of " Japhetic " culture, just in the same way as the various old Asia Minor legends were spread, those legends of Paris and Helen, of Tamar and Juda, of Aethra and Egeus, of Gish, Uriah, Joseph, Engidu, etc., which have been preserved in Caucasia, in Caucasian tales, for ages. Besides, the tiger-skin *motif* and the dark-skinned sorceress point to the possibility and probability **that much in the Georgian epic may be of pre-Japhetic origin.**

Incidentally, it may be mentioned as a further comparison that, according to Marr, Meshtchaninov and others,¹ the celebrated tradition about *Tristan and Isolde* is, in origin, also a thoroughly " Japhetic " (Caucasian) creation, so well preserved in the Georgian version of the ancient Persian poem *Wis, o, Ramin* (*Visramiani*, in Georgian). Parallel stories to that of *Tristan and Isolde* were told in Caucasia and preserved in Armenia in the epic of Santenik ; they originate from the same " Japhetic " layer which influenced the *Iliad*, *Shahnameh*, etc.

¹ Meshtchaninov, *Khaldovedenie*, pp. 81, 82 ; N. Ethe, *Essays and Studies*, pp. 295-301, Berlin, 1872 ; O. Wardrop, *Visramiani*, pp. vi, 1914 ; J. Karst, *Littérature géorgienne chrétienne*, 126 ; N. Marr : *Ishtar*, 109-178, *Recueil Jafétique*, 1927, Bd. v ; Frank-Kamenetski : (in Russian)—*The Georgian Parallel of the old Egyptian tale ' The Two Brothers '* , 39-71. *Rec. Jafet.*, 1925, iv. (The *motif* found in this story of the *seamless shirt* which was so marvellous and miraculous, is also to be found in *Vep'khis Tqaosani*. Tariel gives his beloved a veil of a similar kind ; and Tariel and Avt'andil find a full equipment not made by human hands). Karl Kynast, *Apollon und Dionysios*, 1927, p. 23 ; *Le Temps*, Oct. 6, 1930.

THE RISING OF 1877 IN DAGHESTAN AND TCHETCHNIA

By JOHN F. BADDELEY

[From an article in *Tersky Sbornik*, Vladikavkaz, 1890, pt. 1, section 2.]

THE governor of the Terek province at that time was General Svistunóff, who seems to have been a hard and cruel man, one who drove the Mussulman natives, excited, naturally enough, by the Russo-Turkish war and instigated by Turkish agents, to rebellion; or, at least, by his harsh measures made rebellion more serious and extensive than it would otherwise have been. At Vladikavkáz was General A. M. Smekáloff, a different and better kind of man, who after a time was put in command of the field forces in Tchetchnia, under Svistunóff, and, eventually, of those in Daghestan under Prince Melikoff. The Viceroy at the time was the Grand Duke Michael, brother of the Emperor Alexander II, who was kindly and well-meaning.

The Russians came first into collision with the Tchetchens in the time of Peter the Great. There had been desultory strife ever since, punctuated by many murderous episodes, and culminating in the Murid War (1829-1859) into which the Tchetchens were partly drawn, partly driven, in 1840. In punishment of this "treason"—otherwise, love of freedom and zeal for their Faith—all the fertile lands between the Terek and the Soundja, from which they had fled under stress of war, were handed over to the Cossacks, and the great mass of the Tchetchen population confined to the forest-covered hills between the plains and the barren mountains bordering on Daghestan, where the want of arable land kept them permanently in that state of exasperation which comes from poverty induced by over-population, intensified in their case by oppressive and corrupt administration on the part of the Russian officials from the day when war ceased in 1859.

Tchetchnia, after the readjustments of 1888, we know was comprised as to five-sixths of its area within the Grozny *ókrug* of the Terek province. The native population within those limits was 164,000, to which must be added 14,000 Tchetchens inhabiting part of the Khassafyurt *ókrug*, and the separate but closely connected tribe of the Ingooshee, numbering some 40,000, a total of 218,000. In 1877 the population may have been somewhat greater, at least in the country between the Argoun and the Ak-sai, as, after the "rebellion", many whole villages were deported to the plains, and many of the male inhabitants exiled to Russia. It is surely a remarkable tribute to any race—from enemies too—that "the obligation imposed upon them by custom and religion of feeding the numerous poor who from September to April, and later, come down from the mountains to beg, puts the dwellers on the lowlands in a yet more difficult position. Only their own uncommon moderation in eating enables them to succour their starving fellows".

War with Turkey was declared on the 12th April, 1877, but had long been foreseen and the bulk of Russian troops in the Caucasus moved southwards. Apparently by mere coincidence, for the Russian authorities on the spot were not yet aware of the rupture, some sixty inhabitants of various villages in the Vedeno district met that night in a forest clearing near the *aoul* Sayasan and swore to proclaim their independence of Russia. The most prominent among them were Sultan-Murad and Ali-bek hadji of whom the latter was elected *imam*, there and then. Hostilities followed immediately, the Russians were taken unprepared, and in earlier conditions might have suffered, as in Shamil's time, heavy losses. But the Berdan rifle, with which even the Cossacks were now armed, a sufficient supply of light artillery, and the use of field telegraphy—all of these put the natives at a hopeless disadvantage. By the beginning of May, in the opinion of the commander-in-chief, tranquillity reigned once more throughout the province, and the cost had been quite insignificant. But that was not enough for General Svistunóff, one of those men who could never leave well alone. The rising was at an end, but the guilty must be punished, lest they dare raise their heads again ; so measures were straightway taken which by their severity and injustice brought about the very contingency feared. Several small columns were sent into the heart of Itchkeria—itsself the heart of Tchetchnia—and the instructions to their commanders were “ without making any definite promises, to inform the inhabitants of those *aouls* which had joined the insurgents that, as a first step to forgiveness, they must choose and despatch into the mountains energetic and trustworthy emissaries to capture Ali-bek, Sultan-Murad, and their band. Only after this first proof of their submission and repentance would they learn what measure of mercy to expect ”. These *aouls* moreover must hand over all those amongst them principally concerned, as might be directed by the Russian administration. Failing compliance the commanding officers were instructed to “ destroy the *aouls*, arrest the leaders, and deport the rest of the inhabitants to the plains ”. Ali-bek, meantime, had retreated to his own almost inaccessible refuge, a mountain farm in the Samsir forest at the head-waters of the Yarik-su ; and Svistunóff gave orders, at once, to “ surround the fugitives and capture or destroy them ”. Just then, however, news came of another rising further east in Salatau and Aoukh, and this summary proceeding was postponed. But the insurgents in the neighbouring Daghestan district of Gumbet being promptly crushed, these eastern Tchetchens without waiting the arrival of the troops sent representatives to Khasaf-yourt offering abject submission. Remembering, however, that the inhabitants of Almak, Burtunai, and Dilim had from time immemorial been turbulent people, Svistunóff decided to proceed at once with the

deportation to the plains not only of these *aouls*, but of all the people of the farms, eighty in number, on either side of the River Aktash. "Neither the many difficulties inseparable from such a step in the actual state of things, nor the danger of driving the villagers, who had not yet lifted a hand, to actual revolt, nor the humble petition of a deputation numbering 350 men—nothing could shake General Svistunóff's determination. These 350 men kneeling, unarmed, bare-headed, in Burtunai, and proclaiming their unfeigned repentance and readiness to do all that might be required of them, put themselves absolutely in the hands of the Government. But informing them that they would be detained in the fortress in quality of hostages, the commander-in-chief gave orders to proceed with the destruction of the *aouls*, and himself returned to Grozny. Thence, as soon as the troops so occupied were free to move westward, he once more called upon the *aoul* Zandak, Ali-bek's birthplace, the nearest to the Samsir forest, to bring in that leader and his band, alive or dead; and, knowing that compliance was unlikely or even impossible, for the *imam* and his followers, ten in number only, had sworn on the Koran to achieve independence or die in the attempt, counted upon that to justify the prompt deportation of this *aoul* also to the plains.

But after a time, during which Ali-bek had left his refuge at least once, even Svistunóff realized the futility of his pet plan of forcing the natives to betray their *imam*. His own words were: "We must acknowledge as a fact that the whole Tchetchen population, without exception, either openly sympathizes with Ali-bek and desires his success or at least sees in him an unfortunate being whose sufferings are due solely to his having undertaken a sacred enterprise which, if only in secret, every true believer is bound to favour."

On the 1st June the *aouls* on the upper Bassa, midway between the Argoun and Vedenó, unexpectedly gathered in their *metchets* and started singing the *Zikr*. The chief *aoul*, Makhketi, was promptly taken and burnt, and 135 of the more prominent rebels sent off to Vedenó conveyed by six companies of infantry, with two guns. But crossing a deep gorge of the rivulet Ardjin-Akh, Ali-bek and his men, whose presence was unsuspected, fired a sudden volley from the wooded banks, the prisoners broke away, and, with the loss of twenty killed, succeeded in joining their *imam*. The *Zikr* was sung even by inhabitants of Shálee returning from their fields, when they heard of this feat, and risings took place in many directions, the natives being encouraged by the news that now came of a Russian retreat all along the Trans-Caucasus front against Turkey.

Once more Svistunóff discovered that "merciless punishment of the guilty was the only means to restore order in the province. The destruction of *aouls*, of corn, of cattle, of everything capable of destruction

was, in his opinion, not only the merest justice, but by depriving them of all means of subsistence would force the rebels to abandon their forests and make their submission". Accordingly, columns from Andee (Daghestan) in the south co-operated with those already in Tchetchnia, and many *aouls* were destroyed. But neither threats, nor cajolery, nor merciless devastation could induce the Tchetchens to betray their spiritual chief, who about this time was joined by a new comrade, no less formidable than himself. This was Ouma-hadji Duyeff, *starshiná* of Dzumsoi, who in 1861 had taken part in a rising on the Argoun under Ouma Atabai, but had been pardoned and had acquired great influence among the people. On the 17th July, 1877, Ouma-hadji joined the insurgents. Letters he wrote to hesitant native leaders in Andee and Botlikh were denounced later on as "fanatical"; why, it is difficult to understand. In them he warned the recipients, so far loyal to Russia, not to take to themselves any property belonging to captured rebels: he explained that far from having been in any danger himself he had been held in high esteem by the Russians and his position fully guaranteed by them; but the unjust treatment of Mussulmans, the burning and destruction of *aouls*, and "the commands of exalted persons whose word we are bound to obey"¹ all this had compelled him to throw in his lot with the insurgents.

Ouma-hadji was soon afterwards severely wounded, and took refuge in a cave. When this became known and the locality identified, a "partizan" band of forty men was sent in hot haste to take him. The way was so difficult that though only seventeen miles long it took from ten o'clock at night to six the next morning to cover. The cave was of vast dimensions and almost inaccessible, but there was no defence and when the Russians clambered in they found there a quantity of maize and 125 head of cattle, but no Ouma-hadji. Indeed, of human beings there was only a woman and she, at sight of the soldiers, threw herself over the cliff. A kettle with food hot inside it, sufficient for eight men, led to the supposition that the hadji had only then escaped.

When, at the end of July, the blockade of Kars was raised and fresh emissaries reached Tchetchnia from Turkey, the insurrection once more showed signs of revival, and Svistunóff though still devoted to the destruction of villages and crops, at last did something sensible; he appointed Smekáloff, Governor of Vladikavkáz, to the command in the field (12th August, O.S.).

Under the new commander the "punishments" went on—under direct orders from Svistunóff—but the military operations were carried out with much more vigour and ability. The Tchetchens fought bravely when they had the chance; but that was seldom enough. Armed only with old-fashioned guns or rifles and no artillery, they

¹ The Turkish Sultan?

were nearly always defeated before they could themselves come within range of their enemy, and such warfare will demoralize the bravest. Their actual losses were not great ; but those of the Russians were totally insignificant.

The whole of this 1877 rising is chiefly notable for its sporadic nature. Had it been otherwise the Russians would have found very great difficulty in checking it, until, at least, the Turks were defeated in Asia Minor and in Europe Plevna taken. As it was, there was no general direction, no common action either in Daghestan or Tchetchnia—far less in both together. We have seen what took place in the latter country. In Daghestan the first rising, as stated, was in the Goubet district, bordering on north-eastern Tchetchnia (Salatau), where two important *aouls*, Artloukh and Danoukh, rebelled and were taken by storm on 21st May (O.S.). Then far away to the south, in Deedo land, Kemeshee was taken on 15th June, Asakho on 17th June. The inhabitants of this last-named *aoul* were driven out by artillery fire, but from twenty-five to thirty men shut themselves up with their families in their stone *saklias*, determined to die rather than surrender. Asked not to cause the deaths of their wives and children they replied : “ Our house is our grave. Our families must die with us.” The women fought with the men and all perished, the last survivors rushing out, *kinjals* in hand, on the bayonets and swords of the besiegers.

It was not until 29th August that Central Daghestan rebelled, after which the movement, for a time, covered the larger part of that province. I am telling elsewhere the grim story of the outbreak at Koumoukh, as heard by me at Gouneeb.¹ Meantime those Daghestan troops which had been operating in Tchetchnia were recalled and reached Botlikh on 30th August by way of the Kerket pass ; Ali-bek again took refuge in Samsir ; the rebels of the Upper Bassa under Ouma-hadji, in spite of the fact that their *aouls* and their crops had been destroyed, refused submission, confiding in their impenetrable forests. But Smekáloff, remembering no doubt Yevdokeemoff on the Argoun, in 1858, and Freitag before him, took to forest-cutting and by the 12th September the unfortunate people were forced to submit, and were packed off to the plains. Ouma-hadji, however, was still at large ; his people—defeated, ruined, starving, their dwellings mere heaps of stones—were still indomitably loyal to their leader. Let General Smekáloff speak. I quote his report to Svistunóff. “ On the 13th September I told the elders who came before me that all the inhabitants of Makhketi must migrate without delay to the plains, and that their lands would remain at the disposal of the government. The elders agreed to these harsh conditions, but asked a three days’

¹ p. 47, vol. ii of my forthcoming book on the Caucasus.

term in which to fulfil them. In the course of the negotiations the standing of Ouma-hadji amongst the mountaineers became apparent. When I offered to leave the Makhketi villagers their land on condition that they delivered up Ouma they answered: 'General! people should only be asked to do what is possible; you know how hard it is for us to bid good-bye to the tombs of our fathers and the land of our birth; yet we make no demur. But betray Ouma-hadji we cannot: *he was our guest.*' "

Ouma still kept up the fight further south, and had more than one narrow escape. Ali-bek gave trouble enough from his lair in the Samsir forest to infuriate Svistunóff and impel him to even mightier efforts, but his main object was still unattained when on the 3rd October, as so often happens where blood-feuds prevail, a personal enemy betrayed the *imam*; the Russian troops were led to his hitherto inaccessible refuge, and on a dark and stormy night surrounded it on all sides. When a mile off only, a mounted shepherd of Ali-bek's party, being captured and questioned, let out that the insurgents were at that moment engaged in prayer. This and the weather so far favoured the Russians that they took the enemy completely by surprise. The position was captured, its occupants hurling themselves down a deep and jagged ravine. Their losses were fifty killed, those of the Russians, as usual, quite insignificant—three killed and three wounded. Considerable quantities of cattle, stores, and provender were taken, but the Russian success was dashed by Ali-bek's escape.

On 10th October General Smekáloff left for Daghestan, where on the 25th he stormed Tilitl whence Ouma-hadji once more made a remarkable escape. The last scene of the drama and a worthy one was on 2nd November at Sogratl where the leaders of the rebellion had found a final precarious refuge. The *aoul* was taken with little difficulty but a solitary tower in front of it, defended by a band of forty men, held out. Lodged in the basement they resisted desperately until suffocated by smoke, killing and wounding more than 100 of the besiegers. Then at last Ouma-hadji was taken alive, but Ali-bek once more escaped. On the 27th, however, he surrendered voluntarily at Vedenó to save his adherents in Tchetchnia from the persecution they were still being subjected to in the hope of inducing them to betray him.

As far as concerned Tchetchnia, the rising was at an end, but in Daghestan the Deedos had still to be cruelly suppressed and this led to a more extended rebellion. We read as to results that "Tsoudakhar no longer existed; Sogratl was destroyed. No less than 5,000 men with their families, including little children, were exiled from southern and middle Daghestan alone".

THE MONUMENT OF JUARISA

By GEORGE BODCHORIDZE

[A translation of the article published in *Sak'art'velos Ark'ivi*, "the Archive of Georgia," book iii, Tiflis, 1927, p. 206.]

IN 1925, I was sent by the Governing Council of the Scientific Institutions of Georgia to the province of Radcha (Northern Georgia) for the purpose of collecting objects of art for the museum. I accordingly toured through the province, collected the objects of art, and in due time handed them over to the Historical and Ethnographical Museum of Kutais. From among the objects collected, one (N63 of the list) attracts particular attention, which may be considered as one of the most important monuments of Georgian art and paleography. It was found among the silver objects collected by the Executive Committee of the *Znakva t'emi* (clan) from the local churches, which were ear-marked for sale and temporarily entrusted to a family in the village of *Znakva* for safety. Inquiries as to the place of origin of this object elicited the fact that it had belonged to the Church of *Juarisa*,¹ a village of the same *t'emi*, at a distance of two miles from *Znakva*. According to *Romanoz Bodchorishvili*, formerly a resident of *Juarisa*, this reliquary had been kept in the old church of *Juarisa*, which had stood to the north (left) of the new church, on a hillock, built of sculptured pumice stones. It had always rested on the altar in this church against the eastern wall (the altar being placed against the wall); later, when the new church was erected (for which some of the old church material had been used), this reliquary was moved to this new place of worship, where it remained until recently. In 1924-5 the local Executive Committee had it removed from the church and during this removal it was damaged. This object is called *Dzeli Dcheshmariti*, "The True Wood." "The True Wood" consists of a cross, placed in a case with a panel-like lid. The panel (Pl. I), measuring $17\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ centimetres, has to be drawn from the top (like a drawer); it represents an icon of St. Gregory (Grigoli in Georgian) embossed on silver and attached to the lid. St. Gregory is represented in archbishop's robes, standing under an arch; he is holding his right hand over his heart, with fingers ready for blessing; in his left hand he holds a book (also near the heart): the piers and the arch are decorated with scrolls and floral designs. Under the feet of the saint is an inscription in round-shaped *asomt'avruli*, majuscule. The panel lid is not old.

The case itself (Pls. II-III), measuring 19 by $9\frac{3}{4}$ centimetres, is made of a board; it is covered all round with silver strips decorated with

¹ In an eleventh-century parchment *sigeli* (charter) of *Nikordsminda*, this *Juarisa* is mentioned as *Znakuas Juarisa*, that is *Juarisa* by *Znakva* (*Zhordania*, *The Chronicles*, etc., ii, p. 46), in order to distinguish it from another village of the same name situated in *Okriba* (in *Imeret'i*) and called *Okribas Juarisa* (*ibid.*, p. 49).



The Lid.

floral, leafy, and other patterns in relief. In the centre rests the silver cross, 16½ (without the handle 8) by 6 centimetres, and at the junction of the arms is set a whitish transparent stone under which lies a portion of *Dzeli Dcheshmariti*, "The True Wood." The case is damaged, the board is split in the middle, and the silver strips at the sides are almost detached.

The inscription, in round *asomt'avruli* on the panel or lid, consists of eight lines (Pl. I), of which we reproduce below a transcription in military alphabet :—

<i>Abbreviated.</i>	<i>In full.</i>
1 წოგლსაკვრველ	წმიდარ გრიგორ საკვრველ-
2 თმოქმედო შენდ	თ მოქმედო, შენდ-
3 აშევედრებოჯ	ა შევედრებოჯ-
4 ლიმკლიშენის	ლი მკვეალი შენი ს-
5 აჰაკდოჯხტ	აჰაკდუხტ
6 დამცევეჯოვ	დამცევეჯოვ-
7 ლისაგანბო	ლისაგან ბო-
8 როტისა	როტისა

"Saint Gregory the Thaumaturgus, to thee dedicated slave thine Sahakdukht ; protect (her) from every evil."

Gregory Thaumaturgus, mentioned in this inscription, is the universal Saint Gregory, Bishop of Neocæsarea (221-270 approx.), while "the slave Sahakdukht" is not known. Under a similar name is known in Georgian history Queen Sagdukht, mother of King Vakhtang Gorgasal.¹ Sagdukht = the Armenian Սակդուխտ ; and Sagdukht = Sakdukht is derived from Sahakdukht,² which is testified by Vardan the Great, the Armenian historian, who states definitely that the name of Vakhtang Gorgasal's mother was Sahakdukht.³

From the paleographic point of view the following letters of the inscription attract particular attention, namely :—

β	ο	Ϸ	ϸ	ς	τ	Ϸ	ϸ	(eccles. ; see Pl. I) ⁴
ds	o	k	b	y	ts	q	h	
წ	ო	კ	ბ	ყ	ც	ჭ	ჩ	

¹ Juansher, *The Life of Vakhtang Gorgasal* (in Georgian), pp. 119-121.

² Of this derivation I was informed by Professor I. Javaknishvili, for which I express to him my heartfelt thanks.

³ „საქრებელს ხ ზოდ ეს წინათიხ ძინჯ ლგობილს სარქე, ძინჯ ლგოქრანს, ლგოქრას სოინს ხორ, ირ ღაო ლინს წარქლავ, საჯაკდოქსთ ანთინს ხ წაროაოი. ირ ლ ამოლ გოდის ჯალათავ ხ აქრითთ, ლ ხთ ზმა გალას, გლ აქათანგ, ირ ლ წიორგასარს ლიჯეგა, ირ ღ წაქლადილს ხ წარქე რანს“ Ed. Venice, 1862, p. 91. For this information I am indebted to Sv. Jananshia.

⁴ Of which the later ordinary forms are (Translator's note).

β ο Ϸ ϸ Ϸ τ Ϸ ϸ

The letter *ds* has a double-loop and the lower loop is not formed separately from the shaft, but is attached directly to the upper one. *O* has no hook or tail, and resembles very much the Greek *O* (Omikron), but more particularly the *O* in the inscription of the Ninodsminda Cathedral, which, in the opinion of P. Ingoroqva, must represent an Albanian paleographic monument. *B* and *q* have closed loops. *Y* and *ts* are of identical formation; if reversed and turned upside down, *y* will be the *ts* and *ts* the *y*: both differ from their later ordinary forms in this, that the upper part of *y*, and the lower part of *ts*, are straight and formed like a projecting tong; their body is inclined leftward. *K* has an open loop. *H* is angular. This inscription closely resembles in its formation of the letters *ds*, *o*, *y*, *ts*, *k*, and *h*, as also in the manner of formation of its other letters, the inscriptions of Bolnisi, dated 506, and of the Juari Monastery of the sixth century.

The inscription also observes the two-line limit. The writer, in order to contain the abbreviated word $\overline{\text{ქ}}\overline{\text{რ}}\overline{\text{ბ}}\overline{\text{ე}} = \overline{mkhli}$ (in the fourth line) together with the tilden within two lines, intentionally cuts down three letters $\overline{\text{ე}}\overline{\text{ე}}\overline{\text{ე}} = \overline{eve}$ in the third line, and places the tilden under them, although it should be noted that some of the letters, viz. *ds*, *b*, *k*, etc., are not easily contained between two lines, and show a tendency towards expansion, extending above or below the line. This peculiarity is, in the opinion of Professor I. Javaknishvili, a characteristic feature of the inscriptions of the end of the sixth century.¹ Both in style, ornament, and technique, the monument is of exceptional interest and importance; its ornamentation, according to Sh. Amiranishvili, is of an ancient epoch.

Taking into consideration the facts, (*a*) that some of the letters of the inscription, namely, *ds*, *k*, *o*, *y*, *ts*, differ noticeably in their form from similar letters of any inscriptions so far known, and that these letters in such forms are not found in any other inscription, which circumstance must be an evidence of their great antiquity; (*b*) that the letters *b* and *q* have closed loops; (*c*) that the two-line limit, and the tendency of the letters to extend beyond this limit, is a characteristic feature of the inscriptions of the close of the sixth century, and (*d*) that this inscription in its manner of letter formation in general bears a resemblance to the inscriptions of the Bolnisi Sioni, dated 506, and of the Juari Monastery, of the sixth century, *I think the monument to be of the sixth century*, to which period it is also ascribed by Sh. Amiranishvili, on account of its style, technique, and ornamentation.

¹ *The Georgian Paleography* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1921, p. 181.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DIVISION OF GEORGIA

By A. GUGUSHVILI

GEORGIA lies between the two systems of the Caucasian Mountains—that of the Great Caucasus in the north and that of the Little Caucasus in the south. On the west she borders upon the Black Sea, between the River Pso in the north and the village of Sarp in the south (south-west of Batum) ; on the east she is bounded by the River Alazani and its junction with the Yori. On the east is Azerbaijan and on the south are Armenia and Turkey.

Within these boundaries Georgia occupies an area of 72,661 square *vershs*, or 75,792 square kilometres, and she has a population of about 3,000,000.

The territory of Georgia in the present-day political sense does not coincide with the territory which can be called Georgia in the national sense, for a considerable portion of the Georgian territory lies outside her present-day frontiers, such as the *Zak'at'ala* district in the east, the southern part of the *Bortchalo* district in the south, and *Artvin*, *Ardahan*, *Ardanutch*, and *Olti* in the south-west. Apart from these latter four districts which the Bolsheviks ceded to Turkey by the Treaty of Kars (March, 1921), the whole of the middle basin of the *Dchorokh*, known as *Klarjet'-T'ort'um-Ispiri*, and *Lazistan* along the Black Sea coast, inhabited by the *Laz*, a Georgian tribe, have now for a considerable time been under Turkey.

The country which is inhabited at present by the Georgians, and which has been their homeland for the last twenty-five to thirty centuries, is called in Georgian *Sak'art'velo* (Sa-k'art'-v-el-o). The name *Sak'art'velo* (Georgia) and *K'art'veli* (a Georgian) is derived from the name of *K'art'li* (K'art'-l-i), a principal province of Georgia and its inhabitants, the *K'art'ians* or *K'art'lians*, who gave their name to the whole country just as *Schwyz* gave its name to the whole of Switzerland.

The *Suram* range or *Likhis-mt'a* (Mountains of *Likhi*), which connects the system of the Great Caucasus in the north with the system of the Little Caucasus in the south, divides Georgia into two principal parts—Western and Eastern, or, using the Georgian terminology, into *Imier* “that side” and *Amier* “this side” (of the *Suram* or *Likhi* range) ; Western and Eastern Georgia were therefore called also *Likht'-imieri* and *Likht'-amieri* Georgia, and the two parts of the country *Likht' Imeret'i* and *Likht' Ameret'i* respectively.

WESTERN GEORGIA

Western or *Likht'imieri* Georgia comprises the following "countries" (ethnographic units) and traditional territorial divisions :

Ap'khazet'i (Ap'khaz-et'-i)—the country of the Ap'khaz-es or Abkhasians,¹ which under the present Bolshevik regime constitutes a Soviet Socialist Republic and is included in Georgia on a Treaty basis. Abkhasia occupies the north-eastern corner of the Black Sea littoral from the River Pso in the north-west to the Mountains of Khurum (a southern lateral range of the main Caucasus chain), in the north-east, and the River Engur in the south-east ; she thus lies between the Black Sea and the western portion of the Great Caucasus from the peak Akhakhtcha to the peak Gvandra, which constitutes the *Abkhasian Alps*.

Ap'khazet'i comprised, according to the Georgian annals, the following "countries" : *Ap'khazet'i* proper, north-west of the town of Tskhumi or Sukhum ; *Apshilet'i* (A-psh-il-et'-i), south-east of Sukhum ; and *Sharo* or *Sharoet'i*, an as yet unidentified part of Ap'khazet'i.²

The Abkhasians are divided into :—

Gagraa—Gagr-ians, the Abkhasians of the Gagra region.

Abzəpkua or *Abzəpkwa*—Bzibians of the present Gudout (Gudaut) district, the Abkhasians proper.

Gumaa—Gum-ians, the Abkhasians of the Guma valley.

Ab'zhəuaa or *Abzhuwaa*—Abzhu-ians, the Abkhasians of the district between the Rivers Kodor and Galizga, the *Apshilet'i* (A-psh-il-et'-i) and *Apsh-il-el-ni*, Apshil-ians of the Georgian annals.

Saməraqanaa or *Məraqaniuaa*—Murzaq-an-ians or Samurzaqan-ians, the Abkhasians of Samurzaqano (Samurzakan) between the rivers Galizga (Geo. Ghalidzga) and Engur.

Dsabalaa—Dsabal-ians, the Abkhasians of *Dsibelda* (Tsebelda and Tsebeldians of the Russians), the middle valley of the Kodor.

Dalaa—Dal-ians of the Dal defile or upper Dsibelda. [See S. Basaria, *Abkhazia* (in Russian), Sukhum, 1923, pp. 47-8.]

Svanet'i (Svan-et'-i)—the country of the Svans-s, Svan-ians (Svanetia of the Russians), lying under the very shadow of Elbrus, the highest peak of the Great Caucasus. The boundaries of Svanet'i are : In the north the main Caucasus chain, which constitutes here the *Tataro-Svanetian Alps* ; in the east the Lukhunitsveri or Letchkhum range ; in the south the Zagier, Ziadistavi, Rokal

¹ The Abkhasians call themselves *Apsua* (Absua), which denotes "people of soul", and their country *Apsna* (Absna), denoting "the country of soul".

² See I. Javakhishvili, *A History of the Georgian Nation* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1914, vol. ii, p. 315.

(2,650 m.), Shui and Debash ridges ; and in the west the north-eastern borders of Abkhasia.¹

Samegrelo (Sa-m-egr-el-o) or Megrelia (M-egr-el-i-a)—the country of the Megr-s, Megr-ians, or rather Egr-s, Egr-ians, called to-day Megrelians (Mingrelia and Mingrelians of the Russians), which borders upon the Black Sea and lies between the River Engur on the north-west and the rivers Tskhenis-tsqali and Rion on the east and south respectively ; in the north Megrelia borders upon Svanet'i.²

Guria (Gur-i-a)—the country of the Gur-ians, which borders on the Black Sea, between the Rion and Dcholok' rivers, and occupies the basins of the Supsa and Notanebi rivers.

Imeret'i (Imer-et'-i)—the country of the Imer-s, Imer-ians (Imeretia and Imeretians of the Russians), bounded on the north by the Caucasus chain, on the east by the Suram range, on the south by the Ghado range ; in the west it borders upon Megrelia and Guria, and in the north-west upon Svanet'i.

Imeret'i comprises the following traditional territorial divisions :—

Letchkhumi, called formerly T'akuveri,³ west of Megrelia and south of Svanet'i, from which it is separated by the Letchkhum range.

Radcha, east of Letchkhumi, occupying the upper basin of the Rion, between the Nak'erala or Radcha range in the south and the Caucasus chain in the north.

Argvet'i or *Margvet'i*, south of Radcha, occupying the valleys of the Rivers Qvirila, Tchkherimela, Tcholaburi, and their tributaries, in the eastern part of Imeret'i.

Western Georgia, the ethnographical division of which we have just described, has in the course of her history been known under different names. In ancient times she was known to the early Greeks as *Kolkhida* (Colchis), celebrated in Greek mythology as the place

¹ The Svanetian range, which is the highest of the southern lateral ranges of the main Caucasus chain, divides Svanet'i into two main parts, namely—

Upper (*Zemo*) or Northern, Svanet'i, occupying the upper basin of the River Engur, and

Lower (*K'vemo*) or Southern, Svanet'i, occupying the upper basin of the River Tskhenis-tsqali.

Upper Svanet'i, in its turn, was divided into *Dadeshk'eliani's Svanet'i*, that is the western part of the country, as far as Edseri, ruled by the Princes *Dadeshk'eliani*, and *Free Svanet'i*—the eastern part, so-called because it had never been subjugated by any feudal lord, having been governed by a council of communities, constituting a defensive union in the manner of free Swiss communities. Similarly Lower Svanet'i was called *Dadiani's Svanet'i* because it had been held by the *Dadianis*, the ruling Princes of Megrelia.

² *Samegrelo* in ancient times was called *Egrisi* (Egr-is-i) or *Saegroy* (Sa-egr-o-y), also *Odishi*.

³ T'akuveri (Mod. Geo. T'akveri) appears to have been also the ancient name of Radcha. Professor Javakhishvili supposes that T'akveri was anciently a common name for both Letchkhumi and Radcha (op. cit., p. 314).

where the Golden Fleece was kept, and thus connected with the voyage of the Argonauts. Towards the end of the first half of the first century, Kolkhida represented a united kingdom bounded on the west by the Euxine or Black Sea from Pityus (Pitsunda—Bidchvint'a) and Dioscurias (Sukhum) to Trebizond; on the north by the Great Caucasus; on the east by Iberia (the fortresses Skanda and Sarapan or Shorapan formed the boundary line); and on the south-east by the Meskhian (Moschic) Mountains. Kolkhida thus embraced not only the whole of Western, but also a part of South-Western, Georgia, namely, the later Samtskhe, Adchara, and Dchanet'i or Lazistan.

Classical writers (Strabo, Arrian, Ptolemy, Procopius) give names of many tribes dwelling within these boundaries, the more important among whom were: *Sannoi* (Dchanians), *Moskhoi* (Meskhians, only a part), *Makrones-Manraloi* (Megrelians), *Svano-Kolkhoi* (Svano-Kolkhians), *Soanes* or *Suani* (Svanians), *Apsiloi* (Apshilians), *Abaskhoi* (Abkhasians), and *Sanigai* or *Sanikhes*. In Strabo's time the Soanes or Svanians appear to have held a much larger territory, stretching from above Dioscurias (Sukhum) eastward along the Great Caucasus chain, and southward beyond the River Khobi (Khopi) which, Pliny (first century A.D.) informs us, flowed through the Svanian territory. According to Ptolemy (second century A.D.), the Laz dwelt south-west of the Kolkhians on the Black Sea littoral, and above the Kolkhians the Manraloi and the inhabitants of the country of *Ekrektike*, which Professor Javakhishvili interprets to denote the Georgian Egrisi.¹

Western Georgia continued to be called Kolkhida (or Colchis) until about the middle of the third century A.D., when the country already appears to be called by the new name *Lazica*. The boundaries of Lazica, west, north, east, and south-east, were the same as those of Kolkhida; the south-western boundary, however, according to Procopius (sixth century A.D.), appears to have been the town and fortress of Petra, south-west of which, the land of the Laz, along the Black Sea coast (Dchanet'i) was under the direct Byzantine administration. According to Procopius the River Rion formed in his time the boundary between Europe and Asia, and most of the Lazian population dwelt on the European side of the river; on the southern or Asiatic side, the Laz, Procopius states, possessed no towns, villages, or fortresses except Petra, which circumstance was presumably the result of the devastations caused by the Perso-Byzantine Lazic wars.¹ Lazica was inhabited by the same tribes as Kolkhida, that is, according to Javakhishvili, by "three Georgian ethnic groups, the Lazo-Megrelians, the Ap'shilo-Abkhasians, and the Svanians".

Both the names Kolkhida and Lazica are to be comprehended in the broad and in the narrow sense. In the narrow sense Lazica, for

¹ See Javakhishvili, *History*, vol. i (1913), pp. 53-4-5.

instance, denotes the land of the Lazian tribe proper, in the south-west, between the Dchorokh basin and the Black Sea, the present-day Dchanet'i or Lazistan. In the broad sense, however, Lazica implies the expansion of the political power of the Laz, the unification under their leadership of all the Georgian tribes that inhabited the then Western Georgia and the establishment over them of their politico-cultural hegemony, i.e. it denotes the State created by the Laz. The same applies to the name Kolkhida, which in the broad sense represents the State created by the Kolkhian tribe. As long as the political hegemony was in the hands of the Kolkhians the State which embraced the whole of Western Georgia was called Kolkhida after the dominant Kolkhian tribe. When, however, the Kolkhians lost their political importance, and leadership passed into the hands of the Laz, the State began to be called Lazica after the superseding Lazian tribe.

It should be noted here that none of these names, neither Kolkhida (Colchis) nor Lazica, is mentioned in any early Georgian historical or literary monuments. The name these monuments mention is **Egrisi**, and in the sense in which it undoubtedly covers Kolkhida or Lazica. According to *The Life of Georgia*—the Georgian chronicle—Egrisi constituted “the country at the corner of the Sea, with the boundaries on the east, the small mountain called to-day Likhi; on the west the Sea (and) the river of Lesser Khazaret'i,¹ where it terminates the Caucasus (range)”.² Egrisi is here defined in its broad conception, and like Lazica or Kolkhida covers the whole of Western Georgia. Egrisi in the narrow sense is defined in the same source as follows: “. . . the Egrisis-tsqali³ and the Rion, from the sea to the mountain, within which lie Egrisi and Svanet'i” (ibid., p. 31).

It is evident from this quotation that Egrisi in this sense corresponds to Megrelia, the boundaries of which have been indicated above. If we now remember that the dominant tribe, the Lazo-Megrelians, who held the politico-cultural hegemony in Lazica, dwelt, in the words of Procopius, on the European, i.e. northern, side of the Rion, it is clear that the population of Egrisi was Lazo-Megrelian, or in the mind of the compiler of *The Georgian Life* predominantly Megrelian, for Egrisi denotes the country of the Egr-s, Egr-ians or Megr-ians. “Now,” to quote Professor Marr, “the Georgians see Megrelians only in the inhabitants of the present-day Megrelia, but the ancient Georgian monuments prove that (formerly) the Georgians well knew the wider conception of the term Eger. From this stem is derived Egrisi

¹ The Kuban River.

² N. Marr, *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle, publié en Géorgien par M. Brosset. 1^{re} Partie, 1^{re} livraison (en partie). Rédaction faite par Nicolas Marr, St. Pb., 1923, p. 17. Also Javakhishvili, *History*, vol. ii (1914), p. 311.*

³ Some Georgian historians identify this river with the River Engur or Ingur.

under which name was understood the whole of Western Georgia with the present-day Imeret'i, Guria, Imerkhevi, etc." ¹

Egrisi, of the Georgian annals is thus, in so far as it embraced the whole of Western Georgia, an identical conception with and equivalent to Kolkhida and Lazica of the classical writers, in its broad, or, shall we say, collective sense.

Western Georgia has been known under yet another collective name, that of Ap'khazet'i or Abkhasia, which was given her by the Abkhasians. In the eighth century the Abkhasians became strong enough not only to assert their independence, but also to impose their hegemony upon the whole of Egrisi. Their first king, Leon I (744-791), "conquered Egrisi to the (Mountains of) Likhi," ² and Western Georgia or Egrisi was thenceforward called Ap'khazet'i or Ap'khazet'-Egrisi. The name Ap'khazet'i is thus, like its predecessors, Egrisi or Lazica and Kolkhida, to be understood in the broad and narrow sense; in the latter sense Ap'khazet'i is a part of Western Georgia, the country of the Abkhasians proper, in the north-eastern corner of the Black Sea; in the former, broad sense, Ap'khazet'i denoted not only Western Georgia but also parts of Eastern Georgia (ninth-tenth centuries). Western Georgia continued to be called Ap'khazet'i until the unification of both Eastern and Western Georgia under the single crown of Bagrat III, of the Bagratid dynasty, in 980.

During the period of the United Kingdom of Georgia, came into use the division of the country into *Likht'-imieri* and *Likht'-amieri* Georgia, and the terms *Likht' Imeret'i* and *Likht' Ameret'i*. *Imeret'i* in this sense has, however, no connection whatever with the ethnic term Imeret'i denoting the country of the Imer-s, Imer-ians.³ *Likht' Imeret'i* or *Likht'-imieri* Georgia in so far as it indicates Georgia *on that side of, across, over*, the Likhi or Suram range, regarded, of course, from the point of view of the K'art'lians (Eastern Georgians), denotes the whole of Western Georgia, while the ethnic term, *Imeret'i*, only a certain region in this *Likht'-imieri* Georgia or *Likht' Imeret'i*.

"In antiquity, of course, the Imer-s occupied," Marr states, "a considerably larger area; their name has been preserved as a survival in a district of the Batum Province (Imer-khevi, which denotes the Imerian defile), and from historical geography, too, we know that

¹ N. Marr, *Baptism of the Armenians, Georgians, Abkhasians, and Alans by St. Gregory, an Arab version* (in Russian) in *Bulletin* ("Zapiski") of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, St. Pb., 1906, vol. xvi, p. 169.

² According to Brosset in 787; see his *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Pb., 1849, 1^{re} partie, p. 259, n. 3.

³ The abstract forms *Imeret'i* and *Ameret'i* are derived from the adjectives *imier* and *amier* (by the elision of the medial *i*) and in this formation are equivalent to the Latin *trans-* and *cis-* respectively. *Likht'-imieri* Georgia may therefore be translated *trans-Likhtian* Georgia; similarly *Likht'-amieri* Georgia, *cis-Likhtian* Georgia. The abstract form, however, is an abnormal, purely artificial formation, and *Likht' Imeret'i* and *Likht' Ameret'i* literally denote "Likh-Transia" and "Likh-Cisia".

the terms Imeret'i and Mingrelia were identical; to this effect we have also a linguistic basis, but, nevertheless, *imer* is one of the local differentiated ancient forms of a general ethnic term, preserved as a survival by a definite and ethnographically differentiated region. The full, more ancient form of the term *imer* is **himer*, resp. **hiber*." ¹

EASTERN GEORGIA

Eastern or *Likht'-amieri* Georgia comprises the following "countries" or ethnographic divisions.

Kakhet'i (Kakh-et'-i), the country of the Kakh-s, Kakh-ians (Kakhetia and Kakhetians of the Russians), which constitutes the extreme eastern part of Georgia, lies between the Mtkvari(Kur)-Aragvi rivers (on the west) and the eastern part of the main Caucasus chain (the *Deghestan* and *Samur Alps*), stretching in a south-easterly direction from the Pirik'it'eli chain ² of the Great Caucasus Mountains in the north to the confluence of the Rivers Yori and Alazani.

Kakhet'i is divided into two parts by the Kakhetian range or *Tsiv-Gomboris-mt'a*. This range is a ramification of the Great Caucasus, and stretches south-east, curling like a sickle; outside the curve lies the western or Outer (*Garet'*) Kakhet'i, and inside it the eastern or Inner (*Shignit'*) Kakhet'i. The former occupies the basin of the River Yori (in ancient times called the "Little Alazani") and the latter that of the Alazani.

Inner Kakhet'i comprises:—

T'ushet'i (T'ush-et'-i)—the country of the T'ush-es (Tushetia and Tushins of the Russians), occupying the northern part of Inner Kakhet'i; its northern boundary is the Pirik'it'eli chain between the peaks Tebulos-mt'a (4507 m.) and Diklos-mt'a (4135 m.), north of the main Caucasus chain; a portion of the latter, between Mount Borbalo (3290 m.) and Mount Shavi-klde (3581 m.), stretches almost across the middle of the country. This portion of the Great Caucasus is known as the *Tushetian Alps*.

K'iziqi, under which name is known the district of Signagh (Signakh of the Russians), constitutes the southern part of Inner Kakhet'i, between the Yori and Alazani. It was also called Kambetchani or Kambetchoani.

Saingilo (Sa-ingil-o), north-east of K'iziqi, between the Alazani river and the Samur Alps, better known as the district of Zak'at'ala (Zakataly of the Russians).

¹ N. Marr, *Baptism*, etc., p. 168.

² So is called by the Georgians the chain running parallel to the main Caucasus chain (the watershed). It stretches north of the latter, at a distance of 10 to 30 km., from the Elbrus group in the west to the summit Shakh-dagh in the east. It is composed chiefly of granite and gneiss and forms the main tectonic axis of the whole Great Caucasus.

Outer Kakhet'i includes :—

Khevsuret'i (Khev-sur-et'i)—the country of the Khevsur-s, occupying the northernmost part of Outer Karkhet'i, from the Mountains of Udzilauri in the south to the Pirik'it'eli chain north of the main Caucasus chain. A portion of the latter, from the summit Shino-tau (3928 m.) to Mount Borbalo, stretches in a south-easterly direction across the country. Khevsuret'i occupies the defile of the Khevsur Aragvi which flows southward, joining the P'shav Aragvi near Ortsqali under the Udzilauri Mountains, and the defiles of the K'istani or Labais-tsqali, Khakhobis-tsqali and Andakis-tsqali, which flow northwards, and the confluence of which forms the River Argun, the principal river of the Tchetshens in North Caucasia.

Pshavet'i (Pshav-et'-i)—the country of the P'shav-s, south of Khevsuret'i, occupying the defiles of the P'shav Aragvi, which rises in Mount Borbalo.

Besides T'ush-P'shav-Khevsuret'i, the Aragvi valleys and generally the northern parts of Kakhet'i and K'art'li comprised many ethnic "countries" of the Georgian Mountaineers, each with its own name and boundaries, some of which still exist.

Enumerated from south to north these are ¹ :—

In the mountains called at present collectively the K'art'lian range ² and on the upper course of the River Yori :

Erdso, in the Mountains of Erdso, north of the confluence of the Erdsos-tsqali or Adzet'i, a western tributary of the Yori ;

Dsobeni, north-west of Erdso, in the Mountains of Dsobona-mt'a ;

T'ianet'i, north of Erdso, occupying the upper valley of the Yori ;

P'khoet'i, north of T'ianet'i, covering the present day P'shavet'i and Khevsuret'i. Prince Vakhust, a Georgian geographer and historian of the eighteenth century, states that the P'shavo-Khevsurians were called formerly *P'kho(v)elni*, P'khovians.

In the mountains forming the watershed between the rivers K'san and Aragvi :

Tskhavati, north of the confluence of the Alevi, an eastern tributary of the K'san ;

¹ See Javakhishvili, *History*, ii (1914), p. 302.

