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CENTRE FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES  
FACULTY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW  
WARSAW 2018

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IVANE JAVAKHISHVILI  
(1876-1940)

Georgian historian and a linguist  
founder of Tbilisi State University (1918)

*Photograph from the National Archive of Georgia*



## მოქცევაჲ ქართლისაჲ

ტექსტი ძველი ქართულიდან პოლონურ ენაზე თარგმნა  
და კომენტარები დაურთო დავით ყოლბაიამ

[ქრონიკა]

[თავი I]

- პირველ, ოდეს ალექსანდრე მეფემან ნათესავნი იგი ლოთის შვილთანი წარიქცინა და შეკალნა იგინი კელარსა მას ქუეყანასა, იხილნა ნათესავნი სასტიკნი ბუნ-თურქნი, მსხლომარენი მდინარესა ზელა მგკუარსა მიხუევით, ოთხ ქალაქად, დაბნები მათი: სარკინე-ქალაქი, კასპი, ურბნისი და ოძრაკე, და ციხენი
- 5 მათნი: ციხს დიდი სარკინისაჲ, უფლისციხს კასპისა, ურბნისისა და ოძრაკისაჲ.
- დაუკურდა ალექსანდრეს და ცნა, რამეთუ იებოსელთა ნათესავნი იყვნეს, ყოველსა კორციელსა ჭამდეს და სამარე მათი არა იყო, მკუდარსა შემჭამდეს. და ვერ ეძლო ბრძოლაჲ მათი მეფესა და წარვიდა.
- მაშინ მოვიდეს ნათესავნი მბრძოლნი, ქალდეველთაგან გამოსხმულნი, ჰონნი,
- 10 და ითხოვეს ბუნ-თურქთა უფლისაგან ქუეყანაჲ ხარკითა და დასხდეს იგინი ბანავს. და ეპყრა იგი, რომელ ხარკითა აქუნდა, ჰრქვან მას ხერკი.
- და შემდგომად რაოდენისაჲე კამისა მოვიდა ალექსანდრე, მეფს ყოვლისა ქუეყანისაჲ, და დალეწნა სამნი ესე ქალაქნი და ციხენი, და ჰონთა დასცა მახული.
- 15 ხოლო სარკინესა ქალაქსა ებრძოლა ათერთმეგ თთუე და დაგა სარკინესა და დადგა სარკინესა დასავალით კერძო და დაასხა (216r) ვენაკი და რუჲ გამოილო ქსნით, და დასხნა კაცნი მერუვენი დასტაგითა რუჲსაათთა; და ჰრქვან ადგილსა მას ნასტაგისი.
- და მერმე გამოილო სარკინე. თუთ დაყარეს და მეოგ იქმნეს. და თანა
- 20 ჰყავნდა ალექსანდრეს მეფესა ამოჲ, ძს არიან ქართლისა მეფისაჲ, და მას მიუბოძა მცხეთაჲ საჯლომად და საზღვარი დაუდგა მას ჰერეთი, და ეგრისი წყალი, და სომხითი და მთაჲ ცროლისა[ჲ] და წარვიდა.
- ხოლო ესე ამოჲ წარვიდა არ[ი] ან- ქართლად, მამისა თუხისა და წარმოიყვანა რვაჲ სახლი და ათნი სახლნი მამა-მძუძეთანი, და დაჯდა ძუელ მცხეთას
- 25 და თანა-ჰყავანდეს კერპნი ღმრთად – გაცი და გა.

## ARTICLES AND STUDIES

### NAWRÓCENIE KARTLI<sup>(1)</sup>

*Z języka starogruzińskiego przełożył i komentarzem  
opatrzył David Kolbaia, Uniwersytet Warszawski*

[Kronika]

[Rozdział 1]

Kiedy (cesarz) Aleksander<sup>(2)</sup> zmusił do ucieczki potomków Lota<sup>(3)</sup> i wyparł ich do kraju północnego, wtedy po raz pierwszy ujrzał okrutne plemiona Bunturków,<sup>(4)</sup> żyjące wzdłuż biegu Mtkwari, w czterech miastach wraz z przedmieściami. (Były to miasta) Sarkine<sup>(5)</sup>, Kaspi<sup>(6)</sup>, Urbnisi<sup>(7)</sup> i Odrache oraz ich twierdze: Ciche-Didi w Sarkine, Uplisciche<sup>(8)</sup> w Kaspi, Urbnisi, Odrache.

Zdumiał się Aleksander, dowiedziawszy się, że byli oni potomkami Jebuzytów<sup>(9)</sup>. Jedli wszystko, co żywe, i nie mieli grobów, bo martwych pożerali. Nie czując się na siłach walczyć z nimi, cesarz oddalił się.

Wtedy przybyło wojownicze plemię Honów<sup>(10)</sup>, które oddzieliło się od Chaldejczyków<sup>(11)</sup>, i poprosiło władcę Bunturków o (nadanie im) ziemi za (płacenie) daniny, i osiedli oni w Zanawi.

I posiadali to (miejsce), za które płacili daninę nazywaną cherki.

Po pewnym czasie powrócił Aleksander, cesarz wszystkich ziem, zburzył te trzy miasta i twierdze, i zwyciężył Honów.

Zaś z miastem Sarkine wojował jedenaście miesięcy; zajął je od strony zachodniej, (216r) posadził winorośl, przeprowadził kanał nawadniający z Ksani, a u źródła kanału postawił ludzi i miejsce to nazywa się Nastagisi<sup>(12)</sup>.

Potem zaś zdobył Sarkine. Sami (Bunturkowie) porzucili je i opuścili (te ziemie). Cesarz Aleksander zatrzymał przy sobie syna króla Arian-Kartlii<sup>(13)</sup>, Azo<sup>(14)</sup>, i dał mu za rezydencję Mcchetę<sup>(15)</sup>, wyznaczwszy jako granice Hereti, Egis-ckali, Armenię oraz górę Crolską, i odszedł stamtąd.

Azo wyruszył zatem do Arian-Kartlii, do swego ojca, i sprowadził (stamtąd) osiem rodów (współplemieńców) oraz dziesięć rodów krewnych<sup>(16)</sup>, i osiedlił się w starożytnej Mcchecie mając za bogów bożki – Gaci i Gaim<sup>(17)</sup>.

ა~. და ესე იყო პირველი მეფე მცხეთას შინა აზოე, ძმ არიან-ქართველთა მეფისამ, და მოკულა.

ბ~. და შემდგომად მისა დადგა ფარნავაზ. ამან აღმართა კერპი დიდი ცხუ [რ] სა ზელა, და დასდვა სახელი მისი არმაზი. და მოქმნა მღუღე წყლით კერძო,  
5 და ჰრქჳან არმაზ.

გ~. და შემდგომად მისა დადგა მეფედ საურმაგ, ამან აღმართა კერპი აინინა გზასა ზელა. და იწყო არმაზს შწნებად.

დ~. და მისა შემდგომად მეფობდა მირვან. და აღმართა დანინა გზასა ზელა წინარე და აღაშენა არმაზი.

10 ე~. და მეფობდა ფარნაჯობ და აღმართა კერპი მადენ მთასა ზელა და აღაშენა [ციხს].

ვ~. და მეფობდა არს(ოკ) [და] (216v)ქალაქსა მღუღენი მოაქმნნა.

ზ~. და მეფობდა არიკ, რომელმან შიდაციხე აღაშენა არმაზსა.

წ~. და მეფობდა ბრაგმან, რომელსა ზე მცხეთას ქალაქი დაეწყო.

15 თ~. და მეფობდა მირეან. და მან აღაშენა მცხეთაჲ ქალაქი.

ი~. და მეფობდა არსუკ, რომელმან კასპი შეიპყრა და უფლისციხე განაგო.

ი~ა. და მეფობდა როკ, რომელმან რაფთურთით მცხეთაჲ გაიშორა. და მეფობა ორად გაიყო, ორნი მეფენი დასხდეს იმიერ და ამიერ.

20 ი~ბ. და მეფობდა ქარძამ არმაზს და მცხეთას - ბრაგმან. და ამათთა ჟამთა ჰურიანი მოვიდეს მცხეთას და დასხდეს.

ი~გ. და მეფობდა იმიერ ფარსმან და ამიერ - კაოზ.

ი~დ. და მეფობდა იმიერ არსოკ და ამიერ-ამაზაურ.

ი~ე. და მეფობდა იმიერ ამაზასპ და ამიერ - დერუკ.

25 ი~ვ. და მეფობდა იმიერ ფარსმან ქველი და ამიერ - ფარსმან ავაზ.

ი~ზ. და მეფობდა იმიერ როკ და ამიერ - მირდაგ. და ამისა ზე მოაკლდა არმაზი სამეფოჲ და მცხეთას ოდენ იყო მეფობაჲ.

ს~. და მეფობდა ლადაში და[!] დლე კ.

ი~თ. და ფარსმან,

30 კ~. და ამაზასპ,

კ~ა. და რეე მართალი.

კ~ბ. ვახე.

კ~გ. ბაკურ.

კ~დ. მირდაგ.

35 კ~ე. ასფაგურ.

კ~ვ. რეე, მამე მირეანისი.

კ~ზ. [მირეან]

ესე ოცდარვაანი (!) მეფენი ქართლს შინა წარმართნი.

40 და იყო დღეთა კოსტანტინე მეფისათა, ქრისტესს ამაღლებითგან სამას და მეათესა წელსა, იყო ლუაწლი ბრძოლისაჲ მგერთაგან და ფრიალ ერეოდეს მეფესა კოსტანტინეს, (217r) მესა კოსტაქსსა. და გულ-გდებულ იყო ურვათაგან კოსტანტი კეისარი.

A ów Azo, syn króla Arian-Kartlii, był pierwszym królem Mcchety, i zmarł.

Zaś po nim królem został Parnawaz. Wzniósł on na wysokim (miejscu) duży posąg bożka i nazwał go imieniem Armaz, i otoczył (świętynię) ścianą od strony rzeki, (stąd miejsce to) nazywa się Armaz.

A po nim królem został Saurmag. Ten wznosił przy drodze (posąg) bożka Ainina<sup>(18)</sup> i zaczął budować Armazi<sup>(19)</sup>.

A po nim panował Mirwan. Ten wznosił na początku swego panowania (posąg) bożka Dainina<sup>(20)</sup> i dokończył Armazi.

Potem panował Parnadzob i wznosił on posąg bożka Zadena na górze i zbudował (twierdzę).

Potem panował Arsok, który otoczył (216v)miasto murem.

Potem panował Arik, który zbudował w Armazie wewnętrzną twierdzę.

Potem panował Bratman, za czasów którego w Mcchecie założono miasto.

Potem panował Mirean, który zbudował miasto Mccheta.

Potem panował Arsok, który zdobył Kaspi i zawładnął Uplisciche.

Potem panował Rok, który dokończył budowę Mcchety i podzielił władzę: dwaj królowie osiedli po tej i po tamtej stronie rzeki.

I (odtąd) władał w Armazi Kardzam, a w Mcchecie władał Bratman. To za ich panowania przybyli Żydzi i osiedli w Mcchecie.

Potem panował po tej stronie Parsman, a po tamtej – Kaoz.

Potem panował po tej stronie Arsok, a po tamtej – Amazaer.

Potem panował po tej stronie Amazasp, a po tamtej – Deruk.

Potem panował po tej stronie Parsman Dzielny, a po tamtej – Parsman Lampart.

Potem panował po tej stronie Rok, a po tamtej – Mirdat. Za niego władza królewska skończyła się w Armazi, a pozostała jedynie w Mcchecie.

Potem panował Gadam i dwadzieścia dni...

Potem Parsman.

Potem Amazasp.

Potem Rew Sprawiedliwy.

Wacze.

Bakur.

Mirdat.

Aspagur.

Lew, ojciec Mireana.

(Mirean).

Tych dwudziestu ośmiu (!) królów w Kartlii było poganami.

A było to w czasach cesarza Konstantyna<sup>(21)</sup>, w trzysta dziesiątym roku po Wniebowstąpieniu Chrystusa. Były potyczki z wrogami i (wrogowie) zwyciężali cesarza Konstantyna, (217r) syna Kostaja. I cesarz rozpoczął.

იყო ვინმე ერთი კაცი ეფესელი და წარმოთქვა წინაშე მეფისა, ვითარმედ: „ქრისტიანენი იგი პრომნი და ყოველნი ჰინდონი და ვისცა ვის აქუს შჯული იგი ახალი ქრისტეს წმიდისაჲ, ძელითა ჯუარისაჲთა და მისითა სასოვებითა სძლევენ მგერთა ძლიერად“.

5 მას ჟამსა აღიძრა მეფე გუნდებითა, და წარავლინა მოყვანებად ებისკოპოსთა იერუსალჴმით, ანგიოქიათ, პრომით და ალექსანდრ-იათ. და ნათელილო მან თავადმან და დედამან მისმან ბანაკითურთ.

მით ჟამითგან მეთათსა წელსა წარვიდა ჰელენე იერუსალჴმდ ძიებად პაგიონსისა ჯუარისა. და მეთათთხმეგესა წელსა ივლგოდა დედაკაცი ვინმე მეფეთა  
10 ევადაგი, სახელით რიფსიმე, რომლისაჲ მიზეზისათჴს დედა-მძუძითურთ.

და იყო მის თანა გყუე ერთი დედაკაცი შუენიერი, სახელით ნინო, რომლისა საქმს მისი გამოიძია ჰელენე დედოფალმან. და იყო იგი პრომი მთავარი, და თჴსი და ექმნნეს კურნებანი. და მოწვევნულ იყო საბერძნეთა და ჰმოდღურიდა მთავარსა მას რიფსიმეს.

15 და ვითარცა წარმოივლგოდა რიფსიმე ბლუად, გაჲ[ანე] და ნინო და სხუანი ვინმე მათ თანა გამოვიდეს არეთა სომხით[ი]სათა, საყოფელსა თრდაგ მეფისასა. და იგინი იმარგვლნეს მუნ.

ხოლო ნინო ღამთა და წარმოემართა მთათა კერძო (217v) ჩრდილოჲსათა და მოვიდა მდინარესა მგკუარსა, მოჰყვა და მოვიდა მცხეთად, ქალაქსა დიდსა  
20 მეფეთა საჯღომელსა. და იყო სამ წელ ეგრეთ. ილოცვიდა ფარულად აღვილსა ერთსა შებურვილსა ბრძამლითა მაყულისაჲთა.

და შექმნა სახს ჯუარისაჲ, ნასხლევისაჲ და მუნ დაადგრა და ილოცვიდა. და აღვილი იგი იყო ბლუდესა გარეგან. ხოლო მათ მაყუალთა აღვილი არს ბემოჲსა ეკლესიისა საკურთხეველისა აღვილი. [და] მეთთესა წელსა იწყო თქმუ-  
25 ად ქრისტე ღმერთი და შჯული: „და [მე]ვპოვე ცთომასა შინა ჩრდილოჲსა ესე ქუეყანაჲ“. და მექუესესა წელსა არწმუნა [ცოლსა] მეფისასა ნანას სენსა შინა მისსა და მეშუდესა წელსა მეფესა არწმუნა სა[ს]წაულითა ქრისტესმიერთითა. და მსწრაფლ აღაშენა ეკლესიაჲ ქუემო[ა] სამოთხესა შინა. და სუეგი იგი იყო ძელისაჲ, რომელი თჴთ აღემართა.

30 და ვითარცა აღაშენეს ეკლესიაჲ, წარავლინა მოციქული და წიგნი ნინოჲსი საბერძნეთა, მეფისა კოსტანტინესა თხოვად მდღელთა. ხოლო იგინი მწრაფლ მიწინეს.

და მოსცა მეფემან იოვანე ეპისკოპოსი და ორნი მდღელნი და ერთი დიაკონი და წიგნი ელენე დედოფლისაჲ და ხაგი მაცხოვრისაჲ და ძელი ცხოვრებისაჲ ნინოჲსთჴს.

35 და ვითარცა მოვიდეს, ნათელი მიიღო მირეან მეფემან და დედოფალმან და ყოველმან სახლმან მათმან. ითხოვეს ხს, რაჲთა შექმნან ჯუარი.

[H—600, 2v) და ძიება-ყვეს ხუროთა და პოვეს ხე ერთი, მღგომარე ბორც[უ]სა ზედა კლდისასა, როელსა ფურცელი მისი არა[ოდეს] დასცუიოდა. და სულ-ჰამოჲ იყო ხე იგი და შუენიერი ფრიად, ვითარცა მაღლითა ქრისტე შე-  
40 მოსილი. და აღვილი იგი ბორცჴ ძეუვალი იყო კლდისაგან. და უთხრეს მეფესა და ეპისკოპოსსა. ხოლო მეფემან წარგზავნა ძე თჴსი რეჲ და მთავა რდიაკონი, იხილეს შუენიერად ღგომად ხისა მის, ხოლო ფურცლოდა ჟამთ არისათა.

I pewien człowiek z Efezu wyjaśnił cesarzowi, że rzymscy i wszyscy indyjscy chrześcijanie i każdy wyznający nową wiarę w Świętego Chrystusa, zwyciężają wrogów drzewem krzyża i ufnością (w jego imię).

Wtedy cesarz z dworem, zamierzając (przyjąć nową wiarę), polecił sprowadzić biskupów z Jerozolimy, Antiochii, Rzymu i Aleksandrii, po czym monarcha i jego matka wraz ze swą siostrą przyjęli chrzest.

Po upływie dziesięciu lat od tego czasu cesarzowa Helena udała się do Jerozolimy na poszukiwanie świętego krzyża, zaś w czternastym roku wybrała się z jakiegoś powodu (na wschód) pewna niewiasta pochodzenia królewskiego, o imieniu Ripsime, ze (swoją) opiekunką.

A była z nią pewna piękna cudzoziemka o imieniu Nino, o poczynaniach której dowiedziała się cesarzowa Helena<sup>(22)</sup>. Była ona możną Rzymianką, podróżowała z własnej woli, dokonując cudów, przebywała w Grecji i nauczała Ripsime, władczynię.

Odplłynawszy morzem, Ripsime, Gajane i Nino, a wraz z nimi niektóre inne niewiasty, przekroczyły granice Armenii, miejsca pobytu króla Trdata<sup>(23)</sup>, i przyjęły wieniec męczeństwa.

Jedynie Nino ocalała i poszła w kierunku gór północnych, dotarła do rzeki Mtkwari, a idąc (z jej biegiem) przybyła do Mchety – dużego królewskiego miasta. I spędziła (tam) trzy lata tak oto: Wykonała wizerunek krzyża z gałązek winnej latorośli, postawiła tam i modliła się. A było to miejsce poza murami (miasta, w krzewach jeżyn). Zaś (obecnie) miejsce tych krzewów jeżyn zajęte jest przez ołtarz kościoła Górnego<sup>(24)</sup>. I w czwartym roku (Nino) zaczęła nauczać o Chrystusie Bogu i wierze, (mówiąc): „(Ja) znalazłam ten północny kraj pogrążony w błędach”. Zatem w szóstym roku nawróciła (małżonkę) króla, Nanę<sup>(25)</sup>, podczas jej choroby, zaś w siódmym roku cudem dokonany przez Chrystusa nawróciła króla<sup>(26)</sup>. I (król) pośpiesznie wybudował kościół Dolny<sup>(27)</sup>. A słup ten (podtrzymujący sklepienie kościoła), który sam się umocował, był z drzewa.

Gdy tylko zbudowano kościół, król odprawił posłów z listem Nino do Grecji, do cesarza Konstantyna, z prośbą o kapłanów. Posłowie zaś prędko (tam) dotarli.

Wówczas cesarz (Konstantyn) dał biskupa Jan, dwóch kapłanów, jednego diakona i list cesarzowej Heleny, ikonę Zbawiciela i drzewo życia dla Nino.

I gdy tylko ci ostatni powrócili, król Mirian, królowa i cały dom ich przyjęli chrzest. I wyprosilili drzewo, by zrobić krzyż.

[H—600, 2r: Ciesle zaczęli szukać i znaleźli pewne drzewo na występie skały wiecznie zielone. A było bardzo wonne i bardzo piękne to drzewo, jak Chrystus, błogosławione. Ale wzniesienie to było niedostępne z powodu skały, więc doniesiono (o tym) królowi i biskupowi. A król posłał syna swego Rewa i archidiakona, (którzy) zobaczyli rosnące potężne

და იგყოფა მთავარდიაკონი იგი მუკლსა დავითისსა, ვითარმედ: „ესე ხე არს დანერგული თანა წარს[ა]ვ[ა]ლსა კლდის[ა]სა ზეგარდამო[ა] თა ცუარითა მორწყული და ფურცელნი მისნი არა დასცვენ უკუნისამდე.

- და უბრძანა ხურთთა მოკუეთაჲ ხისა მის. და შექმნეს სახე პაგიონისა  
 5 ჯარისა, ვითარცა ასწავა მთავ[ა]რდიაკონმან, სამ გუამად შექმნეს ხისა მის განის[ა]ვან სამნი ჯუარნი და აღმართნეს მცხეთას, ვითარცა სწერია მცირე-სა მას მოკლედ აღწერილსა მას წიგნსა ქართლისა მოქცევის[ა]სა, გრივ[ო]ლი დიაკონისა მიერ აღწერილსა. და ერთი ჯუარი აღმართა მირიან მეფემან მთასა ზედა მალნარის[ა]სა, რომელსა ჰქრქვან თხოთისა და ერთი იგი –  
 10 მახლობელად პაგიონისა ჯუარისავე.

- და წარავლინა მირიან მეფემან და ითხოვნა საბერძნეთით ქვისა მთლელნი და კირით ხურთნი. და მოსცნა მეფემან და წარმოვიდეს ერუშეთს. და დაღვეს საძირკუელი ეკლესიისა [ა] და დაუგვე [ნ] ეს ფერკთა ფიცარნი მაცხოვრისა უფლისა ჩუენისა იესუ ქრისტესნი და წარმოვიდეს მანგლის და დაღვეს საძირ-  
 15 კუელი ეკლესიისა [ა] და დაუგვენეს სამსჭუალნი და ესრეთ მოვიდეს მცხეთად.

- და იწყო მეფემან შენებად ქვითა ეკლესიასა გარეუბნისასა და ვითარცა ცნა მეფემან რამეთუ დაღვეს საძირკუელი პირველ ერუშეთს და მანგლის და დაუგვენეს მუნ სასურველნი იგი ფიცარნი (ჰრ) და სამსჭუალნი. აღივსო ურვითა და დააყენა საქმე მოსწრაფებისა. ვიდრე არა ისწავა მთავარეპისკოპოსისაგან, ვითარმედ: „შენ  
 20 თანა არს ამ[ა]ს ქალაქსა შინა სამოს[ე]ლი ქრისტესნი ყოველად ზეგარდ[ა]მო ქსოილი, რომელი ჯუარის-მცემელთა მათ განიყვეს და კუართი იგი ამათ იხუედრეს, ჩრდილოსა ამ[ა]ს ქალაქსა შინა დაფარეს, და აწ შევილი მათნი არიან, ვინ უწყის, თუ ადგილიცა იცოდენ. ხოლო ჯამი მისი მერმე არს ოდეს გამოჩნდეს დიდებით ქუეყანასა ზედა. ეგრეთვე ხალენი ელია[ა]სი აქვე დამარხულ არს“.

- და აღივსო სიხარულითა მეფე და მის მოხადნ(ა) ყოველთა ჰურითა და ჰკითხა, თუ: „ნამდღვევ?“ და მათ აუარეს მართ[ა]ლი და რარ უარ-ყვე[ა]ს. და თქუეს, ვითარმედ: „აქეთ წარვიდეს ელიომ მცხეთ[ე]ლი და ლონგინომ კანისელი დათაღენავ და მისაელ“. და კუართისა მის თქუეს წილით-ხუედრე-  
 30 ბაჲ ამათი, ხოლო ადგილი იგი უარ-ყვეს. მაშინ განმხიარ[უ]ლდა მირიან მეფე, რაჟამს ეუწყა, ვითარმედ „პირველ მოწვენ[უ]ლ იყო კუართი იგი ქრისტესი ერუსალმით მცხეთად, [ჰ]მადლობდა ღმერთსა და იგყოფა „კურთხეულ ხარ შენ, უფალო იესუ ქრისტე, ძეო ღმრთისა ცხოველისაო, რამეთუ შენ პირვე-  
 35 ერუსალმით უცხოთა ამათ ნათესავთა ქალაქად, რამეთუ ჯუარ-ცუმასა შენსა ამას ქალაქსა მეფობდეს მამანი ჩუენნი“.

- და წარემართა მეფე და ყოველი ქართლი ქრისტეანობასა მოწრაფებითა დი-  
 40 ლითა. მაშინ ნეგარმან მან ღელაკაცმან ნინო თქუა: „კურთხეულ არს ღმერთი და მამაჲ უფლისა ჩუენისა იესუ ქრისტესი, რომელმან მოავლინა სიგყუაჲ წმიდაჲ მდაბლად უეჭუელად შობად კორციელად თესლისგან დავითისა ღელაკცისაგან მარგოდ შობილისა ქმიდისაგან და უბიწოხსა, რომელი სათნო-ყყო მას და ამით



drzewa, była to pora rozwijania się liści. Przeto archidiakon wygłosił psalm Dawida: „Oto drzewo posadzone na krańcu skały i nawadniane niebiańską rosą, jego liście nie odpadają na wieki wieków”.

Więc rozkazał (Rew) cieślom ściąć drzewo. I zrobili wizerunek świętego krzyża, jak nakazał archidiakon. Zrobili trzy krzyże z tego drzewa i jeden wzniesli w Mcchecie, jak to przedstawiono w krótkiej książce Mokcewaj Kartlisaj, spisanej przez diakona Grzegorza. Zaś drugi krzyż był wzniesiony przez króla Miriana na leśnej górze, nazwanej Tchoti, a inny znów w pobliżu świętego krzyża.

Potem król Mirian wyprawił posłów, prosząc Greków o kamieniarzy i cieśli. Dał mu ich cesarz (Konstantyn), więc przybyli do Eruszetii, gdzie położyli fundamenty kościoła. (Tu) zostawili deski (pod) nogi Zbawiciela naszego Jezusa Chrystusa. I wyruszyli do Manglisi, gdzie położyli fundamenty kościoła i zostawili gwoździe, i tak doszli do Mcchety.

Potem król zaczął budować na przedmieściu kościół z kamienia. A kiedy dowiedział się, że najpierw położyli fundamenty kościoła Eruszeti i Manglisi, i pozostawili w Mcchecie oczekiwane deski i gwoździe, dowiedział się od arcybiskupa, że także w tym miejscu znajduje się Suknia Chrystusa, niebiańska tkanina, którą podzielili się ci, (którzy) ukrzyżowali Chrystusa, a suknia, o którą ciągnęli losy, dostała się owym (Żydom z Kartlii). Schowali ją w północnym mieście, żyją i po dziś dzień ich potomkowie, być może nawet znają to miejsce. A czas jego nastanie, kiedy zstąpi On na ziemię. Także płaszcz Eliasza<sup>(28)</sup> jest tutaj schowany”.

Uradowany król, nie zwlekając, zapytał Żydów: „Czy to prawda?” Ci potwierdzili i powiedzieli: „Stąd byli posłami Elioz z Mcchety, Longinoz Kaniski, Talenaw i Misael”. Wiedzieli, że suknia przypadła im według losu, ale miejsca (gdzie się znajdowała) nie mogli wskazać. Wtedy ucieszył się król Mirian, dowiedziawszy się, że z Jeruzolimy suknia Chrystusa dostała się do Mcchety. Dziękował Bogu i mówił: „Błogosławiony jesteś, Boże Jezu Chryste, albowiem Ty zawsze (pragnąłeś)] (218r) naszego zbawienia i wyzwolenia naszego od szatana, od miejsca tego ciemnego, gdyż suknię Swoją przesłałeś przez Żydów ze świętego miasta Jeruzolimy do tego miasta obcego, gdyż ojcowie nasi panowali w tym miejscu do czasu Twego ukrzyżowania”.

Wtedy król i cała Kartlia wstąpili na drogę wiary chrześcijańskiej z wielką gorliwością. Zaś owa błogosławiona niewiasta Nino rzekła: „Błogosławiony Bóg i Ojciec Pana naszego Jezusa Chrystusa, który z wysokości niebios i swego tronu zesłał światu swoje święte słowa, narodził się w ciele z nasienia Dawida, z umiłowanej przez niego dziewicy jednorodzonej, świętej i niepokalanej, tak też pojawiło się zbawienie nasze i oświecił (Chrystus) wszystkich żyjących pod niebem, dając życie tym, którzy uwierzyli w Niego, choć urodził się jako człowiek, był czczony jak Bóg, chrzczył wodą i ziemią, jak zwykły sługa wiary; tylko z woli Ojca i świętego Ducha był zamęczony, a wywyższył się, był ukrzy-



მიმებნითა ცხორებაა ჩუენი შექმნა და ყოველი ცასა ქუემე მყოფი განანათლა და უმეტეს მისა მიმართ მორწმუნენი აცხოვნა, რამეთუ იშვა ვითარცა კაცი, პატივ-  
 5 ეცა ვითარცა ღმერთსა, ნათელ-ილო ვითარცა მსახურმან ვინმე შჯულისამან წყლისა და მიწისაგან, ხოლო მამით და სულით წმიდით ბეგარდმო იწამა და

და ვითარცა ესე თქუა, წარიყვანა იაკობ მღვლეი, საბერძნეთით მოსრული, და ერისთავი ერთი, წარვიდა და დაღვა წობენს. და მოუწოდა მთეულთა, ჭარ-  
 10 თალელთა (218ვ) და ფხოელთა, და წილკანელთა და უქადაგა სარწმუნოებაჲ ქრისტისი. ხოლო მათ განუყარეს თავი. და ერისთავმან მცირედ წარმართა მახული და შიშით მოსცნეს კერპნი მათნი დაღეწად. და გარდავიდა ერწულ და დაღვა ქაღეთს, დაბასა ეღემს, და ნათელ-სცა ერწუ-თიანელთა. და ყუარელთა ესმა ესე და გარდაკრბეს თოშეთა. რომელნი უკანაასკნელ იპოვნეს, თრდაგ მუფემან მოიყვანნა და მონათლნა.

15 და ნინო შთავიდა კხოეთა(!) და დაღვა კაწარეთს და მონათლნა კხოელ-ნი(!) და სოჯნი ერთიურთ მათით.

და გარდავიდა კახეთა და დაღვა ქცელ-დაბას. და მოიყვანნა კახნი მთა-  
 ვარნი და მონათლნა.

და დასნეულდა და წარმოემართა მცხეთად და ვითარცა მოიწია კხოეთას(!)  
 20 დაბასა, რომელსა ჰრქვან ბოღინი, ვერღარა ეძლო სლვად. და მო-ხოლო-ვი-დეს უყარმით ქალაქით რევ, ძმ მეფისაჲ, და სალომე, ცოლი მისი, და ასული მისი და ბედა-ადგეს მოურნედ. და მიუვლინეს მცხეთით მუფემან და ცოლმან მისმან ნანა იოვანე მთავარებისკოპოსი ხილვად და წარყვანებად. ხოლო მან არა ინება, არამედ დაჰვედრა იაკობ მღვლეი: „რამათა შემდგომად შენსა მან  
 25 დაიპყრას საყდარი“.

და მის წინაშე მისცა წიგნი იგი ჰელენე დედოფლისა მოწერილი, რომელი მოეწერა ნინოჲსა, დედოფლობით და მოციქულად და მახარებლად შეემკო  
 (219რ) და ძელი ცხორებისაჲ წარმოეცა დედოფლისა ნანაჲსა. და შეწირა კამი იოვანე, და აზიარა ნინო კორცსა და სისხლსა ქრისტისსა. და

30 წარილო ესე საგმლად სულისა.

და შეჰვედრა სული თუხი კელთა ღმრთისათა ქართლად მოსლვითგან მეათხუთმეტესა წელსა და ქრისტეს აღმადღებითგან გ ლმ წელსა, დასაბა-  
 მითგან ჰყ ლმ წელსა.

მაშინ შეიძრნეს ორნი ესე ქალაქნი – მცხეთაჲ და უყარმაჲ – და ყოველი  
 35 ქართლი სიკუდილისა მისისათუხს. და მოვიდეს და დაჰმარხეს ძლევით შემოსი-ლი გუამი მისი, ადგილსავე ბედა ბუდს, დაბასა კხოეთისასა(!)

და წარვიდა მირეან მეფე და ყოველი ერი, რამეთუ იქმოდეს ბემოსა ეკლე-  
 სიასა ქვითა. და განიშორეს მეოთხესა წელსა. და მოკუდა მირეან მეფე და დაეფლა საშუვალსა სუეგსა სამხრითსა ჩრდილოთ კესრძო. და მას სუეგ-  
 40 სა შინა არს ნაწილი სუეგისა მის ცხოველისაჲ. და მეორესა წელსა მოკუდა ცოლი მისი ნანა და დაეფლა დასავალით კერძო მასვე სუეგსა, სადა მირეან მეფე დაჰმარხულ იყო.

żowany, pogrzebany a zmartwychwstał, wstąpił na wysokości Ojca swojego i powróci w chwale; gdyż jemu należna jest chwała. Amen”.

Powiedziawszy to Nino wyruszyła, wzięwszy ze sobą kapłana Jakuba, (który) przybył z Grecji, oraz pewnego erystawa<sup>(29)</sup> i zatrzymała się w Cobeni. Tam wezwała górali (mieszkanców) Czartali, (218v) Pchowi i Cil-kani, aby głosić wiarę Chrystusa, oni zaś nie zechcieli (jej przyjąć). Wtedy erystaw wyciągnął miecz, a (ci) ze strachu oddali na zgubę swoje bożki. (Wówczas Nino) przeszła do Erco i zatrzymała się w Żaleti, w miasteczku Edemi, tam nawróciła Erco-Tianeti, zaś Kwarelowie usłyszawszy o tym, uciekli do Toszeti, (a gdy) znaleziono (ich) z trudem, król Trdat zabrał ich i ochrzcił.

Potem Nino doszła do Kchoeti (!) i zatrzymała się w Kacareti i chrzciła książąt kchoetyjskich oraz sodżskich wraz z nich ludem.

Potem przeniosła się do Kacheti, tam zatrzymała się w miasteczku Keli, i zebrawszy kachetyjskich książąt, ochrzciła ich.

Tam zachorowała i skierowała się z powrotem do Mcchety. A gdy tylko przybyła do Kchoeti(!), do miasteczka, ktore nazywa się Bodini, już nie mogła iść dalej. (Wtedy) z miasta Udżarma przybyli Rew, syn króla, z Salome małżonką jego, i córka jego, i zaczęli pielęgnować (Nino). Wtedy król i małżonka jego Nana posłali z Mcchety arcybiskupa Jan, by odwiedził i zabrał (Nino), ale Ona nie zechciała, i poprosiła (arcybiskupa) o kapłana Jakuba: „Niech po tobie on przewodzi kościołowi”.

W obecności (Jana arcybiskupa Nino) oddała (Salome) list królowej Heleny, który ta napisała do Nino, nazywając Ją królową, apostołem i ewangelistą (219r) oraz drzewem życia dla królowej Nany. Jan odprawił mszę świętą i udzielił Nino komunii z Ciała i Krwi Chrystusa. I przyjęła Nino (komunię) jak strawę duchową.

Wtedy oddała ducha swego w ręce Boga, w piętnastym roku po przybiciu do Kartlii, w trzysta trzydziesty ósmym roku od narodzenia Chrystusa, w 5838 roku od stworzenia świata.

Wówczas z jej powodu poruszyły się dwa miasta: Mccheta i Udżarma oraz cała Kartlia, więc przybyli i pochowali Jej bohaterskie ciało w miejscowości Budi, owej osadzie kchoetyjskiej (!).

Po czym król Mirian z całym ludem powrócili, gdyż budowali kościół Górny z kamienia i skończyli go w czwartym roku. A gdy zmarł król Mirian, został pochowany na północ od środkowego słupa południowego. W tym to słupie znajduje się część słupa życiodajnego. Zaś w następnym roku umarła małżonka jego Nana i została pochowana na zachód od tego samego słupa, gdzie był pochowany król Mirian.

A królem został Bakur, syn Rewa. Zmarł arcybiskup Jan i arcybiskupem został Jakub kapłan, przybyły również stamtąd. Rew po upływie dwudziestu trzech lat po wyniesieniu go na tę godność sporządził świętemu krzyżowi osłonę, a dla siebie przygotował grób w kościele Dolnym.

და დაჯდა მეფედ ბაკურ, ძმ რევისი. და მოკუდა იოვანე ებისკოპოსი და დაჯდა იაკობ, მღვდელი იგი მუნითვე მოსრული, მთავარეპისკოპოსად. და ოცდამესამესა წელსა აღმართებითგან პაგიოსნისა ჯუარისა შეუქმნა კუბაჲ რევ და შეიქმნა საფლავი (219v) ქუემოსა ეკლესიასა.

- 5 და მოკულ[ა] რევ და დაემარხა ცოლითურთ. და შემდგომად მისა, მეათესა წელსა, აშან ბაკურ დაიწყო წილკნისა ეკლესიასა და განიშორა ოცდამეათხუთმეგესა წელსა. და მოკუდა და დაეფლა ქუემოსა ეკლესიასა. და დაჯდა მეფედ ძმაჲ მისი თრდაგ. და მთავარეპისკოპოსი იყო ნერსე სომეხთა კათალიკოზისა ღიაკონი იობ. და მეფემან რუჲსთვისა რუჲ გა-
- 10 მოილო და ეკლესიისა საფუძველი დაღვა. და მის ბევე ნეკრესს კახეთისა-სა ეკლესიაჲ აღიშენა განსრულებით.

და შემდგომად მისა დაღვა ვარამ-ბაკურ მეფედ. და მისა ბევე სპარსთა მეფისა მარამპანნი შემოვიდეს სივნიეთა და იგი კიღარად უკუჯდა. და მთავარეპისკოპოსი იყო იგივე იობ.

- 15 და მაშინ მოვიდა ქრამ სუარბორმარდ, სპარსთა მეფისა პიგიახში, გვილისად ქალაქად, ციხედ. და ქართლი მისსა ხარკსა შედგა, და სომხითი და სივნიეთი და გუასპურაგანი. და მისა ბე აღაშენეს აშნაურთა წმიდაჲ იგი ეკლესიაჲ მცხეთას და დაამოთაულეს ღიღსა მას ეკლესიასა სოფლებითა და ქარდაგებითა ქართლს შინა.

- 20 და მისა შემდგომად მეფობდა ბაკურ, ძმ თრდაგისი. და მთავარეპისკოპოსი იყო ელია. და აშან აღაშენა ეკლესიაჲ ბოლნის[ს]. და იმიერგანვიდა და (220r). განაახლნა არამაზნი სპარსთა შიშისათუს..

და მისა შემდგომად მეფობდა ფარსმან, ღისწული თრდაგისი. და მთავარეპისკოპოსი იყო სუმეონ.

- 25 და მისა შემდგომად მეფობდა მირდაგ. და ესე წარიყვანა პიგიახშმან ვარამ ბაღდადს და მუნ მოკუდა.

და მისა შემდგომად მეფობდა არჩილ, და მთავარეპისკოპოსი იყო იონა. და მაშინ დაეცა ქუემოჲ ეკლესიაჲ. და იონა მოიცვალა გარეუბნისა ეკლესიასა და სუეგი იგი ცხოველი თანა-წარმოილო.

- 30 და მისა ბე აშნაურთა სგეფანე-წმიდაჲ აღაშენეს არაგუსა ბედა. და მოგუნი მოგუეთას მოგობდეს ცეცხლისა მსახურებასა ბედა. და მისევე არჩილის ბე ოთხნი მთავარეპისკოპოსნი გარდაიცვალნეს.

და მერმე მეფობდა მირდაგ. და მთავარეპისკოპოსი იყო გლონოქორ. და ესე მთავარეპისკოპოსი ერისთვადცა იყო ბარამბოდ პიგიახშისაგან

- 35 ქართლს და ჰერეთს.

და მისა შემდგომად მეფობდა დიდი ვახტანგ გოლგასარი, და მთავარეპისკოპოსი იყო მიქაელ. და მან მიაძთხუა ფერკი პირსა მეფისასა ვახტანგს. ხოლო მეფემან წარავლინნა მოციქულნი საბერძნეთა და ითხოვა მეფისაგან და პაგრეაქისაგან კათალიკოზი. (220v). ხოლო მან მოსცა პე-

- 40 გრე კათალიკოზი. და თანა ჰყვანდა მას სამოველ მონაზონი, წმიდაჲ და ღირსი. და აღაშენა ქუემოჲ ეკლესიაჲ ვახტანგ მეფემან და დასუა პეგრე კათალიკოზი. და ესე იყო ქართლის მოქცევიითგან რ ო წელსა. მეფენი

I zmarł Rew i pochowano go wraz z małżonką. Po dziesięciu latach Bakur zaczął budować kościół w Cilkani, a skończył po trzydziestu pięciu latach. Zmarł Bakur i został pochowany w kościele Dolnym. A królem został brat jego Trdat, a arcybiskupem był Job, (były) diakon ormiańskieo katolikosa Nerse<sup>(30)</sup>. Król ten przeprowadził kanał nawadniający i położył fundamenty kościoła. Za jego czasów w Nekresi kachetyjskim kościół został zbudowany w całości.

A królem został Waraz-Bakur. Za jego panowania wojska marzpani<sup>(31)</sup> króla perskiego wstąpiły do Siwnieti i on odstąpił za Chidari. Arcybiskupem był tenże Iob.

Wtedy Kram Chuarborzard, pitiachs<sup>(32)</sup> króla perskiego, wkroczył do miasta Tbilisi, do twierdzy i Kartlia stała się jego wasalem, a także Armenia oraz Siwnieti i Guaspuragan. I za niego aznaurowie<sup>(33)</sup> wybudowali w Mcchecie ten święty kościół i wraz ze wsiami i osadami w Kartlii podporządkowali go Wielkiemu Kościołowi.

Po nim panował Bakur, syn Trdata, zaś arcybiskupem był Elia. I zbudował on kościół Bolnisi i przeszedł na tamtą stronę, (220r) odnowił Armaz z powodu bojaźni przed Persami.

Po nim panował Parsman, syn siostry Trdata, zaś arcybiskupem był Swimeon.

Po nim panował Mirdat, którego pitiachs Warasz zabrał do Bagdadu<sup>(34)</sup>, a tam (Mirdat) zmarł.

Po nim panował Arczil, a arcybiskupem był Iona. Wtedy kościół Dolny zawalił się, zaś Iona przeniósł kościół na przedmieście i wziął ze sobą życiodajny słup.

Za jego czasów aznaurowie wybudowali nad Aragwi (kościół) świętego Stefana. A kapłani (czciciele ognia) w Mogueti oddawali cześć ogniowi. Za czasów Arczila zmarło czterech arcybiskupów.

Potem panował Mirdat, a arcybiskupem był Glonokor. Ten arcybiskup przez pitiachsza Barazboda i eristawa był ustanowiony w Kartlii i Hereti.

Po nim panował wielki Wachtang Gorgasali, a arcybiskupem był Iowel. Pewnego razu Persowie uprowadzili Wachtanga, ale ten po pewnym czasie powrócił. Arcybiskupem był (wówczas) Mikael i on to kopnął króla Wachtanga w twarz. Wtedy król wyprawił posłów do Grecji z prośbą do cesarza i patriarchy (o wyznaczenie) katolikosa. (220v) A ten przysłał katolikosa Piotra, z którym był mnich Samowel, szlachetny i święty. Król Wachtang odbudował (bo się ów wcześniej zawalił) Dolny kościół i przeznaczył (go dla) katolikosa Piotra. A było to po 170 latach od nawrócenia Kartlii. Królów (od tego czasu) zmieniło się dziesięciu, arcybiskupów trzynastu. A pierwszym katolikosem był Piotr.

Po nim panował Daczi Udżarmeli, a katolikosem był Samowel. Za jego czasów ludzie zaczęli osiedlać się w Tbilisi i wybudowali (kościół) świętej Marii, a katolikosem był Piotr.

Po nim panował Bakur, syn Daczi, a katolikosem był Samowel.

Po nim panował Parsman, a katolikosem był Tawpaczag, i za jego też panowania był Czymaga, szósty (katlikos). W jego (Parsmana) czasach do Mcchety przyszli Persowie, niepokoiłi Kartlię i miasta, i odeszli.

გარდაცვალებულ იყვნეს ათნი, და მთავარებისკოპოსნი ათცამეგნი. ხოლო პირველი კათალიკოზი იყო პეტრე.

და ამისა შემდგომად მეფობდა დანი უქარმელი, და კათალიკოზი იყო სამოველ. და მისა ზე გფილისს კაცნი დასხდებოდეს, და [მარიამ]-წმიდაჲ  
5 ეკლესიაჲ აღაშენეს. და კათალიკოზი იყო პეტრე.

და ამისა შემდგომად მეფობდა (221r). ბაკურ, ძმ დანისი, და კათალიკოზი იყო სამოველ.

და მისა შემდგომად მეფობდა ფარსმან, და კათალიკოზი იყო თავფაჩაგ, და მისა ბევე ჩომაგა ვ. და მისა ბევე სპარსთა მეფობაჲ მცხეთად მოვიდა და შეაშუო-  
10 თა ქართლი და ქალაქნი და წარვიდა.

და მისა შემდგომად მეფობდა ფარსმან სხუაჲ, და კათალიკოზი იყო დასაბია, მკვლრი მცხეთელი. და აქათგან ორთა სახლთა აღიღეს კათალიკოზობაჲ მცხეთელთა მკვლრთა. და მისვე მეფისა ზე კათალიკოზი იყო ევლალე.

მაშინ მოვიდა ნეგარი იოვანე ბელაზადენელი შუკამდინარით ასურეთისაჲთ  
15 იგი და ათორმეგნი მოწაფენი მის თანა მოვიდეს.

და მისა შემდგომად მეფობდა ბაკურ, და კათალიკოზი იყო მაკარი. და მისა ბევე ვარსქენ პიგიახში იყო. და შუშანიკ იწაბა ცურტავს.

და მისა შემდგომად კათალიკოზი იყო სამოველ, და მერმე – სიმონ-პეტრე. და მის ბაკურის ბევე დაესრულა მეფობაჲ ქართლისაჲ.

20 მაშინ მცხეთაჲ ათხელდებოდა და გფილისი ემენებოდა, არმაზნი შემცირდებოდეს და კალაჲ განდიდებოდა.

სპარსნი უფლებდეს ქართლს და სომხითს და სიენიეთს და გუასპურანგს; და კათალიკოზი იყო სამოველ და ნელად-რე შეკრბა ქართლი. და განაჩინეს ერისთავად გუარამ და მერმე – კურაპალაგადცა. ამან დადგა საფუძელი პაგიოსისა ჯუ-  
25 არისაჲ და ამას ბევე იყო კათალიკოზი სამოველ სხუაჲ. და გფილისისა მკვლრთა დიდა ეკლესიასა დაიწყეს: ნახევარსა იქმოდა ყოველი ერი და ნახევარსა ერისთავნი; და კათალიკოზი იყო ბართლომე.

და მისა შემდგომად ერისთავობდა სტეფანოზ, ძმ მისი, ძმაჲ დემეტრესი, და იქმოდა ეკლესიასა ჯუარისასა.

30 მაშინ ჩამოვლო ჰერაკლე მეფემან ბერძენთამან. და უკმო ციხისთავმან კალაჲთ გფილისისაჲთ მეფესა ჰერაკლეს ვაც-ბოგობით.

ხოლო მან ფერკი დააპყრა და დანიელი მოილო და მოიძია (სიგყუაჲ) ესე: „მოვიდეს ვაცი იგი მშის დასავალისაჲ და შემუსრნეს რქანი ვერძისა მის მშის აღმოსავლისანი“. და მეფემან რქუა: „(უკუეთუ ჩემთჳს) (221v). ესრეთ იყოს სიგყუაჲ,  
35 მე მიგაგო მისაგებელი შენი“. და დაუგევა ჯიბლო ერისთავი ბრძოლად. და თვით წარვიდა ბაღდადს ბრძოლად ხუასრო მეფისა.

ხოლო ამან ჯიბლო მცირეთა დღეთა შემდგომად კალაჲ გამოილო და ციხისთავი იგი შეიპყრა და პირი დრაჰკნითა აღუვსო. და მერმე მრთელსა გყავი გაჰკადა და მეფესა უკანა მისწია გარდაბანს ვარაჲ გრიგოლისსა შინა.

40 წარვიდა ჰერაკლე და შემუსრა ბაღდადი და შეიპყრა ხუასრო მეფს. და მოღებად სცა ძელი ცხორებისაჲ. და იწყო ბრძანებით შწნებად იერუსალმსა და მოღისთოს დასუჲ პაგრეაქად. და წარმოვიდა აქათგვე მეშვდესა წელსა. და ვიდრე

Potem panował drugi Parsman, a katolikosem był Dasabia, pochodzący z Mcchety. Od tego czasu dwie rodziny pochodzące z Mcchety zapewniły sobie tytuł katolikosa. Za tego króla katolikosem był Ewlale.

Wtedy przybył z Mezopotamii asyryjskiej błogosławiony Jan Zedazadeneli, a razem z nim przybyło dwunastu jego uczniów.

Potem panował (221r) Bakur, a katolikosem był Makari. W jego czasach żył pitiachs z Warsken i Szuszanik została zamęczona w Curtawi<sup>(35)</sup>.

Po (Makarim) katolikosem był Samowel, a później Szymon-Piotr. I za panowania Bakura skończyło się panowanie królów w Kartlii.

Wtedy Mccheta zaczęła pustoszeć, a Tbilisi – rozbudowywać się, Armazi zaczęło podupadać, Kala<sup>(36)</sup> – rozkwitać.

Persowie władali Kartlią, Armenią, Siwnieti i Guaspuraganem. Katolikosem był Samowel. Stopniowo zaczęła jednoczyć się Kartlia i wyznaczono Guarama eristawem, a potem – kuropałatem<sup>(37)</sup>. Guaram wznosił (kościół) Świętego Krzyża, za jego panowania katolikosem był drugi Samowel. Wtedy mieszkańcy Tbilisi zaczęli (budować) Wielki kościół. Połowę wykonał cały lud, połowę eristawowie, a katolikosem był Bartłomej.

Potem eristawem był syn jego Stepanoz, brat Demetre, i (on to) budował kościół Dżwari<sup>(38)</sup>.

Wtedy przeszedł (przez Kartlię) Herakliusz, cesarz Greków<sup>(39)</sup>. I dowódca twierdzy w Tbilisi Kala nazwał cesarza Herakliusza kozłem.

On (Herakliusz) zastanowił się, wziął (księżę) Daniela i znalazł tam następujące słowa: „Przyszedł kozioł z zachodu i skruszył rogi wschodniego barana”. I cesarz rzekł: „(Niech spełni) (221v) się to słowo, więc odpłacę tobie pięknym za nadobne”. I pozostawił eristawę Dżibgo dla prowadzenia oblężenia, sam zaś wyruszył do Bagdadu, by walczyć z królem Chuasro.

A tego Dżibgo po kilku dniach zdobył Kalę, wziął do niewoli wspomnianego dowódcę twierdzy, napenił mu usta drakanami<sup>(40)</sup>, potem obdarł żywcem ze skóry i posłał do króla w Gardabanie, do domu Waraza Grzegorza.

Herakliusz wyruszył, zburzył Bagdad, wziął do niewoli króla Chuasro i zmusił go do oddania drzewa życia. Cesarz rozkazał budować w Jerozolimie, patriarchą wyznaczył Modesta i powrócił tu, do Kartlii, w siódmym roku. Na jego przybycie (kościół) Sioni w Tbilisi był ukończony przez mieszkańców, a (do ukończenia) kościoła Dżwari niewiele brakowało. Ów Herakliusz posłał gońców do Tbilisi, Mcchety i Udżarmy (z rozkazem), by wszyscy chrześcijanie zebrali się w kościołach miejskich, a wszyscy magowie i czciciele ognia albo mają się ochrzcić, albo będą wyniszczeni.

Ale (magowie) nie chcieli przyjąć chrztu, podstępnie mieszały się z chrześcijanami, dopóki Herakliusz nie podniósł na (nich) wszystkich miecza, i potoki krwi popłynęły w kościołach.



მოსვლამდე მისა გფილისს სიონი განეშორა მკუდრთა, ხოლო ჯუარისა ეკლესიასა აკლდა-ლა. ამან ჰერაკლე გფილისს და მცხეთას და უქარმას განავლინა ქაღაგნი, რამათა ყოველნი ქრისტეანენი ქაღაქათა შინა ეკლესითა შინა შემოკრებენ და ყოველნი მოგუნი და ცეცხლისა მსახურნი ანუ მონათლენ, ანუ მოისრენ.

5 ხოლო მათ ნათლის-ღებამ არა ინებეს, მაკუვით თანა-აღერინეს ქრისტიანეთა, ვიდრემდის ყოველთა ზედა წარჰმართა მახული და ეკლესიათა შინა მდინარენი სისხლისანი დიოდეს.

ხოლო ჰერაკლე გაწმიდა შჯული ქრისტესი და წარვიდა და ერისთვობდა იგი-ვე დიდი სტეპანომ, და კათალიკომი იყო ბართლომე მეორედ.

10 და შემდგომად ერისთვობდა (222v). აღრნესე, და მისა ზე სამნი კათალიკომნი იცვალნეს: იოვანე, ბაბილა, თაბორ.

და შემდგომად ერისთვობდა სტეფანომ, ძმ მისი და ამან განიშორა ჯუარისა ეკლესიამ და დაღვა კრებამ ჯუარს ჯუარობასა ერთ თთუე. და გფილისს დაჯდა სტეფანომ, და კათალიკომი იყო სამოველ. და მისა ზევე – ევონ.

15 და ჰამბავი მოკლა, ვითარმედ ბაღდათი აგარეთა დაიპყრესო და ამისთუს ბერძენთა ქუეყანამ ჯორსა აჰკიდეს და წარიდეს საბერძენეთა.

და მის შემდგომად ერისთვობდა გუარამ კურაპალაგი ვ, და გუარამ ყრმამ ვ, და მერმე არშუშა კურაპალაგი წ, და ვარამ-ბაკურ აჰამ პატრიკიომი, რომელმან გარბანელნი მოაქცინა თ, და მერმე ნერსე [ი], და ძენი მისნი: ფილიპე ია, სტე-  
20 ფანომი იბ, აღრნესე ივ, გუარამ იღ, და ბაკურენი ძმ ბაღდადისი ივ; და ძენი აღრნესენი: სტეფანომ ივ, და ამოტ კურაპალაგი იზ, და გუარამ [იწ]. დიდნი ერისთავნი ესთენ იყვნეს.

ხოლო კათალიკომნი, რომელ ევონისითგან მომართ იყვნეს: თავუაჩავ ა, ევლალე ბ, იოველ გ, სამოველ დ, გეორგი ე კურიონ ვ, იზიდ-ბომიდ ვ, თეო-  
25 დორე წ, პეტრე თ. ესე ცხრანი ცოლოსანნი იყვნეს.

მერმე: მამა ა, იოვანე ბ, გრიგოლ გ, კლემენტოს დ, სარმეან ე, თალელე ვ, სამოველ ვ, კურილე წ, გრიგოლ თ, სამოველ ი, გეორგი ია, გაბრიელ იბ, ილ-  
არიონ ივ, არსენი იღ, ევსუქი ივ, ბასილი ივ, მიქაელ იზ, დავით იწ, არსენი ით.

## [თავი 2]

30 (222v). ხოლო [ოდეს დაა] სრულა სრბამ [თუსი] სარწმუნოვებასა ზედა წმი-  
დისა სამებისასა წმიდამან და სანაგრელმან დედოფალმან ნინო, რომელიგუ-  
ექმნა მახარებელ გულთა ჩუენთა და მლხინებელ სულთა და ჯორცთა ჩუენთა,  
ვითარ განიშორა ერთი ესე სამეფო, ქუეყანამ ჩრდილომასამ, მცხეთისა  
მეფეთა სამეფო, არწმუნა ყოველთა აღსაარება[ა] მამისა და ძისა და წმიდი-  
35 სა სულისა, ნათლის-ღებითა მოსლვამ ქრისტესი და შობამ წმიდისაგან ქაღ-  
წულისა, ნათლის-ღებამ და სიკუდილი ქრისტესი და აღდგომა[ა] მკუდრეთით,  
შემდგომად სიკუდილისა უკუდავებამ და ცხოვრებამ, მეორედ მოსლვამ ძისა  
ღმრთისამ ქუეყანად, მართალთა ცხოვრება[ა] და ცოდვითა შურისგებამ,  
რამეთუ მისა არს სუფევამ უკუნიითი უკუნისამდე და მერმეცა, ამენ, ვითარც

Oczyściwszy wiarę Chrystusa, Herakliusz odszedł. Eristawem był tenże Stepanoz Wielki, a katolikosem Bartłome po raz drugi.

Potem eristawem był (222r) Adrnese, a za jego czasów byli trzej katolikosi: Jan, Babila, Tabor.

Potem eristawem był Stepanoz, syn Adrnese. On to dokończył (budować) kościół Dźwari i ustalił przy nim zebranie na miesiąc, do czasu święta Dźwari. Stepanoz panował w Tbilisi, a katolikosem był Samowel, (następnie, także) za jego czasów – Ewnon.

Zaś dotarła wiadomość, że Agarianie<sup>(41)</sup> zdobyli Bagdad. Z tego powodu Grecy całym swoim dobytkiem objuczylu muły i wyruszyli do Grecji.

Po nim eristawem był Guaram kuropałat (6), Guaram Młody (7), potem Arszusza kuropałat (8) i Waraz Bakur apai patrikioz<sup>(42)</sup> (9), który nawrócił na (chrześcijaństwo) Garbańczyków, potem Nerse (10) i jego synowie: Pilip (11), Stepanoz (12), Adrnese (13), Guaram (14) i Bakurean, syn Baldada (15), i synowie Adrnese: Stepanoz (16), Aszot kuropałat (17) i Guaram (18), tylu było wielkich eristawów.

A katalikosami po Ewnonie byli (tylu oto): Tawpaczag (1), Ewlale (2), Iowel (3), Samowel (4), Jerzy (5), Kwirion (6), Izid-Bozid (7), Teodor (8), Piotr (9). Tych dziewięciu było żonatych.

Potem (byli): Mama (1) Jan (2), Grzegorz (3), Klementos (4), Sarmean (5), Talele (6), Samowel (7), Kwirile (8), Grzegorz (9), Samowel (10), Jerzy (11), Gabriel (12), Ilarion (13), Arsen (14), Ewsuki (15), Basili (16), Mikael (17), Dawid (18), Arsen (19).

## [Rozdział 2]

(222v) Święta i błogosławiona Nino, która stała się zwiastunką radości serc naszych i dusz, ciał naszych, po tym, jak odbyła pielgrzymkę dla wiary w Świętą Trójcę, kiedy zakończyła swą działalność w tym jednym północnym królestwie pod panowaniem mchetyjskich królów, nawróciwszy wszystkich na wiarę w Ojca i Syna i Świętego Ducha i chrzest święty; w przyjście Chrystusa na ziemię i narodzenie ze świętej Panny, chrzest i śmierć i zmartwychwstanie, nieśmiertelność i życie po śmierci, w powtórne przyjście Syna Bożego, życie dla sprawiedliwych i karę dla grzesznych, gdyż w nim jest szczęście na wieki wieków i później, amen, i kiedy doszła do ziemi kchoetyjskiej miasteczka Budi, zachorowała na chorobę, z powodu, której to (choroby) zmarła.



მოიწია ქუეყანასა კხოეთისასა(!), დაბასა ბუღს, დასნეულდა სნეულებითა მით, რომლითაცა მო-ცა-კულა.

მაშინ შეუკრბეს მეფენი ქუეყანისნი და მთავარნი დედებითურთ და სიმრავლს ერთა ძლიერთაჲ, რამეთუ ჰხედვიდა ყოველი კაცი პირსა ნინოჲსა, ვითარცა მეცისა ანგელოზისასა. ასკუეთდეს მცირესა მას და ძუელსა სამოსელსა მისსა მთხუევითა სარწმუნოვებით და იძულებით, ევედრებოდეს ყოველნი იგი დედოფალნი გარემო მსხლომარენი, რომელთა დამოსდიოდეს ნაკადულნი ცრემლთანი თუალთაგან მათთა განშოვრებისათჳს მოძღურისა, მოღუ[ა]წისა და სნეულთა მკურნალისა კელოვნისა.