² The range called to-day the K'art'lian or *Kartalinshi Khrebet* in Russian (see A. F. Lyayster and G. F. Tchursin, *Geografya Kavhaza*, Tiflis, 1924, p. 23), is one of the southern lateral ranges of the main Caucasus chain, constituting the watershed between the P'shav Aragvi and the Mtkvari(Kur) on the one hand and the Yori on the other, and merges in the south with the Yori plateau. The *Kukhet'is-mt'a* and *Garejis-mt'a* of the Georgian sources constituted the southern part of this K'art'lian range.

Dchartalet'i, east of Tskhavati, in the Dchartali and T'khnoli Mountains ;

Tskhrazma, north of Tskhavati, in the gorge of the River Tskhrazmula, also an eastern tributary of the K'san.

In the upper gorges of the Aragvi rivers ¹ :

Gudamaqari (Gudamakar), occupying the valley of the Black Aragvi which is called also the Gudamaqari Aragvi ;

Mt'iulet'i, the country of the Mt'i-ul-s, west of Gudamaqari, occupying the upper gorge of the White Aragvi which is called also the Mt'iulian Aragvi ;

Khada, north-west of Mt'iulet'i and north of Gudamaqari ;

Khevi, the country of the Mo-khev-e-ni, above Khada, at the beginning of the Terek valley ;

Dsanaret'i (Dsan-ar-et'i or Dsanar-et'-i), the country of the Dsanar-s, possibly the neighbourhood, according to Javakhishvili, of *Dsilkanis-kari*—the " Gate of Dsilkani "—and *Gza Dsilkanisay*—the " Road of Dsilkani "—under which name was known *Gza Darielisay* or *Darialanisay*—the Road of Dariel (Darial) or Darialan (Dar-i-Alan).

In ancient times Kakhet'i was divided into three parts, namely :—

Kakhet'i proper, " the country between the Caucasus and the Kakhetian range, from the Aragvi to Tqetba " (Gulguli above the town of T'elavi).

Kukhet'i (Kukh-et'-i),—the country south of Kakhet'i, " from the Aragvi to the head of the Mountains of Kakhet'i, between the Alazani and the Mtkvari," bounded on the south by the Mountains of Gareja or Garesja.²

Heret'i (Her-et'-i), the country south and south-east of Kukhet'-Kakhet'i, between the Mtkvari and the Caucasus (the Daghestan the Samur Alps), extending south-eastward to the Egri- or Airi-tchais rivers, called Gishis-tsqali in the Georgian sources, and the

¹ The River Aragvi rises under the name *T'et'r* (White) Aragvi in the main Caucasus chain, on Mount *Qeli* (Keli). At Pasaunauri it is joined from the north by a tributary called *Shav* (Black) Argavi ; further south, at Zhinvani, near Ananur, it receives from the north-east a tributary known as P'shav Aragvi, the middle and upper gorges of which are inhabited by the P'shavs. The P'shav Aragvi in its turn receives from the north a tributary called Khevsurian Aragvi. Below Zhinvani the river, which falls into the Mtkvari at Mtskhet'a, is called simply Aragvi. The name Aragvi was given by the Georgians also to the Terek which rises on Mounts Siveraut, Zilga-khokh, and Gimara-khokh of the main Caucasus chain, and flows northward through the Darial Pass. In distinction from the White Aragvi, it was called *Aragvi Ovsel'isay*, i.e. Ossetian Aragvi. Georgians called the latter river also *Lomekhi* or *T'ergi*.

² " Kakhet'i is T'ianet'i above the Khevi (valley) of T'urdo as far as Khevsuret'i ; Kukhet'i is Samgori above Nino-Dsminda and higher up, above Samgori to the Mountain of Erdso and to the Aragvi " [see N. Marr, *Histoire de la Géorgie, 1re Partie, Histoire ancienne, jusqu'en 1469 de J.C.* (in Georgian), Petrograd, 1923, p. 20, n. 2.]

junction of the Yori-Alazani.¹ Heret'i² thus covered the "countries" of K'iziqi and Saingilo, constituting at present the south-eastern part of Inner Kakhet'i, and in addition *veli Qaraiisa*—the Field of Qaraia, or the Steppe of Karayaz of the Russians, between the Mtkvari and the Yori.

According to Professor Javakhishvili³ all the three names—Kakhet'i, Kukhet'i or Kokhet'i, and Heret'i—implied different conceptions at different times, according as to whence came the dynasty of the K'orepiskoposi⁴ of the then Kakhet'i.

K'art'li (K'art'-l-i), the country of the K'art-s or K'art'-l-s, K'art'-(l)-ians (Kartalinia and Kartalinians of the Russians), which was divided into three main parts, namely:—

Inner (Shina) K'art'li (Northern K'art'li), between Imeret'i and Northern Kakhet'i, or the Suram range in the west and the Aragvi river and Tiflis in the east, extending from the T'rialet'ian or Arjevan range northwards to the Pirik'it'eli chain of the Great Caucasus.

Lower (K'vemo) K'art'li (Southern K'art'li), south of Inner K'art'li, between the southern Kakhet'i, or the Mtkvari on the east and the Javakhetian range or *Mokrye Gory* ("Wet Mountains") on the west, bounded on the south by the Erevnis-mt'a (Pambak) range.

Upper (Zemo) K'art'li (South-Western K'art'li), between the Lower K'art'li (east) and the Black Sea (west), stretching from the Adchara-Ghado range in the north to the Mountains of Ispir and Deveh Boyun in the south. Viewed as part of Georgia as a whole, Upper K'art'li is often called Southern Georgia. Upper K'art'li or Southern Georgia thus occupies the upper basin of the Mtkvari, the middle basin of the Dchorokh, the two basins being divided by the Arsian-Soganlugh ranges, their watersheds, and the Black Sea littoral, divided from the Dchorokh valley by the Dchanet'i or Pontic range.

Each of the main parts of K'art'li comprised and still comprises the following ethnographic and traditional territorial divisions:—

Inner K'art'li:—

Oset'i (Os-et'-i)—the country of the Os-es or Ossets (Osetia and Osetins of the Russians), which under the present Bolshevik regime constitutes an autonomous Soviet Socialist province within Georgia, occupies the northern part of K'art'li, above the Gori plain, between Radcha and the River K'san. By origin the Ossets are not Georgians, but by the fact of their settlement in Georgia they have, for centuries,

¹ Javakhishvili, *Frontiers of Georgia* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1919, p. 41.

² "According to Vakhush't the name Kukhet'i went out of use during the period of Arab hegemony, when a local dynasty became established in Kakhet'i; and the name Heret'i was abandoned in 1466, when the Kingdom of Kakhet'i was set up." (See W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932, pp. 62-3.)

³ *History*, vol. ii, p. 259.

⁴ Or K'orikoz, the title of the Ruling Princes of Kakhet'i, in the early Middle Ages.

been very closely associated both historically and culturally with them. They call themselves *Iron*, and occupy the very centre of the Great Caucasus which divides their country into two parts, the northern and southern, the latter of which lies within Georgia. This part of K'art'li, before the Ossets came from over the Caucasus chain, was inhabited by the Georgian Mountaineers called Dsanars (Dsan-ar).

Lower K'art'li :—

Gardabani, the eastern part of Lower K'art'li, along the lower valleys of the rivers K'tsia (Khram), and Berduji (Bortchalo).¹

Gatchiani, west of Gardabani, the central part of Lower K'art'li, the middle valley of the K'tsia (Khram) and the Mashaveri valley, "from the River Skoret'i (the modern Vere or Vera) to the mountain which is Tashiri and Abotsi,"² east of the Tchaldir Lake.

T'rialet'i, west of Gatchiani, the upper valley of the K'tsia (Khram), from the Lake P'aravan to the Borjom defile, called anciently *Tasis* or *Tashis Kari*.

In the Middle Ages the name Gardabani (Gardbani) or Khunani applied to the whole country between the Mtkvari in the north and the Pambak range in the south, including thus part of Inner K'art'li.

The southern part of Gardbani was known to the classical writers (Strabo, etc.) as *Gogarene*. The latter, the Georgian equivalent of which is *Gugaret'i*, covered, according to Professor Javakhishvili, the present day "Dchodchkani-Bolnis-Dmanisi valleys, Tashir, Abots (Kaikul), and the southern part of T'rialet'i. . . . The trace of the former name of this province is preserved in the present-day geographical name of *Gujaret'i* [Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 425, note]. . . . In Georgian geographical terminology this *Gogarene-Gugaret'i* was often called *K'vemo K'art'li*."³

In the tenth century there appeared yet another name for this province, namely *Somkhit'i*, by which name, however, was known only the Bolnis-Dmanisi valley and the Lore plain.⁴

Upper K'art'li :—

The countries of the south-eastern littoral of the Black Sea :—

Adchara (Adjaristan of the Turks and the Russians), which under

¹ Gardabani is called (the country) below Dchapala, Nakhidur, and Tagnaget'a as far as the Mtkvari" (Marr, op. cit., p. 19, n. 6). Dchapala is a little west of Shulaveri. Gardabani or Gardbani was also called Khunani; the country derived its two names from those of its two chief towns, Gardbani and Khunani. Earlier, however, the town of Khunani was called Mtkvris-Tsikhe ("the Mtkvari's Castle or Fortress") the ruined remains of which are known to-day as Qizqala (Kyzkala of the Russian maps) at the junction of the K'tsia and the Mtkvari.

² Gatchiani derived its name from that of its chief town, which was called also *Sanadiro K'alak'i* "the Hunting Town". The sites of the towns Gatchiani and Gardabani remain as yet unidentified.

³ Javakhishvili, *Frontiers*, p. 16. Since the introduction of the Russian administrative division most of K'vemo K'art'li has been known as the *Bortchalo* district.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

the present Bolshevik regime constitutes an autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within Georgia, borders on the Black Sea between the River Tcholak' and the village Sarp, south of Batum, where begins the present-day frontier line between Georgia and Turkey. Adchara is bounded on the north by the Adchara range ; on the east by the Arsian range, where it borders upon Samtskhe ; on the south by the Shavshet'i range, and on the south-west by the Dchorokh river.

K'obulet'i (K'ob-ul-et'-i), at present included within the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Adchara (Adjaristan), occupied almost the whole Black Sea littoral of that country. Formerly, however, K'obulet'i formed part of Guria ; Adchara proper constitutes the country between the Adchara and Shevshet'i ranges, or the basin of the river Adcharis-tsqali.

Livana, the country south of K'obulet'i, between the Black Sea coast and the lower basin of the Dchorokh as far as the town of Artvin.

Dchanet'i (Dchan-et'-i)—the country of the Dchan-s, Dchan-ians (Tchanians, Chanians of the Russians), better known as Lazistan—the country of the Laz, a narrow strip of land south of Livana, along the Black Sea coast, stretching towards Trebizond, and bounded on the east and south-east by the Dchanet'i or Pontic range, which divides it from Klarjet'i.

The countries of the Dchorokh basin :—

Shavshet'i, the country south of Adchara and east of Livana, bounded on the east by the Arsian range and on the south by the Shavshet'is-tsqali or Imerkhevi.

Klarjet'i, south of Shavshet'i, bounded on the east by the Arsian range and on the south by the Khekert'-dagh.¹ In the west Klarjet'i extended, according to medieval Georgian historians, L. Mroveli and Juansher, to the Black Sea ; the present-day boundary, however, is the Dchanet'ian or Pontic range, where it borders upon Dchanet'i.

Tao, south of Klarjet'i, occupying the Bana-Olt'isi basin. The boundaries of Tao are not indicated in any of the early Georgian documents, but from the study of the scattered references contained in these documents Professor Javakhishvili² has come to the conclusion that within Tao the fortress of Panaskerti was near the north-eastern boundary and the village of Zedkareki, the present-day Zadgerekhi, near the south-eastern ; Olt'isni (Olty of the Russian maps) was near the south-western and the fortress of Tukharisi³ near the north-western, boundaries ; and Ishkhani near the western boundary.

¹ Javakhishvili, op. cit., p. 328.

² Ibid., pp. 331-3.

³ T'ukharisi was on the Dchorokh, on the boundary line between Tao and Klarjet'i for, according to an Armenian anonymous Geography, quoted by Javakhishvili, " the Dchorokh enters Klarjet'i near the fortress of T'ukharisi."

Georgian sources mention the following divisions of Tao : Lower (*K'vemo*) Tao and *Imier* Tao, that is Tao *on that side* of the Bana-Olt'isi River. There must have been also, as Javakhishvili states, Upper (*Zemo*) Tao and *Amier* ("this side") Tao. At the end of the tenth century *Imier* Tao was held by David the Great Kuropalat, a local Bagratid dynast (see pp. 120, 122), while *Amier* Tao constituted the paternal estate of King Bagrat III of Georgia (978-1014). After the death of David the Great Kuropalat († 1001), who died without an issue, *Imier* Tao was conquered by the Byzantine Emperor Basil (see Avalishvili, *La succession du Curopalate David d'Iberie, dynaste de Tao*, in *Byzantion*, Brussels, 1933, vol. viii ; also Javakhishvili, *op. cit.*, p. 332).

Basiani, south of Tao, the Plain of Pasin of the Turks.

Ispiri, the basin of the River Ispiris-tsqali, an eastern tributary of the Dchorokh ; hence called also *Ispiris-kheoba*—the valley of Ispir.

T'ort'omi, the basin of the River *T'ort'omis-Mdinare*, a tributary of the Olt'isis-tsqali (Olti river), hence called also *T'ort'omis-kheoba* the Valley of T'ort'omi ; it extended southward to the defile called *Sak'art'velos Qeli* by the Georgians and *Gurdji Boghaz*, "the Throat of Georgia," by the Turks, which lies north of Erzerum.

The "countries" of the Mtkvari basin :—

Samtskhe (Sa-mtskh-e), the country of the Mtskh-ians or Meskh-ians, in the north-east of Upper K'art'li, between the Arsian range on the west and the Tashis Kari (the Borjom defile) and the Lake Tbisquri (Tabistskhuri) in the east ; on the south it was bounded by the Erushet'is-mt'a or Ulgar range and a line from above Khert'visi, at the junction of the Akhaltsikhis-tsqali (the P'otskhov river) with the Mtkvari, to the Lake Tbisquri.

Javakhet'i, the country south of Samtskhe and T'rialet'i between the Arsian range on the west and the Javakhetian range (*Mokrye Gory*) on the east, extending to the Lakes Abotsi (Madatapa), Kardsakhi (Khozapin), and a line just above the town of Nak'alak'evi in the south.¹

Artani (Artahani, Artaani ; Ardagan of the Turks and the Russians), south of Javakhet'i, between the Arsian range (west) and the Lake Tchaldir (east).²

Kola, south of Artani and east of Tao, in which country, in the *Kolays Khevi*—the valley of Kola—is the source of the Mtkvari or the Kura of the Russians (in the Mountains of Kola—*Kolis-mt'a*—the present-day *Kula*, the Gel of the Russian maps).¹

¹ Javakhishvili, *History*, vol. ii (1914), pp. 319, 322, 325.

² Javakhet'i and Artani as demarcated above include the country of *Erushet'i*, which constitutes the western part of the former and the northern part of the latter, lying thus between Samtskhe (north) and Artani (south).

Abotsi, called formerly *Palaktsio* and later *Qaiquli* (*Kaikul* of the Russian maps), the land south of Javakhet'i, between Artan-Kola (west) and Tashiri (east), divided from the latter by the mountains of Karakhatch or Qaraghaj (formerly called Irjan); on the south it was bounded by Mount Agh (Akh)-Baba.¹

Upper K'art'li was, and is still, called **Meskhēt'i** (Meskh-et'-i), which indicates that it constituted the country of the Meskh-s, Meskh-ians. The Meskhians were one of the first Georgian tribes to enter Transcaucasia and settle in what later became known as Georgia. There are evidences which enable us to deduce that they had spread earlier into Western Georgia and northward, and later into Eastern Georgia,² where they seem to have organized their political life with a centre at Mtskhēt'a, the ancient capital of Georgia (from fourth century B.C. to fifth century A.D.).

"As the ancient metropolis of the Georgian Kingdom was called Mtskhēt'a," states Professor Javakhishvili,³ "one is led to the conclusion that when the Georgian tribes were settling in Georgia the Meskhian tribe must have possessed the greatest political importance, for the name of the ancient capital of Georgia, *Mtskhēt'i* or *Mtskhēt'a*, denotes Meskhēt'i or 'the settlement of the Meskhians'; a similar form, *Mtskhe*, of the name of the Meskhians is preserved in the name of the country where later dwelt an inconsiderable part of the Meskhians, namely, in Samtskhe (Sa-mtskh-e); in this word as in the word Mtskhēt'a, the *mtskhe* denotes Meskhians."

Of their domination in Eastern Georgia we are reminded to-day not only by the name of Mtskhēt'a, but also by that of a whole province called Somkhit'i, part of Lower K'art'li, which, according to the late Professor N. Marr, represents a compound ethnic term composed of the names of two ethnic groups, the Son-s or Svanians and Meskh-s, Meskhians, denoting thus the country of the Svano-Meskhians.⁴

The name Meskhēt'i in this sense implied a wider conception and included not only what later became known as Upper K'art'li, but also Inner K'art'li. Meskhēt'i implies a wide conception even in the sense of Upper K'art'li; actually Meskhēt'i proper, in the narrow, ethnographic sense, was only the upper valley of the Mtkvari from the Tasis

¹ Situated between Upper K'art'li or Meskhēt'i and Lower K'art'li, Abotsi formed part sometimes of Meskhēt'i and sometimes, particularly during the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, of Lower K'art'li (Javakhishvili, *Frontiers of Georgia*, pp. 35-6).

² Meskhians were preceded in Eastern Georgia by other Georgian tribes, such as Kasko-Kolkhians whence the names Kakhēt'i, Kukhēt'i, etc. An article dealing with the question of the settlement of the Georgian tribes in Transcaucasia will be published in a future number of *Georgica*.

³ *History*, vol. i, (1913), p. 89.

⁴ Son-meskh, resp. Shon-meskh → so-mekh → so-mekh → = → so-mkh → so-mkh-et'-i. N. Marr, *Astronomical and ethnic meanings of two tribal names of the Armenians* (in Russian), in *Bulletin* ("Zapiski") of the Eastern Branch of the Russian Archaeological Society, St. P., 1921, p. 252.

Kari (the Borjom defile) to Kola, at its source. The valley of the Dchorokh, or Tao—Klarjet'—Shavshet'i, with Kola, constituted anciently the country of the Kolkho-Ibero-Dchanian tribes.¹ Meskhet'i, in the sense of Upper K'art'li, was called, in the late Middle Ages and later, **Samtskhe-Saat'abago**, i.e. the *Atabagate*² of *Samtskhe*. The name Meskhet'i survives to-day as already stated, in that of Samtskhe, the province which since the introduction of the Russian administrative division, has been known as the Akhaltsikh district. At the present time the whole of Meskhet'i, with the exception of Adchara, Samtskhe, and Javakhet'i (approximately the administrative division of Akhalkalak) is under Turkish rule.

As will have already been noticed from the explanation of the term Meskhet'i, K'art'li as defined above, with her three divisions (Inner, Lower, and Upper), did not in ancient times represent ethnographically the country of the K'art'ians or K'art'lians. K'art'li proper, according to Professor Javakhishvili, denoted Inner K'art'li, defined in the Georgian Chronicle, *The Life of Georgia*, as the country "from the Aragvi and Tiflis to Tasis Kari and (the Lake) P'aravan", that is without Javakhet'i or Samtskhe or any other part of Meskhet'i.³ The name K'art'li thus, like the names Ap'khazet'i, Egrisi, etc., is also to be understood both in the narrow and broad sense. In the broad sense the significance of the term K'art'li, says Javakhishvili, "is the result of politico-national growth of the Georgians". In this sense the name K'art'li covered also Kakhet'i and Heret'i, that is the entire Eastern Georgia, in which case the terms All K'art'li, or United K'art'li, were used. A perfect definition of the collective or rather national-cultural conception implied in this term is given by Giorgi (George) Mertchuli (tenth century) in his *Life of St. Gregory Khandzt'eli* of Klarjet'i: "K'art'li is a vast country (namely all that) within which the Church Service is carried out and all the prayers are said in the Georgian language."⁴ In this national-cultural significance the term K'art'li denoted the lands of "All Georgian tribes".⁵

When K'art'li extended her power over Western Georgia and the

¹ "In the basin of the River Dchorokh, and not on the Rion dwelt the tribe that created the ancient Kolkhida, so well known in the West from the popular Greek legend. The ancient home of the Iverians or Tibarenians, the eponymous representative of whom is mentioned in the Bible, in Genesis, under the name of Tubal, also adjoined this basin. . . . Klarjet'i and the region of Tao, so closely bound up with it, appear at the dawn of their historical life together with . . . the Ivero-Dchanians or Megrelo-Lazes . . ." [N. Marr, *Giorgi Mertchul, the Life of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a, the Georgian text; with the diary of a journey to Shavshet'i and Klarjet'i* (in Russian); St. Pb., 1911, p. 11.]

² See pp. 140-3.

³ Javakhishvili, *History*, vol. ii (1914), p. 285.

⁴ N. Marr, *Giorgi Mertchul*, etc., pp. xvi, 123.

⁵ *Acts of the Ecclesiastical Council at Ruis-Urbnisi*, quoted by Javakhishvili, *History*, vol. ii (1914), p. 286. This Council was convened in 1103 by King David II, the Builder (1089-1125).

K'art'lian Kings thus united under a single crown all the Georgian lands west and east of the Suram range and south of the Adchara-Ghado range, to designate the Kingdom of United Georgia the name *Sak'art'velo* (Sa-k'art'-v-el-o) was invented, which, according to Professor Javakhishvili first appears in the Georgian literary monuments in the eleventh century A.D. Until the invention of this collective name, K'art'li appears to have denoted even the whole United Kingdom of Georgia, which is, as Professor Melikset-Bekov, the well-known Armeno-Georgian scholar notes, illustrated by the Georgian Chronicle, "the first part of which brought down to the division of Georgia in the fifteenth century, that is, treating of United Kingdom of Georgia, is given the same title as the second part, treating of divided Georgia, namely *K'art'lis Tskhovreba*, literally 'The Life of K'art'li'." ¹

Eastern Georgia bore, and still bears, particularly in literature, another name—that of **Iberia**, the name under which classical writers knew her. Though unknown to Georgian annals or to any other early literary monuments so far discovered, the name Iberia or Iveria has been accorded recognition in Georgia, and in course of time it has come to denote not only Eastern Georgia of the classical writers, but also the whole of Georgia, used thus frequently as the equivalent term of *Sak'art'velo*.

We have said above that early Georgian annals made no mention of terms like Iberia and Lazica or Kolkhida (Colchis), applied by the classical writers to Eastern and Western Georgia respectively. What is really strange and peculiar about both the classical writers and the Georgian annals is that neither of them use the name of the country the other mentions. The Georgian annals, although they furnish, from the first king (302 B.C.) onwards, a complete list of kings of Georgia, with dates, and in many cases an ample description of life and doings of each king, make no mention, not even once, of the name Iberia or the Iberian Kingdom; every king from the first, whose life they describe, is a King of K'art'li, and the country is always either merely K'art'li or All K'art'li. Similarly they use Egrisi as the collective term for Western Georgia, but never Lazica or Kolkhida. Nor are the classical writers indebted in this respect to the Georgian annals. In their description of Eastern and Western Georgia they call the country Iberia and Colchis or Lazica respectively; they make no mention of K'art'li or Egrisi, and do not even seem to know that such local names ever existed.

What is the explanation of such a divergence in the use of these terms? We have seen above that they "in one case (with a wider

¹ L. M. Melikset-Bekov, *An Introduction to the History of the State formations in Transcaucasia* (in Russian), Tiflis, 1924, p. 72.

conception) covering each other territorially differ chronologically, while in another (with a narrower conception) coinciding chronologically differ territorially". We have also seen how and why one name replaced another. Now one tribe would gain the ascendancy and establish its hegemony, now another, as if vieing with each other in moulding, each after its own ideal, what was then an agglomeration of Georgian tribes, into a homogeneous body called a nation. This process of inter-tribal supersedence, of mingling and blending, of national-cultural fusion, has been so slow and peaceful, that it has remained, as the late S. Gorgadze, a well-known Georgian historian, observes, unnoticed by the outside world, so that " the foreign writers who have, during the period under review,¹ said something about Eastern Georgia, obstinately call the country ' Iberia ' or ' Iveria ' and not ' K'art'li ' or ' Meskhet'i ' or ' Kakhet'i ', just as the same writers called Western Georgia for a long time ' Kolkhida ' and only towards the end of the period changed it to ' Lazica ', although having regard to the new composition of the population at this time ' Egeria ' or ' Egrisi ' would have been a more suitable term than any other ethnic name." ²

In the opinion of the late Professors N. Y. Marr and I. Kipshidze, the eminent Georgian scholars, and their school of thought, the Iberians are the ancestors of the Western Georgians, the Egro-Megrelians (Mingrelians), Imerians (Imeretians), and Gurians, which ethnic names represent mere dialectic variations of the name Iber.

According to Marr : " Under the Iberians in the local ethnographic meaning of the term one should understand not the Eastern but the Western Georgians—more correctly the central, that is, the second series of the Georgian tribes, dwelling beyond the maritime Laz, and adjoining upon them, spread along the inner zone of Caucasia, like a curve from Sper to Svanet'i, consequently including a greater part, if not the whole, of Megrelia." ³

If Iber and Iberian denoted the " Western Georgian ", the question that naturally suggests itself is how did the " Eastern Georgian " come to be called by this name? To this question the late Professor Kipshidze gives the following answer : " We know that Eastern Georgia was called Iveria. Strabo, describing Iveria and Kolkhida, sharply separates them one from the other. This evident contradiction finds an explanation in that usual historical occurrence, when the name of one people is transferred to another because of the political supersedence of the one over the other. Evidently there was a time before

¹ This period is sixth century B.C.—seventh century A.D. (A.D. 643 the date of the Arab invasion of Georgia).

² S. R. Gorgadze, *Ancient History of Georgia* (in Georgian), Kutais, 1920, 3rd ed., p. 44.

³ N. Marr, *Baptism of the Armenians, Georgians, Abkhasians, and Alans, by St. Gregory, an Arab version, in Zapiski of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, St. Pb., 1906, vol. 16, p. 170.*

the Christian era when the Ivers dominated politically their eastern kinsmen, the K'art's (Georgians), in consequence of which Eastern Georgia began to be called Iveria, just in the same way as when later on the K'art's seized the political helm of the country, they gave to both parts of the country one common politico-cultural name of Sak'art'velo, that is, Georgia, establishing the Georgian (K'art'lian) everywhere as the literary ecclesiastical language and completely 'Kartlianizing' the greater half of the Iverians, namely the present-day Imerians, Gurians, and Adcharians."¹

To quote once more the late Professor Marr: "The Greeks call Georgia and Georgians, to the great amazement of the Georgians themselves, Iveria and Iberians, and the same appellation is repeated after the Greeks, to the still greater amazement of the Georgians, by the Armenians (*vir-k*, *Veria*, in the *Geography* of Khoren). Particularly astonishing is this term from the lips of the Armenians who, one should have thought, could have known that Georgians called their country *K'art'li* (from **K'art'w-i*, *Sak'art'velo*—the latest national-cultural and often also political term) and themselves *K'art'vel*."²

Last, but not the least, is the term *Georgia* itself, which is unknown to the Georgians themselves. This term appears to have taken a circuitous route to reach Western Europe. Though very foreign both in appearance and vocalization, it is, in fact, according to Marr, Georgian by origin and its home the land of the Eger-Megrelians, in Western Georgia, for it is derived from the same stem (*Eger*, *Ger*, resp. **Gver*, *Gur*), which with the equally Georgian suffix *dz-en*, resp. *z-an* appears in the Syriac *Gur-zan*, the Arabic جُرْذَان or جُرْحَان.³

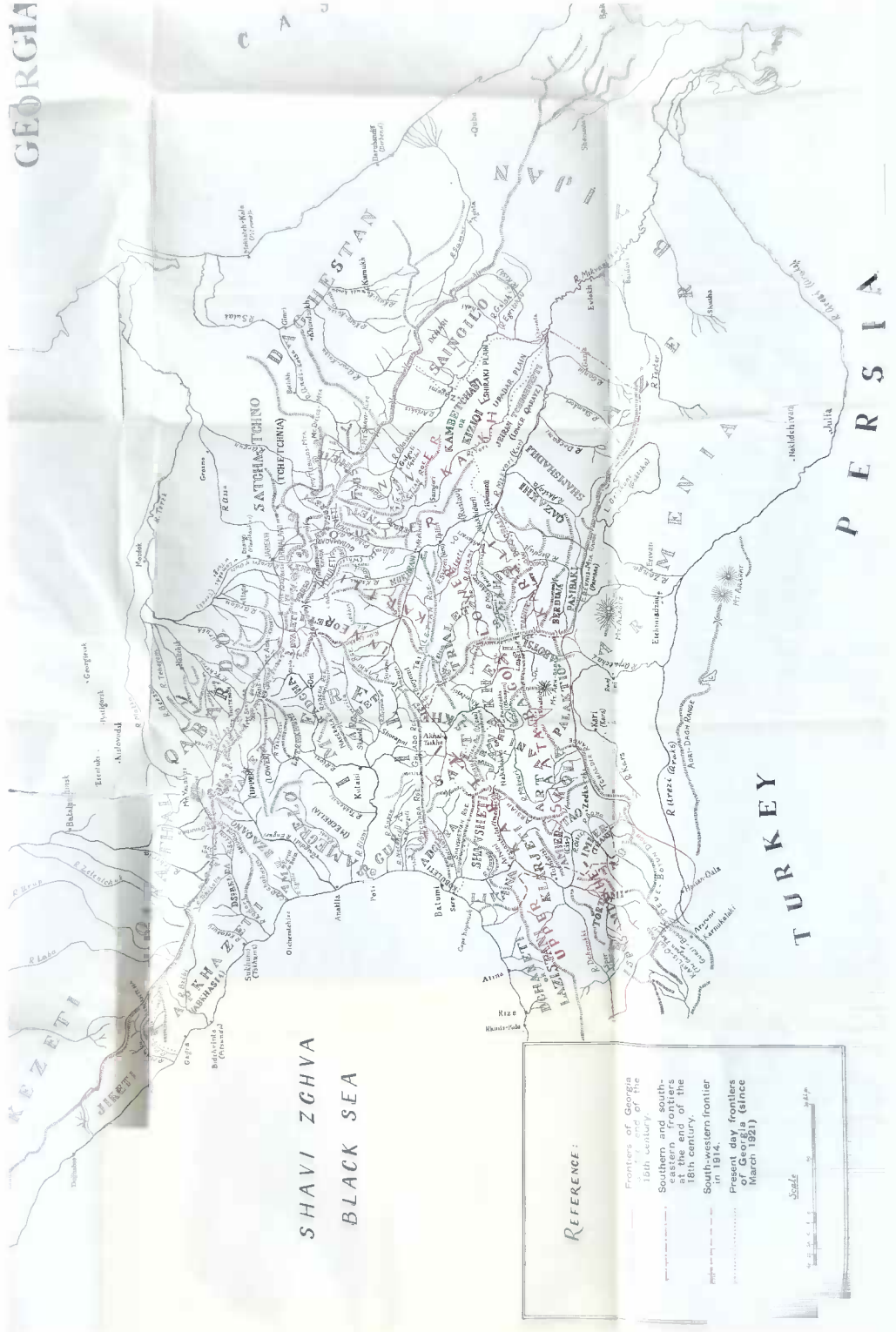
The Arabic كُجْرَج represents the same stem *Gur* with a pure tribal name-suffix *dj*, resp. *dz*. And from this stem *Gurdj*, resp. *Gurz* are derived, Marr declares, the Russian form *Gruziya* (< **Gur-ziya*) and the Western European *Georgia*.

Melikset-Bekov, however, gives a different interpretation of the origin of this name. In his opinion the Persian *Gurdj-an* and Arabic

¹ I. Kipshidze, *A Grammar of the Mingrelian (Iverian) Language* (in Russian), St. Pb., 1914, p. xiv. See also Melikset-Bekov, op. cit., pp. 75-6.

² Marr further mentions the fact that the Georgians themselves call Armenia and Armenian "to a no less amazement of the Armenians" *Somkhet'i* and *Somekhi* respectively. The amazement of the Armenians with regard to the latter case must be shared also by the Georgians who know their historical ethnography, for it is indisputable that names ending in *kh-i*, as in *Kol-kh-i* (dialectically **Koro-kh-i*, resp. *Kolo-kh-i*, whence the names of the Rivers *Dchoro-kh-i* = *Dchorokh*, *Dcholo-kh-i* = *Dcholok'*), *Ka-kh-i* = *Kakhet'i*, *Mes-kh-i* = *Meskhian*, *Tao-kh-i* = *Tao*, etc., are, understanding the term in a generic sense, characteristic of the Georgian tribal names. The Georgians, however, becoming acquainted with the Armenians in the first place through their own kinsmen, who colonized the Georgian district of *Somkhiti*, transferred the name of the original Georgian inhabitants of this district to the Armenians" (*Baptism*, etc., p. 167).

³ N. Marr, *Baptism*, etc., p. 169, n. 2.



**SHAVI ZGHVA
BLACK SEA**

REFERENCE:

- Frontiers of Georgia 15th century or the Southern and southern frontiers at the end of the 18th century.
- South eastern frontier of Georgia (since March 1921).
- Present day frontiers of Georgia (since March 1921).



Djurdj-an have at their basis the form Gurg-an, which is a variety (whether dialectical or chronological it is indifferent) of the name of one of the provinces of ancient Georgia, namely Gug-ar-et'-i. (Gr. Gog-ar-en-e.) This is the province which, according to Melikset-Bekov's theory, was for a long time a halting place of the Japhetic tribes moving from the south northwards ; in particular of the *Gog-gug* or *Go(r)g-gu(r)g*, mentioned in the Bible together with the Ros, Mosokh (Meskhs), and Tobel (Ibers), as the eponym of Gog, who operated in the country of Magog.¹ From Gog-go(r)g was evidently formed, Melikset-Bekov declares, the Greek form of the name G(e)org-ia, the origin of which was connected by many either with the cult of St. George so rooted in Georgia, or with the Greek word *he Georgia* denoting an agriculturist, because Georgia is essentially an agricultural country. From the Greek form of the name are derived all other forms used in Western Europe, such as *Georgien*, *Géorgie*, *Georgia*.²

¹ The prefix *ma* is characteristic of the Megrelian language, as Margali (Gr. Manraloi)—a Megrelian.

² L. M. Melikset-Bekov, op. cit., pp. 95-6. See also A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the enclosed Nations*, 1925, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

NUMISMATOLOGICAL NOTES

I. COLCHIAN DIDRACHMAS

By SERGE MAKALATIA

[A translation of the article published in *Sak'art'velos Muzeumis Moambe*—Bulletin of the Museum of Georgia, Tiflis—1931-2, vol. vii, pp. 193-201.]

FOR a proper understanding of ancient Georgian measures of value an all-sided examination and a careful study of Colchian coins is of essential importance. These coins have been described by more than one numismatist,¹ but in the works of these numismatists, differences in their variants, their weight, their composition, their real value, etc., are not scientifically studied and definitely established, to the extent of it being possible to form an idea of the original place and function of Colchian money. Furthermore an absolutely irrelevant Egyptian fable has been used to explain the device on the face of the coin. From numismatic history we know that as soon as money was coined in Lydia in the seventh century B.C., it spread with an unusual rapidity throughout what was then the civilized world. The importance of a medium of exchange like money in economic interrelations was widely appreciated, and as early as the fifth century B.C. local money was being coined and circulated in all the advanced countries of the East and West.²

Colchis which maintained a close economic relationship with neighbouring countries, particularly with the Greek colonies of the Black Sea coast, did not in this respect remain behind other countries, and a Colchian coinage came into circulation. Colchian coins³ are of different sizes and weights on which was based their monetary value. Small coins have been found in Georgia in considerable quantities.⁴

¹ Victor Langlois, *Essai de Classification des Suites Monétaires de la Géorgie*, Paris, 1860, pp. 11-13; B. Head, *Historia numorum*, Oxford, 1911, p. 495; E. A. Pakhomov, *Monety Gruzii*, the Coins of Georgia (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1910 part i, pp. 6-8.

² A. K. Markov, *Drevnyaya Numizmatika*—Ancient Numismatics (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1901, part i, pp. 17-21; B. Head, *op. cit.*, Introduction, § iv; M. Ernest Babelon, *Catal. des mon. grec. les Perses Achéménides*, Paris, 1893. See Introduction.

³ So called because these coins have been found only in western Georgia within the historical boundaries of Ancient Colchis; they are very rare in Eastern Georgia. These Colchian coins have not been found in any of the neighbouring countries with which Colchis was in economic-cultural relationship. This circumstance must, in our opinion, be explained by the fact that ancient foreign coins were generally melted down and converted into local coins (Markov, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-115).

⁴ Of the latest discoveries mention should be made of a clay jar full of small Colchian moneys found in 1928 in the village of Nakhakhulevi, near Khoni, in Western Georgia (added to the collection of the Numismatic Cabinet of the State University of Georgia; this collection is at present housed in the Museum of Georgia). Similar small Colchian coins, 109 pieces, were found in 1929 in the village of Dablagomi, near Samtredi, Western Georgia. These are preserved in the Museum of Georgia (N. 20-9, 1-109).



FIG. 1.—AR.D—20–21 mm. thick. 2–4 mm. wt. 8.705 gr.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

Larger coins, however, are rarely found.¹ Our object is to describe and define these larger coins. (See Fig. 1.)

As has engraved a woman's head in profile, with long hair, placed in a circle. Rs has engraved in two squares two smaller profiles of the same woman's head facing each other. (Fig. 1.)

In weight the coin is equal to the Greek didrachma and contains 6 obolos.² The weight of the Colchian coin changed in the course of time as did that of the Greek coins. For instance, Colchian small coins weighed from 1.888 gr. to 2.284 gr., and were equal to half a drachma = 3 obolos. Colchian didrachmas were also subject to variation in weight. For instance, the two didrachma pieces in the Kutais Museum weigh 9.603 gr. and 9.160 gr. respectively, whilst the didrachma of the Tiflis Numismatic Cabinet weighs 10.316 gr., and correspond to the so-called Perso-Achæmenian system of Greek money.³

Thus it is evident that half-drachma and two-drachma (didrachma) silver pieces were coined and circulated in ancient Colchis. It is difficult to say whether smaller and larger units than the above also existed in Colchis in view of the absence of archæological evidence. In any case it is quite possible that the Colchian drachma pieces were also in circulation with the didrachma pieces. This, however, can only be confirmed by future discoveries. At present it is of interest to determine the composition and monetary value of Colchian coins. It should be borne in mind that the Colchian coinage underwent changes as did the money of all the neighbouring systems. Apart from the shortage of gold and silver supplies, the variation in the percentage and composition was caused by economic crises, for the remedying of which the existing ligature of money was increased and this process sometimes went as far as the falsification of money.⁴

The Colchian coin consists of copper and silver in the following proportions⁵ :—

Ag	.	.	34.31%	—	35.00%
Cu	.	.	64.64%	—	65.48%

From this analysis it is clear that the Colchian coin is composed approximately of one-third silver and the rest copper. If we now

¹ Our Museum has only four such coins, one is kept in the Numismatic Cabinet of the Museum of Georgia, N. 15, 28/1, a picture and description of which is given here (Pl. I) ; and another is in the collection of the Numismatic Cabinet of the Tiflis University, Dept. I, N. 26/1. The remaining two are kept in the Regional Museum of Kutais and were found by Mr. E. Jabua in the village of Jumi (Prov. of Zugdidi, Western Georgia).

² E. M. Pridik, *Gretcheskie i Rimskie Monety*—The Greek and Roman Coins (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1905, p. 6.

³ E. M. Pridik, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴ A. K. Markov, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–77.

⁵ This analysis was carried out in the laboratory of the Chemico-Technical Institute of Georgia, on 19th December, 1928. Analysis N. 1185.

compare this Colchian coin with the ancient Greek drachma we shall be able to determine also its approximate intrinsic value.¹ The small half-drachma Colchian coin equalled 12 *copecks*, while the didrachma under description equalled 48 *copecks*.²

When were these Colchian didrachmas struck ?

It should be noted generally that Colchian money is rarely found with foreign coins. Only one occasion is known at Surami where it was found together with the Achæmænian *daric* (521–330 B.C.),³ but by the technique of coining and by other characteristic peculiarities the Colchian didrachma is to be assigned to the last part of the first period (700–480 B.C.) of the history of measures of value.⁴

The Colchian didrachma is struck and not cast. The profile of the head represented on the coin is characterized by a primitive outline as well as by a longish nose. The evidence of its great age is provided by the two deeply indented incuse squares, *quadratum incusum*, on the reverse of the coin, which is a characteristic feature of the coins struck during this first period.⁵ This incuse square had also the function of holding the metal fast while the punch was being struck by the hammer and this prevented the coin falling out of the dies when struck with the hammer.

From the end of the fifth century B.C. it was the practice to place in this square a smaller device of the obverse, or representations of some other symbolic objects. Coins of this type are called by numismatists, *numi incusi*.⁶ The Colchian didrachma is one of this type and it should be dated to the fifth to fourth century B.C.⁷

In regard to the details of the obverse design, in its outline and style it has been connected quite casually with Egyptian art,⁸ in support of which Herodotus's reference to the racial relationship of the Colchians and Egyptians has been quoted. Comparison of Colchian coins with the coins struck during the first period in the ancient Greek colonies and in Asia Minor, render this hypothesis

¹ Brokgauz i Efron, *Entsiklopedicheski Slovar*—The Encyclopedic Dictionary, vol. xvi, p. 765 ; see the word "Drachma".

² A *copeck* (gold, i.e. pre-war) = one farthing (Transl.).

³ J. Bartholomæi, *Lettres numismatiques et archéologiques relat. à la Transcaucasie*, 1859, p. 63.

⁴ B. Head, op. cit., Introduction, § viii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. Nos. 88, 111–123, 159, 169, 193, 203, 210, 218, 219, 259, 312, 326, etc.

⁶ E. Babelon, op. cit., pl. iii, viii, xi, xiii, etc.

⁷ A. K. Markov, op. cit., pp. 51–2 ; A. von Sallet, *Münzen und Medaillen*, Berlin, 1898, pp. 2–5.

⁸ It is possible that the two squares of the reverse indicate that the coin is a two-drachma piece.

⁹ V. Langlois, op. cit., pp. 12–13 ; E. A. Pakhomov, op. cit., p. 7. The untenability of this theory was hinted at by A. Oreshnikov in his review of Pakhomov's work, *Monety Gruzii*, who justly related the Colchian coins by their style to the Greek archaic coins. See *Numismaticheski Sbornik—Recueil Numismatique* (in Russian), vol. i, Moscow, 1911, p. 665. E. Pakhomov however, reiterates in answer the same antiquated Egyptian theory (see E. Pakhomov, *Neskolko Slovo proiskhozhdenii risunka Kolchidok*, A few words on the origin of the Colchian coins, Batum, 1911).

completely groundless. The characteristic features of these archaic coins, as also of the Colchian didrachmas, are the profile and the longish outline of the nose which with the development of the art becomes gradually shorter; the face, too, at the same time takes on a more correct and beautiful expression.¹ Analogical evolution can be observed on the Colchian coins on which—while the profile remained unchanged—the outline of the face and nose had altered in course of time. (See Fig. 2.) Such a change was caused apart from the development of the art itself, chiefly by the frequent wear of the dies and the making of the new ones.²

Thus the parallel development of the art and technical processes produced in both cases coins of the same type and form, and the Colchian coins, therefore, generally speaking, resemble the archaic Greek coins,³ particularly the Syracusan tetradrachmas.⁴

The analogies of the profile of the bull's head represented on the reverse of the small Colchian coins, viz. the half-drachma pieces (see Fig. 3), we find on the coins of Sybaris, Macedon, Lesbos, Lydia, etc.⁵ Coins of the archaic Greek type were circulated in Egypt in the fifth to fourth century B.C., these imitative coins being struck by the local authorities.⁶ But it would be superfluous to assume that the Colchians would have struck coins imitative of Egyptian art, at a time when in Egypt itself coins of the Athenian type were circulating, and when they could have made use of the coin models of the neighbouring Greek colonies along the Black Sea coast.

In short it is clear from these comparisons that from the fifth century B.C. coinage was struck and circulated locally in the Kingdom of Colchis. These coins were of Greek style, form, and weight. The ancient writers, unfortunately, have left us no information concerning these Colchian coins and it is difficult to solve the question with greater precision.

We should now consider the devices on the Colchian coins and endeavour in the first place to identify the profile on the obverse. It has been established that until the time of Alexander the Great only local deities were represented on the coins. These included Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Demeter, Dionysius, Zeus, and others,⁷ who were considered protectors and guardians of the small city, colony, kingdom, or of agriculture, etc. Later, however, portraits of

¹ B. Head, *op. cit.*, fig. Nos. 207, 120, 92, 86, 50, 24, 76, 86, etc.

² A. Markov, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³ B. Head, *op. cit.*, fig. Nos. 24, 77, 86, etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 171, fig. 9.

⁵ B. Head, *op. cit.*, fig. 291, 44, 120, 248, 312; E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, pls. v and xx.

⁶ E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lvi–lix, pls. viii, xi.

⁷ B. Head, *op. cit.*, Introduction, §§ viii, ix. Images of these deities engraved on the coins represented a kind of State stamp or hallmark guaranteeing the correct weight and purity of metal (Markov, *op. cit.*, p. 24).

kings, magistrates, and emperors began to be portrayed on the money issued by them. These portraits varied as the subjects of them changed.

The profile of the human face represented on the obverse of the Colchian coin, shows in this respect no very marked change whatever during the whole period of its existence, which is a proof of the fact that the device is an image of a local deity, characterized by long and flowing hair. A profile of a similar style is found on the Syracusan tetradrachma, which represents an archaic image of Artemis.¹ The cult of Artemis as the chief goddess of the fields, forests, the sources, of the fruitfulness, and later, of the moon, was very widely spread in the ancient countries which favoured her representation on their coins.²

In Georgian mythology the long hair characterizes the forest goddess whom the Megrelians call *Tqashi Map'a* (Queen of the Woods)³ and who is a counterpart of Artemis (Diana). The Svanians call this goddess *Dali*,⁴ the Abkhazians *Azheipshaa*.⁵ In Eastern Georgia she is called Patron of Animals, or the Forest Angel.⁶ In the popular imagination this queen of the forest is pictured as a beautiful long-golden-haired woman, who is a protector of the woods and animals. That the cult and temples of this queen of the woods—Artemis—really existed in ancient Colchis is confirmed by classical foreign writers,⁷ as well as by the Georgian Annals. According to the latter at Adsqur "il y avait un autel des idoles, sur lequel se faisait le service des Dieux impurs, Artémis et Apollon".⁸ Thus it is clear that in

¹ B. Head, op. cit., pp. 171-2.

² Roscher, *Lexicon der gr. u. röm. Mythologie* s. v. "Artemis", I, 558 ff.; D. P. Shantepi, *История религии, A History of Religion* (in Russian), Moscow, 1899, vol. II, pp. 245-294; D. Frezer, *Zolotaya vetv—the Golden Bough* (in Russian), issue I, 1928, pp. 166-8.

³ I. Teptsov, *Из быта и верований Mingreltsev*, From the Customs and Beliefs of the Mingrelians (in Russian), in *Sbornik Materialov dlya Opisaniya Mestnos. i plemen Kavkaza*, Collection of Materials for the Description of Places and Tribes of Caucasia, vol. xviii, p. 12.

⁴ Egn. Gabliani, *Dzveli da Akhali Svanat'i*, New and Old Svaneti (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1925, pp. 35-6.

⁵ A. Janashia, *Religiozniya verovaniya Abkhazov*, Religious Beliefs of the Abkhazians (in Russian), in *Khristianski Vostok*, the Christian East, vol. IV, issue I, p. 2, 1925, pp. 107-8. D. Gulia, *The Deity of Hunting and the Hunting Language of the Abkhazians* (in Georgian).

⁶ I. Javakhsivili, *A History of the Georgian Nation* (in Georgian), 1926, vol. I, p. 89.

⁷ *Diodori Bibliotheca historica*, lib. IV, c. 28-56. It should be generally noted that classical writers when describing Colchis, and later Iberia, mention local deities, not by their native names, but give to each, on the basis of the cult, names similar to those of the equivalent Greek deities. For instance, the local sun god was called Apollo, that of the woods and animals, Artemis, of the battle, Ares, etc. We do not therefore know what was the native name of the Colchian goddess whom the Greeks called Artemis.

⁸ Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 1^{re} partie, 1849, p. 59. That the cult and temples of Artemis (the moon) and of Apollo (the sun), her brother, recorded by the ancient writers, did really exist in Georgia during the Pagan period is attested also by a silver cup (*φιαλι*), found in 1899 in the province of Kuban, bearing the following significant inscription: *Ἀπόλλωνος Ἴης ὄρος εἰμι τὸν φασσ*—I am of (belong to) Apollo, the leader who is in I'husis (Poti); this cup is dated fifth century B.C. (see *I. Arkh. K.* (in Russian), issue I, 1901, pp. 99-100, fig. 18. M. I. Rostovtsev, *Scythia and Bosphorus* (in Russian), Leningrad, 1925, p. 571.

ancient Colchis there existed, together with Apollo, a local cult of a female deity, identical with Artemis, Apollo's twin sister, generally known to-day in Georgia as the Queen of the Woods and the Patron Angel of the Animals. One of the forms of her proper name may possibly be preserved in the Svanian *Dali*, who is a long-golden-haired female deity of similar type. In our opinion it is the representation of this long-haired *Tqashi Map'a-Dali*, that we find on the face of the Colchian coins as a guarantee of the correct weight of the coin and the purity of the silver.

Colchian small moneys have also on their reverse a bull's head (Fig. 3), representative of the main branch of the country's economics, cattle-breeding, or agriculture. Generally when primitive countries abandoned barter and adopted a monetary system, they began to place on the reverse of the coins struck by them representations of the produce in which the country or the province in question was particularly rich, and which constituted its main commercial asset. For instance, in countries rich in cattle, the reverse type represented bulls, horses, camels, etc.; in countries whose main economy was agriculture the reverse type of the coins had ears of corn, bunches of grapes, olives, etc.¹ Sometimes they even featured symbolic signs of some implement characteristic of the economics of the country. The original word for money itself is the name of some kind of produce. For example the old Greek *χρῆμα*, pl., *χρηματα* denoted animal, product of the soil, etc.² The old Latin name for money—*pecunia*—also denoted animal.³ The old Georgian word, *khvastagi*, was used with the same connotation,⁴ as is attested by the bull's head engraved on Colchian coins. But the device on the reverse generally had at the same time a kind of sacred relation to the cult of deity represented on the obverse, whose protector the latter was considered to be. The goddess, Artemis-Diana is known as the guardian deity of the woods and animals, and the bull connected with her cult was engraved on the coins.⁵ The Colchian *Tqashi Map'a-Dali* is just such a goddess and patron of animals and of the woods, so that the representation of a bull's head on the Colchian coins, must have had a kind of ritualistic significance, and a combination of economic and religious implications explain the presence of the bull's head on the reverse of the Colchian *khvastagi*.

¹ B. Head, op. cit., figs. 4, 14-18, 22, 35-40, 91-6, 207-210, etc. Cf. modern coins of the Irish Free State. L. Anson, "Numismata Graeca, Summary and plates of part iii," *Agriculture*, London, 1911, pls. i-xxx.

² A. K. Markov, op. cit., pp. 29-38.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-46.

⁴ Brossot, op. cit., p. 38, notes 3, 4; p. 40, note 2. Saba Sulxhan Orbeliani, *Georgian Dictionary* (in Georgian), see *Khvastagi*.

⁵ B. Head, op. cit., fig. 206. Roscher, op. cit., p. 568 (see ill. Artemis Tauropolos).

THE DATE OF THE BUILDING OF THE CATHEDRAL "THE LIVING PILLAR"

By S. KAKABADZE

[A translation of the article published in *Saistorio Krebuli, Recueil Historique*, book I, Tiflis, 1928, pp. 95-109.]

THE "Living Pillar", *Sveti-Tskhoveli*, of Mtskhet'a, a noble example of ancient Georgian art, is such an important monument, that the determination of the date of its origin is most necessary, particularly as the edifice itself, by its planning, construction, inscriptions, and its connection with events of an historical character, provides us with a sufficiently reliable basis for this task. In determining, however, the date of the construction of "The Living Pillar", which is of considerable importance, not only to the history of Georgian art, but also to the history of Georgian culture, it is necessary, in the first place, to examine thoroughly all relevant information of an historical character.

When Christianity was established in K'art'li the first churches were built in Mtskhet'a. They were the Lower Church and the Upper Church; the latter stood on the site of the present-day Samt'avro Monastery and the former where "The Living Pillar" now stands. When St. Nino converted King Mirian, in the seventh year of her residence in K'art'li, (311) he "immediately erected a church within the lower 'paradise'"¹ which was built of wood. Some time later, when architects came from Greece, "the King began to build a stone church at Gareubani." This one was the Upper Church, and its completion took twenty years. Herein King Mirian was buried "in the middle of the Church at the southern side of the column, within the northern side of which is a portion of 'The Life-giving Pillar'."

The Lower Church was destroyed in King Artchil's time, about 430. "The Lower Church collapsed and Iona, the Archbishop, moved to the Church of Gareubani, and took with him 'The Life-giving Pillar'." Vakhtang Gorgasal "restored the Lower Church" and enthroned Petre (Peter) there, as Catholicos. These are the facts preserved in *The Conversion of Georgia to Christianity (Mok'tsevey K'art'lisay)* concerning the church that existed in ancient times where the Cathedral of "The Living Pillar" stands to-day.

It should be mentioned, that information concerning the building of the first Christian church in Mtskhet'a, is also given by Rufinus

¹ In Georgian *Samot'khe* which denoted also "garden". *Mot'khe* (of *Samot'khe*) means "tree". (See N. Marr, *On the Palaeontology of Speech in accordance with the Georgian Lexicon* (in Russian), in *Doklady* (Reports) of the Academy of Sciences, No. 4, 1927, pp. 79-81).

and Gelasius Cyzicenus, who used the work of Gelasius of Cæsarea († 395).

According to Rufinus, the captive woman, St. Nino, advised the newly-converted King Mirian, to build a church, and described to him its external form ; and in the words of Gelasius of Cyzicenus, " when they were constructing the *stoa* of this House of God, it was necessary to erect pillars in the middle to divide the aisle for men from the aisle for women." In all, three pillars had to be raised, of which the centre pillar was placed in position miraculously, in answer to St. Nino's prayer.¹ This information lends support to the statement in *The Conversion of Georgia*, that the first church was built of wood. According to the information given later by L. Mroveli,² which may possibly be derived from a more ancient source, seven pillars of cedar had been prepared for the church, " and when the walls of wood had been erected they set up six of the pillars, each in its place, but the largest one which was wonderful to look at, and was intended for the centre of the church, could not be lifted." ³ And this one was *The Life-giving Pillar*.

Although the plan of the church is not described (it may have been a long tetragonal or hexagonal building) it is evident that the six pillars were used for the strengthening of the walls, while the seventh, of a larger size, supported the roof in the middle of the church, which must have been either a gabled (if the building was a long tetragonal one) or a tent-shaped one. If we take into consideration the statement that they had great difficulty in setting up the seventh pillar, we may assume that this first ecclesiastical building was hexagonal, with a high tent-shaped roof. This information finally confirms that the first church, the Lower, was built by Mirian of wood, and *The Life-giving Pillar* was in the centre of the church, while according to the later idea of it, the church was of a long tetragonal form, and twice as long as it was broad ; such a building could not have been very large.

King Mirdat (418-425) " made crosses from this Pillar, one of which he sent to Erushet'i, and what was left of *The Life-giving Pillar* he enclosed in a brickwork of the size of the original pillar, and on the top of this column he set up the life-giving wood " ⁴ apparently in the form of a cross.

¹ S. Qaukhtchishvili, *Gelasi Kesarieli K'art'lis Mok'tsevis shesakheb*, Gelasius of Cæsarea concerning the Conversion of Georgia (in Georgian), in *Mimomkhlveli*, The Review, vol. i, pp. 60-1.

² *The Life of St. Nino* in the existing redaction was included in *The Life of Kings of Georgia* (in Georgian), by L. Mroveli (tenth century).

³ How this pillar became a light-radiating, living pillar, see Tseretheli, *The Asiatic Elements in National Georgian Paganism*, in *GEORGICA*, London, 1935, Vol. I, Ch. X, p. 58. (Translator's note.)

⁴ *The Conversion of Georgia*, the Queen Mary Variant, p. 113.

According to the information of *The Conversion of Georgia*, quoted above, this original church was destroyed in the time of King Artchil, about 430. The collapse of the church, apart from the perishable nature of the wood, was probably due to the replacement of the seventh pillar, which supported the roof at the time of King Mirdat; afterwards the roof evidently did not last very long, and the building fell in. In its place King Vakhtang Gorgasal "built the Church of the Apostles—the *Sveti Tskhoveli*, *The Living Pillar*—which is the *Great Sioni*, and assigned a place to the Pillar in the southern part where the church had collapsed".¹ This *Great Sioni*, *The Living Pillar*, built by Vakhtang, was large enough to include *The Life-giving Pillar* in its southern part. It is evident that the enlargement of the building had been carried out northward and possibly eastward and westward as well, while the southern part (or wall) had been built almost over the site of the original church ("there where the church had fallen"). The building must have been a very large one, as, according to Juansher, it was the *Great Sioni*. The new church was also called *Sioni*, which term was generally used to express allegorically the conception of a divine church. The phrase "which is *Great Sioni*" qualifying the church of *The Living Pillar* proves that Juansher is using this word (*Sioni*) here in an allegorical sense.

L. Mroveli, also mentions *Great Sioni* of Mtskhet'a in his description of the Life of King Antchil.² "The Living Pillar" was also called *Catholicosal*, according to Juansher. King Vakhtang was buried at Mtskhet'a by the *Catholicosal* Pillar.³

Thus the Church of *Sveti Tskhoveli*, "The Living Pillar," a stone building, erected by Vakhtang Gorgasal, was called *Catholicosal* after Vakhtang, and allegorically also, *Great Sioni*, as it was a cathedral Church of the Primate of All K'art'li. This ecclesiastical monument of Vakhtang, however, has not survived to the present day in its original form.

The *Sveti Tskhoveli* was considerably altered later and even rebuilt completely, but a careful study of its plan and internal arches reveals a most noteworthy fact, namely that the surviving building fundamentally represents by its characteristic peculiarities, the plan of the building of Vakhtang's time. The church at the time of Gorgasal was built in accordance with the plan of a three-aisled basilica. the nave and aisles (one on each side) were divided by arched columns numbering six in each row, on which rested the roof. One of the columns between the nave and the southern aisle was *The Life-giving*

¹ *The Conversion of Georgia*, variant of Queen Mary, p. 179.

² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

³ *The Conversion of Georgia*, p. 185. Cf. Juansher, *op. cit.*, p. 197. Besides the *Sioni* of Mtskhet'a there were known in K'art'li in old times the *Sioni* of Tiflis, the *Sioni* of Samshvilde, the *Sioni* of Bolnisi, of Ateni.

Pillar. During the transformation of this three-aisled basilica into a domed church, which, as we shall see, took place in the first half of the tenth century, a column was removed from each side at the base of the dome ; the columns on which the dome was to rest were strengthened by making them thicker. The plan was so altered, as a result of all these changes, that a column at each side to the west of the dome columns, had also to be removed, one of these being *The Life-giving Pillar*, which afterwards became merely a decorative cult pillar. This rebuilding of the church was according to a new plan, and the plan of the church has not since been changed substantially. History speaks of substantial repairs to, and reconstruction of, the church in later days, as in the first half of the fifteenth century, under King Alexander ; in the seventeenth century, when the old dome having fallen, a new one was built, during the reigns of King Rostom and Queen Mary ; and the walls were partially reconstructed in 1678–1685 under King Giorgi (George) XI ; finally, it was renovated in the nineteenth century (1837–1844), but all these alterations or repairs were carried out with a complete preservation of the existing plan. The reconstruction of the *Sveti Tskhoveli* in accordance with the plan to which the building still conforms, must definitely be ascribed to Catholicos Melk'isedek. Its architect was Arsakisdze, and this is quite evident from the following two inscriptions.

The first inscription is found on the eastern side of the church ; the relief ornament on the eastern wall, which possibly represents a vine, is characterized besides the main feature, also by twelve separate circles, of which ten are used for the following inscription in *asomt'avruli*—majuscule, of which we give below a transcription in military alphabet :—

აღ-ნ | ღ-ნ ქე-ს მ-რ მ-ქი | ზედ-კ | ქ კ-ზი ა-ნ | აღ-მნა ესე
წ-ჲ ეკ-ჲ | კლთა გლხკისა | მ-ნსა მ-თს | [ა]რსკსძ-თა | ღ-ნ გსე სლსა

In full this inscription reads as follows :—

ადიდენ ღმერთმან ქრისტეს მიერ მელქიზედეკ ქართლისა
კათალიკოზი, ამინ. აღამენა ესე წმიდაჲ ეკლესიაჲ ველითა
გლახაკისა მონისა. მათისა არსაკისძისაჲთა, ღმერთმან განუსვენე
სულსა :—

" Exalt, O God, Jesus Christ, Melk'isedek Catholicos of K'art'li, Amen. This Holy Church was built by the hand of his humble slave Arsakisdze, O God, bless (his) soul."

The phrase ღნ გსე = ღმერთმან განუსვენე = *ghmert'man ganusvene*, is not given correctly in the inscription ; it should be *ganusvenos*, but the abbreviation *ghn gse*, is clearly legible. We have here perhaps a mistake of a paleographic nature.

The second inscription is on the northern wall, on each side of the sculpture, in the hand of the architect himself :—

კელი მო	ნისა
არსკს	ძ-ე შ-ღთ

which in full reads—

კელი მონისა არსაკისძისაჲ, შეუწდევთ :—

“ The hand of the slave Arsakisdze forgive (him).”¹

From these inscriptions it is clear that the builder of the Cathedral of Mtskhet'a is Catholicos Melk'isedek, and the architect Arsakisdze.²

These same inscriptions, which are placed above the higher cornices of the eastern and western walls, also show the misleading nature of King Alexander's statement in 1440, that Tamerlane had “ destroyed to its foundations, the metropolis of Mtskhet'a and every cathedral, church, and fortress in the country ”.³

Tamerlane did destroy the *Sveti Tskhoveli*, but not “ to its foundations ”. This expression does not tally with facts, as the church walls in question had survived intact (at any rate the eastern and western walls) together with their inscriptions.

Now who is this Catholicos Melk'isedek, the builder of the Mtskhet'a cathedral ?

To answer this question, we must digress here a little and consider the list of the Catholicoses of the tenth to eleventh centuries.

The list of Georgian (K'art'lian) Catholicoses of the tenth to eleventh centuries must be critically studied, especially as the list contained at the end of *The Conversion of Georgia* does not represent the list of Georgian Catholicoses of the eighth to tenth centuries, as was hitherto thought to be the case, but that of the Catholicoses of the eighth to ninth centuries ; while the second list, which until now was thought to represent the Catholicoses of the eleventh to twelfth centuries, in reality contains names of Catholicoses from the last quarter of the eleventh century.⁴

The last Catholicos mentioned in the supplement to *The Conversion of Georgia*, is Arsen, on whose initiative was compiled in 904 or thereabout, the metaphrastic Lives of the Syrian Fathers. He

¹ This inscription was read erroneously by Zhordania (*The Chronicles*, etc., vol. i, p. 175).

² The form of the name Arsakisdze proves that the architect was a Georgian. It is noteworthy that Arsuki (Arsoki) is met with in place of Arshaki in the oldest part of *The Conversion of Georgia* [*The Description of the MSS of the Society for Diffusion of Literary Knowledge in Georgia* (in Russian), vol. ii, p. 709].

³ Zhordania, *The Chronicles*, etc., vol. ii, p. 28.

⁴ S. Kakabadze, *The Archtypes of the Lives of the Syrian Fathers* (in Georgian), p. 7.

held the Catholicos throne, according to our computation, between 903-10 or thereabout. From among his successors we know, so far, the following :—

Catholicos Mik'el (Michael) in 951¹ and Gabriel in 964.²

From among the K'art'lian Catholicoses of the eleventh century we know definitely the following :—

Melk'isedek in 1020 testified by a *sigeli* granted by himself to Mtskhet'a, and again in 1031;³ Catholicos Ioane, mentioned in the same Mtskhet'a *sigeli* of 1020,⁴ who had been educated by Melk'isedek. Ioane was evidently the direct successor of Melk'isedek to the Catholicos throne. He definitely appears as Catholicos in 1033, and is mentioned under this year, in a postscript to the Bible of Mestia copied in Oshki.⁵

After Ioane, Ok'ropiri was the Catholicos, mentioned in the postscript of the same *sigeli*.⁶ Ok'ropiri (the Golden-mouthed) appears as Catholicos in 1046.⁷

In the years 1057-8 the Catholicos of K'art'li is Giorgi (George)⁸; in 1072-3 Gabrieli⁹; in 1105, at the time of the Ruis-Urbnisi Congress,¹⁰ Catholicos Ioane is mentioned; he was known generally in the time of King David the Builder.¹¹ With this helpful information, we can check the list of Catholicoses, which has reached us and which is considered to be the list of the Catholicoses of the eleventh to twelfth centuries¹²; the text of this list reads as follows :—

“Many are the years of our saintly Primates, the K'art'lian Catholicoses, of Ok'ropiri, Swimeoni, Melk'isedek, Iovane, Dimitri, Basili, Ioane, Swimeoni, Sabay and Nikolaozi, Mik'aeli, T'eodore, Basili, Ioane, Epip'ane, Arseni, Giorgi.”

¹ *The Life of Grigol Khandzt'eli*, ed. by N. Marr (in Russian), p. " p".

² Brosset, *The Inscription of T'mogvi*, in *Voyage Archéologique*, rap. i, 167.

³ Zhordania, *The Description of the MSS of the Ecclesiastical Museum* (in Russian), i, 1-2.

⁴ Zhordania, *The Chronicles*, etc., ii, pp. 35, 36, note, also pp. 95-6.

⁵ A. Khakhanashvili, *The Svanet'ian handwritten Gospels* (in Russian) in *Materialy po Arkheologii Kavkaza*, x, p. 10.

⁶ Catholicos Ioane and Catholicos Ok'ropiri are mentioned also in a later (first half of the thirteenth century) document (*The Chronicles*, ii, p. 95).

⁷ Ok'ropiri is mentioned also by Setp'ane (Stephen) Palavreli (a priest) in his postscript of the year 1046 to the text of the so-called Lashtkhveri (in Svanet'i) Gospel (D. Bakradze, *Svanetiya*, in *Bulletin of the Caucasian Branch of the Russian Geogr. Society* (in Russian), vol. vi, pp. 93-4.

⁸ *Sigeli*, granted by King Bagrat IV to the Monastery of Shio-Mghvime in his 31st Indiction; see Zhordania, *The Documents of the Shio-Mghvime Monastery* (in Georgian), Tiflis, pp. 3-5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12; S. Kakabadze, *Three Sigeli of Shio-Mghvime* (in Georgian), p. 5.

¹⁰ The Ruis-Urbnisi Congress took place after the death of Kvirike, King of Kakhet'i, in 1102 and before the beginning of the building of the Great Gelat'i Cathedral in 1106. Zhordania considers 1103-4 as the date of the Congress, more precisely the year 1103 (*The Chronicles*, i, p. 238; ii, p. 54). In our opinion 1104-5 must be the more correct.

¹¹ Zhordania, *The Chronicles*, etc., ii, p. 70; *The Life of Georgia*, vol. i, p. 259. Sabinin, *The Georgian Paradise* (in Georgian), p. 110.

¹² The list is given in the MS of the year 1170 (*The Chronicles*, etc., i, pp. 79-81).

On the margin thereof is written :—

“ Everlasting be the memory of Arsen the celebrated translator of divine books and the light of the Georgian Church ; everlasting be the memory of the Orthodox Catholicoses.”

The last part of this list, from the point of fixing the dates of the Catholicoses mentioned therein, arouses no doubt whatever. Nikol(a)ozī (Nicholas), who had given up his high office and had gone to Jerusalem, was Catholicos during the reign of Giorgi (George) III (*The Life of Georgia*, i, 280.) After him Mik'(a)eli was the Catholicos, who is mentioned in 1184, at the time of Giorgi III's death and during the first years of Queen T'amar's reign.¹

Mik'el was succeeded by T'eodore well known in Queen T'amar's time ; he is mentioned for the last time during the Bolostike war, that is, in 1203.² After him Basili was the Catholicos ; after the latter, Ioane,³ also in the time of T'amar (and probably also in that of King Giorgi Lasha) ; in 1218 Epip'ane was the Catholicos⁴ ; after him Arseni and Giorgi about 1218-1224.⁵

According to this information and also to the information given earlier concerning the eleventh century Catholicoses of K'art'li, it is clear that the list of Catholicoses (from the manuscript of 1270),⁶ does not represent a complete list of the Catholicoses of the eleventh century ; generally speaking, it is very incomplete. In particular, the Melk'isedek mentioned in this list cannot be the Catholicos Melk'isedek known in the years 1020 and 1031. This list possibly gives us the names of Catholicoses who held the office only after the Catholicos Gabrieli known in 1072-3 (whose name is not in the list), and for this reason we may date the primateships, approximately of course, of the Catholicoses mentioned in this list, as follows⁷ :—

Ok'ropiri	1075-1084
Svimeoni (Simon)	1084-1093
Melk'isedeki	1093-1102
Iovane (John)	1102-1115
Dimitri	1115-1126

¹ *The Life of Georgia*, i, 276, 280, 292.

² *The Life of Georgia*, Variant of Queen Mary, 501. For the date of the battle of Bolostike, see S. Kakabadze *Vep'khis Tqaosani*, *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1927.

³ Mentioned also in *The Life of Georgia*, i, 312, Variant of Queen Mary, 481 f.

⁴ N. Marr, *The Inscription of the Catholicos Epiphanius of Georgia* (in Russian), in *Izvestiya of the Academy of Sciences*, St. Petersburg, 1910.

⁵ S. Kakabadze, *The Catholicoses of Georgia of the First Half of the Thirteenth Century* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1913.

⁶ In the footnote 12, p. 10, the author gives a different date of this MS., namely, the year 1170.

⁷ In calculating and fixing the dates we have taken into consideration the fact that after Gabrieli, from about 1075-1105, there had been the following Catholicoses : Ok'ropiri, Svimeoni, Melk'isedek, and Ioane ; while during 1115-1170, the others up to Nikoloz Gulaberidsze.

Basili (Basil)	1126-1137
Ioane (John)	1137-1148
Svimeoni ¹ (Simon)	1148-1159
Saba(y)	1159-1170
Nikolaozi (Nicholas) Gulaberisdze	1170-1180
Mik'eli (Michael)	1180-1185

This list, of which the dates given are only approximate, establishes who were the Catholicoses of K'art'li (at any rate from the point of view of their names), in the eleventh-twelfth centuries.

Now let us consider who was the Catholicos Melk'isedek.

In our list of the eleventh century Catholicoses, we have two bearing the name of Melk'isedek : one about the years 1020-1031, and the other about 1093-1102. It should be pointed out that sufficient information is to be found in the Annals of the building of great churches in the eleventh century. It is said of King Bagrat III, for instance, that he " built the Church of Bedia ", he also " blessed the Church of Kut'at'i " (Kutais).² During the reign of Bagrat IV (1027-1072) the churches generally flourished. The building of the Gelat'i Church in the time of David the Builder is related in detail. If the *Sveti Tskhoveli* had been built by David the Builder, the event would have been undoubtedly mentioned by his historian. It would have been mentioned in the Annals, had it been built in the time of Bagrat III, or his son Georgi II (as is the case with the Bedia and Kutais Churches). That Catholicos Melk'isedek, who lived during 1020-1031, is not the builder of the *Sveti Tskhoveli*, is quite clear from the *sigeli* granted by him in the year 1020.³ In this *sigeli*, which has been published by Zhordania,⁴ the Catholicos Melk'isedek enumerates the services he had rendered to the Catholicos Church and says :—

" . . . for the alleviation of my soul and the prosperity of the Christians, I have adorned it (the *Sveti Tskhoveli*) with sacred ornaments, with the external porch and surrounding *stoa*, and with the roof ; I have adorned it with all the treasures of gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones, and with holy books. . . . "

It is obvious that the Catholicos Melk'isedek of the first half of the eleventh century, had rendered a great service to the Mtskheta Cathedral ; he had built the external porch and *stoa*, which he had roofed. It is possible that (the context is not quite clear about this) " the building of the *stoa* " and " the roofing " relate to the *Sveti Tskhoveli* itself, but even if this is so, we can ascribe to this Melk'isedek

¹ This Svimeoni was an uncle of the Catholicos Nikolaoz Gulaberisdze [Sabinin, *The Paradise of Georgia* (in Georgian), p. 108].

² *The Life of Georgia*, i, pp. 211-212.

³ We possess only a twelfth-century copy of this *sigeli*.

⁴ *The Chronicles*, etc., ii, pp. 31-6.

only the roofing of the *Sveti Tskhoveli* and not the erection of the whole cathedral. That the Mtskhet'a Cathedral at this time was completely finished, is testified by a postscript to this very same *sigeli*, in which Melk'isedek says: "After all these . . . I had constructed a vault for myself in the southern part of the deaconal chapel within the sepulchral of the sainted Martyrs and there I erected an altar and appointed (a priest)." ¹ Thus Catholicos Melk'isedek had, during the first quarter of the eleventh century only built the outer porch, and he may also be credited with the reroofing of the cathedral. This porch has partially survived to our day and now forms part of the outer western wall; it is very much altered by later constructional additions. It was examined and studied from the architectural point of view in 1927 by D. Gordeev and M. Kalashnikov, under the auspices of the Caucasian Historical and Archeological Institute. It was found that it represented the main entrance in the outer wall of the Cathedral (a part of the arch of this entrance is still to be seen), which had separate rooms on each side (on the northern and southern). Above it, towards the façade there was also a beautiful vaulted structure which rested on the columns. This arched construction, whose façade, with its main part, has survived to our day is embellished with the following inscriptions in *asomt'avruli*, majuscule, of which we give below a transcription in military alphabet:—

ქ-ე ად-ე შ-ნ მი-რ დამყარებული მ-ფე ჩ-ნი ქ-ს მიერ
მელქიზედეკ ქართლისა კათალიკოზი, რ-ნ მა² მეორედ აღაშენა
წ-ე კათო[ლ]ი[კ] . . . სოლისა მთისა

which in full, reads:—

ქრისტე აღიღე შენ მიერ დამყარებული მეუფე ჩენი ქრისტეს
მიერ მელქიზედეკ ქართლისა კათალიკოზი, რომელმან მეორედ
აღაშენა წმიდისაჲ კათოლიკე [ეკლესიისაჲ ბჭს სალოცველად]
სულისა მათისა:—

"O Jesus Christ exalt our lord appointed by Thee, Melk'isedek, the Catholicos of K'art'li, who rebuilt (lit. built for the second time) the Holy Catholic (Church porch as a prayer for) his soul."

The words placed within the brackets are missing in the inscription. It is evident that the *Sveti Tskhoveli* had at this place a porch either very simple in its plan, or at the time in question, already so old, that Catholicos Melk'isedek had erected a new and beautiful porch.

¹ *The Chronicles*, etc., ii, p. 34.

² This მა *ma* represents a palæographic mistake: it is self-evident that the inscriber had made here a mistake; he had begun *ma* instead of *me(ored)* (second time), and on discovering his error left the wrong syllable unfinished.

That Melk'isedek the builder of the " outer porch ", and Melk'isedek the builder of the Cathedral itself, are not one and the same person, is evident from the paleographic character of the inscriptions. The inscription of the *Sveti Tskhoveli*, for instance, compared with that of the porch, is characterized by the majuscule *k* which has the shape of the transition period, a shorter " leg ". This form of the majuscule *k* must be considered as the more ancient. The shortness of inscriptions does not, unfortunately, offer us a wide enough scope for definite paleographic conclusions, but the characteristic feature, just quoted, and the general impression, make these inscriptions appear to be of a more ancient time. If this is so, the question that now arises is, at what time before the beginning of the eleventh century must have been built the Cathedral of the " Living Pillar " according to the plan in which it has come down to the present day ?

It is quite possible that the rebuilding of the Cathedral on a new plan, was necessitated by some catastrophic fate that may have befallen the former building of the Cathedral. From the Annals, we know that in the first half of the tenth century, the Arabs, when invading Georgia, burned down Mtskhet'a and the Church of the Venerable Cross that stood opposite Mtskhet'a (across the Aragvi). In the time of P'adla, the K'orikoz of the Kakhians " came the Saracens, called Saj, who seized upon Kakhet'i, and burned Juari, Mtskhet'a, and then retreated, taking away with them the desecrated Venerable Cross." ¹ (This Cross was, however, returned soon after.) This plundering invasion took place in the time of Giorgi (George) King of the Abkhasians, who, according to the Abkhasian Chronicle, reigned in 912-957. Saji, mentioned here may be identified with the " filthy Saji " mentioned by Asoghik, who was the son of Yusuf Abusaj, the Abdul Cassim, son of Abu-Saj, of Georgian sources. Yusuf Abu-Saj's son invaded Armenia in 907, devastated the country and captured also Tiflis and K'art'li; in 910 he took Sumbat, King of Armenia, prisoner at Capoet. These events are also related in Georgian Annals which inform us of the death, a few years after the invasion of Abul-Cassim, of Constantine, King of Abkhasia; the latter must have died in 912. Abul Cassim's invasion of K'art'li, therefore, is to be assumed to have taken place in 908-9 (it was after this event that Sumbat, King of Armenia was taken prisoner in 910).²

Constantine's Abkhasian throne was disputed by his brother Bagrat and " until Bagrat died, there was no peace between them ". Bagrat was aided by his father-in-law, Gurgen, the *erist'avi* of *Erist'avi-s* (918-941). After that Giorgi reigned alone, and the Cathedral of Dchqondidi was then built by him. Kvirike, the K'orikoz of the

¹ *The Conversion of Georgia*, i, 197.

² *The Conversion of Georgia*, i, 195-6.

Kakhians, was succeeded by his son P'adla, and it was in his time that the above-mentioned invasion by Saji took place, when Mtskheta and the Juari Cathedral were burned.

The Life of Georgia tells us that from this time "until the reign of Ishkhaniki all the ancient inhabitants of Heret'i were heretics; but Ishkhaniki was the son of the sister of Gurgen, the *erist'avi* of *erist'avi-s* and his mother, Queen Dinar, converted the country to Orthodoxy, and the *Salars* conquered Bardavi and Adarbagani".¹ The *Salars* of the Georgian Annals is Salari, the leader of the Deilemites who, according to M. Caghancatovatsi, conquered Albania, Persia, Armenia, and also came to Barda(vi). At the same time there was an irruption (according to the same source), from the north, by "Ruziki (the Russians) a barbaric and strange people", who also conquered Bardavi. (Ibid.) According to Ibn 'l-Athir, the Russians took Bardav in 332 from the Hijra (3rd September, 943, 23rd August, 944) and remained there a year.² From this it appears that the burning of Mtskheta and the Juari Church, by Saji, must have taken place before the year 943. This event took place about the time P'adla became K'orikozi of Kakhet'i. The latter was succeeded in the time of King Giorgi (George) I, by Kvirike, who in 957, when Giorgi I died, had a son of marriageable age.³ P'adla, therefore, must have become K'orikozi sometime during the first half of Giorgi's reign. At the same time King Ashot of Armenia (died 929), son of Sumbat, expelled the Arabs from Armenia, and his successor, Abasi (929-953) now ruled the country peacefully. Saji's invasion of Kakhet'i and the subsequent burning of Mtskheta and the Juari Church, must therefore have taken place (taking into account all the considerations explained above) in the twenties of the tenth century, about the year 925.

In this same year also, the new plan of the *Sveti Tskhoveli* Cathedral must have been prepared and soon after put into execution.

What attracts one's attention most in the inscriptions of the *Sveti Tskhoveli* is that in none of them is the King mentioned. This omission may be explained (a) by the fact that the building of the Cathedral was being carried out under the auspices of the Catholicos Church, and (b) by the political situation of Georgia and Abkhazia at that time. A persistent civil war was then raging in the country between Giorgi I and his brother Bagrat, of which only a very brief account is given in the Annals. That, in reality, this internal strife was long-drawn, and often took unfavourable turns to King Giorgi I

¹ *The Life of Georgia*, i, p. 197.

² B. Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Petersburg, 1815, pp. 302-3.

³ *The Life of Georgia*, i, 86; Leon, son of Giorgi I, "promised (Kvirike) to take his (Kvirike's) son as his son-in-law."

is to be deduced from a chronological record, according to which, in 931, Bagrat even sat as King.¹ It is therefore comprehensible, under the circumstances, that the task of building the *Sveti Tskhoveli* should have been undertaken by the Church, and this it had already accomplished. Considering that the building of the Cathedral is connected with the name of Catholicos Melk'isedek ; that in 951 the Catholicos of K'art'li was already Mik'el ; and that the completion of such a huge undertaking as the building of the *Sveti Tskhoveli*, even in its main features, would have taken at least twenty years, we may deduce that the replanning and rebuilding of the *Sveti Tskhoveli* took place in the time of Catholicos Melk'isedek, roughly between the years 925-945.

AN APPENDIX

Preliminary remarks on the most ancient parts of the " Sveti Tskhoveli ".—In a short note of this kind there is no space to dwell on the history of the study of this magnificent monument. I shall only point out that a sufficiently detailed and generally satisfactory measurement of the Mtskhet'a Cathedral was published by G. Bart (*Zodtchi*—The Architect, St. Petersburg, 1903, Nos. 23 and 25, pp. 283 sqq., 295 sqq.). The plan was redrawn and republished in *Arili*, Tiflis, 1925, by G. Tchubinashvili for his article *K'art'uli Khurot'-modzghvreba sashualo saukuneebshi da misi sami mt'avari kat'edrali*—Georgian Medieval Architecture and its three principal Cathedrals.

In connection with the researches of S. N. Kakabadze into the history of the antiquities of Mtskhet'a I undertook in the summer of 1927, together with him and M. G. Kalashnikov, the architect and artist, the examination of a series of the monuments of Mtskhet'a including the cathedral of the *Sveti Tskhoveli*. An opportunity was thus offered to me to note the most ancient parts of the building and thereby form a reconstructed project of the basilica, before it was transformed into a domed edifice. A ground plan prepared in accordance with the above-mentioned scheme and executed under my direction by M. G. Kalashnikov is attached herewith. The thin lines indicate the walls of the present building ; the walls shown black on the plan are the most ancient parts of the structure that have been preserved, while the walls shown hatched are the suggested parts of the basilica, destroyed during the transformation of the Cathedral into a domed edifice.

¹ *The Chronicles*, etc., i, 86.

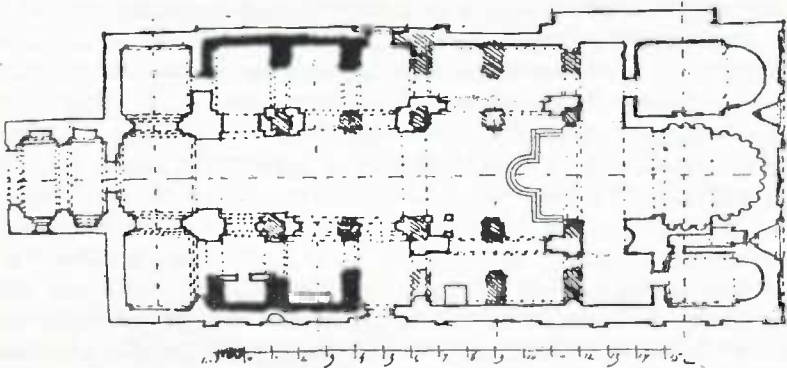
The reconstruction offered herewith is based on the following considerations:—

1. Severe reconstruction is to be observed where the spaces between the piers have been completely walled up. The horseshoe arches that originally spanned the openings were pulled down but their springing is clearly to be seen on the piers, and the outside of the building shows that they were part of the original plan.

2. The two extreme western piers correspond to the two inner western columns, with which they are interconnected by the supporting arches of the nave; while the supporting arches of the second pair of piers, counting eastward, rest on the keystone of the large arches, thrown across from the western dome columns to the small western columns. This is definitely bad construction. The "Living Pillar" stands just opposite the south pier of this pair, and is not at all connected at present with the building itself.

3. The distance between the western wall of the "Katholikon" and the first western piers, and between the latter and the next pair is approximately equal, though the insignificant variations which are usual in ancient buildings are to be observed.

4. This ascertained distance is measured again four times to the east, as far as the altar, thus marking the positions of the piers which have been removed, and which had stood in the places of, and between, the present dome abutments.



5. Under these conditions one can assume that the usual practice was followed and the site of the ancient altar was not disturbed during the reconstruction. The architect Arsakisdze preserved the general outline of the plan of this ancient three aisled basilica of the Bolnisi type (see E. Taqaişvili, *Album d'Architecture Géorgienne*, Tiflis, 1924, pl. 41). He removed the second and fourth pairs of columns, counting from the altar, and erected in the places of the first and third, the

dome abutments. By so calculating he was building an independent domed edifice between the altar and western parts, almost square on plan, with a cupola at the intersection of the vaults. To the west and to the east, he raised the nave of the ancient basilica, spanning below the western dome abutments with wide arches. Thereby " the Pillar " was left standing free of any structural part of the building. The western corners being the least loaded did not necessitate the complete demolition of the ancient walls, but only a slight reconstruction, and they have in consequence remained preserved. Owing to numerous capital repairs to the external facing, the ancient reconstructions cannot be traced exactly on the outside. The final conclusions regarding the reconstruction of the ancient basilica and the preparation of exact drawings require the probing of the plastering and further excavations.

DMITRI GORDEEV.

THE CAUCASIAN RACE

By ALEXANDER JAVAKHISHVILI

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL researches into the racial character of the contemporary population of Caucasia show that the autochthonous nations of Caucasia are united by many somatic peculiarities, and that these nations represent different variations of the race which has been called Caucasian. The anthropological traits of this race vary greatly among the many nations of Caucasia, and this circumstance reveals clearly the metamorphous nature of the Caucasian race.

This race is characterized by the following traits :—

Skin predominantly dark (51 to 100 per cent) ; white-reddish occurs less frequently (up to 50 per cent). Hair predominantly black ; blond occurs rarely (up to 10 per cent). Iris predominantly dark ; in many cases the mixed colour of the iris constitutes a noteworthy percentage among the examined persons.

Using the hair and the iris as the criteria, the Caucasian race is preponderantly of the brunet type, for this type constitutes 50 to 93 per cent ; the blond type is rare and does not exceed 9 per cent ; sufficiently frequent is the mixed type, the occurrence of which attains 50 per cent. The vertical diameter of the head varies between 181 and 190 mm., and the horizontal (transverse) diameter between 153·9 mm. So does the cephalic index vary also, between 81·9 and 87·6 mm. The brachycephalic type constitutes a great majority (54 to 97 per cent) ; the dolichocephales are rare and do not exceed 12 per cent. The height of the skull presents a greater variation ; its absolute measurements vary between 124–142 mm., the transverso-vertical index between 80·0 and 89·9, and the vertical index between 66·0 and 76·2 ; the chamaecephales represent a majority, although the orthocephales and hypsocephales also occasionally make up a great percentage.

Other measurements and indices also exhibit variations ; thus the length of the face 176–187 mm., the breadth 140–146 mm., their ratio (facial index) 76·6–81·7. The mesoprosopic represent, generally, a greater number than the chamaeprosopic, although the number of the latter, also, is by no means small, the leptoprosopic are rare and their number does not exceed 9 per cent. By its nasal index the Caucasian race represents a leptorrhinian type very widely spread. The breadth between the eyes is usually well developed, varying between 30–33 mm. In respect to standing height also, the nations of the Caucasian race exhibit a great variation : medium height varies between 1,637 and 1,713 mm. ; generally speaking average measurements of height are more frequent than the lower and higher measurements ; a tendency is, however, observed towards higher measurements.

The relation of the body (trunk) height to the full (standing) height often indicates that this race is long-bodied, although the average body height is also sometimes characteristic of the nations of this race. The chest circumference is generally moderate. The relation of the length of the arm to the full height is expressed by 44.2-46.5, the length of the leg by 50.1-53.1.

These great variations of anthropological traits will assume a different aspect if we do not, in characterizing the Caucasian race, take into consideration the nations (or tribes) who do not show the full characteristics of the Caucasian race, and representing metamorphous types, express, by their traits, extreme variations, such as, for instance, on the one hand, the Ossets and Kists (Tchetchens with the Ingushes) and, on the other, Kumukhs, Tats of Daghestan, the Udians, and the Georgian and Daghestan-Shemakha Israelites. Even after separating these metamorphous types the Caucasian race shows variations in its traits enabling us to divide it into two groups, namely, the Georgio-Kabardan and Armeno-Lezghian groups. In these groups a greater diversity is shown on the one hand by the Western type of the former, and on the other, by the Eastern type of the Lezghian and the Aisorian type of the Armenian groups. This diversity is shown below in the comparative table No. 1.

The Western type of the Georgio-Kabardan group differs from the Eastern type of the Lezghian and the Aisorian type of the Armenian group in this, that it manifests a greater tendency towards the white-reddish colour of the skin, a lesser tendency towards black hair and the brunet type, but the former comprises, by the colour index of the hair and iris, a comparatively greater percentage of the mixed type. If the former is characterized by brachycephaly with a tendency towards mesocephaly, the latter is extremely brachycephalic. The latter, also, shows together with extreme brachycephaly a greater breadth and greater height of the skull compared with the length. Extreme leptorrhinism is the characteristic of the Western type of the Georgian and Kabardan groups. The Western type of the Georgian group and the Eastern type of the Lezghian group show a difference in regard to standing height, which is greater in the case of the latter ; the greater height of the Eastern type of the Lezghian group bears relation to the greater length of its body and leg. However, the circumference of the chest of these two types varies very little.

The Western type of the Georgian and Kabardan groups with the tendency towards the white-reddish colour of the skin manifests comparatively a lesser tendency towards the black colour of the hair, towards the brunet type, towards the lesser brachycephaly ; it shows a smaller breadth and height of the skull compared with its length ; lesser height, lesser trunk, arm, and leg lengths,

compared with the full height. The darker skin of the Aisorian type of the Armenian group and of the Eastern type of the Lezghian group is in accord with the black hair and the brunet type, also with the extreme brachycephaly, with the greater breadth and height of the skull, with the comparatively lesser leptorrhinism, the greater height and greater length of the body and of the arm and leg.

TABLE No. 1

Anthropological traits	Caucasian race				
	The Western type of the Georgian group	The Western type of the Kabardan group	The Aisorian type of the Armenian group	The Eastern type of the Lezghian group	
Colour of skin : white-reddish	50%	—	—	—	
" " dark	50,,	—	100%	—	
" " very dark	—	—	—	—	
Colour of hair : blonde	6%	5%	—	1%	
" " dark	27,,	31,,	15,,	17,,	
" " black	67,,	64,,	85,,	81,,	
Colour of the iris : light	24,,	17,,	13,,	17,,	
" " dark	53,,	74,,	70,,	55,,	
" " mixed	23,,	9,,	17,,	28,,	
Types according to the colour of the hair and iris :—					
blond	4,,	—	—	—	
brunet	54,,	50,,	75,,	85,,	
mixed	42,,	50,,	25,,	15,,	
Cephalic index	82.3	82.0	87.6	86.7	
dolichocephali	12%	7%	—	2%	
mesocephali	20,,	23,,	3%	1,,	
brachycephali	68,,	70,,	97,,	97,,	
Transversovertical index	82.1	—	86.2	—	
Vertical index	67.8	67.7	74.2	—	
Facial index	78.0	77.4	77.7	81.7	
Nasal index	56.1	63.4	62.7	—	
leptorrhinian	100%	91%	83%	—	
mesorrhinian	—	9,,	15,,	—	
platyrrhinian	—	—	2,,	—	
Standing height	1651	1651	1667	1679	
short	22%	—	22%	9%	
medium	57,,	—	53,,	57,,	
tall	21,,	—	25,,	34,,	
Length of body	34.9	—	35.3	36.7	
Circumference of chest	52.5	—	52.0	52.7	
Length of arm	44.8	—	46.5	46.5	
Length of leg	50.1	—	51.6	52.1	

The above-mentioned metamorphous types also show these differences. The Ossets and Tchetchens with the Ingushes in their traits approach the Western type of the Georgio-Kabardan groups, while the Kumukhs, the Daghestanian Tats, and the Israelites of Daghestan and Shemakha approach the Aisorian type of the Armenian group and the Eastern type of the Lezghian group.