10 ეგყოდეს დედოფალი სალომე უკარმელი და პეროკავრი სივნიელი და მათ თანა ყოველნი მთავარნი ჰკითხვიდეს (223r). მას და ეგყოდეს: „ვინაჲ ანუ ვითარ მოშუერ შენ ქუეყანასა ჩუენსა მაცხოვრად ჩუენდა, ანუ სადა-მე იყო აღმრდაჲ შენი, დედოფალი? მაუწყე ჩუენ საქმს შენი!რამასა იგყვ გყუეობასა, გყუეთა მკსნელო, სანაგრელო! რამეთუ ესერა გვისწავივის შენ მიერ, ვითარმედ ყოფილ არიან წინაჲსწარმეგყუელნი პირველ მოსლვადმდს ძისა ღმრთისა ქუეყანად და მერმე მოციქულნი ათორმეგნი, და კუალად სამეოცდაათორმეგნი და ჩუენდა არავინ მოავლინა ღმერთმან, გარნა შენ. და ვითარ იგყვ, ვითარმედ: „გყუე ვარი მე, ანუ ვითარცა ჰინდოეთს თუ?“. 15

მაშინ იწყო სიგყუად ნინო და თქუა: „ასულნო სარწმუნოვებისანო, მახლობელნო ღმრთისანო, დედოფალნო ჩემნო, გხედავ თქუენ, ვითარცა პირველთა მათ წმიდათა დედათა ყოველსა მას სარწმუნოვებასა და სიყუარულსა ღმრთისასა. და გინებს გზათა ჩემთა ცნობაჲ, გლახაკისა მეველისა თქუენისათა[ჲ] და გაუწყო-ცა. ესერა მოსრულა სული ჩემი კორკად ჩემდა, დამეძინებინ ძილითა მით დედისა ჩემისაჲთა საუკუნოდ. 20

არამედ მოიხუენით აღსაწერელნი წიგნისანი და დაწერეთ სიგლახაკს ჩემი 25 და უღები ცხორებაჲ ჩემი, რაჲთა უწყოლიან შევითაცა თქუენთა სარწმუნოვებაჲ თქუენი და შეწყნარებაჲ ჩემი, და სასწაულნი ღმრთისანი, რომელნი გიხილვან მცირედნი მითათა მათ გედა, და ვიდრე აქა მოსლვადმდე ჩემდა. თვით უფალმან იცის და სულმან ჩემმან, რომელი უხილავს თუალთა ჩემთა მეცით გარდამო ქუეყანასა გედა“. (223v) მაშინ მო-ხოლო-იხუნეს საწერელნი სალომე 30 უკარმელმან და სივნიელმან პეროკავრი. და იწყო სიგყუად წმიდამან ნინო და იგინი წერდეს. წინა შობისა მისისა მშობელთა მისთა საქმედ იწყო.

### [თავი 3]

#### ცხოვრებაჲ წმიდისა ნინოჲსი

იყო მათ ჟამთა ოდენ გეორგი კაბადუკიელი იწამა ქრისტესთვის, მათ დღეთა კაბადუკიითა ქალაქით კაცი ვინმე მთავართა შესაბამი, მონაჲ ღმრთისაჲ, წარვიდა ჰრომედ მეფეთა წინაშე მსახურებად და ნიჭისა მოღებად. და მათვე დღეთა კაცი ვინმე იყო კოლასგას შინა და ესხნეს ორ შვილ: ძმ და ასული. სახელი ძისა მისისაჲ იობენალი, ხოლო ასულისაჲ – სუსანა.

Wtedy (zanim zmarła) zebrali się wszyscy królowie i księżęta z całego kraju z małżonkami oraz wielka liczba znamienitych ludzi. Ponieważ każdemu oblicze Nino wydawał się jak (oblicze) anioła niebiańskiego, (każdy) pokłonił się Jej dotykając ustami, (od czego) Jej prosta i stara odzież się niszczyła. Wszystkie otaczające (Ją) znamienite damy, którym potoki łez płynęły z oczu z powodu odejścia od nich nauczycielki, pokutnicy i skutecznej uzdrowicielki chorych, przekonująco i wytrwale błagały Ją.

Prosili królowa Salome Udżarmeli i Perożawr Siwnieli, a razem z nimi wszyscy księżęta pytali (223r) i prosili: „Kim jesteś i jak przyszłaś do kraju naszego dla zbawienia naszego, i gdzie Ty wychowałaś się królowo? Odkryj nam sprawy swoje, dlaczego nazywasz się sługą, miła wyzwolicielko niewolników! Bo oto my dowiedzieliśmy się od Ciebie, że byli prorocy przed przyjściem Syna Bożego na ziemię, a potem dwunastu apostołów i jeszcze siedemdziesięciu (świętych i błogosławionych), zaś do nas nikogo nie przysłał Bóg, oprócz Ciebie, i dlaczego mówisz: Ja sługa, lub – jak w Indiach było?”.

Wówczas Nino przemówiła i wyznała: „Małżonki wierzące, miłe Bogu, królowe moje, widzę was wszystkie, jako pierwsze święte małżonki (przeniknięte) wiarą i miłością do Boga. Oto chcecie poznać drogi moje, ubogiej sługi waszej, przeto powiadam wam, że już dusza moja podeszła mi do gardła, zasypiam snem matki mojej na wieczność.

Ale przygotujcie wszystko, co potrzebne do pisania i opiszcie całe ubóstwo moje i żałosne życie moje, żeby również potomkowie wasi wiarę waszą, życzliwe przyjęcie mnie i cuda Boże, te nieliczne, które widzieliście na tych górach, w tych krzewach jeżyn, przy wznoszeniu słupa, i (o tych cudach, które dokonały się) po znaku nad źródłem i przed moim przyjściem tutaj, które to (cuda) posłane z nieba na ziemię, oczy moje (zaledwie) widziały, (co) wie sam Bóg i dusza moja”. (223v) Wtedy Salome Udżarmeli i Perożawr Siwnieli przygotowały wszystko, co było potrzebne do pisania, i święta Nino przystąpiła do opowieści, a oni zapisywali. Zaczęła od (wydarzeń) poprzedzających jej urodzenie, od życia swoich rodziców.

### [Rozdział 3]

#### Żywot Świętej Nino

W tym czasie, gdy Jerzy z Kapadocji<sup>(43)</sup> został zamęczony za Chrystusa, w tych dniach pewien znamienity człowiek, sługa Boży z (pewnego) miasta Kapadocji udał się do Rzymu, do cesarzy, by służyć i zyskać nagrodę. I w tym samym czasie w Kolaste żył pewien człowiek, który miał dwoje dzieci: syna i córkę. Imię jego syna było Juwenalis, a córki – Zuzanna.

და ვითარ აღესრულნეს მშობელნი იგი, დაშთეს შვილნი მათნი ობლად. აღდგეს და წარვიდეს წმიდად ქალაქად იერუსალმმდ, იმედ-ყვეს სასოვებამ იგი ყოველთა ქრისტიანეთამ-წმიდამ აღგომამ და მიევედრნეს მუნ.

ესე ძმამ სუსანამსი მიემთხვა დევგალარობასა, ხოლო სუსანა ჰმსახურებ-  
5 და მიაფორსა, სარას ბეთლემელსა.

ხოლო ესე ჭაბუკი კაბადუკიელი მიიწია წინაშე მეფისა ჰრომელ. და ეწყ-  
ვნეს ბრანჯი ჰრომთა ბრძოლად ველსა ზელა პიგალანისასა. და მოსცა ღმერთ-  
მან ჭაბუკსა მას კაბადუკიელსა ძალი უძლეველი და ქმნა წინა-აღდგომამ  
მგერთამ ძლიერად, ვიდრემდის წარიქნინა სივლგოლად. და შეიპყრა მეფს  
10 ბრანჯთამ და მის თანა მთავარნი მრავალნი. და შეიყვანნა წინაშე მეფისა  
მეფს ბრანჯთამ ყოველნი მთავარნი. ხოლო მეფემან განაწესა (224r). სიკუ-  
დილი მათი. მაშინ იწყეს გირილად ბრანჯთა მათ ევედრებოდეს ბაბილოვს:  
„მოგუეც პირველად შჯული შენი და შეგუყვანენ ჩუენ გაძარსა მას ღმრთისა  
თქუენისასა, და მაშინ იყავნ სიკუდილი ჩუენი, რამეთუ შე-ცა-შენვე-გუყვრენ,  
15 და შენვე ყავ ესე ჩუენ ზელა, და უბრალო იყო სისხლთა ჩუენთავან“.

ხოლო ბაბილოვსდა ესმა, მწრაფლ აუწყა ესე მეფესა და პაგრაეაქსა სიგყუამ  
მათი. და მოსცეს მათ ნათელი კელსა ქუემე ბაბილოვინისა და შეიყვანნეს გაძარ-  
სა ღმრთისასა, წმიდასა ეკლესიასა, და აზიარნეს საიდუმლოთა ქრისტესთა. და  
უჩუენნეს მათ დიდებანი იგი წმიდათა მოციქულთანი. და დილაით აღრე აღდგეს  
20 ბრანჯნი იგი და სამოსელი სამკუდრომ შეიმოსეს და განვიდეს აღგილსა მას კაც-  
თა საკლავსა, ილოცვიდეს და ჰმადლობდეს ღმერთსა ნათლის-ღებასა მას ზელა და  
ზიარებასა და იგყოფეს: „ჩუენ სიკუდილსა შინა უკუდავ ვართ, რამეთუ ღირს-მყენა  
ჩუენ ღმერთმან ესე ვითარსა დიდებასა ხილვად და საგზალსა მას დაუღვენელსა,  
კორცსა და სისხლსა ქრისტესს, ძისა ღმრთისა უკუდავისა მის მეუფისასა, რომელი  
25 არს უფრომს უმაღლეს ყოველგა მაღალთა და უქუესკნელს ყოველთა ქუესკნელთა,  
რამეთუ იგი არს კურთხეულ უკუნითი უკუნისამდე, ამენ. ხოლო ვამ ნაშობთა ჩუ-  
ენთა, ნაყოფთა სიმწარისათა, მკურთა ბნელისათა“. და კმობდეს იგინი: „მოვედინ  
მეკრმლმ ეგე და აღიხუენით თაენი ჩუენნი ჩუენგან“. ამას რამ ჰხედვიდა (224v)  
ბაბილოვნი, აღიძრა გონებითა და გიროდა, რამეთუ ვითარცა ცხოვართა თაენი  
30 თუსნი კლვად წარეპყრნეს და ვითარცა კრავთა შვილთა მათთა სწყალობდეს.  
მაშინ შევიდა ბაბილოვნი წინაშე მეფისა და გამოითხოვნა, და ნიჭითა განუტყენა.  
ხოლო იგინი ევედრებოდეს ბაბილოვს, რამთა წარჰყვეს ქუეყნად მათ და მისცეს  
შჯული ქრისტესი და ნათლის-ღებამ წყლითა ყოველსა ერსა მათსა.

ხოლო ისმინა მათი ბაბილოვნი და მოსთხოვნა მღვდელნი პაგრაეაქსა. და  
35 ბრძანებამ მოილო მეფისაგან. და წარვიდეს სიხარულით. და ვითარცა მიე-  
ახლნეს ვითარ ერთ ღმრთისა სავალსა, მიჯდა ჰამბავი, ვითარმედ მეფს მოვალს  
ცოცხალი და ყოველნი მთავარნი მის თანა. მაშინ შეიძრნეს ათნი იგი საერი-  
სთვონი: ხოლამამ და ხომბამამ, ხლაჭამამ, ხენეშამამ, გიმგარამამ, მაქამ, გზამ,  
ზარგამ, ზარდამ, ზარმამ და თმონიგონი სამეუფომ და მოეგებოდეს მდინა-  
40 რესა ზელა დიდსა ღმამარასა

და განჰყო მეფემან ერი იგი და დაადგინა წყალსა მას იმიერ და ამიერ.  
და აკურთხეს მღვდელთა მდინარს იგი. და შთაჰდა ყოველი ერი მდინარესა

Gdy rodzice ich umarli, dzieci zostały sierotami. Udały się do świętego miasta Jerozolimy, pokładając nadzieję w (świętyni) Zmartwychwstania – nadziei wszystkich chrześcijan, i tam zwrócili się z prośbą.

Wspomniany brat Zuzanny otrzymał (stanowisko) dewtelara<sup>(44)</sup>, a Zuzanna służyła jako miafore<sup>(45)</sup> Sarze z Betlejem.

Wówczas młody mieszkaniec Kapadocji przybył do Rzymu, do cesarza. W tym czasie Brandzowie napadli na Rzymian (i walczyli z nimi) na polu Pitalońskim. Bóg dał młodemu kapadotczykowi siłę niezłomną, a on wytrwale bił się z nieprzyjaciółmi dopóty, dopóki nie zmusił ich do ucieczki. Wziął do niewoli króla i wszystkich książąt Brandzów i pokazał (rzymskiemu) cesarzowi króla i książąt Brandzów. A cesarz rozkazał ich (224r) uśmiercić. Wtedy Brandzowie zaczęli płakać i prosić Zabulona: „Daj nam najpierw wiarę swoją, wprowadziłeś nas do niewoli, więc zrób to dla nas, i będziesz wówczas niewinny krwi naszej”.

A Zabulon usłyszawszy to, zaraz przekazał ich słowa cesarzowi i patriarche, oni ochrztili ich, a ojcem chrzestnym był Zabulon, wprowadzili ich do domu Bożego, świętego kościoła oraz dopuścili do udziału w tajemnicy Chrystusa i pokazali im majestat świętych apostołów. Wczesnie rano Brandzowie wstali, ubrali się w żałobne stroje i wyszli na miejsce straceń, modlili się i dziękowali Bogu za chrzest i za komunie świętą mówiąc: „Jesteśmy w śmierci – nieśmiertelni, gdyż pozwolił nam Bóg dostąpić majestatu i (dał nam) nieubywający pokarm na drogę, Ciało i Krew Chrystusa, Syna Boga nieśmiertelnego, tego władcy, który jest ponad wszystko i głębiej od każdego piekła, gdyż błogosławiony jest na wieki wieków, amen. Lecz biada dzieciom naszym, płodom goryczy, mieszkańcom ciemności!”. I wołali: „Przyjdź kacie i odrąb głowy nasze!”. Widząc to (224v) Zabulon zatrwożył się w duchu i płakał, gdy oni, podobni owcom, wystawili głowy swoje na stracenie i jako owce o jagnięta swoje troszczyli się o dzieci swoje. Wtedy Zabulon wszedł do cesarza, wyprosił (łaskę) dla nich i uwolnił (ich) z darami, ale oni błagali Zabulona, by wyruszył razem z nimi do ich kraju, żeby przekazać wiarę Chrystusa i ochrzcić wodą cały ich naród.

Zabulon wysłuchał ich (prośby), poprosił patriarchę o kapłanów i otrzymał pozwolenie od króla. I wyruszyli z radością. Gdy tylko zbliżyli się na odległość jednego dnia marszu, dotarła (do nich) wiadomość (z kraju Brandzów), że król żyje i jedzie na spotkanie, a z nim wszyscy książęta. Wtedy wyruszyły (rody) dziesięciu następujących księstw: Cholamaj i Chozaabaj, Chlaczaj, Cheneszagi, Timgaragi, Zakaj, Czaj, Zargaj, Zardaj, Zarmaj i Tmonigoni królewskie, i powitały ich nad wielką rzeką Gdamara.

Wtedy król podzielił naród i postawił po obu stronach wody. Kapłani poświęcili rzekę. I cały lud wszedł tam, obmywszy się, zaczął wychodzić w jednym miejscu. Zabulon nakładał na wszystkich ręce przez dziesięć

მას და განიბანებოდეს, და აღმოვიდოდეს გამოსავალსა ერთსა. და დასდებდა ბაბილონ კელსა ყოველსა ერთსა ათ დღე. და აღჰმართნეს კარავნი და შეწირეს მღვდელთა ჯამი, და აზიარნეს ქრისტესს საიდუმლოთა.

და განუგევენა მღვდელნი და განჰკარგა ყოველი წესი ქრისტიანობისაჲ. და დაუგევეა კურთხევაჲ და წარვიდა (225r) ნიჭითა დიდითა ჰრომედ.

და განიზრახა გულსა თჳსსა და თქუა: „წარვიდე იერუსალჴმდ“. და მისცა გლახაკთა ყოველი იგი მონაგები. და დევგალარი იგი პაგრეაქ-ქმნულ იყო. და ფრიად დაიმეგობრნეს ურთიერთას ბაბილონ და პა[ტ]რეაქი.

პრქუა სარა მიაფორამან პაგრეაქსა: „ესე ბაბილონ–მამაჲ და ემბაზი ბრანჯთაჲ, კაცი სრული სიბრძნითა და ღმრთის მოშიშებითა. ამას მიეც დაჲ შენი სუსანა ცოლად“. და სთნდა წმიდასა პაგრეაქსა სიგყუაჲ მისი და მისცეს სუსანა ცოლად მისა. და წარვიდეს თჳსა ქალაქად კოლასედ. და მე ოდენ ვიშვე მათგან. და იგი[ნი] არიან მშობლნი ჩემნი. და აღმზარდა მე დედამან ჩემმან წიადთა შინა თჳსთა, მსახურებასა შინა გლახაკთა დღე და ღამე დაუცაღუ-ბლად.

და ვითარცა ვიქმენ მე ათორმეტის წლის, მშობელთა ჩემთა განყიდეს ყოველი, რაჲცა აქუნდა, და წარვიდეს იერუსალჴმდ. მაშინ მამან ჩემმან დაიწერა ჯუარი პაგრეაქისგან და განიჯმნა დედისაგან ჩემისა. და შემიგებო მე მკერდსა მისსა და დამალუარნა, ვითარცა ღუარნი, ცრემლ[ნი] თჳსნი თუალთა და პირსა ჩემსა. და მრქუა: „შენ მხოლოვო ასულო ჩემო, ესერა დაგიგევებ შენ ობლად ჩემგან და მიგითუალავ შენ ღმერთსა ცათასა, მამასა ყოველთა მზრდელსა და უფალსა, რამეთუ იგი არს მამაჲ ობოლთაჲ და მსაჯული ქურივთაჲ. ნუ გეშინინ, შვილო ჩემო! ხოლო შენ მაგდანელისა მარიამის სური აღიდე სიყუარულისათჳს ქრისტესისა და დათა მათ (225v) ლაზარესთა. და თუ შენ ესრწთ გეშინოდის მისა, ვითარცა მათ, მან ეგრწთ მოგცეს ყოველი, რაჲცა სთხოვო მას, ოდეს რაჲ გინდეს მისგან“. და მომცა ამბორებაჲ საუკუნოჲ და წარვიდა წიად იორდანესა კაცთა მათ თანა ველურთა, რომელ-რაჲ ყოფაჲ მისი იცის მისმან უფალმან იესუ.

ხოლო დედაჲ ჩემი მისცა პაგრიარქმან მსახურად გლახკთა, დედათა უძღურთა. ხოლო მე ვჰმსახურებად მიაფორსა სომეხსა დვინელსა ორ წელ.

და ვკითხეველი ვნებათა მათთჳს ქრისტესთა, ჯუარ-ცუშისა, დაფლვისა და აღდგომისათჳს მისისა, და სამოსლისა მისისა და ჯუართა და გილოთასა და სუდარისასა ყოველსა მიჭყებით, რამეთუ არავეინ ყოფილ იყო, არცა იყო შორის იერუსალჴმსა ზომი მისი მეცნიერებიგა შჯულისა გზასა ძუელსა და ახალსა ყოველსავე.

იწყო უწყებად ჩემდა და თქუა: „ვხედავ, შვილო ჩემო, ძალსა შენსა, ვითარცა ძალსა ლომისა ძუვისასა, რომელი იმახეზნ ყოველსავე ზედა ოთხფერკსა, გინა ვითარცა ორბი დედალი, რომელი აღვიდის სიმაღლესა აერთასა უფრო-მს მამლისა და ყოველი ქუეყანაჲ გუგასა თუალისა მისისასა, მცირესა მარგალიტის სწორსა, შეაყენის და განიხილის, განიცადის საჭმელი მისი, ცეცხლებრ დაინახის, მოუგვენის ფრთენი შრიალებად და მიიმართის მის ზედა. ეგრეთ იყოს ცხორებაჲ შენი წინამძღურებითა სულისა წმიდისაჲთა“.

dni. W rozbitych tu namiotach kapłani odprawiali mszę i wprowadzili lud w święte tajemnice Chrystusowe.

Odprawił (Zabulon) kapłanów i wykonał wszystkie prace dla chrześcijaństwa i pobłogosławiwszy ich, powrócił (225r) z wielkimi darami do Rzymu.

Powziął zamiar w sercu swoim i powiedział: „Udam się do Jerozolimy”. I rozdał ubogim wszystko, co posiadał. (W tym czasie) wspomniany dewteleri został patriarchą, i bardzo zaprzyjaźnili się Zabulon i patriarcha.

Miafore Sara rzekła do patriarchy: „Ten Zabulon, ojciec chrzestny Brandżów, to człowiek pełen mądrości i strachu Bożego, daj mu za żonę siostrę swoją Zuzannę”. Słowa te podobały się świętemu patriarsze. Wydał Zuzannę za męża za Zabulona, który wyruszył do swego miasta Kolasy. I tylko ja jedna urodziłam się z nich, oni są rodzicami moimi. I wychowała mnie matka moja pod dachem swoim w nieustannej służbie ubogim i dniem, i nocą.

I gdy skończyłam dwanaście lat, rodzice moi sprzedali wszystko, co mieli, i wyruszyli do Jerozolimy. Wtedy ojciec mój, otrzymawszy błogosławieństwo od patriarchy, rozstał się z matką moją, przycisnął mnie do piersi swojej, i potokami wylewając łzy na oczy i twarz moją, rzekł do mnie: „Tyś jedna, córko moja, a ja oto pozostawiam cię sierotą, bo oddaję (w opiekę) Bogu niebieskiemu, Ojcu wychowawcy i Panu wszystkich, gdyż on jest ojcem sierot i sędzią wdów. Nie bój się córko moja! Ty tylko wyraż żarliwość Marii Magdaleny i sióstr (225v) Łazarza w miłości do Boga i, jeśli ty tak samo, jak one będziesz bać się Jego, Bóg da wszystko, o co poprosisz i czego kiedykolwiek będziesz potrzebować od niego”. I pocałował mnie pocałunkiem wieczystym, wyruszył za Jordan do dzikich plemion. O jego pobycie tam wie Pan jego, Jezus.

Co się zaś tyczy mojej matki, to patriarcha oddał ją na służbę ubogim, chorym kobietom, a ja byłam na służbie u miafore, Ormianki z Dwinu, dwa lata.

Pytałam ją o mękę Chrystusową, o ukrzyżowanie, pogrzebanie, zmartwychwstanie, o szaty, o krzyż, o tkaniny, o jego całun grzebalny i o wszystko stopniowo, gdyż ani wcześniej, ani wówczas nie było niko- go w Jerozolimie równego jej wiedzy o wydarzeniach Starego i Nowego Testamentu.

Ona zaczęła opowiadać mi i rzekła: „Widzę, dziecko moje, moc twoją, podobną mocy Iwicy, która wznosi swój głos nad wszystkimi czworonogami; lub podobna jesteś do orlicy, która unosi się wyżej niż orzeł, na wysokości niewielkiej perły, obejmuje całą ziemię, tropi i chwyta swą zdobycz i, upatrzawszy cel wzrokiem, (podobnym) do ognia, z hałasem podciąga skrzydła i kieruje się ku niej. Niech będzie takim życie twoje, pod opieką Ducha Świętego”.



## თავი 4

## აღწერილი მის[ი]ვე სალომე უქარმელისაჲ

(226r) აწ ვიწყო და ვითხრა ყოველი. ოდეს-იგი იხილეს ღმერთი უკუდავი კაცთა მოკუდავთა ქუეყანასა ზედა, რომელი მოსრულ იყო მისგან, ისრაჲლი 5 უკუნ-დგა. და მოწოდებამ ყოველთა უცხოთა ნათესავთაჲ, უცხოთა ღმერთთა მონებულთაჲ, ვითარცა თუთ უნდა ქსნაჲ სოფლისაჲ, რომელი დაჰბადა.

იწყო კეთილის-ყოფად ჰური[ა]თა: მკუღართა აღდგინებად, ბრმათა აღხი- 10 ლვად, ყოველთა სნეულთა განკურნებად. ესე შეიმურვეს, შეიმზახნეს და წარავლინეს სგრაგიონი ყოველსა ქუეყანასა სწრაფით მოსვლად. და იგყოღეს, 10 რამეთუ: აჰა ესერა წარვწყმდებითო.

მაშინ მოიწინეს ყოვლით სოფლით კაცნი ჰურიანი, მეციენრნი შჯულსა მოსეს- 15 სა, რომელნი ანგაკრად აღუღგეს სულსა წმიდასასა და რაჲ-იგი უნდა ქრისტესა მათგან, მათ აღასრულეს: ჯუარს აცუეს და სამოსელსა მისსა ზედა წილ-ითხინეს. და წილით ჰხუდა ჩრდილოთა, მცხეთელთა, კუართი იგი უფლისა იესუჲსი, და 15 დაფლეს მათ დამბადებელი თუხი და დაჰკრძალეს საფლავი. ხოლო იგი აღდგა, ვითარცა თქუა პირველ, და გილონი იგი, ოდეს განთენა, ისხნეს საფლავსა შინა. და ესე ყოველი წარმოიცადა პილაგე და მოვიდა საფლავად იგი და ცოლი მისი. და გილონი იგი პოვნეს, და მოიხუნა ივინი ცოლმან პილაგესმან. და წარვიდა წრა- 20 ფითა დიდითა პონგოდ, სახედ თუხა, რომელი იქმნა მორწმუნე ქრისტესა. ხოლო შემდგომად ჟამთა მრავალთა მოვიდეს ივინი კელთა ლუკა (226v) მახარებელსა- 20 თა და დასხნა ივინი მან, სადაცა თუთ იცის. ხოლო სულარი არა იპოვა, ვითარცა კორცნი ქრისტეს. თქუეს ვიეთმე პეტრესთუხ, ვითარმედ კელ-იწიფა ახუმალო და აქუნდეს, გარნა განცხადებულად არაჲ მიუთხრეს, ვითარ სხუად ყოველი.

ხოლო ჯუარნი ამას ქალაქსა შინა დამარხულ არიან, ხოლო ადგილი მათი 25 ვერვინ იცის, ოდეს ინებოს ღმერთმან, გამოჩნდენ.

მაშინ მივეც კრთხევაჲ უფალსა ღმერთსა და მადლი დედოფალსა მას ჩემ- 30 სა ამას ყოველსა ზედა თხ[რ]ობასა. და კუალად ვკითხე, ვითარმედ: „სადა არს ჩრდილოჲსა ქუეყანაჲ, ანუ სადა არს სამოსელი იგი უფლისა ჩუენისაჲ?“ მრქუა მე: ჩრდილოჲსა ქუეყანაჲ სომხითისა მთეულ არს, საწარმართოჲ 30 ქუეყანაჲ, საკელმწიფოჲ ბერძენთაჲ და უკიკთაჲ”.

მათ ღლეთა შინა მო-ვინმე-ვიდა დედაკაცი ეფესელი თაყუანის-ცემად წმი- 35 დასა ადგომასა და ჰკითხვიდა მიაფორი დედაკაცსა მას, თუ: „ჰელენე დედო-ფალი ეგეთსეავე ბნელსა შინა არსა და მეფობაჲ მათი თუნირ ღმრთისა?“ ხოლო მან პრქუა: „მე ვარ მკეველი მათი და მახლობელი განზრახვასა მათსა 35 ყოველსა, და დიდი წადიერებაჲ აქუს პრომთა ქრისტეს მიმართ შჯულისათუხ და ნათლის-ღებისა”.

ხოლო მე ვარქუ მიაფორსა: „წარმავლინე და წარვიდე წინაშე ჰელენე დე- 40 დოფლისა, ნუუკუე მიმიახლოს სიგყუს-გებად მის წინაშე ქრისტესთუხ”. და მან აუწყა პაგრეაქსა. ხოლო მან მიწოდა, წმიდამან მამან ჩემმან პაგრეაქმან, მმა- 40 მან ღელისა ჩემისამან, და დამადგინა აღსავალსა საკურთხეველისასა (227r) და

## Rozdział 4

Zapisane również przez Salome Udžarmeli

(226r) Teraz rozpocznę i opowiem wszystko. Kiedy ludzie śmiertelni zobaczyli Boga nieśmiertelnego, który pojawił się dla nich na ziemi, Izrael wyrzekł się go. Wzywał on wszystkie obce narody, czczące obcych bogów, gdyż pragnął zbawić świat przez niego samego stworzony.

I zaczął dobrze czynić Żydom: wskrzeszać umarłych, przywracać wzrok ślepych oraz leczyć ze wszystkich chorób. To zrodziło w nich zawiść i oni, zmówiwszy się, rozesłali posłańców po wszystkich krajach, żeby (Żydzi) szybko przybyli, gdyż mówili: Oto my ginieemy.

Wówczas zebrali się Żydzi ze wszystkich krajów, znawcy prawa Mojżeszowego, którzy wystąpili przeciwko Duchowi Świętemu, i spełnili to, co przeznaczone było od nich Chrystusowi: ukrzyżowali i rzucili losy o szaty, i chiton Pana Jezusa przypadł według losu ludziom z północy, mieszkańcom Mcchety. Żydzi pogrzebali Stwórcę swego i zapieczętowali grób. Ale On zmartwychwstał, jak przepowiedział, a całun rankiem był jeszcze w grobie. Przeczekawszy to wszystko, małżonka Piłata wzięła go i pospiesznie udała się do Pontu do swego domu i stała się wierzącą w Chrystusa. Po wielu latach całun trafił do rąk Łukasza (226v) Ewangelisty, i on schował go. Koszula śmiertelna, tak jak i ciało Chrystusa, nie została odnaleziona. Niektórzy wskazywali na Piotra, jakoby jemu udało się zabrać ją i posiadać, ale dokładnie o tym, jak i o niczym innym, nie opowiadali.

A krzyże w tym mieście są zakopane, ale miejsce to nikomu nie jest znane, (lecz) gdy Bóg zachce, odsłonią się.

Wówczas oddałam cześć Panu Bogu i podziękowałam królowej mojej za całe to opowiadanie i ponownie zapytałam ją: „Gdzie jest ów kraj północny i gdzie znajdują się owe szaty Pana naszego?” Ona rzekła mi: „Kraj ten północny graniczy z górami Armenii, to kraj pogański, podległy Grekom i Uzykom”.

W tych dniach przybyła z Efezu pewna kobieta, by oddać cześć (świątyni) Zmartwychwstania. I miafore rzekła jej: „Czy tak jak poprzednio cesarzowa Helena pogrążona jest w ciemnościach, i królowanie ich (jak dawnej) nie pochodzi od Boga?”. A ona rzekła: „Jestem ich sługą i współniczką wszystkich ich poczynań i Rzymianie mocno pragną (przyjścia) wiary Chrystusa i ochrzczenia się”.

A ja rzekłam miafore: „Poszli (inni), i ja pójdę do cesarzowej Heleny, być może ona zezwoli mi na głoszenie Chrystusa”. I ona opowiedziała (o tym) patriarsze. A święty ojciec mój patriarcha, brat matki mojej, wezwał mnie, postawił na stopniach ołtarza i, położywszy ręce swoje na (227r)



დამასხნა კელნი მისნი მკართა ჩემთა. და სულთ-ითქუნა ცად მიმართ და თქუა: „უფალო ღმერთო მამათაო და საუკუნეთაო, კელთა შინა შევჰვედრებ თბოლსა ამას, შვილსა დისა ჩემისასა და წარვავლინებ ქადაგებად შენისას ღმრთეებისა და რაათა ახაროს აღდგომაჲ შენი, სადაცა შენ სათნო-იყო სრბაჲ მისი.

5 ექმენ ქრისტე ამას გზა, მოგზაურ, ნავთ-სადგურ, მოძღუარ, ენა მეცნიერების, ვითარცა-იგი წინათ მათ მოშიშთა სახელისა შენისათა”.

და მიჯმნა დელისაგან ჩემისა და მომცა მე ჯუარი და კურთხევაჲ საგებლად. და წარვემართე დელაკაცისა მის თანა. და ოდეს მივედიოთ სახიდ მისა, მუნ ვპოვეთ დელუფალი ვინმე მეფეთა [ე]ვადაგი, სახელით რიფსიმე, რომელი ელოდა

10 იერუსალმით ნათლის-ღებასა და ქრისტეს აღსაარებისათჳს სუროდა. მაშინ მიმცა მე კელთა მისთა დელაკაცმან მან, და მივეც მას ნათელი კელსა ქუეშე ჩემსა, მას და ორმეოცსა სულსა მის თანა სახლისა მისისათა. და წარვედიოთ სახიდ მისა და ვიყვენით მუნ ორ წელ.

მაშინ მოხელა უფალმან საბერძნეთსა და ჰრწმენა მეფესა კოსტანტინეს,

15 და ქრისტე აღიარა მან და დელამან მისმან და ყოველმან პალატმან მათმან დასაბამითგან წლთა ხუთ ათას ოთხას ორმეოცდაოთხსა, ხოლო ქრისტეს აღმალეებითგან სამას და ათერთმგსა. და წარემართა ყოველი საბერძნეთი ქრისტეანობასა. მეშუდესა წელსა იყო წმიდაჲ კრებაჲ ნიკეას, და მერვესა წელსა იყო სივლტოლაჲ ჩუენი (227v) საბერძნეთით. რიფსიმე დელოფალი და გაა[ან]ე,

20 დელამძუმს, და ორმეოცდაათი სული წარმოვემართენით თთუესა პირველსა ათხუთმეგსა და გამოვედიოთ არეთა სომხითისათა, სამოთხესა მას თრდაგ მეფისასა. იგინი მოიკლნეს მუნ თუესა პირველსა, ოცდაათსა, დღესა პარასკევსა.

ხოლო მე დავმთი ეკალთა შინა ვარდისათა, რამეთუ ვარდი და ნუში ყუავოდა მას ჟამსა. და ოდეს-იგი აღმოჰვიდოდეს სულნი წმიდათა მათ, ვიხილე გეციოთ

25 სამოსლის მსგავსად ჩამომავალი დიაკონი ოლარითა ნათლისაათა. კელთა მისთა აქუნდა სასაკუმეველს, რომლისაგან გამოვიდოდა კუამლი სულნელებისაჲ, რომელი ცათა დაჰფარავიდა, და მის თანა სიმრალს ერთა ცისათაჲ.

და შეირთნეს წმიდანი იგი სულნი ერთა მათ მეცისათა და დიდებით აღმალდეს ცად.

30 ხოლო მე ვღალადყავ: „უფალო, უფალო, რად დამიგევე მე შორის ასპიგთა და იქედნეთა?”

ჟმაჲ მესმა მე მუნით, რომელი მეგყოლა მე: „ესრწთვე იყოს წარყვანებაჲ შენი, ოდეს ეგე ეკალი, რომელი შენსა გარემოჲს არს, ყოველივე იქმნეს ვარდ მეწამულს, სულნელ შენ მიერ. ხოლო შენ აღდეგ და ვიდოდე აღმოსავალით,

35 სად-იგი არს სამკალი ფრიალ და მუშაკნი ყოვლადვე არა არიან. ხოლო მე წამოვედ და მოვედ ულოპორეთა და დავიგამთრე ჭირთა შინა დიდთა. და თთუესა მეთხესა წარვედ მათაჲ მედა ჯავახეთისასა, რაათა ვცნა, თუ სადაათ არს მცხეთაჲ. და მივემთხვე მთასა მედა

[H—600, 17v: გბასა გარდამდინარესა, რომელსა ერქუა ფარანანა, და დავდეგ მუნ ორ დღე. ვთხოვე საზრდ[ე]ლი მეთევზურთაგან და განვქლიერდი მათითა მით საზრდ[ე]ლისა[ა]თა, და მადლი შევსწირე ღმერთსა. და მწყემსნი იყვნეს მასვე ადგ[ი]ლსა და კუმილვიდეს საკ[უ]მილავსა ღამის[ა]სა სამწყსოთა

moich ramionach, zwrócił się ku niebu, westchnął i rzekł: „Panie, Boże ojców i wieków, w ręce twoje oddaję tę sierotę, córkę siostry mojej i wysyłam ją, żeby tam, dokąd skieruje ją Twoja wola, rozgłaszała zmartwychwstanie Twoje. Chryste bądź dla niej drogą, towarzyszem podróży, schronieniem, nauczycielem wymowy, tak jak dla tych poprzednich, bojących się Imienia Twego”.

I (patriarcha) oddalił mnie od matki mojej, dał mi krzyż i błogosławieństwo, jako pokarm na drogę, a ja wyruszyłam razem z tą kobietą. Kiedy przyszłyśmy do jej domu, zastałyśmy tam pewną królową, z rodu królewskiego, o imieniu Ripsime, która oczekiwała chrztu z Jerozolimy i mocno pragnęła wyznawać Chrystusa. Wtedy kobieta ta oddała mnie w ręce Ripsime, i przyjęła ona chrzest wraz z czterdziestoma domownikami przy mojej pomocy. Udałyśmy się do jej domu i pozostałyśmy tam dwa lata.

Wtedy Pan wziął w opiekę Grecję, i uwierzył cesarz Konstantyn. I głosili Chrystusa – on, matka jego i cały dwór ich w pięć tysięcy czterysta czwartym roku od stworzenia świata, w trzysta jedenastym roku od Wniebowstąpienia Chrystusa. W siódmym roku odbył się sobór w Nicei, a w ósmym wyjście nasze (227v) z Grecji. Ja, królowa Ripsime, jej piastunka Gajane i pięćdziesiąt dusz wyruszyliśmy piętnastego dnia pierwszego miesiąca i weszliśmy w granice Armenii do ogrodu króla Trdata. Oni zostali tam zamęczeni trzydziestego dnia pierwszego miesiąca, w piątek.

A ja pozostałam w krzewach różanych, gdyż kwitły wówczas róże i migdały. Gdy dusze tych świętych uniosły się, zobaczyłam diakona z jasną stułą na podobieństwo odzienia, opadającego z nieba. Trzymał w ręku kadzielnicę, z której wznosił się dym wonności, zasnuwający niebo. I (było) razem z nim wielu niebian.

Połączyli się ci niebianie z duszami owych świętych i w majestacie unieśli się do nieba. A ja zawołałam: „Boże mój, Boże mój, czemuś opuścił mnie wśród węzów i żmij?”

Usłyszałam głos z góry, który mówił do mnie: „Tak i ty zostaniesz wzięta do nieba, gdy tylko te ciernie, które cię otaczają, zamienią się wszystkie w piękne wonne róże. Powstań i udaj się na wschód, gdzie żniwo wprawdzie wielkie, ale robotników wcale nie ma”. A ja wyruszyłam i przybyłam do Ulopeti. W czwartym miesiącu wyruszyłam w góry Dżawachetyjskie, by dowiedzieć się, w którym kierunku znajduje się Mccheta, i podeszłam do góry...

[H—600, 17r: do wilekiego, wypływającego ze źródła, jeziora, nazywanego Parawani. I zatrzymałam się tam dwa dni. Poprosiłam o żywność rybaków. I nabrawszy sił dzięki temu pokarmowi, dziękowałam Bogu. I byli tam również pasterze, którzy strzegli nocą swych

შინა მათთა. და ხალოდეს ღმერთთა მათთა დაწყეულთა არმაზს და ბადენს და უთქუმიდეს შესაწირაეთა, რაჟამს მოვიდეთო. დიდ[ა]სა აღრე მივე[დ] და ვკითხე ერთსა მათგანსა, თუ: „რომლისა სოფლის[ა]ნი ხართ თქუენ?, ხოლო მან მომიგო მე: „ზოგნი დაბით და ზოგნი საფურცლით და ზოგნი ქინჯარელნი და რაბაგელნი დიდისა ქალაქისა მცხეთისანი, სადა ღმერთნი ღმერთობენ და მეფენი მეფობენ“. მივხედენ მათთა ჩრდილო[ა]ს[ა]თა, რამეთუ დღეთა ზაფხულის[ა] თა სავსენი ჩნდეს ჰირირითა და თოვლითა სასკიკითა. და შევეძრწუნდი ფრიად და ვთქუ: „უფალო, უფალო, მიმიღე სული ჩემი ჩემგან“. და მოვიღე ლოდი ერთი და დავიდეგ სასთუნალად თავსა, და გარდას[ა]დინ[ე]ლსა მის გბის[ა]სა დავიძინე. და მოვიდა ჩუენებით კაცი ერთი პასკითა ზომიერი, თმითა ნახევარ[ა]რ-თმოსანი, და მომცა მე წიგნი დაბეჭდული და რქუა მე: „აღდეგ და სწრაფით მიართუ ესე მცხეთ[ა]ს მეფესა წარმართთ[ა]სა“. და ვიწყე გირ[ი]ლით ვედრებად მისსა და ვარქუ: „უფალო, დედაკ[ა]ცი ვარ უცხოჲ და უმ[ე]ცარი, ვითარ მივიღე მე, არცა ენაჲ ვიცი, თუ რაჲ ვთქუა უცხოთა ნათეს[ა] ვთა თანა“. მაშინ განსენა წიგნი იგი და მომცა მე კითხვად: დაწერილი იყო ჰრომაელებერ და დაბეჭდული იყო იესუსი.

დაწერილნი იყ[ე]ნეს ათნი სიგყუანი, ვითარცა-იგი პირველ ფიც[ა]რთა ქვის[ა]თა.

პირველი სიგყუაჲ: სადაცა იქადაგოს სახარებაჲ ესე, მუნცა ითქუმიდეს 20 დედაკაცი ესე.

ბ. „არცა მამაკაცებაჲ, არცა დედაკაცებაჲ, არამედ თქუენ ყოველნი ერთ ხართ

გ. „წარვედით და მოიმოწაფენით ყოველნი წარმართნი და ნათელ-სც[ე] მდით სახელითა მამისა[ა]თა და ძისა[ა]თა და სულისა წმიდადისაჲთა.

25 დ. „ნათელი გამობრწყინებებად წარმართთა დიდებად ერისა შენისა ისრაჴლისა.

ე. „სადაცა იქადაგოს სახარებაჲ ესე სასუფეველსა, ყოველსა სოფელსა ითქუმიდეს“.

ვ. „რომელმან თქუენ შ[ე]გიწყნარნეს, მე შემეწყნარებს, და რომელმან მე 30 შემეწყნაროს, შემიწყნარებს, მომ[ა]ვლ[ი]ნებ[ე]ლსა ჩემსა“.

ზ. ფრიად უყუარდა მარიამ უფალსა, რამეთუ მარადის ისმენს მისსა სიბრძნესა ჭეშმარიტსა.

შ. „ნუ გეშინინ მათგან, რომელთა მოსწყუდნენ კორცნი თქუენნი, ხოლო სულისა ვერ შემძლებელ არ[ი]ან მოწყუედალ“.

35 თ. ჰრქუა მარიამ მაგდალენელსა იესუ: „წარვედ, დედაკაცი, და ახარე ძმ[ა]თა ჩემთა.

ი. სადაცა ჰქადაგებდეთ სახელითა მამისა[ა]თა და ძისა[ა]თა და სულისა წმიდადისა[ა]თა.

და ვითარცა ესე წავიკითხე, ვიწყე ვედრებაჲ ღმრთისა მიმართ. დ[ა] 40 გულსკმა-გყავ. ვითარმედ ზეციგ იყო ჩუნებაჲ ესე. და აღვიხილენ თუაღნი ჩემნი ზეცად და მად[ა]ლი იგი ვაკურთხე და მისგან ვთხოვე შეწვენაჲ ჩემი ჭირთა შინა. და გარდამოსადინ[ე]ლსა მის გბისასა მოვჰყვე და წარმოვემართე.

stad i modlili się do swoich przeklętych bogów, Armaza i Zadena, obiecując im ofiary, gdy staną przed nimi (szczęśliwie). Wcześniej rano podeszłam (do nich) i spytałam jednego z nich: „Skąd jesteście?” Oni odrzekli: „Z Dabi, Sapurcle, Kindżari, z wielkiego miasta Mccheta, gdzie bogowie panują i królowie królują”. Popatrzyłam (w stronę) północnych gór. Ponieważ i w letnie dni były one pokryte mgłą i wysokim śniegiem, przestraszyłam się bardzo i rzekłam: „Boże, weź duszę moją”. I położyłam sobie pod głowę kamień zamiast podgłówka i zasnęłam nad jeziorem u źródła. I przyszedł do mnie we śnie człowiek w średnim wieku, z włosami w połowie przykrywającymi głowę, i dał mi zapieczętowany list i rzekł do mnie: „Wstań i zaraz wręcz to królowi poganinowi w Mcchecie”. Zaczęłam błagać płacząc i rzekłam: „Boże mój, ja kobieta nietutejsza, nieświadoma, jak pójdę, i języka nie znam, co powiem temu obcemu narodowi?” Wtedy on otworzył list i dał mi do przeczytania. Był (on) napisany po łacinie i zapeczetywany przez Chrystusa.

Napisane było dziesięć maksym, jak wcześniej na kamiennych tablicach.

Pierwsze słowa: Gdziekolwiek po całym świecie głosić będą tę Ewangelię, będzie powiedziane również o tej kobiecie na pamiątkę tego, co uczyniła.

1. „Nie ma już mężczyzny ani kobiety, wszyscy bowiem jesteście kimś jednym”.

2. „Idźcie więc i nauczajcie wszystkie narody, udzielając im chrztu w imię Ojca i Syna i Ducha Świętego”.

3. „Światło na oświecenie pogan i chwałę ludu Twego, Izraela”.

4. „Ta Ewangelia Królestwa Niebieskiego będzie głoszona po całym świecie”.

5. „Kto was przyjmuje, Mnie przyjmuje, a kto Mnie przyjmuje, przyjmuje Tego, który Mnie posłał”.

6. „Maria została bardzo umiłowana przez Boga, gdyż ona zawsze rozumiała prawdy słów Jego”.

7. „Nie bójcie się tych, którzy zabijają ciało, gdyż duszy zabić nie mogą”.

8. „Jezus rzekł Marii Magdalenie: Udaj się do moich braci i powiedz im”.

9. „Dokądkolwiek przyjedziecie, tam nauczajcie w imię Ojca i Syna i Ducha Świętego”.

10. I gdy tylko przeczytałam to, zaczęłam modlić się do Boga; a że było to widzenie z nieba, uniosłam oczy moje ku niebu i błogosławiłam Najwyższego i poprosiłam go o pomoc w moich nieszczęściach. I wyruszyłam i poszłam].

- (228r) და იყო ღინებაჲ მისი დასავლით კერძო. და მიუღვე გზასა ძნელსა და ფიცხელსა, და ვიხილენ ღიდნი ჭირნი გზათაგან და შიშნი მკეცთაგან, ვიდრემდე მოვიწიე აქა, ვინაჲ-იგი წყალმან აღმოსავალით იწყო ღინებაჲ. მიერთვან იყო ღინებაჲ ჩემი. და ეპოვენ მოგზაურნი და მივიწიე სანახებსა ქართლისასა,
- 5 ქალაქსა ურბნისასა და ვიხილე ერი უცხოჲ, უცხოთა ღმერთთა მასახური: ცეცხლსა და ქვათა და ძელთა თაყუნის-სცემდეს. შეეურვა სულსა ჩემსა ქარქყმელასა მათსა ზელა და მოვედ ბაგინსა ჰურიათასა ენისათჳს ებრაელებრისა და ვიყავ მუნ ერთ თითუე და განვიციდი ძალსა ამის ქუეყანისასა.
- და იყო, დღესა ერთსა აღიძრნეს ერნი ძლიერნი და ურიცხუნი სიმრავლი-
- 10 თა მით ქალაქით წარმავალნი დიდად ქალაქით წარმავალნი დიდად ქალაქად მცხეთად, რომელი იყო საჯდომელი დიდთა მეფეთაჲ, ვაჭრობად და ლოცვად არმაზ ღმრთისა მათისა.
- ხოლო მე წარვჰყვე მათ თანა და მივიწიენით ქალაქად მცხეთად, წიადით მოგუთას, კიღსა ზელა დავღევით მუნ და ვხედვედით ცეცხლის მსახურსა მას
- 15 ერსა. და მოგუებასა და ცთომასა მათსა ზელა ვგიროდე წარწყმელისა მათისათჳს და უცხოვებასა ჩემსა ვეგლოვდი.

## თავი 6

## მოწვენაჲ წმიდისა ნინოჲსი მცხეთად, აღწერილი მისივე სალომე უკარმელისაჲ

- 20 ხვალისაგან იყო კმაჲ ოხრისაჲ და საყურისაჲ. და გამოვილოდა ერი ურიცხუ; ვითარცა ყუავილოსანნი, ბარნი და სმაშინელნი (228v) გამოვილოდეს. ხოლო მეფჳ არდასადა შეძრულ იყო. და ვითარცა ჯამ-სცა ჯამმან, სივლგოლაჲ და მი-და-მო მალვად იყო ყოვლისა კაცისაჲ და შეივლგოდა ყოველი კაცი საფარველსა ქუეშე, რამეთუ გამო-სადმე-ვილოდა ნანა დეუფალი.
- 25 და ვითარცა განვლო ნანა დედოფალმან, მაშინდა ნელიად-ნელიად გამოვილოდა ყოველი ერი. და შეამკვეს ფოლოცი ყოველი სამოლითა თითო-პირითა და ფურცლითა. და იწყო ყოველმან ერმან ქებად მეფისა. და მაშინ გამოვიდა მირეან მეფჳ თუალთშეუდგამითა ხილვითა. და ვჰკითხე ჰურიასა დელაკაცსა, თუ: „რაჲ არს ესე?“ და მან მრქუა: „ღმერთი ღმერთთა მათთაჲ
- 30 უწესს მას, არმაზ, რომელ არა არს სხუაჲ გარემჳ კერპი“.
- ხოლო მე წარვედ ხილვად არმაზისა. და აღივსნეს მთანი იგი ღროშაჲთა და ერთთა, ვითარცა ყუავილითა. ხოლო მე შეუსწრვე ციხედ არმაზდ და დავღვე ახლოს კერპისა მის, ნაპრალსა ზღუდისასა და ვხედვედი საკურველებათა და სმაშინელსა, რომელი თქუმად ენითა ვერ გეგების, ვითარ-იგი იყო
- 35 ბარის აღსაკდელი შიშით და ძრწოლით მეფეთა მათ და ყოვლისა ერისა. და საზარო დგომად ვიხილე: და აჰა, დგა კაცი ერთი სპილენძისაჲ და განსა მისსა ეცუა ჯაჭჳ ოქროჲსაჲ, და ჩაფხუგი ოქროჲსაჲ, სამკარნი ესხნეს

(228r) Z biegiem rzeki, która wypływa z jeziora i płynie na zachód. Szłam trudną i niebezpieczną drogą, przezywając największe nieszczęścia z powodu dróg i strach przed dzikimi zwierzętami, dopóki nie dotarłam do miejsca, skąd rzeka zaczyna płynąć na wschód. Od tego czasu zaczęły się radości moje: znalazłam towarzyszy podróży i osiągnęłam granice Kartlii, miasto Urbnisi. I zobaczyłam nieznaną lud, oddający cześć nieznanym bogom i ubóstwiający ogień, kamień i drzewo. Martwiąc się w duchu z powodu ich zatracenia, przyszłam do osady żydowskiej z powodu języka żydowskiego, gdzie pozostałam przez miesiąc, obserwując zwyczaje tego kraju.

Pewnego dnia wielki i niezliczony tłum wyruszył z tego miasta i udał się do wielkiego miasta Mchety, do siedziby potężnych królów, mając za cele handel i oddanie czci bogu Armazowi.

A ja towarzyszyłam im i przyszliśmy do miasta Mchety, od strony Mogwta, i tam zatrzymaliśmy się na moście i widzieliśmy lud oddający cześć ogniovi. I płakałam z powodu ich przywiązania do magów, błędów i zatracenia i bolałam nad samotnością swoją.

## Rozdział 6

Przybycie świętej Nino do Mchety. Spisane również przez  
Salome Udžarmeli

Następnego dnia rozległy się krzyki i dźwięki trąb i wystąpił lud nieprzeliczony, wystąpił przyozdobiony jak kwiaty, straszny (228v) i przerażający (z wyglądu), a króla jeszcze nigdzie nie było widać. Kiedy nastał czas, zaczęli kryć się i każdy chował się pod dachem, z tej przyczyny, że gdzieś ukazała się królowa Nana.

Kiedy królowa Nana przeszła, dopiero wtedy pomału zaczął wychodzić lud, przyozdabiając wszystkie ulice różnokolorową odzieżą i liśćmi. I zaczął cały lud wysławiać króla. Wówczas ukazał się król Mirian o wyglądzie niezwykłym dla oczu. I spytałam pewną kobietę Żydówkę: „Co to?”, a ona odrzekła mi: „Bóg bogów, a Armazi daje to jemu, który jest tylko bożkiem”.

Również i ja udałam się zobaczyć Armaza. I góry te zapełniły się chorągiewkami i ludem jak kwiatami. A ja zdążyłam przejść do twierdzy armaskiej i stałam w załomie muru (twierdzy) niedaleko od bożka, i wdziałam zadziwiający i przerażający (widok), którego nie można wyrazić słowami, z jakim lękiem i strachem, prowadzącym do przerażenia, stali królowie i cały lud. I widziałam: oto stał człowiek z miedzi. Na nim nałożona złota zbroja i złoty hełm i naramienniki, ozdobiona agatami i beryłami. I w ręce trzymał

ფრცხილი და ბივრიგი, და კელსა მისსა აქუნდა კრმალი ლესული, რომელი ბრწყინავიდა და იქცევოდა კელსა შინა, რეცა თუ რომელი შეეხებოდა, თავი თუხი სიკუდიდ განიწირის (229r) და იგყუნ: „ვაჲ თუ და-სადა-ვკლო რაჲ დიდებასა დიდისა ღმრთისა არმაზისსა და შე-რას-მე-ვსცეთ სიგყუასა ებრა-ელთა თანა, გინა მოგუგა სმენასა ოღს დახულომილ ვიყო მზის მსახურთა. და რომელნიმე იგყუნ უცებნი დიდსა ვისმე ღმერთსა ცათასა, და ნუუკუე პოვოს რაჲმე ჩემ თანა ბიწი, და მცეს მახული იგი მისი, რომლისაგან ემინის ყოველსა ქუეყანასა“. და შიშით თაყუანის-სცემდეს ყოველნი.

და მარჯულ მისა დგა კერპი ოქროსაჲ და სახელი მისი გაცი. და მარცხლ მისა-კერპი ვერცხლისაჲ და სახელი მისი გა, რომელნი – იგი ღმრთად ჰქონდეს მამათა თქუენთა არიან-ქართლით.

მამინ ვგიროდე და სულთ-ვითქუმედ ღმრთისა მიმართ ცთომათა მათთვის ქუეყანასა ჩრდილოსათა, დაფარვასა ნათლისასა და დაპყრობასა ბნელისასა.

ვხედვედი მეფეთა მათ ძალ-დიდთა და ყოველთა მთავართა, რამეთუ ცოცხლივ შთაენთქნეს ეშმაკსა, ვითარცა მკუდარნი ჯოჯოხეთსა. და იგყოდეს დამბადებლად ქვათა და ძელთა, და სპილენძსა და რკინასა და რვალსა გამობერვით განჭვიდისა, ღმრთად თაყუანის-სცემდეს. ესენი იცოდეს ცისა და ქუეყანისა შემოქმედად.

მამინ მოვიკუნე სიგყუაჲ იგი, რომელი მამცნო იობენალი ჰაგრეაქმან, წმიდამან მამან ჩემმან, ვითარმედ: „ვითარცა მამაკაცსა სრულსა წარგავლინებ და მიწვენად ხარ ქუეყანასა უცხოსა, ნათესავთა დგვევლ, გეფელ, ნარკადოველ, რომელ არს კაცი ღმრთის მკლომნი, მბრძოლნი და წინააღმდეგომნი.

მამინ ავიხილენ გეცად და ვთქუ: „უფალო, უფალო, მრავალითა ძალითა შენითა (229v) გეცრუნეს შენ მგერნი ესე. და ესე არს დიდითა სულგრძელებითა შენითა, და იქმან, რასაცა იგონებენ მგუერნი ესე და ნაცარნი ქუეყანისანი, არამედ ნუ უგულებელს-ჰყოფ, რამეთუ ხაგი შენი არს კაცი, რომლისათუხ ერთი სამებისაგანი კაც იქმენ და აცხოვნე ყოველი სოფელი. მათცა ნათესავთა მოხედენ და შეპრისხენ სულთა ამათ უჩინოთა, სოფლის მპყრობელთა, მთავართა ამის ბნელისათა. და მიიუენე მე, ღმერთო მამისა და დედისა ჩემისა, მკეველსა ამას, ნაშობსა მონისა შენისასა, რაჲთა ჩრდილოჲ ბლუარსა თანა ისარებდეს და ყოველმან ენამან შენ მხოლოსა ღმერთსა თაყუანის-გცეს ქრისტე იესუმს მიერ უფლისა ჩუენისა, რომელსა შეუენის მაღლობით დიდებისა შეწირვაჲ აწ და მარადის და მერმეთა მათ საუკუნეთა, ამენ“.

და ვითარცა წამის-ყოფაჲ თუალისაჲ იყო, დასავალით ჰაერნი და ქარნი შეიდრნეს და კმა-სცეს ქუხილთა კმითა საზარელითა. და აჩნდა ღრუბელი მოწრაფს, ნიშანსმამინელი. და მოილო სეგყუაჲ ლიგრისა სწორი მას ადგილსა ოდენ და დაღეწნა კერპნი იგი, და დაფქვნა და დააწულილნა. და დაარღვნა ზღუდენი იგი ქარმან სასიკიკმან და შთაყარ[ნი] იგი[ნი] კლდესა, რომელსა-იგი თქუენცა ჰხედვედით ანუ არა... (230r) და თქუა მეფემან ცრემლით: „ჰს, ჰს, რაჲთმებოჲ ხოჯათ სთაბანუბ რასულ ფსარზად“. ხოლო თარგმანებაჲ ესე არს: „მართალსა იგყუ, ბედნიერო დედოფალო და მოციქულო მისა ღმრთისაო“. და ვითარცა დასცხრა რისხვაჲ იგი, გამოვედ



ostrzy miecz, który błyszczał i obracał się w ręce, jakby (pokazując), że jeśli ktoś dotknie go, to skarże się na śmierć. (229r) I (każdy) mówił: „Biada mi, jeśli opuściłem cokolwiek w wychwalaniu wielkiego boga Armazi, jeśli pozwoliłem sobie na powiedzenie czegoś zbędnego w rozmowie z Żydami lub zgrzeszyłem słuchając magów, kiedy spotkałem wyznawców słońca, którzy mówią z ciemnoty swej, że jest jakiś potężny Bóg niebieski. Żeby (Armaz) nie znalazł we mnie jakiejś wady i nie uderzył mnie mieczem, którego boi się cały Świat”. Z przerażeniem wszyscy padali przed nim na twarz.

Na prawo od niego stał jeden bożek ze złota, a imię jego było Gaci, (zaś) na lewo stał bożek ze srebra, a imię jego było Ga, byli oni bogami ojców waszych z Arian-Kartlii.

Wtedy (ja), zwróciwszy się do Boga, płakałam i jęczałam z powodu poślądzenia tego północnego kraju, zakrycia światła i panowania ciemności.

Wiedziałam, jak potężni królowie i wszyscy książęta, niby umarli, żywcem byli chwytni przez diabła i uważali za (stwórców) kamienie i drzewa; z miedzi, i żelaza, i brązu wykute w płaskorzeźbę, (i) oddawali (im) cześć jak Bogu. Im przypisywali stworzenie nieba i ziemi.

Wówczas wspomniałam słowa powiedziane mi przez świętego ojca mojego, patriarchę Juwenalisa: Posyłam ciebie jako równą mężczyźnie, i ty przyjdiesz do obcego kraju do ludu dgewel, zepel, narkadobel, co znaczy: ludzie nieprzyjaźni Bogu, wojowniczy i niepokorni.

Wtedy ja podniosłam oczy ku niebu i rzekłam: „Panie, Panie, mimo Twojej (229v) potęgi wrogowie ci grzeszą przeciwko Tobie. To dzieje się od czasu Twojego wielkiego cierpienia, i niech czynią, co wymyślą, ten pył i popiół ziemski, Ty jednak nie pozostaw ich bez swojej części, gdyż człowiek to obraz Twój, z powodu którego Ty jeden z Trójcy stałeś się człowiekiem i dałeś życie całemu Światu. Ześlij swą łaskę na ten lud i obróć swój gniew przeciw duchom – niewidzialnym władcom kraju, panom tego mroku! Boże ojca mojego i matki mojej, pozwól mi, słudze, urodzonej ze sługi Twojego ujrzeć, jak wszystkie krańce ziemi dowiedziały się, że Ty jesteś Zbawcą, żeby północ radowała się z południem, i żeby każdy lud pokłonił się Tobie Jednemu przez Jezusa Chrystusa, Pana naszego, któremu należne jest wywyższenie i dziękczynienie, teraz, i zawsze, i na wieki wieków, amen”.