The bearers of the anthropologically average traits of the Caucasian race are more closely united with each other, namely, the Eastern type of the Georgio-Kabardan groups, the Armenian type of the Armenian group and the Western type of the Lezghian group. These types are represented by the Georgians of K'art'li and Kakhet'i (Eastern Georgia), by the Adyghes and Karatchais, by the Armenians, and by the Westerly Lezghians (the Arshinians, Avars, Tabasaranians, Kaitagians). These types are compared in the following Table, No. 2.

TABLE NO. 2

Anthropological traits		Caucasian race			
		The Eastern type of the Georgian group	The Eastern type of the Kabardan group	The Armenian type of the Armenian group	The Western type of the Lezghian group
Colour of skin :	white-reddish	30%	—	3%	24%
" "	dark	70 "	—	85 "	69 "
" "	very dark	—	—	12 "	—
" "	yellowish	—	—	—	7 "
Colour of hair :	blonde	3%	5%	6%	9 "
" "	dark	22 "	31 "	27 "	30 "
" "	black	75 "	64 "	67 "	61 "
Colour of the iris :	light	26 "	12 "	10 "	23 "
" "	dark	52 "	70 "	87 "	53 "
" "	mixed	22 "	18 "	3 "	24 "
Types according to the colour of the hair and iris :—					
	blond	2 "	3 "	5 "	7 "
	brunet	54 "	71 "	71 "	60 "
	mixed	44 "	26 "	24 "	33 "
Cephalic index		84.4	83.4	86.5	85.4
	dolichocephali	2%	7%	1%	—
	mesocephali	10 "	12 "	3 "	4%
	brachycephali	88 "	81 "	96 "	96 "
Transversovertical index		84.8	84.3	84.2	85.5
Vertical index		71.5	70.4	73.1	—
	Chamaecephali	53%	65%	40%	—
	orthocephali	25 "	16 "	32 "	—
	hypsicephali	22 "	19 "	28 "	—
Auriculo-parietal index		87.0	88.4	84.4	—
Fronto-parietal index		71.4	71.4	73.1	—
Facial index		80.3	80.4	78.2	—
	leptoprosope	—	—	—	—
	mesoprosope	49%	50%	62%	—
	chamaeprosope	51 "	50 "	36 "	—
Nasal index		57.0	64.0	62.6	65.2
	leptorrhinian	97%	79%	78%	71%
	mesorrhinian	3 "	21 "	20 "	29 "
	platyrrhinian	—	—	2 "	—
Standing height		1649	1675	1671	1657
	short	21%	10%	12%	18%
	medium	62 "	58 "	59 "	62 "
	tall	17 "	32 "	29 "	20 "
Length of body		35.2	36.0	35.9	—
Circumference of chest		53.6	54.4	52.4	52.0
Length of arm		45.6	45.3	44.6	44.7
Length of leg		50.4	52.2	52.2	53.1

These types can be ranged under the following common characteristics :—

They have—

Dark skin	69%—85%
Black hair	61%—75%
Dark iris	52%—87%
Brunet type	54%—71%
Cephalic index	83·4—86·5
Strongly expressed brachycephalic type	81%—96%
Transversovertical index	84·2—85·5
Vertical index	70·4—73·1
Chamaecephalic type	40%—65%
Facial index	78·2—80·4
Leptorrhinian type	71%—97%
Medium height (1600—1700 mm.)	58%—62%
Length of body (trunk)	35·2—36
Length of arm	44·6—45·6
Length of leg	50·4—53·1
Circumference of chest	52—54·4

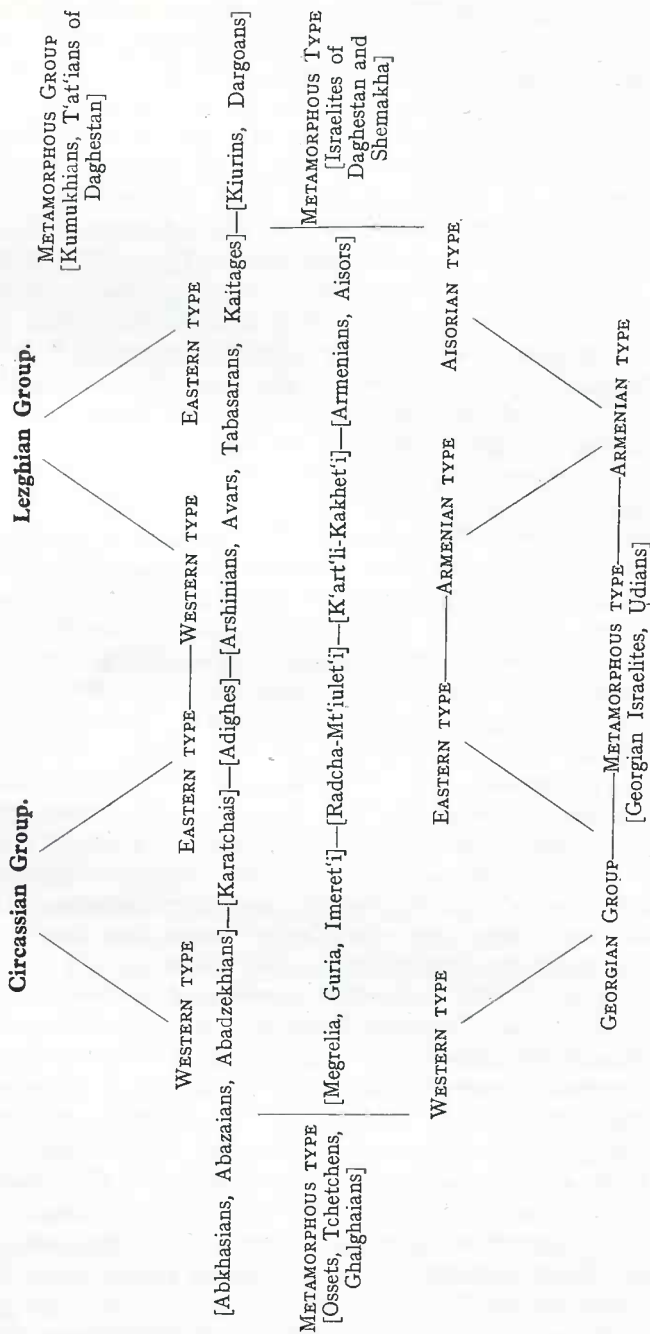
From among these types the Armenian shows the greatest peculiarity. The Armenian type differs greatly from the rest by a darker colour of the skin, by the more frequently occurring dark iris, by greater cephalic and vertical indices, and by a greater tendency towards ortho- and hypsi-cephalism, a greater frontal diameter but a smaller interauricular diameter and a smaller facial index.

The Udians and Georgian Israelites approach, in their anthropological traits, these closely united groups, and represent the embodiment of the metamorphous type of these groups.

The Eastern types of the Georgio-Kabardan groups, the Western type of the Lezghian group, and the Armenian type of the Armenian group are therefore to be considered as the central types of the Caucasian race. To these central types join, on the one hand, the Western type of the Georgio-Kabardan groups, and on the other the Eastern type of the Lezghian group and the Aisorian type of the Armenian group ; these peripheral types represent a great variation of the basic traits of the Caucasian race and are separated from each other in two directions. The following table, No. 3, represents the correlation of the groups and types constituting the Caucasian race and of the nations belonging to this race.

The representation on this table of the groups and types constituting the Caucasian race, and of the nations belonging to it, corresponds to the geographical distribution of these groups, types, and nations. The anthropological map of Caucasia given on page 100 approximately represents the territorial interrelation and expansion of the Caucasian peoples. This cartogram shows that the autochthonous race of Caucasia is found chiefly in the mountainous area, i.e. in the Caucasus mountains and in the South Caucasian mountainous regions, also along the Black Sea coast, in the plains of the River Rioni, and

TABLE No. 3



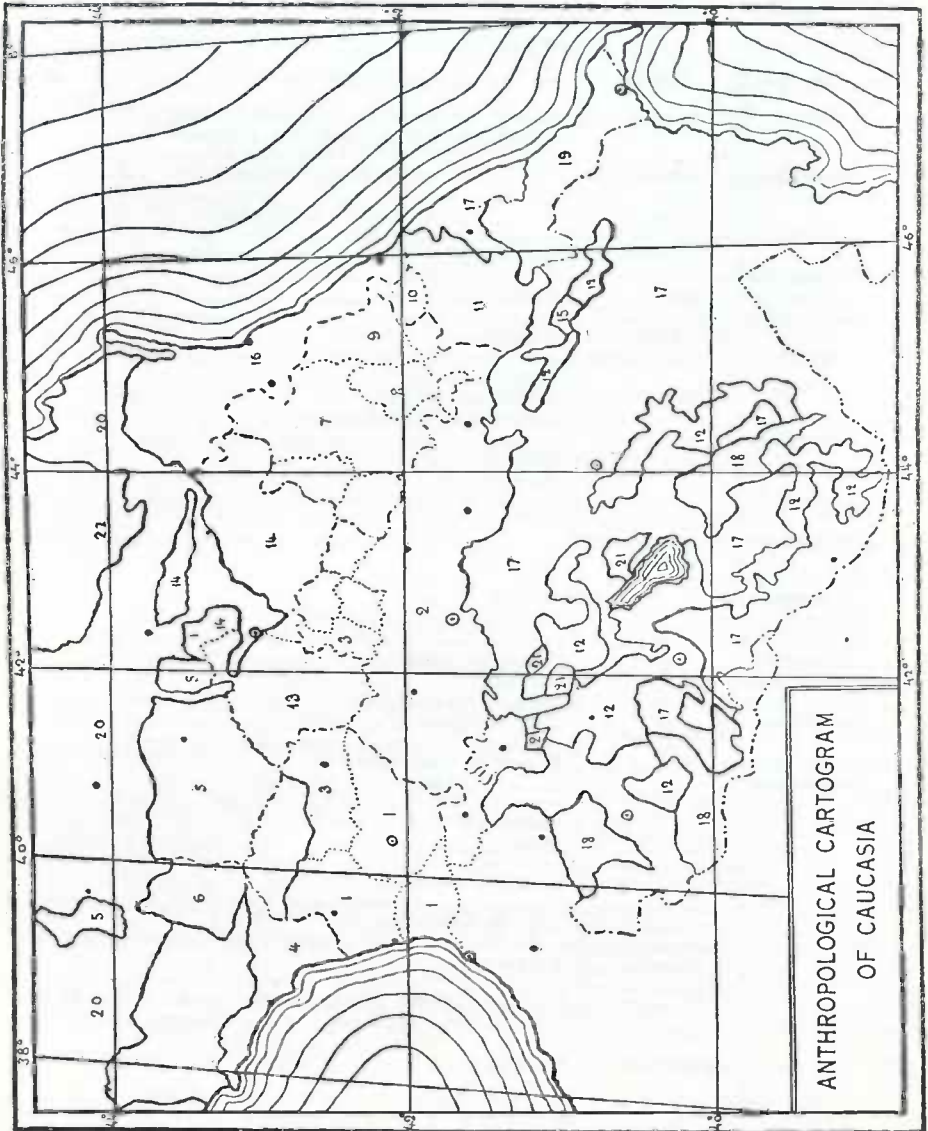
in the middle valley of the Mtkvari (Kur) river. The Slavic race has spread from the north into the plains of the Kuban and Terek rivers, formerly occupied by the Ciscaucasian Mountaineers. The south-eastern region of Caucasia is occupied by the Iranian race which entered Caucasia chiefly by way of the Mtkvari (Kur) valley, and at present holds a greater part of the territory formerly inhabited by the representatives of the Caucasian race. The Nogai, by their anthropological traits represent, in Caucasia, a foreign element, being the metamorphous type of the Mongolian race, and their territorial expansion in north-east Caucasia, forming an ethnic island, indicates also the route by which they entered Caucasia. The geographical distribution of the chief groups and types of the Caucasian race itself shows us that the types of this race characterized more by white-reddish skin and less by black hair, less brunet, less brachycephalic and more chamaecephalic, more leptoprosopic, of medium height and of smaller length of body and arm and leg, the types of the Georgian and Circassian (Kabardan) groups, as well as the metamorphous types of these groups (the Ossets and Tchetshens with the Ingushes), are found in the northern and western parts of Caucasia, and it is possible to assume that these types of the Caucasian race occupied, before the advent of the Slavic race, a larger territory in Ciscaucasia on the north-eastern coast of the Black Sea and thence eastward; while in Transcaucasia this type is represented to-day in Western Georgia, namely, in Megrelia, Guria, Imeret'i, and partly also in Radcha. The anthropological resemblance of the Western types of the Georgian and Circassian groups accords with their geographical proximity to each other. At the other extreme of variation of the anthropological traits of the Caucasian race stand the Eastern type of the Lezghian group (the Kiurins) and the metamorphous types of this group (the Kumukhs and Daghestanian Tats), and geographically too they are distributed over the other maritime district of Caucasia, eastward—along the coast of the Caspian Sea. The Aisorian type of the Armenian group and partly the Armenian type itself, who also are, like the Eastern type of the Lezghian group, characterized more by dark skin and black hair; who are more brunet, very brachycephalic, more broad and long headed, less leptorrhinian, of greater body, arm, and leg lengths—are distributed peripherally in the southern part of Caucasia and along its borders. Thus the Caucasian race exhibits a greater variation and difference on the north-western and south-eastern peripheries of Caucasia. One may assume that the elements that have transformed the basic character of the Caucasian race mingled with the latter either from the north-western or from the south-eastern direction, or from both directions. The bearers of average traits of the Caucasian race are the eastern

types of the Georgio-Circassian groups, the western types of the Lezghian group and partly the Armenian types of the Armenian group. These types occupy geographically central regions and are territorially adjacent to each other.

Races	Groups	Types	Nationalities	No. on cartogram
C A U C A S I A N	Georgian	Western	Georgians of Megrelia, Guria, & Imeret'i	1
		Eastern	„ of K'art'li & Kakhet'i	2
		Mixed	„ of Radcha & Mt'iulet'i	3
	Circassian or Kabardan	Western	Abkhasians, Abazians, & Abadzekhians	4
		Eastern	Kabardans (Adyghes)	5
		Mixed	Karatchais	6
	Lezghian	Western	Avars, Didoans Kazikumukhians Arshinians, Tabasaranians	7 8 9
		Eastern	Dargoans Kiurins	10 11
	Armenian	Armenian	Armenians	12
		Aisorian	Aisorians	
	Georgio-Circassian	Metamorphous	Ossets Tchetchnians, Ghalghaians	13 14
	Georgio-Armenian		Georgian Israelites Udians	15
	Lezghian		Kumukhians	16
	Lezgho-Armenian		Lezghian Israelites „ Tats	
	Iranian		Perso-Kurd	Persians Kurds
		Azerbaijanian	Azerbaijanians	17
Metamorphous		Tats of Shemakha	19	
Slavic	Russian	Russians	21	
	Cossack	Cossacks of the Kuban & the Terek	20	
Mon-golic	Metamorphous	Nogais	22	

The study of the geographical distribution of the groups and types of the Caucasian race shows that the anthropological traits undergo variations, regularly, in definite directions, namely, from the west eastward and from the north southward. This gradual variation of

the traits over Caucasia is, of course, the evidence of the fact that the variants of the Caucasian race originated and developed locally, which proves once more the autochthonous character of the race. At



the same time we see that this race occupies the greater part of Caucasia proper, and that it is surrounded by the Slavic race in the north, and the Iranian in the south and south-east. These two races

limit, hem in, and in places break up the unity of the territory which must have been held once upon a time by the Caucasian race.

We have now to consider the question as to which place is to be assigned to the Caucasian race among the various races of mankind, or the anthropological groups.

T. F. Blumenbach¹ about the end of the eighteenth century, gave the name of the Caucasian to one of the most beautiful races of mankind, which by the frequency of its white skin, long, soft chestnut hair, by the beautiful shape of the face and the skull is, by the standards of European taste, conspicuous among the other races of mankind. To this race belong Europeans with the exception of Lapps, also the Western Asiatics, who dwell to the west of the River Ob, the Caspian Sea, and the Ganges, as well as the Northern Africans. By giving the name Caucasian to this most important race, spread over so large an area, Blumenbach, evidently wished to confer distinction upon the Caucasian peoples possessing the above-mentioned peculiar traits. The name Caucasian has since Blumenbach been used and is still in use in the anthropological literature approximately in the sense already indicated.

Sir W. Flower divides mankind into three main and basic races: Ethiopian, Mongolian, and Caucasian. To the Caucasian race belong the light and dark-skinned Caucasians.

P. Ehrenreich gives six races: The Caucaso-Mediterranean, the Africo-Negretic, the Mongolo-Asiatic, the American, Malayo-Polynesian, and Australian. Ehrenreich considers the Mediterranean population together with the Caucasian peoples as the bearers of the traits of the European peoples.

O. Peschel classifies mankind into seven groups: to one of these groups which he calls "Mediterranean" he assigns Europe.

P. Topinard² also mentions in his classification "the group of the Mediterranean races". He uses, however, this name in a narrow sense; he distinguishes the white-skinned and leptorrhinian group, comprising the English and Scandinavians, the Finns of the Western type, the Mediterranean population, the Semites and Egyptians, the Lapps and Ligurians, and the Celts and Slavs.

Deniker³ divides mankind more in detail; his classification contains twenty-nine races, of which six belong to Europe; two races among the latter, the Northern European and Eastern European, are characterized by wavy or straight hair, dark in colour, by light iris, white-reddish skin, tall or short stature, and by dolichocephaly or

¹ T. F. Blumenbach, *De generis humani varietate nativa*, ed. iii, Gottingae, 1795.

² P. Topinard, *Essai de classification des races humaines actuelles*, in *Revue d'Anthropologie*, 1878, t. i.

³ T. Deniker, *Essai d'une classification des races humaines*, 1889; *Les Races et les peuples de la terre*, 1900.

subbrachycephaly. Of the remaining four European races, the Southern European, together with the Berber, Arab, or Semitic and Indo-Afghan races, constitute a particular racial group characterized by black, wavy hair and dark iris, also by dark white skin and mostly by dolichocephaly. The Western European and Adriatic races with wavy hair and dark iris, approach the above-mentioned group, from which they differ only in this, that they have dark hair, pale white skin and are brachycephalic. Our Caucasian race approaches these latter races.

Huxley classifies mankind into four main races: the dolichocephalic—Australoids, Negroids, Mongoloids, and Xanthochroi. The Xanthochroic type comprises the central European peoples characterized by a great height, delicate white skin, blue or light iris, fair or slightly chestnut hair, and by dolicho or brachy-cephaly. Huxley separates from the Xanthochroic type the Melanochroic type, the white-skinned brunets, who differ from the former by the dark colour of both skin and the iris, but who in other traits resemble them. The Melanochroi are supposed, by Huxley to be hybrid or intermediate between the Xanthochroi and Australoids. This Melanochroic type is found in the southern and western parts of Europe, in Northern Africa, Asia Minor, Arabia, Persia, and India. This and the Xanthochroic type are met with mixed in the south and in the west of Europe. In Northern and Eastern Europe the Xanthochroic type borders upon, and is found mixed with, the Mongoloid type. Caucasia is situated on the spot where the Xanthochroic, Melanochroic, and Mongoloid types meet each other; but we cannot agree with Huxley that Caucasia represents the region of spreading for the Xanthochroic and Mongoloid types, particularly as the representatives of the latter type are not found there; it would have been more acceptable if Huxley had supposed in Caucasia also the mixed spreading of the Xanthochroic and Melanochroic types.

A. Ivanovski¹ classifies mankind into forty-one anthropological groups, of which three belong to our Caucasian race. These are: Georgian, Armenian, and Ossetian groups. He merely indicates these three groups and says nothing about their mutual connections or relations. The comparison of the Georgian group with the other groups of Ivanovski's classification reveals that this group approaches on one side the Albanians of the Balkan peninsula, and on the other, the Turkistan Sarts who together with the Kirghizes, Tarantchaies, Afghans, Dungans, and Sibo-Shibs form the Central Asiatic anthropological group.

¹ A. A. Ivanovski, *On the Anthropological Composition of the Population of Russia* (in Russian), in *Trudy Antropol. Otdela*—The Proceedings of the Anthropological Section, vol. xxii, 1904; *The Population of the World. An Experiment in Anthropological Classification* (in Russian), vol. xxvii, 1911.

Giuffrida-Ruggeri¹ divides mankind as follows : (1) *Homo sapiens australis*, (2) *H. s. pygmaeus*, (3) *H. s. Indo-Africanus*, (4) *H. s. Niger*, (5) *H. s. Americanus*, (6) *H. s. Asiaticus*, (7) *H. s. Oceanicus*, and (8) *H. s. Indo-Europaeus*. The latter, *H. s. Indo-Europaeus*, is subdivided into two groups, namely brachycephalic and dolichocephalic ; the brachycephalic group comprises the Alpine, Armenian, and Pamir types, and the dolichocephalic the Northern, Mediterranean, and Indo-Afghan types. If we follow Giuffrida-Ruggeri's classification, we must somewhat correct it : in place of the Armenian type we should use Caucasian type of which the Armenian type is a component.

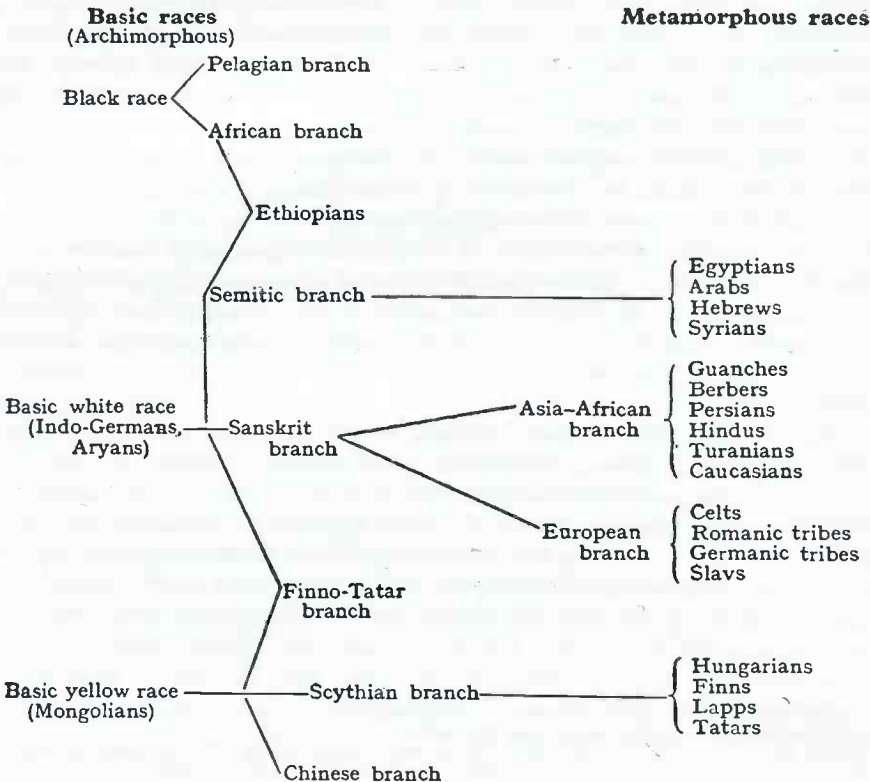
G. H. Stratz² bases his anthropological division of mankind on philogenetic principle and in accordance with this principle he divides man's anthropological peculiarities into primitive, rudimentary, and progressive peculiarities. These three-fold peculiarities create, by their different interrelation a variety of human races. Accordingly Stratz divides mankind into three main groups : (1) The protomorphous to which belong the primitive nations ; (2) The archimorphous to which belong the civilized nations ; and (3) The metamorphous which comprises four main races : Australian, Papua-Melanesian, Bushman, and American with its cognate nations of the Malay Archipelago. The archimorphous group includes three races : the Melanodermic race (Akkas and the Dagua Negro types) ; the Xanthodermic (Mongolian) and the Leucodermic, which comprises the Vedda and Ainu protomorphous forms and numerous metamorphous forms, such as Turanians and Burmans deriving their origin from the yellow race ; and Ethiopians derived from the black race. If we adopt this classification of Stratz, the Caucasian race is to be included in the leucodermic subdivision of the archimorphous group ; its place, however, in this division remains yet to be decided : whether we should consider it as of protomorphous character or of the metamorphous type, or as one of the basic races of the leucodermic group.

G. Fritsch, like Stratz, divides mankind into protomorphous, archimorphous, and metamorphous racial groups. The protomorphous races represent primitive nations who lack the ability to migrate and, therefore, continue to dwell in their primordial homelands. The archimorphous races on the other hand, represent a group whose nations are endowed with migratory instinct, and have, therefore, dispersed themselves all over Mother Earth. Their expansion operates from three centres, namely, the white race from South-Western Asia, the yellow race from North-Eastern Asia, and the black race from

¹ V. Giuffrida-Ruggeri, *Schema di classificazione deg le "Hominidae"* in *Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia*, vol. xlii, No. 1, 1912.

² G. H. Stratz, *Naturgeschichte des Menschen. Grundriss der Somatischen Anthropologie*, 1904.

inner Africa. These three archimorphous races represent the basic races of contemporary mankind. These three basic races, during their progressive movement from the above-mentioned centres, come into contact with each other, and along their border-line spring up the mixed or metamorphous races. The latter are formed also in places where the archimorphous and protomorphous races mingle with each other. It is on this foundation that Fritsch builds up his classification. In this classification the Caucasians are assigned their own place. Fritsch recognizes Caucasians as the indigenous nations of Caucasia. In this classification the Caucasians together with the Turanians, Hindus, Persians, Berbers, and Guanches, represent metamorphous nations of the Asia-African branch, which also, together with the metamorphous European branch, constitutes the Sanscrit branch ; this Sanscrit branch is one of the main branches of the basic archimorphous racial group—the basic white group, whose prototypes we must assume to be the Indo-Europeans, the Aryans. We reproduce herewith that part of Fritsch's table of classification which throws light upon the question of the Caucasians.



The opinion concerning the place of the Caucasians in anthropology has thus in course of time undergone changes. At first Caucasians were considered as the most characteristic nations of the European white-skinned race (Blumenbach, Flower). Later, however, attention is concentrated on the Mediterranean peoples and the place of the Caucasian race we find given to the Caucasico-Mediterranean race (Ehrenreich), or simply to the Mediterranean race (Peschel). Anthropologists, however, are not satisfied with such a simple explanation of the composition of the European population and more complex classifications make their appearance. The Mediterranean race of Topinard is one of the six races which compose the white-skinned and leptorrhinian group. According to Deniker's classification there are, in Europe, six races of which the Western European and Adriatic races are nearer than any other remaining race to the Caucasian race with their dark and wavy hair, dark iris, pale white skin, and their brachycephaly. Huxley separates the melanochroic type—the white-skinned brunets—from the Xanthochroic type of the inner European population; these types came into contact with each other during the time of their expansion and originated the mixed or metamorphous types, the example of which is represented among others by the Caucasians; these latter, however, according to Huxley are found in the region where the Xanthochroic and Mongolian types border upon each other. It has been noted above that Caucasians manifested a greater tendency towards the Melanochroic type than towards the Mongolian type, and they therefore should, in Huxley's classification, represent rather a metamorphous type, composed of the Xanthochroi and Melanochroi elements. Ivanovski's classification does not unite the indigenous population of Caucasia into one group, but indicates three groups independently from each other, the Georgian, Armenian, and Ossetian. The Georgian group, in our opinion, shows resemblance on the one hand to the Balkan Albanians, and on the other to Ivanovski's Central Asian group. In Giuffrida-Ruggeri's classification the Caucasians should be included in the Indo-European brachycephalic group, but with a name of its own and not with that of the Armenian as Giuffrida-Ruggeri does. Fritsch definitely and clearly considers Caucasians as the metamorphous race of the Asia-African branch; this Asia-African branch originates together with the European branch from the Sanscrit branch, which is developed from one of the archimorphous basic races—the white race. According to Stratz's classification our Caucasian race is to be considered as one of the metamorphous forms of the leucodermic race of the archimorphous racial group. As our Caucasian race exhibits a great fluctuation of peculiarities in its component variations, we cannot recognize it as a pure representative of the leucodermic race, like the North

European. That our Caucasian race represents the metamorphous form of the leucodermic race is clearly evident from the mixed character of its numerous peculiarities. Which of the purer and simpler elements go to the making of the Caucasian race has, however, to be determined. A definite answer to this question can only be given by a philogenetic study of the Caucasian race, which study, unfortunately, has not yet even been begun. We can also imagine the Caucasian race as the protomorphous form of the leucodermic races. A great variation of peculiarities is the main characteristic of the protomorphous forms, which constitutes also the character of the Caucasian race. At the same time, as has already been made clear, the variations of the Caucasian race were developed locally and for this reason we assume the Caucasian race to be the autochthonous race of Caucasia. Accordingly we may assume that the Caucasian race, as the protomorphous form of the leucodermic races, represents one of the stages of the development of the latter races, through which these passed during their movement from the south-west of Asia to the north of Europe.

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THE CHRONOLOGICAL-GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF GEORGIA

By A. GUGUSHVILI

Establishment of Kingship.

IN describing the legendary invasion of Georgia, by Alexander the Great, *The Conversion of Georgia to Christianity*¹ relates that Alexander "had with him Azo, son of the King of *Aran-K'art'li*, and he gave him Mtskhet'a for his residence. . . . Azo then went to his father in *Aran-K'art'li* and brought back with him eight families and ten families² of his kinsfolk, and took his seat in old Mtskhet'a. . . . And he, Azo, son of the King of the *Aran-K'art'lians*, was the first king within Mtskhet'a."

Thus, according to *The Conversion*, the *K'art'lians* came to Georgia from *Aran-K'art'li*; in other words, from *K'art'li* of *Aran* to *K'art'li* of Georgia. It is true that *The Conversion* confuses here three events: the immigration of the *K'art'lians*, the establishment of kingship in Georgia, and Alexander's campaigns in Hither Asia; these are all represented as having occurred at one and the same time. It is now well known that Alexander never invaded Georgia, but the statement is, nevertheless, of great interest, for it shows that *The Conversion* knew that the *K'art'lians* were not the earliest inhabitants of the country. Moreover, it also appears to have known even the country of the origin of the *K'art'lians*. The immigration of the *K'art'lians* took place much earlier than Alexander's time—according to Professor Javakhishvili "approximately about the sixth-fifth century B.C."³

The connection of Alexander the Great with the establishment of

¹ *The Conversion of Georgia* is an ecclesiastical chronicle and describes the conversion of Georgia to Christianity. It also contains a brief account of the lives and deeds of the early kings of Georgia. It appears to have been compiled by a deacon who calls himself Gregory (Grigoli) and who admits, himself, having used a more extensive chronicle. When discovered, it formed part of *The Shatberd Parchment Collection*, compiled in the tenth century. *The Conversion* has been described and published in two parts by Professor E. Taqaiashvili, who thinks it to have been written in the seventh century. [For part one, containing the historical chronicle, see *The Three Chronicles* (Russian translation), Tiflis, 1900; for part two, *A new variant of the life of St. Nino, or the second part of The Conversion of Georgia* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1891.] The chronology of *The Conversion* is brought down to the ninth century, its latter part is therefore a later addition.

² In Georgian *Sakhli*, the present-day meaning of which is "house", is to be understood here, according to Professor Javakhishvili (*A History of Georgian Justice*, Tiflis, 1928, vol. i, part I, p. 25), in its ancient meaning in which it was the equivalent of Georgian *gvari*—"an aggregate of families having common descent and forming a community of its own" (see W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932, p. 221).

³ Javakhishvili, *History*, 1913, vol. i, p. 68.

kingship, which connotes the creation of a monarchic centre in Georgia, appears to have a semblance of feasible reality behind it, if we remember the change that took place in the international situation at that time, as a result of Alexander's invasion of the vast Persian Empire. Most of the Georgian tribes were then within the sphere of influence of the Achæmenian Empire, and its destruction by Alexander would gain for them freedom and independence, which circumstance may have brought about the unification of the Georgian tribes and the creation of a kingdom. That a sufficiently strong monarchic centre was established in Georgia at the end of the fourth century B.C., under Azo, is also the opinion of the late S. Gorgadze, a well-known Georgian historian.¹

Examined in this light, the statement of *The Conversion* does certainly contain facts. The direct connection of Alexander with these events in Georgia is nothing more than an amalgamation on the part of *The Conversion* "of the legends of the Alexander romance with the vague remembrance" of both the immigration of the K'art'lians and the establishment of kingship in Georgia. The first king, then, according to *The Conversion* was Azo, the son of the king of Aran-K'art'li.²

The Life of Georgia, which is a later chronicle than *The Conversion*,³ makes, however, no mention of Azo of Aran-K'art'li. The version of the latter concerning the establishment of kingship in Georgia differs essentially from that of the former. According to *The Life of Georgia*, Alexander the Great, having conquered Georgia, entrusted the administration of the country to a relation of his, a patrician, by name Azon, who, after the death of Alexander, resorted to harsh methods of government which exasperated not only the Georgians, but also the Greeks whom he had brought with him. Harshly oppressed, the Georgians revolted under the leadership of P'arnavaz, a descendant of K'art'los, the eponymous ancestor of the K'art'lians, and the son of the brother of Samara, the

¹ S. Gorgadze, *Letters on the History of Georgia* (in Georgian), in *Dzveli Sak'art'velo, Ancient Georgia*, Tiflis, 1909, vol. i, pp. 43-5.

² An article on the geographical position of Aran-K'art'li will be published in a future number of this journal; in the meanwhile see M. Tseretheli, *The Asianic Elements in National Georgian Paganism*, in *Georgica*, 1935, vol. i, No. 1, p. 51.

³ *The Life of Georgia* represents a collection of chronicles; its compilation was begun in the tenth-eleventh centuries. It has been edited in two parts; the first part, which contains the history of Georgia from ancient times to the year 1469, was published in Georgian by M. F. Brosset in 1849, and the second part, containing the history of Georgia from 1469 to the close of the eighteenth century by Professor D. Tchubinashvili, in 1854. *The Life of Georgia* was translated into French by Brosset with extensive commentaries of his own, under the title of *Histoire de la Géorgie, depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'au XIX^e siècle*; 1^{re} partie: *Histoire Ancienne, jusqu'au 1469 de J.-C.*, St. Pb., 1849; 2^e partie: *Histoire Moderne*, St. Pb., 1856; *Introduction et Tables des matières*, St. Pb., 1858; *Additions et Eclaircissement à l'Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'au 1469 de J.-C.*, St. Pb., 1851.

last *Mamasakhlisi*¹ of Mtskhet'a, who was killed during the invasion of Alexander. With the help of K'uji, the ruler of Egrisi (Western Georgia), P'arnavaz expelled Azon and his Greek mercenaries from Mtskhet'a and Eastern Georgia. Azon fled to Klarjet'i, and P'arnavaz sent envoys to the King of Syria soliciting help against the Greeks. The King of Syria welcomed the envoys, proclaimed P'arnavaz as his adopted son, and recognizing him as King of Georgia, enjoined the Armenian rulers to assist him. Reinforced thus, P'arnavaz and K'uji destroyed the forces of Azon, who himself was killed. P'arnavaz conferred upon K'uji the country between the Egrisis-tsqali (see p. 57, note 3) and the Rion, from the Black Sea to the Caucasus Mountains, that is the whole Samegrelo (Megrelia) and Svanet'i, of which he made him an *erist'avi* (governor). P'arnavaz declared himself King of K'art'li and Egrisi. He reorganized and increased the army of the K'art'losids and for the better administration of the kingdom, appointed eight *erist'av-s* and one *spaspet* (commander-in-chief).

“ One he sent as *erist'avi* to Margwi (i.e. Margvet'i) and gave him (the country) from the small mountain which is the Likhi (i.e. the Suram range) to the Sea, above the (River) Rion. And P'arnavaz built for him two fortresses, Shorapan and Dimna.

“ And he sent the second as the *erist'avi* of Kakhet'i and gave him (the country) from the (River) Aragvi to Heret'i, which are Kakhet'i and Kukhet'i.

“ The third he sent as the *erist'avi* of Khunani and gave him (the country) from the River Berduji to T'p'ilisi (i.e. Tiflis) and Gatchiani, which is Gardabani.

“ The fourth he sent to Samshvilde as *erist'avi* and gave him (the country) from the Skoret'i River to the mountains which are Tashiri and Abotsi.

“ The fifth he sent to Dsunda as *erist'avi* and gave him (the country) from the (lake) P'anavar to the source of the (river) Mtkvari (i.e. Kur), which are Javakhet'i, Kolay, and Artani.

“ The sixth he sent as the *erist'avi* of Odzrkhe and gave him (the

¹ *Mamasakhlisi* denotes “ father of the house ” and *Mamasakhlis-ate* is the system of government which, according to the Georgian annals, prevailed in Georgia before kingship was introduced by P'arnavaz. The Georgian *Mamasakhlisi* and *Sakhlis* may be compared to the Roman *paterfamilias* and *familia* respectively. Georgian chronicles recall the time when there were many *Mamasakhlisi-s* in Georgia. The most powerful among them, however, was the *Mamasakhlisi* of Mtskheta, who was “ an arbiter and judge of all the K'art'losids, the first among all other *mamasakhlisi-s*; they obeyed him and recognized him as their supreme head ”. According to the late M. Janashvili, a Georgian historian, along with *Mamasakhlis-ate*, there existed also *diasakhlis-ate* or *dedasakhlis-ate*, (from *Diasakhlisi*, *materfamilias*). The Georgian *mamasakhlisi* and *diasakhlisi* later became the first *mamp'ali* and the second *dedp'ali*, and later still *Mep'e*, King, and *dedup'ali*, Queen, respectively. [M. G. Janashvili, *A History of Georgia* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1906, vol. i, p. 24.]

KINGS OF ANCIENT GEORGIA

According to <i>The Conversion of Georgia</i>	According to <i>The Life of Georgia</i>	According to S. GORGADZE
1. Aran (the first king)	Samara (<i>Manasakhisi</i> of Mtskheta) † B.C. 322	
2. Azo	Azon the Greek (<i>Eristavi</i> of K'art'li, appointed by Alexander the Great)	1. Azo (son of King of Aran-K'art'li) B.C. 330-272
3. P'arnavaz	1. P'arnavaz (the first king) B.C. 302-237	2. P'arnavaz I 272-206
4. Saurmag	2. Saurmag 237-162	3. Saurmag I 206-162
5. Mirvan I	3. Mirvan I (a Persian, adopted by Saurmag) 162-112	4. Mirvan I 162-120
6. P'arnajob	4. P'arnajom 112-93	5. P'arnajom 120-88
7. Arsak I	5. Arshak I (son of the Armenian King) 93-81	6. Arsook (Arshak I) 88-66
8. Arik	6. Artag 81-66	7. Artag 66-64
9. Bratman I	7. Bartom I 66-33	8. Bratman (P'arnavaz II) 64-32
10. Mirvan II	8. Mirvan II (son of P'arnajom) 33-23	9. Mirvan II 32-22
11. Arsuk II	9. Arshak II 23-2	10. Arik (Arshak II) 21-1
12. Rok	10. Aderki (son of Bartom) B.C. 2-A.D. 55	11. Aderki A.D. 1-30
13. K'arram & Bratman II (King of Armaz) (King of Mtskheta)	11. K'art'am . A.D. 55-72 Bartom II (King of Armaz) (King of Mtskheta)	12. K'art'am (K'arram) or Mhirdat I 30-35
14. P'arsman I & Kaoz	12. P'arsman I 72-87 Kaoz	13. P'arsman I 35-70
15. Arsook & Amazaer	13. Azork 87-103 Armazael	14. Azork (Arsook II) or Mhirdat II 70-96
16. Amazasp I & Deruk	14. Amzasp I 103-113 Derok	15. Am(a)zasp I 96-116
17. P'arsman II K'veli & P'arsman Avaz	15. P'arsman II K'veli 113-129 Mirdat I	16. P'arsman II K'veli 116-140
18. Rok & Mirdat I		17. Rok 140-146
19. Ghadami	16. Adami 129-132	18. Ghadam (Adam) 146
20. P'arsman III	17. P'arsman III † 182	19. P'arsman III 146-164
21. Amazasp II	18. Amzasp II 182-186	20. Am(a)zasp II 164-182
22. Rev Mart'ali	19. Rev Mart'ali (son of the Armenian King) 186-213	21. Rev Mart'ali 182-190
23. Vatche	20. Vatche 213-231	22. Vatche 190-208
24. Bakur I	21. Bakur I 231-246	23. Bakur I 208-216
25. Mirdat II	22. Mirdat II 246-262	24. Mhirdat III 216-224
26. Asp'agur	23. Asp'agur 262-265	25. Asp'agur I 224-265
27. Lev		26. Lev 265-300
28. Mirian	24. Mirian (son of the Persian King, K'asre Ardashir) 265-342	27. Mirean (Mirian) 300-362
Rev	Rev	
29. Bakur II	25. Bahk'ar I (brother of Rev) 342-364	28. Bakur II 362-364
30. T'rdat (brother of Bakur)	26. Mirdat III 364-379	29. T'rdat 364-368
		30. Saurmag II 368
31. Varaz-Bakur	27. Varaz-Bak'ar, or Bak'ar II 379-393	31. Varaz-Bakur (As-Pakur) or Asp'agur II 368-425
32. Bakur III (brother of T'rdat)	28. T'rdat (son of Rev.) 393-405	32. Bakur III 425-428
33. P'arsman IV (nephew of T'rdat)	29. P'arsman IV (son of Varaz-Bak'ar) 405-408	33. P'arsman IV 428-430
34. Mirdat III	30. Mirdat IV (brother of P'arsman) 408-410	34. Mhirdat IV 430-432
35. Artchil I	31. Artchil I 410-434	35. Artchil I 432-438
36. Mirdat IV	32. Mirdat V 434-446	36. Mhirdat V 438-450
37. Vakhtang Golgasari	33. Vakhtang Gurg-Aslani 446-499	37. Vakhtang I Gorgasal 450-503
38. Datchi Ujarmeli	34. Datchi 499-514	
39. Bakur IV	35. Bakur II 514-528	
40. P'arsman V	36. P'arsman V 528-542	
41. P'arsman VI	37. P'arsman VI (nephew of King P'arsman) 542-557	
42. Bakur V	38. Bakur III 557-570	
	Interregnum 570-575	
	39. Guram I Kuropalat, Bagratid 575-600	
	40. Step'anoz I (Eristavt-Mt'avar) 600-619	
	41. Adarnase I, son of Bakur III (Mt'avar) 619-639	
	42. Step'anoz II (Mt'avar) 639-663	
	43. Mir and Artchil (Kings; reigned jointly) 663-668	
	44. Artchil II the Martyr (King; reigned alone) 668-718	
	45. Ioane and Juansher (reigned jointly; Ioane † 786) 718-787	

country) from Tasis Kari (i.e. the Gate of Tasi or the Borjom defile) to the Arsian (range) and from the Nosti to the Sea, which are Samtskhe and Adchara.

“ The eighth he appointed as Spaspeti and gave him (the country) from T’p’ilisi (i.e. Tiflis) and the Aragvi to the Tasis Kari and the P’anavari, which is Inner K’art’li. And this Spaspeti was always near the king and (was) above all other erist’av-s. Under these erist’av-s he appointed at different places *Spasalars* and *chiefs of the thousand*. And from them all came in taxes royal and erist’aval.” [*The Life of Georgia*, edited by M. Marr (in Georgian), St. Pb., 1923, p. 31. See also the translation of M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Pb., 1849, 1^{re} partie, p. 41.]

The Georgian annals, *The Conversion of Georgia* and *The Life of Georgia*, furnish us with lists of the kings of Georgia from the fourth century A.D. onwards with the dates of their respective reigns. Unfortunately, however, neither the list nor the dates of *The Conversion* agree with those of *The Life*, and although the annals have been sufficiently collated by Brosset, D. Tchubinashvili, T. Zhordania, and other Georgian scholars, we do not possess a reliable chronological-genealogical table of the kings of Georgia. The first attempt in this direction was made by Prince Vakhusht, the great Georgian historian and geographer (1696–1772), in his *History of Georgia* (published by D. Bakradze, Tiflis, 1885). Vakhusht’s chronology was collated and corrected by Brosset (*Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii, part i, pp. 619–654). Of the modern Georgian scholars, E. Taqaishvili, I. Javakhishvili, S. Gorgadze, S. Kakabadze, and others have done much to clear up many obscure aspects of the Georgian chronology, but much still remains to be done, and particularly so in regard to the chronology and genealogy of the kings of ancient Georgia, from the fourth century B.C. to the sixth–seventh centuries A.D. The Georgian historians, S. Kakabadze and S. Gorgadze have made attempts at a critical study of the chronology of this period. Unfortunately, however, the writer is in the possession of the work of Gorgadze only, whose chronology is reproduced on the previous pages, together with the tables from the Georgian annals. The chronological table of Gorgadze covers thirty-seven kings, from the first King Azo (330 B.C.) to Vakhtang Gorgasal (A.D. 450–503), who is, according to his own computation, the thirty-seventh king of Georgia; this study of his was published in *Dzveli Sak’art’velo*, *Ancient Georgia*, a journal of the Georgian Society of History and Ethnography, in 1909 and 1913. Gorgadze’s collation, however, is not immune from miscalculation, and his list is therefore to be treated with reservation and considered only as a provisional one.