Nie upłynęło i mgnienie oka, gdy zerwała się z zachodu burza i wiatr, zagrzmiał grom z przerażającym łoskotem, pojawił się szybki obłok ze straszną wróżbą, i zachodni wiatr przyniósł zapach gorzki i smród. Wtedy wszyscy zaczęli uciekać do wiosek i miast, a czas pozwolił, żeby ludzie skryli się pod dachami. Wkrótce straszny obłok zbliżył się i zamienił je w drobne okruchy, a silny wiatr zniszczył ogrodzenie i powrzucał (kamienie) do wąwozu, co wy sami widzieliście lub nie... (230v) i król ze łzami powiedział: „Da, da, rajtmeboj chodzat stabanub rasul psarad”, a tłumaczenie jest takie: „Prawdę ty mówisz, szczęśliwa królowo i wysłan-



კლდისა მისგან ნაპრაღისა და ვპოვე თუალი იგი ბივრიგი, აღვიდე და წარმოვედ წინა კერძო დასასრულსა მის კლდისასა, სადა ძუელ ქალაქი ყოფილ იყო, და მას ადგილსა ყოფილ არს ციხს.

- და მუნ ღვა ხს შუენიერი ბრინჯისაჲ, მაღალი და რგომრავალი. მოვედ
- 5 ქუეშე ხესა მას და გამოვინიშე ნიში იგი ქრისტეს ჯუარისაჲ. და ვილოცე-  
ვლი მუნ ექუს ღღე. ოღეს-იგი გამოხუედით სიმრაელს ერისაჲ და ეძიებდით  
ღმერთთა მათ, რომელთა ვნებაჲ დაჰბადეს, და არა ჰპოვეთ, მაშინ მე მუნ  
ვიყავ, რამეთუ ღღს იყო მეექუსს თოჯსაჲ მის, ოღეს-იგი ევმანუველ თაბორს  
მაშისა ხატი აჩუენა თავთა მათ ცხოველთა და თავთა მათ მიცვალებულთა.
- 10 მაშინ მოვიდა დაჲ ესე ჩემი შროშანა, სეფექალი, მიხილა და მოიყვანა  
ბერძლმეტყუელი დელაკაცი და მკითხა ყოველი გზაჲ ჩემი. მაშინ ვხედვედ მე  
თუალთა მისთა ცრემლთა ღინებასა უცხოვებისა ჩემისათვის. ოღეს ცნა ყოვე-  
ლი საქმს ჩემი, მაიძულა წარყვანებაჲ ჩემი სეფედ, ხოლო მე არა ვინებე, და  
იგი წარვიდა. და მესამესა ღღესა ჩამოვედ ქალაქად მცხეთად და მივიმართე  
15 სამოთხესა მას მეფისასა. და მი-რაჲ-ვედ სინა, ჯდა ესე დელაკაცი ანახგოს.  
და ვითარცა მიხილა, აღღვა და შემიგებო (230v) მე ვითარცა მეცნიერმან და  
მეგობარმან და დამბანანა ფერჯნი ჩემნი და მცხო ბეთი და დამიგო გრაპეზი  
და ღუნოი და მაიძულა მე ჭამად და სუმაღ. და დაყვავ მის თანა ცხრა თთუე.
- ესე იყო უშვილოჲ, და ბრუნვიდა ევე ქმარი მავისი. ჩუენებით ვხედვედ, მო-
- 20 ვიდა კაცი ნათლისა ფერი და მრქუა მე: „სამოთხესა შევედ, ნაძუთა ქუეშე ბაბი-  
ლოთა ადგილი არს მცირს, საყუარელად შემზადებული, მიწაჲ აღილე ადგილსა  
მისგან და შეაჭამე კაცთა მავათ, და ესუას შეილი“. ხოლო მე ვყავ ეგრძთ. და  
ესხნეს ძეგბ და ასულებ მრავალად, რომელსა-ესე თუთ ჰხედავთ. და მათვე ღღე-  
თა შინა ორგზის და სამგზის ვიხილე ჩუენებასა შინა მცირედსა მას მირულება-
- 25 სა ჩემსა მუქხლთა ბედა: მოვიდიან მფრინველნი ცისანი, შთავიდიან მღინარესა,  
დაიბანნიან და მოვიდიან სამოთხესა მას, და ბაბილოსა მას მოისთულებდიან  
და ყუავილსა მას ძოვდიან, და მოწლედ ჩემდამო ღალადებედ, რეცა ჩემი არს  
სამოთხს იგი, გარე მომადგიან ქრავილით და ემობედ ჩემდა მომართ; მრავალ-  
ფერად და შუენიერად იყო ხილვაჲ იგი მათი. და მრავალგზის იყო ესე. და უთხარ
- 30 ესე დასა ჩემსა, ასულსა აბითარისსა. მომიგო და მრქუა მე მან: „უცხოვო და აქა  
შობილო, გყუეო და გყუეთა მქსნელო, უწყი, რამეთ შენ მე მოიწია ახალი იგი  
ქამი და შენ მიერ ისმეს ჰამბავი იგი ძუელი, მამათა ჩუენთა ნაქმარი, გეცისა მის  
კაცისა უბრალომსა სისხლისა უსამართლოდ დათხევისაჲ, რომელითაცა (231r)  
ქმნა ღმერთმან ჰურიათა სირცხული, ცის კიდეთა განბნევაჲ, მეფობისა დაცემაჲ
- 35 და გაძრისა მის წმიდისა მოღებაჲ, ერისა მის უცხომსა მოგებაჲ და თესად წო-  
ღებაჲ, და ღიღებაჲ მათა მიცემად“. და კუალად თქუა: „იერუსალმს, იერუსალმს,  
ვითარ განგიმარტვან შვილნი შენნი და შეიკრებ ყოველთა ცის კიდისა ნათესა-  
ვთა ფრთეთა ქუეშე შენთა“. აჰა ესერა აქაცა მოსრულ არს დელაკაცი ესე და  
შეცვალოს ყოველი წესი ქუეყანისაჲ ამის“. და მომექცა და მრქუა: „ჩუენებაჲ
- 40 შენი არს ესე, რამეთუ ადგილი ესე სამოთხისაჲ შენ მიერ იქმნეს სამოთხს სა-  
ღიღებლად ღმრთისა, რომლისაჲ არს ღიღებაჲ აწ და მარადის და უკუნიით  
უკუნისამდე, ამენ“.

niczko Syna Bożego”. Kiedy skończyła się burza, wyszłam z za żalumu tamtej skały, znalazłam tamten kamień beryl, wzięłam go i skierowałam się naprzód, na skraj tej skały, na to miejsce, gdzie wcześniej było starożytne miasto, i gdzie (obecnie) jest twierdza.

Rosło tam jedno piękne, wysokie i rozłożyste drzewo akacji. Podeszłam pod to drzewo, uczyniłam znak krzyża Chrystusa i modliłam się tam sześć dni. Gdy wy, mnóstwo ludzi, przyszliście i szukaliście swych bogów, którzy wywołali nieszczęście, i nie znaleźliście ich, ja tam byłam, gdyż był szósty dzień tego miesiąca, kiedy Emanuel na górze Tabor pokazał wizerunek Ojca swego i żywym i umarłym. Wtedy przyszła do mnie siostra moja Szroszana, dwórka, odwiedziła mnie i przyprowadziła ze sobą kobietę, mówiącą po grecku i wypytała o całą drogę moją. Widziałam łzy w jej oczach z powodu mej samotności. Poznawszy wszystkie sprawy moje, zachęciła mnie, by udać się do niej do pałacu, ale ja nie zgodziłam się i ona odeszła. Trzeciego dnia zesłam do miasta Mccheta i podeszłam do królewskiego ogrodu. U wejścia do ogrodu zobaczyłam mały domek dozorczy sadu i po wejściu do niego zastałam tam siedzącą kobietę imieniem Anastos. Zobaczy mnie, wstała i przyjęła uprzejmie, (230v) jak znajoma i przyjaciółka moja; umyła mi nogi i namaściła olejkami i przeżyłam u niej dziewięć miesięcy.

Była ona bezdzietna i z mężem martwili się (z tego powodu). I miałam widzenie: zjawił się jaśniejący człowiek i rzekł do mnie: „Wejdę do ogrodu, (tam) pod gałęziami cedrów jest niewielkie a uroczne miejsce, weź z niego ziemię i daj ją do zjedzenia tym ludziom, a będą mieć dziecko”. I tak postąpiłam i urodziło się im wiele synów i córek, jak sami widzicie. W tych dniach, w czasie lekkiego snu mojego na kolanach, dwu-trzykrotnie miałam to samo widzenie: nadlatują ptaki niebieskie, zlatują nad rzekę, kąpią się i przylatują do ogrodu, obdziobują liście, jedzą kwiaty i przyjaźnie ze mną rozmawiają, jakby ten ogród był mój, okrążają mnie ze szczebiotem i wołają mnie różnoglownie. I było piękne widzenie ich i wielokrotnie ono się powtarzało. O tym powiedziałam siostrze mojej, córce Abiatara. Ona odpowiadając rzekła do mnie: „Cudzoziemko i tu urodzona, sługo i wybawicielko niewolników, wiem, że od ciebie zaczyna się nowy czas, dzięki tobie stały się znane dawne czyny, dokonane przez ojców naszych, niesprawiedliwe przelanie krwi niewinnej tego niebiańskiego człowieka, (231r) przez które Bóg napiętnował Żydów, rozsiał ich po całym świecie, zniszczył ich królestwo, pohańbił ich świątynię, znalazł i przywołał do siebie obcy lud i wywyższył go”. Później rzekła: „Jeruzalem, Jeruzalem, jakżeś się rozpostarło i zbierasz pod swe skrzydła wszystkie ludy ze wszystkich krańców świata! Oto i tutaj przyszła ta kobieta, i niech zmieni ona wszystkie prawa kraju tego!” I ona zwróciła się do mnie i rzekła: „Widzenie twoje oznacza, że ten ogród (kraj) zmieni się dzięki tobie w ogród (kraj) czci Boga, któremu niech będzie chwała teraz i zawsze, i na wieki wieków, amen”.

## თავი 7

რომელი აღწერა დედაკაცმან ჰურიამან, სახელით სიღონია,  
ასულმან აბიათარ მღვდელისამან

და იყოს ოდეს მოხედა ღმერთმან წყალობით ქუეყანასა ამას დავიწყებულ-  
5 სა ჩრდილომასასა –კავკასიათა, სომხითისა მთეულსა, რომლისა მთანი და-  
ეფარნეს ნისლსა, და ველნი-არმურსა ცთომისა და უმეცრებისასა, და იყო  
ქუეყანაჲ ესე ჩრდილო მშისაგან სიმართლისა, ძისა ღმრთისა მოსელისათჳს  
და ცნობისა, ვითარცა სახელი ერქუა სამართლად ჩრდილოჲ. არა თუ ამის  
მშისა ნათლისაგან დაკლებულ იყო, ანუ აწ არს დაკლებულ მისგან, ყოველი  
10 ცასა ქუეშე მყოფი იხილავს და ყოველსა ჰხედავს იგი, და რომელსა სიცხითა  
მიჰრდის, ნათლითა ყოველსა ადგილსა მიხედის. ესე არა თუ ამისთჳს ერქუა  
ქუეყანასა ამას ჩრდილო, არამედ იყენეს ესოდენნი წელნი და ესთენნი ნა-  
თესაენი ნოვესითგან და ებერისითგან და აბრაჰამისითგან. და (231v) მუნ შინა  
იყო იობ აზნაური, განცდილი განმცდელისაგან ვითარცა იოსებ, მოსე, იესუ,  
15 მღვდელი და მსაჯულნი და ემდგომითი-შემდგომად, რომელ-იგი ვიცით სმენი-  
ლი წიგნთაგან საღმრთოთა.

გარდაკდეს ქრისტესს მოსელამდე წელნი ჳ“ფ, შობითგან ქრისტესით ვი-  
დრე ჯუარ-ცუმაჲმდე ლ“გ, და ჯუარ-ცუმიტგან ქრისტესით ვიდრე კოსტანგინე  
ბერძენთა მეფისა მონათულამდე ტ“ია; და ათოთხმეტისა წლისა შემდგომად  
20 მოივლინა ქუეყანასა ჩუენსა ქადაგი ჳეშმარიტებისაჲ ნინო, დელოფალი ჩუენი,  
ვითარცა ბნელსა შინა მთიები რაჲ აღმოჰკდის და ცისკარი აღიღის, და მისა  
შემდგომად აღმოვაღნ დიდი იგი მფლობელი დღისაჲ. ვგრეთ იყო ცხორებაჲ  
ჩუენი, ქართველნო, რამეთუ ვიქცეოდეთ ნათელსა და მკუდრ ვიყვენით ბნელსა,  
ვისარებდით შუებითა და ვიუხჯებდით გლოვასა, რომლისა ნუგესინის-მცე-  
25 მელი არა იყო. ვჰმსახურებდით სამე დაბადებულთა და არა დამბადებულსა,  
ქერობინთა ეგლთა ბედა მჯდომარისა წილლ მათთა მაღალთა თავყუანის-  
სცემდეს მამანი ჩუენნი, გებალსა და გარიზინსა, და მას ბედა არა იყო არცა  
ღმერთი, არცა მოსე, არცა ნიში მათი, არამედ კერპნი ქვისანი უსულონი.  
ხოლო ამას ქუეყანასა ქართლისასა იყენეს ორნი მთანი და მათ ბედა ორნი  
30 კერპნი: არმამ და ბადენ, რომელნი იყნოსდეს სულმყრალობით ათასსა სულსა  
ყრმისა პირმშომასასა, არმამ და ბადენ, და შესწირავად უხნდეს მშობელთა  
მათთა მსხუერპლად, ვითარმცა უკუნისამდე არა იყო სიკუდილი. და ესე იყო  
მოაქამდე.

ხოლო იყენეს კერპნი სხიანცა (232r) სამეფონი: ვაცი და გა. და შეწირვოდა  
35 მათა ერთი სეფეწული ცეცხლითა დაწვევად და მგუერი გარდაბნევადა თავსა  
კერპისასა.

და ამის ყოვლისა შემდგომად თხრობასა გითხრობ მამისა ჩემისასა, რომე-  
ლი წიგნთაგან ვიცი კითხვით, და მიამისა ჩემისაგან თხრობილსა.

ოდეს-იგი მეფობდა ჰეროდე და მოგესმა აქა, ვითარმედ სპარსთა იერუსალჳში  
40 დაიპყრესო, გლოვისა წიგნი მოეწერა ყოველთა ჰურიათა მომართ ქართლი-

## Rozdział 7

Opisane przez kobietę Żydówkę o imieniu Sydonia,  
córkę duchowego Abiatara

W tym czasie, gdy Bóg z łaski swojej wziął w opiekę ten zapomniany (graniczący) z płaskowyżem armeńskim kraj północny, którego góry okryte były mgłą, a doliny dymem błędów i ciemnoty, kraj ten był pozbawiony słońca prawdy i wiedzy o przyjściu Syna Bożego, więc zgodnie z prawdą nazywany był północnym. Nie światła słońca był pozbawiony ani teraz jest (go) pozbawiony. Światło słońca widzą wszyscy żyjący pod niebiosami, i wszystkich ono oświeca, a chociaż niektóre (kraje) pozbawione są gorącą, światło dochodzi do każdego miejsca. Nie, nie z tego powodu kraj ten nazywany jest północnym. Minęło tyle lat i było tyle ludów od czasów Noego i Ebera i Abrahama. I wśród nich byli szlachetny Hiob, poddany próbie jak Józef, Mojżesz, Jezus, najwyżsi kapłani i sędziowie, a później, zgodnie z kolejnością, ci, o których wiedziano ze świętych ksiąg.

Do narodzenia Chrystusa (od stworzenia świata) minęło 5500 lat, od narodzenia Chrystusa do (Jego) ukrzyżowania 33 lata i od ukrzyżowania Chrystusa do chrztu cesarza Greków, Konstantyna 311 lat i (dopiero) po upływie (dalszych) 14 lat pojawiła się w naszym kraju wysłanniczka prawdy Nino, królowa nasza, podobnie, jak we mgle pojawia się ów wielki władca dnia. Takie było życie nasze w Kartlii: żyliśmy w świetle i przebywaliśmy w mroku, służyliśmy więc stworzeniu, a nie Stwórcy. Zamiast temu, który siedzi w powozie cherubinów, ojcowie nasi oddawali cześć wysokim góróm Gebal i Garizin, i nie uznawali ani Boga, ani Mojżesza, ani ich cudów, ale bezduszne bożki z kamienia. A w Kartlii były dwie góry i na nich dwa bożki, Armaz i Zaden. Stamtąd rozchodziła się woń smrodu tysięcy pierwotnych, których rodzicie przeznaczili na ofiarę Armazowi i Zadenowi, żeby nie nastąpiła śmierć na wieki. Tak trwało aż do owego czasu.

Były i inne bożki (232r) królewskie – Gaci i Ga. Im przynoszono w ofierze kogoś z rodu królewskiego, palono go i popiół sypano na głowę bożka.

I po tym wszystkim opowiem to, co powiedziane przez ojca mojego, (to znaczy) to, co wiem z czytania ksiąg i z opowiadania ojca mojego.

Kiedy panował Herod, doszła do nas wiadomość, że Persowie zdobyli Jerozolimę i odebrali posłanie żałobne wszystkich kartlijskich Żydów: mieszkańców Mcchety, kapłanów bodijskich, kodus-ckarońskich uczonych, sobiskanańskich tłumaczy: „Dwunastu królów przybyło opanować nasz kraj”. (Wtedy) wszyscy byli głęboko poruszeni i chcieli im

სათა, მცხეთელთა მკუდრთა, ბოდელთა მდღელთა, კოდის-წყაროველთა მწი-  
 გნობართა, და სობის-კანანელთა თარგმანთა, ვითარმედ: „ათორმეგნი მეფენი  
 მოვიდესო დაპყრობად ქუეყანისა ჩუენისა“. და ყოველნი შეიძრნეს სივლგოლით  
 შეწევნად მათა. ხოლო შემდგომად მცირედ-რე მოიწია სხუა დაღადისი იგი არა  
 5 დაპყობად ქუეყანისა მოვიდეს, არამედ აბჯრისა და საჭურველისა წილლ და  
 საგზლისა აქუნდა ოქროჲ ყვთელი, მური მწრაფლ მკურნალი წყლულისაჲ, და  
 გუნდრუკი სულ-ჰამოი, ესე ყოველსა მკედარსა მათსა. და თუთ მეფეთა თითო  
 საგვრთი აქუნდა, და ეძიებდეს ყრმასა ვისმე ახლად შობილსა, ძესა დავითისსა,  
 რომელიცა პოვეს მწირი ერთი, მწირისა დედაკაცისა ძმ, უკამოდ შობილი უად-  
 10 გილოსა ადგილსა, ვითარცა აქუს ჩუეულებაჲ გარემდგომთა“.

ესენი მის ყრმისა მოვიდეს და თავყუანის-სცეს, და ესე ყოველი ძრუენი  
 მისა შეწირეს. და მთაჲ გარდავლეს და წარვიდეს მშულობით. აწ ნუ გემინნ,  
 ჰურიანო, (232v) მე, ჰეროდე ვეძიებდ და არა ვპოვე ყრმაჲ იგი და არცა დედაჲ  
 მისი, არამედ აწ წარვკმართო მახული ყოველსა წულსა ზედა ორით წლითგან  
 15 და უდარესსა, და მოწყდეს იგიცა მათ თანა. აწ გულ-დებულ იყვენით, რამეთუ  
 უცნებით იყო ესე ყოველი“. ამისა შემდგომად გარდაკდეს წელნი ოც და ათნი,  
 მოწერა ანა მდღელმან იერუსალშმით მამის-მმისა ჩემისა ობიასა, ვითარმედ:  
 „იგივე ყრმაჲ, რომლისა სპარსთა მეფენი მოსრულ იყვნეს ძრუენითა, იგი ყრმაჲ  
 გან-სამე-მრდილ არს, სამომსა ჰასაკისასა მოწევნულ არს. წყალსა მას იორდა-  
 20 ნისასა მაქარიას ძისა განვიდოდეს ყოველნი ნათესავი ისრაშლისანი, და შენი  
 მამის დედის ძმაჲ ელიოს თანავე იყო. და აჰა ესერა ცაჲ ქუბდა და ქუეყანაჲ  
 იძრვოდა, მთანი ჰკრთებოდეს, ბორცუნი იმღერდეს, ზღუაჲ დგა, წყალნი აღ-  
 მართ დიოდეს, მაქარაჲ ძმ ივლგოდა და ჩუენ ყოველთა ზარი შეძრწუნებისაჲ  
 დაგუეცა. და ერისა სიმრავლისათუჲ დავიდუმეთ საქმშ ესე, რომელი იყო სამე  
 25 ცხად საუკუნითგან ღმრთისა თანა“. და მეოთხესა წელსა გამოკდა ბრმანებაჲ  
 იერუსალშმით ჰეროდე მეფისაგან, ვითარმედ: „ყოველთა ძეთა ისრაშლისათა,  
 განბნეულთა ყოველსა ქუეყანასა იხილეთ ერთი ღმერთი და იგულეთ და ისმი-  
 ნეთ ერთი შჯული. და ისწავეთ ერთი სიგყუაჲ მოსესი, რომელი თქუა: „რომელ-  
 მან ქუეყანასა ზედა თქუას ღმრთად თავი თუჲსი, ძელსა დამოკიდენ“. და მერმე  
 30 თქუა: „წყველ იყავნ ყოველი, რომელი დამოკიდებულ იყოს ძელსა“.

აწ ესერა აღდგა კაცი ერთი, და სახელი მისი იესუ, თავით თუჲსით ჰხადის  
 (233r) ღმერთსა მამად და რეცა თუ არს იგი თუთ ვითარცა ღმერთი, მოველით  
 ყოველნი სიკუდილსა მისსა და აღვასრულეთ მცნებაჲ ღმრთისაჲ და მოსსსი“.

და წარვიდა აქათ მამის დედის ძმაჲ ჩემი ელიოს, კაცი მოხუცებული. და  
 35 ესუა მას დედაჲ გომისაგან ელი მდღელისა, და ესუა ერთი ხოლო დაჲ ელიომს.  
 ევედრებოდა დედაჲ ძესა თუჲსსა და ეგყოდა: „წარვედ, შვილო, წოდებ-  
 სა მეფისასა და წესსა შჯულისასა, ხოლო რომელსა იგინი განიბრახვენ, ნუ  
 შეერთვინ ცნობაჲ შენი მას ყოვლადვე, ნუ, შვილო ჩემო, რამეთუ სიგყუაჲ  
 არს წინასწარმეცყუელთაჲ და იგავი ბრძენთაჲ, საიდუმლოჲ არს დაფარული  
 40 ფურიათაგან, ხოლო წარმართთა ნათელ და ცხორება საუკუნო“.

და წარვიდა ელიომ და ყოველნი ჰურიანი ქართლით. და აღესრულა ყოვე-  
 ლივე, რომელი აწ ვიცით ნინოჲს მიერ, ევანგელეთაგან ქრისტსს მიერ.

pomóc. A po niedługim czasie z Jerozolimy dotarła wszędzie inna, radosna wieść: „Persowie przyszli nie po to, by zdobyć kraj: zamiast zbroi, broni i żywności na drogę mieli oni złote złoto, mirrę, szybko gojącą ranę, i wonne kadzidło. Każdy rycerz i nawet każdy król mieli po jednym ładunku (tego towaru). Szukali oni jakiegoś noworodka, syna Dawida, i znaleźli jedno ubogie niemowlę, syna ubogiej niewiasty, narodzonego w niewłaściwym czasie i w nieodpowiednim miejscu, jak to się dzieje u żyjących poza domem.

Przyszli do tego chłopca, pokłonili mu się, wręczyli wszystkie te dary i po przejściu gór oddalili się w pokój. Teraz nie obawiajcie się, Żydzi, (232v) ja Herod szukałem i nie znalazłem ani Jego, ani jego Matki, ale teraz ugodzę mieczem wszystkie niemowlęta, poczynając od dwuletnich i młodszych, a zginie i ten razem z nimi. Teraz bądźcie spokojni, gdyż wszystko to zdarzyło się z powodu nieporozumienia”. Minęło trzydzieści lat. Duchowny Ana napisał z Jerozolimy do ojca swojego ojca Ozja: „To niemowlę, do którego przyszli królowie perscy z darami, osiągnęło odpowiedni wiek. Nad rzekę Jordan do syna Zachariasza udały się wszystkie narody Izraela i w ich liczbie brat matki twojego ojca, Elioz. I oto niebo grzmiało, ziemia kołysała się, góry drgały, wzgórza podskakiwały, morze stało i rzeki płynęły w górę, syn Zachariasza uciekł. I czwartego roku otrzymano z Jerozolimy rozkaz króla Heroda: „Do wszystkich synów Izraela, rozsianych po całym świecie! Czujcie słowa powiedziane przez Mojżesza: „Kto na ziemi ogłosi się Bogiem, ten niech będzie przeklęty na krzyżu”.

Oto teraz zbuntował się pewien człowiek, a imię jego – Jezus. Ów nazwał się synem (233r) Boga, i jakoby on sam też był Bogiem. Przychodźcie wszyscy (ujrzeć) śmierć Jego, wypełnimy przykazanie Boga i Mojżesza”.

I wyruszył stąd brat matki ojca swojego Elioz, człowiek stary. Miał matkę z rodu kapłana Elioza i jedyną siostrę.

Matka błagała swojego syna i mówiła: „Idź dziecko moje na wezwanie króla i religii, niech tylko rozum twój, mój synu, nie przyłączy się zupełnie do ich zamysłu, albowiem On jest słowem proroków i przypowieścią mędrców; tajemnicą skrytą przed Żydami, a dla pogan światłem i życiem wiecznym”.

Elioz i wszyscy Żydzi wyruszyli z Kartlii, i dokonało się wszystko to, co teraz wiemy dzięki Nino, głosicielce ewangelii.

A szata ta (Chrystusa) przypadła według losu temu krajowi i Elioz wziął ją. I kiedy kat uderzył w Jerozolimie młotem kowala, przybijając Chrystusa do krzyża, matka Elioza usłyszała stuk tutaj; gorzko krzyknąwszy, rzekła: „Żegnaj panowanie Żydów, albowiem wy zabiliście Zbawcę i Wybawiciela i staliście się odtąd nieprzyjaciółmi Stwórcy. Biada mi,



- ხოლო სამოსელი იგი ჰხუდა ამას ქუეყანასა წილით და წარმოიღო ელიომ. ხოლო დედასა მისსა, ვითარცა ესმა კმაი, ოდეს პასანიკმან ჯუარსა ზედა სამ-  
 მჭუალსა დასცა კუერი მჭედლისა იერუსალმს, აქა ესმა კმაი და იკრხხილანა  
 მწარედ დედაკაცმან მან და თქუა: „მშულობით, მეფობათ ჰურიათათ, რამეთუ  
 5 მო კლათ თავისა მაცხოვარი და მქსნელი და იქმნენით ამიერითგან მგერ შემო-  
 ქმედისა. ვამ თავსა ჩემსა, რომელ არა წინარე მოვკუედ, რომელმცა ესე არღა-  
 რა სმენილ იყო, და რცა კნინ უკუანაა-რე დავრჩი, რომელმცა მეხილვა ნათელი  
 გამობრწყინებული წარმართთა ზედა და დიდებაა ერისა ისრაჴლისაჲ” (233v)  
 და ამას სიგყუასა ზედა შეისუენა დედაკაცმან მან, დედამან ელიოსისმან.
- 10 ხოლო ამან ელიომ მოიღო კუართი იგი მაცხოვრისა იესუ ქრისტესი მცხე-  
 თად, სახლად ჩუენდა, და იხილა, რამეთუ მომკუადარ იყო დედაა მისი ამას  
 სიგყუასა ზედა. ხოლო დაა მისი მიეგებვოდა შესუარული ცრემლითა, ვითარცა  
 სისხლითა, და მოეხუა ყელსა ძმისა თუხისასა და მოუღო სამოსელი იგი იესუ-  
 ესი და შეიგკო მკერდსა თუხსა ზედა. და მწრაფლ სულნი წარჰკედეს სამიგა  
 15 ამით სიმწართა: სიკუდილითა დედისაათა, და უმეტეს გკვივითა სიკუდილსა  
 ზედა ქრისტესსა და სუვილითა მის სამოსლისაათა.
- მაშინ იყო შოთი დიდი მცხეთას შინა მეფეთაა და მთავართაა და ყოვლისა  
 ერისაა. და იხილა მეფემან ამაზაერ სამოსელი იგი იესუსი და უნდა წარღებაა  
 მისი, ხოლო ბარსა მას ჰედა დედაკაცისა მკუდრისა კელთ-გდებასა, შეშინდა  
 20 და ვერ იკადრა. ხოლო ელიომ და მარხა დაა იგი თუსი, და კელთა მისთა  
 აქუნდა სამოსელი იგი. და არს ადგილი იგი, რომელი ღმერთმან იცის, და იცის  
 დედამან ჩემმან ნინო და არა იგყუს, რამეთუ არა ჯერ-არს სიგყუად აწ. არამედ  
 ესე ხოლო კმა-იყავნ ნინოას მოწაფეთათუს და ქრისტეს მორწმუნეთა, რამეთუ  
 მახლობელ არს ადგილი იგი ნაძუსა მას ლიბანით მოსრულსა და მცხეთას და-  
 25 ნერგულსა. თუნიერ ესე მესმა მამისა ჩემისაგან: „არს სხუაჲცა ძალითა შემოსი-  
 ლი, მრჩობილი იგიცა, ხალენი ელიაჲსი ამას ქალაქსა შინა კელთა ჩუენთა, სა-  
 კურთხეველისა სიმკიცესა ქუეშე, ქვათა შინა ულაოლველად ვიდრე ეამადმდე  
 მისა”, რამეთუ მრავალგზის მა (234r) ბირა მე დედამან ჩემმან ნინო მამისა ჩემისა  
 მიმართ, რაჲთა გამოვსწულილო ადგილ იგი სამოსლისაა მის გულითად. ხოლო  
 30 მან ესთენ დადვა ნაწილი ჩემ თანა და მრქუა: „აქა არსო ადგილი სამარხვომ  
 მისიო, რომელსა ენანი კაცთანი არა დაღუმენენ გალობად ღმრთისა მიმართ, მას  
 ზედა არს ადგილი იგი, ვითარცა ადგილი იაკობისი, კიბედ ხილული და ზეცად  
 აღწევეული ამიერითგან და უკუნისამდე, დიდება და ქება მოუკლებელ”.

## თავი 8

### თქუმული სიღონიასივე დედაკაცისაა

ოდეს ვიხილე ასულმან აბიათარისმან სიღონია წმიდაჲ ნინოთ თავსა ციხი-  
 სასა პირველ მცხეთისასა, კომქსა მას მაღალსა ბრინჯთა მათ ქუეშე, ბრავგმან  
 მეფისა საგრილთა და სასუენებელთა ჯდა, ოდეს-იგი შემუსრნა უფალმან არ-



że nie umarłam wcześniej, żeby nie słyszeć tego, i że mi nie pozostało jeszcze trochę życia, żeby zobaczyć światło spływające na pogan, i sławę ludu Izraela” (233v). I z tymi słowami spoczęła na zawsze ta kobieta, matka Elioza.

A Elioz przyniósł szatę Zbawiciela Jezusa Chrystusa do Mcchety, do domu naszego, i dowiedział się, że matka jego umarła z pamiętnymi słowami. Wysłała mu naprzeciw siostra jego, a była jak krew czerwona od łez. Objęła brata swojego, wzięła od niego ową szatę Jezusa, i przycisnąwszy do piersi swojej, zaraz wyzionęła ducha z przyczyny owych trzech trosk: z przyczyny śmierci matki, jeszcze bardziej ze smutku po śmierci matki, jeszcze bardziej ze smutku po śmierci Chrystusa oraz ze wzruszenia w związku z ową szatą.

Wtedy w Mcchecie zaczęło się wielkie poruszenie wśród królów, książąt i całego ludu. A król Amazaer widząc ową szatę Jezusa, zapragnął odebrać ją, ale groza tego, jak weszła w jej posiadanie zmarła kobieta, przstraszyła go, więc poniechał (swego zamiaru). A Elioz pochował siostrę, która w swoich rękach miała tę szatę. A miejsce jej pogrzebania zna Bóg i matka moja Nino, ale nie mówi (o tym), dlatego że teraz (jeszcze) nie należy mówić. Ale uczniom Nino i wierzącym w Chrystusa wystarczy wiedza, że miejsce to znajduje się w pobliżu cedru, przywiezionego z Libanu i posadzonego w Mcchecie. Poza tym (ja też) słyszałam od ojca swego, że miejsce to znajduje się w pobliżu cedru, przywiezionego z Libanu i posadzonego w Mcchecie. Poza tym słyszałam od ojca swego, że w naszych posiadłościach w tym mieście, w kamieniach pod osłoną ołtarza, znajduje się do tej pory, nie gnijąc, także inna (relikwia) obdarzona siłą wyjątkową – płaszcz Eliasza. Matka moja Nino wiele razy (234r) polecała mi dowiedzieć się dokładnie od ojca mojego, gdzie jest miejsce (ukrycia) tych szat. Ojciec następująco uświadomił mnie i powiedział: „Miejsce pogrzebania ich, to jest to miejsce, na którym języki ludzkie nie milną w wysławianiu Boga, jest to jakby miejsce widzialnej drabiny Jakuba, wznoszącej się do nieba, teraz i na wieki wieków nie pozbawionej wielkości i chwały!”.

## Rozdział 8

Opowiedziane przez tę samą niewiastę Sydonię

Ja, córka Abiatara, (po raz pierwszy) zobaczyłam Świętą Nino, gdy Ona, po tym jak Pan przerażającym gniewem ust swoich zniszczył Armaza i inne bożki (o czym zapisane zostało powyżej w przedśmiertnym opowiadaniu Nino), siedziała na szczycie starożytnej twierdzy

მაზ და სხუანი იგი კერპნი საზარელითა რისხვითა პირისა მისისაათა, რმელი-  
-იგი წინა წერილ არს ანდერძსა მას მისსა შინა, ხოლო ვიდრე რწმუნებდე  
დღოფლისა ნანაჲსა ქრისტე ღმერთი ძედ ღმრთისა.

- სანაგრელმან წმიდმან ნინო დაყო ექუსი წელი, ვითარ-იგი თუთ იგყვს  
5 ყოფასა შინა მისსა, და ოდესმე მუღნი დედანი დაგვმოწაფნა შჯულსა მისსა,  
რამეთუ ჰყოფდა ფარულად კურნებათა მავალთა, ვიდრემდის ნებსით იწყო  
კურნებაჲ განგებითა ღმრთისაათა. დღოფლისა ნანაჲს ზედა აჩუნა ღმერთ-  
მან პირველად ძალი მისი მის მიერ მაყულოვანსა მას შინა, განკურნა ლო-  
ცვითა მისითა სენისა მისგან მძიმისა, რომლისა კვლოვნებამან კაცთამან ვერ  
10 შეუძლო განკურნებაჲ მისი.

- და შემდგომად მისა მოგვ მთავარი სპარსი (234v) ხუარა სნულ იყო, სუ-  
ლითა უკეთურითა ფიცხლად იგუემებოდა, სიკუდილ მიწევულ იყო. და იყო  
მთავარი იგი დედის ძმაჲ ნანაჲსი, დღოლისაჲ. მაშინ ევედრნეს დედასა ჩემსა  
ნინოს ნანა დღოფალი; და მეფეცა იხილვიდა მცირე-მცირედ საქმესა მას და  
15 ორგულებით ეგყოდა ნინოს: „რომლისა ღმრთისა ძალითა იქმ საქმესა ამას  
კურნებისას? ანუ ხარ შენ ასული არმაზისი, ანუ შვილი ზადენისი, უცხოვებით  
მოხუდ და შეუქვრდი, ხოლო მას ზედა-აც მოწყალებამა, და მიგანიჭეს ძელი  
კურნებისაჲ, რათა მით სცხოვრებოდი უცხოსა ამას ქუეყანასა. და დიდებულმ-  
ცა არიან უკუნისამდელხოლო შენ წინაშე ჩემსა იყავ მარადის, ვითარცა ერთი მა-  
20 წოვნბელთაგანი, პაგიცემულ ქუეყანასა ამას, არამედ უცხოსა მას სიგყუასა ნუ  
იგყვ, ჰრომთა მათ შეცთომილთა შჯულსა, და ნუ გნებავნ ყოვლადე აქა თქუ-  
მად, რამეთუ აჰა ესერა ღმერთნი, დიდთა ნაყოფთა მომცემელნი და სოფლის  
მპრობელნი, მზის მომფენელნი და წუმისა მომცემელნი. ქუეყანით ნაყოფთა  
განმზრდელნი, ქართლისანი-არმაზ და ზადენ, ყოვლისა დაფარულისა გამომე-  
25 ძიებელნი. და ძუელნი ღმერთნი მამათა ჩუენთან-გაც და გა, და თავი შენი იგი  
იყავნ დასარწმუნოვებად კაცთა მიმართ. და აწ, უკუეთუ განჰკურნო მთავარ ესე,  
განგამიდრო და გყო მკუდრ მცხეთას შინა მსახურად არმაზისა, დაღაცათუ  
ჰაერისა მის სიფიცხლითა შეიმუსრა, არამედ მისი ადგილი შეუძრავ არს. ეგე  
არმაზ და ქალდეველთა ღმერთი ითრუშანა ყოვლადე მგერ არიან. (235r) ამან  
30 მის ზედა ზღუაჲ მოადგინის და მან ამის ძედა ერთი ნუ რამეჲ მოაწიის, ვითარცა  
აქუს ჩუეულებამა სოფლის მპრობელთა, და კმა-გეყავნ ჩემგან ბრძანებად ესე”.

- მიუგო ნეგარმან ნინო მეფესა და ჰრქუა: „მეფე, შენ უკუნისამდე ცხოვრდი  
სახელითა ქრისტესითა და ვედრებითა წმიდისა დედისა მისისაათა და მის თანა  
ყოველთა წმიდათაათა. მოავლინენ შენ ზედა ღმერთმან, ცისა და ქუეყნისა შემო-  
35 ქმედმან, დამზადებელმან ყოვლისა დაბადებულისამან, დიდისა დიდებისა მისისაგან  
და აურაცხელისა მოწყალებისა მისისაგან, ვითარცა საკუმილისაგან ნაბერწყალი  
ერ[თ]ი მადლისა მისისაჲ, რათა სენა და გულისხმო-ჰყო სიმართლმ ცისაჲ და  
სინათლმ მზისაჲ, სიღრმმ ზღუსაჲ და საძირკუელნი მისნი, სივრცმ ქუეყანისაჲდა  
საფუძველნი მინი, და რათა უწყებულ იყო შენ, მეფე, თუ ვინ სემოსნა ცანი ღრუ-  
40 ბლითა და ქუხილნი კმითა ჰაერისაათა, და იძრვინ ქუეყანაჲ სიმძაფრითა მისითა  
და რბილიან მეხის-გეხანი, კუალსა მისსა ეგმებინ ცეცხლი გულისწყრომითა მისი-  
თა, ანუ ოდეს შეიძრის ვეშაპი იგი დიდი, რომელ არს ძრუასა შინა, და შეიძრის

Mccheta, przy wieży pod akacjami w miejscu osłony i wypoczynku króla Bratmana, aż do uznania Chrystusa za Syna Bożego przez królową Nanę.

Błogosławiona święta Nino przeżyła (tu) sześć lat, jak to sama mówi w opisie (żywota). I w tym czasie uczyniła nas, siedem niewiast, wyznawczyniami swojej wiary, albowiem dokonywała wielu uleceń (pozostających) w tajemnicy do tej pory, dopóki dzięki Opatrzności Bożej nie zaczęła uzdrawiać jawnie. Bóg siłę swoją przez Nino objawił najpierw w miejscu tych krzewów jeżyn. Modlitwą swoją uzdrowiła Ona królową Nanę z ciężkiej choroby, której uzdrowić nie mogła ludzka sztuka.

I później: był chory pewien Pers, (234v) sławny mag Chuara, został (on) silnie opętany przez siły nieczyste i groziła mu śmierć. Ten dostojnik był bratem matki królowej Nany. Wtedy z prośbą do matki mojej Nino zwrócili się królowa Nana, a także król, który z trudem pojmował czyny Nino i nieszczerze mówił do niej: „Mocą jakiego boga dokonujesz uzdrowień? Czy nie jesteś córką Armaza lub dzieckiem Zadena? Przyszedł jako cudzoziemka, pokłoniwszy się, poprosiłaś ich o pomoc, i oto dali ci moc uzdrawiania, żebyś mogła mieszkać w tym obcym kraju. Niech oni będą wywyższeni na wieki! A ty bądź zawsze przy mnie, jako jedna z karmicielek, szanowana w tym kraju, ale nie głoś obcych słów, tej fałszywej wiary Rzymian, i nie zechciej mówić o tym tutaj; albowiem, oto są bogowie dający wszelkie urodzaje i władający światłem, rozścielający promienie słońca i zsyłający deszcz, pielęgnujący plody ziemi (bogowie) Kartlii – Armaz i Zaden, posiadacze wszystkich tajemnic, i starożytni bogowie ojców naszych, Gaci i Ga. Niech oni będą najważniejszymi bogami dla ciebie! Teraz zaś, jeśli ulecysz tego dostojnika, wzbogacę cię i osiedlę w Mcchecie w służbie Armaza. On wprawdzie został zniszczony przez ostre powietrze, ale miejsce jego jest nieporuszone. Armaz i bóg Chaldeczyków Itruszan są stale w nieprzyjaźni. (235r) Ten nasłał morze na niego, a tamten tym jednym (czynem) zaszkodził mu, jak to jest w zwyczaju władających światłem. Niech ci wystarczy to moje polecenie”.

Błogosławiona Nino w odpowiedzi rzekła: „Królu, obyś żył wiecznie! W imię Chrystusa i dzięki modlitwom świętej Matki jego, a razem z Nią wszystkich świętych, Bóg, stwórca nieba i ziemi, Ojciec wszystkich narodzonych, wyjawiał ci w wielkiej dobroci swojej i w niezmiernym łasce swojej jak iskrę z pieca gorącego jeden ze skarbów swoich, żebyś ty poznał i rozumiał prawdę nieba i światło słońca, głębię morza i dno jego, szerokość wszechświata i jego podstawy, i żebyś, ty królu, wiedział, kto ubiera niebo w obłoki, (daje) gromowi łoskot powietrza, od ostrości którego drży ziemia i huki grzmotu idą jego śladem

- ყოველი ქუეყანამ, ვიდრემდის დაირღვან მთანი მყარნი და კლდენი; და მეცნიერ გყავნ შენ ამას ყოველსა ზელა-მიწვენით, რამეთუ ღმერთი ღმერთი არს ცათა შინა და უხილავ არს ჭავადი იგი დიდი, რომელ არს ძრუასა შინა, და შეძრის ყოველი ქუეყანამ, ვიდრემდის დაირღვან მთანი მყარნი და კლდენი; და მეცნიერ გყავნ შენ
- 5 ამას ყოველსა ზელა-მიწვენით, რამეთუ ღმერთი არს ცათა შინა და უხილავ არს თავადი იგი ყოველისაგან დაბადებულისა, თუნიერ მისა, რომელ-იგი მისგან გამოვიდა. ესე მოივლინა ქუეყანასა ზელა ვითარცა კაცი, რომელმან ყოველივე აღასრულა, რომლისათვისცა მოსრულ იყო, და აღკდა მათვე სიმაღლეთა მამისა თანა. (235v)
- 10 მან მხოლომან იხილა დაუსაბამო იგი, და იგი მხოლოდ მის თანა არს, რომელი-იგი მდაბალთა ჰხელავს და მაღალნი იგი შორით ინის. ხოლო აწ, მეფე, ახლოს არს მიახლებამ შენი ღმრთისაჲ, და ხალენისა მის ელიაჲსისა ყოფამ ვითემე აქა თქუეს, და მრავალნი სასწაულნი არიან აქა, რომელნი ღმერთმან გუწყნეს. ხოლო მე ესე მთავარი განგკურნო ძალითა ქრისტეს[ს] ჩემისაჲთა და ჯუარითა ვნებისა მისისაჲთა, ვითარცა-იგი დელოფალი ნანა განკურნა ღმერთმან სენისა მისგან მისგან
- 15 ფიცხლისა და რაჲ-იგი ვაუწყე მას, ჰყოფს მას იგი, რაჲთა სულიცა თუხი განაბრ-წყინვოს და რიცა თუხი მიაახლოს ღმერთსა”. მაშინ მოფუგუარეს მთავარი იგი, და ქარიყვანა წმიდამან ნინო და მე ნანა დელოფალი სამოთხესა მას შინა, ნაძუთა მით ქუეშე, დაადგინა იგი და აღმოსავალით აღპყრობად-სცნა კელნი მისნი. და ათქუმიამ სამგმის: „ვიჯმნი შენგან, ეშმაკო, და შეუდგები ქრისტესა, ძესა ღმრთისაჲთა წმი-
- 20 დაჲ ნინო და ითხოვდა რმრთისაგან შეწვენასა კაცსა მას ზელა, და ჩუენ მის თანა, ერთ დღე. და მწრაფლ განვიდა სული იგი ბოროტგი. დაემოწაფა წმიდასა ნინოს იგი და ყოველი სახლი მისი, და აღიღებდა ღმერთსა, მამასა და ძესა და წმიდასა სულსა, რომლისაჲ არს დიდებამ უკუნითი უკუნისამდე, ამენ.

## თავი 9

25

## თქუმული მისივე

- და იყო დღესა ერთსა, ზაფხულის პირსა, თუესა ივლისსა ოცსა, დღესა.
- [H—600, 26v: შაფათსა, აღკდა მეფე და განვიდა ნაღირობად მუხრანით კერძო, და მოვლო ციხეთა მათ დიღთა ასპად და კასპად და უფლიციხე, და განვიდა თხემსა მის მთის[ა]სა. და შუა სამხაროდენ დაბ[ნ]ელდა მის ზელა მზე,
- 30 და იქმნა ღამე უკუნი, ბნელი ფრიად. დაფ[ა]რნა ბნ[ე]ლმან არენი და ადგ[ი]ლნი იგინი. და განიბნივნეს ურვისა მისგან და ჭირისა ურთიერთარს ყოველნი ერნი მისნი, და დარჩა მეფე მარგოჲ და იარებოდა მათათა ზელა და მაღნართა შინა შეშინებ[უ]ლი და შეძრწუნებული. და დადგა ერთსა ადგილსა და წარეწირა სასოებამ ცხორებისა მისისა[ჲ]. ხოლო კეთილისმყოფელმან ღმერთმან აქცია
- 35 გონებამ მისი უცნობელობისაგან ცნობად და მეცრების[ა]გ[ან] მეცნიერებად, და მოეგო ცნობასა და განიბრ[ა]ხვიდა გულსა თუესსა და თქუა: „აჰა ეს[ე]რა, ვხელავ, რამეთუ ვხადი კმითა მაღლითა არმამს და ზადენს და არა ვპოვე ლხინებამ ჩემი ზელა. აწ უკუე ვხადო, რომელსა-იგი ნინო ქალაგებს ჯუარსა და ჯუარცმულ-

i zapalają się z wściekłości swojej; żebyś ty wiedział, że kiedy ten wielki wieloryb, który znajduje się w morzu poruszy się, to cała ziemia zaczyna kołysać się, tak że padają twardo stojące góry i skały. Nauczę cię tego wszystkiego dokładnie: gdyż jest Bóg w niebiosach, ale on sam nie jest widoczny dla nikogo z urodzonych z wyjątkiem Tego, który pochodzi od Niego. Był On posłany na ziemię jako człowiek, wykonał wszystko, po co przyszedł, i powtórnie wstąpił na wysokości Ojca swojego. (235v) On jeden widział go i On jeden jest razem z Nim, który widzi łagodnych i dumnych poznaje z daleka. Teraz, o królu, bliskie jest twoje zbliżenie z Bogiem. Wiem, że w tym mieście jest jeden znak, suknia Syna Boga, a niektórzy mówią, że i płaszcz Eliasza znajduje się tutaj, i wiele tu jest cudów, o których sam Bóg opowie tobie. A ulecę tego dostojnika mocą Chrystusa mojego i krzyżem cierpienia jego tak, jak królową Nanę uleczył Bóg z ciężkiej choroby. I to, co wyjawiałam jej, ona uczyni, żeby oświecić i duszę swoją, i przybliżyć lud swój do Boga”. Wtedy przyprowadzono dostojnika i Nino wzięła jego, mnie i królową Nanę do ogrodu. Postawiła pod cedrami, twarzą ku wschodowi i nakazała, podniósłszy ręce, powtórzyć trzykrotnie: „Wyrzekam się ciebie, szatanie, i oddaję się Chrystusowi, synowi Boga!” I święta Nino płakała dzień cały, wzdychając z (głębi) duszy swojej i prosiła i my z nią, Boga. Zły duch wówczas zniknął, a ten dostojnik i cały dom jego stali się uczniami świętej Nino i wychwalali Boga Ojca i Syna, i Ducha Świętego, któremu niech będzie chwała na wieki wieków, amen.

## Rozdział 9

### Opowiedziane przez nią

Zdarzyło się (to) pewnego letniego dwudziestego dnia miesiąca lipca, w dzień...

[H—600, 26v: sobotni, gdy król udał się na polowanie w stronę Muchrani. Objechał on okolice Muchrani i wszedł na góry Tchoti, żeby popatrzeć na Kaspi i Uplisciche. I gdy tylko nastąpiło południe, słońce zaćmiło się i stało się ciemno, jakby nastąpiła noc. Ciemności pokryły wszystkie miejsca. Wtedy świta królewska, strwożona tym nieszczęściem i dopustem, rozpierzchła się w różne strony, zaś król pozostał sam i błądził po górach i lasach, przejęty strachem i przerażeniem. I straciwszy nadzieję na uratowanie, zatrzymał się. A Bóg, dobroczyńca, przemienił nieświadomego w świadomego, niewiedzącego w wiedzącego, aż doszedł (on) do siebie i, rozważając (to) w umyśle swoim, rzekł: „Oto widzę, że przy-

- სა და ჰყოფს კურნებათა მრავალთა მისითა სასოებითა. აწ არამცა ძალ-იღვა  
 კსნაჲ ჩემი ამის ჭირისაგან. რამეთუ ვარ მე ცოცხლივ ჯოჯოხეთს შინა, და  
 არა უწყი ესე, თუ ყ[ო]ვლისა ქუეყანისათჳს იქმნა დაქცევაჲ და ნათელი ბნელად  
 გარდაიქცა, ანუ ჩემთჳს ოდენ არს ჭირი ესე”. მე [ე]ყს[ე]ულ[ა]დ კმა-ყო და თქუა:
- 5 „ღმერთო ნინო[ა]სო, გნმინათლე ბნ[ე]ლი ესე და მიჩ[უ]ენე საყოფ[ე]ლი ჩემი, და  
 აღვიარო სახელი შენი, და აღვმართო ძელი ჯუარისა შენისა[ა] და თაყუანის-  
 -ვსცე მას, და აღვიშ[ე]ნო სახლი სახლად შენდა და ს[ა]ლოცვ[ე]ლად ჩემდა, და  
 ვიყო მორჩილ ნინო[ა]სსა და სჯულსა ზედა ჰრომთისაჲ”. და ესე რაჲ თქუა და  
 წარმოთქ[უ]ა, მაშინ განთენა და მსწრაფ გამობრწყინდა მზე.
- 10 მაშინ გარდამოვიდა მეფე ცხენისაგან და ღავ[ა]რდა პირდაქცევით ქუეყანასა  
 ზედა სულთქუმით და გირილით. და აღდგა და განიჰყრნა კვლი აღმოსავლე-  
 თით და თქუა: „შენ ხარ ღმერთი ყოველთა ზედა ღმერთთა და უფალი ყოველთა  
 ზედა უფალთა, ღმერთი, რომელსა ნინო ქადაგებს, და საქებ[ე]ლ სახელი შენი  
 ყოვლისაგან დაბადებულისა ცასა ქუეშე და ქუეყანასა ზედა. შენ მიჰსენ ჭირისა-
- 15 გან და ს[ა]ხელის-დებითა შენითა მსწრაფლ განმინათლე ბნელი ჩემი. აჰა ეს[ე]  
 რა მიცნობიეს, რამეთუ გინდა კსნაჲ ჩემი და მიახლებაჲ ჩემი შენდა, და აქ  
 ამ[ა]ს აღვიღსა აღვმართო ძელი ჯუარისა შენისა[ა], რომლითა იდიღებოდ[ი]ს  
 სახელი წმიდაჲ შენი და იკსენებოდის საქმე ესე სასწაულთა ამათ უკუნისამდე”.  
 და ისწავლა ადგ[ი]ლი იგი, და წარმოემართა და გამოვიდა. და ვითარცა იხილეს
- 20 ნათელი ერმან მისმან, მყოფარ ეამ შეირთნეს განზნეულნი ესე და შეწუხებულნი.  
 და მეფე ღაღადებდა და ეგყოდა ყოველსა მას ერსა მისსა, ვითარმედ: „მიეცი  
 დიდებაჲ ღმერთსა ნინო[ა]სსა ყოველმან ერმან. რამეთუ იგი არს ღმერთი საუკუ-  
 ნოჲ და მას მხოლოსა შეუენის ქებაი უკუნისამდე, ამენ”.
- ხოლო ნანა დედოფალი და ყოველი (236r) იგი ქალაქი განვილოდეს მიგებუ-
- 25 ბად მეფისა, რამეთუ პირველ ესმინა წარწყმედაჲ და მერმე მოქცევაჲ მშულო-  
 ბით. და მიეგებოდეს ქინძარს და ღართს. და იყო სიხარული დიდი მშულობით  
 მოქცევისათჳს. ხოლო ნეგარი ნინო დადგრომილ იყო ლოცვასა მწუხრისასა  
 ჩვეულებისაგერ მაყოფანსა მას შინა, და ჩუენ მის თანა ორმოც და ათი  
 სული. და იყო, ვითარცა შემოვიდა მეფე, იძროვოდა ყოველი იგი ქალაქი, და
- 30 კმითა მალლითა ღაღადებდა მეფე და იგყოდა: „სად უკუე არს ედაკაცი იგი  
 უცხოჲ, რომელ არს დედაჲ ჩემი, და ღმერთი იგი მისი მქსნელი ჩემი?”.
- და ვითარცა ესმა, ვითარმედ აქა მაყოფანსა შინა არს და ილოცავს, მო-  
 ღრკა მეფე და ყოველი იგი ლაშქარი, მოვიდა და გარდამოვარდა საკედრისაგან  
 და ეგყოდა ნინოს: „აწ ღირს ვარა ხაღიდ სახელსა ღმრთისა შენისასა და
- 35 მქსნელისა ჩემისასა?” ხოლო წმიდაჲ იგი ასწავებდა და აწუევდა მწრაფლ  
 თავეყანის-ცემასა აღმოსავლით ქრისტსა, მისა ღმრთისა[ა]სა.
- მაშინ იგი გრგუნვაჲ და გირილი ყოვლისა მის ერისაჲ, რამეთუ ფხედვიდეს  
 მეფისა და დედოფლისა ცრემლთა დინებასა სიხარულისა მისგან და საკრვე-  
 ლებისა დიდისა, რომელი იქმნა.
- 40 და ხვალისა დღე წარავლინნა მოციქულნი საბერძნეთა. ხოლო ნეგარი  
 ნინო ასწავებდა დღე და ღამე ყოველსა კაცსა ჭეშმარიტსა მას გზასა სარწ-  
 მუნნოეებისასა.



wołuję na cały głos bogów swoich, Armaza i Zadena, a nie znajduję pocieszenia. A co, jeśli teraz zwrócę się do rozpiętego na krzyżu, o którym naucza Nino i dokonuje wielu uleceń wiarą w niego. Czy nie zdoła on uratować mnie od tego nieszczęścia, bo żywy znajduję się w piekle i nie wiem, czy dla całego wszechświata nastąpiło to zniszczenie i przemiana świata w mrok, czy tylko dla mnie jednego to nieszczęście”. Nie czekając (król) głośno powiedział: „Boże (którego wyznaje) Nino, rozświetl dla mnie ten mrok i pokaż dom mój! Wyznawać będę imię Twoje, wzniosę drzewo krzyża i pokłonię się jemu, zbuduję świątynię ku twojej chwale i dla mojej modlitwy i będę zawdzięczał Nino wiarę Rzymian”. I gdy tylko to powiedział, pojaśniało i od razu zabłysło słońce.

Wtedy król zsiadł z konia, upadł twarzą na ziemię z jękiem i płaczem. I wzniosłszy ręce ku wschodowi rzekł: „Ty jesteś Bogiem nad wszystkimi bogami i Panem nad wszystkimi panami. Bogiem, którego głosi Nino. Twoje imię powinno być wysławiane przez wszystkich urodzonych pod niebiosami i na ziemi. Ty uratowałeś mnie przed nieszczęściem i oświetliłeś Imieniem swoim mrok mój. I oto zrozumiałem, że Ty chcesz uratować mnie i przybliżyć ku sobie. Przeto teraz na tym miejscu wzniosę drzewo krzyża Twojego, żeby tak wywyższone było święte imię Twoje i przypominało wydarzenie to i znak na wieki wieków”. I zapamiętawszy to miejsce (król) wyruszył z powrotem, a rozproszona świta jego, ujrawszy światło, zebrała się, a król głośno wzywał i przemówił do całej swej świty: „Oddajcie wszyscy chwałę Bogu (którego wyznaje) Nino, gdyż on jeden jest Bogiem wiecznym i Jemu Jedynemu będzie chwała na wieki wieków, amen”.

Tymczasem królowa Nana i mieszkańcy całego] (236r) miasta wyszli na spotkanie królowi, gdyż słyszeli o zaginięciu, a później o szczęśliwym powrocie (króla) i spotkali go w Kindzare i Garte, i była wielka radość z powodu jego szczęśliwego powrotu. A błogosławiona Nino zgodnie ze zwyczajem odmawiała modlitwę w zaroślach jeżyn, i my pięćdziesiąt dusz, razem z nią. Przed przybyciem króla całe miasto było pełne niepokoju, zaś król zawołał głośno i rzekł: „Gdzie jest ta niewiasta cudzoziemka, matka moja, której Bóg został wybawcą moim?”

A gdy usłyszał, że ona jest tutaj w zaroślach jeżyn i modli się, zawrócił z całą świtą, podjechał (do niej), pospiesznie zsiadł z konia i rzekł do Nino: „Czy godny jestem teraz zwracać się do Boga twojego i wybawiciela mego?” A święta Nino pouczyła go i nakazała zaraz pokłonąć się w stronę wschodu Chrystusowi, Synowi Boga.

Wówczas było słyhać zgiełk i płacz całego ludu, gdyż zobaczyli króla i królową płaczących z radości i z powodu tego wielkiego cudu, który się wydarzył.

Następnego dnia król odprawił posłów do Grecji, a błogosławiona



## [თავი 10

## მისივე აღწერილი აღმენებისათვის ეკლესიათადასა]

ხოლო მეფე ეგყოდა ნინოს აღმენებისათვის ეკლესიისა, ოდეს-იგი წარემართა მეფე და ყოველი ერი მოწრაფებით ქრისტეანობასა, ვიდრე მდღელთა მათ მოსლვადმდე საბერძნეთით. ჰრქუა მეფემან მორწმუნემან წმიდასა ნინოს: „სადა უმენო სახლი ღმერთსა?“ ხოლო ნეგარმან მან ჰრქუა: (236v) „სადაცა მეფეთა გონებაა მგვიცე არს“. ხოლო მეფემან ჰრქუა: „მიყუარან მაყუალნი ეგე შენნი და მუნ მინებს გონებითა, არამედ არა ესრწთ, არამედ არა ვჰრიდო სამოთხესა მას სამეფოსა და ნაძუთა სიმაღლესა და ბაბილოთა მათ ნაყოფიერებასა და ყუაგილთა მათ სულნელებასა, არამედ მას შინა აღვაშენო გაძარი სალოცველად ჩემდა, რომელი ეგოს უკუნისადმე“.

და მეყსეულად მოიღეს ძელი და იწყეს შენებად. და მოჰკუეთეს ნაძუ იგი და შემზადეს სუეგად და ძირთა მისთა ზედა დაღვეს საფუძველი ეკლესიისაჲ. და იყო სუეგისა მის სმაშინელ ხილვაჲ და საძირკუელი, რომელი ზემო წერილ არს.

ხოლო ოდეს მოიწია ყამი აღმართებად სუეგი იგი პირველ მოქსენებული, იწყეს ხურთთა მათ აღმართებად და ვერ უძღეს. მაშინ შეკრბა სიმრავლს ურიცხვ და მეფე მათ თანა. იწყეს ფერად-ფერადთა ღონეთა და მანქანათა მზადებად. არა თუ აღმართებად ოდენ ვერ შეუძღეს, არამედ შეძრვადცა. და უქმ იქმნა ყოველი სიბრძნს და ღონის-ძიებაჲ კაცთაჲ, რაჲთ სუეგისა მის აღმართებითა საკურველად ღმერთი იდიდოს და კაცნი უმეგესად დაემგვიცნენ სარწმუნოვებასა.

და ვითარ ვერ შეუძღეს აღმართებად და უმარჯუ იქმნა საქმს იგი, წარვიდა მეფე და ყოველი ერი გულ-<sup>[გ]</sup>ღებული ურვისაგან და მწუხარე იყვნეს ამას ზედა. ხოლო ნეგარი ნინო ღმთა ადგილსავე, და ათორმეგნი ღედანი სხუანი. ხოლო სანაგრელი იგი გოდებდა და დააღენდა ცრემლთა სუეგსა მას ზედა და ვითარცა შუვალამე ოდენ იყო, წარმოიქცოდეს ორნი ესე მთანი-არმაზ და ბაღენ, (237r) რეცა თუ ესრწთ ჩამოირღუევოდეს, და დააყენნეს ორთავე წყალნი იგი. და მგკუარმან გარდამოხეთქა და წარჰქონდა სმაშინელად ქალაქი. და მიერ შეიქმნეს კმანი სმაშინელი და სამარელნი გყებისა და სივლგოლისანი. ეგრევე არაგვ გარდამოკლა ციხესა ზემოთ და იქმნებოდეს სმაშინელნი გრგვზვანი. და შეშინდეს ღედანი იგი და ივლგოდეს, და მეცა მათ თანავე, ხოლო ნეგარი წმიდაჲ ნინო დაღადებდა: „ნუ გეშინინ, დანო ჩემნო, მთანი იგი მუნვე ჰვიან და წყალნი იგი მუნვე ღიან და ერსა ყოველსა სძინავს. ხოლო ესე, რომელ რეცა მთანი დაირღუეს, სამართლად გუაჩუენებს, რამეთუ ურწმუნოვებისა მთანი დაირღუეს, სამართლად გუაჩუენებს, რამეთუ ურწმუნოვებისა მთანი დაირღუეს ქართლს შინა. და წყალნი რომელ დაყენნეს, დაყენა სისხლი იგი ყრმათაჲ ეშმაკთა შეწირვისაჲ. ხოლო კმანი ესე გყებისანი არიან ეშმაკთა სიმრავლისანი, რამეთუ ევლოვიან თავთა მათთა ოკრებასა, რამეთუ არიან იგინი მეოგ ამით ადგილით ძალითა მაღლისაჲთა და ჯუართა ქრისტესითა. მოიქეცით და ილოცვედით ღმრთისა მიმართ, შეილნო!“ და მეყსეულად დასცხრეს კმანი იგი, და იყო არარაჲ. და დაღვა წმიდაჲ ნინო განიპყრნა კელნი თჳსნი ცად მიმართ, და თუალნი ღმრთისა მიმართ, ილო-

Nino dniem i nocą głosiła wszystkim ludziom prawdziwą wiarę.  
[Rozdział 10]

O budowaniu kościoła, opisane również przez nią]

Przed przyjazdem kapłanów z Grecji, gdy król i cały lud z gorliwością wstąpili już na drogę chrześcijaństwa, król odbył rozmowę z Nino o budowie kościoła. Nawrócony król zapytał świętą Nino: „Gdzie mam zbudować dom Bogu?”, a błogosławiona odpowiedział: „Gdzie zechce rozum królów”. Król rzekł: „Ja lubię owe twoje zarosła jeżyn i chcę tam (zbudować kościół) zgodnie z moją myślą. Ale nie, nie oszczędzę ogrodu królewskiego i wysokości cedrów, obfitości liści i wonnych kwiatów, w nim zbuduję świątynię modlitwy dla siebie, która stać będzie wiecznie”.

Wtedy wzięli ludzie narzędzia i zaczęli budować, ścieli ów cedr, wykonali z niego słup, i wokół niego założyli fundamenty kościoła. Porażający był widok i podstawa tego słupa, o czym zapisano wyżej.

Kiedy nadszedł czas podnoszenia słupa wcześniej wspomnianego, cieśle zaczęli dźwigać go, ale nie zdołali. Wtedy zebrał się nieprzeliczony tłum. Z nim również król. Zaczęli próbować różnych sposobów i środków, ale nie tylko postawić, ale i poruszyć go z miejsca nie mogli. I każda mądrość i staranie ludzkie było daremne, żeby cudownym podniesieniem tego słupa został wysławiony Bóg, i ludzie bardziej umocnili się w wierze.

I gdy nie zdołali podnieść i nie udała się ta praca, król i cały lud, zafrasowani i smutni, rozeszli się. Tylko błogosławiona Nino szlochala i wylewała łzy na ów słup. Gdy tylko nastąpiła północ, te dwie góry, Armaz i Zaden, (237r) runęły, jak gdyby zawaliły się, i zatamowały obie rzeki. Mtkwari wystąpiła z brzegów i porywała zalewane miasto, stamtąd rozległy się okropne i rozdzierające okrzyki, płacz i (wrzawa) ucieczki. Także i Aragwi wystąpiła z brzegów powyżej twierdzy, zaczęły rozlegać się silne wstrząsy. I niewiasty te, razem z nimi i ja, przestraszyliśmy się i uciekły. A błogosławiona święta Nino wołała: „Nie bójcie się, siostry moje, góry te stoją na swoich miejscach, rzeki te płyną w swoich korytach, a lud cały śpi. A to pozorne zniszczenie gór naprawdę wskazuje, że góry niewiary rozpadły się w Kartlii i zatrzymanie rzek oznacza, że powstrzymana została krew dzieci, przynoszona na ofiary diabłom, a odgłosy płaczu to zawođenje wielu diabłów, które oplakują swój upadek, gdyż one będą wygnane z tej ziemi mocą Najwyższego i krzyżem Chrystusa. Wracajcie córki (moje) i módlcie się do Boga!” I nagle ucichły głosy i nic się (więcej) nie działo. A święta Nino, wzniosłszy ręce swoje ku niebu i oczy ku

ცვიდა და ევედრებოდა, რათა არა დააბრკოლოს საქმს ესე სარწმუნოვებისამ მგერმან, რომელსა წადიერებით წარმართებულ არს საქმს ესე სარწმუნოვებისამ მგერმან, რომელსა წადიერებით წარმართებულ არს მეფს და ყოველი ერი. და ვიდრე არლა ეყივნა ქათამსა, სამთავე კართა სცა მარსა ლაშქარმან ძლიერმან და დაღეწნეს კარნი ქალაქისანი. და აღივსო ქალაქი სპარსთა ლაშქრითა და მეც-სეულად (237v) შეიქმნნეს მარის აღსაკვლენი ბრინვანი, და ყივილნი და კლვამ ერისამ, ვითარმცა სისხლი დიოდა. და აღივსო ყოველი ადგილი, და მოვიდა ჩუენ ზედა სიმრაველს მახილთა და მახვლთა, და დაღნეს კორცნი ჩუენნი და განილია სულნი ჩუენი. ხოლო მე ვგვიროდე მამისათჳს და ნათესავთა ჩემთათჳს, და მწრაფლ

10 მესმა, კობლდეს ძლიერად: „ამას ბრძანებს მეფს სპარსთა ხუარა და მეფეთმეფს ხუარან ხუარა, ყოველი ჰურიამ განარინეთ პირისაგან მახვლისა“. ვითარცა ესე მესმა, მოვეგე გონებასა, შეორგული მე და ათნი იგი ჩემ თანა. და მოახლებულ იყვნეს მახვლოსანნი და ჩუენსა გარემოს სცემდეს და კლვიდეს.

და ისმა კმაი ძლიერად, მირეან მეფს შეიპყრესო. და გარე-მოიხილა მკნელ

15 მოღუაწემან მან და თქუა: „კუალად ყვესა? ვიცი, რამეთუ დიდად შწირს“. და ჰმა-დლობდა ღმერთსა, რამეთუ ესე მიშანი მათისა წარწყმედისამ არს, და ქართლი-სა ცხოვრებისამ და ამის ადგილსა დიდებისამ. და ნუგეშინის-გუცემდა, ვითარცა მოძღუარი კელოვანი, ნანდლვე ჭემშარიგად მოძღუარი და მოციქული ქრისტესი წმიდა ნინო. და ნუგეშინის-გუცემდა, ვითარცა მოძღუარი კელოვანი, ნანდლვე

20 ჭემშარიგად მოძღუარი და მოციქული ქრისტესი წმიდა ნინო. და მოექცა ერსა მას მომავალსა ჩუენ ზედა და ჰრქუა: „სად არიან მეფენი სპარსთანი ხუარა და ხუან ხუარა? საბასგანით გუშინ წარმოხუედითა? მალე მოხუედით. და დიდად სამე არს ლაშქარი, უბომო ვიდრემდე ხართ, და ძლიერად დაფლევით ქალაქი ესე. მაჯული დაეცით. [უბრძანებ] ქართა და ნიათა: წარვედით ბნელთა ჩრდილოასათა,

25 მთათა მათ (238r) კედარისათა. აქა მოვიდოდა იგი, რომელსა თქუენ ევლგოდით“. და განძრა მარჯუენე თჳსი და დასწერა კელითა სახს ჯუარისამ. და მეყსეულად უჩინო იქმნა ყოველივე იგი სიმრაველს ერისამ, და იქმნა დაყულება დიდ. და ჩუენ ვადიდებდით ღმერთსა, და ვჰნაგრით წმიდასა და სახაგრელსა ნინოს.

და ვითარცა ცისკარი აღეღებოდა მცირედ, მიერულა დათა მათ ჩემთა, ხოლო

30 მე მღვდარე ვიყავ. და წმიდა ნინო დგა კელ-ალპყრობილ. და აჰა ესერა ზედა-მო-აღვა ჭაბუკი ერთი ყოვლადვე ნათლითა შემოსილი, და მოეზარდნა ცეცხლის-სა-ხედ მეწარი, და არქენა სამნი რამე სიგყუანი ნეგარსა ნინოს. ხოლო იგი დაეცა პირსა ზედა თჳსსა. ხოლო ჭაბუკმან მან მიყო კელი სუეგსა მას და უპყრა თავი და აღამაღლა და წარილო სიმაღლესა ცათასა. და მე განკურჯებული მივეახლე და

35 ვარქუ ნეგარსა დელოფალსა: „რამ არს ესე?“ ხოლო მან მომიდრიკა თავი ჩემი ქუეყნად. და მე გირლდ ვიწყე მარსა მას ზედა. და მცირელისა ჟამისა შემდგომად აღღვა ნეგარი იგი და მეცა აღმადგინა და გნვეშორენით მას, ადგილსა მას.

ხოლო დედანი იგი იყვნესვე კიდე. და აჰა ვიხილე სუეგი იგი ცეცხლისსახედ ჩა-მოვიდოდა და მოეახლა ხარისხსა მას თჳსსა. და ვითარ დაემართა, და დაღვა ზედა

40 ხარისხსა მას ქუეყანით აღშორებულად ვითარ ათორმეგ წყრთა და ნელიად ჩა-მოიცვალედა თჳსსავე მას ზედა ნაკუეთსა, რამეთუ ხარისხად იყო ძირი იგი მისი, რომლისაგან მოკუეთილ იყო (238v) სუეგი იგი ცხოველი. და ვითარ რიქურაქუ

Bogu, modliła się i prosiła, żeby wróg nie przeszkodził sprawie wiary, do której gorliwie przystąpił król i cały lud. Nie zdążył jeszcze zapiać kogut, gdy potężne wojsko zabiło na alarm u wszystkich trzech bram. Bramy miejskie zostały zniszczone i miasto wypełniło się wojskiem perskim. (237v) Nagle zaczęła się rzeź ludu przy krzykach i przeraźliwym hałasie, krew lała się i zapełniła wszystko. Mnóstwo rycerzy z krzykiem skierowało się na nas. I ciała nasze rozmiękły, a dusze nasze wyschły. Zaś ja płakałam z powodu ojca i krewnych swoich i nagle usłyszałam rozlegający się donośny głos: „Tak nakazuje król perski Chuara, król królów Chuaran Chuara, wybawcie każdego Żyda od ostrza miecza”. Kiedy to usłyszałam, doszłam do siebie. Ja i dziecięć tych (małżonek) ze mną nabrałyśmy otuchy. Rycerze zbliżyli się rżąc i zabijając wszystkich wokół nas.

I rozległ się silny głos, że króla Miriana wzięto do niewoli. Niestrudzona ta bojowniczką (Nino) rozejrzała się wokół i rzekła: „Wiem, że skazany jest na śmierć (ten, kto krzyczy), gdyż jest on w trudnej sytuacji”. I dziękowała Bogu za to, że był to znak dla nich uratowania Kartlii i wywyższenia tego miejsca. I święta Nino pocieszała nas jako dobra nauczycielka, nauczycielka prawdziwa, posłanniczka Chrystusa. Zwróciwszy się do ludu, który szedł na nas, rzekła: „Gdzie król Persów Chuara i Chuaran Chuara, (czyżby dopiero) wczoraj wyruszyli z Sebastanu? Wcześniej przyszli! Bodaj gdzieś w pobliżu znajduje się ogromne wojsko, liczniejsze niż wy. Rozgromili to miasto, porazili mieczem wiatr i wietrzyk! Oddalcie się w ciemności północy, w góry mroku, (238r) skąd przyszedł ten, od którego uciekacie! I poruszyła dłoń swoją i wykonała ręką znak krzyża. I nagle zniknęło całe to mnóstwo ludzi i stało się bardzo cicho. A my wysławialiśmy Boga i garnęliśmy się do świętej i błogosławionej Nino.

Przed wschodem jutrzeńki siostry moje chwilę zdrzemnęły się, a ja czuwałam. I stała święta Nino z wzniesionymi rękoma. I oto stanął przed nią młodzieniec, cały przyobleczony w światło, w ognistym płaszczu, i powiedział błogosławionej Nino jakieś trzy słowa. Ona zaś upadła twarzą na ziemię, a młodzieniec schwycił ręką ten słup, ujął za koniec, dźwignął i wzniosł ku przestworzom. Ja zdziwiona podeszłam i rzekłam błogosławionej królowej: „Co to?”, a ona zaś skłoniła moją głowę ku ziemi. I zaczęłam płakać z przerażenia. I po niedługim czasie owa błogosławiona wstała, podniosła mnie i odeszłyśmy z tego miejsca.

A niewiasty te znów były oddalone, i oto ujrzałam, że słup ten jak ogień opada i zbliża się do podstawy swojej, i opadłszy, stanął nad podstawą w odległości dwunastu łokci od ziemi, powoli opadając na własny pień, gdyż ten służył za podstawę, od której życiodajny

ოღენ იყო, აღდგომილ იყო მეფე, გულ-გდებული ურვათაგან, და მიხედა სამოხესა მას, დაწყებულსა მას მისსა ეკლესიასა, რამეთუ მუნ მტკიცე იყო გონება მისი. და იხილა მუნ ნათელი, ვითარცა ელეა მცემლე აღწვეული სამოთხესა მას შინა.

- 5 იწყო სრბად, მკურცხლ მოსლვად, და ყოელისა ერისა სიმრავლ მის თანა. და ვითარცა მოვიდეს და იხილეს საკრველი იგი, ნათლითა მბრწყინვალ მსუეგი იგი ჩამოვიდოდა ადგილად თუსა, რეცა თუ დადგა ხარისხსა თუსსა ზედა და დაემყარა კელთშეუხებელად კაცთაგან.

ნეგარ მას ეამსა, რაჲ იგი იქმნებოდა!

- 10 შიშითა და სიხარულითა აღივსო მცხეთაჲ ქალაქი, და დამოსდიოდეს მდინა-რენი ცრემლთანი მეფესა და მთავართა და ყოველსა ერსა სულ-თქემითა სულისა მათისათა, და აღიღებდეს ღმერთსა და ჰნაგრიდეს ნეგარსა ნინოს. და იქმნებოდეს მას დღესა შინა სასწაულნი მრავალნი.

## თავი 11

### თქუმი მისივე

- 15 პირველი სასწაული. მო-ვინმე-ვიდა ჰურიან, ბრმაჲ შობითგანი და მიეახლა სუეგსა მას ცხოველსა, და მუნქუესვე იქმნა იგი მხედველ და აღიღებდა ღმერთსა.

- [ბ.] ყრმაჲ ვინმე სეფეწული იღვა რვა წლისა სნეული, წარმართი, მოილო იგი დელამან მისმან სარწმუნოვებით, დადგა იგი ცხედარსა ზედა წინაშე 20 სუეგისა მის ნათლისაჲსა და ნანდულვე ნათლით შემოსილისა. და ევედრებოდა ნეგარსა ნინოს (239r) და ეგყოლა: „მოხედე, დელოფალო, ძესა ამას ჩემსა, მიახლებულსა სიკუდილ, რამეთუ ვიცი, ვითარმედ იგი არს ღმერთი ღმერთთაჲ, რომელსა მენ ჰმსახურებ და ჩუენ გუქადაგებ“. მაშინ შეახო ნეგარმან ნინო კელი თუსი სუეგსა მას ცხოველსა და დასდგა ყრმასა მას ზედა 25 და ჰრქუა: „გრწამსა იესუ ქრისტე, ძე ღმრთისა ცხოველისაჲ, კორცითა მოსრული ცხორებისათჳს ყოელისა სოფლისა?“ და ჰრქუა ყრმამან მან: „ჰე, დელოფალო, მრწამს იესუ ქრისტე, მქსნელი დაბადებულთაჲ“. მაშინ ჰრქუა მას წმიდამან ნინო: „განიკურნე ამიერთგან და აღიღებდი მას, ვისმან ძალმან განკურნა“. და მწრაფლ აღდგა ყრმაჲ იგი ვითარცა უტკიენელი.

- 30 და დაეცა შიში დიდი მეფესა და ყოველსა სიმრავლესა ერისასა. და თითოსახენი სნეულნი მოვიდოდეს და განიკურნებოდეს, ვიდრემდის მეფემან შექმნა საბურველი ძელისაჲ გარემომს სუეგსა მას და დაფარა ხედვისაგან და ეგრეთ შეეხებოდეს ერნი სართულსა მას და განიკურნებოდეს მწრაფლ და აღიღებდეს ღმედგსა საკრველთ-მოქმედსა.

- 35 და იწყო მეფემან აღშენებად სამოთხესა მას შინა ეკლესიასა გულსმოდგინებითა და სიხარულითა დიდითა

მაშინ მოვიდეს მოციქულნი საბერძნეთით, მდღელთმოძღუარი, მდღელნი და დიაკონნი და იწყეს ნათლის-ცემად, ვითარცა ძემოწერილ არს, ყოელისა ერისა.

ten (238v) słup był odcięty. I gdy tylko trochę pojaśniało, król wstał zatroskany i spojrzął na ogród, na rozpoczęty przezeń kościół, gdyż tam były skupione myśli jego. Ujrzał w ogrodzie światło podobne do błyskawicy, wznoszące się ku niebiosom.

Zaczął biec, żeby jak najprędzej dojść, a z nim (pośpieszyła) wielka liczba ludu. Kiedy przyszli, zobaczyli niezwykle to zjawisko, rozjaśniony światłem słup opadał na swoje miejsce, na podstawę swoją, i wbił się bez dotknięcia rąk ludzkich.

Błogosławiony ten czas, gdy to się stało!

Miasto Mccheta nappełniło się niepokojem i radością, płynęły potoki łez króla, książąt i całego ludu z powodu rozkliwienia ich dusz. (Tak) wysławiali oni Boga i garnęli się do świętej Nino. I dokonały się w owe dni liczne cuda.

## Rozdział 11

Opowiedziany również przez nią

Cud pierwszy. Przyszedł pewien Żyd, ślepy od urodzenia, zbliżył się do życiodajnego słupa i zaraz przejrzał, i błogosławił Boga.

(Cud drugi). Jedno pacholę z dworu, poganin, było chore od ośmiu lat. Matka, która uwierzyła, przyniosła go i położyła przed słupem światła, naprawdę przyobleczonym w światłość, i błagając błogosławioną Nino (239r) mówiła: „Weź w opiekę, królowo, syna mojego, bliskiego śmierci, gdyż wiem, że Ten, któremu Ty służysz i (którego) nam głosisz, jest Bogiem bogów”. Wtedy błogosławiona Nino przyłożyła ręce swoje do życiodajnego słupa i (później) położyła je na to pacholę i rzekła: „Czy wierzysz w Jezusa Chrystusa, Syna Boga żywego, który przyjął ciało dla zbawienia całego świata?” Wtedy święta Nino rzekła: „Wyzdrowiej więc i wychwalaj tego, mocą którego jesteś uleczoney”. I nagle pacholę to wstało, jakby nie było chore.

A król i cały lud byli ogarnięci wielkim lękiem. Przychodzili cierpiący na różne choroby i byli uleczeni, dopóki król nie wykonał wokół słupa drewnianego ogrodzenia i nie zakrył go przed spojrzzeniami. (Następnie) ludzie dotykali tego daszka i natychmiast byli uleczeni i wysławiali Boga, który czynił znaki.

A król przystąpił do budowy kościoła w tym ogrodzie gorliwie i z wielką radością.

Wówczas przybyli z Grecji posłowie, najwyższy kapłan, kapłani, diakoni i zaczęli chrzcić, jak (o tym) napisano wyżej.



## თავი 12

რომელი თქუა აბიათარ, რომელი იყო პირველ მღვდელი ბაგინსა შინა ჰურიათასა მცხეთას და ნათელ-ილო კელსა შინა ნინოხსა

მე, აბიათარ, მღვდელი ვიყავ წილით ხუედრებული სამღვდელსა ზედა მის  
 5 წელიწდისა, (239v) ოდეს ესე ნეგარი დედაკაცი ნინო მოვიდა მცხეთად. მას ჟამ-  
 სა ჩემ თანა წიგნები მოსრულ იყო ჰრომით და ეგუპტით და ბაბილონით ჰური-  
 თაჲ, მღვდელთაჲ და მწიგნობართაჲ, რომელსა წერილ იყო ესრეთ, ვითარმედ:  
 „განხეთქა ღმერთმან მეფობაჲ ჰურიათაჲ, აჰა ესერა წინაჲსწარმეგყუენნი  
 10 დასცხრეს, რამეთუ რომელსა სული აწუევდა, ყოველი აღესრულა, და განვიბ-  
 ნინით ჩუენ ყოველსა ქუეყანასა, და ჰრომთა დაიპყრეს მეფობით ქუეყანაჲ  
 ჩუენი, რამეთუ ვცოდეთ ყოვლითურთ და განვარისხეთ შემოქმედი ღმერთი.  
 აწ იხილენ წიგნნი მოსესნი, რომელმან დამიწერა ჩუენ ესე ყოველი: „რომელი  
 იგყვს ქუეყანასა ზედა ღმრთად თავსა თჳსსა, ძელსა დამოეკიდოს“. ანუ უკუე  
 15 შე-ვიდრემე-ვსცეთით ნაზარეველისა მის იესუჲს სიკუდილისა, რამეთუ ჰხედავ  
 პირველ, ოდეს შამათა ჩუენთა შესცოდიან ღმერთსა და ყოვლადვე დაივიწყიან  
 იგი, მისცნის კელმწიფესა ძლიერსა და გყუეობასა. ხოლო ოდეს მოიქციან და  
 ღაღად-ყვიან, მწრაფღვანარინის იგინი ჭირისაგან, და ესე მუღგმის ვიცით წე-  
 რილითგან. ხოლო ვინაჲთგან კელნი შეასხნეს ძესა მას დედაკაცისა მწირისასა  
 და მოკლეს, აღილო ღმერთმან კელი მისი ჩუენ ზედა, განხეთქა მეფობაჲ და გან-  
 20 გუაშორნა გაძარსა ღმრთისასა, და უგულებელს-ყო ნათესავი ჩუენი სრულად.

ხოლო აწ არს სამასი წელი, ვინაჲთგან არცაღა ყოვლადვე ისმინა ვედრე-  
 ბაჲ ჩუენი, არცა ყო ლხინებაჲ. შაგონებელ მიხს, ვითარმედ ზეცით იყო კაცი  
 იგი“. და ესე განემრავლა მოწერილი. ხოლო მე, ვითარცა მესმა ესე, ვიწყე  
 კითხვად დედაკაცისა მის ნინოხსა ქრისტესთჳს, თუ ვინაჲ იყო იგი, ანუ რო-  
 25 მელისა მიზეზი სათჳს იქმნა ღმერთი კაც. მაშინ ნეგარმან მან აღალო პირი  
 თჳსი, ვითარცა ჯურღუმულმან აღმომდინარემან და ვითარცა წყარომან დაუ-  
 წყუედელმან. იწყო საუკუნითგანთა, ჩემთა წიგნთა ზეპირით წარმოიგყოდა  
 და განმიმარტებდა და შამათა ჩემთა შემაწყალებდა და შჯულისა ცვალებასა  
 შემაჯერებდა, ვიდრემდის მრწმენა სიგყუთა მისითა ქრისტე, ძმ ღმრთისაჲ, და  
 30 ვნებაჲ მისი და აღდგომაჲ დიდებით, და მეორედ მოსლვაჲ მისი სმაშინელებით,  
 და ჭეშმარიტად იგი არს მოლოდებაჲ წარმართთაჲ.

მას ჟამსა მე [და] ასული ჩემი ღირს ვიქმენით საპკურებელსა და განსაწ-  
 მედელსა ცოდვათასა, ემბაზსა, წყალსა მას წმიდასა, რომელსაცა ინაგრიდა  
 35 დავით წინაჲსწარმეგყუელი და ვერ ეწიფა. და კუალად მესმა მე კმაჲ ახლისა  
 შჯულისა მგალობელთაჲ, რომელსა ინაგრიდა იგივე დავით და ვერ მიემთხვა.

და ღირს ვიქმენ მიარებად ჭეშმარიტსა კორცსა და სისხლსა კრავისა მის  
 ღმრთისასა სოფლისა ცოდვათათჳს შეწირულისა, რომლისა გკბილ არს მისი  
 გემოჲს-ხილვაჲ. და ამას ზედა ყავნ უფალმან განსლვაჲ ჩემი კორცთაგან, რა-  
 მეთუ მრავალნი სასწაულნი იხილნეს თუალთა ჩემთა ნინოხს მიერ მცხეთას

40 შინა დღეთა ჩემთა.



## Rozdział 12

Opowiedziany przez Abiatar, który najpierw był kapłanem żydowskim w Mcchecie, a (później) przyjął chrzest przy wspóludziale Nino

Ja, Abiatar, w owym roku, (239v) kiedy błogosławiona niewiasta Nino przyszła do Mcchety, z wyboru losu byłem wśród wiernych kapłanem. W tym czasie otrzymałem już listy z Rzymu, Egiptu i Babilonu od duchownych i od uczonych żydowskich, w których napisane było tak: „Bóg zburzył królestwo Żydów. Oto umilkli prorocy, gdyż ci, których wzywał duch, wszyscy umarli, my rozproszyliśmy się po całym świecie, a Rzymianie opanowali nasz kraj, dlatego że zgrzeszyliśmy we wszystkim i rozgniewaliśmy Boga Stwórcę. Teraz ty przejrzyj księgi Mojżesza, który przepowiedział, co następuje: „Ten, kto ogłosi się na ziemi Bogiem, niech będzie ukrzyżowany”. Być może, my już zgrzeszyliśmy, zabijając Jezusa Nazarejczyka? Czy wiesz, że gdy wcześniej ojcowie nasi grzeszyli przed Bogiem i zupełnie zapominali o Nim, On oddawał (ich) potężnemu królowi w niewolę. A kiedy nawracali się i wzywali (Boga), on zaraz odwracał od nich nieszczęścia. I wiemy z Pisma, że tak zdarzyło się siedem razy. A (od tego czasu, gdy ojcowie nasi) położyli rękę na synu ubogiej niewiasty i zabili go, Bóg oddalił rękę od nas od świątyni Bożej i całkowicie wzgardził naszym rodem.

Oto (minęło) już trzysta lat, ponieważ On przestał słuchać modlitw naszych, nie zsyłał pociechy, sądzę, że Człowiek ten był z nieba”. I wiele w tym rodzaju było napisane. Gdy dowiedziałem się o tym wszystkim, zacząłem pytać ową niewiastę o Chrystusa, kim On był, i dlaczego Bóg (240r) stał się człowiekiem. Wtedy błogosławiona Nino otworzyła usta swoje na podobieństwo źródła nieustającego. Ona rozpoczęła od początku wieków, z pamięci cytując, objaśniając księgi moje, jak śpiącego (mnie) budziła, oświecała mnie nierozumnego, wzbudzała we mnie litość dla ojców naszych i przekonywała mnie, by zmienić wiarę, dopóki sam nie uwierzyłem dzięki Jej słowom w Chrystusa, Syna Bożego, w mękę Jego, w zmartwychwstanie w chwale, powtórne przyjście w bojaźni (przejmującej potędze), i (że) zaprawdę On jest nadzieją pogan.

W tym czasie ja [i] córka moja zostaliśmy ochrzczeni wodą święconą, dostąpiliśmy pokropienia i oczyszczenia z grzechów, czego pragnął prorok Dawid, ale nie dostał tego, i usłyszałem jeszcze głos wyznawców nowej wiary, czego pragnął tenże Dawid, ale nie dostał.

Ja (natomiast) dostałem komunii z prawdziwego Ciała i Krwi Baranka

- ხოლო სახლი ელიომისი იყო ქალაქსა შინა დასაგალითსა, იყო კარსა მოგუ-  
ეთისასა, მტკუარსა ზელა. და იყო მცირე ბაგინი, სამარხვომ მათი, რომელსა  
ზედა აღჰმართა წმიდამან ნინო ჯუარი ქრისტესი. და ერთი ერთსა ნათელ-სცემ-  
და მუნ შინა კელითა იაკობ მღდელისაჲთა და პროსილა მთავარდიაკონისა-  
5 ათა, მთავართა (240v) შვილებსა, წიაღთა ქალაქისათა. და ერქუა ადგილსა მას  
მთავართა სანათლოჲ. და ფრიად დიდებულ იყო ადგილი იგი დღეთა ჩუენთა,  
რამეთუ დგა იგი ველსა თუნიერ ნაშენებისა. და მათ დღეთა შემემურენეს ფრიად  
ჰურიანი მცხეთელნი ჩემ ზელა და დასცეს ხს იგი კილომაჲ, რომელი დგა კარსა  
ზედა ბაგინისასა, რომელი განაშუენებდა ადგილსა მას, რამეთუ გარდაერთხნეს  
10 რგონი მისნი ყოველსა მას სტოვასა ბაგინისასა. და იწყეს საღაათვე წარსლვად  
თუნიერ ხოლო ბარაბუანთასა, რომელნიცა მონათლნეს ორმოც და ათი სული  
სახლისა მათისაჲ. და მკვდრ იქმნეს მცხეთას შინა. და მიუბოძა მირეან მეფემან  
დაბაჲ ერთი, რომელსა პრქვიან ციხელიდი, და იყვნეს დიდ წინაშე მეფისა და  
ქრისტიანეთასა მადლითა ნეგარისა ნინოჲსითა და მოძღურებითა მისითა.  
15 და მათ დღეთა შინა მოიწია წიგნები ჰრომით წმიდისა პატრეაქისაჲ  
ნეგარისა ნინოჲსა და მირეან მეფისა და ყოველისა ერისა ქართველისა. და  
მოეკლინა ბრაჯი მთავარდიაკონი ქებისა შესხმად და კურთხევისა მოცემად, და  
წმიდისა და ნეგარისა ნინოჲს ლოცვისა წარღებად და მადლისა ზიარებად. და  
ჰქონდა წიგნი ბრაჯთა მეფისაჲ ნეგარისა ნინოჲსა, რამეთუ მოენათლნეს იგი-  
20 ნი მამისა მისსა ბაბილოვსს. და ესე ყოველი მისმენილ იყო მათა იერუსალმით,  
ჰრომით, კოსტანტინეპოლით, ვითარმედ ქუეყანასა მას ჩრდილოჲსასა მიფენილ  
არს მშშ იგი სიმართლისაჲ, ნათელი, მამისა მიერ მოსრული-ქრისტე და ამი-  
სთუს სანატრელი წიგნი მოეწერა, რაჲთამცა ეუწყნეს საქმენი იგი და საწაულნი  
და სუეტისაჲ (241r) მის და მაყულოვანისაჲ მის საკურველებანი და ძალი იგი  
25 კურნებათაჲ, რომელი იხილა მთავარდიაკონმან და განკურვებით აღიღებდა  
ღმერთსა. და წარიღო წიგნები და წარვიდა.

### თავი 13

#### პაგიოსნისა ჯუარისათუს, რომელი აღწერა იაკობ

- და იყო რაჲმს მოეკუეთა ხს იგი პაგიოსნისა და ძლევის-მყოფელისა პაგიო-  
30 სნისა ჯუარისაჲ, და მოაქუნდა იგი ათსა ათეულსა კაცსა ზე-ზე რგოათურთ და  
ფურცლით შემოაქუნდა ქალაქად. და მისცდებოდა ერთი იგი მწუანისფერობასა  
მას და ფურცლიანობასა დღეთა ძაფხულის პირისათა, ოდეს სხუაჲ ყოველი  
ხს ჯმელ იყო, ხოლო იგი ყოვლადვე ფურცელ-დაუცუნებელ და სულფამო და  
ხელვად შუენიერ იყო. მაშინ ძირსა ზელა აღჰმართეს, კარსა ეკლესიასა სა-  
35 მხრითსა. და ჰბერვიდა წყალთაგან ნიაფი და შალვიდა ფურცელსა ხისა მისგან  
და აძრევდა რგოთა მისთა. და იყო ხილვაჲ მისი შუენიერ, ვითარცა სმენით  
ვიციტ ხისა მისთუს ალვისა. და ესეს მოვჰკუეთეთ თუესა მართსა კ“ე-სა, დღესა  
პარასკევსა. და დაადგრა ხს იგი ოც და ათიზღმეგ დღედმდე, და რა შეიცვალა

Bożego, przyniesionego na ofiarę za grzechy świata, spożycie którego jest rozkoszą. I z tym niech Pan pozwoli mi opuścić ciało, gdyż za dni swoich wiele cudów Nino widział oczy moje w Mcchecie.

Co się tyczy domu Elioza, znajdował się on w zachodniej części miasta, u bram Mogueta (nad brzegiem) Mtkwari. Był (tam) niewielki przybytek – cmentarz ich, na którym święta Nino wzniosła krzyż Chrystusa. I chrzcila tam (240v) za pośrednictwem kapłana Jakuba i archidiakona Proсила. Miejsce to nazywało się Książęca Chrzcielnica. I było bardzo wspaniałe to miejsce za naszych dni, ponieważ znajdowało się w polu, z daleka od wszelkich budowli. W tych dniach Żydzi z Mcchety zaczęli mścić się na mnie: ścięli to drzewo o słodkiej korze, które stało u bram przybytku i ozdabiało to miejsce, gdyż gałęzie jego przykrywały otwory świątyni. I zaczęli odchodzić, z wyjątkiem domu Baraby, pięćdziesięciu członków którego ochrzciło się, a który nazywa się Cichedidi, i oni byli wywyższeni przed królem i wszystkimi chrześcijanami błogosławieństwem błogosławionej Nino i jej nauką.

W tym czasie przysły listy z Rzymu od świętego patriarchy do błogosławionej Nino, do króla Miriana i całego ludu kartlijskiego. I przybył archidiakon Brandżów, by służyć i wywyższać (Boga) i aby otrzymać od Nino błogosławieństwo i uczestniczyć (w Jej) łasce. Miał on list od króla Brandżów do błogosławionej Nino, gdyż Brandżowie zostali ochrzczeni przez jej ojca Zabulona, i o wszystkim tym wieści dotarły do nich z Jerozolimy, Rzymu i Konstantynopola. Z tego powodu (król Brandżów) napisał list z prośbą, by powiadomić go o czynach, znakach i cudach słupa, (241r) zaroślach jeżyn i mocy uleczenia, którego świadkiem był (sam) archidiakon, i zadziwiony chwalił Boga. Wziął listy i odjechał.

## Rozdział 13

### O świętym krzyżu, opisane przez Jakuba

Gdy zostało ścięte to drzewo świętego i zwycięskiego krzyża, zanieśli je na rękach gałęziami i liśćmi do góry dziesięć dziesiątków ludzi i wnieśli do miasta. I zadziwił się lud nad zieleniącymi się jego liśćmi zimą. Kiedy każde inne drzewo było wyschnięte, ono było z nieopadłymi liśćmi, wonne i piękne z wyglądu. Wtedy postawiono je u południowego wejścia do świątyni i wiaterek, wiejący od rzeki, szeleścił liśćmi i poruszał gałęzie jego, i widok jego był piękny i przyjemny, jak tego cyprysu, o którym wiemy z legendy. I ścięliśmy je dwudziestego piątego dnia miesiąca marca w piątek. I przez trzydzieści siedem dni, dopóki

ფურცელი მისი, ვითარცა ძირსა ზედა მდგომარისაჲ თავსა წყაროსასა, ვიდრემდის ყოველი ხენი მალნარისანი შეიმოსნეს ფურცლითა და ხენი ნაყოფიერნი შეიმკვნეს ყუავილთა. მაშინ თითუესა მაისსა ერთსა შეიქმნნეს ჯუარნი ესე და შუღსა მის თჳსასა აღემართნეს კელის დაღებითა მეფისაჲთა, სიხარულითა და ღიღითა წადიერებითა ყოვლისა ქალაქისაჲთა, იყვნეს რაჲ ყოველნი იგი ეკლესიასა შინა. და იხილეს სიმრავლესამან ქალაქისამან ბნელთა (24lv) მათ ღამეთა, და აჰა ჩამოვიდის ჯუარი ცეცხლისაჲ დაგვრგვინებული ვარსკლუავითა და დაადგრის ზედა ეკლესიასა ვიდრე განთიადმდე, და ყოველნი აღიღებდეს ღმერთსა ამას ზედა ეკლესიასა ვიდრე განთიადმდე, და ყოველნი აღიღებდეს ღმერთსა ამას ზედა. და განთიად, რიჟუ-რაჟუს ოდენ, გამოვიდის მისგან ორი ვარსკულავი: ერთი იგი წარვიდის აღმოსავლით, და ერთი დასავალით, და იგი თავადი ეგრევე ღგან მბრწყინვალედ, და ნელიად-ნელიად გაღგის მიერ კერო არაგუსა და ღგან მბრწყინვალედ, და დაღვის ბორცუსა ზედა კლდისასა, ზემო კერო, ახლოს წყაროსა მას, რომელი-იგი აღმოადინეს ცრემლთა წმიდისა ნინოჲსთა, და მუნით აღმალდის ზეცად. ესე მრავალგზის იხილა ყოველმან სიმრავლემან ერისამან მაცხოვრებაჲ ღმრთისა ჩუენისაჲ.

მაშინღა ვიწყეთ ნეგარისა ნინოჲსა კითხვად, ვითარმედ: „რაჲ-მე არს, რამეთუ გამოვიდის ნაბერწყალი და წარვიდის აღმოსავალით და დასავალით?“

ხოლო წმიდამან მან ჰრქუა მეფესა და ყოველსა ერსა: „განავლინენით კაცნი მითათა ზედა მაღალთა აღმსავალად ვიდრე კახეთისა მთადმდე, და დასავალით, ვიდრე მიაწევდეს სამეუფოჲ შენი. და ოდეს მთიებნი იგი გამობრწყინდენ, იხილონ, თუ სადა დადგენ და მინცა აღჰმართენინ ორნი ესე ჯუარნი საცოდ ყოველთა ქრისტიანეთა და დასამკობელად მკერისა“.

ხოლო მეფემან ყო ეგრეთ და შეიცვნა თავნი მითათანი მიწყებით ათ ღღე, ესე იყო პარასკევსა, შაბათად-რა განთენებოდა, და იყო სასწაული იგივე, იქმნა ეგრეთვე, ვითარცა ყოველადვე იქმნის.

ხვალის ღღე მოვიდეს დასავალიგნი იგი, რომელნი-იგი ღგეს მითათა ზედა, რომელ არს მთაჲ ქუაბთა-თავისაჲ, და უთხრეს მეფესა, ვითარმედ დადგრა ვარსკულავი იგი მითათა თხოთისათა და მთავიდა (242r) ერგვს[!] კასპისასა და დაადგრა ადგილსა ერთსა და ნელად უჩონო იქმნა.

ეგრევე მოვიდეს აღმოსავალით და თქუეს: „ვიხილეთ ვარსკულავი იგი აქჲა მომავალი და დაადგრა დაბასა ბოდს კახეთისა ქუეყანასა“. მაშინ ბრძანა ნეგრამან ნინო, რაჲთა წარიხუენ ორნი ესე ჯუარნი და აღჰმართენ ერთი თხოთს, სადა-იგი აშხილა ღმერთმან მეფესა ძალი თჳსი, „და ერთი იგი მიეც სალომეს უჟარმელსა, ჭეშმარიტსა მკეველსა ქრისტესსა, და აღჰმართოს იგი უჟარმას ქალაქსა. და დაბაჲ ბოდისი არა წინააღუდგეს ქალაქსა მეფეთასა, რამეთუ ერისა სიმრავლმ არს მინ. დაბაჲ კულა ბოდისი თუთ ვიხილოთ სათნოჲ იგი ადგილი ღმრთისაჲ“. და ვყავთ ეგრეთ, ვითარცა გვბრძანა ჩუენ წმიდამან ნინო.

ხოლო ესე სასწაულთაგან ზეცისათა ჩუენებული პაგიოსანი ჯუარი მცხეთისაჲ აღვიპყრათ კელითა კაცობრივითა და მივედით ბორცუსა მას ქუეშე, წყაროსა მას ზედა და ვათიეთ ღამმ და ვილოცვედით ღმრთისა მიმართ. ხოლო

wszystkie drzewa w lesie nie przyodziały się w liście i drzewa owocowe nie upiękшыły się kwiatami, liście jego wcale się nie zmieniły, jak u stojącego u źródła na swych korzeniach. Wtedy to dnia pierwszego miesiąca maja zostały przygotowane te krzyże, a dnia siódmego tegoż miesiąca ustawione przy pomocy króla i z radością, i wielkim pragnieniem wszystkich mieszkańców miasta obecnych w kościele. I widziała wielka liczba mieszkańców w te ciemne noce, (241v) jak opadł krzyż ognisty zwieńczony gwiazdą i zatrzymał się nad świątynią do świtu i widząc to, wszyscy wychwalali Boga. Nad ranem, po rozjarzeniu się jutrzeńki, oddzieliły się od niego dwie gwiazdy. Jedna z nich oddalała się na wchód, druga na zachód. A ta najważniejsza, jak wcześniej wspaniała, powoli oddalała się na drugą stronę Aragwi i zatrzymała się nad skalistym wzgórzem, w pobliżu tego źródła, które zostało wywołane przez lzy świętej Nino, i stamtąd uniosła się ku niebu. Tak wielokrotnie zobaczyło mnóstwo ludzi moc Zbawiciela Boga naszego.

Wówczas zaczęliśmy wypytywać błogosławioną Nino: „Dlaczego gwiazdy oddzielają się i odchodzą na wschód i na zachód?”

A święta rzekła królowi i całemu ludowi: „Roześlijcie ludzi po Górach Kachetyjskich, a na zachód do granic twego państwa, kiedy gwiazdy te zapłoną, niech mają baczenie, gdzie się zatrzymają. I tam postawcie te dwa krzyże dla ochrony wszystkich chrześcijan i pokonania wroga”.

Tak też król uczynił i zajął szczyty gór w ciągu dziesięciu dni. I w noc z piątku na sobotę pojawił się ten sam znak; zdarzyło się tak, jak zawsze miało to miejsce.

Następnego dnia przyszli posłani na zachód, którzy stali na górze Kwabtawi, i rzekli, że gwiazda ta zatrzymała się nad górami Tchoti, opadła ku Przełęczcy (242r) Kaspijskiej, zatrzymała się i powoli stała się niewidoczna.

Przyszli także wysłani na wschód i powiedzieli: „Zobaczyliśmy gwiazdę, która skierowała się tam i zatrzymała się nad miasteczkiem Bodi, na ziemi kachetyjskiej”. Wtedy błogosławiona Nino rozkazała, żeby wzięto dwa krzyże i wzniesiono jeden na Tchoti, gdzie Bóg objawił swoją moc, a drugi oddano Salome Udżarmeli, wiernej służce bożej, by postawiła go w mieście Udżarma. I niech miasteczko Bodi (tym) nie rywalizuje z ludnym miastem królów. Miasteczko Bodi, jako miejsce umiłowane przez Boga, jeszcze stanie się sławne”. Przeto zrobiliśmy tak, jak nam nakazała święta Nino.

A objawiony nam przez znaki niebieskie święty krzyż mechetyjski ponieśliśmy rękami ludzkimi i przyszliśmy do podnóża tego pagórka, do tego źródła i spędziliśmy noc na czuwaniu i modliliśmy się do Boga. A lzy błogosławionej Nino zlewały się ze źródłem i nastąpiły wielkie

ნეგარი წმიდად ნინო ცრემლითა გაჰმავებდა წყაროსა მას და იქმნებოდეს კურნებანი და სასწაულნი ღიდ-ღიდნი.

და ხვალის ღლე აღვედით კლდესა მას ზედა. და მივიდა ნეგარი ნინო და ღავარდა ქვათა მათ ზედა ბორცუსათა, და გიროლა იგი და მეფე და ყოველნი მთავარნი და ყოველნი იგი სიმრავლს ერისაჲ, მამათაჲ და ღელათაჲ, და [იყო] ყრმათა ჩხულთა ჟივილი, ვიდრემდის მთანიცა კმა-სცემდეს. და ღასღვა კელი წმიდამან ნინო ერთსა ქვასა ამას”. და მე ვყავ ეგრეთ. და მუნ აღჰმართეს ჯუარი იგი ღიდებული მეფეთა. და მოღრკა მეფს მუკლთა თუსთა ზედა და ყოველნი მთავარნი, და (242v) ყოველი სიმრავლს ერისაჲ და თაყვანის-სცეს მღევით შემოსილსა ჯუარსა, და აღიარეს ჯუარცმული იესუ ქრისტე წმინდობად ღმრთად და ძედ ღმრთისა ცხოველისად და რწმენა სამებით ღიდებული ღმერთი ყოველთა, რომელსა შუენის ღიდებაჲ უკუნითი უკუნისამდე, ამენ.

ხოლო ღედანი იგი მთავარნი არსაღა განემორებოდეს წმიდასა ეკლესიასა და სუეგსა ნათლისასა და ჯუარსა ცხოველსა, რამეთუ ჰხედვიდეს სასწაულთა მათ უბომოთა და კურნებათა მიუთხრობელთა.

მაშინ დაუტევა წმიდამან ნინო მცხეთაჲ ქალაქი და წარვიდა მთეულთა ხარებად პირუტყუთ-სახეთა მათ კაცთა და შემუსრვად კერძთა მათ.

ხოლო აქა შინა დაუტევა აბიათარ, ჰურიათა-ყოფილი იგი მღლეი, რომელი იყო მეორს ჰავლე. რომელი არა ღასცხრებოღა ღამე და ღლე ქაღავებასა ქრისტესსა, ღიდებასა მისსა, ვიდრემდის სივლგოღად იწყეს ჰურიათა. ხოლო ბაგინისათუს [ა]იძულებდა მეფესა, რაღთა არა შემრან ნამენები იგი მისი, არამედ რაღთა შესძინოს აღმენებაჲ. რამეთუ ვიდრე არღა გამოჩინებულ იყო ახალი მადლი ქუეყანასა ამას, მუნ შინა იყო ღიდებელი სახელი საუკუნოღსაჲ მის ღმრთისაჲ. და ერღდა მეფს მისთა ღღეთა, და იყენეს მუნ შინა ელიობის ნათესავნი მღღელად ჰურიათა ზედა.

#### თავი 14

##### აღმართებაჲ ჰაგიოსნისა ჯუარისა მცხეთისაჲ და მერმე კუალად გამოჩინებაჲ

და იყო რაქამს მოიქცა ყოველი ქართლი, მრახვა-ყვეს მღღელთა მათ, რომელნი მოსრულ იყენეს საბერძნეთით, აღმართებად ნიში ჯუარისაჲ.

ჰრქუეს მღღელთა მათ მირიან მეფესა: „ჯერ და წეს არს აღმართებად საუფლოჲ ნიში ჯუარისაჲ“. და სათნო უნღდა მეფესა და ყოველსა ერსა. და სიხარულით შეიწყნარეს სიგყუაჲ იგი მღღელთაჲ მათ და სწავლაჲ. და უბრძანა მირიან მეფემან ძელი საჯუარედ. წარვიდეს ხურონი (243r) და მოჰკუეთეს ხმ ერთი ჰაეროვანი. და უბრძანა მეფემან შესაქმედ ჯუარი. ხოლო მღღელნი იგი ასწავებდეს სახესა მას ჯუარისასა, და რაქამს შექმნეს ჯუარი იგი, მოვიდეს და უთხრეს მირიან მეფესა ხუროთა მათ, ვითარმედ: „შეექმენით ჩუენ ჯუარი იგი, ვითარცა მღღელთა მათ გუასწავეს”.



uleczenia i znaki z nieba.

Zaś następnego dnia wspięliśmy się na tę skałę. Błogosławiona Nino weszła, upadła na kamienne wzgórze i płakała, (a razem z nią) król i wszyscy książęta i mnóstwo ludzi, zgiełk mężów i niewiast i niemowląt odbijał się echem w górach. I święta Nino położyła rękę na jeden kamień i rzekła do mnie: „Podejdz, to przystoi tobie, pobłogosław znakiem krzyża ten kamień!” Tak też uczyniłem. I królowie wzniesli tam ten wspaniały krzyż. A król i wszyscy książęta i (242v) cały lud padli na kolana i pokłonili się cudownemu krzyżowi i uznali ukrzyżowanego Jezusa Chrystusa za prawdziwego Boga i Syna Boga żywego, i wszyscy uwierzyli w Boga w Trójcy wysławianego, któremu niech będzie chwała na wieki wieków, amen.

A szacowne te niewiasty nigdzie nie odchodziły od świętego kościoła, słupa światła i krzyża życiodajnego, gdyż widziały one niezliczone cuda i uzdrowienia niewypowiedziane.

Wówczas święta Nino opuściła miasto Mccheta i wyruszyła do górali, by głosić prawdę tym ludziom podobnym zwierzętom i by zniszczyć ich bożki.

A (w Mcchecie) pozostawiła Ona byłego kapłana żydowskiego Abiatar, który stał się drugim Pawłem, ten zaś przed odejściem Żydów nieustannie dniem i nocą głosił (chwałę) Chrystusa i jego potęgę. A w sprawie kościoła (Abiatar) zachęcał króla, by nie przeszkadzał w budowie (świątyni), przeciwnie – by sprzyjał jej rozbudowie, jako że przedtem, gdy na tę ziemię zesłano tę nową łaskę, tam wychwalane było imię Boga wiecznego. I słuchał go król za jego życia i byli tam krewni Elioza kapłanami u Żydów.

## Rozdział 14

### Wzniesienie i odsłonięcie świętego krzyża mcchetyjskiego

I było tak, że gdy cała Kartlia została nawrócona na chrześcijaństwo, kapłani, którzy przybyli z Grecji, postanowili wznieść znak krzyża.

Kapłani ci powiedzieli królowi Mirianowi: „Trzeba i należy wznieść znak krzyża Pana”. Król i cały lud odnieśli się życzliwie (do ich propozycji). Z radością przyjęli słowa i radę kapłanów. I rozkazał król Mirian przygotować drzewo na krzyż. Cieśle wyruszyli (243r) i ścięli jedno kształtne drzewo. I król rozkazał wykonać z niego krzyż. A kapłani objaśnili (cieślom) kształt krzyża. Kiedy krzyż był gotów, cieśle przyszlizli i powiedzieli królowi Mirianowi: „Wykonaliśmy krzyż tak, jak nas



და მეყს რდგა მეფს იგი სიხარულით და ყოველმან ერმან იხილეს სახმ იგი ჯუარისაჲ მის. და დაუკურდა ფრიად და აღიღებდეს ღმერთსა.

- მას ჟამსა, გიულისხმა-ყო და მოეკსენა მეფესა, ოდეს – იგი ღლს დაუბნელდა მთასა ზელა, ვითარ-იგი ნათელი მბრქყინვალებისა ღიდისაჲ იხილა მსგავსად ჯუ-  
 5 არისა, და ვითარ იხილა, იცნა. მაშინ უთხრობდა მღღელთა მათ და ყოველსა ერსა ხოლვასა მას და ვითარ განნათლა ბნელი იგი ნიშმან ჯუარისამან წინაშე თუალთა მისთა. მაშინ, ვითარცა ესმა ერსა მას სიგყუაჲ იგი მეფისაჲ, უმეგესაღდა და უფროჲს პრწმენა იესუ ქრისტე და ნიში იგი ჯუარისა მისისაჲ, და ყოველთა ერთობით სიხარულით თაგყუანის-სცეს მას და აღიღებდეს ღმერთსა.
- 10 მაშინ განაზრახვიდა მეფს ყოველსა მას ერსა, ვითარმედ რომელსამე ადგოლსა აღჰმართონ სახმ იგი ჯუარისაჲ. ხოლო კაცად-კაცადი იგყოდა, სადა ვის მარჯუე უხნდა, არამედ ვერ სადა გამოიჩინეს. მას ჟამსა მირეან მეფს ილოცვიდა და იგყოდა: „უფალო იესუ ქრისტე, რომელი გურწამ გყუსა ამის მიერ და გუასწავეს მღღელთა ამათ შენთა, შენ, იესუ ქრისტე, რომელმან თავი თუხი დაიმდაბლუ და  
 15 ხაგი მონებისაჲ შგაიყუ სიმაღლითა შენითა, რომელი გარდამოჰკვედ კურთხეულთაგან წიაღთა მამისათა, რომელმან დაუგვევენ ჩუენთს საყდარნი, უფლებანი და ბაღნი და დაემკვრე საშოსა წმიდისა ქალწულისასა, და მერმე ჯუარს-ეცუ პონგოველისა პილატეს ზე, დაეფალ (243v) გულსა ქუეყანისასა და მესამესა ღღესა ასდგ და აღასრულე ყოველივე თქმული წინაჲსწარმეგყუელთაჲ, აღჰმალღდი  
 20 ზეცად და დაშჯედ მარჯუენით მამისა, და მერმე მოსვლად ხარ განშჯად ცხოველთა და მკუდართა, და დაგვევე ჩვენ ნიში ჯუარისა შენისაჲ დასარღუეველად უხილაეთა მანქანებათა მგერისათა; ხოლო ჩუენ, მოსიშთა შენთა, მოგვლებიეს სასწაულად, რაათა განვერნეთ პირსა ეშმაკისასა, რომლისაგანცა წარგვეუნულ ვიყვენი. ხოლო აწ შენ, უფალო ღმერთო მაცხოვარო ჩუენო, ინებე გამოცხადე-  
 25 ბაჲ ადგილისაჲ, რომელსა ადვჰმართოთ ნიში ჯუარისა შენისაჲ, რაათა იხილონ მოძულეთა ჩუენთა და პრცხუენოდის, რამეთუ შენ, უფალი, შემეწიე ჩუენ და ნუგეშინის-მეც ჩუენ“. და ვითარცა შემწუხრდა, მას ღამესა ჩუენებით დაადგრა ანგელოზი უფლისაჲ მირეან მეფესა და უჩუენა მას ბორცუ ერთი არაგუსა წიაღ კერძო, მახლობელად მცხეთასა და ჰრქუა მას: „ესე ადგილი გამოურჩევიეს ღმერთსა.  
 30 ამას ზელა აღჰმართე ნიში ჯუარისაჲ“. და ვითარცა განთენა, უთხრა მირეან მეფემან მღღელთა მათ ჩუენებაჲ იგი ანგელოზისაჲ და სიგყუაჲცა იგი, რომელ ჰრქუა, და ბორცუცა იგი, რომელი უჩუენა. ვითარცა ესმა ჩუენებაჲ იგი და ადგილიცა იგი იხილეს, სათნო უხნდა ყოველსა ერსა ბორცუ იგი და ადგილიცა იგი იხილეს, სათნო უხნდა ყოველსა ერსა ბორცუ იგი, და სიხარულითა და გალობითა ღიდითა  
 35 ყოველთა ერთბაჲად აღიღეს ჯუარი იგი და აღჰმართეს ბორცუსა მას ზელა მძლმ ნიში ჯუარისაჲ მცხეთასა მახლობელად, მართალ წინაშე აღმოსავალით, ღღესა კურიაკესა, აღვსებისა ზაგიკის ზაგიკსა.

- და ვითარცა აღემართა ნიში ჯუარისაჲ ქუეყანასა მას ქართლისასა, მეყსეულად მას ჟამსა დაეცნეს ყოველნი კერპნი, რომელნი (244r) იყვნეს საზღუართა  
 40 ქართლისათა, და შეიძუსრნეს, და საკერპონი დაირღუეს. ვითარცა იხილეს ესე საკერველი საქმს და სასწაული, რომელი ქმნა ძღვევის-მყოფელმან მან ნიშმან ჯუარისამან კერპთა ზელა, უფროჲს განუკურდებოდა საქმს ესე და აღიღებდეს

nauczili ci kapłani”.

Król zaraz wstał z radością. Wszyscy zobaczyli kształt krzyża. Dokładnie oglądając (krzyż), wszyscy wysławiali Boga.

Wtedy pomyślał król i przypominał sobie, że gdy zaćmiło się słońce na górze, on zobaczył światło wielce promieniste w postaci krzyża. I (teraz) zobaczywszy, poznał (krzyż). Wtedy król zaczął opowiadać kapłanom i całemu ludowi o tym widzeniu, gdy kształt krzyża rozjaśnił mrok przed jego oczami. Wówczas lud, usłyszawszy słowa króla, jeszcze głębiej uwierzył w Chrystusa i w znak krzyża Jego, i wszyscy razem pokłonili się mu z radością i wychwalali Boga.

W ten czas król zwrócił się o radę do narodu, na jakim by miejscu wznieść krzyż. Każdy proponował tam, gdzie znajdował miejsce dogodniejsze, ale dostatecznie pięknego nie mogli wybrać. Przez ten czas król Mirian modlił się i mówił: „Panie, Jezu Chryste, w którego wierzymy dzięki twej służbie i zgodnie z nauką Twych kapłanów! Ty, Jezu Chryste, który pomnożyłeś samego siebie i z pokory swej przyjąłeś postać służi, który pochodzisz z błogosławionego łona Ojca, który dla nas pozostawiłeś tron, prawa i moc i wszedłeś w czyste łono dziewicy, potem zostałeś rozpięty na krzyżu za Poncjusza Piłata, byłeś pogrzebany (243v) we wnętrzu ziemi i zmartwychwstałeś trzeciego dnia, wypełniłeś wszystko, co przepowiedzieli prorocy, wstąpiłeś do nieba i siadłeś po prawicy Ojca i zamierzasz przyjść powtórnie, sądzić żywych i umarłych, i pozostawiłeś nam znak krzyża Swojego, by zniszczyć skryte knowania nieprzyjaciół, więc my, bojąc się Ciebie, przyjęliśmy krzyż na sztandar, by uwolnić nas od szatana, w którego mocy byliśmy. Teraz więc Ty, Panie Boże i Zbawicielu nasz, zechciej wskazać miejsce, na którym wznieśliśmy krzyż Twój, żeby nienawidzący nas, widząc go, wstydzili się, że Ty, Panie, pomogłeś i pocieszyłeś nas!” Tej nocy, gdy tylko nastał zmrok, Anioł Pański stanął przed królem Mirianem w widzeniu i wskazując mu jedno wzgórze za Aragwi, w pobliżu Mcchety, rzekł: „To miejsce wybrane jest przez Boga, na nim utwierdź znak krzyża”. Gdy tylko rozjaśniło się, król Mirian opowiedział duchownym o swym widzeniu i o słowach anioła, i o wzgórzu, które wskazał. Usłyszawszy o widzeniu i zbadawszy (wskazane) miejsce, cały lud uznał wzgórze za godne i wszyscy razem z wielką radością oraz śpiewem wzięli ów krzyż i utwierdzili zwycięski znak krzyża na tym wzgórzu na wschód od Mcchety. A była to niedziela, tydzień po Wielkanocy.