Abolition of Kingship.

Soon after the introduction of Christianity (the beginning of the fourth century) Georgia became the subject of the ambitions of Persia and Byzantium, both of whom began to rival each other for influence in Georgia. The disastrous series of wars which they waged against each other, finally brought in their wake the destruction of the independence of K'art'li or Iberia (Eastern Georgia), about the beginning of the second quarter of the sixth century, and placed the country under an effective control of the Persians who abolished kingship in K'art'li in 527-532. The *Georgian Life* mentions Bakur III as the last king, but Procopius, the Byzantine historian, names Gurgen, King of Iberia, who was in alliance with the Emperor Justin (518-527) and in revolt against Persia. Gurgen, however, had failed to rid his kingdom of the Persians and fled to Lazica (Western Georgia), whence he went to Byzantium in 523. "The Persians from that time on," states Procopius, "did not permit them (i.e. the Iberians) to set up a king over themselves." The Iberians had, nevertheless, it appears, attempted, according to Theophanes (*Chronographia*, i, p. 216), to place a new king, by name Dzamanarse (Dzamanardzos) on the throne, but he, too, had to take the road of Gurgen to Byzantium in 527. The abolition of kingship, however, was finally legitimized, in the opinion of Professor Javakhishvili (*History*, i, 1928, p. 227) by the so-called "Eternal Treaty" concluded by Persia and Byzantium in 532. (See also W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932, pp. 376-7). Having thus brought K'art'li under his effective control, the Shah of Persia (Chosroes I Anushirvan, 531-579) placed the supreme administration of the country under a *Marzpan* (Marzban). In 540-1 such a *Marzpan* appears to have been one called Arvand Gushnasp, and in 545-550 Vezhan Buzmil.¹ As the representatives of the Shah the *Marzpan*s were the supreme chiefs of the army of occupation and of the commanders of fortresses; they were also responsible for the collection of contributions and other taxes. The internal administration was, however, left in the hands of the Georgian grandees, who appear as the actual masters of the country. "Since the loss of kingship by the sons of Gorgasal, the power in K'art'li was held by the nobles," states a Georgian medieval historian. The highest official among these "power-holding" nobles (*Aznaurni*) was styled *Mt'avari* (comparable to *princeps*, *archon*). There are also other administrative titles mentioned in the sources, such as *Mamasakhlisi* (of K'art'li), *Erist'avi* (of K'art'li), *Erist'avt'-erist'avi*, the Governor of

¹ Mentioned in *The Life of St. Eustathius of Mtskheta*, a Georgian monument of the sixth century. See its German translation by Professor I. Javakhishvili, *Martyrium des heiligen Eustathius von Mtscheta* in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin*, 1901, xxxviii.

According to
The Conversion of Georgia

1. Guaram I
 - 2. Step'anoz I — Demetre
 - 3. Adrnese I
 - 4. Step'anoz II
 - 5. Guaram II Kuropalat
 - 6. Guaram III the Young
 - 7. Arshusha Kuropalat
 - 8. Varaz-Bakur Apay Patrikiozi
 - 9. Nerse
 - 10. P'ilipe 11. Step'anoz III 12. Adrnese II 13. Guaram IV
 - 14. Bakureani, son of Baldadi
 - 15. Step'anoz IV 16. Ashot Kuropalat 17. Guaram V

According to
The Sumbat's History of the Bagratids

1. Guaram I
 - 2. Step'anoz I — Demetre
 - 3. Adarnase I
 - 4. Step'anoz II
 - 5. Guaram II Kuropalat
 - 6. Varaz-Bakur-Ant'ipatrikosi
 - 7. Nerse
 - 8. P'ilipe 9. Step'anoz III 10. Adarnase II
 - 11. Gurgun The Erist'av 12. Ashot Kuropalat

According to
The Life of Georgia

1. Guaram I Kuropalat, 575-600
 - 2. Step'anoz I, 600-619 — Demetre
 - 3. Adarnase I (son of King Bakur III and not of Step'anoz), 619-631
 - 4. Step'anoz II, 631-663
 - 5. Guaram II Kuropalat (son of Step'anoz I and not of II)
 - 6. Varaz-Bakur Antipatriki
 - 7. Nerse
 - 8. Adarnase II 9. P'ilipe 10. Step'anoz III
 - 11. Ashot Kuropalat 12. Gurgun

Governors (for the meaning of these terms see Allen, op. cit., pp. 237 sqq.), *Patiakhshi* (of K'art'li, of Heret'i), which is a Persian title. Of these officials we know by name only two, namely Arshusha, *Patiakhshi* of K'art'li, and Grigol, *Mamasakhlisi* of K'art'li, both mentioned in 541 in *The Life of St. Eustathius of Mtskheta*. The title of *patiakhshi* had been in use even before the abolition of kingship, for history mentions Arshusha and his son, Vask'en († 483), both *Patiakhshis* of K'art'li. *Mamasakhlisi* was, of course, one of the oldest institutions in Georgia, but what were the duties of a *mamasakhlisi* at this time, or in what aspect did his office differ from that of an *Erist'avi* or *Patiakhshi* is difficult to discern (Javakhishvili, op. cit., p. 258).

On the opposite page is a comparative list of the great *Erist'avs* or *Erist'avs* of *Erist'avs* or *Mt'avars* from Guram I (575-600) to Ashot Kuropalat (780-826), published by Professor E. Taqaishvili in his *New Variant of the Life of St. Nino*, etc., Tiflis, 1891.

Re-establishment of Kingship and the Bagratid Dynasty.

According to *The Life of Georgia*, the first king of the Bagratid dynasty in Georgia was Gu(a)ram (No. 39, p. 113, or No. 1, p. 116), who was a Bagratid on his father's and a Khosroid on his mother's side. He was succeeded by his son Step'anoz I, who ruled Georgia from 600 to 619 and who, "fearing alike the Persians and the Greeks, dared not take the title of King, and they called him *Erist'avt'-Mt'avari*", that is the chief of the *Erist'av-s*. With Step'anoz ended the first period of the Bagratid dynasty. Step'anoz I was succeeded by Adarnase I (619-639), son of Bakur III, the Khosroid (557-570). The Khosroid dynasty thus restored, remained in power until 786, when the Bagratid dynasty was reinstated in the person of Ashot I, son of Adarnase II. Professor E. Taqaishvili, however, has demonstrated in his article published in the first number of this Journal (*Georgian Chronology and the Beginnings of the Bagratid Rule in Georgia*, pp. 18-25) that the first Bagratid to rule in Georgia was Ashot I, surnamed "The Great" and not Guaram. Ashot I came to the throne, according to Taqaishvili, in 780, and not in 786 (op. cit., p. 25), as shown below (p. 119). The Bagratids in Georgia had their historian who wrote their history, entitled *The Life and Information of the Bagratids, our Georgian Kings; whence they came into this country, and from which time they possessed the Kingdom of Georgia*. Sumbat Davit'isdze, the author of this work, which is referred to herein as Sumbat's *History*, lived at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. In his *History* Sumbat gives a complete genealogy of the Bagratids, the most trustworthy and exact part of which, however, begins, Professor Taqaishvili maintains, with Ashot I. We therefore reproduce on p. 119 Sumbat's list of the Bagratids, from Ashot to Bagrat III, as excerpted from his *History* by Professor

Javakhishvili (the latter's *History*, vol. ii, 1914, p. 708; see also Brosset, *Additions et Eclaircissements a l'Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Pb., 1851, p. 155; cf. p. 161; and J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 434-5 and 391 sqq.).

Sumbat gives mainly a genealogy and chronology of the numerous descendants of Ashot the Great Kuropalat, which represents "a maze of names, titles, and dates", often supported, as Taqaishvili states, "by MSS annotations, epigraphic inscriptions, information by foreign writers, etc." He styles them either *Mamp'ali*, *Erist'avi*, *Erist'avt'erist'avi*, and *Mep'e* (King), which are purely Georgian titles, or *Kuropalat*, *Magistros*, *Antipatrikios*, and *Antipatos patrikios*, which are foreign, Byzantine titles. He does not, however, as much as even hint at the nature of the offices they appear to have held. We do not, therefore, know what relations existed at this time between these various title-holders. That *erist'avt'erist'avacy* was an office and a rank, higher than *erist'avacy*, is clear, but how, or in what aspect did either of the latter differ from *Mamp'alacy* or *Kuropalatship*, etc., is difficult to discern.

Giorgi Mertchuli (tenth century), in his *Life of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a* (ninth century), has preserved for us valuable information, from which it appears that Kuropalatship was at first, at any rate, if not later, the highest office. After the death of Ashot the Great, the Greek Emperor conferred Kuropalatship upon his (Ashot's) second son, Bagrat, and although all the three sons of Ashot were vested with sovereignty and they ruled and administered the country together, so that there was at this time "the reign of the three sovereign brothers", one of the brothers, namely, the middle one, was, nevertheless, recognized as the senior and "his brothers, the glorious sovereigns, Adarnarse the eldest and Guaram the youngest, obeyed the middle brother". [*Georgi Mertchul. The Life of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a*. The Georgian text, with a preface and translation by N. Marr (in Russian), St. Pb., 1911, p. 105, ch. xxiv, 1-5.] This custom of considering one of the members of the family as the senior or chief, continued also among the subsequent generations, and the seniority, Javakhishvili maintains (op. cit., p. 397), was evidently accorded until the kingship was re-established in 888, to whoever held the title of Kuropalat, other members of the family obeying him as *erist'avt'erist'avs* and *erist'avs*.

On the basis of this conclusion, Javakhishvili analyses the genealogical table, given below, as consisting of two principal branches. One is the branch of "the Klarj Sovereigns" (*Klarjni Khelmdsipeni*), "who as it was to be expected, were, at the same time, *Artanujelni* (sing. *Artanujeli*, of Artanuji). If we examine the ancestral branch of the last Klarj sovereigns, we shall see that it is just the members

of their branch that are called *Artanujelni* or Artanujians. At the same time it is the Artanuj-Klarj sovereigns that have been, with the exception of Guaram, the youngest son of Ashot the Great, vested with *mamp'alacy*. . . . The second branch is that of the 'Kings of Tao' whose best representative was David the Great Kuropalat († 1001). This branch was constituted by the descendants of Bagrat Kuropalat; although Bagrat was the second son of Ashot the Great, he, nevertheless, by his right, ranked above his eldest brother, Adarnerse, because he 'accepted Kuropalatship (of his father), for the sovereignty was given him from on high'. His descendants, therefore, constituted the senior branch and it was for this reason that the members of this branch received the right of kingship. *The first 'King of the K'art'ulians' was Adarnase, son of David Kuropalat and grandson of Bagrat Kuropalat, and they 'seated' him as king in 888.*" (Ibid.)

The third branch, we may add, was the Abkhasian dynasty, which was related to the Bagratids. T'evdose I (789-816), the second king of Abkhasia, married the daughter of Ashot the Great.

Unification of the Kingdoms of Georgia.

At the beginning of the eighth century two great powers dominated Georgia, the Arabs and the Byzantines; the former held Eastern and the latter Western Georgia. In the preceding centuries, Georgia had been harassed almost continually by her then powerful neighbours, the Romans and Persians, the Byzantines, Arabs and Khazars, who invaded her time and again, and the country was often fearfully devastated. Georgia passed through trying times during this long-continued foreign domination; not only her political life, but even her very physical existence was often in the balance; nevertheless, she emerged triumphantly from this trial in the end. Georgia began to recover in the second half of the eighth century. This recovery did not, however, come all at once. Georgia was at this time divided into several domains which were independent of each other. The movement that revived the nation was therefore slow and progressed differently in different parts of the country; some revived quickly, others slowly. The first to revive was Ap'khazet'i, whose *Erist'avi*, Leon (744-791), revolted against Byzantium and took possession of Ap'khazet'i, conquered Egrisi or all Western Georgia "as far as the mountains of Likhi", and assumed the title of king. The recovery of Ap'khazet'i was followed by that of Tao-Klarjet'i or Meskhet'i. Ashot, the *erist'avi* of K'art'li, surnamed later "the Great", persecuted cruelly by the Arabs, who would not tolerate near themselves another power, left K'art'li for Meskhet'i, and there created out of the ruins and chaos into which the province had been plunged by the invasion of the Arab Commander, Murvan, surnamed by the Georgians "the

Deaf", an erist'avate of Shavshet'-Klarjet'i. He extended his rule over Tao and Ispir, and the whole of the Dchorokh Valley; moreover, he also managed to hold K'art'li. The Erist'avate soon grew into a flourishing kingdom, including Javakhet'i and Adchara, whose ruler, Adarnase Kuropalat, the great-grandson of Ashot the Great, became the first king of the K'art'uelians in 888. Adarnase (888-923) was thus the second Erist'avi in Georgia to assume the title of king since the abolition of kingship.

K'art'li at this time was a prey of the ambitions, not only of the contending powers of Georgia (those of Kakhet'i, Ap'khazet'i, and Tao-Klarjet'i, the appanage of Adarnase, the first K'art'uelian king), but also of the Arabs and, in the ninth century, of Armenia, where separate principalities had also come into being. The contending Georgian powers understood well the advantage that would accrue to a united Georgia and they were animated with the ideal of the unification, but each ruler desired to attain this ideal in his own way, under his own ægis. Geographically K'art'li holds the central position in Transcaucasia, and whoever controlled her would acquire supremacy not only over all Georgia but also over the whole of Transcaucasia and even Caucasia including Armenia. Hence the intervention of the rising Armenian principalities in the struggle for supremacy among the Georgian rulers. The struggle, however, ended finally, after some vicissitudes of fortune, in favour of the Likht'-Imerians or Abkhasians, who conquered K'art'li (with the exception of Tiflis which constituted an Arab Emirate), and part of Heret'i. Under the Abkhasian kings—Giorgi II (912-957), Leon II (957-967), Demetre II (967-975), and T'evdose II (Theodosius, 975-978)—K'art'li was administered by the members of the Abkhasian royal family as the Erist'av-s of K'art'li.

Under T'evdose II, however, who was blind and who, because of his weakness, was surnamed "the King of Straw", disorder and confusion broke out in the now extensive Abkhasian kingdom, and K'art'li was invaded by the ruler of Kakhet'i. The cause of the unification appeared to be again in jeopardy, but the situation was saved by the foresight and shrewdness of Ioane Marushisdze, the erist'avi of K'art'li, "a powerful man with many vassals," and the prudent and energetic action of David the Great, Kuropalat of Tao.

The nominal king of K'art'li at this time was Bagrat II, the Sot (937-994), and his heir Gurgen, who had a son by name Bagrat. David Kuropalat had no son of his own, and had, at the suggestion of Marushisdze, adopted this young Bagrat as his heir. He was thus the heir-apparent to the K'art'lian and heir-presumptive to the Tao-Klarjan throne. Moreover, the young Bagrat's mother was a sister

of King T'evdose II, the Blind, of Abkhasia, who now had claim to K'art'li by right of conquest and who, having no issue, was without an heir. If the Abkhasian ruling class could be persuaded to recognize Bagrat as the heir to the Abkhasian throne, Bagrat would become the sole king of an almost united Georgia. It was because of such prospects of the young prince that Marushisdze "looked to Bagrat as king". His candidature needed, however, a strong backing, and Marushisdze knew that such a backing could be procured only from David Kuropalat of Tao, who was a man of renown in Georgia of his time, and greatly respected abroad by the Byzantines, Arabs, and Armenians alike. He was sagacious and dauntless, a man of high moral qualities and powerful, a patronizer of learning. It was this David Kuropalat who helped the Emperor Basil II to crush the formidable rebellion of Bardas Sclerus (see Z. Avalishvili, *La Succession du Curopalate David d'Iberie, dynaste de Tao, in Byzantion*, vol. viii, fasc. i, 1933, Brussels), and to this David, Marushisdze sent an envoy, appealing to him to occupy K'art'li with his forces and to hold her either for himself or for the young Bagrat, his adopted son. David Kuropalat, who cherished the idea of the unification of Georgia no less than Marushisdze, immediately responded to the appeal and entered K'art'li, whereupon the Kakhians withdrew at once. Marushisdze surrendered to him Up'lis-tsikhe, the capital, and David handed the country to Prince Bagrat, but as the latter was a minor he appointed his (the Prince's) father, Gurgen, as his co-ruler. This event took place, according to Javakhishvili (op. cit., p. 412) in 975. Further diplomatic manœuvres by Ioane Marushisdze procured for the young Bagrat the invitation of the Likht'-Imerians and Abkhasians to become their sovereign, and when he became of age, Bagrat was crowned King of Ap'khazet'i in 978. He began to rule, however, in 980, when he sent his blind uncle, King T'evdose, to his foster-father in Tao.

Bagrat's grandfather (who, it will have been noticed, was only a nominal king) died in 994. He was succeeded by his son, Gurgen, the father of our Bagrat, and because the latter was already a king (of Likht'-Imeret'i) before his father, Gurgen, on becoming king of K'art'li, received the title of "King of Kings". While his father was alive Bagrat was "King of the Abkhasians and Kuropalat of the K'art'uelians". David the Great Kuropalat died in 1001, and Gurgen, King of Kings, in 1008, in which year Bagrat became the sole king, under the name of Bagrat III, of K'art'li, Likht'-Imeret'i or Abkhasia, and of Tao-Klarjet'i or Meskhet'i. He was a worthy heir of his foster-father, and bravely set himself to the carrying out of his legacy—the unification of Georgia.

KINGS OF UNITED GEORGIA

53	Bagrat III	{ In K'art'li 975 King of Ap'khazet'i and Kuropalat of K'art'li 978 King of United Georgia 1008-1014		
			54	Giorgi I 1014-1027
			55	Bagrat IV 1027-1072
56	Giorgi II 1072-1089			
57	David II the Builder 1089-1125			
58	Demetre I 1125-1154			
59	David III 1154 for 6 months			
60	Giorgi III, brother of David III 1155-1184			
61	T'amar, Queen 1184-1214			
62	Giorgi IV Lasha 1214-1223			
63	Rusudan, Queen, sister of Giorgi IV 1223-1245			
	Interregnum 1245-1250			
64	David IV Narin, son of Rusudan } reigning David V, son of Giorgi IV } jointly 1250-1258			

Division of Georgia into Two Kingdoms.

When King Giorgi IV Lasha died in 1223 his son and heir, David, was in his minority. He therefore proclaimed as his successor his sister Rusudan, to whom he confided the upbringing of David, who was to succeed Rusudan when he became of age. Queen Rusudan, however, soon after a son of her own was born to her, forgot the oath given to her late brother and decided to have her son—who also was called David—although a minor, proclaimed King of Georgia, and he was crowned in Kut'at'isi (Kutais) in 1234. During Rusudan's reign Georgia was invaded by the Mongols in 1236, and they conquered the whole of Eastern Georgia by 1239.

Rusudan retreated to Western Georgia which was well defended, and the Mongols could not therefore penetrate into the interior. The Queen gradually realized the great strength of the Mongols, and when the latter offered her their alliance and suggested that she should send her son, David, to them as they wished to confer kingship of all Georgia upon him, Rusudan agreed to entrust David to the Mongols, who indeed proclaimed him King of Georgia, in 1243-4. The young King David IV, whom the Mongols surnamed Narin (the Sagacious), was soon after sent to Karakorum. In the meantime the nobles of Georgia who had remained loyal to the cause of the heir of Giorgi IV, brought him to Tiflis, and he also was sent to the court of the great Khan at Karakorum. There were thus two Crown Princes of Georgia, both Davids and both at Karakorum. As the great Mongol Khan Khubilai could not make up his mind as to which of the two to accord kingship, he shifted the responsibility to his brother Khulagu, who finally decided to make them both joint kings of Georgia. The cousins David, now both kings, were at last allowed to return to Georgia, in 1250. The two kings, though differing greatly in their characters, lived on good terms with each other, and ruled the country jointly in complete harmony. Georgia was greatly oppressed at this time by the Mongols, which was felt more profoundly by David IV Narin, son of Queen Rusudan, who was "a good warrior and stirred by an active ambition", but his sorrow and grief at the fate of their kingdom was not shared by his cousin David V, son of Giorgi IV Lasha, who was "a big man and stout, simple, frank, and credulous". Khulagu "loved the son of Lasha as much as he disliked the son of Rusudan", who, when with him at Alatagh, was once placed under arrest and sent to Bardaa. Narin, however, escaped and fled to Likht'-Imeret'i or Western Georgia, and at Kutais he was proclaimed King of Imeret'i by the "assembled lords of Ap'khazet'i, Megrelia, Svanet'i, Radcha, and of all those beyond the mountains of Likhi". "It was thus that our country formed two kingdoms," states the Georgian Chronicle.

During the time between the death of Queen Rusudan and the return of the two Davids, Georgia, being without a king, was administered by four Mongol *Noyns*, who nominated chiefs of the ten thousand or *Dumnist'av-s*. "The first of these chiefs was Egarслан Bakurtsikheli, to whom they confided the armies of Kakhet'i, Heret'i, and Kambetchoani, (the country) from Tiflis to the mountains of Shemakha; Shanshe Mkhargrdzeli, who was given besides his own appanage, that of Avag; Waraz Gagel, who received the whole of Somkhit'i; Grigol (Gregory) Suramel, K'art'li; Gamrekel-T'oreli . . . commanded in Javakhet'i, Samtskhe, and as far as Karnuk'alak'; and Tsozne Dadiani and the erist'avi of Radcha in all the parts of the kingdom 'that side' of the mountains of Likhi."

KINGS OF LIKHT' AMIERI OR EASTERN GEORGIA

64.	David V, son of Giorgi IV	1258-1269
	Interregnum	1269-1273
65.	Dimitri II the Devoted, son of David V	1273-1289
66.	Vakhtang II, son of David IV Narin	1289-1292
67.	David VI, son of Dimitri II	1292-1299
68.	Giorgi V, brother of David VI	1299-1301 (deposed)
69.	Vakhtang III, brother of David VI	1301-1307
70.	Giorgi VI the Little, son of David VI	1307-1318
	Giorgi V the Brilliant, son of Dimitri II and brother of David VI (reinstated, No. 68)	1318-1330

KINGS OF LIKHT'-IMIERI OR WESTERN GEORGIA

1.	David I Narin (David IV Narin, King of Georgia, No. 63)	1258-1293
2.	Constantine	1293-1327
3.	Mik'el (Michael), brother of Constantine	1327-1329
4.	Bagrat I (erist'av)	1329-1330

Reunification of Georgia.

The Mongol overlordship proved to be very subversive. They made and unmade Georgian kings at their pleasure. Often they placed two or three kings on the throne, to each of whom they appointed several *noyns* as assistant administrators. At the same time they maintained independent relationship with the great nobles of Georgia, who began to conduct themselves as direct feudatories of the Mongols; the monarchical authority was thus greatly undermined throughout the kingdom. Thanks to this policy the Jaqeli-s, the At'abags of Samtskhe, became the most powerful family in Georgia, attaining almost to a royal authority. The Jaqeli-s owned lands from the Borjom defile to Kars, Erzerum, and Rizeh. Sargis Jaqeli, the Commandant of the fortress of Jaqi, whence the surname Jaqeli (of Jaqi), offered

his submission to the Mongols in 1268 and from this time dates the beginning of the separatist movement of Samtskhe—Saat'abago, which, however, for some time at least, was checked by Giorgi V. In Likht'-Imieri Georgia, too, disorders broke out soon after the death of King Constantine, the son of David Narin. Aided and abetted by the Mongol Khan Abagha, the great nobles defied the authority of the king, and the aristav-s of Ap'khazet'i, Guria, Radcha, Svanet'i, and Megrelia were greatly enhanced. In addition to the internal dissension, Georgia at this time was also a prey to foreign invasions; Mongols, Persians, Turks, and the Mountaineers from beyond the Caucasus invaded the country almost continually. Georgia was in deep misery when Giorgi V mounted the throne of K'art'li for the second time in 1318. He was the son of Dimitri II the Devoted, by his second wife, the daughter of Bek'a I Jaqeli, the son of Sargis, mentioned above, and the most powerful of the At'abags of Samtskhe. After the beheading of his father by the Mongols, the little Giorgi was taken care of by his grandfather, Bek'a.

Bek'a and the Jaqelis generally were renowned at this time for their love of Georgian literature and their patronage of the arts and sciences: their home was the centre of learning, which housed one of the largest private libraries in Georgia, containing books not only in Georgian, but also in many foreign tongues. (Ilia Peradze, *A History of Georgia*, Kutais, 1918, p. 217.) In such a family was brought up the future king, Giorgi V, surnamed "the Brilliant". Giorgi was strong-minded, like his grandfather, Bek'a. His well-grounded education in Georgian literature and history enabled him to perceive that the causes of the misery of his country lay in the disintegration and division of Georgia, and he made it his all-absorbing desire to unite all Georgia, in which he succeeded with the help of his maternal relatives, the Jaqelis, restoring thus to Georgia the glories of the reigns of David II, the Builder, and Queen T'amar.

KINGS OF REUNITED GEORGIA

	Giorgi V the Brilliant (No. 68)	1330-1346
71.	David VII	1346-1360
72.	Bagrat V the Great.	1360-1394
73.	Giorgi VII	1394-1407
74.	Constantine I, brother of Giorgi VII	1407-1412

75.	Alexander I the Great	1412-1442
76.	Vakhtang IV	1442-1446
77.	Giorgi VIII, brother of Vakhtang IV	1446-1465
78.	Bagrat VI, a Bagratid usurper	1465-1478
79.	Constantine II, son of Dimitri, and grandson of Alexander I	1478-1505 ¹

Division of Georgia into Several Kingdoms and Principalities.²

Tradition ascribes the division of Georgia into three parts to King Alexander I (1412-1442), whose motive in doing so was to safeguard the interests of his sons. Being religious, Alexander sought seclusion from temporal concerns in religion and on entering upon a monastic life as a monk, after reigning for thirty years, he handed the reigns of kingship to his eldest son, Vakhtang, appointing his other sons as co-rulers of their eldest brother: for Imeret'i, his second son, Dimitri, and for Kakhet'i, the younger, George. Alexander, who was a wise ruler, in whose reign Georgia for the first time since the disastrous series of invasions by Timur (between 1370 and 1400) "tasted the fruits of peace", had, however, according to Vakhusht, made no such partition of Georgia.

Prince Vakhusht states that the division of the united Georgian kingdom took place during the reign of Giorgi VIII (1446-1465), son of King Alexander I, and successor to his brother, Vakhtang IV. According to him King Giorgi VIII was "at the beginning of his reign happy, successful, and prosperous; only later did the fortune of glory on the battlefields fail him, and the kingdom was rent in his reign into three kingdoms and five principalities". This statement of Prince Vakhusht shows that Giorgi VIII had to fight the unruly and power-grasping *mt'avars* almost from the very beginning of his reign, during the first phase of which he seems to have been victorious. Giorgi was not, however, the first king since the reunification of Georgia by Giorgi V the Brilliant (1330-1346), who had to fight for the preservation of the unity of the kingdom. During the reign of Bagrat V (1360-1394) Vardanidze, the *erist'avi* of Svanet'i rose in rebellion against the King, and occupied Kutais, the capital of Imeret'i, without any advantage, however, to himself, as he was soon after defeated by the King.

¹ Succession and dates between 1412-1505 according to Professor Javakhishvili's *History*, vol. iv (1924), part i, pp. 209-211.

² The principal source: I. Javakhishvili, *A History of the Georgian Nation* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1924, book i, part i.

Alexander, the erist'av of Imeret'i, and son of Bagrat, a descendant of King David IV Narin, the first King of Imeret'i (1258-1293), instead of helping King Bagrat against Timur, proclaimed himself King of Imeret'i in 1387. After his death Giorgi, his brother, followed his example. Megrelians, however, refused to recognize him and he was killed. Now the third brother, Constantine, undeterred by the fate that befell Giorgi, emulated his example, but the nobles refused to recognize him either, and he, too, was killed in 1401. His son, Dimitri, was removed to K'art'li by King Giorgi VII (1394-1407). It was King Alexander I who finally curbed the erist'avs of Imeret'i or Western Georgia and the At'abags of Samtskhe, and established order and peace throughout the kingdom. Alexander I reconquered Lore in 1431 and Sivniet'i (Siunikh) in 1434-5. Alexander held also the Darial Gates, and by his order the mountain clans concluded peace among themselves in 1439 (Javakhishvili, p. 25). Alexander I was thus an undisputed monarch of all Georgia, and it was not without a reason, therefore, that he called himself "the firm and unshakable holder of both kingdoms, the King of Kings of the Abkhaz and K'art'vels".

Alexander's successor, Vakhtang IV, reigned only four years, and of his reign we have insufficient information as yet, while that of the reign of Giorgi VIII, his brother who succeeded him, is sufficient, particularly the information preserved in foreign sources, to provide a correct perspective of the internal situation of the kingdom under Giorgi VIII. These are the letters sent by King Giorgi VIII and Qvarqvar II (1451-1498), the At'abag of Samtskhe, to the Pope and to the Duke of Burgundy in 1459-1460. [For these letters see M. Tamarashvili, *A History of Catholicism among the Georgians* (in Georgian); M. Tamarati (Tamarashvili), *L'Église Géorgienne des origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Rome, 1910, chap. xiv, p. 453 sqq.] From a critical study of these diplomatic documents Javakhishvili (p. 58) makes the following observation:—

The At'abag, Qvarqvar II, considered himself independent enough to send to Western Europe his own envoy and to establish diplomatic relationship and correspond with the sovereign of a foreign State independently of King Giorgi VIII; he had, of course, his own army and was known abroad, where he was considered a powerful Duke. King Giorgi mentions him as his ally. **Bediani**, too, was regarded as the Mt'avari of an independent unit; he was the ruler of Megrelia and Abkhasia, with rights so extensive that he was even called "King". He, too, had his own army and probably also his own system of administration. Although independent, the Bediani was not so estranged from the King of Georgia as was the At'abag. The Bediani had not sent his own special envoy to Western Europe, together with the envoys of the King and the At'abag, as the envoy of the King was,

in all probability, their common representative. Among the allies, **Guria**, is also mentioned with her own army. It follows, therefore, that Guria also represented a separate political unit, and was not consequently directly under the King of Georgia.

Giorgi VIII, therefore—Javakhishvili concludes—although he called himself the unifier of *Likht' amieri* and *imieri* Georgia and the holder of both thrones, did not, in reality, possess any real control over Megrelo-Abkhasia, Guria, and Samtskhe-Saat'abago. Giorgi VIII did all he could to prevent the breaking up of the kingdom, but it proved to be out of his power, and in the end he became himself the victim of his endeavours to curb and bring to submission his unruly and power-grasping mt'avars. In 1462 or 1463 Giorgi VIII was defeated at Tchikhuri by Bagrat, his erist'avi of Imeret'i, who shortly before had himself proclaimed King of Imeret'i by the nobles ; a few years later, when he was in Samtskhe, he was taken prisoner by the At'abag in a sudden attack, and Bagrat of Imeret'i, seizing the opportunity, invaded K'art'li and usurped the throne of Giorgi. Bagrat deposed Giorgi VIII, according to Professor Javakhishvili, in 1465 when he became King of K'art'li and Imeret'i, under the name of Bagrat VI. In one of his *sigel-s* (charters) Bagrat VI calls himself a " descendant of Queen T'amar and others of our name ". He may have been, Professor Javakhishvili argues (unless we have here to deal with a prevarication of his origin for political reasons), a descendant either direct or on his maternal side, perhaps through the Queen Rusudan, of that branch of the Bagratids who lost their kingship after the unification of *Likht'-imier* and *amier* Georgia. (Ibid., p. 84.) A critical study of the contemporary documents has led Javakhishvili to the conclusion that Giorgi VIII, after his defeat by Bagrat VI, had passed into Kakhet'i, where he has evidently succeeded in maintaining himself and of which he became the first king from at least 1470. Giorgi VIII, who was fighting so ardently for the preservation of the unity of the Kingdom of Georgia, had in the end himself—if Professor Javakhishvili's conclusion is correct—become the cause of the further division of the kingdom, and had to content himself with Kakhet'i.

In the time of King Bagrat VI Georgia was divided into two kingdoms and two principalities, namely **Samtskhe** or **Meskhet'i**, which constituted the At'abagate (Principality) of the At'abag, and was therefore also called Saat'abago (see p. 142). Ambrogio Contarini, the ambassador of the Venetian Signory to the court of Uzun Hassan, King of Persia, in his description of Georgia, which he visited between the years 1471-4, calls the At'abag Duke of Akhaltsikhe, an appellation which was probably in use in an ordinary conversation, as Akhaltsikhe was the capital of his At'abagate, whence, in the supposition of Javakhishvili, originated in all probability, the title

of the Pasha of Akhaltsikhe, which the Turks later conferred upon them (see p. 143). There is only one document known, according to Javakhishvili, in which one of the At'abags appropriates the title of king and sovereign, namely Mzedchabuk (1500-1516). "With this exception, however, the At'abags appear, in spite of the great power and influence which they exercised and the respect and consideration they commanded among their contemporary neighbouring States, to have been content with the title of At'abag."

Sabediano (lit. "Bedian's country"), which constituted the Mt'avarate (Principality) of the Mt'avar of Megrelia (Geo. Samegrelo). The Mt'avari at this time was called *Bediani*. Sabediano stretched along the Black Sea coast from Bidchvint'a (Pitsunda) in the north, to a point south of Batum; on the north it was bounded by the Caucasus range, and on the east by the River Rion, which separated it from the kingdom of Bagrat VI. The Mt'avarate thus comprised Megrelia, Guria, and Ap'khazet'i.

The Kingdom of Kakhet'i, over which reigned Giorgi I, the deposed King Giorgi VIII of Georgia.

The Kingdom of Georgia in the narrow sense, which under Giorgi VIII comprised Imeret'i, K'art'li, and K'iziq-Kakhet'i, but had further shrunk with the advent of Bagrat VI to kingship, consisted of Imeret'i and K'art'li only. On the south it reached only to the Plain of Lore. Somkhit'i, with Lore, was conquered by Uzun Hassan, "the Turkoman tyrant of Tabriz," in the time of Giorgi VIII (in 1461 or 1462), and was reconquered by Bagrat VI only in 1471.

If neither Bagrat VI nor his predecessor, Giorgi VIII, was the sole king and sovereign of *Likht-imier* and *amier* Georgia, they were, at any rate, the holders of both thrones, for while the latter held Imeret'i, the principal part of Western Georgia, and the entire Eastern Georgia, the former held Imeret'i and K'art'li, the principal part of Eastern Georgia.

Although Sabediano represented an independent political unit with its own army and administration, Bagrat VI, and Giorgi VIII before him, retained, nevertheless, the supreme controlling power over it, and Bagrat VI in exceptional cases intervened in its internal affairs.

Bagrat VI was succeeded in 1478 by Constantine II, son of Dimitri, brother of Giorgi VIII, who was the rightful heir to the throne of Georgia. Unfortunately we have—according to Javakhishvili—no information whatever on the circumstances under which Bagrat VI was succeeded by Constantine, instead of his own son, Alexander. Prince Vakhusht tells us in his *History* of the attempt which this Alexander had made, immediately after his father's death, to obtain

at least the throne of Imeret'i ; of the opposition he had met with from the grandees of Imeret'i ; and of the use Constantine had made of this opportune moment to have himself proclaimed King of Imeret'i in 1479, thus becoming, like his predecessor, " King of Kings of *Likht'imieri* and *Likht'amieri* Georgia."

The circumstances which thus seemed to favour Constantine at the beginning soon went, however, against him. In 1484 he lost Imeret'i to his rival, Alexander, and although he fought incessantly for the re-establishment of the former unity of the kingdom, his attempts in this direction, as those of Giorgi VIII, were in vain, for the frequent invasions of the neighbouring Mohammedan powers usually neutralized, as if counteracting by design, the attained results. Internally, as well, the tendency towards separatism had—as Javakhishvili states—become so deeply rooted that its successful eradication proved to be impossible in view of the absence of favourable political circumstances, particularly external circumstances, the freedom from foreign invasions in general and from foreign intervention in particular in support of the separatist elements, brought into existence and fostered chiefly by the same foreign forces. Prince Vakhusht has preserved for us information which tells that in 1490, after the expulsion of the Mohammedan invaders, King Constantine " convened the Catholicos, the Bishops, and his illustrious (grandees) and deliberated as to what was to be done to stop the defection of the ' countries ' and how they were to be brought back under his kingship ". This council of bishops and nobles under the presidency of the Catholicos, urged the king to make peace, in view of the fact that " the Imers and the Kakhs remain firmly in their loyalty to their chosen kings and the Samtskhians to the At'abag ", as " even if we do crush one, the others will not allow it ; let us wait, time may bring them back to you ". Seeing that his nobles favoured peace, King Constantine was left no other means but to accept their advice, and peace was made at the cost of perpetuating the division ; " the Kakh ruler Alexander and King Constantine concluded peace of love, also with the At'abag and subsequently with Alexander, King of the Imers ; and they held the boundaries described by us." (Vakhusht's *History*, ed. by Z. Dchidchinadze, quoted by Javakhishvili, p. 159.)

Thus the division of Georgia into small kingdoms and principalities was not effected all at once : it represented a long-continued process, becoming a reality only gradually, after continued wars. At first Samtskhe-Saat'abago separated itself, then Megrelo-Abkhasia and Guria, then the kingdom of Kakhet'i was established ; finally K'art'li and Imeret'i became separate kingdoms. We do not know how the latter two became separated, but it is indubitable, states Javakhishvili, that in this period there had occurred a partition

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when the violation of the unity led to the creation of several kingdoms and principalities.

The struggle for the re-establishment of the unity of Georgia did not, however, cease with the conclusion of peace by King Constantine, and the political picture of Georgia continued to be changeable; so also did the territories and the boundaries of newly founded units. The new kingdoms and mt'avarates, however, for the most part represented the old ethnographic divisions, such as Samtskhe-Saat'abago or Meskhet'i, K'art'li, Kakhet'j, Imeret'i, etc., which formerly constituted the *erist'avi'-erist'avates* in the United Kingdom of Georgia, and each of them, therefore, must have had its own traditional and indisputable boundaries. It must be assumed that with the conclusion of the Treaty of Partition they also concluded an arrangement in regard to their respective frontiers. A description of these frontiers is found in the work of the Commission appointed by King Vakhtang VI (1703-1723) (*The Continuation of the Life of Georgia*, ed. by M. Janashvili, Tiflis). According to Professor Javakhishvili, the sources upon which this Commission drew their information are not known, and the value and trustworthiness of the latter have yet to be established. Without going, therefore, into details of frontier demarcations, these separate kingdoms and principalities, according to the above-mentioned source, were:—

In Eastern Georgia

1. The Kingdom of Kakhet'i with Heret'i.
2. The Kingdom of K'art'li.

In Western Georgia

3. The Kingdom of Imeret'i (proper).
4. The Principality of Megrelia (Samegrelo) or Sabediano, with Ap'khazet'i.
5. The Principality of Guria, with Adchara and Dchanet'i as far as Rkinispalo.

In the time of King Bagrat VI (1465-1478) Guria formed part of Sabediano "and it has yet to be determined whether Guria did, in the time of King Constantine, really constitute a separate political unit."

In Southern Georgia

6. The Principality or Saat'abago of Samtskhe or Meskhet'i.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, the political picture of Likht'-imieri or Western Georgia underwent further changes,

so that at the beginning of the seventeenth century it comprised one kingdom and three principalities, namely :—

1. The Kingdom of Imeret'i,
2. The Principality of Megrelia, also called Odishi, or *Sadadiano*,¹ which was ruled by the Dadianis.
3. Guria, ruled by the Gurielis.
4. Ap'khazet'i (Abkhasia), ruled by the Shervashidzes.

I. KINGS OF K'ARTLI

(Succession and dates according to S. Kakabadze, *A Short History of Georgia. The epoch of Modern centuries*, Tiflis, 1920.)

80.	David VIII, son of Constantine II	1504/5-1526
81.	Luarsab I	1526-1557 ²
82.	Svimon I (Simon)	1557-1569 (deposed)
83.	David (IX) or Daut'-Khan, brother of Svimon I	1569-1578
	Svimon I (reinstated, called now Shah-Navaz I)	1578-1599
84.	Giorgi X	1599-1605
85.	Luarsab II	1605-1614
86.	Bagrat VII, son of Daut'-Khan	1614-1619
87.	Svimon II	1619-1629
88.	T'eimuraz I (Taymuraz), King of Kakhet'i, grandson of King Alexander of Kakhet'i; unites Kakhet'i and K'art'li.	1629-1633 (deposed)
89.	Rostom (or Khosro-Mirza), son of Daut'-Khan, the last of the senior line of the Bagratids.	1633-1658

¹ Sadadiano = Sabediano; both are derived from the title *Dadiani* or *Bediani* of the rulers of Megrelia, and denote lit. : "Dadiani's or Bediani's country"; cf. Saat'abago.

² According to Brosset, however, David VIII, whom Kakabadze makes the ninth of his name, was succeeded by his brother Giorgi IX. David VIII reigned from 1505 to 1525 and Giorgi IX from 1525 to 1535. The latter was succeeded by Luarsab, son of David VIII, who reigned from 1534 to 1558 (Brosset, *Histoire*, ii, 1, pp. 18, 24, 27). Kakabadze does not explain why he has omitted Giorgi IX.

90. Vakhtang V (or Shah-Navaz II), Prince of 1658-1675
 Mukhrani (*Mukhran-batoni*), son of
 T'eimuraz I.
91. Giorgi XI (called also Shah-Navaz III) 1675-1688
 (deposed)
92. Erekle I (Irakli; called also Nazar-Ali-Khan), 1688-1703
 grandson of T'eimuraz I.
- Interregnum 1703-1711
 (Vakhtang, nephew of Giorgi XI, governor.)¹
93. Vakhtang VI the Law-giver, nephew of Giorgi XI. 1711-1714
 (deposed)
94. Yesse (called also Ali-Quli-Khan), brother of 1714-1716
 Vakhtang VI. (deposed)
95. Bak'ar (called also Shah Navaz IV), son of 1716-1719²
 Vakhtang VI.
 Vakhtang VI (reinstated; now called also 1719-1723
 Hussein-Quli-Khan). (deposed)
96. Constantine (called also Mahmud-Quli-Khan), 1723
 King of Kakhet'i, son of Erekle I.
 Bak'ar (reinstated by the Turks; now called 1723
 Ibrahim). (renounced)
 Yesse (reinstated by the Turks; No. 94; now 1723-1726
 called Mustafa Pasha).
- Interregnum 1726-1736
97. Artchil (Abdula-beg), son of Yesse, the last 1736-1737
 Mukhranian ruler.
- Interregnum 1737-1744
98. T'eimuraz II, King of Kakhet'i, son of Erekle I . 1744-1762

¹ Giorgi XI, who was deposed in 1688 and who in 1695 made an unsuccessful attempt to regain his throne, decided at last to make peace with the Persians. Reconciliation effected, the Shah Sultan Hussein offered to restore to him the throne of K'art'li if he led his (Shah's) armies against the Afghans who were then ravaging north-eastern Persia. After some hesitation Giorgi accepted the offer, whereupon the Shah conferred the throne of Kakhet'i upon Erekle I, who was then King of K'art'li, while in the absence of Giorgi XI in Persia, he appointed Vakhtang in accordance with the request of Giorgi himself, the governor of K'art'li. On the death of Giorgi in Persia—killed treacherously by Mir-Wais—in 1709, Shah Sultan Hussein, conferred the throne of K'art'li and the post of the commander-in-chief of the Persian armies upon Kai-Khosro, nephew of Giorgi and brother of Vakhtang; as, however, Kai-Khosro had to carry on the war against the Afghans, Vakhtang was confirmed as the governor of K'art'li. When in 1711 K'ai-Khosro was killed in the war, Shah Sultan-Hussein conferred the throne upon Vakhtang in 1711; as the latter, however, refused to embrace Mohammedanism, he was deposed in 1714, and his brother, Yesse, made King of K'art'li.

² At first Bak'ar was only a governor; he was made king in 1717.

Kings of United K'art'li and Kakhet'i

99.	Erekle II, son of T'eimuraz II	1762-1798
100.	Giorgi XII	1798-1800
	David, regent	Dec., 1800- Feb., 1801

II. KINGS OF KAKHET'I

(Succession and dates according to S. Kakabadze, *A Short History of Georgia*, Tiflis, 1920.)

1.	Giorgi I (King Giorgi VIII of Georgia, No. 77)	1470-1476 ¹
2.	Alexander I	1476-1511
3.	Giorgi II, surnamed Av-Giorgi, The Bad-Giorgi (David IX, King of K'art'li (No. 80), unites Kakhet'i with K'art'li, 1513-1520.)	1511-1513
4.	Levan, son of Giorgi II	1520-1574
5.	Alexander II	1574-1602 (deposed)
6.	David I	1602
	Alexander II (restored)	1602-1605
7.	Constantine I	1605
8.	T'eimuraz I, son of David I	1605-1614 (deposed)
	Interregnum. (Isa-Khan, son of the uncle of T'eimuraz I, governor).	1614-1615
	T'eimuraz I (reconquers Kakhet'i)	1615-1616
	Interregnum. (P'eik'ar-Khan, governor)	1616-1623
	T'eimuraz I (restored)	1623-1633
	Interregnum. (Salim-Khan, governor)	1633-1636
	T'eimuraz I (restored)	1636-1648
	[Rostom, King of K'art'li (No. 89), reunites Kakhet'i with K'art'li, 1648-1656 (removed).]	
	Interregnum. (Salim-Khan, governor)	1656-1664

¹ According to Professor Javakhishvili, see p. 129.

- | | | |
|-----|--|------------------------|
| 9. | Artchil, ex-King of Imeret'i (No. 12), son of Vakhtang V, the 9oth King of K'art'li. | 1664-1675 |
| 10. | Erekle I, grandson of T'eimuraz I | 1675-1676 |
| | Interregnum | 1676-1703 |
| | Governors—Bezhan-Khan | 1676-1683 |
| | Un-Khan | 1683-1688 |
| | Abaz-Quli-Khan }
Kalb-Ali-Khan } | 1688-1703 |
| 11. | David II, son of Erekle I | 1703-1722 ¹ |
| 12. | Constantine II (or Mahmad-Quli-Khan), brother of David II. | 1722-1729 |
| 13. | T'eimuraz II, brother of Constantine II | 1729-1736 |
| | | (deposed) |
| | Interregnum. | |
| | (Ali-Mirza, son of David II, governor) | 1736-1738 |
| | T'eimuraz II (restored) | 1738-1744 |
| 14. | Erekle II | 1744-1762 |

Erekle II, whose father, T'eimuraz II, was made King of K'art'li in 1744, and was therefore the heir-apparent to the throne of K'art'li, became King of both K'art'li and Kakhet'i on his father's death in 1762.

Early medieval Mt'avars and Kings of Kakhet'i

(M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii, 1, p. 633.)

According to Brosset, "the name Kakhet'i appears as that of a separate State in the annals for the first time in the fourth century A.D. Mkhitar of Airivank, the Armenian historian, mentions it only in 1050; but the Arab historians appear to have known the country from the beginning of the seventh century."

The first independent ruler of Kakhet'i mentioned in the annals is Grigol, the Mt'avar, who "in 787, Juansher, the erist'av of erist'avs, being dead, revolted and seized Kakhet'i, Kukhet'i, and Gardaban. He eliminated the name Kukhet'i and called himself Mt'avar of the Kakhs, or *K'orikoz*" (see Brosset, *op. cit.*, p. 139). The office of the *K'orikoz* or *K'orepiskopoz* of Kakhet'i appears to have been elective during five reigns. Little, however, is known of the history of Kakhet'i before the advent of Grigol, or of the origins of either Grigol or the office of *K'orikoz*.

¹ Erekle I, who since 1688 had been King of K'art'li (No. 92), was in 1703 transferred by the Shah-Sultan Hussein to the throne of Kakhet'i. He was at this time in Persia, and as he was not allowed to return to his kingdom he successfully interceded with the Shah for his son, David, to be made King of Kakhet'i.

K'orikoz-es

1.	Grigol, revolts against Ashot Kuropalat of K'art'li (No. 46) (780-826), and becomes Mt'avar or K'orikoz of Kakhet'i.	787-827
2.	Vatche (or Datchi), son of Ioane K'obulisdze	827-839
3.	Samuel Donaur	839-861
4.	Gabriel Donaur, son of a brother of Samuel	861-881
5.	P'adala I Arevmanel or Arelmanel	881-893
6.	Kvirike I	893-918
7.	P'adala II	918-929
8.	Kvirike II	929-976
9.	David	976-1010

Kings

10.	Kvirike III, the Great, son of David, assumes the title of King of Kakhet'i and Heret'i.	1010-1029 ¹
11.	Gagic, son of the sister of Kvirike III and adopted by the latter.	1039-1058
12.	Aghsart'an I	1058-1084
13.	Kvirike IV	1084-1102
14.	Aghsart'an II	1102-1105

With Aghsart'an II ended the kingdom of Kakhet'i. David II, the Builder, King of the Georgians (1089-1125), conquered Kakhet'i and Heret'i in 1105 and united them to Georgia.

III. KINGS OF IMERET'I

(Succession and dates according to S. Kakabadze, *A Short History of Georgia*, Tiflis, 1920. For list of kings of Likht'-Imieri Georgia, between 1258 and 1330, see p. 125.)

1.	Alexander I (or II), ² son of Bagrat VI, the 78th King of Georgia.	1484-1510
2.	Bagrat II (or III) ³	1510-1565

¹ Kvirike III was deposed by Bagrat III, King of Georgia (No. 53), who conquered and united Kakhet'i to K'art'li.

² He is the second of his name if we take into account Alexander, the erist'avi of Imeret'i, who revolted successfully against Bagrat V (1360-1394), King of Georgia, and proclaimed himself King of Imeret'i in 1387 (see p. 128).

³ He is the third of his name if we take into account Bagrat, the erist'avi of Imeret'i, who revolted against Giorgi VIII (1446-1465), King of Georgia, and proclaimed himself King of Imeret'i in 1462, and who, usurping the throne of Giorgi VIII, became King of Georgia in 1465 under the name of Bagrat VI; see p. 129.

3.	Giorgi I (or II) ¹	1565-1585
4.	Levan	1585-1588
5.	Rostom, son of Constantine, brother of Levan	1588-1589 (deposed)
6.	Bagrat III (or IV), son of T'eimuraz, brother of Levan.	1589-1590 (deposed)
	Rostom, the fifth king, restored	1590-1604
7.	Giorgi II (or III), brother of Rostom	1604-1639
8.	Alexander II (or III)	1639-1660
9.	Bagrat IV	1660 (6 months)
10.	Vakhtang Bagration, second husband of the Queen of Alexander II	1661 (deposed)
11.	Vameq Dadiani, ruler of Megrelia usurps the throne.	1661 (expelled)
12.	Artchil, son of Vakhtang V, the ninetieth King of K'art'li.	1661-1663 (deposed)
13.	Demetre Guriel, ruler of Guria, made King of Imeret'i and Dadiani of Megrelia by the Turks.	1663-1664 (expelled)
	Bagrat IV, restored (No. 9)	1664-1668
	Vakhtang, restored (No. 10)	1668
	Bagrat IV, restored (No. 9)	1668-1678
	Artchil, restored (No. 12)	1678-1679
	Bagrat IV, restored (No. 9)	1679-1681
14.	Giorgi III, Guriel, ruler of Guria	1681-1683 (expelled)
15.	Alexander III (or IV), son of Bagrat IV	1683-1690
	Artchil, restored (No. 12)	1690-1691 (deposed)
	Alexander III (or IV), reinstated	1691-1695
	Artchil, restored (No. 12)	1695-1696
16.	Giorgi IV Bagration, nicknamed Gotchia	1696-1698
	Artchil, restored (No. 12)	1698 (6 months)
17.	Svimon, son of Alexander III (or IV)	1699-1700

¹ He is the second of his name if we take into account Giorgi, brother of Alexander, mentioned in the footnote 2, p. 137; see also p. 128. According to Kakabadze's computation this Giorgi is the third of his name (op. cit., p. 50).

	Interregnum	1700-1701
	(Giorgi Abashidze, the erist'avi of Radcha, master of Imeret'i.)	
18.	Mamia Guriel, ruler of Guria	1701-1702 (expelled)
19.	Giorgi V, son of Svimon	1702-1711 (deposed)
20.	Mamia Guriel, ruler of Guria	1711 (expelled)
	Giorgi V, restored (No. 19)	1711-1713 (deposed)
	Mamia Guriel (No. 20), usurps the throne again	1713 (expelled)
	Giorgi V, restored (No. 20)	1713-1716 (deposed)
21.	Giorgi VI Guriel, son of Mamia	1716 (3 months)
	Interregnum	1716-1720
22.	Alexander IV (or V), son of Giorgi V	1720-1751
23.	Solomon I	1751-1765 (deposed)
24.	T'eimuraz, nephew of Solomon I	1765-1768
	Solomon I, restored	1768-1784
25.	David, son of Giorgi, uncle of Solomon I	1784-1789 (deposed)
26.	Solomon II, son of Artchil, brother of Solomon I, and grandson of Erekle II, King of K'art'li and Kakhet'i. The last King of Imeret'i.	1789-1810

In 1792 a treaty was concluded between Erekle II, King of K'art'li and Kakhet'i, Solomon II, King of Imeret'i, Grigol Dadiani, Mt'avar of Megrelia, and Svimon Gurieli, Mt'avar of Guria, whereby a political union was established among the Kings and Mt'avars of Georgia under the supreme kingship of Erekle II, in all matters relating to the defence of Georgia against the external enemies.

Early Medieval Kings of Likht'imier (Western) Georgia or Ap'khazet'-egrisi

(According to Professor E. Taqaishvili, *Les sources des notices du Patriarche de Jérusalem Dosithée sur les rois d'Aphkhalie* in *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1927.)

1.	Leon I	744-789
2.	T'evdose (Theodosius) I	789-816

3.	Demetre I, brother of T'evdose I	816-842
4.	Giorgi I, brother of Demetre I	842-849
5.	Ioane (John)	849-853
6.	Adarnase	853-861
7.	Bagrat I, son of Demetre I	861-873
8.	Constantine	873-912
9.	Giorgi II	912-957
10.	Leon II	957-967
11.	Dimitri (Demetre) II, brother of Leon II	967-975
12.	T'evdose II, the Blind, brother of Dimitri II	975-978
13.	Bagrat II, son of Gurgen, King of K'art'li	978-1014

In the reign of Bagrat II Ap'khazet'i was united to K'art'li in 1008, and Bagrat II thus became king of the united Abkhazo-K'art'lian kingdom under the name of Bagrat III.

IV. AT'ABEGS OF MESKHET'I OR SAMTSKHE

At'abegi or *at'abagi* is a Turkish word composed of *ata* "father", and *beg*, which denotes any noble, in opposition to the common people, or, in a wider sense, any person of position and authority. Originally it was "a customary form of address for the guardian and tutor of Turkish princes, who, during the Seldjuk period were entrusted while still in their youth to some prominent *emir* who assumed a paternal relationship towards them" (*The Encyclopædia of Islam*, edited by Th. Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, etc., 1913, vol. i, p. 504). In course of time the *at'abegs* gained independence and became rulers of provinces; *at'abegship* thus became a fixed title and it was often conferred upon other powerful *emirs* (*ibid.*).

At'abagship was introduced into Georgia, according to Professor Javakhishvili [*A History of Georgian Justice* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1928, vol. ii, p. 179], quite accidentally and particularly for the satisfaction of the personal ambition of Ivane Mkhargrdzeli, the *Msakhurt'-ukhutsesi* (Keeper of the Privy Purse). When, after the death of Zak'aria Mkhargrdzeli, the *Amirspasalari* (War Minister and Commander-in-Chief), Queen T'amar (1184-1214) offered the vacant office to his brother Ivane, the latter "to the astonishment of all,

said to T'amar : " If your bounty is to be shown in my favour, honour me with at'abagship. Although it is not the custom of the Kings of Georgia to have an at'abagi in their presence, deign to confer on me this new dignity which is superior to all the others, and which is used by the Sultans, for at'abagship denotes foster-father of Sultans and Kings. Let this be a mark of your benevolence towards me." (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, p. 474.) The Queen acceded to the request of her loyal subject and made Ivane the first *at'abagi* of Georgia. Georgian sources contain very little information concerning the nature of the office of *at'abagi*. All that is known of the early Georgian *at'abagship* is that (a) it was raised by Queen T'amar " higher than any other *erist'av-ship* ", (b) " it was a high office of honour " rarely conferred, (c) an *at'abagi* was second " *vaziri* (i.e. Cabinet Minister) at the court of the King " the first being the *Mdsignobart'-Ukhutsesi*—the Principal, or Prime Minister—and the third the *Amirspasalari* (see W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932, pp. 260-1). The Georgian *at'abags* were not, however, the upbringers or " foster-fathers of kings ", a similar function of which appears to have devolved in Georgia upon the *Mdsignobart'-Ukhutsesi* who, according to a Georgian monument of the first half of the fourteenth century, was " King's father " [" is father of the King, *at'abagi* is (a) new (office) ", *Khelmdsip'is Karis Garigeba*—The Court Regulations, published by Professor E. Taqaishvili, Tiflis, 1920, pp. v, 4, 19; Javakhishvili, *op. cit.*] The *at'abagship* later became merely an adjunct to the hereditary governors or *mt'avars* of Samtskhe, the Jaqelis. King Giorgi V, the Brilliant (1318-1346), conferred the title upon Qvarqvare (I) in 1334, and from that time it began to be used as a new surname of the Jaqeli family. The first Jaqeli to revolt against his king and secede from Georgia was Sargis (I), who in 1268 placed himself under the protection of the Il-Khan Abagha. Sargis died in 1285 and he was succeeded by his son Bek'a (I), who, remaining under the protection of the Il-Khan, refused to attend the coronation of King David VI (1292-1299). Bek'a became master of the whole Samtskhe and Klarjet'i. He married one of his daughters to the Byzantine Emperor, from whom he received " countries " north of Trebizond with Dchanet'i and thus became a most powerful *mt'avar*. Although he obeyed the commands of the Il-Khan, he nevertheless had a great deference for King David VI. Bek'a died in 1308 and his sons inherited all his domain. When King Giorgi V, who was the son-in-law of Bek'a, ascended the throne of Georgia for the second time in 1318, the Il-Khan restored Samtskhe and Klarjet'i to him, and the sons of Bek'a and their descendants remained in submission to the kings of Georgia, which now was united again and remained so until the reign of Giorgi VIII (1446-1465). The following is the list of the

descendants of Bek'a (I) who were elevated to at'abagship of Samtskhe by the kings of Georgia (Brosset, *Histoire*, ii, p. 206) :—

Sargis (II), son of Bek'a (I)	† 1334
Qvarqvare (I)	† 1361
Bek'a (II)	† 1391
Ioane	† 1444
Aghbugha	† 1451

Under the successor of Aghbugha, Qvarqvare II, Samtskhe became independent in 1463 in the reign of Giorgi VIII, and the new at'abagate was henceforth called Samtskhe-Saat'abago, or simply Saat'abago (lit. "At'abags country").

THE AT'ABAG-JAQELI HOUSE

1.	Qvarqvare II, uncle of Aghbugha	1451-1498 ¹
2.	K'ai-Khosro I	1498-1500 ¹
3.	Mzedchabuk, brother of K'ai-Khosro	1500-1516 ¹
4.	Qvarqvare III, son of Kai-Khosro I	1516-1535 ²
	Q. was deposed by Bagrat III (1510-1565), King of Imeret'i, who conquered Saat'abago and held it for 10 years, 1535-1545.	
5.	K'ai-Khosro II, son of Qvarq. III	1545-1573
6.	Qvarqvare IV	1573-1582
7.	Manutchar I	1582-1614
8.	Manutchar II	1614-1624

Manutchar II died by the treachery of his uncle Bek'a, and the latter immediately after went to Stambul, where he became a Mohamedan and solicited the Sultan for the at'abagate of Samtskhe. The Sultan conferred upon him the title of Pasha of Two Tails and the whole territory of Saat'abago with Tao, Artanuj, and Artan. Bek'a, being thus favoured by the Sultan, returned to Samtskhe in 1625.

¹ Succession and dates according to Professor Javakhishvili, *History*, iv (1924), pp. 46-7, 113-116, 172 sqq.

² Succession and dates from Qvarqvare III onwards according to S. Kakabadze, *A Short History of Georgia*, Tiflis, 1920.

His rule marks a turning point in the history of Samtskhe and her relations with the rest of Georgia. The At'abags of Samtskhe, until Bek'a, who in Mohamedanism assumed the name of Sap'ar, though independent, respected the commands of and often obeyed the kings of K'art'li; "generally the relations of the At'abags with the kings of K'art'li and Imeret'i did not differ in any way from the relations that existed among the other kings and *mt'avars* or ruling princes of Georgia." At any rate Samtskhe had not shown before any tendency towards a complete break-away from Georgia. Bek'a started to promote a pro-Turkish policy in politics and a pro-Mohamedan in religion. His domain, Samtskhe-Saat'abago, began to be called Pashalic of Akhaltsikhe, or Tchildir, and its rulers, Pashas, who henceforth throughout the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries were appointed by the Sultan from amongst the members of the Jaqeli house. Bek'a, the third of his name, or Sap'ar Pasha, introduced the Turkish system of administration. Special taxes, in addition to those already in force, were imposed upon the Christians, the purpose being to induce the latter to embrace Islam which began to spread throughout the country under his successors. Despite the gradual spreading of Islam and of Turkish habits and customs, the Georgian tongue remained unshaken: the correspondence of the local officials was carried on in Georgian, and even the Pashas themselves corresponded in this language with the kings and ruling princes of different parts of Georgia, down to the beginning of the nineteenth century (S. Kakabadze, op. cit., pp. 55-6).

THE JAQELI PASHAS

9.	Bek'a III or Sap'ar Pasha, uncle of Manutchar II	1625-1635
10.	Usup' I	1635-1647
11.	Rostom	1647-1659
12.	Aslan I	1659-1680
13.	Usup' II	1680-1690
14.	Salim, brother of Usup' II	1690-1701
15.	Isaq, son of Usup' II	1701-1737 ¹
16.	Usup' III	1737-1744

¹ Isaq Pasha ruled with interruptions, according to Brosset (*Histoire*, ii, p. 640) in 1701-1705; 1708-1716; 1718-1737. During the years 1705-1708 and 1716-1718 the Pashalic of Akhaltsikhe was ruled by Aslan II, son of Salim Pasha (*ibid.*, p. 235).

With Isaq Pasha and his son, Usup' III, ended the at'abagship of the Samtskhian At'abag-Jaqelis, as in 1744 the Turks abolished their hereditary rights to at'abagship and Samtskhe-Saat'abago was placed under the system of government generally prevailing in Turkey.

RUSSO-GEORGIAN TREATY RELATIONS

(A Chronological Table)

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------|
| 1. | Russo-Georgian Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, concluded between Catherine II, Empress of Russia, and Erekle II, King of K'art'li and Kakhet'i | 1783 (24th July) |
| 2. | Annexation of the Kingdom of K'art'li and Kakhet'i by Russia, in violation of the above Treaty | 1801 (12th Sept.) |
| 3. | Grigol Dadian, Mt'avar of Megrelia, signs a Treaty of Protectorate with Russia | 1803 (4th Dec.) |
| 4. | Solomon II, King of Imeret'i, signs a Treaty of Protectorate with Russia | 1804 (25th Apr.) |
| 5. | Giorgi Shervashidze, Mt'avar of Ap'khazet'i, signs a Treaty of Protectorate with Russia | 1810 (17th Feb.) |
| 6. | Annexation of the Kingdom of Imeret'i by Russia, in violation of The Treaty of Protectorate of 1804 | 1810 (20th Feb.) |
| 7. | Mamia Guriel, Mt'avar of Guria, signs a Treaty of Protectorate with Russia | 1811 (8th Apr.) |
| 8. | Russia abolishes the autocephaly of the Georgian Church. Anthony II, the last Catholicos of Georgia (1788-1827) | 1811 (10th June) |
| 9. | Russo-Georgian forces conquer from the Persians the Khanates of Erivan and Nakhdchivan (Treaty of Turkmentchai) | 1828 (10th Feb.) |
| 10. | Russo-Georgian forces conquer from the Turks part of Meskhet'i or Samtskhe-Saat'abago, namely, Javakhet'i and Samtskhe proper (Treaty of Adrianople) | 1829 (2nd Sept.) |
| 11. | Russia annexes Guria, in violation of the Treaty of Protectorate of 1811. Princess Sop'io (Sophia) Guriel last ruler of Guria (1826-9) | 1829 (7th Sept.) |
| 12. | Michael (T'at'arkhan) and Nicholas (Tsiokh) Dadeshk'eliani, Mt'avars of Western Upper Svanet'i, sign a Treaty of Protectorate with Russia | 1833 |

13. Russia occupies Dsibelda and Dal (the Upper Kodor valley in Abkhasia) 1840
14. Free (or Eastern Upper) Svanet'i becomes a Protectorate of Russia 1840
15. Russia occupies Samurzaqano, which since 1758 constituted a Mt'avarate. Manutchar Shervashidze, the last Mt'avar of Samurzaqano 1840
16. Russia annexes the whole of Upper Svanet'i, in violation of The Treaties of Protectorate of 1833 and 1840. Constantine Dadeshk'eliani, the last Mt'avar of Western Upper Svanet'i 1858
17. Russia annexes Ap'khazet'i in violation of The Treaty of Protectorate of 1810. Michael Shervashidze, the last Mt'avar of Ap'khazet'i (1823-1865) 1864 (12th July)
18. Russo-Georgian forces conquer from the Turks, Kars and part of Meskhet'i or Samtskhe-Saat'abago, namely Adchara and Artan (Ardahan) (Treaty of Berlin) 1878

[Treaty of Gulistan whereby Russia is ceded by Persia the Khanates of Ganja (Elisavetpol), Qarabagh (Karabakh), Shak'i (Shak), Shirvan, Talish (Talysh), Quba (Kuba), and Derbend, 1813.

Shamil unites under his supreme control Tchetchnia, Avaria, a greater part of Daghestan and Circassia, and declares a holy war on Russia, 1834.

Russia defeats Shamil, who surrenders, 1859 (25th Sept.).

Russia finally conquers Circassians, 1864.]

REVOLTS IN GEORGIA AGAINST RUSSIA

1. Revolt in Imeret'i 1810 (May)
2. Popular revolt in Kakhet'i 1811
3. Revolt of feudal lords in Kakhet'i 1812
4. Ecclesiastical and political revolts in Imeret'i, Guria, and Odishi 1820-1821
5. Conspiracy against the Russian administrative officials 1832
6. Revolt in Ap'khazet'i 1866

LIST OF KINGS AND MT'AVARS OF GEORGIA

Mentioned by classical writers, or in Georgian sources other than the Annals,
between B.C. 1st-A.D. 7th Centuries

EASTERN GEORGIA

(Iberia)

1. **Artag** **65 B.C.**
Contemporary of the Roman General Pompey (106-48 B.C.). *Artoces* (Ἀρτώκης) of Dio Cassius (*Dio's Roman History*, with an English trans. by Ernest Cary, The Loeb Classical Library, London, MCMXIV, vol. iii, book xxxvii, chaps. 1-5, pp. 98-9).
2. **P'arnavaz** **37 B.C.**
Contemporary of the Roman General Marcus Antonius (83-30 B.C.). *Farnabazos* (Φαρναβζος) of Dio Cassius (op. cit., vol. v, book xlix, chap. 24, pp. 390-1).
3. **P'arsman I** **A.D. 35**
Contemporary of the Roman Emperors Tiberius (14-37), Caius Caligula (37-41), and Claudius (41-57). *Farasmanes* (Φαρασμανου) of Dio Cassius (op. cit., vol. vii, book lviii, chap. 26, pp. 252-3) and of Tacitus (*The Annals*, trans. into English by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb, 2nd ed., London, 1877, book vi, chaps. 33-35, pp. 170-2; book xii, chap. 44, p. 217 f.).
4. **Mihrdat, son of P'arsman I**
Contemporary of the Roman Emperors Vespasian (70-9), Titus (79-81), and Domitian (81-96). Of the inscription on a stone discovered at Mtskheta in 1867 and now at the Tiflis Museum. (I. Pomyalovski, *Sbornik gretcheskikh i latinskikh nadpisei Kavkaza*, Tiflis, 1881, p. 68.)
5. **P'arsman II** **A.D. 134**
Contemporary of the Roman Emperors Hadrian (117-138) and Antoninus (138-161). *Farasmanes* (Φαρασμανου) of Dio Cassius (op. cit., vol. viii, epitome of book xlix, chap. 15, pp. 450-1 and 470-1), and of Aelius Spartianus (*Hadrian*, in *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, trans. into English by David Magie, London, MCMXXII, book xiii, 9, pp. 42-3; xviii, 12, pp. 54-5).

6. Bakur the Great¹ **337**

Der Grosse Bakurios of the author of *The Life of Peter the Iberian* (*Petrus der Iberer. Ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen—und Sittengeschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts. Sirische Übersetzung einer um das Jahr 500 verfasten Griechischen Biographie. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von Richard Raabe, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 15, 16*).

7. Mirian **361**

Contemporary of the Emperor Constantius (337–361). *Meribanes* of Ammianus Marcellinus (*The Roman History*, trans. by C. D. Yonge, London, 1911, book xxi, chap. vi, par. 8, p. 253).

8. Suarmag **368**

Contemporary of the Roman Emperor Valens (364–378). *Sauromaces* of Ammianus Marcellinus (op. cit., book xxvii, chap. xii, pars. 4, 16–18, pp. 463–455); deposed by Sapor II, Shah of Persia (310–379).

9. Asp'agur, a relation of Saurmag **368**

Aspacuras of Ammianus Marcellinus (ibid.). Placed on the throne by Sapor II.

10. P'arsman III

Contemporary of the Roman Emperor Arcadius (395–408). *Pharasmanios* of the author of *The Life of Peter the Iberian* (German trans. mentioned above, p. 15). According to Javakhishvili (*A History of Georgian Justice*, Tiflis, 1928, vol. i, pp. 178–9) he ascended the throne between 395 and 404.

11. Buzmari, son-in-law of Bakur the Great

Contemporary of the Roman Emperor Theodosius II (408–450). *Bosmarios* of the author of *The Life of Peter the Iberian* (German trans., p. 15). According to Professor Javakhishvili (ibid.), he appears to have been king between 413 and 416.

¹ Bakur the Great was, according to *The Life of Peter the Iberian*, or to give it its full title, *The Life of St. Peter of the Iberians, the worthy Bishop and Confessor and Ascetic of our Lord*, the first Christian king of Georgia.

We have two sources of information concerning the name of the first Christian king of Georgia; one, the Vth-century Syriac text of *The Life of Peter the Iberian* just mentioned, in which the first Christian king is called "the great Bakurios" (Bakur), and the other "the Armeno-Georgian pseudo-epigraphic works of the first half of the eighth century and of the end of the ninth century" which call him Mihran or Mirian. Of these two sources Professor Javakhishvili accords preference to the Syriac text of *The Life of Peter the Iberian*, and recognizes "the great Bakur" as the first Christian king of Georgia. In Javakhishvili's opinion, "Christianity must have become a State religion of Eastern Georgia (Iberia) approximately about 337, and at this time 'the great Bakur' was King of Iberia." (For his argument see his *History*, vol. i, 1928, pp. 184–215.)

12. Artchili, brother of Bakur the Great

Arsilios of the author of *The Life of Peter the Iberian* (p. 15). According to Professor Javakhishvili (op. cit., p. 180), he was King of Iberia approximately between 429 and 437.

13. Gurgen I

523

Contemporary of the Roman Emperor Justin I (518–527). *Gurgenes* (Γουργένης) of Procopius (*History of the Wars*, with an English trans. by H. B. Dewing, London, MCMXIV, vol. i, chap. xii, p. 97).

14. Jamanarse, or Dzamanarse

527

Contemporary of the Roman Emperor Justinian (527–565), *Dzamanardzos* (Ζαμαναρζός) of Theophanes (*Chronographia*, p. 216, 6–14) or *Samanadzoz* (Σαμαναζός) of Malalas (p. 492, 15), as quoted by Marquart (*Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 432). In his time Persians abolished kingship in Eastern Georgia.

15. Gurgen II

571

Contemporary of the Roman Emperor Justin II (565–578). *Gorgenes* of Theophanes of Byzantium (*Theophanis Byzantii Fragmenta*, see L. Dindorf, *Historici Graeci Minores*, Leipzig, MDCCCLXX, vol. i, p. 448. Also S. Qaukhtchishvili, in *The Bulletin of the Museum of Georgia*, Tiflis, 1928, vol. iv, p. 283).

During the first half of the seventh century Eastern Georgia or Iberia appears to have been administered by the following Mt'avars:—

Adarnase	} during the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century.
Arshusha	
Vahan	
Buzmihr	

Atrnerseh, *Ashusha*, *Vahan*, and *Brzmeh* of Ukhtanes, the Armenian historian of the tenth century. (*The History of the Schism of the Armeno-Georgian Church*, see J. Marquart, op. cit., p. 397, note 1; also Javakhishvili, *History*, i, 1928, pp. 241 and 347.)

Step'anoz	} from 627
Demetre	
Adarnerse	

These Mt'avars are mentioned with Byzantine titles of *Patrikios* of K'art'li (Step'anoz) and *Hypatos* (Demetre and Adarnerse) in the inscriptions of the Juari Monastery (near Mtskheta) which was built by these Mt'avars themselves (Javakhishvili, op. cit., p. 246; Marquart, op. cit., p. 433).

Nerse I, erist'avi of K'art'li 2nd half of the seventh century

Mentioned according to Marquart by John Catholicos (Joh. Cath., Jerusalem, 1867, p. 118 = 81 of the transl.), and in the preface to the Armenian translation of the History of the Church by Socrates (see J. Marquart, op. cit., p. 402).

Nerse II, son of Adarnerse Kuropalat, erist'avi of K'art'li

Before 772 and 775-780

Contemporary of the Caliphs Al-Mansur (754-775) and Al-Mahdi (775-785). Mentioned in *The Life of St. Abo*, a Georgian monument of the eighth century. (See I. Javakhishvili, *History*, ii, 1914, p. 354.)

Step'anoz, son of erist'av Gurgen, and nephew of Nerse II

772-775 and 780-786

Mentioned in *The Life of St. Abo* (Javakhishvili, op. cit., p. 356).

Ashot the Great

786-826

WESTERN GEORGIA ¹

(Colchis-Lazica)

If we may judge from the Greek legends referring to Caucasia, Western Georgia, or Colchis (Kolkhida) of the ancients, was once the seat of a powerful Empire. Names, whether real or fictitious, of the Aetes, and the Saulaces, recall, as Reinach remarks, a far-off epoch when the Colchians were masters of the whole Western Caucasia. Judging from these legends the Colchians knew of copper, gold, iron, they ploughed fields, sowed wheat, made wine, and built temples and palaces. The companions of Jason, the Argonaut, admired the vastness and luxury of the palace of the Colchian King Aetes.

The Empire of the Colchians, if it ever existed, must have been submerged by the great ethnic waves that arose in the seventh century B.C., particularly, according to Reinach, by the forced emigration of the Moskhians (Meskhians) "who penetrated like a wedge into Transcaucasia, between Armenia, Iberia and Colchis". Later, with the expansion of the Achaemenian Empire, the Colchians came within the sphere of influence of the Persians. At the close of the second century B.C. Colchis appears to have been divided into sceptuchies (*σκηπτουχίας*) each ruled by a *Sceptuch* (*σκηπτουχος*), that is "sceptre-bearer". Strabo (xi, chap. ii, § 18), however, is not quite

¹ The principal sources: Theodore Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator, Roi de Pont*, Paris, 1890; Strabo, *The Geography*, transl. by H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer, vol. ii, bk. xi, chap. ii, §§ 14-19, pp. 225-9; Arrian, *Voyage round the Euxine Sea*, transl. by Th. Falconer, Oxford, 1805, pp. 9-10.

clear whether these *sceptuchies* represented administrative divisions of the kingdom, or independent principalities of disunited Colchis. During the first half of the first century B.C. Colchis formed part of the Pontic Empire of Mithridates VI the Great (120–63 B.C.). When and how Mithridates conquered the country is not known (see *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1932, vol. ix, p. 233). Soon after the conquest Colchis was organized as a vice-royalty and the first viceroy was Prince Mithridates, son of Mithridates VI, appointed in 88 B.C. The young royal viceroy was evidently a good ruler, and the Colchians had become so attached to him that, when he was later recalled by his father, they revolted and demanded the young Prince as their king. Respecting the wishes of the Colchian “sceptre-bearers”, Mithridates VI reappointed his son as regent in 85 B.C.; suspected, however, of having encouraged the insurrection of the Colchians, he was again recalled and put in golden chains at Sinope, where the young Prince was found dead shortly after. Henceforward Colchis, reorganized as a satrapy, was administered by governors, who were chosen from among the “first friends of the King” and who bore the title of *hyparches* (ὑπαρχος) or *dioicetes* (διοικητης). One of these governors was MOAPHERNES, the great uncle of Strabo. Since the Third War with Rome, which ended so disastrously for Mithridates in 71 B.C., he had little time left to think of Colchis, and the latter having regained independence was ruled for four or five years by her own “sceptre-bearers” (Reinach, p. 389). Mithridates VI was finally defeated by Pompey in 66 B.C. In the following year Pompey conquered first Albania (in Eastern Transcaucasia, the present day Azerbaijan) and Iberia, with whom Mithridates had concluded Treaties of Friendship, and then Colchis. As part of the general settlement of the Near East, which the victorious Pompey carried out in 64 B.C., he gave the whole of Colchis to a dynast named Aristarchus. How long Aristarchus reigned is not known. During the second half of the first century B.C. Polemo I, King of Pontus (from 37) and Bosporus (from 14), appears to have obtained possession of Colchis, and after his death (in 8) his wife Pythodoris, Queen of Pontus till about A.D. 23, reigned over the Colchians (Strabo, xi, ii, 19).

Pre-Roman Colchis was a creation of the Colchian tribe, who had gained politico-cultural hegemony over the other Georgian tribes then settled in Western Georgia. The Colchians proper occupied the valley of the Phasis (Rion); north of them dwelt the Soanes or Svans who held the heights of the Caucasus from above Dioscurias eastwards, and who had a king and a council of 300 persons (Strabo, xi, ii, 19.) In the south dwelt the Moskhoi (Meskhians), whose land, the “Moschic territory” of Strabo, was divided between the Colchians, the Iberians, and the Armenians.

In the second century A.D. the political and ethnic picture of Colchis appears substantially changed. Instead of a united kingdom of Aristarchus we see a disunited Colchis, divided into four small kingdoms, whose kings, as Arrian reports, had been appointed by the Roman Emperors. These four kingdoms were those of the Laz, the Apsils, the Abaskhs (Abkhazes), and the Sanegs. These ethnic names are not mentioned by any of the classical writers of the pre-Christian era as of those dwelling in their time in Colchis. The Laz and the Apsils (Absils) and Sanegs (Sannigae) are mentioned for the first time by Pliny (23-79) and the Abaskhs (Abaskoi) by Arrian (second century). (See also Reinach, p. 223, note 1.) The Sanegs dwelt in Arrian's time, in the country around Dioscurias, which in Strabo's time was held by the Svans, and the Laz in the valley of the Phasis (Rion) formerly held by the Colchians; the Abaskhs and the Apsils dwelt between the Laz and the Sanegs along the Black Sea coast. In the south-west dwelt the Sanni or Tzanes,¹ who had no king, and the Machelones and Heniochs, whose king was Anchialus. Of these tribes the Laz gained in the end the supremacy, and under their leadership Western Georgia, called Lazica (after the Laz) from about the third century, began to show signs of revival. Of the kings of Lazica the most noteworthy is Gubaz II (+ 554), in whose reign a greater part of Western Georgia appears to have been united; Ap'shilet'i (Apsilia) with Dsibelda (the middle valley of the River Kodor) and Svanet'i were under his suzerainty.²

The Laz lost their supremacy during the first half of the eighth century, when the Abkhazians superseded them. Leo, the *erist'avi* of Ap'khazet'i revolted, according to Georgian annals, against Byzantium, and conquered for himself not only Ap'khazet'i, but also the whole of Western Georgia, whose king he proclaimed himself in 744 or 746. Western Georgia henceforward began to be called Ap'khazet'i or Ap'khazet'-Egrisi (see p. 58).

Olt'aki

Contemporary of Mithridates VI the Great, King of Pontus (120-63 B.C.). *Olthakes* (Ὀλθάκης) of Appian (*Mithridatica*, § 117: *Historia Romana*, Lipsiae, vol. i, ed. L. Mendelssohn, 1879), as quoted by Th. Reinach (*Mithridate Eupator*, Paris, 1890, p. 76, n. 4).³

Mithridates, son of Mithridates VI the Great

88 B.C.

¹ In Georgian *Dchans* or *Dchanians*, who later occupied the south-eastern corner of the Black Sea coast, whence the Georgian name of this tract, *Dchanet'i*, the Lazistan of the Turks.

² See Javakishvili, *History*, i, 1928, pp. 234, 253-4.

³ Olthakes whom Appian calls ὁ Κολχων σκηπτούχος, that is "the sceptre-bearer", is called by Plutarch (*Lucullus*, 16) Ὀλθακὸς Δανδαρίων δυνάστη (Reinach, *ibid.*).

Aristarkhi

64 B.C.

Contemporary of the Roman general Pompey (106–48 B.C.). *Aristarchus* of Eutropius (*Eutropii Breviarum historia Romanae*, book vi, § xi. French translation by Maurice Rat, *Abrégé de l'Histoire Romaine*, Paris, 1934).

KINGS OF DIVIDED COLCHIS

Malasi , King of the Laz	} A.D. 134
Yuliane , King of the Apshils	
Rasmagi , King of the Abkhaz or the Abaskh	
Spadagi , King of the Sanigs	

All contemporaries of the Roman Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117–138).

Μαλάσσας, Ἰουλιανός Ῥισμαγας, Σραδαγας

respectively, of Arrian (*APPIANOY ΠΕΡΙΠΛΑΟΥ ΕΥΞΕΙΝΟΥ ΠΟΝΤΟΥ*) edidit A. G. Roos, Lipsiae, MCMXVIII, p. 113. English translation by Th. Falconer, *Arrian's Voyage round the Euxine Sea*, Oxford, 1805, pp. 9–10.

Bakuri

Contemporary of the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius (138–161). *Pacorum* of Julius Capitolinus (*Antoninus Pius in Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, with an English translation by D. Magie, London, MCMXXII, book ix, ch. 6, p. 123).

KINGS OF LAZICA

Gubaz I

464, 466

Contemporary of the Roman Emperor Leo I (457–474) and of Piroz (Firuz), King of Persia (459–484). *Gobazes* (Γοβάζης) of Priscus (*The Gothic History* in Dindorf's *Historici Graeci Minores*, vol. i, p. 275, book iv, ch. 25).¹

Damnazi²

Contemporary of Kawad, King of Persia (488–496 ; 499–531) and of the Roman Emperor Anastasius (491–518).

Conjointly, it appears, with Gubazi reigned his son. Priscus (op. cit., chap. 26) states that the Emperor Leo refused to grant peace to Gubazi unless he himself or his son abdicated, as it was not desirable that they should, in spite of the ancient custom, reign together. Gubazi chose to retire in his son's favour. On his arrival in Constantinople, his abdication was not, however, pressed (see also *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 1911, vol. i, p. 469).

² According to S. Gorgadze (*An Ancient History of Georgia*, Tiflis, 1920, p. 94). The writer, however, found no mention of this king in any of the sources consulted by him.

Dsat'e I¹

520

Contemporary of the Roman Emperor Justin I (518-527) and of Kawad, King of Persia. *Τζάθιος* of Theophanes (*Chronographia*, ed. by De Boor, vol. i, pp. 168, 174).

Op'sit'e, brother of Dsat'e I, and uncle of Gubaz I

Οψιτης of Procopius (*De bello Gothico*, i, 4, 9, quoted by Javakhishvili, *A History of Georgian Justice*, Tiflis, 1928, p. 182).

Gubaz II, son of Dsat'e I

† 554

Contemporary of the Roman Emperor Justinian (527-565) and of Chosroes I, King of Persia (531-579). Goubazes (*Γουβαζης*) of Procopius (*History of the Wars*, with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, London, MCMXIV, book ii, chap. xvii, p. 403).

Dsat'e II, younger brother of Gubaz II

from 554

Contemporary of the Roman Emperor Justinian (527-565) (*Agathias*, i, 3, pp. 81-9. Lebeau, ix, pp. 324-5, as quoted by Javakhishvili, *History*, i, 1928, p. 237).

Sergi, son of Barnuk (*Βαρνουκιον*)

689.

Σέργιος of Theophanes (*Chronographia*, i, 370, as quoted by Javakhishvili, *History*, ii, 1914, p. 349).
(For the list of Kings of Ap'khazet'-Egrisi, see p. 139.)

¹ According to Gorgadze Dsat'e was son of Damnazi.

FOUR BASILICAN CHURCHES OF THE QVIRILA VALLEY¹

(From the expedition to the Qvirila Valley in 1920)

by

E. TAQAISHVILI

(Formerly Professor at Tiflis University)

IN the summer of the year 1920 I was commissioned by the Government of the Georgian Democratic Republic to go to Western Georgia, to make a list of the antiquities and ecclesiastical vessels, and to take measures for their safe-keeping. Among other places I visited the Qvirila Valley, and inspected the monasteries of Jrudchi, Katskhi, Mghvime, and also the basilicas of the Satchkhere district, at Savane, Darkvet'i, Ekhvevi, and Speti. The four last-named form the subject of this article. On my trip to the Qvirila Valley I was accompanied by the now deceased Archimandrite of the Jrudchi monastery, George Jap'aridze, who afterwards became a bishop, and by the artist-photographer of the Georgian Historical and Ethnographical Society, Theodore Kuhne. The latter took all the photographs which illustrate this article. The late Archimandrite G. Jap'aridze, in accordance with the traditions of former times, looked after me with the greatest care, and did much towards the successful fulfilment of my task. With his help, I was able to transfer to the Museum of the Georgian Historical and Ethnographical Society the more valuable manuscripts from the many monasteries which we visited, more particularly the Jrudchi monastery, as they were threatened with looting.

All the basilicas which we inspected were single aisled. The type of these basilicas is at the same time very old and very new. Their plans and form do not vary, for they are usually rectangular, with an internal apse and barrel-vaulted roofs, supported on one or more cross arches, according to the size of the church. The roof is always double sloping. There is sometimes one door, sometimes two, and in the latter case they are always at the south and west. The windows are on two sides, the south and the west, or sometimes on three sides, the south, east, and west. Some of the basilicas are richly decorated with relief carvings and other sculptured ornaments. To this type belong all the basilicas we inspected, and of these the Darkvet'i basilica, with its inscriptions, is here published for the first time. The others have already been published, but the most noteworthy thing about them—their particularly wonderful and sometimes really

¹ The editors express their thanks to Professor D. Talbot Rice for his help in the translation of this article.

original ornamentations—has never received proper consideration. We even make so bold as to state that our illustrations not only furnish complete material with regard to these basilicas, but that they are also of primary importance for the study of Georgian interlaced work and sculpture. We would add that our reading of the inscriptions differs somewhat from that of preceding investigators.

SAVANE ¹

The most important of the basilicas which we inspected was that at Savane, dedicated to St. George. Savane is mentioned by Prince Vakhusht, for he tells us in his *Geography of Georgia* that: "Above Satchkhere, on the bank of the Qvirila, lies Savane, a church without a cupola, a strange building, for it is, with its iconostasis, hewn out of a single rock."² Vakhusht himself had not seen the Savane basilica, and relates a legend which reached him, but it seems strange that Meghvinet'-Khutsesov, who examined the basilica at Brosset's request and copied its inscriptions—with, however, substantial mistakes—should have repeated the legend, even as regards the iconostasis. He informed Brosset that it was made out of a single stone, and Brosset in his turn reported this to Vorontsov, then Viceroy of Caucasia.³

The Savane basilica stands on a hill on the left bank of the Qvirila, a tributary of the Rion, in the centre of a large village, which is a veritable garden. It is made of neatly hewn, yellowish stones, and in its plan is rectangular, measuring internally 28 feet by 20 feet. Inside it is covered with barrel vaulting on four supporting arches of hewn stones.

In the main apse there are, on the right and on the left, two high, deep recesses, each 16 ft. 4 in. high and 4 ft. 8 in. across. These recesses represent, as it were, a prothesis and a diakonikon. There is another arched recess in the northern wall of the church, at the end of the iconostasis; it is 4 ft. 1 in. broad, 22 in. deep, and of the same height as the former. The iconostasis of the church is high, with a notched cornice (Pl. IX); its length is 2 ft. 11 in., its height 11 ft. 8 in. It is divided into two distinct parts; the lower formerly took the form of a compact wall, made of slabs of hewn stone, like the wall of the church itself, with royal door in the middle, but later doors were made to the north and the south.⁴ The upper part, made of stucco,

¹ Literature: M. Brosset, *Mélanges asiatiques*, vol. iii, livr. i, pp. 36–47; Kondakov and Bakradze, *Description of Monuments and Antiquities of some of the Georgian Churches and Monasteries* (in Russian), pp. 149–151; G. Tsereteli, *An Archaeological Expedition to the Valley of the Qvirila in Materials for the Archaeology of the Caucasus* (in Russian), Moscow Archaeological Society, issue vii, pp. 99–102.

² Brosset, *Description Géographique par Tsarevitch Vakhusht*, pp. 369–371.

³ Brosset, *Mélanges asiatiques*, vol. iii, pp. 37–8.

⁴ In the illustrations, rough sketches done by hand and attached to Brosset's work these doors do not yet exist. Op. cit., pl. ii.

consists of three cinquefoil arches with cusps in the form of clover leaves, resting on four beautiful columns. Formerly the whole iconostasis was evidently completely faced with alabaster stucco, which was ornamented with arabesques and rosettes in very bright colours, chiefly red and green; after hardening this represented a compact mass like a monolith, and because of this it was thought to have been made of a single stone. Now the lower parts are bare and whitewashed, but here and there, particularly at the edges, there are still traces of discoloured ornaments. As regards the upper part the ornamentation is completely preserved. The colours are fresh and the arches and rosettes complete, and one gets an impression that the whole surface is made of majolica.

Of all the similarly constructed iconostases I have seen, the one at Savane is the most beautiful and the best preserved. Brosset, Tsereteli, and others consider the Savane iconostasis to be as old as the church itself, that is of the eleventh century,¹ but this can hardly be asserted. Up to the fifteenth century Georgian churches had low, stone iconostases, sometimes with rich ornament in relief showing saints, similar to those found in the Sap'ara monastery,² in the Shiomghvime *lavra*,³ the Sat'khe church,⁴ in some churches in Abkhasia,⁵ and elsewhere. Iconostases like that of Savane are found in the Speti or Sakvirike church (see below, pp. 172-3, Pl. XXVI), in the church of the Dchabuk-mt'a,⁶ in the Old Shuamt'a,⁷ in the Patara-Oni⁸ church in Radcha, and elsewhere, but none of these are, to my mind, earlier than the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries.

The interior of the Savane church is whitewashed, and there is no trace of paintings. There are five windows, one each on the east and west, and three on the south. The doors are to the west and south. Later—not before the fourteenth to fifteenth century—a porch was built in front of the southern door (Pl. VII) with complex, engaged columns, set in a cluster, the capitals and bases carved (Pl. II, Fig. 2); probably at a later date still, separate chambers were added to the porch on the east and west (Pl. VII).