A gdy tylko krzyż został zatknięty w Kartlii, zaraz wszystkie bożki znajdujące się w jej granicach upadły (244r) i wykruszyły się, a świątynie ich się rozpadły. Gdy zobaczyli (ludzie) ten niezwykły cud, którego dokonał zwycięski krzyż nad bożkami, jeszcze bardziej

ღმერთსა და სიხარულით თავყუანის-სცემდეს პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა. და ყო მირე-  
 ან მეფემან და ყოველმან ერმან მცხეთისამან შესაწირავი დიდი მას ღღესა შინა  
 პაგიოსნისა ჯუარისა. და დააწესეს ღღესასწაული ძლევით შემოსილისა ჯუარი-  
 საა აღვებისა მაგიკის მაგიკსა, ღღესა კურიაკესა, ყოველმან ქართლმან, ვიდრე  
 5 ღღენდელად ღღემდე და ვიდრე უკუნისამდე.

და იყო რაოდენისამე ჯამისა შემდგომად, მარგვლისა უკუნა, იხილეს  
 სასწაული დიდი და სმაშინელი ღღესა ოთხშაბათსა. აჰა ესერა სუეგი ნათლისაა  
 სახელ ჯუარისა დგა მელა ჯუარსა მას და ათორმეგნი ანგელოზნი დაგვრგვრე-  
 ბულ იყვნეს გარემოას მისა, ეგრევე სახელ ათორმეგნი ვარსკულაენი დაგვრ-  
 10 გვრებულ იყვნეს. ხოლო ბორცუ იგი ჯუარისაა ერთ-სახელ კეობა სულნელად.  
 და ვითარ ჰხედვიდეს სასწაულსა მას, მრავალნი უღმრთოთაგანნი მოიქცევიდეს  
 და ნათელს-იღებდეს და აღაშენებდეს ეკლესიათა. ხოლო მორწმუნენი უფროას  
 განმგკინებოდეს და აღიღებდეს ღმერთსა.

და მერემე კულად იხილეს სხუა სასწაული პაგიოსანისა ჯუარისაა: ვითარცა  
 15 ცეცხლი დგა და ვითარცა ალი ეგებოდა მელა თავსა ჯუარისასა სამგზის მშისა  
 უბრჭყინვალესი, და ვითარცა საკუმილისა რაა ნაბერწყალი აღვალნ ძლიერად, ეგრე  
 სახელ იყო: ადვილიდეს ანგელოზნი და გარდამოვიდოდეს მელა (244v) პაგიოსანსა  
 ჯუარსა. ხოლო ბორცუ იგი ჯუარისაა იხარებდა ძლიერად და ყოველი ქუეყანაა  
 იძროდა, და მთათა და ბორცუთა და ღღეთა არმური სულნელებისაა აღვიდოდა  
 20 ცამდე, და კლდენი შეიმუსროდეს, და სულნელებაა დიდძალი მიეფინებოდა ყოველ-  
 სა ქუეყანასა. და ესე არა მელამოთ იყო და რაცა თანა-წარსვლით, არამედ მყოვარ  
 ჯამ. და ჯმანი ღღინი იხმოდეს. და ყოველი იგი ერი ფხედვიდა მას და ესმოდა ოხრამ  
 იგი გალობისა; შეშინდეს და დაუკვრდა ფრიალ, შიშით და ძრწოლით თავყუანი-  
 სცემდეს პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა და სიხარულითა დიდითა აღიღებდეს ღმერთსა.

25 და იყო რაოდენისამე ჯამისა შემდგომად, ვითარცა სასწაულნი და ხილვანი  
 დასცხრებოდეს, ეგრევე ძრვანი იგი ღღ-ღღინი და სმაშინელნი და-ვე-სცხრეს.  
 და შემდგომად ამისა სხუანი მრავალნი სასწაულნი და ნიშნი იქმნებოდეს მელა  
 პაგიოსანსა ჯაურსა მეციით გარდამო.

და ჰხედვიდა ყოველი ერი და შიშით და ძრწოლით მივლენელ თავყუანის-  
 30 -ცემად გულსმოდგინედ პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა და სიხარულით აღიღებდ ღმერთსა.

მას ჯამსა იყო კაცი ერთი მოშიში ღმრთისაა, რომელსა ერქუა რეე, ძმ მეფი-  
 საა. და იყო ძმ რეევის სნეულ და მიწვენულ სიკუდილ. რამეთუ იგი ხოლო მარ-  
 გომ ესუა, მოილო იგი და დააგლო წინაშე პაგიოსნისა ჯუარისა და ცრემლით  
 ითხოვდა მისგან: „უკეთუ მომიბოძო ყრმაა ესე, გუმბადი აღვაშენო საყოფლად  
 35 შენდა“. და ვითარცა იგი მწარედ და უწყინოდ გიროდა წინაშე პაგიოსნისა ჯუ-  
 არისა, მუნქუესვე განიკურნა ყრმაა იგი, და (245r) სიხარულითა დიდითა წარიყ-  
 ვანა და აღიღებდა ღმერთსა და პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა. მერემე მოვიდა აღნათქუემისა  
 აღსრულებად და ყო მადლისა მიცემა და დიდი სიხარული, და გულს-მოდგინედ  
 გუმბადი აღაშენა მცხეთისაა რეევის ძემან, და წლითი-წლად მოვიდის და აღასრუ-  
 40 ლის მსახურებაა იგი პაგიოსნისა ჯუარისაა. და მიერთგან უფროასლა და უმეტეს  
 მოვიდოდეს სნეული მრავალნი და უძღურნი და განიკურნებოდეს და სიხარულით  
 აღიღებდეს ღმერთსა და პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა.

zaczęli się dziwić tej sprawie, wychwalali Boga i z radością pokłonili się świętemu krzyżowi, a cała Kartlia ustanowiła święto zwycięskiego krzyża w niedzielę po Wielkanocy, aż do dnia dzisiejszego i na wieki wieków.

Po niedługim czasie, po Pięćdziesiątnicy w środę, ujrzeli wielki i budzący bojaźń cud: oto stoi słup światła w postaci krzyża nad tym krzyżem i dwanaście aniołów wokół wieńczy (go). A wzgórze krzyża całe płonie wonnością. A widząc ten cud, wielu bezbożników nawracało się, przyjmowało chrzest i budowało kościoły. A wierzący silniej umacniali się w swej wierze i wysławiali Boga.

Później ujrzano drugi cud świętego krzyża; nad górną częścią jego płonął jakby ogień i jakby pałał płomień trzykrotnie jaśniejszy (od) słońca, i podobnie jak od ognia rozlatują się iskry, aniołowie unosili się i opadali ku temu (244v) świętemu krzyżowi. Wzgórze (pod) krzyżem silnie drżało, ziemia cała kołysała się, dym kadzidła unosił się ku niebu z gór, wzgórz i wąwozów; skały rozpadły się i kraj cały napełnił się zapachem kadzidła. I nie było to chwilowe i przemijające, lecz długotrwałe. I słychać było donośne głosy, cały lud przysłuchiwał się śpiewom, bał się i w wielkim zdziwieniu i strachu oddawał cześć świętemu krzyżowi, w ekstazie wychwalając Boga.

Po pewnym czasie, gdy znaki te i widzenia ustały, również i to wielkie i przerażające kołysanie (ziemi) ustało. Później liczne znaki i cuda, przychodzące z gór, dokonały się nad świętym krzyżem.

Cały lud widział to, ze strachem i przerażeniem przychodził gorliwie pokłonić się świętemu krzyżowi i z wielką radością wychwalał Boga.

W tym czasie żył pewien bogobojny człowiek, syn króla, którego nazywano Rew. Syn Rewa był chory i bliski śmierci. Był on jedynakiem u ojca. Ojciec wziął go i położył przed świętym krzyżem i ze łzami rzekł: „Jeśli Ty zwrócisz mi syna, ja zbuduję kaplicę dla Ciebie”. Ponieważ gorzko i nieustannie płakał on przed świętym krzyżem, pacholę to szybko wyzdrowiało. I zabrał go (ojciec) z (245r) wielką radością, wysławiając Boga i święty krzyż. Później powrócił wypełnić przyrzeczenie i dziękował (świętemu krzyżowi) z wielką radością. Z zapalem mcchetyjską sklepioną budowlę wzniósł syn Rewa, (który) przychodził co roku i odbywał nabożeństwo przed świętym krzyżem. Od tej pory przychodziło coraz więcej chorych i słabych uzyskując uzdrowienia, z radością wychwalając Boga i święty Krzyż.

Był pewien młodzieniec ślepy na oboje oczu. Przyszedł on i pokłonił się przed świętym krzyżem, żarliwie modląc się. Po siedmiu dniach otworzyły się jego oczy, przeto z radością wychwalał Boga

ყო ვინმე ჭაბუკი ერთი და ორნივე თუაღნი დადგომილ იყენეს. მოვიდა და შეუერდა პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა და ევედრებოდა იგი გულს-მოდგინედ. და შემდგომად შუღისა დღისა აღეხილნეს თუაღნი მისნი და სიხარულით აღიღებდა ღმერთსა და პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა.

- 5 დედაკაცი ვინმე იყო მარადის გუემული სულითა უკეთურითა, და ეგოდენ გუემაჲ მოილო, რაჲჲმს პაგოსანსა ჯუარსა შეამთხუევედ, სამოსელსა ჯუარისასა მოაპებუნ. და იყო მეთათოხმეგისა დღისა შემდგომად განიკურნა დედაკაცი იგი და წარვიდა იგი ფერკითა თჳსითა სიხარულით, აღიღებდა ღმერთსა და პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა.
- 10 კუალად იყო ვინმე დედაკაცი სხუაჲ, და ესუა მას ძმ და მეყსეულად დასწყუნა ყრმასა მას; და აღიქუა იგი დეღამან მისმან, მოილო იგი და დააგლო წინაშე პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა, და იღვა ყრმაჲ იგი მწყდარი წინაშე წმიდისა ჯუარსა დილეულითგან ვიდრე მწუხრადმდე, ხოლო დედაჲ ყრმისაჲ მის გირილით ილოცვიდა წინაშე პაგიოსანისა ჯუარისა. და ეგყოდეს (245v) მას მუნ მღვთმარენი:
- 15 „მოკკუდარ არს ეგე. წარიღე და დაჰმარხე და ნულარა აწყინებ!„ხოლო მან არა წარიკუეთა სასოვებაჲ, არამედ უფროსადლა საწყალობელად ცრემლოდა და ითხოვდა შეწევნასა. და მწუხრისა ოდენ ჯამსა სულნი უკუნ-იხუნა ყრმამან მან და თუაღნი აღიხილნა. და შემდგომად სამისა დღისა განკურნებული წარიყვანა იგი დეღამან თჳსმან და აღიღებდა ღმერთსა და პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა. და ვითარცა
- 20 იხილ[ნ]ს ყოველთა სასწაულნი ესე დიდებულნი პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა. და ვითარცა იხილ[ნ]ს ყოველთა სასწაულნი ესე დიდებულნი პაგიოსანისა ჯუარისანი, მრავალნი უშვილონი მოვლენედ და ილოცვიდეს მისგან შვილიერებასა და შვილთა განმადარნი აღიღებედ ღმერთსა და შესაწირავთა და მადლთა მისცემედ პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა. არა ხოლო თუ რომელნი მუნ მივლენედ და მათ ოდენ მიჰმადლებენ სათხოველსა, არამედ მათცა, რომელნი შორს არიედ, გინათუ ბრძოლასა, ღუაწლსა შინა ხალიედ პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა მცხეთისასა, მუნ[ნ]თქევსევე მძლე-ექმნ[ნ]იან მგერთა, შეწევნითა პაგიოსანისა ჯუარისაჲთა, და ღიღითა სიხარულითა მოვიდიან მადლისა მიცემად პაგიოსანისა ჯუარისა. მრავალნი უღრმთონიცა ჭირსა შეცევს, ხოლო რაჲჲმს სარწმუნოვებით ჰხალოდეს პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა
- 30 მცხეთისასა, მუნქევსევე განერნიან, და სიხარულითა ღიღითა მოვიდიან თაყუანისცემად პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა, და ნათელი მოიდიან, და სიხარულით აღიღებედ ღმერთსა და პაგიოსანსა ჯუარსა. ხოლო სხუანი მრავალნი მრავალსა ჭირსა შეცევს და ვედრებითა პაგიოსანისა ჯუარისაჲთა განერნიან, და მრავალნი სნეულნი პირად-პირადითა სენითა მოვლენედ ვედრებად (246r) პაგიოსანისა ჯუარისა და
- 35 განიკურნებიედ ვიდრე დღენდელად დღემდე. და სხუანიცა საწაულნი იქმნებოდეს წინასე პაგიოსანისა ჯუარისა მეცით გარდამო ღმრთისა მიერ, რომელნი არა დაწერილ არიან წიგნსა ამას. ხოლო ესე ოდენ დაიწერნეს საქებელად ღმრთისა და საღიღებლად პაგიოსანისა ჯუარისა და რაჲთა ჩუენ ყოველნი ვადიდებდეთ მამასა და ძესა და წმიდასა სულსა, რომლისაჲ არს დიდებაჲ აჲ და მარადის და უკუნითი უკუნისამდე, ამენ.

i święty krzyż.

Była pewna kobieta, opętana przez siły nieczyste, tak oszalała, że kiedy zmuszali ją, by dotknęła świętego krzyża, zdierała szatę z niego. Po czternastu dniach kobieta została uleczone i odeszła (bez cudzej pomocy), z radością wychwalając Boga i święty krzyż.

Była jeszcze pewna inna kobieta, która miała syna. Pacholę to nagle straciło przytomność. Matka wzięła je i położyła pod świętym krzyżem. Półmartwe pacholę przeleżało przed świętym krzyżem od rana do wieczora. W tym czasie matka tego pacholęcia ze łzami w oczach modliła się przed świętym krzyżem. Otaczający (245v) ją mówili: „Martwy jest, weź go i pochowaj, i przestań narzekać”. A ona, nie tracąc nadziei, coraz żałośniej płakała i prosiła o pomoc. Z nastaniem zmroku pacholę zaczęło znów oddychać i otworzyło oczy. Po trzech dniach matka zabrała go zdrowego, wysławiając Boga i święty krzyż. I gdy wszyscy zobaczyli te wielkie cuda świętego krzyża, wielu bezdzietnych przychodziło, prosiło o dzieci, i (później) ciesząc się dziećmi wysławiali Boga, przynosili dary i dzięki składali świętemu krzyżowi. Ów (krzyż) obdarzał łaskami nie tylko tych, którzy znajdowali się daleko. Jeśli ktoś w ogniu walce przyzywał święty krzyż mcchetyjski, zaraz zwyciężał wrogów z pomocą świętego krzyża i z wielką radością przychodził dziękować świętemu krzyżowi. Wielu bezbożników, popadłszy w biedę, gdy tylko z wiarą przyzywali święty krzyż mcchetyjski, natychmiast zostawali wybawieni i z wielką radością przychodzili pokłonić się świętemu krzyżowi, przyjmowali chrzest i z radością wychwalali Boga i święty krzyż. Ale i wielu innych, popadłszy w nieszczęścia, uratowało się po modlitwie przed świętym krzyżem. I wielu cierpiących, oponowanych przez różne choroby, przychodziło z modlitwą do (246r) świętego krzyża i uleczeni są aż do dziś. Miały miejsce i inne cuda, dane przez Boga z nieba, przed świętym Krzyżem, które nie zostały opisane w tej księdze. Zapisane zostało tylko tak niewiele ku chwale Boga i wysławieniu świętego Krzyża, byśmy wszyscy wychwalali Ojca i Syna i Ducha świętego, któremu niech będzie chwała i teraz, i zawsze, i na wieki wieków, amen.



## [თავი 15]

წიგნი, რომელი დაწერა მირეან მეფემან ქართლისამან  
 ჟამსა სიკუდილისასა,

5 აღწერა კელითა იაკობ მთავარეპისკოპოსისაჲთა და მისცა სალომეს  
 უქარმელსა, ძის ცოლსა თჳსსა, რომელი მეცნიერ იყო ყოველსავე  
 ჭეშმარიტად

და იყო ჟამსა მას, რომელსა მოიქსენა უფალმან ქუეყანაჲ ესე ჩრდილო-  
 10 მსაჲ, დაბნელებული ცოდვითა და სავეს ცთომითა ეშმაკისაჲთა, ვიყვნით  
 ჩუენ ვითარცა ცხოვარნი კლვადნი, რამეთუ ვარ მე ოც და მეთექუსმეტს მეფს,  
 ვინაჲთგან მამანი მსხუერპლად კერპითაჲს საზაგელთა და უბრალოჲ იგი ერი  
 ქუეყანისაჲ მის, და რომელნი შეილთა მათთა, ვითარცა თივასა, თიბდეს მამანი  
 ჩუენნი, რაჲთა სათნო-ეყვნენ კერპთა, და უფროჲს ხოლო ორთა მათ მათაჲ,  
 არმაზისა და ზადენისა, რომელთა ქვანიცა მათნი დაულთვან სისხლითა ჩჳლ-  
 15 თაჲთა. და ღირსცა არიან მათნი იგი ასპოლვად ცეცხლითა, რისხვითა ღმრთი-  
 სამიერთა.

ხოლო ოდეს მოიწია ჟამი და მოვიდა ნეგარი ესე ღედაკაცი, მოციქული  
 და მახარებელი ძისა ღმრთისაჲ, წმიდაჲ ნინო, პირველ ვითარცა გჳჳე, ვი-  
 თარცა უცხოი და ვითარცა მწირი, ვითარცა შეუწევნელი (246), ვითარცა  
 20 უსმი და უგჳჳ, რომელიცა აწ მექმნა ჩუენ გჳჳე იგი ღედოფალ, უცხოჲ იგი-  
 დედა, შეუწევნელი-მესავედრებელ ყოველთა, და უგჳჳ იგ-ქადაგ ძლიერ და  
 მეცნიერ დაფარულთა ჩემთა გულის სიგჳჳათა, ამან წმიდამან აღანთო გულსა  
 ჩემსა სათელი ნათლისაჲ და შუვაღამეს ოდენ მეჩუენა მე მშ მბრწყინვალს,  
 ქრისტე ღმერთი ჩუენი, რომლისა ნათელი მისი არა მოაკლდეს უკუნისამ-  
 25 დე. და მექმნა ჩუენ მოძღუარ და შემრთნა ჩუენ ერსა ქრისტესსა ნათლის-  
 დებითა წმიდითა და პატიოსნისა ძელისა თავყუანის-ცემითა. და მომცა ჩუენ  
 შჯული ახალი ცხორებისაჲ და სიხარულისაჲ და ღირს-მყენა გემოჲს-ხილვად  
 საიდუმლოთა უხრწნელთა ბეცისათა. მე ვიქმენ მორჩილ ბრძანებათა მისთა,  
 რომელიცა მასწავა და აღვაშენე ეკლესიაჲ სალოცველად სამოთხესა მას მა-  
 30 ვერ შეუძლე ყოვლითა ძალითა და ცნობითა კაცობრივითა, ხოლო ღმერთმან  
 მაღალმან მოაფლინა ერთი მსახურთა მისთაგანი და წამის-ყოფითა მისითა  
 ქუეყანით ცად აღიწია. და თუთ თუალნი თქუენნი ხედვენ სმაშინელებასა და  
 საკურველებასა მისსა და მერმე კურნებათა მათ მისთა. და ოდეს მაუწყა აღ-  
 მართებაჲ, წარვაფლინენ ხურონი ძიებად ხესა. და ვითა რპოვეს ხს ერთი მარ-  
 35 გოჲ მღგომარწ კლდესა ბედა, რომლისადა არა მიხებული ხისაჲ მის, რამეთუ  
 ოდეს ირემსადა ეცის ისარი, მივიღგინ ბორცუსა მას ქუეშე, რომელსა ბედა  
 დგა ხს იგი, და სწრაფით ჭამნ თესლსა მას მის ხისასა ჩამოცვენებულსა და  
 სიკუ (247r)დილისაგან განერის.

ესე მითხრიან და ვიყავ დაკრვებულ ამისთჳს. მოვჰკუეთე მე ხს იგი და  
 40 შევქმენე მისგან სამნი ჯუარნი: ერთი ესე, რომელ ბეცით იყო სასწაული მისი



## [Rozdział 15]

List, który napisał przed śmiercią  
król Kartlii Mirian  
ręką arcybiskupa Jakuba i oddał Salome Udżarmeli,  
małżonce syna swojego, która zaprawdę wiedziała  
o wszystkim

W tym czasie, gdy Pan spojrział na ten kraj północny, zaćmiony przez grzechy i pełen pokus szatana, byliśmy podobni owcom, skazanym na rzeź, bo ja jestem trzydziestym szóstym królem, od tego czasu gdy pojawili się ojcowie nasi i skazywali swoje dzieci i niewinny lud tego kraju na ofiarę wstrętnym bożkom. Ojcowie nasi kosili jak trawę dzieci swoje, żeby dogodzić bałwanom i przede wszystkim tym dwóm góróm – Armazi i Zaden, których nawet kamienie nasiąknięte są krwią niemowląt. Góry te zasłużyły na zniszczenie ogniem gniewu Bożego.

A kiedy nastał czas, przyszła owa błogosławiona niewiasta, posłanka i zwiastunka Boga, święta Nino, najpierw jako niewolnica, jako cudzoziemka, jako bezradna, jako niesłysząca i niemówiąca. Teraz niewolnica ta stała się dla nas królową, cudzoziemka – matką, bezradna – obrończynią wszystkich, (246v) a niema – wspaniałą kaznodziejką. Święta ta zapaliła w moim sercu kaganek prawdy i o północy oświeciło mnie promienne słońce – Chrystus, Bóg nasz, którego światło nie wyczerpie się na wieki. Ona to została moją nauczycielką, wprowadziła mnie przez pośrednictwo świętego chrztu i pokłonienie się świętemu krzyżowi do grona Chrystusowego, dała mi nową wiarę życia i radości i zaszczyciła mnie zakosztowaniem nieprzemijających tajemnic nieba. Wypełniając jej nakazy, wykonałem (wszystko), czego mnie nauczyła: zbudowałem kościół do modlitwy w ogrodzie ojców moich, (postawiłem) w nim ten słup światła, którego nie zdołałem podnieść żadną siłą i wiedzą ludzką, ale Bóg najwyższy zesłał jednego ze swych sług, który natychmiast uniósł go z ziemi do nieba. Widzicie na własne oczy niezwykle i zadziwiające znaki Jego, a więc i uleczenia dokonane przez Niego. Kiedy ona rzekła mi o wzniesieniu (krzyża), posłałem cieśli, by poszukali drzewa. Znaleźli pewne drzewo, stojące samotnie na skale, którego nie dotknęła ręka ludzka, ale my wiedzieliśmy z opowiadań myśliwych o jego niezwykłości, gdyż jelen zraniony strzałą podchodził pod skałę, na której rosło to drzewo, pośpiesznie jadł owoce, które odpadły z tego drzewa, i (247r) unikał śmierci.

Tak mi opowiadano, a ja dziwiłem się temu. Ściąłem to drzewo i zrobiłem z niego trzy krzyże: jeden ten, mchchetyjski, nad którym

- და ერთი აღეჰმართე აღვილსა მას, სადა-იგი ქალაქსა უქარმას, რომელი წარილო სალომე. და აღვაშენე ეკლესიაჲ მაყოლოვანსა მას შინა ნინოასსა, და ვქმენ მას შინა საქმს, ქმნული უჩინოჲ და ცხადი, დიდებაჲ მაყოლოვანთა მათ, რამეთუ არა გამოვაკუ ფურცელი ერთიცა მათგან, არამედ ხარისხიგა
- 5 გარეშევიცვენ, რამეთუ მეხილვნეს მრავალნი სასწაულნი მას შინა ნინოასსა, და ვქმენ მას შინა საქმს, ქმნული უჩინოჲ და ცხადი, დიდებაჲ მაყოლოვანთა მათ, რამეთუ არა გამოვაკუ ფურცელი ერთიცა მათგან, არამედ ხარისხითა გარე - შევიცნენ, რამეთუ მეხილვნეს მრავალნი სასწაულნი მას შინა და კურნებანი დიდნი. და აღვაშენე ბემოჲ ეკლესიაჲ თავისა ჩემისათჳს ქებითა და
- 10 ერისა სიმრავლითა, რამეთუ ქუემოსა ეკლესიასა ერქუა „წმიდაჲ წმიდათაჲ“ და ყოვლადვე ვერ ვიკადრებდი კართა მისთა განხუმაღ თუნიერ მღვლეთასა, რომელნი გალობედ მას შინა, რამეთუ შიში დიდი დაცემულ იყო ყოველსა ბედა კაცსა სუეგისა მისგან ცხოველისა. და ჰხედვიდა ყოველი კაცი სუეგსა მას ვითარცა ბალსა ღმრთისასა. და მიხედვადცა ვერ ეძლო კაცთა სართულსა
- 15 მისსა, რომელსა თუთ ვხედავთ. და ვერ ვიკადრე წინაშე, რამეთუ მეშინოდა მისგან ცოდვისა ოდენ მოქმედსა. და შევიმზადე ბემო საფლავი ჩემი, რადთუ თუალსა მისსა მივჰრიდო და წყალობასა მისსა მივემთხუო აღდგომასა. (247v) და ვითარცა შევიმზადე კეთილთა ღმრთისათა განსრულებასა ჩემ ბედა და ვიგყოდე, ვითარმედ: „შეჰვედრო სული ჩემი დედასა ჩემსა წმიდასა ნინოს“,
- 20 ხოლო წმიდამან მან შეჰვედრა სული თუხი უბიწოჲ კელთა დამბადებელისა თუხისათა, რამეთუ აღასრულა ყოველივე მცნებაჲ ღმრთისაჲ და სწავლაჲ წმიდისა მის დედის ძმისა მისისა, მამისა ჩუენისა პაგრიიქისაჲ და დაგუაობლნა ჩუენ ახლადშობილნი ჩხულნი უმეცარნი. და ფრიად შეჰვრწუნდი სულითა ჩემითა და ყოველნი ნათესავი ჩრდილოასაჲ აღივსო მწუხარებითა, რამეთუ
- 25 აღმო-ოდენ-სრულ იყო მშჳ სიმართლისაჲ და მო-ოდენ-ფენილ იყო ჭეშმარიტი. და დაფარა ღრუბელმან წმიდაჲ ნინო. ხოლო წმიდაჲ იგი ყოვლადვე ნათელსა შინა არს და ყოველთა განგუანათლებს. ხოლო მე განვიმზარხე წმიდაჲ იგი გუამი მისი რადთამცა წარმოვიდე გულს-მოდგინებითა დიდითა აქა, წინაშე სუეგსა ნათლით შემოსილსა და არა ეპოვე ღონე ყოვლადვე. რამეთუ ვერ განძრეს ორასთა კაცთა მცირე იგი ცხედარი, რომელსა ბედა შეისუენა წმიდამან და სანაგრელმან ნინო. მაშინ დაემარხეთ წმიდაჲ იგი გუამი მისი ყოვლადვე დიდებულისაჲ ბოდს, დაბასა კახეთისასა. და ვეგლოვდით სიობლესა ჩუენსა ოც და ათ დღე ყოვლითურთ სამეუფოთ ჩემით. და აღვაშენე მას ბედა ეკლესიაჲ და განვადიდე ფრიად, და მისითა მეოხებითა მაქუს სასოვებაჲ ძისა
- 30 ღმრთისაგან და სარწმუნოვებასა ბედა დაუსაბამოასა ღმრთისა მამისასა და ყოვლად ძლიერისა ძისასა და ცხოველს-მყოფელისა სულისა წმიდისა უკვდავისასა. და ვეძიებ და მოველი აღდგომასა მკუდრეთით და შეჰვედრებ სულსა ჩემსა (248r) ქრისტესსა მეუფისადა, რომლისაჲ არს დიდებაჲ, სიმტკიცე და ძლიერებაჲ აწ და მარადის და უკუნითი უკუნისამდე, ამენ“.

dokonał się znak niebios, drugi wzniosłem na tym miejscu, gdzie przejrzałem dzięki Panu – na górze Tchoti, a trzeci, który wzięła Salome, (został postawiony) w mieście Udżarma. I zbudowałem kościół w jeżynowych zaroślach Nino i wykonałem tam pracę dokończoną: niewidoczna i jawna jest wielkość tych krzewów jeżyn, gdyż nie dotknąłem ani jednego ich listka, otoczyłem budowlą, by zobaczyć w niej wiele cudów i wielkie uleczenia. I wzniosłem dla siebie Górny kościół z kamienia i (przy udziale) wielu ludzi, gdy kościół Dolny nazywał się świętym świętych, i ja ośmielałem się zawsze otwierać jego drzwi tylko w niedzielę, i nikt nie odważył się wchodzić (doń), poza duchownymi, którzy śpiewali w nim, gdyż wielki strach zapanował przez życiodajny słup wśród wszystkich ludzi, i każdy widział w tym słupie moc Boga. Ludzie nie mogli na niego nawet spojrzeć, czego świadkami jesteśmy my sami. Nie ośmieliłem się przed nim wyryć ziemi na swoją mogiłę, żeby ciało moje było pochowane przed nim, gdyż ja grzeszny bałem się go; (dlatego) przygotowałem dla siebie grób w Górnym (kościół), by był z daleka od jego oczu, ale bym dostąpił udziału w jego dobrach (w dniu) Zmartwychwstania. (247v) Przygotowany na śmierć, zapragnąłem oddać swoją duszę (duchowej) matce mojej, świętej Nino. Ale święta oddała niewinną duszę Panu swemu, bo wypełniła wszystkie przykazania Boże i nauki świętego wuja swego, ojca naszego patriarchy. I pozostawiła nas nowonarodzonych, nieświadome niemowlęta, sierotami. Ja bardzo upadłem na duchu i cały północny lud napełnił się smutkiem, gdyż zaledwie weszło słońce prawdy i prawda rozposzechniła się, a (zaraz) chmury skryły przed nami Nino. Ale święta ta stale przebywa w świetle i oświeca nas wszystkich! Przeto postanowiłem zanieść z wielką czcią ciało jej tu, przed święty krzyż, ale nie zdołałem znaleźć sposobu, gdyż dwustu ludzi nie mogło poruszyć błogosławionego jej łoża, na którym spoczęła święta i błogosławiona Nino. Wówczas my pochowaliśmy święte jej ciało, wiecznie wysławianej, w Bodi, w miasteczku kachetyjskim i razem z całym królestwem naszym opłakiwaliśmy opuszczenie, sieroctwo nasze przez trzydzieści dni. I zbudowałem kościół nad jej grobem, bogato go ozdobiłem, i w ufności swej pokładam nadzieję w Synu Bożym i wierze w nieskończonego Boga Ojca Wszechmogącego. I szukam, i oczekuję powstania z martwych, i polecam duszę swoją (248r) Chrystusowi królowi, któremu niech będzie chwała, moc i siła, i teraz, i zawsze, i na wieki wieków, amen”.

ანდერძი მირეან მეფისაჲ ძისა თჳსისა მიმართ რევისა და  
ცოლისა თჳსისა ნანაჲსა

აჰა ესერა მე წარვალ, ვინაჲცა მოვედ, ხოლო შენ, ნანა, უკუეთუ გე-  
ცეს მოცალებჲაჲ ცხორებისაჲ შემდგომად ჩემსა, განყავ სამეუფოჲ ჩემი ორად  
5 და მიილე სამარხვოსა წმიდისა ნინოჲსსა ჟამთა შეცვალებისათჳს, რაჲთა  
არა შეირყოს უკუნისამდე აღგილი იგი, რამეთუ არა მეფეთა საჯდომი არს,  
მწირ არს აღგილი იგი. ეგრევე ვჰვედრებ მთავარების კოპოსსა, რაჲთა დაღვას  
დიდებაჲ მის აღგილსაჲ, რამეთუ ღირს არს პატივის-ცემისა. ხოლო ძესა თჳსსა  
ასწავებდა: აჰა ესერა შეიცვალა ბნელი ჩუენი ნათლად და სიკუდილი ჩუენი  
10 – ცხორებად. აწ სადაცა ჰჰოვნე ქუეყანასა შინა შენსა ვნება(ნი) იგი ქართლი-  
სანი, მაცთურნი კერპნი, ცეცხლითა დაწუენ და ვაცარი მათი შეასუ მათ, ვინ  
მათ ეგლოვდეს! და ესე ამცენ შვილთა შენთა, რამეთუ მე ვიცი იგი, მწრაფლ  
კავკასიათა შინა ვერ დაიღვეიან. ხოლო შენ ესრე ჰყოფ: თავი შენი შეჰვე-  
დრე სუეგსა მას მგვარდმო-დიდებულსა და პატიოსანსა ჯუარსა ცათა შინა  
15 ჩინებულსა და იყავნ შენი მისლვაჲ მიწად ძილად საუკუნოდ სარწმუნოვებასა  
ბელა წმიდისა სამებისასა, ამენ.

წიგნი ქართლისა მოქცევისაჲ, რომლითა ღმერთმან ნათელი გამოაბრ-  
წყინვა, დასაბამი წმიდათა ეკლესიათა გამბრწყინვებისაჲ, ძალთა ბეცისა  
მგა : [აღყ]უავილდა უბიწოჲ სარწმუნოვებაჲ შეუძრავი კედ ქრისტესსა. ესე  
20 ჩუენისა (248v) სულისაჲ, ვითარცა ცალანგი წინამძღუართაგან დაფარული,  
შემდგომად მრავალთა ჟამთა და წელთა ვპოვეთ.

Testament króla Miriana dla syna jego Rewa  
i małżonki jego Nany

Oto odchodzę ja, który przyszedłem! A ty, Nano, jeśli przyjdzie ci żyć po mnie, podziel na pół królestwo moje i oddziel połowę, w której leży mogiła świętej Nino, żeby na wieki wieków miejsce to było nienaruszone, przecież ono nie jest miastem królewskim, ale miejscem mało znaczącym (w kategoriach świeckich). Proszę również arcybiskupa, by wywyższył to miejsce godne chwały (w kategoriach boskich). Zaś syna swego pouczał (tak): Oto ciemności nasze zastąpiło światło, a śmierć – życie. W przyszłości, gdzie tylko znajdziesz w kraju twoim zdradzieckie bożki, szkodzące Kartlii, spal je ogniem i zmusz, by popiół ich jedli ci, którzy będą wyznawać ich kult. To samo przekaz potomkom swoim, gdyż ja wiem, że bożki wśród mieszkańców Kaukazu nie szybko wytepią. Sam zaś postępuj tak: oddaj ich w opiekę słupowi, wywyższonemu z góry, i świętemu krzyżowi, wysławianemu w niebiosach, i powrót twój do ziemi, w sen wieczny, niech będzie w wierze Świętej Trójcy. Amen!

Księgę Mokcewaj Kartlisaj, w której Bóg objawił światło – podstawę rozkwitu świętych kościołów... (248r) duszy, jak skarb, skryty przez poprzedników, znaleźliśmy po upływie długiego czasu i wielu lat.

## KOMENTARZE:

1. *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj (Nawrócenie Kartlii) na chrześcijaństwo* to najstarszy z zachowanych zabytków historiografii gruzińskiej anonimowego autora. Istnieją jego dwa rękopisy: 1) Szatberdski zawarty w tzw. Zbiorze Szatberdskim, który powstał prawdopodobnie w wieku X w klasztorze w Szatberdi (obecnie na terenie Turcji). 2) Rękopis z XIV-XV wieku odnaleziony w klasztorze Czeliszi (Racza). Profesor Zaza Aleksidze odnalazł w jednym z klasztorów na Górze Synaj dwa nowe rękopisy *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj*, które datuje wstępnie na wiek X. (Rapp, Stephen H.: *Studies In Medieval Georgian Historiography: Early Texts And Eurasian Contexts*, 2003). Rozbieżności tekstowe redakcji szatberdskiej i czeliskiej są znaczne. Świadczą o tym ślady opracowania i przeróbki znacznie wcześniejszego rękopisu szatberdskiego i przede wszystkim charakterystyczny podział materiału na rozdziały. Można zaobserwować opuszczenie tytułów rozdziałów, a także brak pewnych fragmentów tekstu, znajdujących się w innym wariantcie (czeliskim) tego utworu. Nic więc dziwnego, że zaraz po zapoznaniu się naukowców ze *Zbiorem Szatberdskim* właśnie *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj* wzbudziło wielkie zainteresowanie. Jego oddzielne części zostały opublikowane już w końcu dziewiętnastego wieku. Następnie ukazał się rosyjski przekład Ekwtime Takaiszwili i wydanie gruzińskiego tekstu obu wariantów tego samego autora. (Takaiszwili E., *Obraszczeniye Gruzii (w chri-stianstvo), Istoczniki gruzińskich letopisiej, Tri chroniki*, „Sbornik materialow dla opisanija mestnostej i plemen Kawkaza” n. 28, 1900; i dem, *sami istoriuli xronika (sami istoriuli kronika)*, Tyflis 1890; i dem, *ახალი ვარიანტი ნინოს ცხოვრებისა*, (*achali warianti ninos cchowrebisa*), Tyflis 1891). Wyliczenie wszystkich prac dotyczących *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj* nie jest tutaj możliwe. Wymienimy więc tylko wydanie tekstu I. Abuladze, *ძველი ქართული აგიოგრაფიის ლიტერატურული ძეგლები*, I, (*dzweli kartuli agiograpiis literaturuli dzeglebi*), Tbilisi 1963, s. 81-163, niemiecki przekład G. Pätsch (Pätsch G., *Die Bekehrung Georgiens Mockevay Kartlisay* (Verfasser unbekannt) “Bedi Kartlisa; Revue de kartvelologie”, v. XXXIII, Paris 1975, s. 288-337) oraz wydanie *Żywota Świętej Nino* w języku angielskim przez M. i O. Wardropów (Wardrop M. and Wardrop O., *Life of St. Nino*, “Studia Biblica and Ecclesiastica”, v. V part I, Oxford 1900). Dzieło to składa się z dwóch zasadniczych części pod wspólnym tytułem *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj*. Część druga nosi tytuł *Żywot Świętej Nino*. W części pierwszej nazywanej w litera-

turze naukowej (*Kroniki nawrócenia Kartlii*) przedstawiona jest krótka historia Kartlii od czasów wypraw wojennych Aleksandra Macedońskiego oraz wykaz wszystkich królów pogańskich aż do okresu panowania pierwszego chrześcijańskiego władcy – Miriana (początek IV w.), z uwzględnieniem najważniejszych wydarzeń historycznych. Stosunkowo obszernie opisane jest przybycie świętej Nino do stolicy Iberii i jej działalność związana z nawróceniem królowej, króla i ludu. Jest to najkrótsza i prawdopodobnie najstarsza redakcja *Żywota Świętej Nino*. Dalej następuje lista władców i hierarchów kościelnych wraz z krótkimi informacjami o faktach historycznych od lat czterdziestych VII w., (stosunkowo dokładnie opisano działalność króla Wachtanga Gorgasali – drugą połowę V wieku i wyprawę cesarza Herakliusza w latach dwudziestych VII w.); wreszcie mamy listę władców świeckich (erystawów) i hierarchów kościelnych (*katolikosów*) w Kartlii. Część druga to obszerny wariant *Żywota Świętej Nino*. Nawrócenie Kartlii przez Nino było najważniejszym wydarzeniem w dziejach Kartlii (325 r.). Centralną postacią tego wydarzenia jest święta Nino. Kartlię nawróciła ona. Prehistoria nawrócenia Kartlii zaczyna się od ukrzyżowania Chrystusa, kiedy Żydzi – zamieszkujący w Kartlii, przywieźli do Mcchety fragment chitonu Chrystusa. Ważną rolę w nawróceniu Kartlii odegrał Abiatar – mieszkaniec Mcchety, któremu poświęcono odrębny rozdział w dziele. W *Żywocie Świętej Nino* podkreślono działalność uczniów świętej Nino, a mianowicie córki Abiataru – Sydonii, i jeszcze innej kobiety – Salome Udżarmeli. One wraz z Jakubem opowiadają czytelnikom o różnych okresach z życia świętej Nino. Centralną postacią w królestwie Kartlii jest król, którego nawrócenie symbolizuje chrzest całego kraju. Temu wydarzeniu poświęcono osobny rozdział w *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj*. Kwestia, czy jest to ten sam utwór, składający się z dwóch części, czy też dwa różne dzieła, pozostaje sporna. Pewne jest tylko to, że został on zamieszczony w *Zbiorze Szatberdskim* jako jeden utwór, składający się z dwóch części. Różnica zdań dotyczy również daty powstania dzieła: IX, VII lub V wiek. Jest zupełnie prawdopodobne, że tak ważnemu wydarzeniu, jak ogłoszenie chrześcijaństwa religią państwową (IV w.), został wkrótce poświęcony specjalny utwór. Dla autora najważniejszym wydarzeniem jest nauka Nino i ogłoszenie chrześcijaństwa religią oficjalną, jako wstęp do nowego etapu w historii Kartlii (Iberii). Przedstawia on tu krótką kronikę wydarzeń wcześniejszych. Przy tym narrację rozpoczyna od czasów Aleksandra Macedońskiego. Powstanie królestwa



Kartlii wiąże się z wyprawą Aleksandra Macedońskiego do Kartlii (Aleksander Macedoński, według badań uczonych gruzińskich, nigdy nie odbył wyprawy do Iberii). Autor *Nawrócenia* jest wykształconym historykiem, znającym system periodyzacji historii powszechnej, obowiązujący w historiografii średniowiecznej Europy, zgodnie z którym w historii świata istniały cztery monarchie: asyryjsko-babilońska, medyjsko-perska, Aleksandra Macedońskiego i rzymska. Autor doskonale znał życie narodu Kartlii (Iberii) również przed panowaniem Aleksandra Macedońskiego, o czym jest wzmianka w utworze; ale ponieważ powstanie królestwa Kartlii (Iberii) przypada na czasy panowania tego wielkiego monarchy, autor tworzy swoją własną periodyzację. Kwestią sporną pozostaje określenie gatunku literackiego omawianego utworu. Czy należy on do historiografii religijnej czy też świeckiej? Wątpliwe, czy można nakreślić takie ramy. Jak już wspomniano wyżej, część pierwsza, wstępna, to typowa kronika. W ogóle część kronikarska jest jakby tłem dla najważniejszego wydarzenia. Nie jest wykluczone, że krótka *Kronika* nawrócenia Kartlii powstała najprawdopodobniej zaraz po chrystianizacji Kartlii. W VII w. powstał nowy, obszerniejszy wariant *Żywota Świętej Nino*, który został połączony przez redaktora z istniejącym *Nawróceniem* i w tej postaci zawarty w *Zbiorze Szatberdskim*. Pewne jest, że utwory nie powstały w tym samym czasie. Po napisaniu pierwszego cyklu (wliczając okres panowania Wachtanga Gorgasali (458-502) w VII wieku został on uzupełniony o kronikę wydarzeń z V-VII w. (do lat czterdziestych), kiedy to powstała nowa, rozszerzona wersja *Żywota Świętej Nino*.

2. Aleksander Wielki, syn Filipa Macedońskiego, król Macedonii w latach 336-323 p.n.e. Podbił Anatolię, Fenicję i Egipt, opanował Mezopotamię i Persję, Baktrię, Sogdanię. Prowadził kampanie w Indiach. Rozpowszechnił kulturę helleńską na ogromnych obszarach, co spowodowało powstanie kultury hellenistycznej.
3. Lot, postać biblijna.
4. Bunturk, wyraz bun łączy się z językiem tureckim i etnonim w całości tłumaczy się jako plemiona tureckie.
5. Sarkine – po gruzińsku oznacza miasto żelaza.
6. Kaspi, miasto królestwa Kartlii, leżące na lewym brzegu Mtkwari.
7. Urbnisi, jedno z miast królestwa Kartlii w okresie antycznym, znajdujące się na wielkim szlaku handlowym.
8. Uplisciche, dosłownie *twierdza władcy*, jeden z ośrodków politycznych wschodniej Gruzji w okresie antycznym, największe miasto skalne zachowane w Gruzji.

9. Jebuzyci (w Starym Testamencie – Jebusi). Należeli oni do przedizraelskiej ludności Kanaanu i zamieszkiwali miasto-państwo Jerozolimę oraz jej okolice. „W okresie przed zajęciem Kanaanu przez Izraelitów miasto to nosiło nazwę Jebus (amoryckie Urusalim), aczkolwiek nazwa *Jerozolima* jest prawdopodobnie starsza. Po zdobyciu miasta przez Dawida, w dalszym ciągu Jebuz było zamieszkałe przez Jebuzytów. Według *Tablicy Narodów* Jebuzyci byli synami Kanaana, natomiast księga Ezechiela wyprowadza ich pochodzenie od Amorytów i Hetytów” (Tschirsnitz A., *Dzieje Ludów Biblijnych*, Warszawa 1994, s.163).
10. E. Takaiszwili pod nazwą Honni-Hunów rozumiał Huriani (starogruzińska nazwa Żydów).
11. Chaldejczycy – lud pochodzenia semickiego.
12. Nastagisi, po gruzińsku oznacza miejsce, gdzie wcześniej znajdowało się źródło (*stagi*) kanału.
13. Według G. Melikiszwili Arian-Kartlii to *Kartlia Perska* – południowogruzińskie państwo, wchodzące w skład państwa Achemenidów.
14. Azo, badacze uważają, że imię to powstało pod wpływem imienia Jazon – bohatera starogreckiej legendy o Argonautach. Historyk ormiański Mowes Chorenac nazywa go Michrdat. Prawdopodobnie Michrdat to Mitridate, który po rozgromieniu przez Aleksandra Macedońskiego Iranu Achemenidów stał się faktycznym założycielem królestwa Pontu.
15. Mccheta, pierwsza stolica starożytnej Kartlii – Iberii, leżąca na północ od Tbilisi. Tradycja przypisuje założenie Mcchety Mcchetowi, synowi Kartlosa, jednego z potomków Noego. Zbudował on miasto u zbiegu rzek Mtkwari i Aragwi i nadal mu własne imię Mccheta. Badania archeologiczne potwierdzają istnienie osady w Mcchecie i okolicach między III i II tys. p.n.e. W połowie pierwszego tysiąclecia p.n.e. osobne obszary zasiedlenia połączyły się w jedno większe miasto - „Wielką Mcchetę”. Położona wzdłuż rzek Mtkwari i Aragwi i otoczona górami „Wielka Mccheta” leżała na skrzyżowaniu dróg z Kolchidy, Północnego Kaukazu, Armenii i Albanii. Od IV wieku p.n.e. do VI wieku n.e. Mccheta była centrum Kartlii (Iberii), siedzibą królów. Miasto rozrosło się w dwóch kierunkach na obydwu brzegach rzeki Mtkwari: w „kierunku Armazi” oraz „kierunku Muchnari”. Główne dzielnice stolicy były usytuowane na prawej brzegu Mtkwari, wraz z królewską rezydencją w Armazciche i rezydencją Pitiachsów – *Sapitiachszo*. Na początku III wieku p.n.e pierwszy król Kartlii (Iberii), Parnawaz, wybudował potężne mury wokół miasta,

wzniósł posąg bóstwa Armazi na miejscu pochówki Kartlosa oraz zaczął budować twierdzę. Populacja „Wielkiej Mcchety” była jak na ten czas duża i kosmopolityczna. Grecy, Asyryjczycy, Persowie i Chazarowie mieszkali wśród Iberów. Największa jednak była kolonia Żydów, którzy według kronik znaleźli schronienie w Mcchecie po tym jak Nabuchodonozor II (606-562 p.n.e) wygnał ich z Jerozolimy w 586 p.n.e. W Mcchecie mówiono sześcioma językami, do pisania zaś używano dwóch języków – aramejskiego i greckiego.

16. Według tekstu *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj*, założycielem królestwa Mcchety był Azo, a przodkami w linii prostej Kartwelów były sprowadzone przez niego z Arian-Kartlii rody – *sachli* Arian – Kartwelów. W naszym tekście było ich osiemnaście, jednak w innych wersjach tego dzieła prawdopodobnie znajdowały się inne liczby. Autor nowej redakcji *Żywota Świętej Nino* Arsen Beri (XII wiek) twierdzi, że Azo (według niego Azowe) przeprowadził z Arian-Kartlii tysiąc domów *mdabioni uplisaj – prostych ludzi* i dziesięć domów książęcych. Jest tu powiedziane wprost, że *my Kartwelowie jesteśmy potomkami tych pochodzących z Arian-Kartlii*.
17. Zgodnie z historyczną tradycją starogruzińską najważniejszymi bożkami w królestwie Kartlii były Armaz i Zaden, były również bożki Gaci i Ga, które już w *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj* zostały określone jako najstarsze idole ojców. *Kartlis Chowreba* potwierdza te słowa. W obu zabytkach Gaci i Ga przedstawione są jako idole przesiedlonych z Arian-Kartlii.
18. Ainina, według *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj* posąg bożka wzniesiony przez króla Saurmaga.
19. Armazi, jeden z ośrodków kultu pogańskiej Kartlii, wymieniony jest w Geografii Strabona jako Harmozika (Armazciche – *twierdza Armaza*). Strabon pisał o niej jako o warownym grodzie. Fragmentaryczne informacje o Armazciche zawarte są w pracach Pliniusza (I wiek n.e.) i Ptolemeusza (II wiek n.e.) Armazi znajdowało się w miejscu współczesnego Bagineti, na prawym brzegu Mtkwari.
20. Dainina, posąg wzniesiony przez króla Mirwana. Natomiast według Leonti Mroweli król Saurmag wniósł dwa posągi Ainini i Dainini i umieścił przy drodze w Mcchecie. Jak widać tradycja uznawała je za najważniejsze bóstwa pogańskiego panteonu. Badania porównawcze materiałów archeologicznych potwierdzają ich pokrewieństwo z bóstwami starożytnego Wschodu.
21. Konstantyn Wielki (285-337 r.), pierwszy chrześcijański władca Bizancjum, syn Konstancjusza I Chlorusa, cesarz rzymski od 306 r.,

- od 324 r. rządził samodzielnie. W 313 r. w Mediolanie wydał edykt mediolański dający swobodę wyznania chrześcijanom. Na kilka dni przed śmiercią przyjął chrzest z rąk ariańskiego biskupa Euzebiusza z Nikomedii (zm. 341). Konstantyn na bazie dawnej greckiej kolonii Bizancjum wybudował wspaniałe miasto, które nazwał Miastem Konstantyna (Konstantinopolis), przyszłą stolicę cesarstwa bizantyjskiego. Matką Konstantyna Wielkiego była św. Helena.
22. Św. Helena (ok. 255-328), cesarzowa. Była córką właściciela oberży i żoną lub konkubiną cesarza Konstancjusza I Chlorusa, który porzucił ją (ok. 292), zmuszony względami politycznymi do poślubienia Teodory, córki Maksymiana. Gdy Konstantyn, syn Heleny, został cesarzem, wprowadził matkę na dwór, nadając jej tytuł Augusty (306 r.). Helena przyjęła chrzest i podjęła działalność, której owocem były liczne ufundowane przez nią bazyliki w Ziemi Świętej. Odbyła pielgrzymkę do Palestyny i innych wschodnich prowincji. Helena zasłynęła także z hojności dla ubogich. Tradycja przypisuje jej odnalezienie Krzyża Pańskiego.
  23. Trdat III (298-330 r.), pierwszy chrześcijański władca Armenii.
  24. Tak określa się obecny klasztor żeński w Mcchecie, bardziej znany jako Samtawro. Na miejscu, gdzie według podania w krzewach jeżyn żyła i modliła się Nino, znajduje się teraz niewielka kaplica, cała pokryta malowidłami przedstawiającymi sceny z jej życia.
  25. Św. królowa Nana (ok. 285-335), królowa Kartlii, żona Miriana III. Według *Żywotów królów gruzińskich* król Mirian wziął sobie żonę z Grecji, z Pontu, córkę Oligotosa Pontusa. Natomiast, według *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj* matka królowej Nany pochodziła z Persji. Według *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj* św. Nino wyleczyła z nieuleczalnych chorób królową Nanę i głównego Maga, który był bratem matki królowej Nany. W szóstym roku swego pobytu (około 322) Nino nawróciła Nanę, zaś w siódmym roku pod wpływem dokonanego cudu nawróciła króla. Po dwóch latach od śmierci króla zmarła królowa Nana i została pochowana przy tym samym słupie, co król Mirian, z jego zachodniej strony.
  24. Tak określa się obecny klasztor żeński w Mcchecie, bardziej znany jako Samtawro. Na miejscu, gdzie według podania w krzewach jeżyn żyła i modliła się Nino, znajduje się teraz niewielka kaplica, cała pokryta malowidłami przedstawiającymi sceny z jej życia.
  26. Św. Krol Mirian (III/IV w.), król Kartlii. W 325 r. przyjął, wraz z całym swoim państwem, chrzest i ustanowił chrześcijaństwo religią państwową. Wydarzenie to, powszechnie uważa się za faktyczną chrystianizację Gruzji. Fundator kościoła w Mcchecie, stojącego w miejscu, gdzie obecnie wznosi się katedra Sweticchoweli.

27. Ogród dolny znajduje się tam, gdzie obecna główna świątynia Mcchety. Początkowo Mirian wznosił tutaj kościół drewniany, który ze względu na swe położenie otrzymał nazwę kościół Dolny, w odróżnieniu od Górnego czyli Samtawro.
28. Eliasz (hebr. אליהו Eliyahu, gr., Ηλίας), jeden z proroków Starego Testamentu. Imię tłumaczone jako: „Bogiem jest Jahwe”, „moim Bogiem jest Jahwe”; zob. 1 i 2 Krl.
29. *Erystawi*, to zestawienie dwóch wyrazów *eri* – naród i *tawi* – głowa. *Erystawami* nazywano przywódców jednostek terytorialno-administracyjnych.
30. „Ormiański katolikos Nerse” – to najprawdopodobniej Nerse Wielki (329-373 r.), postać znajdująca się na czele kościoła prawosławnego w Armenii od 325 r., wielki działacz kościelny i polityczny.
31. *Marzpan*, dostojnik kierujący jednostką administracyjną w Iranie Sasanidów.
32. *Pitiasz*, tytuł władcy kartlijskiego, namiestnika królewskiego (dostojnik królewski w Iranie za panowania Sasanidów).
33. *Aznanowicze*, przedstawiciele klasy feudalnej, szlachta.
34. Miasto Bagdad, jak wiadomo, powstało dopiero w VIII wieku. Tu nazwa Bagdad, według M. Czchartiszwili, pojawiła się prawdopodobnie na skutek redagowania *Mokcewaj Kartlisaj* w IX w.
35. Św. Szuszanik żyła za czasów Wachtanga Gorgasali, a nie króla Bakura. Jakub Curta weli, *Męczeństwa świętej Szuszanik*, przeł. E. Biedka, Kraków 1991. Przekład łaciński: *Šoušanik martyre en Armeno-Georgie*, przeł. P. Peeters, ABol, 53(1935), s. 5-48, 245-307.
36. Kala, nazwa twierdzy tbiliskiej.
37. Kuropalat, marszałek dworu.
38. Monaster Dźwari (VI w.) jeden z najważniejszych zabytków budownictwa sakralnego w Gruzji.
39. Herakliusz, cesarz Greków (575-641r.)
40. Drakan, złota moneta.
41. Pod terminem Agarianie w źródłach starogruzińskich rozumie się Arabów.
42. Patrikioz – tytuł bizantyjski.
43. Georgi z Kapadocji – to święty Wielki Męczennik Jerzy Zwycięzca (zm. 23 kwietnia ok. 303 r. w Liddi), męczennik z czasów prześladowań Dioklecjana.
44. *Dewtelar*, funkcja sługi kościelnego.
45. Według M. Czchartiszwili *miafore* nie jest terminem oznaczającym stanowisko, a po prostu atrybut – *nowo nawrócona*.

The *Conversion of Kartli*: Translated and with a commentary  
by David Kolbaia

The *Conversion of Kartli* is the earliest surviving medieval Georgian historical compendium, independent from The Georgian Chronicles, the major corpus historicum of medieval Georgia. Written in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, this chronicle follows the history of Kartli (Iberia) from the earliest times to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, a particular focus on the Christianization of Georgians by Saint Nino in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century.

The autograph of The *Conversion of Kartli* has not survived and until recently there were only two manuscripts which have been extensively studied. These are the codices of Shatberdi and Chelishi. The Shatberdi Codex, the oldest of the extant *Conversion of Kartli* manuscripts, was copied in 973 under the supervision of the monk John at the Georgian monastery of Shatberdi in what is now northeastern Turkey. The second variant, the Chelishi Codex, so named after the monastery in Georgia where it was found in 1903, was copied in the 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century.





Mcchetska Antiochia – świątynia św. Szczepana z IV-V w.



## DMANISI - THE HOMELAND OF THE MOST ANCIENT EURASIANS

*by Tea Shelia*

*Georgian National Museum, Tbilisi*

The Dmanisi site is the first evidence for one of the most significant events in human evolution: the dispersal of early *Homo* from Africa to Eurasia. That the *Homo erectus* was the first hominin to leave Africa and colonize Eurasia has been accepted by paleoanthropologists for over a century. However, the early date (1.8 Million Years) and models that linked the first African exodus to increases in stature, encephalization, and technological advances have been challenged by discoveries at Dmanisi.<sup>1</sup>

Since 1991, the year of the discovery of the first Dmanisi hominin fossil remain, an interdisciplinary and international team of The Georgian National Museum is working at the archaeological site. The research project is led by the Paleoanthropologist David Lordkipanidze. All the scientific information provided in this article based on the work of archaeologists, geologists, geophysics, paleontologists, paleoanthropologists and paleobotanists involved in the Dmanisi Site investigation. Leading museums of the globe present copies of Dmanisi's hominin and animals' fossils, as well as copies of the stone tools used by them. The highest rated scientific journals regularly publish the findings of The Dmanisi Team.

Dmanisi is not a "one-time" finding spot, the sensational discoveries made there for the last 27 years have been periodically turning the existing scientific theories and models upside down, constantly creating new interrogations. What is more, the area this archaeological site could potentially cover is so large (at least 40 000 square meters) that its study could take generations.

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<sup>1</sup> R. Ferring, O. Oms, J. Augusti, F. Berna, M. Nioradze, T. Shelia, A. Vekua, D. Zhvania and D. Lordkipanidze, "Earliest Human Occupation at Dmanisi (Georgian Caucasus) dated to 1.85– 1.78 Ma," PNAS vol.108 no. 26, pp. 10432-10436, 2011.

Today, the Dmanisi Archaeological Site and its surrounding territory is a museum-reserve that is institutional part of the Georgian National Museum. Also, on the territory of ongoing excavations the “field museum” is located and its architecture takes into account the protection of archaeological layers, the creation of advanced modern working conditions for the scientists, as well as the welcoming of visitors. Dmanisi established itself as an important educational center. With the aim to popularize the scientific knowledge in Archaeology and Prehistory Dmanisi Team runs several educational programs. Dmanisi Paleoanthropological Field School is among them. Students attending the Dmanisi Paleoanthropological Field School are given the unique opportunity to learn and work at one of the world’s most important prehistoric sites in beautiful settings of Georgia.

#### Dmanisi’s Diversity

The Dmanisi Archaeological Site is located in Kvemo Kartli region of Georgia (Southern Caucasus Range) nearby the village Patara Dmanisi. It is situated on a promontory overlooking the confluence of two rivers - Mashavera and Pinezauri. The Dmanisi site represents three epochs’ archaeological settings: Stone Age, Bronze Age and Medieval time. The Late Bronze Age archaeology is fragmentary represented by the agricultural storage pits and artifacts dated back to the end of the II millennium and beginning of the I millennium BC.

The medieval period of the site is represented by wonderful archaeology and architecture. During the feudal period, Dmanisi, and more generally, the entire Georgia, were one of the strong political, economic and cultural centers of the Caucasus. Dmanisi became a city in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, then evolved as a royal fortress city and as a strategic center of the country’s southern border’s defensive system, through which one of the roads of Transcaucasia’s most important trading routes (branching from the The Silk Road) was passing. During the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, the cultural and economic life of Dmanisi as well as the entire Georgia was flourishing. In the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the city was destroyed as a result of Tamerlane’s invasions, though its fortress stood until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

It’s because of those later ruins that we know anything about the Dmanisi hominines. In the 1980s, archaeologists digging in the medieval storage pits started finding animal fossils that had no business being in a medieval cellar: they had gone extinct at least one million year

earlier. Dmanisi is an ancient bridge between Asia and Europe and has been for millennia. And there have been migration routes through here going back into prehistoric times.

#### What We Know About the First Eurasians

The terrain of Dmanisi area has not changed much since the times when this place was inhabited by early humans and prehistoric animals. The Dmanisi Site preserves an exceptional record of human activities over a series of occupations and it is one of the few opportunities in any paleolithic settings. It took less than 10000 years for all of the deposits and fossils to accumulate within the period from ~1.85 Ma to ~1.75Ma.<sup>2</sup>

The Dmanisi site has yielded the fossil remains of at least 5 individuals including five skulls, four of them with maxillas, four mandibles and 36 postcranial bones. This is the most reach and best preserved collection of early *Homo* from this time period around the globe. The Dmanisi hominins belong to different age groups and exhibit a morphological diversity within the population; in other words, they differ from each other, which is a unique occurrence when dealing with remains that old. The anatomical range evident in the Dmanisi hominins indicate to the variability within the Early *Homo* population.<sup>3</sup>

The Dmanisi hominin belongs to the *Homo erectus* species but differ from the classic late *Homo erectus*, as Dmanisi's hominins' brain volume (from 600 to 700 cubic centimeters) and height (1.5 meters) are significantly smaller.<sup>4</sup> They look more like early African fossils with their brain volume and projecting lower part of the face. Therefore, the Dmanisi discoveries have changed not only the period dur-

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<sup>2</sup> L. Gabunia, A. Vekua, D. Lordkipanidze, C. C. III. Swisher, R. Ferring, A. Justus, M. Nioradze, M. Tvalchrelidze, S. Antón, G. Bosinski, O. Joris, M. A. de Lumley, G. Majsuradze, A. Mouskhelishvili, "Early Pleistocene Hominid Cranial Remains from Dmanisi, Republic of Georgia: Taxonomy, Geological Setting and Age," *Science* 288, 1019-1025, 2000.

<sup>3</sup> D. Lordkipanidze, M. S. Ponce de Leon, iA. Margvelashvil, Y. Rak, G. Ph. Rightmire, A. Vekua, Ch. P. E. Zollikofer, "Complete skull from Dmanisi, Georgia, reveals evolutionary biology of early Homo". *Science Magazine* Vol. 342, 326-331, 2013.

<sup>4</sup> D. Lordkipanidze, T. Jashashvili, A. Vekua, M. S. Ponce de Leon, Ch. P. E. Zollikofer, G. Ph. Rightmire, H. Pontzer, R. Ferring, O. Oms, M. Tappen, M. Bukhsianidze, J. Agusti, R. Kahlke, G. Kiladze, B. Martinez-Navarro, A. Mouskhelishvili, M. Nioradze, L. Rook, Postcranial evidence from early *Homo* from Dmanisi, Georgia. *Nature* 449, 305-310, 2007.

ing which humans left Africa, but also the whole representation about humans' physical capacity, because they managed to carry out the long journey.

Dmanisi hominins had well developed lower limb and foot that revealed their capability to move easily on two legs. Their upper limbs retained primitive features adapted to different movements, such as upward rotation of the arm. They were also skillful in stone tool use, which probably eased their access to meat, thus enriching the dietary spectrum. Surrounded by dangerous predators, living in the temperate climate with cold winters and scarce food during winter times intensified the survival strategies of the hominines.

#### Dmanisi and the animal world

According to the conventional timeline for the rise of genus *Homo*, *H. erectus* was just getting its act in Africa, where it evolved, at about the same time hominines were already in Dmanisi, trying to survive and not get eaten by the various predators around.

The animals excavated in Dmanisi radically differ from the current Caucasian fauna. During the time of Dmanisi hominins, there was an exceptional biodiversity: 45 species of vertebrates have been discovered. Deer and horses are in particular abundance. There are also a lot of bovines – including antelopes, aurochs, sheep, and bulls. Rhinoceros remains have also been found. Some of the 14 species of predators are now extinct: saber-tooth and dirk-toothed cats - *Homotherium* and *Meganthereon*, giant hyena, European jaguar, giant cheetah, Etruscan wolf (ancestor of gray wolf), Etruscan bear (ancestor of brown bear), diverse mustelids and others. We also cannot find the following animals on the Eurasian continent nowadays: short-necked giraffes, giant camels, southern elephants, and giant cheetahs.

The Dmanisi fossils were buried within a series of open air ash fall as well as portions were deposited in hydraulic pipes and gullies that formed over collapsed pipes. Along with the rain streams and erosional events, carnivores, mainly hyenas have to be important agents for bone accumulation. But some cut marks made with stone tools indicate on Hominin activities at the site.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> M. Tappen, D. Lordkipanidze, R. Ferring, M. Bukhsianidze, A. Vekua, Are you in or out (of Africa) site formation at Dmanisi and Actualistic Studies in Africa in Breathing life in Fossils. *Taphonomic Studies in Honor of C.K.(Bob) Brain*, Editors: T. Pickering, N. Toth, K. Schick, Stone Age Institute press, 119-137, 2007.

### Dmanisi Hominin's Behavior

Dmanisi's lithic industry collection consists of thousands of artifacts which share similarities with the industries found in Africa and Eurasia at the Oldowan sites with the Mode 1 technologies. These artifacts simply consist of broken stones, and the goal of breaking them was to get a sharp edge for cutting, which was achieved by knocking off flakes (sharp, thin pieces of stone) from the stone core with a hammer stone. This was the most primitive so-called core-flake industry. Before the Dmanisi discoveries, the scientific community considered that one of the main factors of humans going out of Africa and colonize new territories was appearance of new technologies and namely the invention of hand axes – Dmanisi has showed that the reality is completely different. Information about Dmanisi hominis relation with nature, as well as about their behavior and survival strategies, is found through taphonomic data. The cut marks of stone tools on animal bones show that they used to eat meat. They probably used to hunt small game and also benefit from the remains of predators' preys. Simple chopping and scraping tools have been used for scavenging, to cut the meat from the carcasses and pound marrow from bone. In relatively cold winter conditions, there was not enough edible vegetation in high mountainous regions. Therefore, the increase of the use of meat in alimentation has played an important role in the migration process of from Africa to the Dmanisi region.

The stone tools help early humans to adapt and survive; it gave them new ways to defend themselves and obtain and process food. While plant resources were important, they scavenged large animal carcasses and probably hunted smaller game. Their carnivore competitors had sharp teeth and tusks, strong jaws, claws and were fast runners. Hominins had to recognize and learn to locate not only edible foods, but also raw materials for the stone tools. Most rocks are not suitable for stone tools, so they had to find the sources of premium raw material in their habitats and choose the rocks suitable for the tool making – easy to hold, break and produce sharp cutting edges. In the archaeological record of Dmanisi many natural cobbles are preserved, which probably were transported to the site for defense or/and offense purposes. Dmanisi stone-tools are manufactured from the pebbles and cobbles available in the valleys of the Mashavera and Pinezauri rivers as well as blocky pieces from nearby bedrock.

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### Dmanisi - the homeland of the most ancient Eurasians

The Plio-Pleistocene hominin site Dmanisi is one of the most ancient human habitation sites anywhere in Eurasia, approximately equivalent in age to the oldest *H. erectus* localities in eastern Africa, which makes the Dmanisi remains crucial in the study of human evolution.

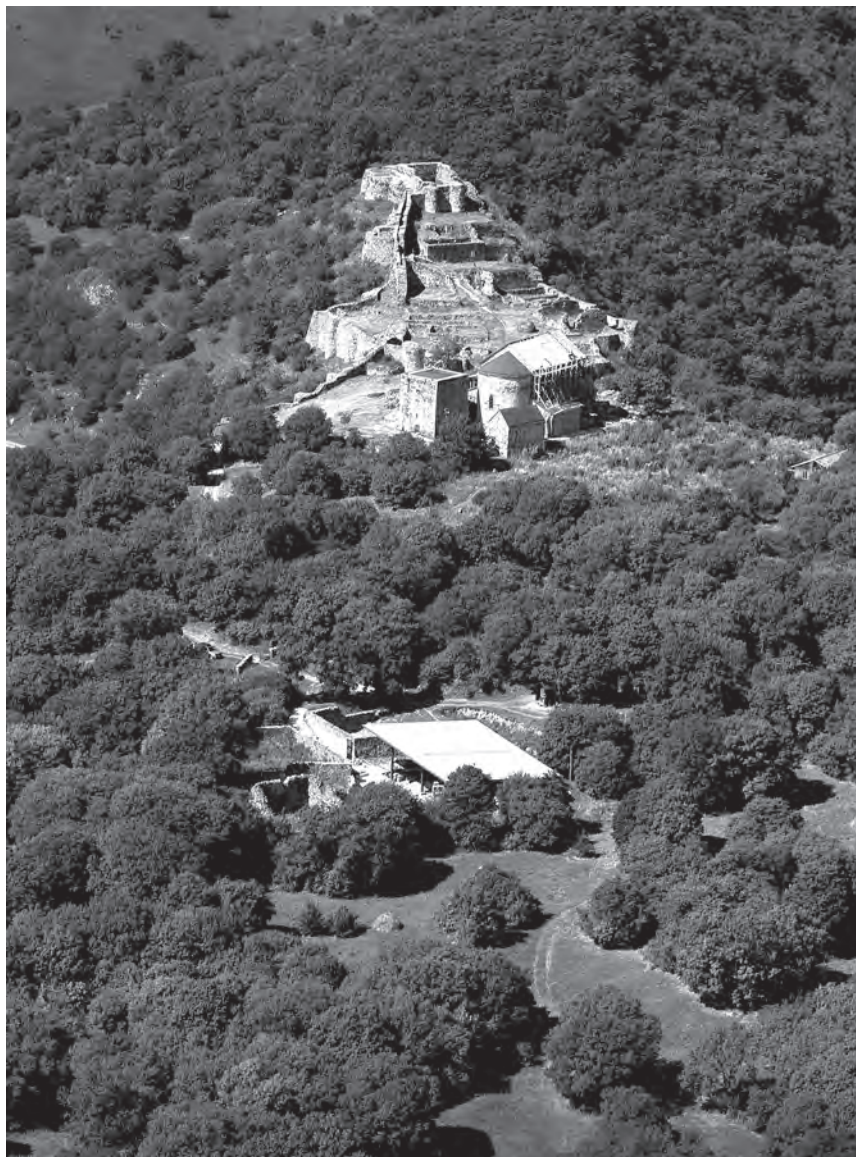
Dmanisi's strategic geographical setting at the crossroads of Europe and Asia and its earliest (1.85-1.76 Ma) chronometric position among all Eurasian hominin-artifact bearing localities explain its already prominent role in the modeling of dispersals to Eurasia. This broader significance is matched by its extensive stratigraphic and spatial record of reoccupation events, providing a unique opportunity to document patterns of occupation, resource procurement and processing by early *Homo*.

Dmanisi attracts scientific attention at present mainly for its significant number of well-preserved hominin fossils. The large sample of cranial and post-cranial specimens provide paleoanthropologists with an exceptional opportunity to assess variation within this early population, its affinities with populations in Africa and the rest of Eurasia, and to develop models for the colonization and dispersal of hominins across the Eurasia.

During the last decade, archaeological excavations at several different locations at Dmanisi revealed important new data about the human activities held at the site. The testing around the main excavation area show that the Pleistocene bone and artifact bearing sediments deposited cover at least 40 000 m<sup>2</sup>, which makes Dmanisi the largest site of this time period.

Overall, Dmanisi is a remarkable site, preserving not only one of the most important Paleolithic occupations of Eurasia, but also a rich archaeological record of Georgia's Medieval period.





Dmanisi reserve-museum – medieval fortress, cathedral and field museum.  
© Georgian National Museum/Fernando Javier Urquijo



Archaeological excavations at Dmanisi - Paleolithic deposits preserved around of the medieval cellar pits. © Georgian National Museum



Faunal remains and cranium D4500 in situ - represents the fifth individual (referred as Skull 5) found at Dmanisi - world's first completely preserved adult hominid skull from the early Pleistocene. © Georgian National Museum





Dmanisi Field School students first day at the excavations.  
© Georgian National Museum

## BEFORE THERE WERE THE THERMAE. A FEW WORDS ON THE REMAINS OF THE EARLIEST BUILDINGS IN THE APSAROS FORT (GONIO, GEORGIA)<sup>1</sup>

*by Radosław Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, University of Warsaw  
with a contribution by Sul Khan Mamuladze, University of Batumi*

The Polish-Georgian Archaeological Expedition to Gonio-Apsaros has been conducting fieldwork there since 2014.<sup>2</sup> Excavations began with the verification of the geophysical survey taken two years earlier.<sup>3</sup> Excavation sites were selected based on the results. During the first season, the research team led by the present author encountered the remains of three rooms, including a room with a mosaic floor.<sup>4</sup> Further research confirmed that the discovered architectural relics are the remains of thermae from the second half of the 1st century AD, and that it remained in use in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The building was reconstructed once during this period.<sup>5</sup>

In the 2016 season, it was possible to observe the first traces of the buildings which must have functioned in this spot before the thermae were erected.<sup>6</sup> Secondarily-used stone blocks and architectural details were discovered

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<sup>1</sup> The present author would like to thank Geoffroy Hreblay without whose support the Polish-Georgian excavations in Gonio in 2017 would not have been possible.

<sup>2</sup> The expedition formed based on the provisions of the agreement reached between the University of Warsaw and the Cultural Heritage Preservation Agency of Ajara. In 2017, researchers from the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Warsaw and the Gonio-Apsaros Museum and Sanctuary cooperated within the frameworks of this agreement. Dr hab. Radosław Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski and Prof. Shota Mamuladze are the expedition's supervisors.

<sup>3</sup> K. Misiewicz, R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *Gonio (Georgia). Non-invasive surveys of the Roman fort of Apsaros – 2012 Season*, “Światowit” X(LI)/A 2013 (2012), 117–122.

<sup>4</sup> R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski and S. Mamuladze with P. Jaworski and M. Wagner, *Gonio (Apsaros) in Adjara: Excavation of a Roman Fort. Interim Report on the first Season of the Polish-Georgian Archaeological Expedition*, “Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean” XXV: Research, 521–532.

<sup>5</sup> R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, S. Mamuladze, *Early Roman Baths in Apsaros (Gonio, Ajara)*, (in.) E. Khintibidze, I. Makaradze, T. Melikidze, S. Gulashvili (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium on Kartvelian Studies*, Tbilisi 2016, 404–406.

<sup>6</sup> R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *Apsaros. Early Headquarters Building (principia). New location?*, “Pro Georgia” 26-2016, 53–63.

within the oven that served to heat the rooms in the baths (the *praefurnium*). Very deep-set foundations were uncovered by means of the sondage conducted in the southern wall of the room with the mosaic. With a few rows of exposed stones clearly visible, the remains of the walls of an earlier building have been preserved in these foundations.

The construction and utility levels next to the unidentified building from an earlier period were located ca. 1 m below the level of the mosaic floor. However, insufficient amounts of information were collected to determine what kind of building had been replaced by the *thermae*.



Fig. 1A and 1B. Gonio (Sector NO 11, Square 93). Stone stairs by the southern wall of the room with the floor mosaic.

© A. Trzop-Szczypiorska



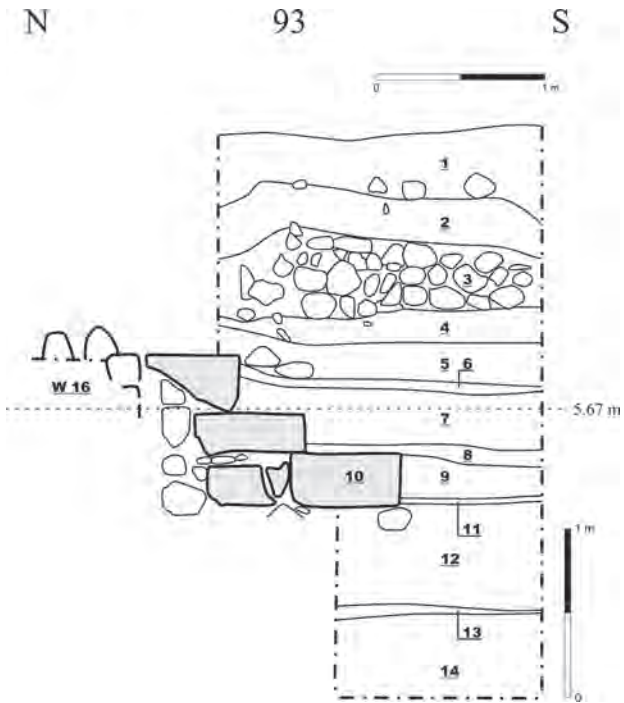
In the 2017 season, the above-mentioned sondage south of the room with the mosaic floor was expanded. As a result, stairs consisting of three stone block steps were discovered (Fig. 1A and 1B). The steps led from the above-mentioned lowest utility level to a level slightly lower than the

mosaic floor situated on the other side of the wall. The preserved remains of the wall indicate that in the time that the room with the mosaic floor was in use it was not possible to enter the room by these stairs. Additionally, stratigraphic observations indicate that the stairs had at that time been backfilled as a result of two subsequent acts that raised the floors of the building higher and hardened the surface with fine gravel (Fig. 2). Thus, the steps were not in use when the mosaic floor came into being just beyond the wall!

Fig. 2. Gonio (Sector NO 11, Square 93).

A cross section of the room with the stairs next to the room with the mosaic floor (drawing K. Nowicki, Z. Lachowicz; digitizing: M. Marciniak): 1 – humus; 2 – substratum layer, similar in terms of its properties to layer 1; 3 – foundation of a Late Roman/Byzantine wall; 4 – layer linked to Phases 1 and 2 of the neighbouring building (the thermae); 5 – levelling layer, probably linked to the destruction/reconstruction of the building from “Phase 0”; 6 – layer of gravel – utility surface; 7 – layer with clay admixture – levelling layer; 8 – layer of gravel

– utility surface; 9 – layer with clay admixture – levelling layer; 10 – stone blocks forming part of the stairs’ structure; 11 – layer of packed clay – construction layer and first utility level next to the building from “Phase 0”; 12 – layer of sand – levelling layer preceding the construction of the building from “Phase 0”; 13 – layer formed before the construction of the building from “Phase 0”; 14 – sand – barren soil; W16 – wall of the building from “Phase 0”, which was later restructured in its upper parts (Phases 1 and 2).



It has been confirmed that the (above-mentioned) fragment of very deep-set foundations discovered a year earlier situated to the left of the stairs was a buttress added at the junction of the walls of the room with the mosaic (Fig. 3: 1). During the previous season, a similar buttress was also found to the north of the thermae rooms.

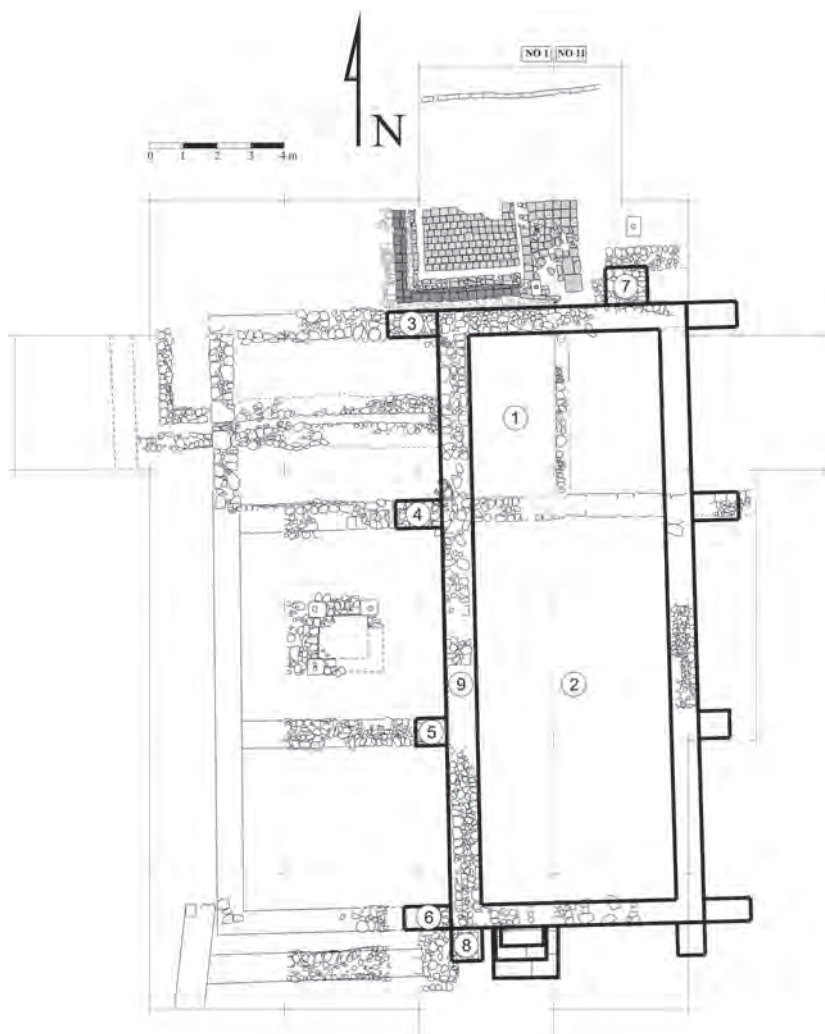


Fig. 3. Gonio. Part of the excavations in Sectors NO 01 and NO 11 (M. Marcinia). Elements of the building from Phase 2 (the *thermae*): 1 – pool (*frigidarium*); 2 – mosaic floor (*apoditerium*?). Remains of the oldest architectural phase – “Phase 0” (in black): 3–8 – external buttresses attached to the walls W2, W4 and W16; 9 – wall W2.

The described findings led to the conducting of a series of architectural sondages along the western wall of the room with the mosaic and the room with a pool (Fig. 3: 2). On the external side of the just-mentioned wall, the remains of yet another four buttresses were found built onto the junctions of





Fig. 4. Gonio (Sector No. 01, Square 98). Buttress by the northern edge of wall W2. View from the south. © A. Trzop-Szczypiorska

the wall front (Fig. 3: 3-6). The two outermost abutments (Fig. 3: 3, 6; 4; 7) were 1.65 m and 1.50 m long. The two in-between buttresses (Fig. 3: 4, 5; 5; 6) were somewhat shorter: 1.4 m and 1.0 m (if measuring from the aforementioned western wall). They were all 0.8-0.9 m wide; thus, this was the same width as the buttress found a year earlier next to the stone steps (Fig. 3: 8). Layers of exposed blocks from an older building, the remains of which had been backfilled, were also found in the uncovered fragments of the excavated wall's foundations (Fig. 4-7). Additionally, in the northern part of the wall, between the buttresses, a small hole was found that originally must have



Fig. 5. Gonio (Sector NO. 01, Square 96). Buttress by wall W2. Second - counting from the north, view from the north. © A. Trzop-Szczypiorska



Fig. 6. Gonio (Sector NO 01, Square 94). Buttress by wall W2. Third - counting from the north, view from the south. © A. Trzop-Szczypiorska

extended into the room on the other side and was later plugged up using an irregularly-shaped stone (Fig. 8).

The collected data enable determining the function of the building constructed in the excavated area in the initial period after the arrival of the earliest garrison to *Apsaros*. It should be assumed that this occurred more or less in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD, perhaps even while Nero was still in power.<sup>7</sup> The presence of a number of buttresses next to the above-mentioned western wall and the discovery of similar abutments by the northern and southern walls (Fig. 3: 1, 8) has enabled establishing an analogy for the discussed structure. Granaries erected inside forts during the *Principate* period are buildings similar in plan and construction.<sup>8</sup> This hypothesis is supported by the finding of the hole (an air outlet) in the western wall, as well as by the discovery of the above-described steps. Both these elements are also characteristic for the *horreum* as its floor had to be raised above the ground to allow for the air circulation needed to dry the seeds.<sup>9</sup>

The length of the discovered granary would have been the same as the joint length of the room with the mosaic floor and the room with a pool located further to the north, i.e. 18.4 m. Its width would have been equal to that of the room with the mosaic, i.e. 7.5 m (Fig. 3). Such dimensions allow for the presumption that another identical granary was

<sup>7</sup> cf. R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *Apsaros. Early Headquarters Building (principia). New location?*, "Pro Georgia" 26-2016, 62.

<sup>8</sup> A. Johnson, *Römische Kastelle*, Mainz 1987, fig. 106.

<sup>9</sup> A. Johnson, *Römische Kastelle*, Mainz 1987, figs. 111–114.



Fig. 7. Gonio (Sector NO 01, Square 93). Buttress by the southern edge of wall W2. View from the north. © A. Trzop-Szczypiorska

located within the limits of the later bathing complex, directly to the east of the studied granary (Fig. 9: 1, 2).

The direction in which the described storage building was oriented is yet another interesting issue, especially if we assume that we are dealing here with an element of the construction of a typical fort built on the plan of a playing card. The localisation of the stairs to the south allows for the assumption that the *via principalis* was situated south of the granary (or granaries) (Fig. 9: 3). If so, the main gate (*porta praetoria*) could be also oriented



Fig. 8. Gonio (Sector NO 01, Square 97). The face of wall W2 (view from the west). Visible ventilation hole secondarily blinded with an additional stone. © A. Trzop-Szczypiorska

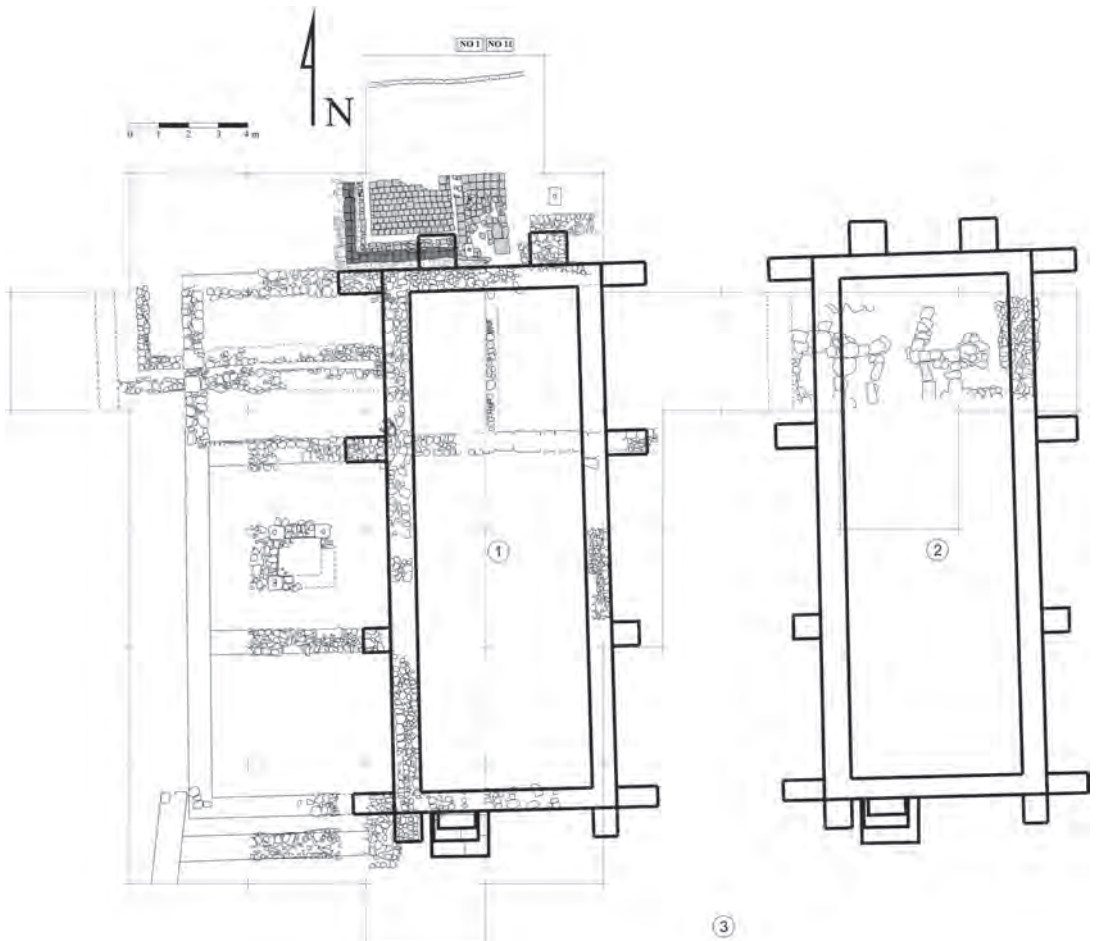


Fig. 9. Gonio. An attempt at reconstructing part of the fort from “Phase 0” (M. Marciniak): 1 – granary (*horreum*); 2 – the twin granary?; 3 – *via principalis*.

towards the south in its earliest phase. It should be assumed that the *horrea* was situated in the direct vicinity of the gate through which supplies were delivered.

The described discoveries shed some new light on the earliest stage of Roman army presence in *Apsaros*. There can be no doubt that the *horreum* constituted an element of the oldest construction phase (out of those observed thus far) within the fort. However, the conclusions resulting from this discovery concerning the plan and the orientation of the early fortifications should be treated with a great deal of caution, especially as they can be inconsis-

ent with the results of the geodetic measurements and surveys conducted at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century by the Georgian-German expedition (Fig. 10).<sup>10</sup> Of course, the traces of the fortifications observed at that time may have belonged to the fort's next construction phase. These would have been completely different fortifications contemporary to the thermae constructed after the destruction of the discussed granary. The upcoming excavation seasons should make it possible to verify the hypothesis presented in this text.

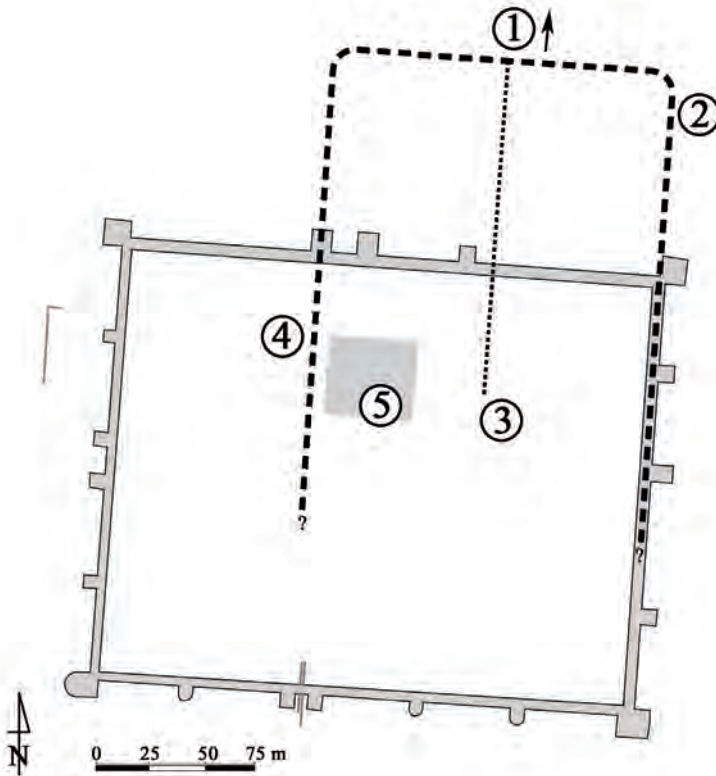


Fig. 10. Gonio (*Apsaros*). Site plan (after Geyer 2003, adapted by R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, drawing O. Kubrak): 1 – settlement beyond the defensive walls (the *vicus*) – probable location; 2 – outline of early fortifications at the *Apsaros* fort; 3 – “western trench” (Sectors NO 01 and NO 11); 4 – supposed course of the western line of the early fortifications (new proposal, cf. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, Kakhidze 2015); 5 – Georgian-German “*principia*” trench.

<sup>10</sup> A. Geyer (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in Apsaros (2000–2002)*, Tbilisi 2003, Tafel 2; cf. R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *Apsaros. Early Headquarters Building (principia). New location?*, “Pro Georgia” 26-2016, fig. 2.



Before there were the *thermae*. A few words on the remains of the earliest buildings in the *Apsaros* fort (Gonio, Georgia)

In the 2017 season, the Polish-Georgian Archaeological Expedition to Gonio-Apsaros continued to conduct its excavations within the Roman fort in the vicinity of the *thermae* dated to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries. South of the room with the mosaic floor, stone stairs consisting of three steps were discovered, leading more or less to the level of the mosaic floor from a much lower utility level. A series of sondages done near the wall west of the aforementioned room have confirmed that originally the wall was fortified with four external buttresses. In addition, a ventilation hole has been preserved in the wall, which had been secondarily blinded using an irregularly-shaped stone. In various parts of the wall at the same height of the just mentioned hole, it is possible to observe stones that are the remains of the face of the earlier wall. A few preserved rows of such stones became part of the later foundations of the *thermae*. The listed details indicate that another building had previously occupied the spot later taken up by the baths. Based on the discovered architectural remains, it can be determined that this structure was a granary (*horreum*). The building was used for storing grain; thus, it must have had a floor located above ground level and well-ventilated from below. As a result, it was necessary for there to be stairs and ventilation holes. The buttresses fortified the walls of the storage facility, adapted for the purposes of keeping large amounts of grain.

## THROWING ARTILLERY FROM APSAROS ROMAN FORTRESS. ANALYZE AND INTERPRETATION OF STONE PROJECTILES FOR BALLISTA<sup>1</sup>

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Stone projectiles are commonly found at archaeological sites associated with the Roman army. Random-sized stone balls, sling projectiles, as well as big iron arrowheads have been encountered at these sites. The above-mentioned types of ammunition were used in siege machines. Typical sling projectiles had an ovoid profile, while ballistic balls were round. Both Vegetius (*Veg. Mil.* IV.8) and Vitruvius (*Vit. De Arch.* X,11.3) mentioned such kinds of projectiles.

In this article, the stone projectile from the Roman fort *Apsaros* collection have been selected and grouped together according to their diameter and weight. The applied division is based on the information contained in Vitruvius (*Vit. De Arch.* X,11.3; Tab. 1). In his text, the Roman architect focused on the weight of the projectile and the width of the hole in the ballistic frame through which the ball was shot.

Unfortunately, this topic has so far not been discussed in any of the available publications. Such findings are often mentioned in general articles describing Roman army strongholds. One such example could be the collection of stone projectiles from the Roman fortress on Ai-Todor Cape (Crimea). In the 1970s and 1980s, over 1200 balls with different weights and diameters were discovered during excavation. They were found mainly in the rooms on the inside of the fortress wall.<sup>2</sup> Only part

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<sup>2</sup> V.N. D'âkov, *Drevnosti Aj-Todora*, *Âlta* 1930: 23; K.K. Orlöv, *Issledovaniâ Haraksa*, AO za 1977 g., 1978: 366.; K.K. Orlöv *Arhitekturnye komplekxy Haraksa*, (in:) *Arhitekturno-arheologičeskie issledo-*



Table 1. Diameter and weight of stone projectiles as distinguished by Vitruvius (Vit. *De Arch.* X,11.3)

Ancient projectile weight	Modern projectile weight	Ancient measure of the ballistic aperture hole	Modern measure of the ballistic aperture hole
2 pounds	654.9 g	5 digits	9.25 cm
4 pounds	1 kg 309.8 g	6 digits	11.1 cm
		7 digits	12.95 cm
10 pounds	3 kg 274.5 g	8 digits	14.8 cm
20 pounds	6 kg 549 g	10 digits	18.5 cm
40 pounds	13 kg 098 g	12.5 digits	23.12 cm
60 pounds	19 kg 647 g	13 1/8 digits	24.28 cm
80 pounds	26 kg 196 g	15 digits	27.75 cm
120 pounds	39 kg 294 g	1 foot 1.5 digits	32.37 cm
160 pounds	52 kg 392 g	1 foot 4 digits	37 cm
170 pounds	55 kg 666.5 g	1 foot 5 digits	38.85 cm
200 pounds	65 kg 490 g	1 foot 6 digits	40.7 cm
240 pounds	78 kg 588 g	1 foot 7 digits	42.55 cm
360 pounds	117 kg 882 g	1.5 feet	44.4 cm

of the above-mentioned collection was published in 2015.<sup>3</sup> However, only 179 artifacts were studied out of the 200 stone projectiles stored in Moscow's museums. In their article, the Russian researchers only studied the fully preserved stone balls, rejecting any halves and smaller shrapnel.<sup>4</sup> Determining the weight for partly preserved stone balls is possible through making the appropriate calculations. A similar study was developed with the projectiles discovered in Qasr Ibrim (Egypt).<sup>5</sup> That study had an epigraphic character as it was concentrated on the inscriptions on the balls' surface. Another such publication about stone projectiles worth mentioning is an article written by M. Lemke, who discussed the stone ammunition from the *Novae* legionary camp (northern Bulgaria). However, the researcher only presented the findings from sector II<sup>6</sup> and

vaniâ v Krymu, Kiev 1988: 26–27.; D.V. Zhuravlew, G.A. Kamelina, *Kamennye jadra iz Harak-sa*, (in:) D.V. Zhuravlew, O.L. Gabelko (eds), *S Mitridata Duet Weter. Bospor I Priczernomore w Antycznosci, K 70-letju W.P. Talstukowa*, Moskwa 2015: 189.; R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *Forty i posterunki rzymskie w Scytii i Taurydzie w okresie pryncypatu*, Warszawa 2015: 88, 94.

<sup>3</sup> Zhuravlew, Kamelina, 2015: 189–210.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>5</sup> A. Wilkins, H. Barnard, P.J. Rose, *Roman Artillery Balls from Qasr Ibrim, Egypt, Sudan & Nubia* 10, 2006: 61–72.

<sup>6</sup> M. Lemke, *Stone Projectiles Discovered in the Castra Legiones Novae Near Svishetov (BG)*, (in:) ROMEC XVII. Proceedings, Zagreb 2010: 357.

Table 2. Attempt to assign the stone projectiles from the Roman fort Apsaros to the weight groups distinguished by Vitruvius (see Tab. 1). The bold font shows the balls which were in the group selected according to diameter and weight as distinguished by Vitruvius (see Tab. 3).

Weight as distinguished by Vitruvius	Amount	Projectile number
2 pounds	21	MAG 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 17; MG 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 28, 33, <b>34</b> , 46, 64; MAB 1; WG 5; WP 2, 3, 10
4 pounds	4	MG 2, 44, 45; MAG 22
10 pounds	1	MG <b>73</b>
20 pounds	1	MG 72

Table 3. Attempt to assign the stone projectiles from the Roman fort Apsaros to the groups distinguished by Vitruvius (see Tab. 1). The bold font shows the balls which were in the same group selected according to diameter and weight as distinguished by Vitruvius (see Tab. 2)

Diameter as distinguished by Vitruvius	Amount	Projectile number
5 digits	7	MAG 7; WP 6; MG 6, <b>34</b> , 42, 49, 61
6 digits	2	MG 66; MAG 9
7 digits	2	MG 56, 65
8 digits	2	MG <b>73</b> ; MAB 2
10 digits	0	

the headquarters building.<sup>7</sup> One hundred similar artifacts were also found in Artaxata, one of the ancient capitals of Armenia.<sup>8</sup> Most of them were found on the first and eighth hill of the fourteen on which the ancient city was located.<sup>9</sup> A weapons workshop was discovered on the first hill.<sup>10</sup> The Armenian researcher divided the stone projectiles from Artaxata into five groups in terms of their weight and size.<sup>11</sup> The findings from Artaxata and their interpretation are helpful in discussing the collection from the Roman fort Apsaros. Stone projectiles were also discovered in other locations around the Black Sea area; however, it is difficult to prove any link with the Roman army presence. Examples of such sites include Pan-

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*: 359

<sup>8</sup> M. Akopjan, *Kamennye jdra iz Artašata*, Problemy antichnoy kul'tury, Moskva 1986: 232.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*: 232; B.N. Araklân, *Artašat. Osnovnye rezul'taty raskopok 1970-1977 gg.*, T.1, Erevan 1982: 29.

<sup>10</sup> Araklân 1982: 24.

<sup>11</sup> Akopjan 1986: 232-236.

Table 4. Selected stone balls in terms of their weight. The bold font shows the artefacts which were in the same size group (see Tab. 5).

Weight category	Amount	Projectile number
Light (max. 1 kg)	85	MG <b>1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 68, 69, 71</b> ; MAG <b>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20</b> ; WP <b>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11</b> ; WG <b>2, 3, 4, 5, 6</b> ; MAB <b>1 (x4)</b>
Medium (1-3 kg)	21	MG <b>2, 41, 44, 51, 54, 56, 57, 67, 65, 70</b> ; MAG <b>6, 8, 21, 22, 23</b> ; MAB <b>1 (x3), 2 (x2)</b> ; WG <b>1</b>
Heavy (min. 3 kg)	6	MG <b>72, 73</b> ; MAB <b>2 (x4)</b>

Table 5. Selected stone balls in terms of their diameter. The bold font shows the artefacts which were in the same weight group (see Tab. 4)

Diameter category	Amount	Projectile number
Light (max. 1 kg)	85	MG <b>1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 68, 69, 71</b> ; MAG <b>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20</b> ; WP <b>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11</b> ; WG <b>2, 3, 4, 5, 6</b> ; MAB <b>1 (x4)</b>
Medium (1-3 kg)	21	MG <b>2, 41, 44, 51, 54, 56, 57, 67, 65, 70</b> ; MAG <b>6, 8, 21, 22, 23</b> ; MAB <b>1 (x3), 2 (x2)</b> ; WG <b>1</b>
Heavy (min. 3 kg)	6	MG <b>72, 73</b> ; MAB <b>2 (x4)</b>

ticapaeum, Phanagoria, Iluration, Tauric Chersonese, Tasunovo, Artesian, Uzunlarskoe Gorodiše, Kepoi, and other smaller sites on the Taman Peninsula.<sup>12</sup> Tauric Chersonese is certainly an exception within this group, as we can be sure of the presence of a Roman garrison there in the first centuries of our era.<sup>13</sup>

### *Apsaros*

The Roman fort *Apsaros* is located on the N-E coast of the Black Sea, south of the mouth of the Tchorokhi River. The main duties of

<sup>12</sup> Zhuravlew, Kamelina, 2015: 203.

<sup>13</sup> R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *The Roman Army in Tauric Chersonesos. City and Burial Areas*, Światowit Vol. X (LI) 2012, fasc. A, Warszawa 2013: 79-80; R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015: 21-55.

Table 6. Inventory of stone projectiles found in the Roman fort Apsaros. The following abbreviations were used in the table: MAB – the Archaeological Museum in Batumi, MAG – the Gonio-Apsaros Archaeological Museum, MG – Warehouse of the Gonio-Apsaros Archaeological Museum, WG – Georgian excavation in the southern part of the fortress, WP – Polish excavation, H – A half or a smaller part of a stone projectile

Inventory Number	Collection	Number in the collection	Weight [kg]	Dimensions [cm]	Stone type
8.0.09 3n3.1 8-09:1	MAG	1	0.316	6.1–6.2	Limestone
284D 6.96.91	MAG	2	0.406	6.7–6.5	Sed. rock [sedimentary rock]
G.A.98.1302.SW.IX	MAG	3	0.700	7.1–8.1	Sed. rock
G.A.95.2758 696:806	MAG	4	0.656	6.8–7.9	Sed. rock
696:840 G.A.95 3756	MAG	5	0.626	7.8–7.4	Sed. rock
G.A. without a number	MAG	6	1.978	11.3–12.1	Limestone
2814 6-96:88	MAG	7	0.982	7.8–9	Sed. rock
GA95 2715 6-96:979	MAG	8	2.164	12–10.6	Granite
1	MAG	9	1.592	11–11.2	Limestone
GA09.3.SN3 3-09:3	MAG	10	0.448	7.4–7.65	Limestone
6-96:97	MAG	11	0.590	7.3–7.9	Limestone
9-09:4	MAG	12	0.666	7.9–7.9	Limestone
2755 6-96:83	MAG	13	0.786	7.7–8.5	Limestone
GA.0958S3 8.09.59	MAG	14	1.766	11.4–11.8	Sed. rock
11	MAG	15	0.450	7–7.3	Sed. rock
SW-XIaK II GA.96.2	MAG	16	0.232	5.5–6	Sed. rock
GA SE-22.2 VOII812	MAG	17	0.634	7.7–7.7	Light sed. rock
GA 99.5340	MAG	18	0.928	8.1–10.6	Sed. rock
Illegible number	MAG	19	1.674	11.2–11.4	Sed. rock
GA 95.2843 6:96:93	MAG	20	0.110	4.05–4.9	Sed. rock
6:6:97	MAG	21	1.078	10.1–10	Sed. rock
4	MAG	22	1.368	11.5–7.9	Sed. rock
7	MAG	23	1.932	11.7–10.9	Sed. rock
Without a number	MAG	24	1.988	8.3–8.4	Metal
GA 95 2759	MG	1	0.372	7.1–6.5	Sed. rock
1274	MG	2	1.350	9.6–9.4	Sed. rock
13	MG	3	0.411	7.5–5.4	Sed. rock
14	MG	4	0.670	8.6–5.7 <b>H</b>	Sed. rock
15	MG	5	0.404	8.2–8.4 <b>H</b>	Granite
16	MG	6	0.386	9.3 <b>H</b>	Granite
GA 95 2841 6-96:92	MG	7	0.294	5.9–5.4	Limestone

GA 2000.95 SN – III	MG	8	0.244	5.6–4.5–6.4	Sed. rock
2818	MG	9	0.748	8.3–7.1	Sed. rock
8	MG	10	0.668	10.2–10.1 <b>H</b>	Granite
6	MG	11	1.200	10.6–7.1 <b>H</b>	Sed. rock
17	MG	12	0.380	8.9–8.5	Sed. rock
2815 6:96:89	MG	13	0.718	7.2–7.5	Sed. rock
2754 6-96:82	MG	14	0.664	7.9–7.3	Sed. rock
2...9.. 32 8-09:2	MG	15	0.599	7.2–8.1	Sed. rock
2757 6-96:85	MG	16	0.732	7.9–7.8	Sed. rock
2817 6:96:90	MG	17	0.598	7.2–6.1	Sed. rock
23	MG	18	0.264	5.2–6.5	Sed. rock
24	MG	19	0.170	4.5–5.6	Sed. rock
18	MG	20	0.190	6.8–6.9 <b>H</b>	Sed. rock
20	MG	21	0.144	5.7–5.7 <b>H</b>	Sed. rock
22	MG	22	0.244	5.7–5.9	Limestone
12	MG	23	0.476	7.2–7.1	Sed. rock
Without a number	MG	24	0.986	7.8–8.7	Sed. rock
10	MG	25	0.820	8.6–7.8	Sed. rock
GA 09:5 8-09:5	MG	26	0.370	5.3–7.5	Granite
GA 95 2753 6-96:86	MG	27	0.438	6.4–7.0	Sed. rock
GA 95 2867 6-96:94	MG	28	0.578	8.0–7.1	Sed. rock
26	MG	29	0.090	4.1–4.3	Sed. rock
25	MG	30	0.150	4.7–5.2	Sed. rock
GA-04-SW-V 123	MG	31	0.332	6.0–7.0	Sed. rock
GA 2011 37 SW VIII	MG	32	0.358	6.0–6.8	Sed. rock
GA 2015. 5.3.10	MG	33	0.570	7.6–7.7	Sed. rock
19	MG	34	0.738	9.1–8.3	Granite
6	MG	35	0.614	10.6 <b>H</b>	Sed. rock
Without a number	MG	36	1.226	11.1–11.4 <b>H</b>	Sed. rock
GA 2012.45/SW IX	MG	37	0.354	5.8–6.7	Sed. rock
GA 2011.81	MG	38	0.852	8.3–6.0	Sed. rock
GA 95 2863 6-96:95	MG	39	0.356	6.4–5.4	Sed. rock
GA 07.257 SW V	MG	40	0.400	6.9–5.4	Sed. rock
GA 2011 336.SW VIII	MG	41	1.164	10.0–9.1	Sed. rock
GA 2013.673 SW VIII	MG	42	0.878	9.2–7.1	Sed. rock
Without a number	MG	43	0.520	7.3–7.6	Sed. rock
GA 2011.79 SW VIII	MG	44	1.344	7.5–10.1	Sed. rock

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Without a number	MG	45	0.384	6.6–5.7	Sed. rock
GA 2011:70 SW VIII	MG	46	0.618	8.2–7.8	Sed. rock
82-2011:97	MG	47	0.090	3.8–4.4	Sed. rock
Illegible number	MG	48	0.452	7.2–6.4	Sed. rock
GA 07.361 SW V	MG	49	0.992	9.4–7.6	Sed. rock
GA.07.390 SW V	MG	50	0.288	6.4–5.4	Sed. rock
GA 2011.78 SW VIII	MG	51	1.458	10.8–8.2	Sed. rock
GA 50.22.2001/231	MG	52	0.540	8.6–7.3–5.6	Sed. rock
Without a number	MG	53	0.320	6.2–5.7	Sed. rock
GA 2011.12.SW-VIII	MG	54	1.232	9.9–8.0	Sed. rock
Without a number	MG	55	0.538	8.6–7.2	Limestone
Without a number	MG	56	2.240	11.2–13.1	Sed. rock
GA 2011.157 SW VIII	MG	57	2.416	15.1–8.9	Granite
GA 2011.337 SW VIII	MG	58	1.572	11.6–8.9	Sed. rock
Illegible number	MG	59	0.438	5.8–7.9	Granite
5778 ...	MG	60	0.334	6.2–6.4	Sed. rock
GA 07.263. SW V	MG	61	0.844	9.3–8.2	Sed. rock
GA.2011.31.SW VIII	MG	62	0.124	5.2–4.3	Sed. rock
Without a number	MG	63	0.494	7.5–7.4	Sed. rock
Without a number	MG	64	0.638	7.7–7.9	Sed. rock
32-2011:100 158 SW VIII	MG	65	2.466	13.9–10.6	Granite
GA 2011.293.SW VIII	MG	66	0.860	11.1–8.9 <b>H</b>	Sed. rock
GA 2011.335.SW VIII	MG	67	1.014	10.3–8.9	Granite
... 68:1102-23	MG	68	0.372	6.5–5.9	Sed. rock
... 12.2011:98	MG	69	0.506	7.8–6.5	Granite
GA.2011.334. SW VIII	MG	70	2.042	12.1–9.5	Sed. rock
GA 2013.754.SW VIII	MG	71	0.446	7.7–6.8	Granite
Without a number	MG	72	6.488	17.2–17.0	Sed. rock
GA.07.334.SW IX C <sup>3</sup>	MG	73	3.308	14.7–13.0	Sed. rock
GA.2012.598. SW IX	MG	74	3.114	12.9–12.5 <b>H</b>	Limestone
GA 03 SW3281	MAB	1	2.956	14.6–12.1	Granite
31	MAB	1	0.482	7.8–7.6	Sed. rock
30	MAB	1	0.838	7.8–8.4	Sed. rock
32	MAB	1	0.594	8.5–7.1	Granite
35	MAB	1	0.436	7.1–6.2	Limestone
GA 45 963	MAB	1	1.918	11.0–11.6	Sed. rock

GA 05 5205	MAB	1	2.282	12.1–11.5	Granite
Without a number	MAB	2	8.042	18.5–18.9	Sed. rock
GA 699.07 249	MAB	2	3.702	16.6–12.7	Sed. rock
1	MAB	2	2.980	13.9–14.6	Sed. rock
GA 93 575	MAB	2	2.582	15.0–14.6	Sed. rock
Without a number	MAB	2	5.022	16.1–15.6	Sed. rock
GA 95 2894	MAB	2	7.506	19.6–16.5	Granite
Without a number	WG	1	2.995	10.4–11.5	Granite
Without a number	WG	2	0.284	4.9–4.1	Sed. rock
Without a number	WG	3	0.938	9.7–7.6	Sed. rock
Without a number	WG	4	0.234	4.0–4.2	Sed. rock
Without a number	WG	5	0.660	6.4–6.5	Limestone
Without a number	WG	6	0.254	5.5–2.5–4.4	Sed. rock
59/2015	WP	1	0.312	6.1–6.5	Granite
Without a number	WP	2	0.560	7.6–8.1	Granite
Without a number	WP	3	0.735	8.0–8.7	Sed. rock
Without a number	WP	4	0.500	8.3–7.5	Sed. rock
114/2015	WP	5	0.866	9.7–8.7	Sed. rock
63/2015	WP	6	0.836	8.9–9.0	Sed. rock
GA 2014.S15 SW VIII	WP	7	0.492	7.3–8.3–5.4	Sed. rock
GA 16/14w	WP	8	0.160	5.1–4.8–3.9	Sed. rock
GA16/74W	WP	9	0.082	4.0–4.2–3.3	Sed. rock
GA16/111W	WP	10	0.642	6.9–8.3–7.9	Sed. rock
GA16/173W	WP	11	0.902	9.6–8.6–9.9	Sed. rock

the Roman garrison included controlling the river pass, as well as the land and sea route connecting Colchis with the Asia Minor Roman province.<sup>14</sup> The  *vexillationes*  soldiers from  *legio I Italica*  and  *XVI Gemina*  may have been stationed there.<sup>15</sup> However, it is more likely that auxiliary Roman army units were the permanent troops based at the fort. Traces of their presence include a few stamped tiles, as well as some inscriptions and various historic sources.<sup>16</sup> Polish-Georgian

<sup>14</sup> E. Kakhidze, *Apsaros: A Roman Fort in Southwestern Georgia*, Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between Conflict and Coexistence, "Black Sea Studies" VIII, Aarhus 2008: 303.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 307.; M. Czapski, O. Kubrak, *Na wschodnich rubieżach Imperium Romanum: polsko-georgijska ekspedycja archeologiczna w forcie Gonio-Apsaros w Gruzji*, *ArcheoUW* 3, Warszawa 2015: 57.

<sup>16</sup> Kakhidze 2008: 313.



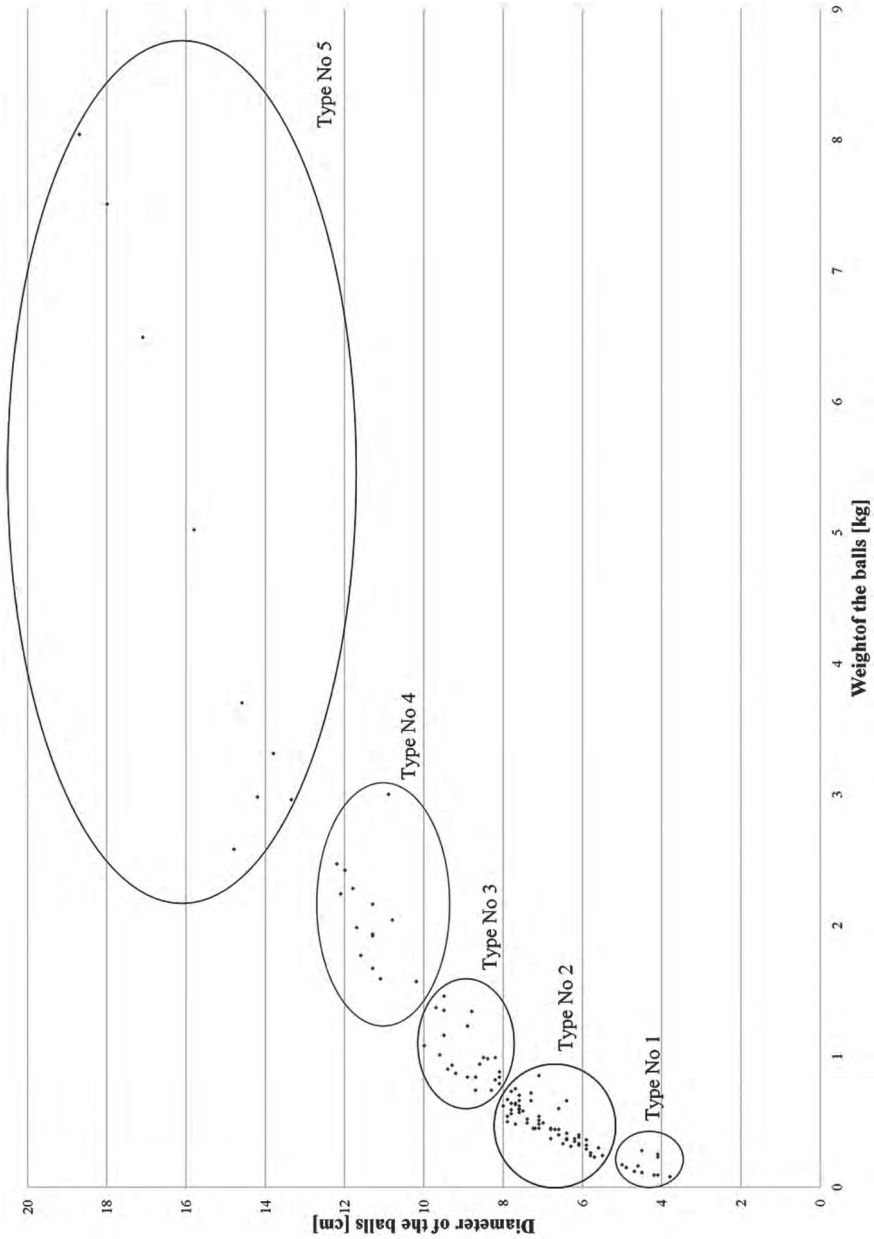


Table 7. Diagram presenting the relation between the weight and diameter of fully preserved stone projectiles found in the Roman fort *Apsaros*.

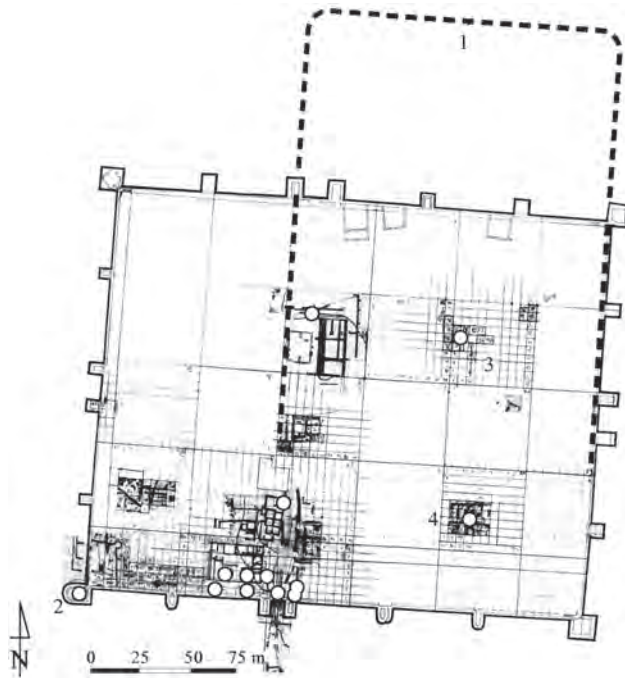


Fig. 1. Plan of the Roman fort *Apsaros* with a selection of the sector and the squares with the spots in which stone projectiles were found (after Aslanishvili 2009: 177–179): 1 – Early Roman fortress (after Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *Apsaros*. 2016: fig. 2); 2 – Turret No. 1; 3 – The Baths; 4 – Polish excavation trenches; 5 – Georgian excavation trenches in the southern part of the fort.

archaeological research in the fortress began in 2012 with geodetic and geophysical studies.<sup>17</sup> The expedition has been conducting excavations there since 2014 and it has discovered Roman baths dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly as in the case of the stone projectiles from the Novae legionary camp, only part of the archaeological material from the Roman fort *Apsaros* has been published. Georgian archaeologist Lasha

<sup>17</sup> K. Misiewicz, R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *Gonio (Georgia). Non-invasive Surveys of the Roman Fort of Apsaros – 2012 Season*, Światowit Vol. X (LI) 2012, fasc. A, Warszawa 2013: 117–122.

<sup>18</sup> R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, E. Kakhidze, *The Roman Fort “Apsaros” in the Gonio – Early Phase. New Discoveries and Perspectives for Investigations*, Pro Georgia Journal of Kartvelological Studies 25, Warszawa 2015: 194; R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, *Apsaros. Early Headquarters Building (Principia). New Localization?*, Pro Georgia Journal of Kartvelological Studies 26, Warszawa 2016, 54.; Czapski, Kubrak 2015: 61.