The façades of the church are all richly ornamented with the exception of the northern; here the only adornment is a carved,

¹ Brosset, owing to an incorrect reading of the date, assigned the church to the year 981 (op. cit., p. 45); G. Tsereteli, op. cit., p. 101.

² Countess Oubarova, *Materials for the Archæology of the Caucasus* (in Russian), vol. iv, pl. xxxvi-xxxvii.

³ Photographed by me.

⁴ The stones of this iconostasis, of the time of King George the Brilliant (middle of fourteenth century), have been transferred by me to the Museum of the Georgian Society for the Diffusion of Literacy.

⁵ Countess Oubarova, op. cit., pl. iv-viii.

⁶ G. Tsereteli, op. cit., pp. 110-112, pl. xiii.

⁷ The iconostasis is now destroyed, but there are photographs of it taken by me.

⁸ Photographed by me.

notched cornice, which is, however, common to all the façades. Besides this, on the northern side, there are clearly noticeable traces of restoration.

The eastern façade (Pl. I, Fig. 1) is divided by three arches, upheld by double-plaited engaged colonettes, with carved bases and capitals. Within the higher middle arch, at the top, there is a fine cross in relief, and below, in the middle, an arched window with carved archivolt and a richly ornamented frame (Pl. I, Fig. 2). Below, under the corners of the window, there are beautifully carved rosettes. A fine rosette is also carved above the middle arch on the pediment (Pl. I, Fig. 1).

On the left of the window, below the archivolt, on a single framed slab (Pl. I, Fig. 2), is an inscription in *asomt'avruli* (majuscule ecclesiastical), which we reproduce below in *mkhedruli* (military) alphabet :—

(Abbreviated)

(In full)

ქ: სახელითა: ღ ^ა თ	სახელითა ღმრთ-
ისაათა მე: ეე გი	ისაათა, მე ერისთავთა ერისთავმან გიორგი
დაუწერე: და	დაუწერე და
მივეც: ამის ე	მივეც ამის ე-
კლესისა: ნხერ	კლესისა ნახევარ-
ი: სე ^ა ნა: სფლსა	ი სავანისა სოფელსა:
თ ^ა ნა: დამიდგე	თანა დამიდგე-
ს: ოდეს შნზა: და	ს, ოდეს შენებაჲ და-
ვიწყთ: მშობთა ფ	ვიწყეთ, მუშაობითა, ფ-
ასითა: ყლითა	ასითა, ყოვლითა
ფრ ^ა თა: ღ ^ა ნ: უბდნერნ	ფერთა. ღმერთმან უბედნიერენ
ოკ ^ა ე: ვინ უქციოს: ღ	უკუნისამდე. ვინ უქციოს, ღ.

Translation :—

“ In the name of God I, George, *erist'av* of *erist'avs* (governor of governors) have written this, and have given the half of this church to the Savane community. When I began to build the church they helped me with work, with money, with all things. May God give them happy use of it, for ever and ever. He who changeth it (will be accursed).”¹

The western façade is similar to the eastern, except that the middle arch has a door in the lower and a window in the upper part, both being placed along the main axis of the church ; this window, like the one of the eastern façade, is richly ornamented (Pl. II, Fig. 1). Above

¹ What is in parenthesis is guesswork, as that part of the inscription, at the bottom, is invisible, being covered by the frame.

the middle arch, under the pediment, there is an excellent bas-relief of a panther or lion. The cornice is notched and carved. The archivolt and frame of the door have magnificent carving of Georgian interlaced work (Pl. III). Still more beautiful is the very original carved tympanum of the door (Pl. IV), with a two-line inscription in *asomt'avruli* letters on its flat surface, which transcribed in the military alphabet reads:—

(Abbreviated)

ქ სხლთა ღთსაჲთა მხზთა წსა: ღთს მშობლსჲთა წინა
გიწითა დამაყენა მე სლთა სწყლბლი ღრბჲ აღსაშენებელად
წსა: ამის სყდრისა: აღწ ღწ: გწ: ეწ სლცველდ სლსა მისა
თს დ მშობელთა მითათს და გთს თს და დედისა მისათს.

(In full)

ქ. სახელითა ღმრთისაჲთა, მეოხებითა წმიდისა ღმრთის
მშობელისაჲთა, წმიდისა გიორგისითა, დამაყენა მე სულითა
საწყალობელი ლუარსაზი აღსაშენებლად წმიდისა ამის საყდრისა,
აღიდენ ღმერთმან გიორგი ერისთავთა ერისთივი, სულისა მათისათჳს
და მშობელთა მათათჳს და გოლიათისთჳს და დედისა მათისათჳს.

Translation:—

“ In the name of God and with the help of the Mother of God, and St. George, George, *erist'av* of *erist'avs* (the governor of governors) —God extol them!—appointed me, poor soul, Luarsab,¹ to supervise the erection of this church, in prayer for their soul and for (the souls of) their parents and Goliat' and his mother.”

The southern façade is as rich in ornament as the eastern and western, but it is disfigured by the later addition of a porch with its side chambers. Above the porch is a small bell-tower. Of the three windows of this façade, each of which is differently ornamented, the eastern is blocked up; most of the western is hidden from view by the porch; the middle one is still visible (Pl. VII). Lower down, on the southern wall, a round rosette can be seen, and also a round, carved aperture, now covered over. Both these ornamentations are now enclosed in the chamber of the porch, to the right. The southern door, with double frame and archivolt, is, like the western door, richly ornamented with Georgian interlaced work (Pl. V). Its carved tympanum is magnificent (Pl. VI). In its motives it resembles the

¹ I read Luarsab, as does G. Tsereteli, but in view of the fact that the *asomt'avruli* ლ (l) and ლ (z) resemble one another, it is difficult to say, and we may have in this inscription either the name Luarsab or the name Zurabi, or rather Zurabay.

western tympanum, but it is complicated by a representation of a cross, placed in a beautifully-carved circle. It has a three-line inscription, which reads in the military alphabet :—

(*Abbreviated*)

სხლითა ღმრთისათა მე: გ: ე: ავაშენე ესე წ:ჲ ეკლესიაი
[sic] სავანის-ჲ სლც-ვლდ სლისა: ცდელსა ჩმისა და:

ძმისა ჩ-მისა: ხ: ე: და მშზ-ლთა ჩ-მთა: თ-ს: და: გლ-ზად:
თ-ს: და: მრ-ს: თ-ს: და შვილისა: ჩ-ნისა: გლთ-ს თ-ს და დედისა

მისისა: თ-ს წ-ო: გ: ი: მეოხეყავ: წ-ე ღ-თისა: ა-ნ: იყენ:
ქრონიკონი იყო: ს: ჰ: ვ: აეშენა: მფზსა: ბგრტ კლპტსსა (*sic*).

(*In full*)

სახელითა ღმრთისათა, მე გიორგი ერისთავთა ერისთავმან ავაშენე ესე წმინდა ეკლესიაი სავანისაჲ სალოცველად სულისა ცოდვილისა ჩემისა და ძმისა ჩემისა ხახუ ერისთავისა და მშობელთა ჩემთათჳს და გულზვიადისთჳს და მარიამისთჳს და შვილისა ჩუენისა გოლიათისთჳს და დედისა მისისათჳს. წმიდაო გიორგი, მეოხე ყავ წინაშე ღმრთისა, ამინ იყავნ, ქრონიკონი იყო: ს: ჰ: ვ: აეშენა მეფობასა ბაგრატ კულატპალატისასა.

Translation :—

“ In the name of God I, George, the *erist'av* of *erist'avs*, built this Savane church in prayer for my sinful soul and for the soul of my brother Khakhu *erist'av*, of my parents Gulzviad and Mary, and my son Goliat' and his mother. St. George intercede for them before God! Be it Amen! The k'oronikon was 266 (= 1046). Built in the reign of Bagrat Kuropalat.”

Thus the inscription confirms that the Savane church was built in 1046, in the reign of King Bagrat IV Kuropalat (1027–1072). The name of the brother of the builder of the church is represented in the inscription by an initial letter **Ⲭ** (Kh), and it is difficult to determine which is meant: Khakhu, as Tsereteli reads it, or Khukhu. The latter name is still in use in Megrelia (Mingrelia).¹ We may, however, agree with Tsereteli who declares Khakhu to be Khakhula, the owner of the Tsikhejuari fortress in the Borjom defile, who sided with King Bagrat IV (1027–1072) against Liparit III Orbeliani, the king's

¹ In one inscription on a silver book-cover, a gospel of the seventeenth century, the master-goldsmith gives his name as Khukhu Ejibia. See also E. Taqaishvili, *Archæological Excursions and Notes* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1914, vol. ii, p. 110.

rebellious vassal (*Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, p. 318). This is all the more probable as Khakhula represents a diminutive form of Khakhu.¹

On the right of the middle window of the southern façade there is an eight-line inscription. It is somewhat damaged, particularly the last line, but as a whole it is decipherable. It reads in the military alphabet :—

(Abbreviated)

ქწო: გი: შე: სორომე: ძეა:

აქონისა: და გაუ

სნე: სლსა: მშბლთა: მ

ისტასა: ამის ეკლსსა

გბსა: შწა: აკზმლბთა:

მძიმე: გლთს: სლთს:

ვინ: წააკობთ: ლცვსა

მოხსნთ: ან გენ: ჩნ.

(In full)

ქ. წმიდაო გიორგი, შეიწყალე
საურმაგ, ძეა

აქონისა, და განუ-

სვენე სულსა მშობელთა მ-

ისტასა. ამის ეკლესიისა

გებასა შეეწია აკაზმულობითა

მძიმე გოლიათის სულისათს.

ვინ წააკობოთ, ლოცვასა

მოიხსენებდეთ. ამინ გვეყავნ ჩუენ.

Translation :—

“ St. George, have mercy on Saurmag, son of Ak'oni, and give peace to the souls of their parents. During the building of this church he helped to adorn it, in prayer for the soul of Goliat', burdened with sin. You who read, mention him in your prayer. As to ourselves, be it Amen.”

Other inscriptions are preserved on the southern porch. They are, however, of a comparatively late date, and do not resemble palæographically the preceding ones. Persons mentioned in these inscriptions are, in my opinion, connected with the erection of the southern porch, which could not have taken place, as already noted, earlier than the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. A one-line inscription in *asomt'avruli* (majuscule ecclesiastical alphabet) under the tympanum of the south door (Pl. VI) speaks of the construction (or making) of this door. It reads in the military alphabet :—

(Abbreviated)

სხლი ლთსითა: და შეწვენითა: სენსა: მთერწისა: შექმნსა:
კონი ესე: ქეთრძეთა ძეანს აღბულს: მქლს: და მისისა: მეუღლისა
თმრისა. შნ ლნ.

(In full)

სახელითა ღმრთისაითა და შეწვენითა სავანისა მთავარ-

¹ G. Tsereteli, op. cit., p. 103, note 1.

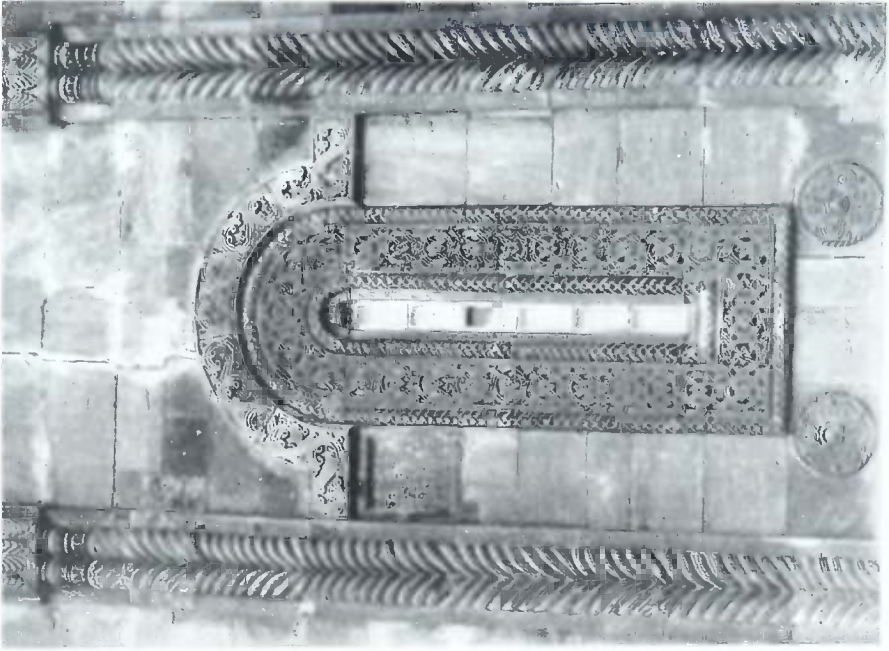


FIG. 2.—Savane. The East window.

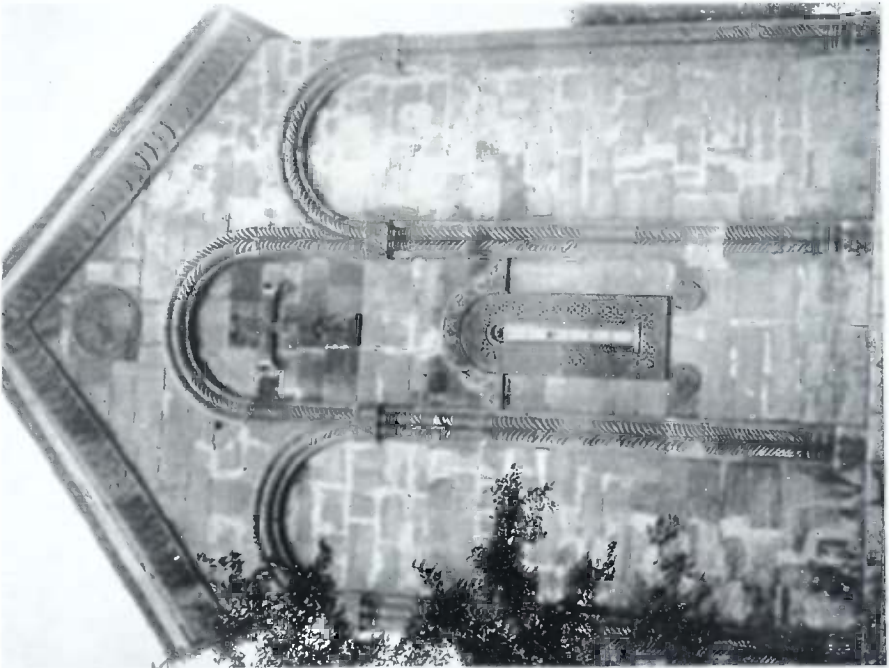


FIG. 1.—Savane. Eastern façade.

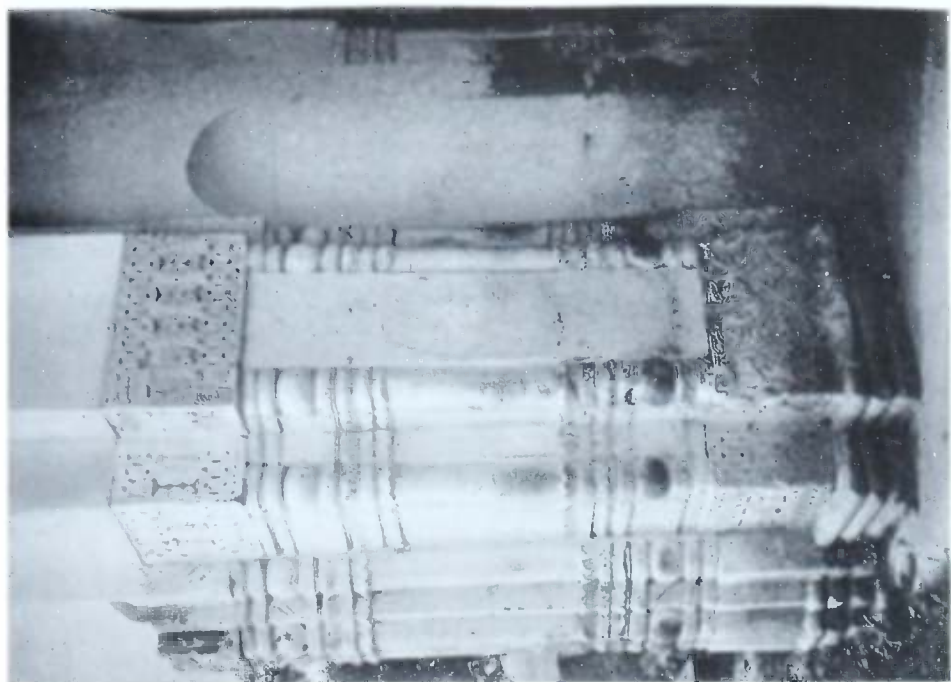


FIG. 2.—Savane. Pilasters of the Porch.

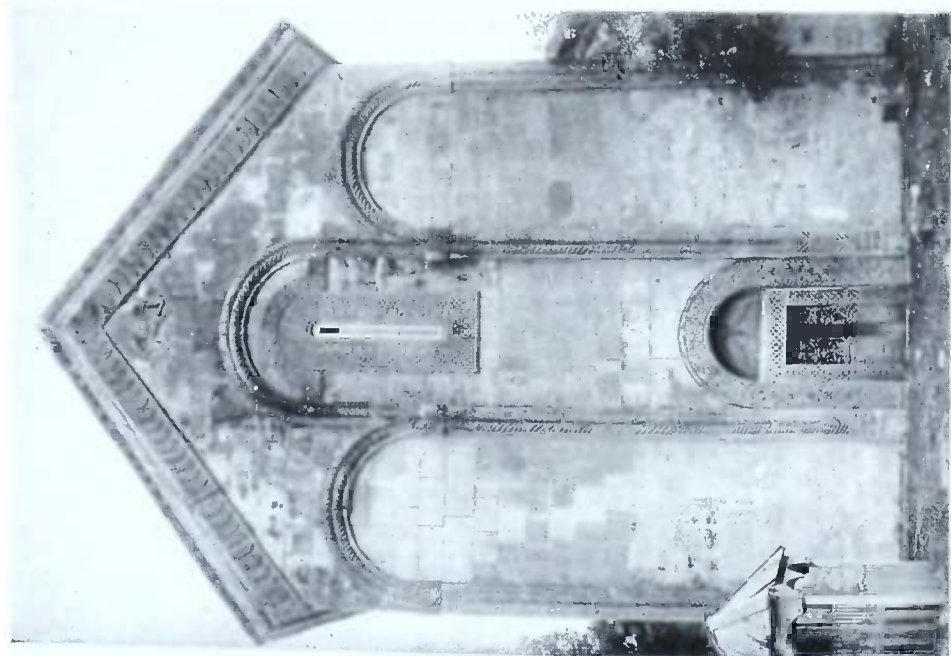
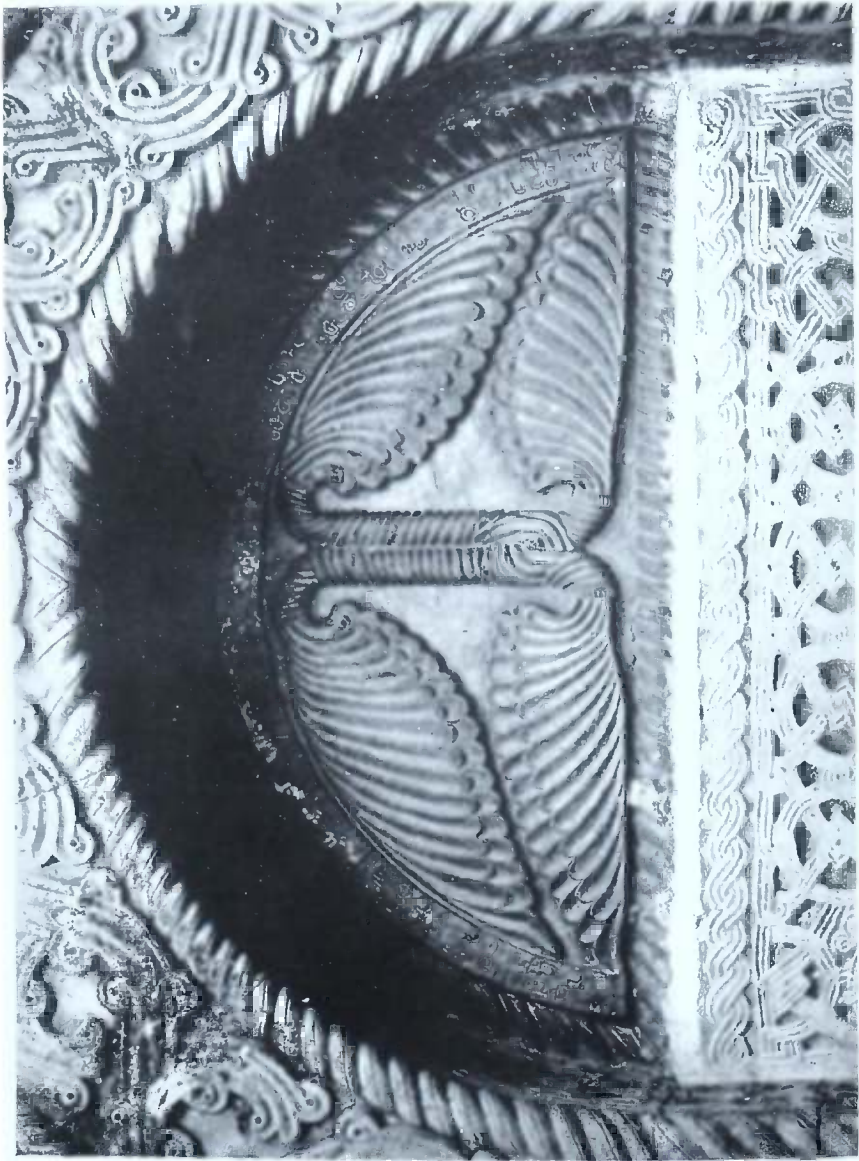


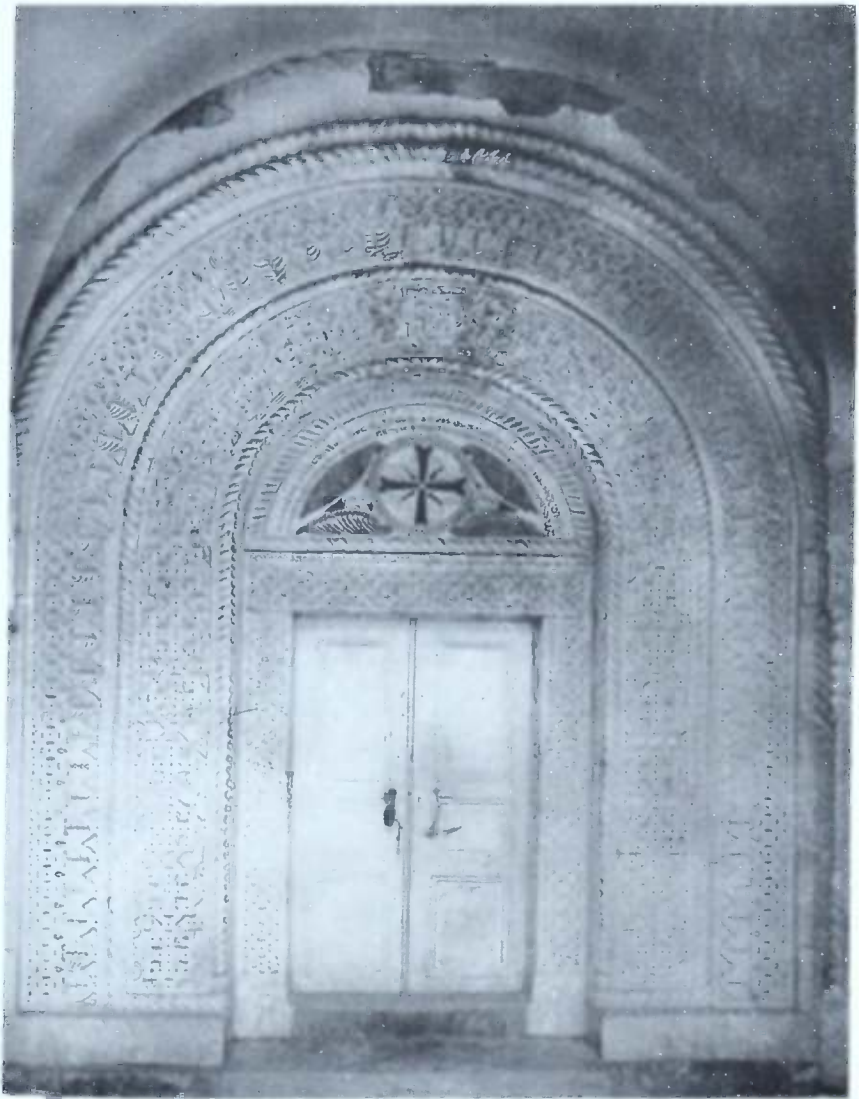
FIG. 1.—Savane. Western facade.



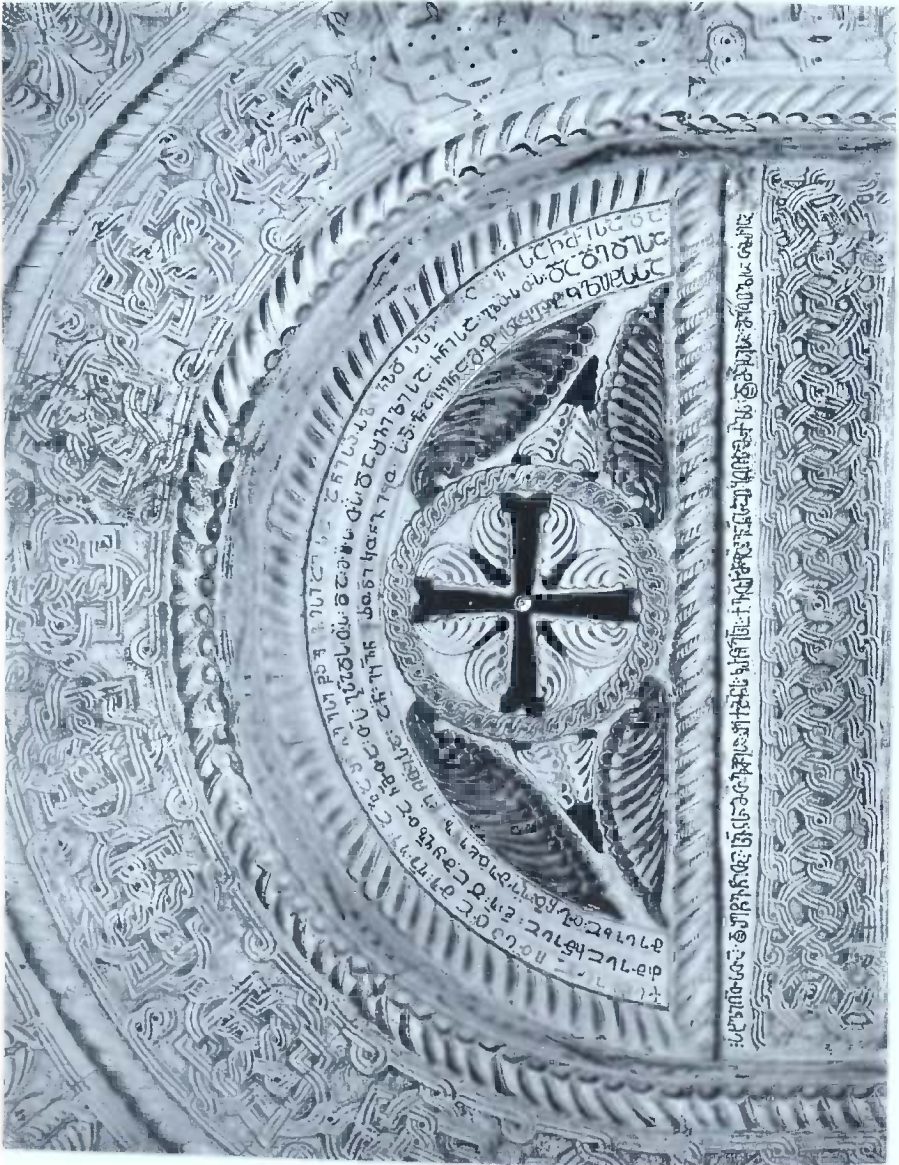
Savane. The West door.



Savane. Tympanum of the West door, with the inscription.



Savane. The South door.



Savane. Tympanum of the South door with inscriptions.



Savane. Southern façade, with a later addition.



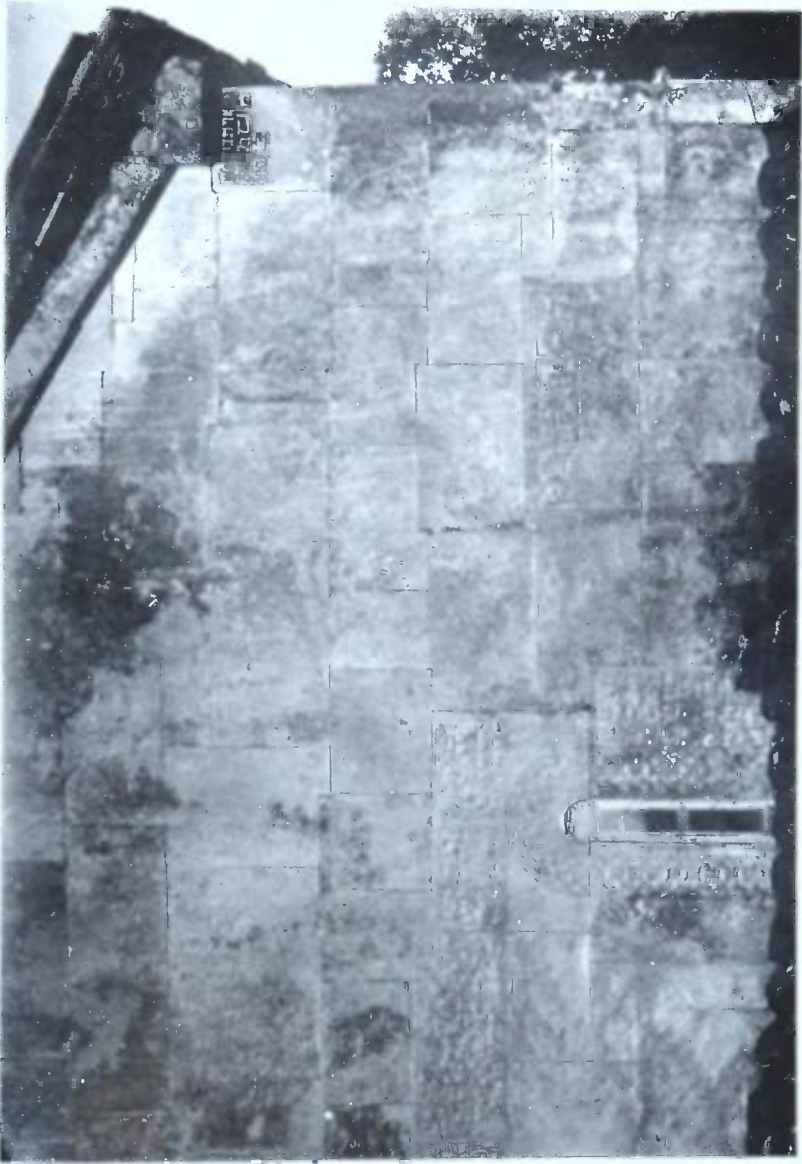
Savane. The base of the Pilaster on the east side.



Savane. The iconostasis, not earlier than fifteenth century.



Savane. The small domed cruciform church.



Darkvetri, Western façade.



Darkvet'i. The window of the Western façade.



Darkvet'i. A relief representation of a Peacock.

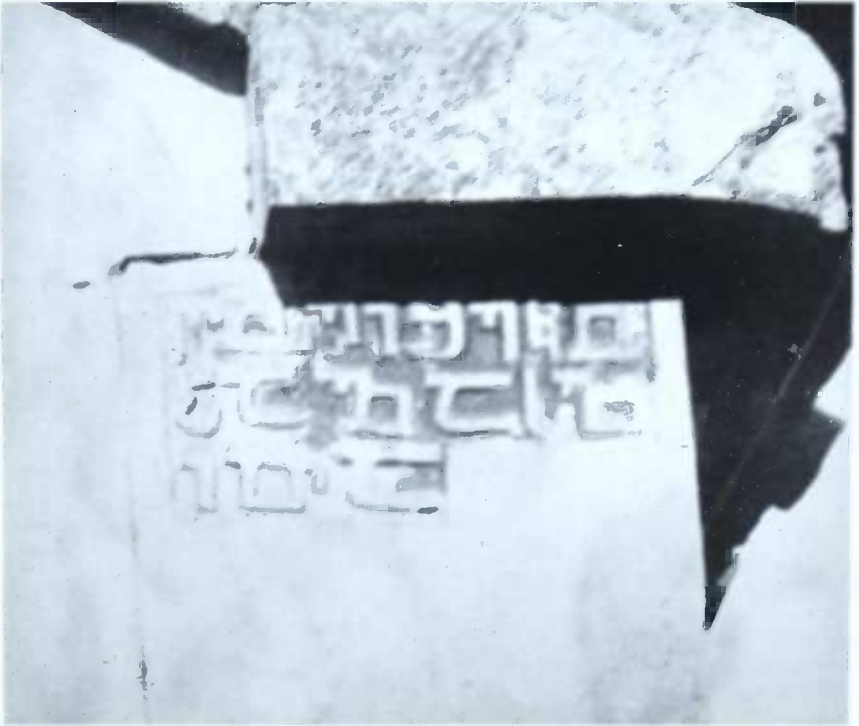


Darkvet'i. An inscription.

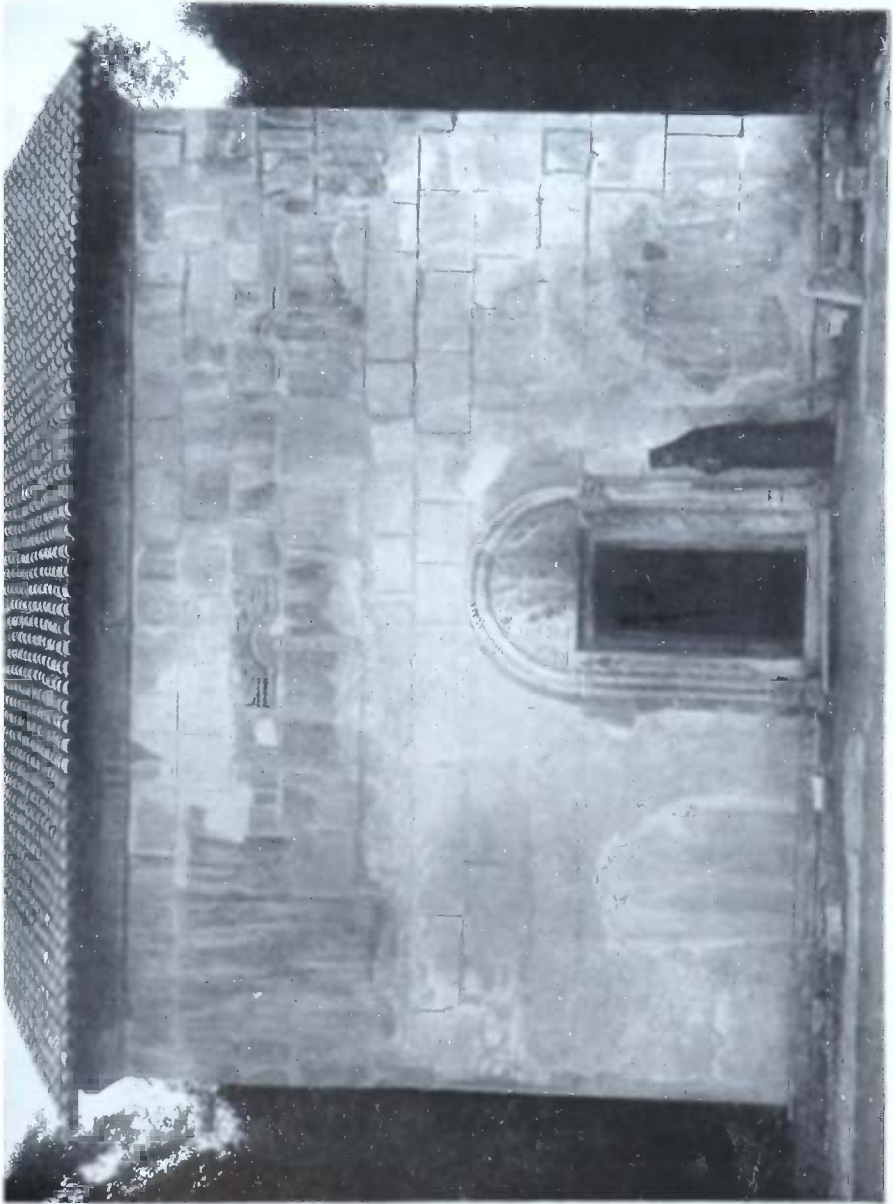


Darkvet'i. An inscription.

PLATE XVI



Darkvet'i. An inscription.



Ekhvevi. Northern façade.



Ekhvevi. The South door.



Ekhvevi. Western façade.



Ekhvevi. The West window.



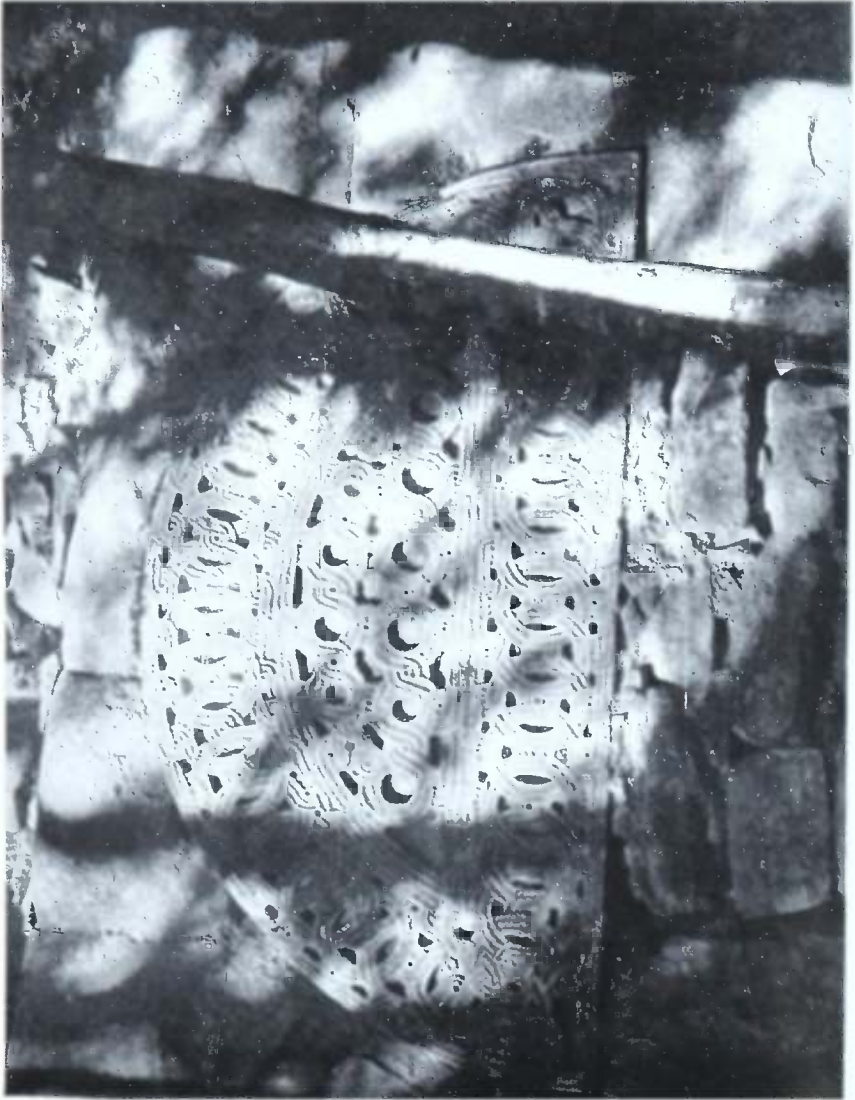
Ekhvevi. The West door.



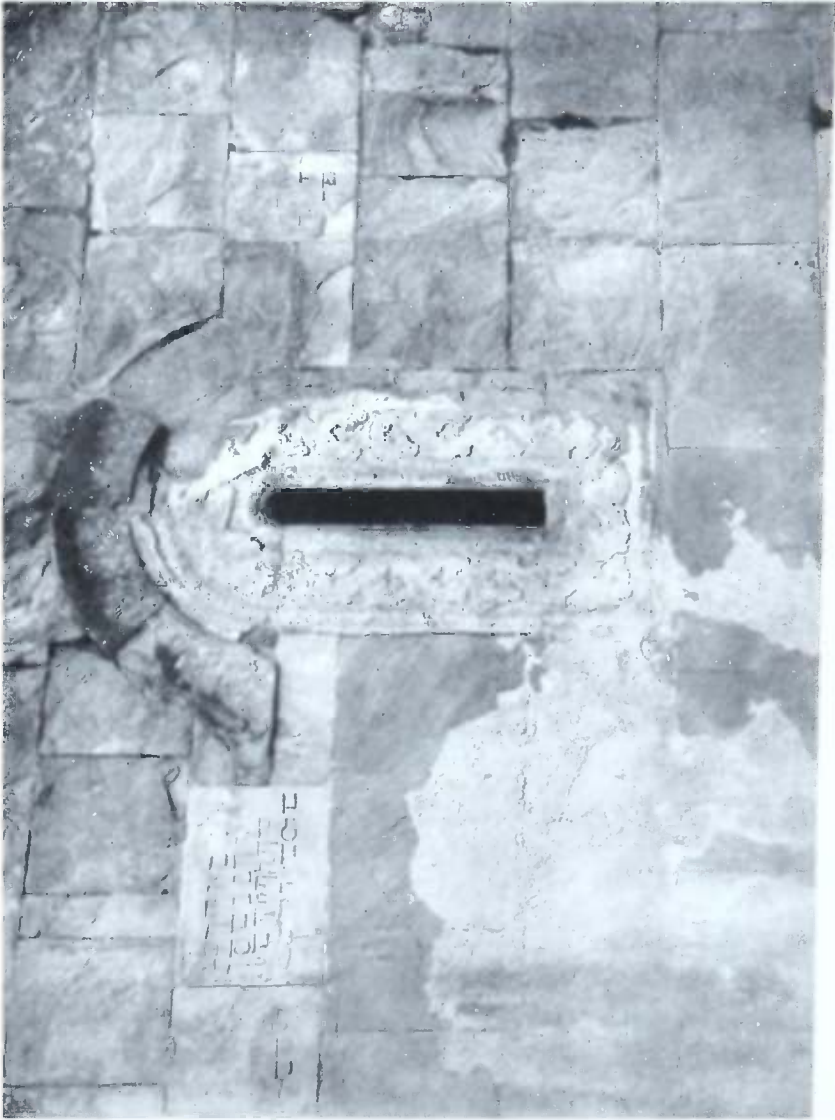
Ekhvevi. The East window.



Speti or Sakvirike. A general view of the ruins of the Basilica.



Speti. The archivolt of the South door.



Speti. The East window.



Speti. The iconostasis.



Speti. An inscription.



Speti. An inscription.

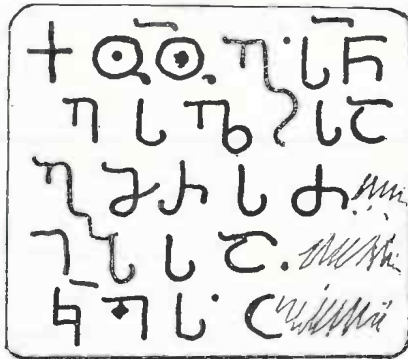
მოწამისა შექმნნეს კარნი ესე ქაეთარაძეთა. იოვანეს, ალბულას, მიქელს და მისისა მეუღლისა თამარისა შეუნდევნ ღმერთმან.

Translation :—

“ In the name of God and with the assistance of the great martyr George, we, John, Aghbugha, Michael and his wife T'amar, K'avt'aradze, made this door. God have mercy upon them.”

The door herein referred to is in all probability the magnificent carved door which was seen by Tsereteli (op. cit., p. 101) and which was later destroyed.

On the pilaster on the right of the southern door there is a five-line vertical inscription which is reproduced below, according to the reading of Brosset, with a transliteration in the military alphabet :—



(Abbreviated)

(In full)

ქ ო ო გ ს ო

ქ უფალო, განუსვენ-

ე სლსა

ე სულსა

გმრსდ

გმიროს ძ-

ისსა

ისასა

კ ე ს ა ა...

კოსტანტინესა. ა(მინ).

“ Lord have mercy upon the soul of Gmirisdze (or Gomarisdze, Gomirisdze), Constantine. Amen.”

The penultimate word, which is abbreviated, may also signify another personal name—Kvirike.

The third inscription of a later date, which I also quote from

with carving—one of these bases, that of the western pilaster, we reproduce in Pl. VIII ; similar motives adorn all the other bases and capitals. The church is now roofed with tiles, but its former roof was of stone slabs.