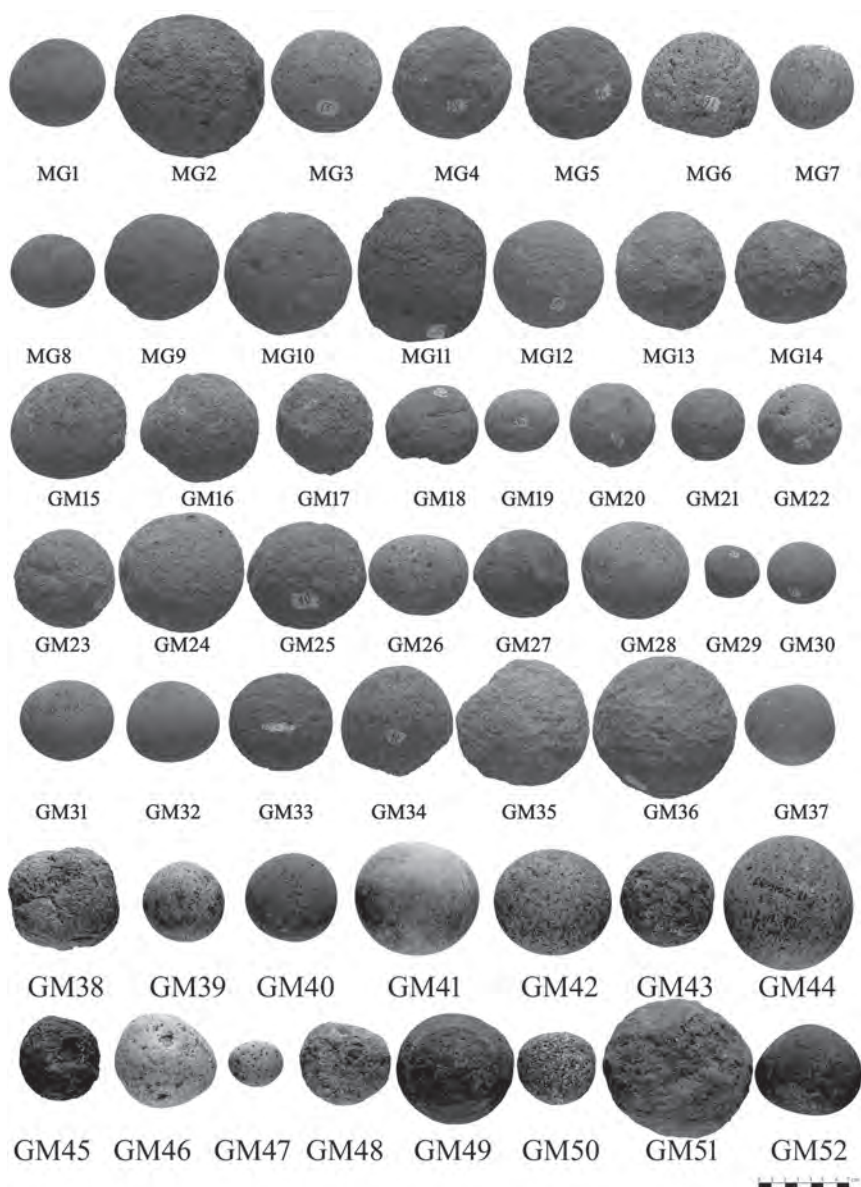


Fig. 2. Stone projectiles from the warehouse of the Gonio-Apsaros Archaeological Museum (O. Kubrak).

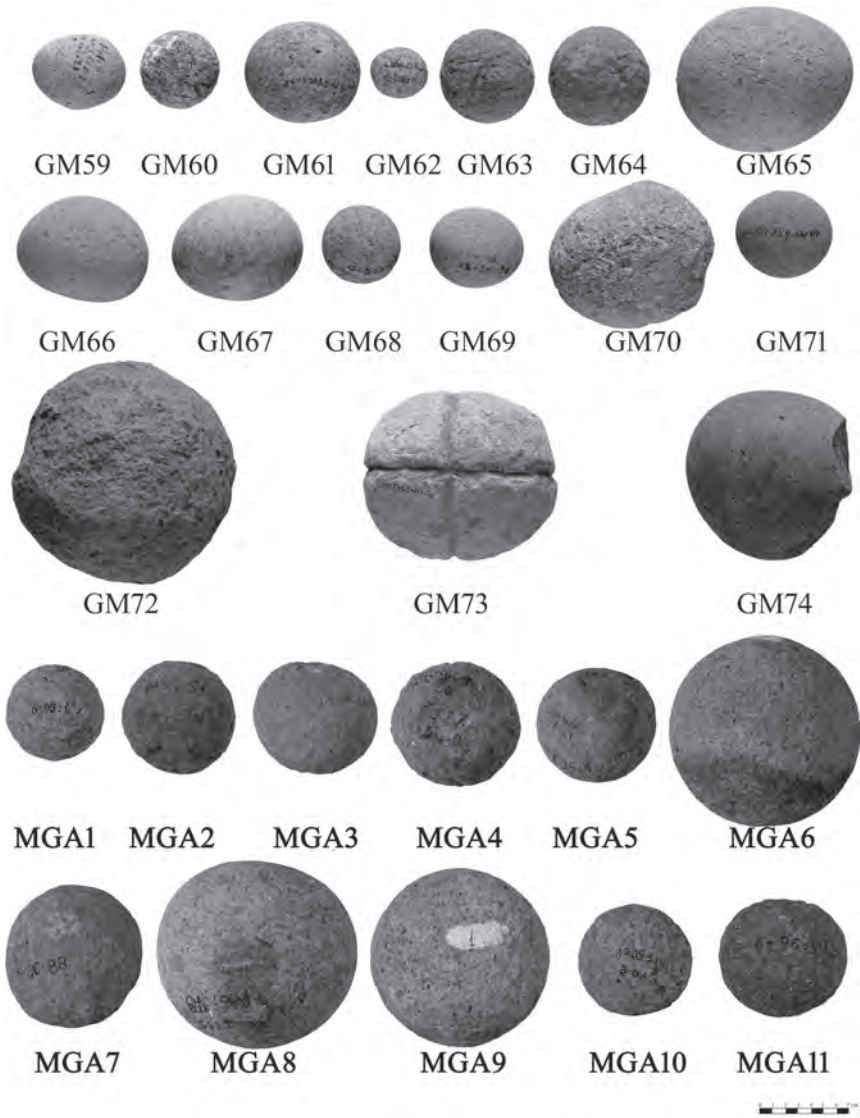


Fig. 3. Stone projectiles from the warehouse (MG) and exposition (MGA) of the Gonio-Apsaros Archaeological Museum (O. Kubrak).

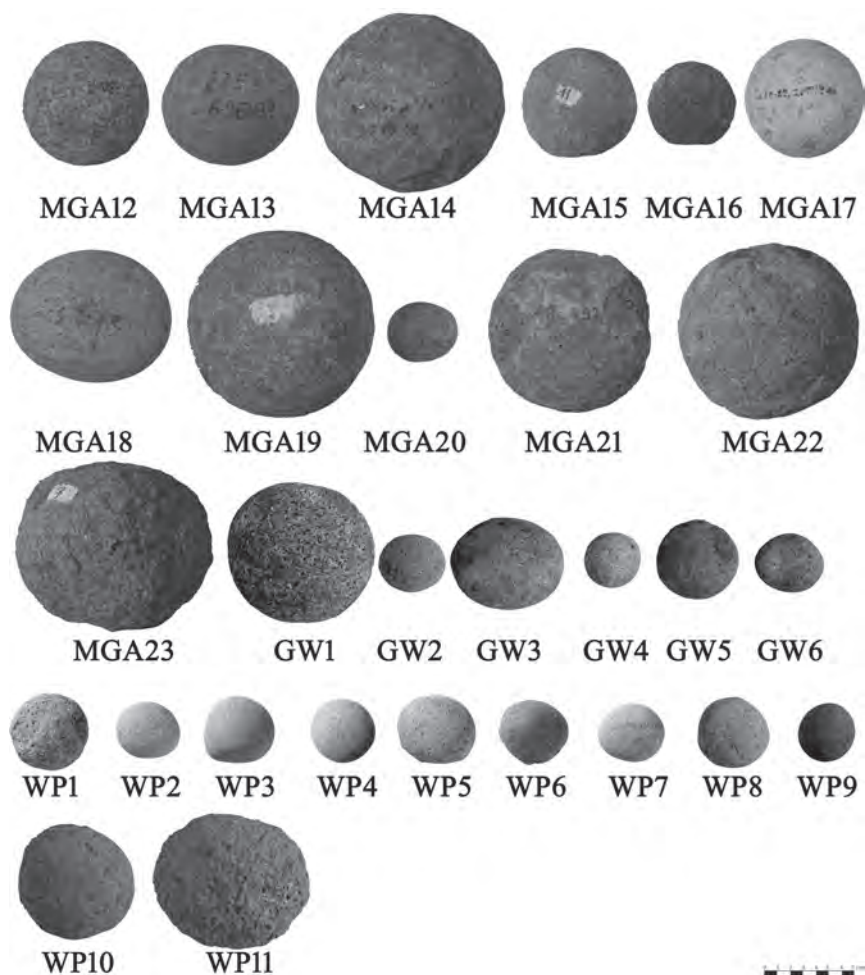


Fig. 4. Stone projectiles from the exposition of the Gonio-Apsaros Archaeological Museum (MGA), Georgian excavation in the southern part of the fortress (fig. 1.4; WG) and Polish excavation of the Roman baths (fig. 1.3; WP; O. Kubrak, A. Makowska).

Aslanishvili has written two papers about the balls found there. Firstly, the researcher distinguishes three types of stone projectiles depending on their diameter and weight.<sup>19</sup> In the second paper, two subtypes

<sup>19</sup> L. Aslanishvili, *Kvis Birtvebi*, (in:) A. Kakhidze, G. Lordkipanidze, G. Grigolia, V. Japaridze, G. Kipiani, S. Mamuladze, D. Mindorashvili, M. Khalvashi, T. Lomtadidze, E. Kakhidze (eds.), *Gonio-Apsarus IV*, Batumi 2004: 152–154.





Fig. 5. Stone projectiles from the Archaeological Museum in Batumi (O. Kubrak).

(A and B) are distinguished, weighing from between 100 to 900 grams, which have different diameters from the remaining balls but the same weight. The first type (according to the first selection) encompasses the largest projectiles with a diameter of 9.6-11 cm and weighing 2-3 kg, found in cultural layers dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>20</sup> The author suggests that they were shot from ballista or onagres, and their killing power had a reach of 300 to 350 meters.<sup>21</sup> Aslanishvili includes stone projectiles with a weight of 440-1500 g and a diameter of 7.5-9.3 cm in the second group, which is the most numerous. The Georgian archaeologist speculates that they were thrown by hand.<sup>22</sup> The third group applies to stone balls with a weight of 50-370 g and a diameter of 3-6 cm.<sup>23</sup> As Aslanishvili points out, this group has a characteristic ovoid shape.<sup>24</sup> The second and third groups occur in Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman cultural layers, while the first group is characteristic for the Roman period.<sup>25</sup> The author of this typology indicates that the stone projectiles were most likely handmade by the soldiers, and they were produced using stone from the area of the present-day Kvriati

<sup>20</sup> Aslanishvili 2004: 153.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 153-154.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.; Aslanishvili 2009: 178.

<sup>25</sup> Aslanishvili 2004: 152-154.



Fig. 6. Stone projectiles from the Archaeological Museum in Batumi (O. Kubrak).

village<sup>26</sup>. Aslanishvili mentioned that most of the stone projectiles were found in the southern part of the late Roman fort<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 1). In the first centuries of our era, the Roman fort was oriented N-S along its longer axis. At the beginning of our era, a *raetentura* dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD was located in the above-mentioned southern part of the Roman fort, and this is where the barracks were also situated.<sup>28</sup> In this case, the stone projectiles found near the southern defensive wall and turret No. 1 (Fig. 1.2) should be linked to the period in which this part of the fort was in use. Aslanishvili points out that the stone balls found in the Roman fort *Apsaros* may have belonged to attacking armies. This is evidenced by a finding from square 78 of sector NW 01, where the projectiles were found under a layer of broken tiles and ash, while a similar caliber of stone balls were also found outside the fort walls.<sup>29</sup> Analogies for the stone projectiles from *Apsaros* are observables among those from Panticapaeum, Artaxata, Wani, Carthage, Sablonetum (Ellingen), York, Nokalakevi and Anakofia.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>27</sup> Aslanishvili 2009: 177-179.

<sup>28</sup> See Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2016: 60, Fig. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Aslanishvili 2009: 177.

<sup>30</sup> Aslanishvili 2004: 154; 2009: 179-182.



The collection of stone balls from the Roman fort *Apsaros* is stored at the Archaeological Museum in Batumi and at the Gonio-Apsaros Archaeological Museum. Most of the projectiles are stored in the warehouses of the Gonio-Apsaros Archaeological Museum. The presented analysis also includes balls from the excavations conducted in 2014-2016 by the Polish-Georgian expedition.

Projectiles belonging to the presented collection are well preserved. Only a few of them are in the form of halves or smaller parts. The large number of balls (a total of 128) enables an analysis of the collection from different perspectives and making comparisons and combinations. Ball fragments were included in the inventory, but – so as not to falsify the results – they were omitted in the analysis showing the relation between the diameter and the weight of the stone projectiles.

Elements of the analyzed set were selected as recommended by Vitruvius (Vit. *De Arch.* X,11.3). This selection indicates that only two bullets from *Apsaros* (MG 34 and 73; Tab. 2, 3) could be included in the group established by the Roman architect.

In the current author's opinion, the stone projectiles from *Apsaros* can also be divided into three groups in terms of their diameter, i.e. small, medium, large, as well as into three groups in terms of their weight: light, medium and heavy (Tab. 4, 5). Such a simple division was used in the preliminary analysis of this collection. In contrast to attempts to adapt the projectiles to the scheme proposed by Vitruvius, my own compilation enables establishing many more similarities in the analysis, presenting the relation between the weight and diameter within a single group and differences between neighboring groups (Tab. 4, 5). One successive method involved the creation of a diagram presenting the relation between the mass and the diameter of the balls (Tab. 7). The values adopted on the axes of the coordinate system include the weight (to a hundredth of a kilogram) and the diameter (the arithmetic mean of the balls' dimensions in at least two axes). This compilation includes only fully preserved projectiles, i.e. 116 artifacts. Based on the obtained results, the ammunition was divided into five types numbered 1 to 5.

Type No. 1 – consisting of 11 balls (9.5% of the collection). These are stone projectiles with a diameter of up to 5 cm and a weight of up to 0.28 kg. The smallest stone ball is WP9 and the largest is MG19.<sup>31</sup> The

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<sup>31</sup> The MAG, MG, MAB, WP, and WG abbreviations provide information about the places where the stone projectiles were stored or found. The abbreviations are explained in the inventory description (see Tab. 6).

projectiles classified to this type were made of sedimentary rocks. At this phase of research, it is not possible to specify the type of rock material used to make them.

Type No. 2 – consisting of 58 balls (49.93% of the collection) with a diameter amounting to between 5.5 and 8 cm and a weight from 0.24 to 0.75 kg. This is the most numerous type of balls found in the Roman fort *Apsaros*. Part of the second group and the whole third group as distinguished by Aslanishvili could be included in type No. 2.<sup>32</sup> The smallest projectile is MG8 and the largest is MG16. The stone balls No. MG38, MG17 and WG5 were classified to type No. 2, even though their weight is greater than that of the other balls, but their diameter corresponds to type No 2. Most of the projectiles were made of sedimentary rocks (51 stone balls), while in eight cases the material was defined as limestone, and the seven remaining balls as made of granite.

Type No. 3 – consisting of 23 balls (19.83% of the collection) with a diameter of between 8.1 and 10 cm and a weight of between 0.74 and 1.46 kg. The stone projectiles included in the second group as established by the Georgian scholar have been categorized as belonging to this group.<sup>33</sup> The smallest ball in the type No. 3 group is MAG13, while the heaviest ones would be MG51, MAG21, and MAG22. Most of the bullets were made of sedimentary rocks (21 stone balls). In one case, it was limestone, while the other two projectiles were made of granite.

Type No. 4 – consisting of 15 balls (12.95% of the collection) with a diameter of between 10.2 and 12.2 cm and a weight of between 1.57 and 2.42 kg. The first group as selected by Aslanishvili could be included in type No. 4.<sup>34</sup> The smallest ball of this type is MG58, while the largest one is MG65. The projectile WG1 is heavier than the adopted weight limit for type No 4. Despite the diameter norm for type No. 4, its weight is similar as for type No. 5. Ten balls of this type were made from sedimentary rocks, while three projectiles – from limestone and five – from granite.

Type No. 5 – consisting of 9 balls (7.79% of the collection) with a diameter of over 13.35 cm and weight of over 2.58 kg. The lightest projectiles of type 5 balls could correspond to the first group as proposed by Aslanishvili.<sup>35</sup> The smallest ball of this type is MAB1 and the largest is MAB2. In this type, it is hard to distinguish a norm in the relation

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<sup>32</sup> Aslanishvili 2004: 153-154.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

between the weight and the diameter, because only a few projectiles have been found matching the presented type. Seven balls were made from sedimentary rock and two – from granite.

### Summary

The paper presents the results of the study of a collection of 128 stone projectiles found in the Roman fort *Apsaros*. 116 fully preserved examples were used in the material analyzed. In the presented study, the diagram presenting the relation between the diameter and the weight of the projectiles provided the most fruitful analysis results. It has been established that the weight of the stone balls was dependent on the type of raw material used for their production.<sup>36</sup>

Based on this statement, the author has distinguished five types of stone projectiles among the balls that are similar in diameter and weight. The most numerous represented are type No. 2. In this case, it can be assumed that this caliber of ammunition was used by the Roman garrisons in *Apsaros*. In the case of lighter and heavier projectiles with the same diameter (matching the hole in the frame of the same ballista), the lighter ones could have been shot longer distances and the heavier ones were certainly shot shorter lengths.

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<sup>36</sup> See M. Kamieński, W. Skalmowski, *Kamienie budowlane i drogowe*, Warszawa 1957.

### Throwing Artillery from *Apsaros* Roman Fortress. Analyze and Interpretation of Stone Projectiles for Ballista

Stone balls are commonly found at archaeological sites associated with the Roman army. They represent a great variety of sizes and were used for siege engines, as projectiles for slingshots and large metal arrowheads.

During the archaeological research conducted in the Roman fort of *Apsaros* 115 stone balls of a variety of sizes and weights were found. This collection has been analyzed and organized according to their diameter and weight. The results were compared with the published research of stone balls from other places where the Roman army had been stationed. The stone balls from *Apsaros* were compared to the information about the ballista and their projectiles contained in Vitruvius's text (*Vit. De Arch. X,11.3*).

All the stone balls found in *Apsaros* have been arranged in a chart. The coordinate system shows the relation between the mass and the diameter of the individual bullets. By using this method, we have established a better distribution of the collection of stone balls, dividing them into five groups as opposed to the three groups previously introduced. In all cases for which it was possible, the place where the projectiles in the fortress were found has also been provided. The localization of the findings was compared with the probable localization of the Roman fort of *Apsaros* from the first centuries of our era.

The research of stone balls from the Roman fort *Apsaros* was possible thanks to the cooperation between Polish and Georgians archaeologists during the Gonio-*Apsaros* expedition. The joint expedition consists of researchers from the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw, the Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw and the Cultural Heritage Preservation Agency of Adjara.



## THE SAMPLES OF ROMAN AND BYZANTINE MOSAICS DISCOVERED IN GEORGIA

*by Lana Burkadze*  
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During the archaeological excavation in Georgia was created some examples of mosaic floors, which are dated late Antique and early Byzantine time (1<sup>st</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD). The samples of mosaics of this period are found in churches and Roman baths on the territory of Georgia. In our article we discuss example of mosaic floors from: Bichvinta, Dzalisa, Shukhuti, Tsikhisdziri and Gonio.

### Mosaic of Bichvinta

Pavement was found in semicircular apse of Basilica. Pavement belong not to this Basilica, it belonged to older Basilica, On the area of earlier church. Part of mosaic are destroyed, according to remnant part, mosaic floor was divided in part. Mosaic was made by local stones (white, light-red, yellow, black) with quadrangular pieces, crumbled brick and lime solution. Each sectors had own borders. In Centre of alter apse, raised up platform of form of trapezium are depicted medallion with monogram of Christ Pantokrator, the so called „ქრიზმით” in the corner enclose first and last letter of Greek alphabet- the alpha and omega, which corresponds famous phrase, -„I am alpha and omega-says Lord..” in corner of panel are represented pheasants on branch of pomegranate. Whole composition are embossed with wide border of achanthus. Middle of twist are par-enthetic khitonic (ქვიტონური) Greek inscription- „prey for Orell and pre-eminently his household” (სალოცავად ორელისა და ყოვლისა სახლისა მისისა). Inner of acanthus leaves, both side of inscription are placed, located, warbles (pigeons), flowers of pomegranate and depiction of caw and calf. East side of wall of alter are located another important composition-fount with cervine, or fount of life. Panel are embosomed with line of wives ornaments. In centre are depicted kenaf type of vessel from which are reared pinecone, from which, both side water over-

flows. Both side of fountain are depiction cervines and pigeons, which are directed to water. On right are deer with roe, on left side- buck, at its back is warble. Empty area is filled in by warbles and blossoming branches. Mosaic floor from (ნართექსში) of church are survived better than another, earlier in this place was baptistery. This mosaic was embosomed with while mosaic line. Its area are divided by sectors, in sectors are image of warbles, fishes, lamb and geometrical traits. South side of baptistery located arc. In this place by tow elongated octagons crossing created carpet ornament. In centre of crossing are written cross. At the sides, in circular areas are decorated with small birds, or fishes. Geometrical pictures and ropes wattled are created with rainbow stile. Next, lateral composition still represent „fountain of life” – ელინისტური კანფარის მსგავსი ლარნაკის სახით. Vessel has high, widened bottom, at which are placed ambazi with full of water. From this are rising red trunk crowned with cone. From fountain fall in dawn water, in which falls upon pigeons which are sits on the edge of vessel. On base of fountain are standing big warbles (peacocks). At vessel are presented lineament of human. Upper line is decorated by red balls. Thus, we have depicted gold kantharos with relief and precious stones and cone of gold. Vessel is yellow colour too. Water is blue, lineament of warbles are painted in yellow and pink colours. It's foots and beaks are painted with bright red.<sup>1</sup>

As well, we should to note mosaic from Roman bath, where are decorated geometrical ornaments. Mosaics of Bichvinta are dated by 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.

### Mosaic of Dzalisa

Territory of Iberia, in village of Dzalisa, (Claudius Ptolemy (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) mentions Zalissa in his „Geographic Manual” (Φηγησις Γεωγραφικ). The ancient city with architectural complex was found during the archaeological excavation in 1973-1976. Mosaic was in bed condition, with difference depiction and representation of Charyta Aglaja (qariti aglaias) and inscription<sup>2</sup>.

A. Bokhochadze dates the mosaic 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Art critic thinks that mosaic was dated by part of III century AD and belongs to East side of Roman empire, particularly, school of Antioch<sup>3</sup>. What about master of

<sup>1</sup> I. Tsitsishvili, *Kartuli khelovnebis istoria*, Tbilisi 1995, pp. 41-43.

<sup>2</sup> I. Tsitsishvili, *Kartuli khelovnebis istoria*, Tbilisi 1995, pp. 33-34.

<sup>3</sup> A. Bokhochadze, *Arkeologiuri gatkhrebi Akhiansa da Dzalishi*, Tbilisi 1981, p. 83.



this mosaic? Of course he was local or foreigner, who lived in Georgia, or local artist who studied in school of Antioch. Inscription from mosaic are made clear, literate in Greek. According to T. Kauhchishvili mosaic of Dzalisa dates to 3<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>4</sup>.

A mosaic floor at Dzalisa city side came to light in one of the Roman-type bath excavated in 1972 (Fig.1,2,3).

In the apoditerium a mosaic floor survives, with an ornament of „eight rhomb star”, characteristic of the period.

The badly-damaged mosaic of the frigidarium must have feature Oceanus and thetys, surrounded with fishing erotes, mounted on dolphins. Representation of shell, dolphin and fishes had survived. Analogues of this mosaic are found among the familiar specimens of Antioch, Cilicia and Gari, depicting like them, a sea-scape theme.

Fragments of a peacock and geometric ornament survive in the tepidarium. The differing manner of execution warrant to assume that it belonged to another master.

The feasting hall or the so-called tricinium of the one of the palaces of Dzalisa had a monumental mosaic floor, surviving in a much-damaged state<sup>5</sup>.

#### Mosaic of Tsikhisdziri

In addition to the Bichvinta churches of this period are revealed in a number of places in Lazika: Tsikhisdziri, Nokalakevi, Sepiti, Gantiadi. Tsihidziri three-nave basilica dates from the VI century by all researchers, and they believe that it was Petra Cathedral. In their opinion, it explains its' especially large sizes, thus it is distinguished from the basilicas, of those times, of Western Georgia (Bichvinta, Vashnari).

Fragments of a mosaic floor depicting a tree of life - vines are found in the altar of a small size church of the hall type located in the center of the internal fortress. Datd to 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>. Petra-Tsikhisdziri mosaic stands beside the modern samples of Georgian monastery of Bichvinta, Shukhuti, Bir-el-kuti (possibly even erlier) and along with them represents one of the oldest artistic architectural masterpiece of Georgia<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> T. Kauhchishvili, *Sakartvelos berdznuli epigrapikuli tsartserebis korpusi*, Tbilisi 2009, p. 215.

<sup>5</sup> I. Tsitsishvili, *Kartuli khelovnebis istoria*,. Tbilisi 1995, pp. 33-34.

<sup>6</sup> N. Inaishvili, *Tsikhisdziri*. Batumi 1993, p. 44.

<sup>7</sup> Z. Kvitsiani, *Lazikis adrekristianuli khanis tadzrebis kvlevistvis*. „Christian Researches“, III. Tbilisi 2009.

Petra was built by the Byzantine emperor Justinian (AD first half of the VI century). As a result of archaeological research conducted in recent years, it can be confidently said about the fact that was noted by the Procopius of Caesarea, that Justinian expanded the old city-castle and made it look more beautiful. One interesting notice is preserved at Procopius of Caesarea, namely, it is said that the King Justinian made certain construction works at various points in Chaneti and Lazeti, among them it is mentioned that: “Furthermore, the Church of Christians was renewed in Lazika - It was old and the structure was damaged”<sup>8</sup>.

#### Mosaic of Shukhuti

During archaeological excavation in 1961 was uncovered-, „Villa rustica” with three floor, but only first floor of villa was covered by mosaic. Mosaic of Shukhuti is made technique of Opus Tessellatum. For this technique similar size of cubes are typical. Size and shape of cubes is 1 cm. Mosaic is made the following materials: black sandstone, white, yellow, green limestone, dark-red andesite, sometimes are used brown and light red clay.

In whole area of the apoditerium was covered by mosaic with design of quadrates and eight pointes stars. The main figure of mosaic is geometrical shape: big quadrants, which had main place in mosaic than stars. Mosaic of Shukhuti dates to 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>.

#### Mosaic of Gonio

Polish-Georgian archaeological relationship started from 2002. Polish archaeologists made geophysical survey in Gonio. After that was chosen most perspective square in which place in 2014 was found remains of Roman bath. During excavation was uncovered mosaic floor, with geometrical figures. Mosaic was made of irregular tesserae, mainly grey, yellow and brown.

A lot of mosaic was found in area of Roman cultural spread but mosaic type from Gonio is most important. Other mosaics known Transcaucasus were made later and mostly for the local elite. Meanwhile, the mosaic in Gonio was made for the needs of Roman garrison in one of the farther corner of the Roman Empire. Archaeologists were also surprised

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<sup>8</sup> Georgika, Tbilisi 1965, p. 34.

<sup>9</sup> P. Zakharaia, *Kartuli tsikhe-simagreebis istoria udzvesli droidan XVIII saukunis bolomde*, Tbilisi 2002, pp. 284-285.

by very early dating of the find-the mosaic come from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. The bath house was built shortly after the arrival of the first Roman garrison, probably during the reign of Emperor Vespasian (AD 69-79)<sup>10</sup>.

### Summary

During the archaeological excavation in Georgia was founded some examples of mosaic floors, which are dated by Antiquity and early Byzantine time (I-VI century AD). Mosaics present us inscriptions, ornaments, animals and warblers. Most part of mosaics comes from churches and Roman baths. In previous article we discuss mosaic examples from: Bichvinta, Dzalisa, Shukhuti, Tsikhisdziri and Gonio.

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<sup>10</sup> S. Mamuladze, R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, P. Jaworski, M. Wagner, *Gonio (Apsaros) in Adjara: Excavation of Roman fort interim report on the first season of the Polish-Georgian archaeological expedition*. PAM, XXV, Warsaw 2016, pp. 521-532.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2





Fig. 3



Fig. 4

The samples of Roman and Byzantine  
mosaics discovered in Georgia

During the archaeological excavation in Georgia was founded some examples of mosaic floors, which are dated by antique and early Byzantine time (I-VI century AD). Mosaics present us inscriptions, ornaments, animals and warbles. Most part of mosaics comes from churches and Roman baths. In previous article we discuss mosaic examples from: Bichvinta, Dzalisa, Shukhuti, Tsikhisdziri and Gonio.

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF 2017 POLISH-GEORGIAN  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION  
AT GABASHVILI HILL AND ITS SURROUNDING AREA  
(KUTAISI, WESTERN GEORGIA)

*by Jacek Hamburg, University of Warsaw*  
*Roland Isakadze, State Historical Museum, Kutaisi*

The paper presents the results of two short seasons (July and October 2017) of archaeological research conducted by the Polish-Georgian Archaeological Expedition on Gabashvili Hill and its surrounding area. This territory is initially dated to the Late Bronze / Early Iron Age (Colchian Culture), Antique and Medieval periods. Excavation in the territory of the town of Kutaisi in Western Georgia was started in the mid 1960's and is carried until today, although with big hiatus.

In the present paper the author gives a brief archaeological background of the investigated territory, including a short description of old and recent expeditions and preliminary chronology of the site. Next the author describes the results of 2017 double excavation season in all sectors covered by archaeological research and concludes with observations after the investigation of the surrounding area (hereinafter referred to as Kutaisi Archaeological Landscape) made by the archaeologists.

#### Site, history of excavation and chronology

The main site of Gabashvili Hill (Fig. 1) is located in western part of Georgia (ancient Colchis) on the left bank of the Rioni River<sup>1</sup>, which runs through a centre of modern city. The archaeological site lies almost in the middle of Kutaisi (Fig. 2) – the capital city of Imereti region - and has the form of a high rocky mound (Fig. 3).

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<sup>1</sup> Most probably ancient Phasis River according to data from Pseudo-Scylax (4th century BC, *periplus Asia* 81) and Strabo (1st century AD, *Geography*), see also G. Gamkrelidze, *Researches In Iberia-Colchology (History and Archaeology of Ancient Georgia)*, Tbilisi 2012, 38–75.





Fig. 1. Gabashvili Hill contour map and locations of equipment associated with the amusement park and tower (*Source Kutaisi State Historical Museum Archives*).

At this point it should be noted that the possibilities of investigation on top of the hill are limited. The hill is almost entirely covered by buildings and equipment associated with the amusement park, restaurants, small local beer gardens and a lot of asphalt roads.

The interest in the history and archeology of Kutaisi and its surroundings began already in the 1830s and was associated with the Swiss traveler F. Dubois de Montpéreux, who presented a rather extensive and interesting description of the monuments of Kutaisi. His observations were confirmed by the latest discoveries in the capital of the Imereti region.<sup>2</sup>

The need for archaeological study of Kutaisi is indicated in A. Bergier's report at the opening of the Caucasian Archaeological Sympathizers Society in 1873.<sup>3</sup>

In year 1923 on so-called Bishop's Hill, quite rich tombs from early Antique period were found during the local earthworks.<sup>4</sup>

First regular archaeological research was began in the 1960's. Between 1963 and 1965 the whole area of Kutaisi and the nearest vil-

<sup>2</sup> F. Dubois de Montpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tcherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée*, vol. I, Paris 1839, 346–432.

<sup>3</sup> A. Bergier, *Kavkaz v arheologičeskim otnošeníib - zapiski obščestva ljubitelej Kavkazskoj arheologii*, Tbilisi 1879, 17.

<sup>4</sup> M. M. Ivašenko, *Materialy k izučeniū kulturiy kolhov, Materialy dlā Gruzii i istorii Kavkaza* 2 (1943), 38–52.



Fig. 2. Location of the Kutaisi – capital city of Imereti region, Georgia (*Processing J. Hamburg*).

lages was excavated by joint expedition of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Georgian Academy of Science and Tbilisi State University. The project was led by O. Lordkipanidze.<sup>5</sup> The site was investigated again in 1984-1990 by the Archaeological Research Centre of the Georgian Academy of Science. The work was led by O. Lanchava. Then the expedition was divided into a couple of teams. Some archaeologists worked on the territory of Kutaisi, others around the city. Guram Kvirkvelia with D. Berdzenishvili focused their work directly on Gabashvili Hill and the nearest area. They found there Late Bronze / Early Iron Age and Antique levels and, based on Georgian reports, clear visible signs of former settlement from the beginning of 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium BC.<sup>6</sup>

The next Georgian expeditions conducting excavation on the Gabashvili Hill site and in the surrounding territory (e.g. Bagrati Cathedral area, Fig. 4) was working, with brakes, from the early 1990s to 2014.

<sup>5</sup> O. Lordkipanidze, *Drevnij mir i staryj Kolhida*, Tbilisi 1966, 41–44.

<sup>6</sup> O. Lordkipanidze, O. Lanchava, M. Lordkipanidze, *Kutaisi Since Ancient Times Till the XIII Century*, Tbilisi and Kutaisi 1994, 27–34.



Fig. 3. Good visible, at the time non-forested rocky mound (Gabashvili Hill) in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of 20<sup>th</sup> century (Source Kutaisi State Historical Museum Archives).





Fig. 4. Location of all trenches opened in 2017 (*Processing J. Hamburg*).

In years 2003-2012 archaeological works related to restoration of Bagrati Cathedral were conducted by the local archaeologists from the Kutaisi State Historical Museum.<sup>7</sup> Head of the expedition was O. Lanchava. His team included archaeologists who work here until today: R. Isakadze and Sh. Buadze. The Georgian team revealed remnants of 15<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> century BC settlement (e.g. stone foundations of the house), Late Bronze / Early Iron Age thick layer (up to 2 m) with Colchian type pottery and several medieval levels associated with Cathedral building (dated to 4<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> century AD).

Furthermore, as part of the same expedition, in year 2006 a few trenches were opened on the territory of Gabashvili Garden (part of Gabashvili Hill) related to its revitalisation works. There layers with Late Bronze / Early Iron Age pottery were found.

During construction works for the sewage and water system in 2013 and 2014 on Vazha-Pshavela Str., Georgian archaeologists conducted rescue excavation and found a very interesting 10 to 12 m wide and almost 6 m deep defensive moat related to the possible Gabashvili Hill settlement mentioned above. In the moat various parts of pottery, well preserved wooden plough and also dendrological materials were found (Fig. 5).

<sup>7</sup> Reports of Kutaisi State Historical Museum Expeditions: 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2010; 2012; 2014; 2017.



Fig. 5. Wood fragments, grape seeds and the plough sent to the radiocarbon dating (Photo Sh. Buadze).

After a short brake, in 2017 archaeological research was conducted by the joint Polish–Georgian Archaeological Expedition within the frame of an official agreement signed between the National Agency of Cultural Heritage Preservation of Georgia and the University of Warsaw and in cooperation with members of Kutaisi State Historical Museum. Excavation is led now by J. Hamburg in consultation with the coordinator

R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski (Polish side) and R. Isakadze (Georgian side). The main part of the research focused on the Gabashvili Hill area, which may hide potentially a Late Bronze / Early Iron Age and Antique levels and to the north of the hill, where accidental finds from 20s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to early 2000s like e.g. bronze hoes, bronze Colchian type axes, buckles, decorated belts and pottery lead to the conclusion that there may be a cemetery dated to the Late Bronze/ Early Iron Age period.

The archaeological site of Gabashvili Hill was preliminary dated to the end of the 2nd Millennium BC and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium BC based on the analysis of the pottery material coming from former excavation. There are also remnants of Antique pottery and ceramic slabs (dated to 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC). The Late Bronze/ Early Iron Age archaeological finds, such as pottery, can be dated only on typological grounds.

The Polish-Georgian team verified these assumptions by a few radiocarbon dates on wood fragments (also from the plough) and grape seeds (see Fig. 5), which still need to be confirmed by more specimens (samples under verification and yet unpublished). However, the first radiocarbon results obtained at Weismann's Laboratory in Israel and Gliwice Absolut Dating Methods Centre in Poland clearly indicate that all archaeological material from the moat and its surrounding territory acquired during the season 2014 are dated to 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century BC.

#### Results of double 2017 season

In 2017 the Polish-Georgian Archaeological Expedition organized two short seasons (July and October) of preliminary archaeological research. The areas of work were divided into sectors (see Fig. 4). Sector GG (Gabashvilis Gora) covers the whole territory of the main hill. Sector SS in an area of the local school. No. 20 situated on 12, Vazha Pashavela Str., just west from the main site. Sector TS24 occupies the property and garden at the address 24, Tsatskvebi Str., and analogously sector TS39 corresponds to address 39, Tsatskhvebi Str. Sectors GG

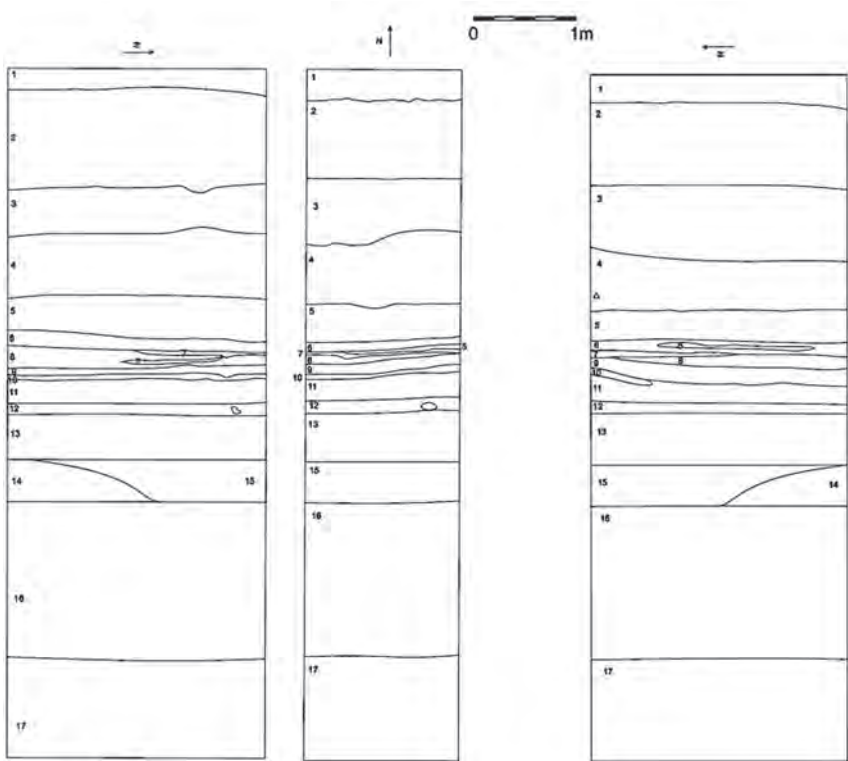


Fig. 6. Distribution of stratigraphic layers in sector GG, trench 2; east, north and west profiles (*Drawing A. Slabońska and K. Pawłowska; Processing J. Hamburg*).

and SS were documented by Polish team using aerial photographs from a drone.

Sector GG. Trench 1 (GPS coordinates N: 42.27010 E: 42.69590).1

Trench 1 (see Fig. 4; GG/1) was opened just near the south slope of the hill. In 2006 the Georgian expedition had done some fieldwork at this location. Among the finds were large amounts of cobble-stones and burned plaster, even on the ground level. Unfortunately, the new trench opened by Polish-Georgian Expedition nearby was not as successful. It turned out that the area near the 2006 excavation was largely disturbed in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by foundations for the constructions of a restaurant, now no longer existing. The foundations mentioned above completely destroyed original archaeological layers in this place.



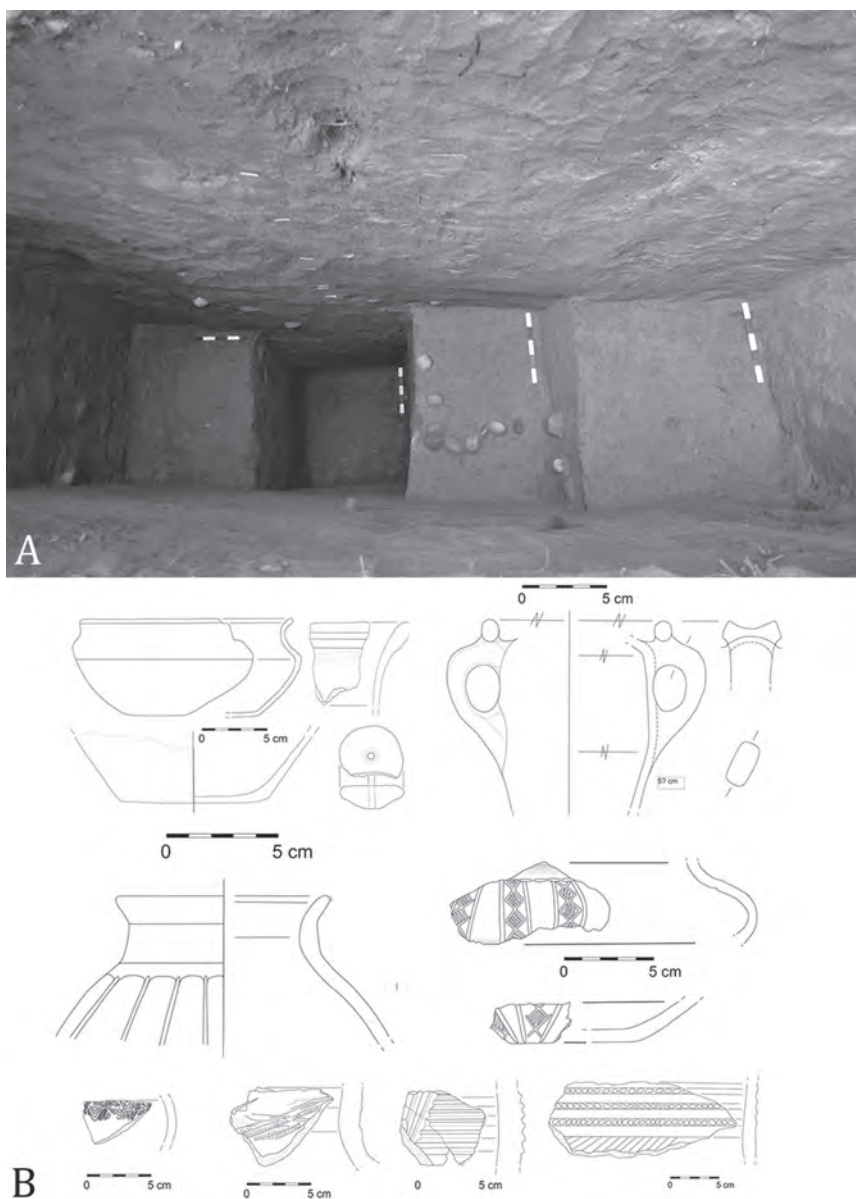


Fig. 7. Final photography of sector GG, trench 2 (top) and examples of pottery from layers 8-16 (bottom) (Photo K. Pawłowska, Drawing K. Pawłowska, A. Słabońska, P. Siuda and A. Gruszecka, Processing K. Pawłowska).

Sector GG. Trench 2 (GPS coordinates N: 42.27087 E: 42.69589).

A trench was opened in the central part of the mound, on a small hill-ock with a high tower for paratroopers from the late 40s of 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Fig. 4; GG/2). The trench was 5 m long and 1.5 m wide. During the course of excavation it was separated into 17 stratigraphic layers and yellowish undisturbed soil which was reached after 6.60 m, from the ground level (Figs 6 and 7a). However, after the preliminary analysis, it should be recognized that the first 5 layers (around 2 m below top soil level) are associated with the construction of the tower, they contained e.g. sand and earth priming, electrical wires, etc. The layer 6 is connected with leveling the ground, which – in the author’s opinion - disturbed the original shape of the hummock and is also related to the tower construction.

In layers from 7 to 14 sherds were found, coming from late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium BC, but contrary to our predictions they were in scars. Most varied types of pottery come from layers: 8, 10, 12, 13 and 14 (Fig. 7b). There are fragments of bowls, small jugs with characteristic Colchian type handle decorated by sheep or bull horns or double volute and simple undecorated “kitchen ware” vessels (some with black burned traces of use).

The archaeological material mentioned above is very similar to the material found by Georgian team in 2014, in the area near the school and located just west from the Gabashvili Hill (now called as sector SS). At the depth of 4 m they found wood fragments and several grape seeds, which is dated to 9<sup>th</sup> century BC by radiocarbon method.



Fig. 8. Negatives of wooden beams found in sector GG, trench 2 (Photo J. Hamburg).

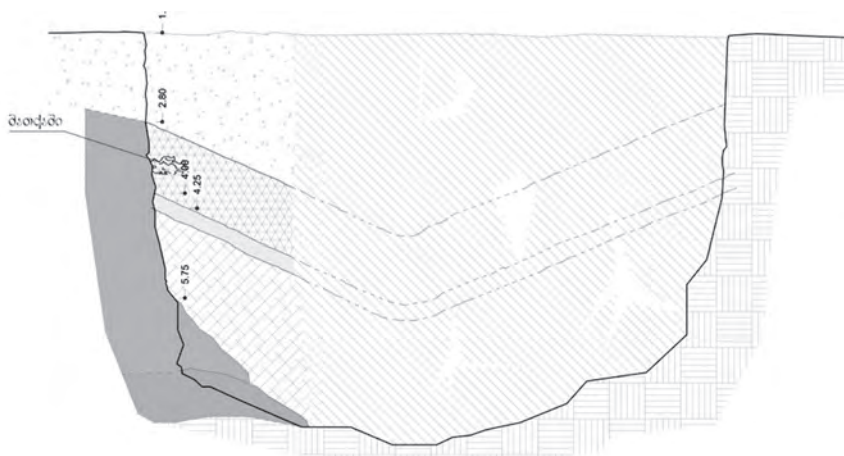


Fig. 9. Cross-section of the moat found in 2014 in sector SS1 near the School No. 20 (Processing Sh. Buadze and J. Hamburg).

The layer 8 is of significant as it is composed of solid black soil and a thin layer of coal (around 6 cm) and it was rich in pottery sherds. The layer 8 was surrounded by two, also very thin, grayish and ashy layers without any archaeological material inside (7 and 9). Our team had taken some samples for dating, but the results are not yet known. Similar coal layer was found by Georgians in 2006, less than 100 m west from the hillock with the tower.

Last layers, 15 and 16, were almost empty. Only a few small sherds, a flint and one almost complete bowl were found. It should be noted that the bowl is made of high quality clay, well burnt and has a part of handle preserved. The bowl is decorated by grooved strips and rhomboid pattern and is definitely dated to the second part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BC. However, in layer 15 our team found two fragments of burnt wooden beams intersecting each other. Both beams were in very bad condition, so they were immediately taken for analysis, and their negatives were documented by photographs (Fig. 8).

Sector GG. Trench 3 (GPS coordinates N: 42.27160 E: 42.69803)

A trench was opened in eastern part of Gabashvili Hill (see Fig. 4; GG/3). In this area Georgian archaeologists worked already in 2006. They found a lot of cobble-stones and burned plaster, also fragments of wood. Georgian scientists thought these were part of an inner defensive wall, which would be built with cobble-stones, wood and earth. A new

trench opened in 2017 was located directly on the slope and was 6.5 m long and 1.5 m wide.

In this trench two interesting concentrations of stones mixed by burned tight orange earth and boulders were found. The boulders probably came from the river, which means that they have been intentionally moved there by humans. Both concentrations were cut through the middle to get a profile. In the obtained profile two post-poles were found-vertical footprints of wooden pillars (?) - and a lot of completely burned stones and boulders. The diameter of each footprint are ca. 20 cm. The distance between both of them is around 4.5 m.

This construction might be a fragment of inner defensive wall mentioned by Georgian scientists. According to earlier excavation reports it seems that Gabashvili Hill was protected from south and east only by natural high slope. From the west side there was a moat (see chapter above and finds from sector SS, trench 2) and the inner part would have been protected by another wall in a form of box construction made from wood and filled with cobble-stones, boulders and earth. It should be noted that it is only a preliminary interpretation of these finds and has to be confirmed by future excavation and a team of geologists.

Sector GG. Trench 4 (GPS coordinates N: 42.27070 E: 42.69523)

Trench 4 was opened in the western side of Gabashvili Hill (see Fig. 4; GG/4). It was 2.5 m long and 2 m wide. A larger trench was not possible due to the various obstacles. Unfortunately, trench 4 was yield little evidence, which confirms the difficulty of the area. Nearby, around 20 m to the north from this location Georgian archaeologists opened big trench and worked there in 1984-1990. They found foundations of one house made of boulders and cobble-stones, a lot of Late Bronze / Early Iron Age pottery and burned plaster. In trench 4, which was a continuation of old trench mentioned above our team found only mixed levels of Late Bronze Age, Antique, Early Medieval and completely modern pottery, glass and metal inventory (e.g. iron and bronze nails, bronze parts of buckles etc.). Probably this part of the hill has been deeply transformed before.

Sector SS. Trench 1

In this sector trench 1 (see Fig. 4; SS/1) was laid out in the west-central part of the school's courtyard based on previous accidental finds localization from 1960s (Late Bronze/ Early Iron Age and Antique pot-

tery, one Colchian type axe). However, further works were abandoned after an on-site verification, which showed that the area was destroyed during the construction of the gym in the middle of 1970s.

#### Sector SS. Trench 2

A small test trench 2 (2 m long and 1.5 wide) was opened on the other side of the school No. 20 (see Fig. 4; SS/2). An interesting area was appointed between the gym and the derelict pool. The localization of the trench is based on previous finds made by Georgian archaeologists since 2006 (mainly rescue excavation in 2014, see chapter 2 of the paper). In the trench undisturbed soil was reached on almost 6.50 m. The top layer was removed using an excavator. Under the top soil 3 layers were distinguished, which were very well visible and clearly separated from each other. Surprisingly, layers associated with the Middle Ages were not discovered in this area. In layer 1 (light brown) only Antique pottery (4th-3rd century BC) was found. In layer 2 (dark brown with small pieces of charcoal) Late Bronze/ Early Iron Age sherds (e.g. fragments of bowls and jugs with Colchian type handle) began to appear. Layer 3, about 5 m (!) in thickness, was a very dark, almost black, extremely muddy layer with very high humidity and unusual dark green and dark blue intrusions. Most probably it was a further part of a moat, discovered by Georgian scientists in 2014 around 100 m north from the location of trench 2 (Fig. 9). The trench will be expanded and verified in the next season because the boundaries of the moat were not found within the limits of the trench. In layer 3 Late Bronze Age and Antique period pottery and a few pieces of unidentified and very eroded bronze items were found (Fig. 10).

#### Sector SS. Trench 3

Another test trench (3 m long and 1.5 wide) was opened just 50 m south from the trench 2 (see Fig. 4; SS/3) described above and based on 2017 ground level finds (a wide array of sherds from the Late Bronze Age to Antique period mixed with modern pottery and other items). The top layer was removed using an excavator. Under the top soil level 3 layers were separated. Layer 1 yield parts of Antique period vessels (e.g. jug with horn handle) mixed with some modern items and roots. In layer 2 several pieces of the Early Iron pottery sherds were found. Layer 3 was rich in black polished and black burnished Late Bronze Age pottery with typical Colchian decorations. It was almost 2.5 m thick. Yellowish undisturbed soil was reached 5.10 m below surface.



Fig. 10. Pottery set from Kutaisi and its surrounding area found in 2014 and 2017 (Photo Sh. Buadze).

#### Sector TS24. Trench 1 (GPS coordinates N: 42.27412 E: 42.69722)

Sector TS24 is located just 500 m to the north from the Gabashvili Hill (see Fig. 4; TS24/1). Trench 1 in this area was opened on the backside of garden near house located on 24, Tsatskhvebi Str. The remainder of the property is unfortunately not available for archaeologists. The importance of sector TS24 lies in the some accidental finds that came to light in 1942 and 1943 and took place just on the other side of the street. It was the bronze Colchian type axe, interesting electrum bead and a lot of pottery ranging from the Late Bronze Age through the Early Iron Age, Antique and Medieval period. This so-called test trench had a square form with a side length of 1.5 m and was excavated by mechanical levels due to very limited workspace.

After removing the humus, Late Medieval layers were appeared. In next levels our team discovered Early Medieval pottery and some glass fragments. These finds are initially dated to 13<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>8</sup>. Between the regular pottery from this period, there are individual

<sup>8</sup> It should be noted that medieval material from season 2017 is currently being analyzed and is being prepared to publishing. Dating may still change slightly.





Fig. 11. Cist found in sector TS24, trench 1 (Photo K. Pawłowska).



examples of interesting imported glazed and painted pottery of Byzantine and Iranian origin, mainly plate and bowl fragments.

Level 3 showed continuation of Early Medieval archaeological material and outline of cist (cavity pit?) from the same period (Fig. 11). Unfortunately, just after exploring the cist characteristic light yellowish undisturbed soil appeared immediately.

Sector TS39. Trench 1 (GPS coordinates N: 42.27535 E: 42.69819)

Sector TS39 is situated around 700 m to the north from Gabashvili Hill and 150 m to the north-east from the sector TS24 (Fig. 4; TS39/1). Trench 1 was opened in a garden near a house located on the corner of two streets: Tsatskhvebi and Anton Katholikosi. Expedition already found a lot of clay material just on the ground. This set is dated to Medieval and more surprisingly to the Antique period. Just under the top soil were many pottery fragments (e.g bowls, jugs) dated to Late Medieval period.

Trench 1 was located in the location where numerous accidental finds came to light in the 1920's and just below the area where a hoard of 30 bronze axes, typical find from Colchian graves, was found. Through the excavation of trench 1 in this sector Polish-Georgian team hoped to establish if there actually was a cemetery in the area. The new trench was 5 m long and 4 m wide.

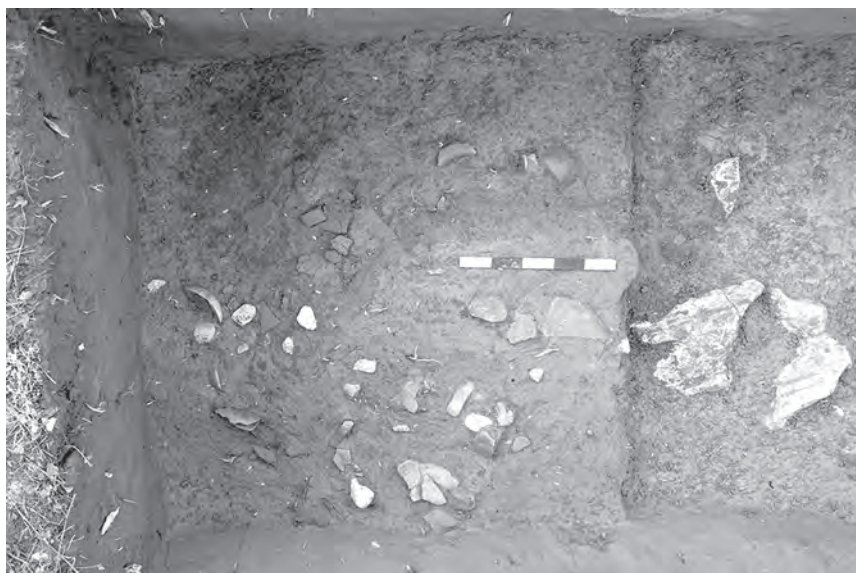


Fig. 12. Top of the cist found in sector TS39, trench 1 (Photo J. Hamburg).

During the excavation Medieval layers appeared under the top soil and were followed by a 1.15 m almost empty layer with several fragments of modern pottery, roof tiles, animal bones and metal equipment (e.g. nails). In north-east corner of the trench a concentration of medieval pottery and some sherds from bowls and jugs was found. After cleaning of the area it turned out that we were dealing with one more cist (cavity pit?), similar to that one from sector TS24, but bigger (Fig. 12). It should be noted, that after first cleaning the concentration resulted as divided into two parts, which were explored separately. Archaeological material came from the both parts of the cist was preliminary dated to 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century AD. The set also included several almost entirely preserved vessels (mainly jugs with simple handle).

On the same level in north-west corner poorly preserved bedrock was uncovered, mixed with orange/light brown and later yellowish undisturbed soil. It occurred also in other parts of the trench and just under the cist, it was clearly separated from this layer by dark brown and reddish soil. Unfortunately, this meant that no layer related to earlier periods was found in the area.

Preliminary identification of sites in the Kutaisi Archaeological Landscape

Kutaisi Archaeological Landscape is a huge territory stretching ca. 35-40 km around Kutaisi and his peripheral area (agglomeration included). It consists of plains, small towns and villages located in a quite flat and green Colchis valley cut by various types of wetlands, rivers (also Rioni river) and slowly flowing streams. There is a numbers of hills among this landscape. Each hill –In the author’s opinion - clearly resembles Middle Eastern *Tell*.

These round or square mounds are encircled by one or two lines of “reinforcements” in the form of a fairly broad and deep moats, sometimes together with high earth embankment (Fig. 13). This example of archaeological sites are called as Colchian-type settlements and dated them to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BC and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium BC. Some of them were also inhabited in Antique period.

Often, in the vicinity of the mounds the remains of the cemetery dated to Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age (regular pit graves) can be found or equally often Antique period (the deceased was buried in two connected *pithoi*).

During the double 2017 season the Polish-Georgian Expedition visited and created preliminary documentation for three mounds (Meskheti,



Fig. 13. Aerial photography of the Meshketi site (top) and Google photography of the Meskheti, Patriketi and Partskhanakanevi sites (bottom) (Photo R. Bieńkowski).

Patriketi and Partskhanakanevi). The documentation included aerial photographs from the drone, a short description of the archaeological site and a surface prospection in the available area.<sup>9</sup> After the preliminary recognition and identification, all sites meet the above conditions for a Colchian type settlement.

Meskheti is an archaeological site that is divided into the main hill and the area resembling a “lower city”. The hill is protected by a wide and deep moat and the part located south at the foot of the hill has separate “fortifications” in the form of earth embankments (now eroded

<sup>9</sup> very often the area was heavily forested or located just above wetlands.

but clearly visible from the aerial photographs). Accidental finds that came from fields laying south and east of the site indicate that in these areas there might be a cemetery from the Middle and/or Late Bronze Age. Also a few typical *pithoi* burials dated to the Antique period were found.

Patriketi is a small round mound surrounded by a well visible, wide moat and earth embankment. In the centre of the hill a test trench was opened with the aim to determine the stratigraphy of the site. The expedition was led by V. Dzaparidze. Based on results from the old test trench<sup>10</sup> and preliminary surface prospection in 2017 it can be assumed that the site was used from the Middle Bronze Age to the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium BC. In addition to pottery found during archaeological survey, a saddle type quern-stone and a single ceramic spindle whorl were retrieved.

Partskhanakanevi is a very similar site to the Patriketi. It is surrounded by a very wide moat. The site is located on a wetland which makes access difficult. Prospection was possible only on the hill. The surroundings of the hill as well as the moat were inaccessible. The pottery found there is very characteristic for the Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age period.

The analysis of all archaeological material came from the surface prospection on all three sites clearly indicates that there are Middle, Late Bronze / Early Iron Age and Antique layers. Definitely, archaeological research will be needed on some of these mounds in the future.

Preliminary Report of 2017 Polish-Georgian  
Archaeological Expedition at Gabashvili Hill  
and its surrounding area (Kutaisi, Western Georgia)

The authors want to thank the whole team for cooperation: Dr Radosław Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, Agnieszka Kaliszewska, Katarzyna Pawłowska, Rafał Bieńkowski, Shalva Buadze, all Georgian workers, Polish and Georgian students participating in the project and for Agnieszka Kaliszewska and Teona Bokhua for proofreading the present paper.

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<sup>10</sup> V. Dzaparidze, *Zv. Vardigora, Zeglis Megobari* 46 (1977), 43–50.



## PECULIARITIES OF THE TAO-KLARJETI ARTISTIC SCHOOL OF THE MINIATURES FROM TSAISHI GOSPEL

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The Tsaishi Gospel, preserved at Dadiani Palaces History and Architectural Museum in Zugdidi, earned its name according to its recent place of survival. Before moving to Zugdidi Museum, it was kept at Tsaishi Dormition Cathedral which served as cathedral church of Zugdidi and Tsaishi Eparchy and represented one of the oldest episcopal seats of Georgia. Tsaishi Dormition Cathedral is located 10 km, south-west of Zugdidi.

The only catalogued data of the manuscript along with colophons was done by E. Takaishvili in the summer of 1913 while travelling under the aegis of Historic-Ethnographic Society of Georgia; the scholar catalogued and described the antiquities preserved at Tsaishi and among them this manuscript.<sup>1</sup> He dated the manuscript back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. E. Takaishvili was accompanied by expressly invited photographer Theodor Kühne, who captured gilded and chased silver cover of MS for the first time. The cover was decorated with compositions of Descent into the Hell, on the front, and the Crucifixion on the back cover. Corresponding Georgian inscriptions serve as the part of the decoration (fig.1)<sup>2</sup>.