The southern door was, in the words of Tsereteli, of yew wood, with fine carvings of Georgian interlaced work.¹ It no longer exists ; report says that it was burnt. The western door has been preserved. It is also of wood, and carved in low relief. It consists of two panels of unequal size, the left panel being wider and the right narrower ; the latter has lost its left portion, and the ornamentation on this side is therefore not complete. On the left, at the top, there is a cross in a circle, and below it what seems to be a star also in a circle. The remaining ornamentations resemble arabesques without a system (Pl. III). According to the latest information, this door has been transferred to Tiflis University, and it has been described by D. Gordeev.²

THE GOSPEL OF SAVANE

When speaking of the Savane church I cannot omit to mention the unique manuscript which belonged to it, and which I took and handed over to the Georgian Museum of History and Ethnography. This is the Gospel, of small size, 3 by 9 centimetres, written on parchment in the *nuskhuri* (minuscule ecclesiastical) characters, containing 658 pages, with a leather cover. Its front side has an impression of the Crucifixion, and its back that of the Mother of God with Her son. The Gospel is adorned with the miniatures of the four evangelists, vignettes, and eight Eusebian canons. The vignettes and miniatures are of fairly good work, although not of the classic epoch of Georgian art (tenth to thirteenth centuries). Nevertheless, it has a clearly written date, indicating the tenth century. The Gospel was copied by Melk'isedek, by order of Merab Kalmakheli and his wife in the K'oronikon 208 of the thirteenth Cycle. The thirteenth Cycle of the Georgian K'oronikon begins with the year 780. The 208 K'oronikon will therefore correspond to year A.D. 988. Neither the handwriting nor the miniatures, however, exhibit any characteristic features of so early an epoch. Obviously the scribe by mistake wrote thirteenth Cycle of the K'oronikon instead of the fourteenth, which began with the year 1312 ; the date therefore corresponds to A.D. 1520, and the gospel could not have been copied earlier. Merab Kalmakheli, the possessor of the fortress of Kalmakhi, in the province of Tao, in the Dchorokh basin, was, as is evident from a marginal note to the

¹ G. Tsereteli, op. cit., p. 101.

² *Bulletin of the Museum of Georgia* (in Georgian), Tiflis, 1926, vol. iii, p. 223.

Ishkhan gospel, a grandson of Rat Tatashvili, and near the end of his life he became a monk under the name of Methodius.¹ Obviously he lived in the sixteenth century and not in the tenth.

Bakradze reckons the date incorrectly: he reads "in the 250 K'oronikon of the thirteenth Cycle", and the date of the copying of the MS. he ascribes therefore to A.D. 1030.² Tsereteli did in fact read correctly both K'oronikon 208 and Cycle 13, but without expressing any doubt as regards the accuracy of Cycle 13, he ascribed the copying of the gospel to 1520.³ Here, obviously, there is a misunderstanding. He simply forgot that Cycle 13 begins with the year 780, and not with 1312.

THE DOMED CHURCH AT SAVANE

At Savane, besides the basilica which we have just described, there is another small church with a cupola, but it is in ruins, and the interior is now filled with large stones which have fallen from the cupola. It is built of hewn stones, and its plan is in the form of a Greek cross⁴; the dome-drum is round, with four windows and a low cupola (Pl. X). Its iconostasis was of stone, low, of archaic form. The walls of the church were covered with frescoes, of which, however, only a few have been preserved. Fortunately, Tomashevskaya, who visited the church after me, in 1931, has described the remaining paintings. In her opinion they approach in their technique very nearly to the monuments of the best period of Georgian art of the tenth and eleventh centuries, but are considerably inferior to them both in artistic execution and in the quality of the drawing. They would appear to be due to some second-rate masters, who might well have been entrusted with the painting of a little country church.⁵ The church is known by the name of *Giorgisauli*, i.e. the "once belonging to St. George". It is older than the basilica, probably of the ninth to tenth centuries.

DARKVET'I

The village of Darkvet'i is situated on a mountain, above the Mghvime monastery. The ancient church of this village is of medium size, built of hewn stones, and dedicated to St. George. It is a single-aisled basilica and has a low chantry or chapel which runs right along the south and west sides; on these sides there are, also, the entrances to the church. The church shows distinct traces of reconstruction,

¹ Marr, *The Life of George Khandzt'eli* (in Russian), p. 193.

² Kondakov and Bakradze, *Description*, etc. (in Russian), p. 150.

³ G. Tsereteli, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-106.

⁴ The plan was sketched by T. Kuhne in my presence, but it is not in my possession now.

⁵ N. I. Tomashevskaya, *Ancient Georgian Frescoes* (in Russian), Tiflis, p. 15, ill. 21

during which some of the ornamentations and inscriptions perished, but the window ornaments, similar to those of the Savane basilica, are preserved. There are four windows, one on each side. Besides this two slabs with architectural ornamentation resembling Kufic have been preserved. One of these slabs is placed above the south door, and the other to the right of it. Better work is to be found on the south wall, where there is a slab with an excellent relief representation of a peacock (Pl. XIII) ; it reminds one very much of the picture of a cock on the walls of the Khakhuli church of the tenth century, in the T'ort'um valley of the Dchorokh basin.¹

The western façade of the church has one semi-circular window, with carved archivolt (Pl. XI, XII), and also bears a number of inscriptions which are important both on account of their contents and their palæographic character. By their contents they supplement the information given in the inscriptions at Savane, while palæographically they represent the rare angular, and sometimes the even rarer square-shaped letters (*asomt'avruli*).²

It is assumed that the original Georgian ecclesiastical characters must have been, in accordance with the general rules of palæography, angular in form, afterwards, through evolution, becoming round or nearly round in outline. But the writing which has come down to us from the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries is already round in outline, and letters angular in shape are met with in the tenth and eleventh centuries and later, evidently as survivals of antiquity. Of these the Darkvet'i inscriptions, which, as we shall see below, are of the eleventh century, must be regarded as very characteristic. These inscriptions, which are not so very deeply cut into stone, were painted in with red colours. The colours have, however, faded, and the inscriptions are, therefore, difficult to read. Above the semi-circular casing of the west window is a beautiful carved cross, and on both sides of the cross there are the following inscriptions, reproduced here in the military alphabet (Pl. XII) :—

To the left of the cross :

(Abbreviated)	(In full)
წ-ო გ-ი შ-ე	წმიდაო გიორგი, შეიწყალე
ლპ ტი ა	ლიპარიტი, ა-
ღიდენ	ღიდენ
ღ-ნ ს-ლით.	ღმერთმან სულით(ა).

“ St. George, have mercy upon Liparit and exalt, O Lord, his soul.”

¹ Published by Jurgis Baltrušaitis, after a cast taken in the course of our expedition in 1917. *Études sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie*, Paris, 1929, pl. lxxv, No. 123.

² Javakhishvili, *Georgian Palæography* (in Georgian), Tiflis, pp. 118, 197.

To the right of the cross :

წ~ო გ~ი შ~ე	წმიდაო გიორგი, შეიწყალე
გდბრი	გოდაბრი
და აღი	და აღი-
დენ ლ~ნ	დენ ღმერთმან.

“ St. George, have mercy upon Godabri and exalt him, O Lord.”

Another five-line inscription adjoins the former inscription, on the left (Pl. XIV), which is much more difficult to read. If I am not mistaken it should read :—

(Abbreviated)

წ~ო გ~ი მთრო მოწ~მო შწყ
 ლ~ნ მნნი შ~ნი შეილნი გოლია
 თსნი ახო~ნი გოდლ~ბრი ლ
 იპრიტ და კ~ე რ~ლთა აგიშენ
 ეს წ~ე ესე ეკლსაჲ შმწე ეყა

(In full)

წმიდაო გიორგი, მთაყრო მოწამეო,
 შეიწყა-
 ლენ მონანნი შენნი, შეილნი გოლია-
 თისნი, ახოვანნი გოდალბრი, ლ-
 იპარიტ და კოსტანტინე, რომელთა
 აგიშენ-
 ეს წმიდაჲ ესე ეკლესიაჲ, შემწე
 ეყა(ენ).¹

“ St. George, great Martyr, have mercy upon thy slaves, Godalabri, Liparit, and Constantine [?], valiant sons of Goliat', who built for thee this holy church, and help them.”

On the right of the window there is a vertical inscription of eight lines (Pl. XII), as follows :—

(Abbreviated)

წ~ო გ~ე [sic]
 შ~ე შვი
 ლნი გ
 ოლი ა
 თისნი
 და ა
 დიდენ
 ლ~ნ

(In full)

წმიდაო გიორგი,
 შეიწყალე შვი-
 ლნი გ-
 ოლი ა-
 თისნი
 და ა-
 დიდენ
 ღმერთმან.

“ St. George, have mercy upon the sons of Goliat', and exalt them, O Lord.”

¹ This and subsequent inscriptions are reproduced here, like the preceding ones, in the military alphabet.

Further to the right of this inscription there is a two-line inscription (Pl. XV), namely :—

(Abbreviated)	(In full)
ო~ო გაოსნე სო~ლა ლპრტ წ~ო გ~ი შ~ე ს~ლი	უფალო განუსვენე სულსა ლიპარიტ(ისსა). წმიდაო გიორგი, შეიწყალე სული(თა).

“ Lord, give rest to the soul of Liparit. St. George, have mercy upon his soul ! ” ¹

In the south-eastern corner of the western wall, under the beginning of the cornice, there is a three-line inscription which has not lost its colour, and is therefore easily readable (Pl. XVI) :—

(Abbreviated)	(In full)
წ~ო გ~ი შ~ე კო ხალა ს~ლ ითა	წმიდაო გიორგი, შეიწყალე კო- ხალა სულ- ითა.

“ St. George, have mercy upon the soul of Kokhala. ” ²

It is noteworthy that neither Goliat' nor his sons are any longer mentioned as *erist'avs*. Obviously they had been degraded from that rank. In the Satchkhere district dwell at present families of Godabrelidze, who are ordinary nobles. They are no longer princes, as they ought to have been, being descendants of *erist'avs*.

Some sin must have been laid to the count of Goliat' and his family, and it is not without significance that the Savane inscription appeals for mercy on his soul, burdened with sin.

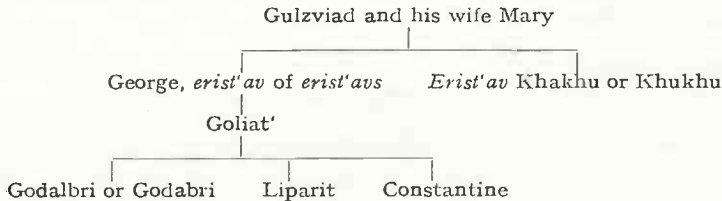
Most noteworthy in this connection is the church festival which is observed annually on 7th May in the village of Bzhinevi near Satchkhere. A great procession leaves the church and heads for the cross which is set up not far from the village. After praying there by the Cross, the people return to the church, kneel down and all with one voice repeat the prayer : “ Lord, forgive the sins of Godabri Godabrelidze and have mercy upon his soul. ” Kote Abdusheli, who informed me of this custom, added that nobody knew why it was observed, or who Godabri Godabrelidze was. He asked me if I could provide some explanation. I did not know these inscriptions then, and could not satisfy Abdusheli's curiosity, but now I have come

¹ The last word, *šli*, is abbreviated, and it may be interpreted also as a proper name, in which case the phrase would mean : “ St. George, have mercy upon Sulay ! ” I think the first reading is more correct, because as in the first line we have Liparit instead of Liparit-isa, so we have here *suli-š'a*, abbreviated into *s'li* (ს~ლი).

² Kokhala, like other persons, mentioned in Darkvet'i inscription, is unknown.

to the conclusion that the ceremony and prayers referred to must relate to the Godabri of our inscription, the son of Goliat'. That Goliat' himself was a great sinner is evident from the Savane inscription which we mentioned above.

According to the inscription, then, the builder of the Savane basilica is George, *erist'av* of *erist'avs*, son of Gulzviad and Mary. George had a brother, the *erist'av* Khukhu or Khakhu, and a son Goliat', and the latter had sons named Godabri or Godalbri, Liparit, and Constantine (?), who built the Darkvet'i basilica, obviously at the end of the eleventh century. The genealogy of the builders of the Savane and Darkvet'i basilica is then as follows :—



None of these personages is, however, known in history. The supposition of D. Bakradze that George, the *erist'av* of *erist'avs*, must belong to the Kakhberidze family of *erist'avs*,¹ as well as the opinion of G. Tsereteli, who in the Gulzviad of the Savane inscriptions sees the *erist'av* Zviad,² a prominent personage of the time of King Bagrat III (978-1014), cannot be accepted, for the Kakhberidze *erist'avs* derive their descent from Liparit III, Orbelian, who received the Argvet'i *erist'av*-ate (where Savane is situated) later than 1059, when he was seized for his conspiracy by King Bagrat IV and deprived of his extensive possessions in Somkhit'i.³ As to Zviad, the *erist'av*, of the time of Bagrat III, he was a brother of Rati I, grandfather of Liparit III. George, the *erist'av* of *erist'avs*, who in 1046 built Savane, must belong to the earlier Argvet' *erist'avs*, who were later replaced by the Orbelians. This explains in all probability the fact that none of the descendants of George, *erist'avs* of *erist'avs*, is called *erist'av* in the Darkvet'i inscriptions. The latter, however, mention two Liparits, one living, the son of Goliat', the other dead. The inscriptions offer prayer for the peace of his soul. The latter may be Liparit III, Orbelian, who died a monk in Constantinople in 1064, and whose body was brought to Georgia and buried in the Katskhi monastery in the Qvirila valley, in which valley Darkvet'i church was built, as we have said, at the end of the eleventh century.

¹ Kondakov and Bakradze, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

² G. Tsereteli, *op. cit.*, p. 103, note 1.

³ M. Brosset, *Additions*, etc., p. 227.

EKHVEVI

Five kilometres to the south-west of Savane, in the village of Ekhvevi, on a mountain slope, is situated a small, one-aisled basilica, dedicated to the Mother of God. It is built of large hewn stones, and having recently been restored, has lost its beautiful chapels on the north and west, as well as some of its bas reliefs, which were described by Tsereteli in 1897 (Tsereteli, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-108). Nevertheless, the basilica still retains in perfect preservation the beautiful ornaments of its windows and doors, judging from which it should be, if not older than Savane and Darkvet'i, at least probably contemporary with them, i.e. of the eleventh century.

The length of the church inside, to the iconostasis, is 20 feet, its breadth 18 feet, the depth of the altar-apse 8 ft. 2 in. In the apse, on each side of each of the windows, there is a small niche, and above the niches there are large deep recesses on two levels in the form of rooms. The lower levels open outwards on the east by small oblong narrow windows, with simply-carved archivolt. If the lower parts of the recesses within the thickness of the wall do not quite replace the prothesis and diakonikon of the three altar churches, they at any rate symbolize them. The upper storeys of the recesses serve as sacraia and have small, round apertures. The lower storey communicates with the upper storey by means of a square opening, covered by a stone slab, which is removed when anyone wants to get from the lower to the upper floor.

The barrel-vaulted roof of the church is supported on three arches.

The iconostasis, as is evident from the remains, was of marble, with a royal door in the middle. Four small marble columns have survived to this day, two round, which stood at each side of the royal door, and two rectangular, which stood at the ends of the iconostasis. A marble slab with carved crosses on both sides has also survived. One of the crosses, which has eight arms, is placed within a carved circle. The other marble slabs of the iconostasis were, in the words of Tsereteli, removed by the metropolitan David, to the Jrudchi monastery, in the 'thirties of the nineteenth century. The iconostasis was 4 ft. 8 in. high. Huge wooden crosses had been erected in front of the iconostasis on the right and on the left of the royal door, each resting on rectangular pedestals 1 ft. 2 in. high, and were covered with silver sheets adorned with representations of saints and other ornaments. One such cross, now stripped, is placed against the west wall. One pedestal with a cross carved on it still remains in its right place; another has been removed and placed outside against the east wall.

The chapels on the north and south along the whole length of the façades have been, as we have said, removed. These chapels, in the words of Tsereteli, were separated from one another inside by arches, while externally each opened out with a fine pediment, ornamented with interlaced pattern work. The façade of each chapel was adorned by double and triple demi-columns, the bases and capitals of which were ornamented with acanthus leaves and open-work crosses. In the eastern part of the northern chapel there was a separate oratory with an iconostasis made of one piece of stone.¹ The northern chapel is divided into four parts, and the western one, constituting the narthex, was divided into three parts, communicating with each other by means of arches (Tsereteli, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–8).

On the south of the Ekhvevi church there rises vertically a high mountain. The distance between the church wall and the rocky foot of the mountain is not more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres. The south side of the church, therefore, has not and never had any ornamentation, although on this side there is a door with a huge tetragonal stone over it, while above again there are two oblong but very narrow windows. In this respect the northern façade resembles the southern, which also has a door and two narrow windows (Pl. XVII), but the door on this side is richly ornamented. It has carved jambs and lintel, enclosed in a semi-circular framing above, supported on double-plaited columns with beautiful bases, ornamented with interlaced work. The fine ornamentation of the tympanum consists of a blossoming cross, rising as it were from a beautiful vase, surrounded on all sides (Pl. XVIII) with conventional palm-leaves. The frame of the door is covered with finely-worked acanthus leaves. On the left side is a small-scale representation of a man, with upraised arms. Above the door this façade is provided with two narrow, oblong windows, topped by semi-circular cornices. Above that of the first window there is a relief representation of a lion or panther to the left, and of a dragon in the form of a serpent, in the expectation, as it were, of catching its prey, to the right. On the cornice of the second window there are two carved crosses.

The cornice of the church is now simple and fluted, the roof double-sloping and covered with old, solid tiles.

The western façade has a door and a window which are, like the northern, richly ornamented (Pl. XIX, XX); when Tsereteli visited it, the pinnacle of the façade was adorned with a stone cross, covered with interlaced work, but this has now disappeared. The western door (Pl. XXI) is surrounded like the northern with double-plaited

¹ I found during the expedition of 1917 chapels built in this manner in the second half of the tenth century, in the Oshki monastery in the T'ort'um valley of the Dchorokh basin.

colonettes. The bases of those on the right have two carved crosses, while those to the left are covered with interlaced work. The ornamentation of this door-frame, like that of the northern one, consists of leaves, but the motives are different. Among the foliage in the right-hand frame in the centre there is a small image of an angel, showing good work. In the middle of the tympanum of the western door, amid beautiful interlaced pattern work there is a carved, star-shaped cross in a circle in relief. The window of this façade, too, has small, double-plaited columns, with bases and capitals and a semi-circular casing with notched ornamentation and horizontal imposts (Pl. XX). The frames are ornamented with geometrical figures.

On the eastern side of the church the hill is lopped off by $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres. The eastern façade is provided with one principal window, which is similar in construction to that of the western wall, but is still more superbly ornamented with Georgian interlaced work (Pl. XXII).¹ Finally, it should be stated that the window at the time of Tsereteli's visit had an alabaster frame with seven circlets, which has now been replaced by a wooden frame with glass.²

On the base of the left colonette of the eastern window there is an inscription (Pl. XXII) :—

“ Christ, have mercy upon L~g ” (Ⲡⲗ̃ⲛⲉ).

It is difficult to say which proper name is concealed in the last abbreviated word. We do not know any ordinary proper name which begins with L and ends in g ; one cannot, however, agree with Tsereteli, who reads the inscription as follows :—

“ Christ, have mercy upon Levan George ! ”

Tsereteli thus assumes that the Ekhvevi church was built by Leon II, the Abkhasian king, and his son George, in the middle of the ninth century.³ Even if we overlook the fact that Leon II, the Abkhasian king, reigned not in the middle of the ninth but of the tenth century (between 957 and 967),⁴ we must observe that according to the rules of Georgian palæography, two letters with a sign of abbreviation over, or between, them, when denoting a proper name, are always to be read as one name, and not as two. If the letters in question denoted two names, each one would have been traced

¹ The window is shown in accordance with my photograph by J. Baltrušaitis in his work quoted above, iv, N. 9.

² G. Tsereteli, op. cit., p. 10, ill. 13.

³ G. Tsereteli, op. cit., p. 109, note 1.

⁴ E. Taqaishvili, *Les Sources des notices de Patriarche de Jérusalem Dosithee sur les rois d'Ap'hkhasie*, *Journal Asiatique*, t. ccx, p. 367.

separately, with a sign of abbreviation over each, and they would have been divided by two dots, which is not the case in our inscription. In view of this it remains for us to search in the ancient records of Georgia for a proper name which begins with an L and ends with a g.

SPETI OR SAKVIRIKE ¹

Below Ekhvevi, on the slope of the Kvirike mountain, is the ruined, one-aisled basilica of Speti, dedicated to the Saviour. It is smaller than that at Ekhvevi and is not nearly as well preserved. It is built of very large hewn stone slabs. A general view of the ruins is reproduced in Pl. XXIII. It had doors on the south and west, but the southern one is now filled up; its excellently carved archivolt, however, has been preserved (Pl. XXIV). There is one window on the south and one on the west, but here the carved ornamentation is damaged. The eastern window is better preserved, and we give a picture of it in Pl. XXV. To the left of the east window are seen traces of an inscription in the very distinct, old majuscule ecclesiastical letters (*asomt'avruli*) (Pl. XXVII). Only part is discernible.

[ო~ო ღ~ო ს]ოფელი სა	..მდე..
[კვრიკ]ე დაიციე [ყო]	..ბანი..
[ვე]ლო[აგა]ნ საენებელ	..ე~ს~სა[ე]..
თა ამის სოფლისათა	..სიაჲ..

I read it with the addition of some words, or letters, as follows:—

“ [O Lord God]² protect the village of Sa[kvirik]e from all the ills of this world.”

On the right of the window are traces of a second inscription, but although its letters are clear, it cannot be understood owing to its defectiveness (Pl. XXVIII).

Inside the church is covered with barrel vaulting, on three supporting arches, and the wall is divided longitudinally into flank arcades. In the interior the construction of the main apse is similar to that at the Ekhvevi basilica. Below there is a small niche at each side of the apse, while higher up are large recesses which, on the east, open outwards in circular apertures, with carved casing. The difference

¹ G. Tsereteli gives a short account of the ruins, with only one illustration of the iconostasis, in *Materials for the Archæology of the Caucasus* (in Russian), vol. vii, pp. 106-114, pl. xiv.

² Or possibly “O Saint Kvirike”, for judging from the former name of the village (Sakvirike), the Speti church was once evidently dedicated to St. Kvirike (Cyriacus?).

from the Ekhvevi church consists in the fact that there are no upper storeys (sacraria) above the recesses. The recesses here also symbolize the prothesis and diakonikon. The church has preserved its high iconostasis (Pl. XXVI), similar to that in the Savane basilica. It is covered with grass ornamentation, but the colours have faded, owing to the moisture. The iconostasis is built of alabaster-stucco, and consists of three arches and four pillars, with a royal door in the middle. Before the royal doors stands an immense wooden cross, once covered with sheets of silver, but now bare ; it stands on a rectangular stone pedestal,¹ 5 feet in height, the western face of which is adorned with a carved cross. The church is evidently greatly revered by hunters, for many deers' horns have been brought to it.

The Speti church must be older than that at Ekhvevi. Tsereteli considers it to have been built during the reign of Bagrat III rather than during that of Bagrat IV (op. cit., p. 118), and the character of the surviving inscriptions bears out his conclusion, for it is typical of the ninth and tenth centuries rather than of the eleventh century.

¹ The pedestal is more clearly represented in the illustration accompanying Tsereteli's work (op. cit., ill. 14). I found it in a much worse condition, but the iconostasis in our picture is shown in full. In Tsereteli's illustration the ends of the pillars did not come out clearly.

REVIEW

GEORGISCHE BAUKUNST. Zweiter Band. Die Kirche in Zromi und ihr Mosaik. Von Georg Tschubinashvili und Jakob Smirnov. 4to. 125 pp., with index. 63 pls. in half tone; 3 in colour. Tiflis, 1934. Reviewed by Professor D. TALBOT RICE.

Volume ii of *Georgische Baukunst* is entirely devoted to the church at Dsromi, some 100 km. to the west of Tiflis. It is divided into two parts; the first, by Tschubinashvili, deals with the architecture, the second, by Smirnov, with the mosaic decoration.

The building is selected for detailed study firstly because of its own interest and secondly because it serves as a convenient type-example of what Tschubinashvili calls the second or classical style of Georgian architecture. The first style was considered by the same author in volume i, devoted to the Juari group of churches, of which a similar type-example was chosen. This system of writing the architectural history of an area by means of reference to certain chosen type-examples only, instead of collecting and publishing less elaborate accounts of all available material, permits of a far more detailed and scholarly analysis of the examples chosen than would otherwise be possible. But it is a system that has its dangers, for it not only requires considerable care, but also a very deep penetration to separate those factors which are of universal importance from those which are purely individual, and which have bearing more on the work of a particular builder than on the development of a universal style. The task of distinction is wellnigh impossible, unless the student be possessed of an extremely wide and all-embracing knowledge. Mr. Tschubinashvili's study is, however, extremely penetrating, thoroughly scholarly, and definitely all-embracing, and his book must prove essential not only to all those interested in the Caucasus and its architecture in particular, but also to all who are concerned with the study of the tricky problems of architectural development between the fifth and eighth centuries, in the Nearer East as a whole.

The various mentions accorded to Dsromi in travel and archaeological literature are first summarized, and the authority for dating the building is examined. With its date established between 626 and 634, the church, which is of cruciform plan, with dome on four piers, is then described, with the aid of plans, sections, and detailed photographs. It is then discussed and analysed under five headings.

(1) The plan and its development. The dome on four columns is known in Armenia as early as 630; in Georgia it is not universal until the eighth century.

(2) Disposition of the interior, a section which consists of an examination of the spatial conceptions entailed in its construction.

(3) Technique and exterior construction, where Syrian and Caucasian parallels are examined, and where the development of the apsed basilica is traced in the Caucasus from the sixth century. Tchubinashvili notes that as early as the seventh century very distinct differences are to be observed between Armenian and Georgian buildings, and he dates a number of the former rather later than Strzygowski (p. 38).

(4) The ornamental arrangement of the façade.

(5) The dome supported on squinch. Tchubinashvili examines the history of the transition from square plan to round dome-drum by means of pendentives and squinches, and concludes that the invention of this transition was a very natural and obvious one when society had reached the appropriate stage; there is, he says, nothing to wonder at if different, but parallel, solutions were arrived at independently in different regions at the same stage of cultural development, though not, of course, necessarily at exactly the same time. He notes that the conical squinch was the usual transition in Georgia from early Christian times onwards.

The examination as a whole follows a system inaugurated by a number of more recent writers on art-history in German, most notably Wölfflin, and the author approaches the problems as much from the point of view of æsthetic conception as from that of the evolution of style or system. The monuments of early Christian art are divided into the "classical" and the "baroque" groups. The latter is absent in the Caucasus; we see there only a straightforward development of the classical. Tchubinashvili would, further, divide the art of the Nearer East, not into Hellenistic and Oriental, and hence regional and racial, families, which interpenetrated owing to racial migration, trade or similar contacts, but into "painterly baroque" and "linear classical" groups, which are more dependent on such factors as social development. This system has its value from the point of view of style criticism, but it also has its dangers, and it may not only be meaningless, but also at times even misleading to the student who is primarily concerned with archæology, ethnography, or the history of stylistic development from a practical rather than from an æsthetic point of view.

This section is followed by a more detailed study of Armenian churches with domes on free-standing columns of the seventh and eighth centuries (p. 57). Four examples are described, namely the Gaiane church at Etchmiadzin, the churches of Bagawan and Mren, and finally that at Odsun; all of them are definitely later than Dsromi.

The next section (p. 77) deals with the further development of this type of building. The theories of Strzygowski, Guyer, Millet, Dalton, and Diehl are examined and criticized, and Tchubinashvili concludes that we see in Georgia and Armenia a development of the plan which is related to Syria, but which is quite distinct from that followed in Constantinople and the central region, and which anticipates similar developments at the Byzantine capital by some 300 years. Dsromi played, according to him, a very important rôle in the development of the plan, and influenced work in Armenia very considerably. His arguments are convincing; but even if the Constantinopolitan manner was anticipated, the Byzantine capital must still remain the most important centre for the study of East Christian art, for it was there that the most ambitious, if not necessarily the most original, systems were developed and the most glorious results produced.

The second part of the book is in the main the work of the late Jakob Smirnov. Originally intended as a contribution to a volume of studies dedicated to Countess Oubarova, it was never finished till it was edited and translated for *Georgische Baukunst* by Tchubinashvili. The mosaics which once decorated the apse of the church and of which now only a few fragments survive, are discussed; on pages 94–112 a detailed description of the work and an attempted restoration (fig. p. 111) are given, and on pages 112–124 a stylistic analysis. The restoration appears at first sight somewhat strained when so little actually survives, but further consultation of the text shows it to be most likely. It shows Christ standing between two figures, presumably the Apostles Peter and Paul. It may be part of the Ascension. But whatever its iconography the work is of very high quality, and it is especially interesting, for the scroll that Christ holds is in Georgian script. We are, in fact, in the presence of a Georgian mosaic, which the authors assign to the eleventh to twelfth centuries, though it has archaic features that suggest the seventh. Though a number of Georgian paintings—as opposed to provincial Byzantine ones in Georgia—and two other mosaics, namely those of Gelat'i and Martvili, are known, this is the first Georgian mosaic to be published in detail. It is important for the really fine quality of its work, clearly shown in the excellent colour plates; it is important again in view of the rôle that certain authorities assign to Georgia with regard to the vitreous art, and now that it seems probable, if not certain, that tesserae were actually made in Georgia, the great activities in enamelling which we have become accustomed to associate with Georgia after the tenth century become the more readily understandable. The iconography of the mosaic, if not the style, is very conservative, and it is more closely linked with early Christian work of the fifth and sixth centuries than with developed Byzantine art. It seems that Georgian

mosaics, like Georgian architecture, were descended from the same stem as the Byzantine, but developed to a great extent independently.

The book is excellently produced and is very lavishly illustrated, the coloured plates of the mosaics being especially useful. It is comforting to know that such thorough and painstaking attention is being paid to the monuments of the Caucasus, and that the results are being so fully and elaborately published.

ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE AND GOTHIC ART

[Summary of two lectures given by JURGIS BALTRUŠAITIS
at the Warburg Institute on 22nd and 29th January, 1936]

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Publications—

1929. *Études sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie*. Paris: Leroux. (Crowned by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.)
1931. *La stylistique ornementale dans la Sculpture romane*. Paris: Leroux.
1931. *Les chapiteaux de saint Cugat del Vallès*. Paris: Leroux.
1934. *Art sumerien, art roman*. Paris: Leroux. (A chapter dealing with Trans-Caucasia.)

Contributor to the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, *Revue d'Art et d'Esthétique*, *Survey of Persian Art*.—[EDITORS.]

THE question of the origins of the Gothic arch has for long attracted the attention of archæologists and historians. Its home is ascribed by different authorities to Iran, to Syria, to Byzantium, or to Rome; or again, it is held to be of western origin, created either in the royal domain of Normandy or England or even in the north of Italy. This diversity of opinion is partly due to the multiplicity of factors which have combined in its formation. Among the various influences there is one which so far has not been very seriously considered, that of Armenia. But there are in Armenia a whole group of edifices covered by a system of cupolas, or roofs with crossed ribs. Examples of these are to be found at Ani, Horomos Vank, Hahpat, Khorakert Vank, Gandjassar, and Aradess. Their plans are very varied. Some have radiating ribs, others ribs crossed diagonally or perpendicularly to the walls, others again have double ribs or ribs which are more complicated, in the form of a double T. These arches of stout construction, with stones magnificently bonded, with bold sweeps to cover great spaces, carry the whole roof covering of the building. They divide it into almost independent compartments surmounted either by domes or by smaller vaults of barrel or cloister form. This system of roofing, carried either directly upon such bracing or by means of minor walls erected on their sills, simplifies the erection of the edifice, often relieves the side walls, and affords great advantages in construction.

The oldest monuments known date from the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century; the system continues without change up to the thirteenth century. The earliest examples exhibit a perfection which presupposes the existence of previous attempts so far unknown.

Comparison with the Arab arches, with decorative ribs as seen at Cordoba, Toledo, in Persia, Mesopotamia, and in the Maghreb

shows more that suggests contrast than kinship. One receives the impression that we are in the presence of two parallel influences emerging from a common prototype, the one created by geometers, the other by architects. The group of Armenian monuments seem to be more in conformity with the spirit of Gothic architecture, at least in their beginnings, than with the architecture of Islam.

It would serve no useful purpose to recall here, step by step, the stages of the formation of the western edifice. It is known that the first vaultings, combined with crossed arches, appear almost simultaneously in northern Italy and in Great Britain at the end of the eleventh century ; the style was then established finally in the Ile-de-France about the second quarter of the twelfth century.

The problem set by the western architect and which consists in combining the roof and the crossed arches, is connected in many ways with the experiences of the East. It works with the same elements and endeavours to find similar forms. But it is not only in the search for these that there is an analogy. Many of the details of the solution arrived at coincide in Armenia and Europe. There are to be found there nearly all the combinations of arches particular to Armenia, perpendicular ribs, double arches, etc. There is to be found in Lombardy a whole building of the Armenian type, the narthex of the church of Casale-Monferrato, which reproduces in faithful detail the peculiarities of the " jamatouns " at Khotchavank, Hahpat, or Gandjassar. There is thus a whole series of proofs of direct connection.

But the problem is more complex. The conditions of the development of the ribbing system are different in Europe. In Armenia the adoption of this system is unconstrained, the architecture being dominated by the arches which are the sole actual supports of the roof. In the west on the other hand the architect tries to retain his fidelity to certain traditional forms, in particular to groined vaulting ; two structural features have therefore to be combined, each of which has its value and balance. The history of Gothic architecture displays a series of compromises and conflicts between these two elements. The application of the pointed arch is hindered in the west by the existing supremacy of the groined vaulting. When the mechanism of the pointed arches is finally fixed, crossed arches do not, as in Armenia, submit the roof to their requirements.

While in Asia the pointed arch appears as a constructive element which is indispensable to the building, in the West it is primarily an adjunct to a form of architecture possessing its own laws. One wonders whether the first notion of this system was not taken, in Europe, from a shipyard where it had already proved its worth. Incorporated in a new environment, the pointed arch adopts another direction and

becomes one of the primary constituents of the medieval style of the West.

Historical relations between the West and Armenia have established a whole series of points of contact and help to explain this phenomenon. It is impossible in this short summary to indicate the elements of these.

It is, of course, not credible that the Armenian pointed arch is alone responsible for all the aspects of the gothic arch. Many factors, Arab and Romanesque, have doubtless exerted their influence. But among all such influences those of Armenia have a part and a place which must not be overlooked.

These lectures in amplified form have already been published in a volume by Leroux, Paris, with the title: *Le Problème de l'Ogive et l'Arménie*.

THE GEORGIAN ALPHABET

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 and in modern usage the *Mkhedruli* prevails over the *Khutsuri* alphabet.

Khutsuri script has two forms: *aso-mt'avruli* majuscule, and *nuskhuri* minuscule; while *Mkhedruli* script has only one form: minuscule (if handwritten script is not taken into consideration).

Until the beginning of the eleventh century the ancient literary Georgian language was written entirely in sacerdotal characters, the majuscule form of the alphabet being almost exclusively used up to the beginning of the tenth century, but later this was gradually displaced by the minuscule form.

The sacerdotal alphabet, in both its majuscule and minuscule form, is, according to Marr, generally a product of the Georgian Christian culture, which arose with the adoption of Christianity and which represented first the religious and then also the social interests of Georgian Christian society.

The pre-Christian alphabet, i.e. the alphabet that served the cultural interests of Georgian pagan society, has not come down to us. In Marr's opinion, the military or knights' alphabet is probably a survival of this one, developed further in secular military circles, and influenced by the sacerdotal alphabet while having, in its turn, a reciprocal influence on the latter alphabet in the formation of its minuscule type.³

The Georgian alphabet consists of forty letters, of which the 39th and 40th, namely, ϕ , \eth , were introduced into new Georgian in the eighteenth century, the former to represent the Latin or Russian *f*, and the latter to represent an undefined sound in Georgian which, though formerly unheeded, was recognized by Anton I, Catholicos of Georgia, the writer among other works of an extensive Grammar of the Georgian language. Neither of these two letters, however, has gained stability in modern Georgian which uses the letter *p* to represent the sound of *f*. The letter \eth 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

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 cavalymen), in circles of distinguished warrior-knights.

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

of the Georgian linguistic family, it is thought that it may be of use in the transcription of words of these languages containing this sound. For the same reason an additional sound, which occurs in Megrelian and is represented by *q̄*, 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*, *x*, *o*, *φ*, *θ*.

THE GEORGIAN ALPHABET

Name	<i>Mkhedruli</i> , Military	<i>Khutsuri</i> , Ecclesiastical		Numerical Value	Provisional Transliteration	
		<i>Asomt'avruli</i> , Majuscule	<i>Nashkuri</i> , Minuscule		Analytical	Popular
1 ან	ა	ⴁ	ⴂ	1	a	a
2 ბან	ბ	ⴃ	ⴄ	2	b	b
3 გან	გ	ⴅ	ⴆ	3	g	g
4 დონ	დ	ⴇ	ⴈ	4	d	d
5 ენ	ე	ⴉ	ⴊ	5	e	e
6 ვინ	ვ	ⴋ	ⴌ	6	v	v
7 ზენ	ზ	ⴍ	ⴎ	7	z	z
8 ჰე	ჟ	ⴏ	ⴐ	8	ē	ey
9 თან	თ	ⴑ	ⴒ	9	t'	t'
10 ინ	ი	ⴓ	ⴔ	10	i	i
11 კან	კ	ⴕ	ⴖ	20	k	k
12 ლას	ლ	ⴗ	ⴘ	30	l	l
13 მან	მ	ⴙ	ⴚ	40	m	m
14 ნარ	ნ	ⴛ	ⴜ	50	n	n
15 ჰიე	ჲ	ⴝ	ⴞ	60	y	y
16 ონ	ო	ⴟ	ⴠ, ᵂ	70	o	o
17 პარ	პ	ⴡ	ⴢ	80	p	p
18 ჟან	ჭ	ⴣ	ⴤ	90	ž	zh

Name	<i>Mkhedruli</i> , Military	<i>Khutsuri</i> , Ecclesiastical		Numerical Value	Provisional Transliteration	
		<i>Asomt'avrili</i> , Majuscule	<i>Nuskhuri</i> , Minuscule		Analytical	Popular
19 რე	რ	ⴐ	ⴑ	100	r	r
20 სან	ს	ⴒ	ⴓ	200	s	s
21 ტარ	ტ	ⴔ	ⴕ	300	t	t
22 ვე	ვ	ⴗ	ⴘ	400	w	w
23 უნ	უ	ⴚ (ⴚ) ო.ვ (ⴚ) ო.ვ, ო.ვ (ⴚ)			u	u
24 ფარ	ფ	ⴜ	ⴝ	500	p'	p'
25 ქან	ქ	ⴟ	ⴠ	600	k'	k'
26 ლან	ლ	ⴢ	ⴣ	700	ǰ	gh
27 ყარ	ყ	ⴤ	ⴥ	800	q	q
28 შინ	შ	ⴧ	⴨	900	š	sh
29 ჩინ	ჩ	⴬	ⴭ	1,000	č	tch
30 ცან	ც	⴮	⴯	2,000	ts	ts
31 ძილ	ძ	ⴱ	ⴲ	3,000	dz	dz
32 წილ	წ	ⴳ	ⴴ	4,000	ts'	ds
33 ჭარ	ჭ	ⴶ	ⴷ	5,000	ç	dch
34 ხან	ხ	ⴹ	ⴺ	6,000	x	kh
35 კარ	კ	ⴼ	ⴽ	7,000	χ	kḥ
36 ჯან	ჯ	ⴾ	ⴿ	8,000	j	j
37 ჰაე	ჰ	ⵀ	ⵁ	9,000	h	h
38 ჰოე	ჱ	ⵂ	ⵃ	10,000	ō	hō
39	ფ	—	—		f	f
40	ჲ	—	—		ə	ə

PRONUNCIATION OF THE GEORGIAN LETTERS

- a is neither short nor long in quantity ; in quality it approaches very near to the English **a** in *artistic*.
- b as in English.
- g is always " hard " as in *get*.
- d as in English.
- e very much like the English mid-front-wide *ě* in *end*, *intellect*, otherwise represented as in *many*, *any*, *friend*, *feather*.
- v as in English.
- z is " clearer " than in English, that is, it is fully vocal like the French or Russian *z*.
- ē (ey) is a descending diphthong representing a combination of **e** and **y**, and is the equivalent of what in English is commonly called " long a " represented otherwise as in *rain*, *veil*, *obey*.
- t' is very much like the English **t** as articulated when not preceded by **s**, e.g. *two*, *too*, etc., having the same medium point position and the same " thick " or " dull " effect (see p. 187).
- i is like the English high-front-wide *ī* 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. 187).
- 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. 187).
- 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. 187).
- k' a back linguapalatal, very much like **ch** in *chemistry*, *Christ*; its articulative position is the same as that of **k** or rather "hard" *g*; the explosive release of the closure, however, is much weaker than in the case of **k** or **g**, due to a feebler impinging of the breath from the tongue upon the palate. It is slightly duller than the English **k** which seems to have a medial sound between the Georgian **k'** and **k**.
- ǰ a back linguaguttuopalatal; it is an aspirated "hard" *g* resembling the German central **g** after back vowels, as in *Tag*, or the modern Greek γ before **a**, **o**, **u**, the Georgian articulation, however, is somewhat more guttural and clearly fricative.
- q a back linguaguttural, the articulative position of which lies somewhere between those of **k** and χ ("ach-sound"), and is uttered by imparting the **k**-sound (see **k** above) into χ . According to the late Professor Marr (op. cit., p. 10), it is nearer to χ with, however, none of its frictional rustling of breath; in articulating it, the breath is suddenly and completely stopped at the moment of its inception. It is just a strong, deep, but short, guttural ejective stop and mute like **k**.
- š as in *ship*.
- č as in *church*.
- ts like German **z** in *Zeit*, or like **ts** in *tsetse* (fly).

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 **ũ**. In Modern Geo. this **u** became, when followed by a vowel, separated from the latter by **v**. Later still it disappeared altogether. e.g. *T'k'uen* → *t'k'uen* = *t'k'uen* || *t'k'uen* → *t'k'uen*. [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.
- tʃ' 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 **ç**. It is made in the same manner as the preceding **ts**, the tongue, however, being placed in the **ç**-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 **k'**, i.e. **k'** with the sound of **q** (see below) organically blended with it into one sound.
- j as in *jam, jar*.
- h as in *hill, home*.
- (h)ō a diphthong used as an interjection; it is merely a conventional symbol representing a long **ō** or the Greek **ω**.
- f a labial fricative like English **f**.
- ə a semi-vowel, or rather a sound of an undefined character with a strong guttural articulation like the Turkish **ı** in *kız*¹ (**ı** without a point), or the Russian "hard" **ı** (**ы**) 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.

q̇ represents the half-softened sound of the strong guttural q; in its articulation the throat-contraction required for q is diminished; it resembles very much the ancient Arabic 'ain.

OBSERVATIONS

The student who wishes to master the difficulties of Georgian phonetics should pay particular attention to the five composite affricates, namely, ts' q, ḡ, 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. 184-186, should, therefore, be carefully studied. Of the other affricates, namely, dz, ts, χ, j, and č, any average student will probably be quite familiar with the first three—a kind of approximation to the dz-sound being found in the English word *adz*, and ts and χ representing sounds of frequent occurrence in German (Ger. *z*, *Zeit*, and *ch*, "ach-sound," *noch*) or the latter one in Scotch *loch*. The last two affricates, being exact equivalents of English *j* (*jam*) and *ch* (*church*), require no comment, of course.

The student should also carefully distinguish the percussive and acoustic effects of the half-voiced stops (t', k', p') and the voiceless stops (t, k, p). Concerning these sounds it might further be said that t', k', p', are not t, k, p, respectively, each followed by, or combined with, the sound of h, or a breath-glide which may be symbolized by h, that is, they cannot be assumed to be th or t'h, kh or k'h, ph or p'h. They represent actually the sounds of t, k, and p, or b in their respective less forcible, weakened forms, made so by a looser or feebler contact of their respective organs of articulation.¹

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

ts' ← t + s²; dz ← d + z; ts ← t' + s; ç ← t + š; j ← d + ž; č ← t' + š;

q ← k + h; ḡ ← 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 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*).]

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.

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.

Contents of Vol. I, No. I

	PAGE
The Georgian Historical Society. Sir E. DENISON ROSS	3
The Present State of Caucasian Studies. W. E. D. ALLEN	4
Georgian Chronology and the Beginnings of Bagratid Rule in Georgia. Professor E. TAQAISHVILI	9
The Asianic Elements in National Georgian Paganism. Professor M. TSERETHELI	28
A Georgian Needle Painting in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Plate.) Z. AVALISHVILI	67
The Holy Lance of Echmiadzin. J. F. BADDELEY	75
Georgian MSS. in England. ARCHIMANDRITE PERADZE	80
The Svanian <i>Sakurtskhil</i> . G. CHITAIA	89
Nicholas Marr. A. GUGUSHVILI	101
Avalishvili: <i>Vep'khis Tqaosanis Sakit'khebi</i> . V. NOSADZE	116
The Georgian Alphabet: Classification of Georgian Sounds. A. GUGUSHVILI	126

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 हर देश में सब सूचि पत्र और
 निखर्नामे उस देश की भाषा

Hebrew
 קטלוגים בשפות המתהלות
 הם הברורים לצורך השוקים
 בארצות נכרות

Chinese
 在 外 國 市 場 非 用 本
 地 話 之 價 目 表 不 可。

Phonetics
 ηγγινδ̄·naβá:nt̄·u úkumó:kɔ̄·a
 saθh̄·lamá:ndga ɔɛ ηk̄·ó:mə

Greek
 Κατάλογοι εἰς τὴν καθομιλουμένην
 γλῶσσαν εἶναι χρήσιμοι διὰ τὰς
 ξένας ἀγοράς

Burmese
 နိုင်ငံခြားတွင်အရောင်းအဝယ်ပြုလုပ်ရန်
 အတွက်၊ (ကက်တလောဂ်) အသုံးဝေး

Siamese
 แคตตาล็อก พิมพ์ เปน
 ภาษาไทย จำเป้น สำหรับ การ

Georgian
 რამეცთუ ესრეც შეიქცეარა
 ლმერთმან სოფელში ესე

Armenian
 Կատալոգներ սիրեաց Մասնավճ
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