According to the colophons the Gospels was written under the order of Archbishop of Tsaishi Maxime: "... and was written this Holy

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<sup>1</sup> E. T a q a i s h v i l i, ძველი საქართველო, საქართველოს საისტორიო და საეთნოგრაფიო სამოგადოების კრებული, III, Tiflis, 1913-1914, pp.187-189.

<sup>2</sup> Photo preserved at the archive of K. Kekelidze Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, E. Takaishvili's private archive, №417.

Gospels under the order of Archbishop of Tsaishi Maxime. ... Lord and Virgin of Tsaishi, give long life and glorify him in both lives and in further centuries and may Maxime of Tsaishi, Your slave and glorifier rest in Abraham's bosom."<sup>3</sup> On several pages of the manuscript the name of Anika, "the daughter of the lord the Great Rostom Kortodze" is mentioned. "And this Holy Gospels from Tsaishi is of the Virgin of Tsaishi and is restored by me, the daughter of Kortodze the Great lady Anika."<sup>4</sup> Today it is impossible to find these colophons in the manuscripts. The scholar did not indicated the exact pages, causing difficulty in finding them because of the unfair condition of the manuscript itself.

Until 2007 the manuscript was not explored and studied. Only after the partial separation of the book and applying the special conservation treatment, the study of the gospel became possible. The pages glued to each other were separated, treated and consolidated, and only after this procedure the miniatures and small sized fragments were depicted, the degree of damage of the parchment and painted layer were determined, the conservation method and materials were worked out and selected. Distorted and damaged pieces were flattened and temporarily fixed. The place of each fragment in the common frame was defined by the comparative analysis of miniature paintings inserted in illuminated Georgian Gospels.<sup>5</sup>

Based on the textual, iconographic and artistic analysis the studied material revealed that:

1. Gospel's text is written on paper in calligraphic Nuskhuri script, in two columns, accompanied by the annual readings of the Gospel and edited by George the Hagiorite. Paleographic analysis has proved that the book is a compilation of two different manuscripts, supposedly dated between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (paper size 22x17,5 cm).

2. Two out of three miniatures inserted in the text represent the portraits of seating Evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke. The earliest chronological date of creation may be the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and the possible time of completion - 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

3. According to the painting technique, artistic level and style, the miniatures should belong to a richly decorated manuscript executed on parchment.

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<sup>3</sup> E. T a q a i s h v i l i, ძველი საქართველო, III, 1913-1914, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> E. T a q a i s h v i l i, p.188.

<sup>5</sup> D. G o g a s h v i l i, *Unknown miniatures from Tsaishi Gospels (conservation, identification)*, Proceedings of the International Conference "Tao-Klarjeti", Tbilisi, 2010, pp.87-90,101.



4. On the basis of artistic-stylistic analysis it is evident, that the painter of the miniatures accompanying the Tsaishi Gospel used the illustrations from the Mestia Gospels as an authentic model.<sup>6</sup>

From four portraits of the Evangelists listed in E. Taqashvili's catalogue nowadays only two exist. It is unknown whether the scholar wrote about these miniatures or there existed original authentic series of the Evangelists in the manuscript. The point is that, the portraits of the Evangelists are made on parchment, different from the Gospels material. Moreover, a third miniature made on paper was discovered. After a comparative iconographic analysis of the reconstructed scheme of preserved, small-sized fragments it was determined that the person depicted is John Chrysostom.<sup>7</sup>

One of the miniatures executed on parchment is severely damaged and distorted by microorganisms; the other was completely covered by small-size paper fragments glued to each other. From cleaned seven fragments three were determined to be from the portraits of St. Mark (fig.2), and the remaining four – from the portraits of St. Luke (fig. 6)<sup>8</sup>

On one of the fragments from St. Luke's miniature (1.3x1cm) the detail of the Evangelist's chair leg and piece of the frame was drawn in cinnabar, so it was placed in left bottom corner; the second (2.9x9.1 cm) and the third (3x3.8 cm) fragments are without a painted layer and thus, represent parts of the parchment page. The shapes of the fragments determine their original place (fig. 2,3,4,5).<sup>9</sup>

From St. Luke's miniature only the Evangelist's table leg and the details of frame lines in cinnabar, along with stylized leaves are preserved, therefore it was placed in right bottom corner. The second (0.7x2.1 cm) and the third (0.5x0.9 cm) fragments represent the details of the Evangelist's foot rest; one is covered with gold, another imitates the footrest decorated with precious stones. On the fourth (1.2x2.2 cm) fragment, though damaged severely, the horizontal line

<sup>6</sup> D. G o g a s h v i l i, *Unknown miniatures from Tsaishi Gospels (conservation, identification)*, pp.89-92.

<sup>7</sup> D. G o g a s h v i l i, *Unknown miniature of John the Chrysostom (conservation, identification, reconstruction)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> International Symposium "Georgian Manuscript," Abstracts of Papers, Tbilisi, 2013, pp.154-155, 308-309.

<sup>8</sup> D. G o g a s h v i l i, *Unknown miniatures from Tsaishi Gospels (conservation, identification)*, p.90.

<sup>9</sup> The third fragment (3x3.8 cm) could serve as a part of the bottom of the miniature (Gogashvili 2010: fig.9, fig.10). though we support the above mentioned place.

of the frame is vivid, the upper part of which is covered with green paint (fig. 6,7,8,9).

After reconstruction<sup>10</sup> the similarity of the Tsaishi Gospel to other Georgian illuminated books of the 11<sup>th</sup> century was evident.<sup>11</sup> These are: the portraits of the Evangelists inserted in Mestia Gospels and the miniatures of the Evangelists from the different manuscript of the Black Mountain Georgian scriptoria (H-2806, K 76).<sup>12</sup> Here should also be mentioned that the sizes of the illustrated pages of the miniatures (of St. Mark and St. Luke) are almost the same of the Evangelists' portraits from H-2806.<sup>13</sup>

Dimension	Tsaishi Gospels	H-2806 Four Gospels
I	St. Matthew the Evangelist	St. Matthew the Evangelist
Folia size		20x15cm
Miniature size		13.8x10.3 cm
Margins: top, bottom, right, left		3.5 cm; 4 cm; 2.2 cm; 2.5 cm
II	St. Mark the Evangelist	St. Mark the Evangelist
Folia size	19.4 (19.2)x14.1 (14.3) cm	20.2x16 cm
Miniature size	14.2x 10.3 (10.4) cm	14.2x10 cm
Margins: top, bottom, right, left	2 (1.8) cm; 3.2 cm; 0.7 cm; 3.1 (3.2) cm	2.5 cm; 3.5 cm; 2.2 cm; 3.5 cm
III	St. Luke the Evangelist	St. Luke the Evangelist
Folia size	18.6 (18.8) x 14.3 (14.5) cm	20x16.5 cm
Miniature size	14.4 (14.5) x 10.3 (10.4) cm	14 x 10 cm
Margins: top, bottom, right, left	1.5 cm; 2.7 (2.8) cm;	

<sup>10</sup> Reconstruction and relative schematic drawings is done by Darejan Gogashvili (fig. 3,4,5,7,8,9)

<sup>11</sup> Tsaishi Gospel (№14) survived at Dadiani Palaces Historical and Architectural Museum in Zugdidi; Mestia I(3-70) preserved at Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography in Mestia (Georgian National Museum), H-2806 kept at K.Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, K-76 at Kutaisi Historical Museum.

<sup>12</sup> D. G o g a s h v i l i, *Unknown miniatures from Tsaishi Gospels (conservation, identification)*, pp. 92, 93, 96.

<sup>13</sup> The left edges of Tsaishi miniatures are a bit cut off, presumably slightly, but (of St. Mark) it still gives the difference in folia sizes from the following table.

0.7 (0.8) cm; 3.3 cm	2.5 cm; 4 cm; 2.2 cm; 4.5 cm	
IV	St. John and Prochorus	St. John and Prochorus
Folia size		20 x 16.5 cm
Miniature size		14 x 10 cm
Margins: upper, bottom, right, left		2.5 cm; 4 cm; 2.4 cm; 4 cm

It is accepted that among decorated manuscripts the Gospel is distinguished for its principles and specific character of illumination that evolved and from the 11<sup>th</sup> century has adopted a well developed artistic pattern. According to this pattern Eusebius's Letter and Canon Tables are inserted on the opening pages of the manuscript, while the text of the Gospel itself is divided into four volumes and each volume is opened with a portrait of the corresponding author – the Evangelist. Each Evangelist is placed on verso page and borders the beginning of the text.<sup>14</sup>

The place of the portraits of the authors from Tsaishi Gospel does not correspond to the text from the codex (e.g.: St. Luke's portrait was placed at the beginning of St. Mark's Gospel, and the correspondence between the Evangelist's portrait and the text was violated). Even the writing material and sizes are different. This leads us to conclude that the given miniatures are not the part of the Tsaishi Gospel illumination, but were placed between the pages in order to save and preserve them. This idea is further supported by the fact that St. John Chrysostom's portrait belonged to a completely different genre from the Gospel context – Liturgy.<sup>15</sup>

The portraits of the Evangelists on the title page of the corresponding gospel are an essential and widely accepted pattern, and often the only one for the given epoch.

Inserting the miniatures in the décor of the Gospel-manuscripts was aimed to present the portraits of the authors. As a result all four

<sup>14</sup> Р. Ш м е р л и н г, *Художественное оформление грузинской рукописной книги IX-XI столетии*, кн.1, Тб., 1967, p.189, E. M a c h a v a r i a n i, *გადამწერსა და მხატვარს შორის შრომის განაწილების საკითხისათვის ხელნაწერი წიგნის მხატვრული კომპოზიციის შექმნის დროს*, *მრავალთავი*, IV, Tbilisi, 1975, p.16.

<sup>15</sup> D. G o g a s h v i l i, *Unknown miniature of John the Chrysostom (conservation, identification, reconstruction)*, pp. 154-155, 308-309.

portraits of the Evangelists were inserted in the text. These figures created a more or less well-developed, stable cycle and more or less precisely were copied from one manuscript into another.

The Tsaishi Gospel miniatures offer traditional approach to an old theme: St. Mark is a middle-aged man who is represented thoughtful. With his right hand he holds a paper on his knee, while his left hand is directed to his face. Dark hair and beard, face with a bit added tone, expressive eyes give individuality to the Evangelist. Blue chiton and rosy himation flows down in triangle folds. On the low table writing equipment is placed, on the book stand a quite large codex in Asomtavruli script lies open.

St. Luke is the youngest among the Evangelists. He is portrayed while writing. On the high lectern Codex is opened and writing equipment is placed on arch shaped writing table. He wears purple chiton and blue himation. We face an individual portrait of the Evangelist with mustache and live eyes (for detailed description of the portraits of the Evangelists see Gogashvili 2010: 90-91).

The portraits of Evangelists from the Tsaishi Gospel follow the established patterns of Georgian-Byzantine art, though an already developed or accepted tradition did not exist. Georgian manuscripts offer a very specific realization of the theme and details differ from Byzantine "classical" portraits. Some of the details are brand new along with old ones.

The first Georgian illuminated manuscripts belong to Tao-Klarjeti artistic school. If the artistic pattern of the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries reveals the influence of different traditions (Hellenistic, late antique), the 11<sup>th</sup> century samples of this school, with specific characteristics of the scriptoria developed under the Byzantine influence become distinguished. Most vividly this process is observed in the illumination of Mestia Four Gospels (1033) written and illustrated at Oshki Monastery scriptorium.<sup>16</sup>

While comparing the Tsaishi and Mestia Gospel common artistic tendencies were revealed. On the basis of artistic-stylistic analysis it is determined that the illuminator of the Tsaishi Gospel was well aware of the Mestia Gospel miniatures and treated it as a manual.

<sup>16</sup> П. Ш м е р л и н г, *Художественное оформление грузинской рукописной книги IX-XI столетий*, кн. II, Тб., 1979, pp.133-139, A. S a m i n s k y, *A Reference to Jerusalem in a Georgian Gospel Book, The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, *Jewish Art* 23/24, 1997/98, pp.354-369 (Saminsky dated the manuscript by the end of the XII century).

According to another opinion, it is quite possible that the manuscript to which these miniatures belonged was produced in Oshki or in any other scriptorium of Tao-Klarjeti.<sup>17</sup>

As mentioned above the portraits of the Evangelists (fig. 5, 9) from The Tsaishi Gospel along with the Mestia manuscript written in Oshki reveal characteristic similarities to the Evangelists' portraits from Black Mountain manuscripts (K-76, H-2806).

According to the colophon on K-76, the manuscript presents the sample of Black Mountain School<sup>18</sup>, as for H-2806 until recently it was dated back by the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>19</sup> and only comparing and studying its artistic characteristics gave the scholars the opportunity to date it precisely to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup>

Among the miniature schools of the 11<sup>th</sup> century the scriptoria of Tao-Klarjeti and Black Mountain were closely connected. It is well known that the monks from Tao-Klarjeti established the first Georgian monasteries on Black Mount.<sup>21</sup>

In the décor of these manuscripts the types of the Evangelists create the following patterns (in codices the complete series of the Evangelists are survived and we catered all of them): **St. Matthew** in all of manuscripts (Mestia Gospels -სიემ Mestia I (კ-70), K-76, H-2806) is portrayed thoughtful, with his left hand on the book rack; with right hand holding a paper in his lap (fig. 10, 14, 18); **St. Mark** in the pose of a philosopher is seated thoughtful in K-76, H-2806 and in Tsaishi Gospel miniature (fig. 5, 15, 19); but in Mestia Gospels he is writing and iconographically repeats the characteristics of **St. Luke**

<sup>17</sup> D. G o g a s h v i l i, *Unknown miniatures from Tsaishi Gospels*, pp.91-92.

<sup>18</sup> I. C h i c h i n a d z e, 1060 წლის ქართული სხარეგბა (*The Georgian Gospels of 1060*), ძეგლის მეგობარი, v.84, № 2, Tbilisi, 1989, p.29-33, N. K a v t a r i a, *Georgian Scriptorium of Kalipos Monastery in the 11<sup>th</sup> century: Illuminations of Gospel-Books*, abstract of PhD thesis, Tbilisi, 2004, pp.50-53, N. K a v t a r i a, *Die künstlerische Gestaltung der im Skriptorium des Klosters Kalipos bebilderten Evangelienhandschriften*, GEORGICA, № 28, Aachen, 2005, pp.197-200.

<sup>19</sup> *Description of H collection*, manuscripts from State Museum of Georgia, manuscripts from former museum of Georgian Historical and Ethnographical Society, v.IV, Tbilisi, 1950, p.218.

<sup>20</sup> A. S a m i n s k y, *Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch*, East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean, I, Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality, Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA, 2006, pp.28-29, N. K a v t a r i a, *From Tao-Klarjeti to Antioch: Traditions of Decoration of the Georgian Manuscript Book in the 11<sup>th</sup> century*, Proceedings of the International Conference "Tao- Klarjeti", Tbilisi, 2010 pp.43-45.

<sup>21</sup> L. M e n a b d e, *Centers of Ancient Georgian Literature*, Tbilisi, 1980, p.283, W. D j o b a d z e, *Materials for the study of Georgian monasteries in the Western environs of Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, Louvain, 1976, W. D j o b a d z e, *Archaeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch on-the-Orontes*, Stuttgart, 1986.

(fig. 11, 9, 16, 20). The common iconographic model distinguishes St. Luke in all three manuscripts: the Evangelist is writing (fig 9, 16, 20), but in Mestia Gospel St. Luke repeats St. Mark's iconographic patterns. He is presented thoughtful (fig. 12, 5, 15, 19). Posed writing St. Luke is presented in the décor of Alaverdi Gospels (A-484). As for **St. John** (ბოჯთ Mestia I (3-70), K-76, H-2806) he is portrayed in the most commonly adopted pattern – an inspired elderly person dictating St. Prochorus (fig. 13, 17, 21).

Looking through the Georgian manuscripts of the 11<sup>th</sup> century creates an interesting picture. Special attention should be paid to the tradition that existed before in the décor of the Georgian manuscripts. The iconographic types of manuscript illustration of previous epochs (9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> cc.) – standing Evangelists, mixed and in some codices (Adishi Gospels, A-98, S-391)<sup>22</sup> organizing them at the beginning of the manuscript – from the 11<sup>th</sup> century being replaced by the portraits of seated Evangelists, working. This tradition became the ultimate model for presenting the Evangelists in Georgian manuscripts, except in definitely rare examples.

Iconographic analysis of the Evangelists' portraits provide lots of materials for further study. The fact that their figures are inserted in gospel decoration proves their extension and existence of various traditions.

The iconographic type of the Evangelists in Christian art underwent a long process of evolution and established its refined form in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The Mestia Gospel is the first from Georgian tradition where we meet the Evangelists in “classical” (seated) poses, with figures turned from left to the right side.

The Evangelists' figures from the Tsaishi Gospel create another seated group of Ephesus. The iconographic pattern is quite diverse, though based on common features they are refined to the thoughtful face or writing pose. The first explorer of the Evangelists' iconography A. Friend distinguishes so called “classical” demonstrative group, that is headed by Stavronikita Cod.43, the best example of the Constantinopolitan school of the 10<sup>th</sup> c.; it is followed by the manuscripts Coislin 195 (National Library of Paris), Cod.Gr.364 (Vatican Library), греч.

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<sup>22</sup> Adishi Gospels – ბოჯთ Mestia 478 (3-82) preserved at Svaneti Museum of History and Ethnography in Mestia (Georgian National Museum), A-98 kept and S-391 kept at K.Kekelidze Georgian National Center of Manuscripts.



21 (S.-Petersbourg National Library). Based on these manuscripts six iconographic groups are distinguished and all of them are somehow connected with the sculptural portraits and reliefs of a philosopher or a poet from the ancient world.<sup>23</sup>

So portraits of thoughtful or of the Evangelists in writing pose are developed from the ancient sources. Christian aesthetics borrowed the characteristics of the Hellenistic world and adopted them. Iconographic novelty was the idea of transforming the ancient philosopher into “the writer” of the Middle Ages, with opened Codex and writing accessories. This process started in artistic thought in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and ended in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Classical architectural background with elements of scenery was replaced by neutral golden background.

The artist of the Tsaishi miniatures strictly follows the characteristics, writing manner, and tendencies of shaping faces and forms, colourly details, framing the miniatures, decorating the corners with palmetts accepted in the epoch. He never forgets to draw characterizing physiognomy for each Evangelist.

The scholars have collated the statistics of the Evangelist types survived in Byzantine manuscripts. It appeared that in 47 out of 50 manuscripts St. Luke is writing or dips his pen ink; in 15 out of 40 manuscripts St. Mark is writing; in 15 out of 26, St. John imitates the replicas of an ancient philosopher; only a small percent show St. John dictating.<sup>24</sup>

Similar statistic research based on Georgian manuscripts has not yet been held. From known samples of the 11<sup>th</sup> century we can say that (we enrolled Mestia Gospel, Tsaishi miniatures, Evangelists from Black Mount), in all cases except Mestia Gospel, St. Luke is always portrayed writing, St. Matthew is thoughtful, St. Mark is presented as a thoughtful philosopher and St. John is always dictating. As for the Mestia Gospel St. Mark is writing and St. Luke is thoughtful (fig. 11, 12).

While studying the iconography of the Evangelists we face the issue of how the forms of depicting the Evangelists in the beginning of their volume are connected to the gospel text. Only after comparing gospel text with iconographic types of the Evangelists we can judge the text's

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<sup>23</sup> A. F r i e n d, *The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts*, part I, Art Studies 5, 1927, p.137.

<sup>24</sup> W. L o e r k e, *Incipits and Author Portraits in Greek Gospel Books: Some observation, Byzantine East, Latin West*, Art-historian Studies in honor of K. Weitzmann, Princeton, 1996, p.379.

influence on the depicted forms. The most pervasive influence of the text on the portrait is observed on St. Luke and St. John's portraits. At the beginning of St. Luke's text it is mentioned that He is writing to Theophilus (Luke I, 14) and that is why He is painted always writing.<sup>25</sup>

Here should be mentioned, that this group of manuscripts, along with iconographic similarities reveal the common features of stylistic resemblance. For them Mestia Gospel serves as a model. It is presented in refined, perfectly-shaped forms and well-realized artistic patterns. Written and decorated in the scriptorium of Oshki Monastery the manuscript is the recorder of the advanced artistic traditions of the epoch.

The artist of Tsaishi Gospels follows these traditions; though he is less skilled than the artists of Mestia Gospels, K-76 and H-2806. Hidden inner expression is strengthened by the peculiarities of painting the garment patterns. Streaming drawing freely contour the figures, though in K-76 and H-2806 relatively more schematized and dry context is felt. Slightly visible contour lines are lost in the main tone. Except of light whitening the effect of the shapes and drapes is achieved by the various gradation of the primary color. One more detail unites the miniatures in one system: for the Evangelists from these series shirred/goffered folds, collected in the folds of the short sleeves of himation and in the folds of cloth between the knees are characteristic.

So based on iconographic analysis of these manuscripts (Mestia MS I (3-70) - 1033, K-76 - 1060, H-2806 - the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Tsaishi Gospels miniatures - turn of 11<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> cc.) poses that the Evangelists are portrayed, gestic, garment draping, working environment, writing accessories allow us to assume that: a) Mestia Four Gospel, written at Oshki, serves as an undoubtful iconographic source for Tsaishi miniatures; b) the artist of H-2806 uses not only K-76 artistic forms but those of Tsaishi as well; c) after reconstruction it became obvious that the illuminated pages from the Tsaishi Gospel miniatures (of St. Mark and St. Luke) coincide in size, illustration details, ornamental décor with the Evangelists' portraits from H-2806. All these give us the opportunity to conclude that the manuscript to which the miniatures of the Tsaishi Gospel belonged to and manuscript H-2806, should be identical in size and as for the date of execution should be considered from the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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<sup>25</sup> N. K a v t a r i a, Portraits of Evangelists of Georgian Gospels from Kalipos (Black Mountain) Monastery, In: *Study of Art*, Collected Paper of the Chair of Art History and Theory of Tbilisi Ivane Javakhishvili State University, N4, p.125. (in Georgian, summary in English).



Fig.1. The upper and lower part of Tsaiishi Gospel silver cover  
© K.Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts.

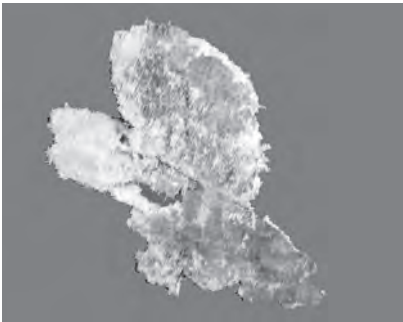


Fig. 2. Fragment 1

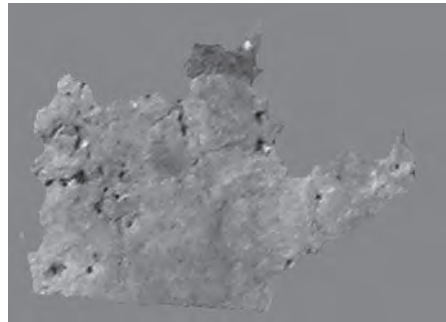


Fig. 2. Fragment 3



Fig. 2. Fragment 2

Fig. 2. Fragments from St. Mark's miniature: fragment 1. Size 1.3 x 1 cm; fragment 2. Size: 2.9 x 9.1 cm; fragment 3. Size: 3 x 3.8 cm. © Darejan Gogashvili



Fig.3. St. Mark the Evangelist. Schematic drawing of the miniature and its fragments.  
© Darejan Gogashvili

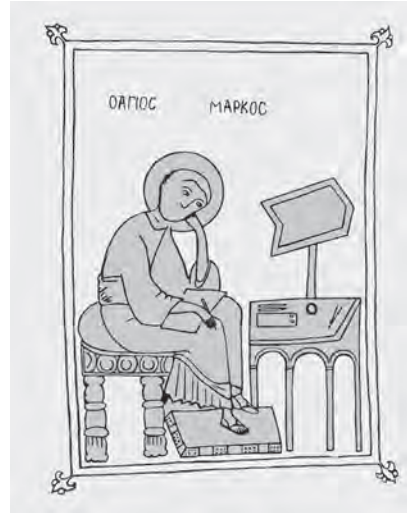


Fig. 4. St. Mark the Evangelist. Drawing, reconstruction.  
© Darejan Gogashvili



Fig. 5. St. Mark the Evangelist. Miniature with fragments, reconstruction. © Darejan Gogashvili

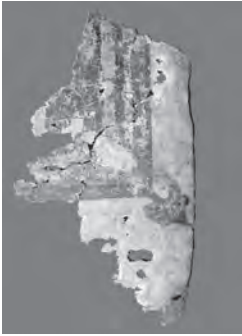


Fig. 6. Fragment 1



Fig. 6. Fragment 2



Fig. 6. Fragment 3

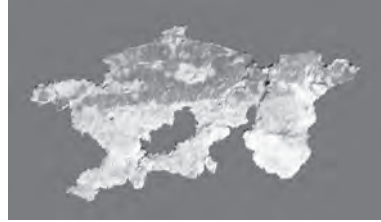


Fig. 6. Fragment 4

Fig. 6. Fragments from St. Luke's miniature: fragment 1. Size: 5.6 x 3.2 cm; fragment 2. Size: 0.7 x 2.1cm; fragment 3. Size: 0.5 x 0.9 cm; fragment: 4. Size: 1.2 x 2.2 cm.  
© Darejan Gogashvili



Fig. 7. St. Luke the Evangelist. Schematic drawing of the miniature and its fragments. © Darejan Gogashvili



Fig. 8. St. Luke the Evangelist. Drawing, reconstruction  
© Darejan Gogashvili





Fig. 9. St. Luke the Evangelist. Miniature with fragments, reconstruction. © Darejan Gogashvili



Fig. 10. Mestia Four Gospels.  
St. Matthew the Evangelist.  
© Georgian National Museum



Fig. 11. Mestia Four Gospels.  
St. Mark the Evangelist.  
© Georgian National Museum





Fig. 12. Mestia Four Gospels.  
St. Luke the Evangelist.  
© Georgian National Museum



Fig. 13. Mestia Four Gospels.  
St John the Evangelist and St. Prochorus.  
© Georgian National Museum



Fig. 14. K-76. St. Matthew the Evangelist.  
© Kutaisi State Historical Museum



Fig. 15. K-76. St. Mark the Evangelist.  
© Kutaisi State Historical Museum



Fig. 16. K-76. St. Luke the Evangelist.  
© Kutaisi State Historical Museum



Fig. 17. K-76. St. John the Evangelist  
and St. Prochorus.  
© Kutaisi State Historical Museum



Fig. 18. H-2806. St. Matthew the Evangelist.  
© K.Kekelidze Georgian National Centre  
of Manuscripts



Fig. 19. H-2806. St. Mark the Evangelist.  
© K.Kekelidze Georgian National Centre  
of Manuscripts



Fig. 20. H-2806. St. Luke the Evangelist.  
© K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre  
of Manuscripts



Fig. 21. H-2806. St. John the Evangelist  
and St. Prochorus.  
© K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre  
of Manuscripts

### Peculiarities of the Tao-Klarjeti Artistic School of Miniatures from the Tsaishi Gospel

The Tsaishi Gospels, preserved at Dadiani Palaces History and Architectural Museum in Zugdidi, gained its name according to its present place of survival. Before moving to Zugdidi Museum, it was kept at Tsaishi Dormition Cathedral.

The only one catalogued data of the manuscript, along with colophons was done by E. Takaishvili in summer 1913 while travelling under the aegis of Historic-Ethnographic Society of Georgia; the scholar catalogued and described the antiquities survived at Tsaishi and among them this manuscript. He dated the manuscript back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Until 2007 the manuscript did not construe exploration and study. Only after taking the book partially apart and special conservation treatment was held the study of the gospel became possible. After reconstruction the similarity of the Tsaishi Gospel with other Georgian illuminated books of the 11<sup>th</sup> century was evident. They are: the portraits of the Evangelists inserted in the Mestia Gospel and the miniatures of the Evangelists from the different manuscript of the Black Mountain Georgian scriptoria (H-2806, K 76). Here should also be mentioned that the sizes of the illustrated pages of the miniatures (of St. Mark and St. Luke) are almost the same of the Evangelists' portraits from H-2806.

So based on iconographic analysis of these manuscripts (Mestia MS I (3-70) - 1033, K-76 – 1060, H-2806 – the second half of the 11th century, the Tsaishi Gospel miniatures - turn of 11<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> cc.) poses that the Evangelists are portrayed, gestures, garment draping, working environment, writing accessories help us to assume that: a) Mestia Four Gospels, written at Oshki, serves as an undoubtful iconographic source for Tsaishi miniatures; b) the artist of H-2806 uses not only K-76 artistic forms but of Tsaishi as well; c) after reconstruction it became obvious that illuminated pages from the Tsaishi Gospel miniatures (of St. Mark and St. Luke) coincide in size, illustration details, ornamental décor with the Evangelists' portraits from H-2806. All these gives us the right to conclude, that the manuscript to which the miniatures from the Tsaishi Gospel belonged to and the manuscript H-2806, should be identical in size and as for the date of execution should be considered the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

TERRITORIES OWNED IN GEORGIA  
BY THE MOUNT ATHOS (VATOPEDI) MONASTERY  
(IN THE RUSSIAN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES,  
IN LIAKHVI GORGE)

*by Giorgi Sosiashvili*  
*Gori State Teaching University*

Mount Athos Vatopedi Greek Monastery owned a church in Patara Liakhvi Gorge.\* Vatopedi Monastery is one of the largest monasteries on Mount Athos. One of the oldest ecclesiastical centers is located on the North-Eastern part of Mount Athos. As according to the information provided by Gerasime Smyrnak there were 966 monks serving at Mount Athos Vatopedi (Vatopedion). Among the monks serving at Mount Athos Vatopedi there were 570 ethnic Russian Monks and 366 ethnic Greek Monks.<sup>1</sup>

By the time approximately 456 monks served at Mount Athos Iviron monastery.<sup>2</sup> Vatopedi Monastery, as an operational ecclesiastical center is known to exist in 985 as according to the historical sources.<sup>3</sup> However, it is believed that the establishment of the monastery is linked to the miraculous survival of Emperor Arkadi. As according to the ancient narration, his ship was wrecked, but he was cased ashore, where he was sheltered under the nearby bushes. The name of the Monastery, “Vatopedi” (a boy under the bushes) derives from the abovementioned story.<sup>4</sup>

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\* It is worth noting that Mounth Athos Georgian Monastery (Iviron Monastery) owned lands throughout Georgia: Kutaisi, Askana, Gori, Tskhinvali, Didi and Patara Sakobia, Nukriani and etc., These were mainly agricultural lands, vineyards, orchards. Approximately 200 peasants were donated to Iviron monastery. K a n d e l a k i B., Mount Athos Iviron Monastery, „Dzeglis Megobari”, N 22, 1970, pp.55-56.

<sup>1</sup> K a u g h c h i s h v i l i S., *Georgika*, Part VIII, Tbilisi, 1970,128.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.128.

<sup>4</sup> K o n t c h o s h v i l i Petre, *Travels in Jerusalem and Mount Athos*, commentated edition by Vazha Kiknadze, Tbilisi, 2016, pp.208-290.



The trace of the Georgians is visible from the 6<sup>th</sup> century on Mount Athos. Taking into consideration the hierarchy, Vatopedi monastery takes a second place among the monasteries. Many Georgian ecclesiastics traveled to Vatopedi Monastery. As according to the information, in 13<sup>th</sup> century and in particular in the Autumn of 1229, one of the Georgian monks, Saba traveling from Acra St. Ioane Monastery, stopped in Anatolia, where he had a meeting with the John III Dukas Vatatzes, whom he got a promise from to get help for the monks residing at Mount Athos.

It is known that the monks residing at Athos laura were being oppressed until Emperor Henry did not stop the acts of Latins. The Georgian monks of Mount Athos Iviron Monastery had been denounced to Arch episcopo of Ohrid by Grigol Ikodomopoulous blaming them being faithful towards the Latins, that they went to Thessaloniki and declared their support towards the Pope.<sup>5</sup> It is rather interesting that a letter from the monk, Grigol to the Arch Episcopo of Ohrid, was addressed to Khomatianos. As Jacques Lefevre notes: “The monk named Grigol of Mount Athos Iviron Monastery was the head, therefore his visit to the arch episcopo of Ohrid meant that it could have been a threat towards the Georgians residing at the same monastery.”<sup>6</sup>

After this, Saint Saba travelled to Mount Athos, whereas he went to the Iviron monastery first, where he had been previously in 1197 and after that he went to Vatopedi monastery, later on to Hilandar and to Thessaloniki, where he met with the Despot of Epirus – Theodore Angelos.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting how the hierarchy the both monasteries, Iviron and Vatopedi were presented. Deriving the Monomakh typikon, Iviron monastery held an important place.<sup>8</sup> It is worth noting that the documents produce by the Mount Athos council were signed by the head of the Iviron monastery, after the representatives of the Laura and Proti. This practice was changed in 1366, when the signature of the Iviron monastery appears after the signature of the Vatopedi monastery.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Acts of Iviron, from 1204-1328, Diplomatic Issue, Jacques Lefevre, Nikolaos Ikomanidis, Deniz Papakhrisantu, Vasiliki Krvari with the co-authoring of El. Metreveli, Part III, Tbilisi, 2008, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Acts of Iviron, from the foundation to the middle of the XI century, Diplomatic Issue, Jacques Lefevre, Nikolaos Ikomanidis, Deniz Papakhrisantu, with the co-authoring of El. Metreveli, Part I, Tbilisi, 2008, p.69.

<sup>9</sup> Acts of Iviron, from 1204-1328, Diplomatic Issue, Jacques Lefevre, Nikolaos Ikomanidis, Deniz Papakhrisantu, Vasiliki Krvari with the co-authoring of El. Metreveli, Part IV, Tbilisi, 2008, p. 9.



The disputes among Iviron monastery and other Greek monasteries was seldom, as on the first occasion there was a dispute against the Hilandar Monastery (16<sup>th</sup> c)<sup>10</sup>, and later on against Vatopedi monastery (during the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> c)<sup>11</sup>. As according to the boundary act of 1101, it was called: “a boundary act of Intendant Sguros regarding the lands of Sevastocrator Isaac”, is stated that the lands of Vatopedi monastery bordered the lands of the Iviron monastery.<sup>12</sup> Timothy Gabashvili had visited Vatopedi Monastery during the II half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, whereas he describes other monasteries of Mount Athos along with the Vatopedi monastery: Laura, Hilandar, etc.,<sup>13</sup> Timothy Gabashvili describes Vatopedi Monastery as being the grand monastery among all of them: “... and we saw the monastery at the saint mount and kneeled.”<sup>14</sup> Timothy also had a chance to see the holy parts of Saint Gregory.<sup>15</sup> Timothy Gabashvili, along with other Georgian travelers named the Greek Prince Arkadius as the founder of the Vatopedi Monastery.<sup>16</sup>

According the first publisher of his works - Platon Ioseliani, the part of the circle of Virgin Saint Mary was kept at Vatopedi Monastery, which at the time had been a present of the Duke of Samegrelo, Grigol Dadiani to the Emperor Alexander the I, and it seems that it was later donated to the Vatopedi Monastery.<sup>17</sup> Mroveli Episcopo Iona Gedevanishvili had also had a pilgrimage to Vatopedi monastery and as according to him: “from Iviron monastery (G.S.) I left to Vatopedi monastery, where I was greeted by the head of the monastery, Shteofilates and the other residents of the monastery. The monastery itself was beautiful and rather different. I kneeled to the holy parts of the saints, buried at the monastery. The monastery which was founded by Arcadius and Onori at the seaside, approximately 200 monks resided there”.<sup>18</sup> Archpriest Petre Kontchoshvili also visited the monastery, when he travelled to Mount Athos in 1899 and also had a chance to meet with the Greek

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.35.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p.298.

<sup>12</sup> Acts of Iviron, from the middle of the XI century to 1204, Diplomatic Issue, Jacques Lefevre, Nicholaos Ikomanidis, Deniz Papakhrisantu, Vasiliki Krvari with the co-authoring of El. Metreveli, Part II, Tbilisi, 2008, p. 241.

<sup>13</sup> Gabashvili Timothy, About the Visit, the text was prepared by E. Metreveli, Tbilisi, 1956, pp.331-332.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 331.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Gabashvili Timothy, Description of the Holy places and all the eastern places, Tyflis, 1852, p. 61.

archimandrite of the monastery.<sup>19</sup>

Vatopedi monastery and Iviron monastery of Mount Athos had close relations. As according to the saying, along with the Georgian monk the residents of Vatopedi monastery were also able to see the icon of Virgin Saint Mary at the sea: “and this wonder was visible not only during the day, but during the night also, so the monks at the monastery were all surprised and gathered at Iviron monastery from all other places.”<sup>20</sup> Both monasteries, Vatopedi and Iviron experienced the harshness from the actions of the crusaders. It is known that the Latins destroyed Athos Island in 1259.<sup>21</sup> As we mentioned earlier, Vatopedi monastery owned lands in Patara Liakhvi Gorge.<sup>22</sup>

We have rather limited information from the Central Historical Archives of Georgia, in particular the document of Petre Karbelashvili personal archives of the 30<sup>th</sup> of August 1779:” the resolution of the Discastery of the Vatopedi Monastery lands”. In the document we read that: “the resolution of the Saint Discastery. His highness the King Erekle of Georgia addressed to the Discastery<sup>23</sup> to decide the matter of lands owned by the Vatopedi monastery, in particular Potori Saint Georgia church and bordering lands. After several attempts of investigation, we

<sup>18</sup> Kharaдзе, K., 10 years in the Travels, Iona Gedevanishvili, Tbilisi, 2013, p. 70.

<sup>19</sup> It is worth noting that Petre Kontchoshvili was not allowed to the depository of the monastery. Despite the fact that he asked for the permission for several times, the Greek monks did not allow him to see the Georgian manuscripts. He later on complained about this to the head of the monastery, who himself gave a tour of the depository. Kontchoshvili Petre, Travels in Jerusalem and Mount Athos, commented edition by Vazha Kiknadze, Tbilisi, 2016, pp.211-212.

<sup>20</sup> Kaughchishvili S., Georgika, Part VIII, Tbilisi, 1970, p. 264.

<sup>21</sup> This date is proposed by L. Menabde (Menabde L., Sites of Old Georgia Writings, Tbilisi, 1980, p. 222) based on the works of P. Uspensky. E. Mamistvalishvili refers to one Slavic source, as according to which the Latin's destroyed Mount Athos in 1276. As the researcher notes, there are different opinions regarding the date, in particular, according to one of the Greek sources the conquest took place in 1280. (Mamistvalishvili E., Relations between Georgia and Rome in the II half of the XIII century, Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Institute of Georgian History, Collection of Works, Shota Meskhia - 100, Tbilisi, 2016. pp. 306-307).

<sup>22</sup> It is rather interesting that in Patara Liakhvi Gorge; in particular in village Tergvisi the Holy grave of the Christ owned lands. (Khutsishvili N., Land ownership in Georgia of Jerusalem Monastery of the Cross, Tbilisi, 2006, p. 41) In village Megvrekisi, located in Didi Liakhvi gorge there were lands owned by the Saint Ekaterine monastery. (Zordania T., Chronicles, Part II, Tyflis, 1897, p. 483], whereas the archimandrites had been sent to village Megvrekisi. The Jerusalem monastery of the Cross also owned lands in Nikozi. (Khutsishvili N., Land ownership in Georgia of Jerusalem Monastery of the Cross, Tbilisi, 2006, p. 41), etc., We cannot exclude a case, that monastery located in village Khviti in Didi Liakhvi gorge could have been owned by the monastery of Saint Saba. (Megreldze L., Antiquities in Liakhvi gorge, I, Tbilisi, 1984.p. 59).

<sup>23</sup> Discastery is first defined by Ioane Bagration, as being a Greek word, which meant a place, where all the disputed cases were resolved, whereas during earlier period, such places existed in Russian and Greece and were called Saeparsio, and the judges, were called discasters, who were mainly dealing with the church-related matters. (Batonishvili Ioane, Khumarstavla, Book II, Tbilisi, 1991.p. 377).

came to a conclusion that the church and its bordering lands, which was owned by the Vatopedi monastery was destroyed by the flood; therefore Queen Mariam gave an order to build a new church on the other side of the river and the icons placed in the flooded church was placed in a new church. They were initially kept by Makhniashvili, who resided in Krtskhinvali. Later on Makhniashvili gave back the icons, after which he had been given a position of an archpriest by the catholicos of Georgia Ioane. Also his highness gave the position of archpriest to Makhniashvili. With this document we certify that the church, which existed in Potori, now operates as a new church and is built by the Queen Mariam, who also donated lands to the church, such as: half of the lands of Eliashvili, land of Maisuradze near the church, land of Basila of Mujari, land of the step-son of Gula, or his house is the property of the Vatopedi monastery. Representative of the Vatopedi monastery priest Iosaf is the sole administrator of the property.

If, after this there will be revealed that there are additional lands, that should be the property of the Vatopedi monastery, it should also be deemed as a sole property of the monastery. This letter is sent to the Discastery on August 30, 1779. Metropolitan of Tbilisi, Mikhail, Archimandrite Stepane, archpriest Nikoloz, head chancellor Davit: We hereby take into consideration the decision of the Discastery on August 31st 1779. Anton Catholicos.”<sup>24</sup> As, we see from the document the lands owned by Vatopedi monastery was located near one of the branches of the river Patara Liakhvi, river Potori. It seems that this place should be the mouth of the river Patara Liakhvi and river Potori. Vakhushti Batonishvili attests the existence of the toponym “Potori” in the Patara liakhvi gorge: “the river Patara Liakhvi passes a small lake from Knogho to the south of Potori, later to the west of Satskhene and to the south.”<sup>25</sup>

Vakhushti Batonishvili does not give us information, whether “Potori”<sup>26</sup> was populated or not. The estimated location of this territory should have been from village Satskheneti to village Beloti on the northern side of river Patara Liakhvi. At this exact place, one of the tributary of the river is called “Potrisis Khevi”, whereas Vakhushti Batonishvili writes about the place: “whereas Vanati, Satskhenisi and Beloti

<sup>24</sup> Georgian Legal Sites, texts published by Prof. I. Dolidze, Part V, 1970, p. 128.

<sup>25</sup> Batonishvili Vakhushti, Description of the Georgian Kingdom, Kartlis Tskhovreba, the text is attested by S. Kaugchishvili, P. IV, Tbilisi, 1973, p. 362.

<sup>26</sup> As according to the definition of Sul Khan Saba Orbeliani: “Potoro, a large precipice”. Orbeliani Sul Khan-Saba, Georgian Lexicon, Part II, Tbilisi, 1993, p. 197.

are connected by the Potrisi Khevi, which is near Geri and Shuatskhviri Mountains”.<sup>27</sup> “Potori” - such a toponym is not mentioned by Vakhusti Bagrationi; he refers to the village named after village Satskhenisi as an “Eden City”, and after that village Beloti.<sup>28</sup>

As it was mentioned earlier the Potori church located near Beloti, which was owned by the Vatopedi monastery was ruined by the river Patar Liakhvi to an extent that Queen Mariam of Kartli ordered to build a new church of Saint Giorgi on the other bank of the river. As it is attested in the above mentioned document, the icons located in the Potori church were initially given to Makhniashvili and later on transferred to the church of Saint Giorgi. According to the initiative of Queen Mariam, Makhniashvili was appointed as an archpriest of the church. Makhniashvili was had been appointed as an archpriest as according to the order of Catolicos Ioane (1688-1692; 1695-1700), and later on his title was renewed by catolicos Domenti (1705-1741) and Antoni I (1744-1755; 1764-1788). It is worth noting that Queen Mariam’s name is related to many churches built throughout the parts of Georgia.<sup>29</sup>

In the Didi Liakhvi Gorge, near Tskhinvali, Queen Mariam’s name is related to the renovation of the church in Zguderi. There is an inscription on the stone on the southern entrance, which relates to the renovation of the church by Queen Mariam. There is also one more inscription, whereas according to I. Megrelidze: “the inscriptions are made in the part of the church, which were later on renovated. It seems that the inscriptions were made on the church during a period when the builders heightened the church.”<sup>30</sup>

However, there is also additional opinion stated by A. Tugushi, according to which the church in Zguderi was not renovated by Queen Mariam, rather it was built by her order.<sup>31</sup> It seems that, Queen Mariam cared not only about the church located in Georgia, rather she took care for the church abroad, whereas her will to build a new church for the Vatopedi monastery is a testament to that. It is worth noting that took special care towards the Georgian monasteries in Jerusalem. As of her initiative, a church owned by the Jerusalem monastery of the Cross in

<sup>27</sup> Batonishvili Vakhusti, Description of the Georgian Kingdom, Kartlis Tskhovreba, the text is attested by S. Kaugchishvili, P. IV, Tbilisi, 1973, p. 362.

<sup>28</sup> Bagrationi Ioane, Description of Kartl-Kakheti, the text was prepared for publication by Tina Enukidze and Guram Bedoshvili, Tbilisi, 1986, p. 38.

<sup>29</sup> Tugushi A., Life and dedication of Queen Mariam Dadiani, Tbilisi, 1992, p. 32.

<sup>30</sup> Megrelidze I., Antiquities in Liakhvi gorge, I, Tbilisi, 1984, p. 53.

<sup>31</sup> Tugushi A., Life and dedication of Queen Mariam Dadiani, Tbilisi, 1992, p. 34.

village Dirbi was exempted from paying the taxes by the King Rostom's decision. Dirbi had to pay a tax for Jerusalem in the amount of 6000 Tetri annually.<sup>32</sup>

During the period, when this document was made, in the Patara Liakhvi Gorge, there were two churches owned by Vatopedi monastery. One, on "Potora", destroyed by river Patara Liakhvi and the other one, on the right bank of river Liakhvi built by Queen Mariam. Both churches, as according to the order by the King Erekle II were given to the Vatopedi monastery, according to the discastery decision. It is noted in the document that Vatopedi monastery owned a church, which was destroyed by the river and also a church, built by queen Mariam. It is hard to determine the exact date, when the lands in Patara Liakhvi gorge had been donated to Vatopedi monastery, or when the Saint Giorgi church had been built on "Potori" due to the inexistence of the sources, however, there is a writing in the document: "during the old times or nowadays", should mean that the Greeks owned lands in Patara Liakhvi gorge at least several centuries ago.

It is possible that Iviron monastery and Vatopedi monastery exchanged lands.<sup>33</sup> In the sources, we encounter the exchange of the lands on several occasions. For example, according to the chrysobul of 980, Basile II donated Leontia monastery in Thessaloniki to Iviron monastery, St. Ioane monastery in Koloku, near Jeriso, also church of St. Clemente. For his donations, Basile II received two monasteries, one in the ruling city of Iberia and the second one In Trabzon.<sup>34</sup> It could also be a case several representatives of the noble houses in Patara Liakhvi served in Vatopedi monastery and the lands in Patara Liakhvi were donated to the Vatopedi monastery on that basis.

In the documents, we encounter several facts, when Georgian noble houses made donations to the Greek Vatopedi monastery. Nun Mariam's will is of great importance in this regard. The document is dated to

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 32.

<sup>33</sup> Mount Athos Iviron monastery had been a recipient of donations from the Georgian Royal house on several occasions. This significant place for Georgians had been supported by David the Builder, King Tamar. (M e n a b d e L., Sites of Old Georgia Writings, Tbilisi, 1980, pp: 217, 220) Kind Aleksandre I Didi (1412-1442) also showed significant attention to the Georgian monastery. (Ibid, p. 225). Apart from the Georgian Royal house, other noble houses also showed support towards the Iviron monastery. (Ibid) It could be the case that the lands in Patara Liakhvi gorge had been donated to the Iviron monastery by one of the Georgian noble houses, and later on it could have been given to Vatopedi monastery in exchange to some other lands.

<sup>34</sup> K a u g h c h i s h v i l i S., Georgika, Part VIII, Tbilisi, 1970, p. 170.

1098. Mariam donated the wealth of his husband, Sumbat Bakuriani to the Mount Athos Iviron Monastery. She had her domain in Radovilis. We encounter in this large document that, Mariam, whose earlier name was Kali, had been widowed and that his name was a noble man of that time, Kurapalat, Sumbat Bakuriani. The family of Bakuriani's resided in Constantinople. Her whole wealth, Mariam donated to either her relatives or to the churches and monasteries. As according to the document: "(Sumbat) in his will wanted to be buried in the Iviron monastery, and the costs for that matter, should have been covered by his wife, in agreement with the monks residing there; she donated 7 liters of Khikhata to the monastery and according to the will of Sumbat, his body had been buried at the Iviron monastery."<sup>35</sup>

Sumbat's desire, to have been buried at Iviron monastery had its explanation; it was his Georgian ancestry and the donation he gave towards the monastery. Sumbat also had a brother, Magistros Sergi, who along with Mariam owned Sumbat's property. Mariam also made a significant donation to the Vatopedi monastery. To her brother-in-law's son (son of the Magistros Sergi -G.S.) Velkonas she gives (armor), to her lord and religious father, monk Toma she gave (cash), other two monks she gave, the head of the Osios Ravula, Tevdore, to the apprentice of her lord and religious father she gave (books). To Vatopedi monastery she gave (two icons and her remaining books).<sup>36</sup> We cannot fully understand the relations between the Sumbat Bakuriani's family towards the Iviron monastery, or Mariam made certain donation to Vatopedi Monastery, when she brought into light her husband's will. There was a funeral repast after the names of Sumbat Bakurianisdze and his wife.<sup>37</sup>

The relations of Bakuriani family towards the Iviron monastery could not be incidental. It could be the case that during the time, several Georgian monks resided there and that was the sole reason, why Mariam made donation. It could also be the case that Bakuriani's, who held high ranking positions among Byzantine officials, had donated lands to Vatopedi Monastery not only abroad, but also in Georgia. What could be the connection between Sumbat Bakuriani and the founder of Petritsoni monastery, Grigol Bakurinisdze? It is known that, Grigol was the

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<sup>35</sup> Acts of Iviron, from the middle of the XI century to 1204, Diplomatic Issue, Jacque Lefevre, Nicholaos Ikomanidis, Deniz Papakhrisantu, Vasiliki Krvari with the co-authoring of El. M e t r e v e - l i, Part II, Tbilisi, 2008, p. 214.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p. 215.

<sup>37</sup> Funeral repasts of 1074 of Mount Athos Iviron Monastery, Tbilisi, 1901, p. 246.



son of Bakurian, a duke of dukes from Tao.

He had a younger brother Abaza. Grigol became famous during his service in Byzantine Empire. As according to the definition of A. Shanidze: “he resided in Armenia, Georgia, Syria, was the head of the Karnu town (Theodosiople), in Nis, In Kar (nowadays Kars), later on he moved from the eastern part of Byzantine Empire to the western part and lastly, during the times of Alex Komnenos in 1081 became a “Great Domesticos of the West”.<sup>38</sup> Many great deeds are related to his name, among which was the foundation of Petritsoni monastery, for which he made a typikon.<sup>39</sup> Grigol Bakurinisdze died in 1086 during the fight with Patchanics and the abovementioned Sumab Bakuriani should have died approximately in 1093. It could be the case that, both Bakuriani’s resided in the same epoch. Sumbat Bakuriani, who resided in Constantinople, owned lands, should have known a famous Kurapatat. It could have been a case that they were related. Grigol and Abaza Bakurianisdze’s are mentioned in the funeral repasts at Mount Athos monastery, it seems they had been also helping Iviron monastery.<sup>40</sup>

Several members of Bakuriani family were related to Athos Laura. One, Saba Sumbatkopili, who due to his services had been buried at Iviron monastery. As we mentioned, Sumbat Bakuriani had also been connected with Vatopedi monastery. It could be the case that this was the starting point in terms of the relations with Georgia; however, this is a subject for the future research. From our point of view, during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Vatopedi monastery ceased its relationship with Georgia after the church had been destroyed in Patara Liakhvi gorge. In case the Greeks had influence over St. Giorgi Church, Queen Mariam would not have been able to appoint Makhniashvili, as an archpriest at the church. As it is shown in the abovementioned document, Queen Mariam’s decision to appoint Makhniashvili<sup>41</sup> as an archpriest was attested by three Catholics’s.

During the II half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Mount Athos Vatopedi Monastery tried to claim its rights in Georgia, therefore the King of Kartl-Kakheti, King Erekle II ordered a special commission to issue a decision regarding the matter. After the flood and the lost connection to the Mount

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<sup>38</sup> Shanidze A., Works in 12 parts, Part IX, Georgian Monastery in Bulgaria and its Typikon, Tbilisi, 1986, pp. 9-10.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p. 11.

<sup>40</sup> Sosiashvili G., From the history of Vanati, Tbilisi, 2005, p. 155.

<sup>41</sup> Makhniashvili’s resided in village Vanati, located in the Patara Liakhvi Gorge. There was a place called Makhniaantubani in Vanati. Sosiashvili G., From the history of Vanati, Tbilisi, 2005, p.40.

Athos, the “Potori” St. Giorgi church lost its lands.<sup>42</sup> However, the exact information regarding the lands owned by Vatopedi monastery is not given neither in the Royal decrees and nor in the information provided by archpriest Iosaf.

This exact supposition should be attested in writing of the document: “If after this, there will be any other lands not being a property of the monastery by fault, should be immediately been given to Vatopedi monastery.” The Royal house of Georgia and the Catholicos had only partial information regarding the property, which Queen Mariam had donated to the monastery: half of the lands of Eliasshvili, land of Maisuradze near the church, (perhaps it is the church built by Queen Mariam) land of Basila of Mujari<sup>43</sup>, land of the step-son of Gula<sup>44</sup>, we can make assumption from the document that Vatopedi monastery took back the lands in Patara Liakhvi Gorge, whereas they sent arch priest Iosaf, who supposedly should be the head of the church built by Queen Mariam and also dispose the property of the monastery; however, the Greek Monastery soon lost connection with St. Giorgi church in Patara Liakhvi gorge, as we do not encounter any information during the end of 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, as according to the Georgian travelers, who had visited the holy lands.

Timothy Gabashvili travelled to Mount Athos until 1779 and during that time Discatery, had not made a decision yet, concerning the lands in Patara Liakhvi gorge. Despite the decision regarding the lands was

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<sup>42</sup> Mount Sinai St. Ekaterine monastery also lost its lands in Megvrekisi, as of Vakhtang V (Shahnavaz) favor to Arch Episcopo Anania, the lands were bought and given to the Georgian side.

<sup>43</sup> It is difficult to determine the word „Mujari”; it could be the case that it is variation of the profession „Mujiri”. Sulhan-Saba defines „Mujiri” as: „Mujiri, the manager of wheat”. (Orbeliani Sulhan-Saba, Georgian Lexicon, Part I, Tbilisi, 1991, pp. 532-533) „Mujiroba”, we encounter this word in reference to agriculture, in the 1412 document: “written Shota, Siaoash and Mirian Zedgenidze’s towards Giorgi Dedabrishvili”. (Collection of Georgian Historical Documents, II, composed and prepared for publication by Tinatin Enukidze, Nino Tarkhnishvili, Babilina Lominadze, Tbilisi, 2013, p. 105) „Mujiri”, is also encountered in a 1660-1676 document: „the line and beginning the assistant to the Catholicos”. Term „Mujiri” is also seldom encounter with a word „Memarne” (Georgian Legal Sites, texts published by Prof. I. Dolidze, Part III, 1970, p. 572) as according to the document of XVIII century, we encounter „Mujiri” as a surname. (Annotated Lexicon, Part III, Tbilisi, 2004, p. 231).

<sup>44</sup> „Gula” mentioned in the document, from our point of view, could be a name, as we encounter surname „Gulashvili” in Georgian onomasticon (Annotated Lexicon, Part I, Tbilisi, 1991, p. 731), also, name „Gula” should be related to one more name - „Gulita”, (Ibid, p.735). It could be the case that this vineyard was donated to Vatopedi monastery initially, however later on; Queen Mariam re-donated it to Geri St. Giorgi church. (Sosiashvili G., Studies from the History of Liakhvi Gorge, Tbilisi, 2011, p. 83). It could also be the case that Gula’s vineyard, which Queen Mariam donated to Vatopedi monastery, was close to Geri and this is the reason, why it was called „Geri’s Vineyard”. Geri and Potrisi River have territorial closeness.

made soon, Vatopedi monastery ceased relation with Georgia. In other case, Metropolitan Iona Gedevanishvili should have made notes about the decision of the disastery. Arch priest Petre Kontchoshvili had not made any reference regarding this matter either; as we mentioned earlier, he even had a meeting with the head of the monastery.

The Georgian Metropolitan should have received information regarding the lands from the head of the monastery. A church founded by Queen mariam, named Kashueti (in the above mentioned document, we mentioned that Vatopedi monastery was being called as “Kasheti” during earlier times) still exists. It is located about 1.5 km-s from vilage Beloti. The abovementioned site was being described by the members of the 1982 expedition of the Georgian Cultural Site Preservation Organization. During the period, the church was in a rather bad condition; only the part of the southern part of the fence had remained in a good condition, whereas the eastern, western and norther parts of the church included only partial ruins. The church was built by ragged stone.<sup>45</sup> This important hearth of the Christianity nowadays remains on the occupied by Russia and Georgian scientists do not get a chance to conduct research on those territories.

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<sup>45</sup> Khutsishvili N., Land ownership in Georgia of Jerusalem Monastery of the Cross, Tbilisi, 2006, p. 28.

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Territories owned in Georgia by the Mount Athos  
(Vatopedi) Monastery (In the Russian occupied territories,  
in Liakhvi Gorge)

Mount Athos Vatopedi Greek Monastery owned a church in Patara Liakhvi Gorge. Vatopedi Monastery is one of the largest monasteries on Mount Athos. One of the oldest ecclesiastical centers is located on the North-Eastern part of Mount Athos. As according to the information provided by Gerasime Smyrnak there were 966 monks serving at Mount Athos Vatopedi (Vatopedion). Among the monks serving at Mount Athos Vatopedi there were 570 ethnic Russian Monks and 366 ethnic Greek Monks. By the time approximately 456 monks served at Mount Athos Iviron monastery. Vatopedi Monastery, as an operational ecclesiastical center is known to exist in 985 as according to the historical sources. However, it is believed that the establishment of the monastery is linked to the miraculous survival of Emperor Arkadi. As according to the ancient narration, his ship was wrecked, but he was cased ashore, where he was sheltered under the nearby bushes. The name of the Monastery, "Vatopedi" (a boy under the bushes) derives from the abovementioned story. As according to the historical source of the 2nd part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Mount Athos Vatopedi monastery owned a church in Patara Liakhvi Gorge, in particular, near the shores of river Potori. Supposedly, this place should be a merging point of River Potrisi and River Patara Liakhvi. From our point of view, in 17<sup>th</sup> the ecclesiastical center of Mount Athos Vatopedi monastery lost control of the church and the lands owned in Patara Liakhvi Gorge. The church owned by the center had been damaged by river Patara Liakhvi. With the help and financial contribution of Queen Mariam of Kartli there was established a new church on the shores of river Patara Liakhvi. However, in the 2nd half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Vatopedi Monastery ceased any connections with the church. In case the Greeks had any influence on

the Potori Saint George Church, Queen Mariam would not have a chance to appoint an archpriest there. Makhniashvili, an archpriest selected by Queen Mariam at the church owned by Vatopedi Monastery was appointed by the catholicos, whereas the following catholicos renewed his terms to archpriest. In the 2nd half of the 18<sup>th</sup> Mount Athos Vatopedi Monastery decided to claim its rights to the church located in Patara Liakhvi Gorge, therefore King Erekle II ordered a special commission to investigate the case. It seems that after Potori Saint George church ceased any relations with Mount Athos monastery, they lost all the lands previously owned by the church. The exact information about the lands owned by the church was known neither to the ruling Royal house nor to the Abbot Ioasaf, who had been sent by Vatopedi monastery for the investigation. This is attested in the document: "and in case if afterwards we find any lands or any other property, which will be under false ownership, should be returned to the ownership of Mount Athos Vatopedi Monastery." The ruling Royal house and the Patriarchate had information about Queen Mariam's donation to the Mount Athos Vatopedi monastery. As according to the document of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we can presume that Mount Athos Vatopedi monastery regained its lands in Patara Liakhvi Gorge. They had sent an emissary in the face of abbot Ioasaf, who was supposed to serve in the church built with the support of Queen Mariam and also, manage the property of the Mount Athos Vatopedi Monastery, however, the Mount Athos Vatopedi Monastery lost its ties to Saint George church once again. We do not encounter any sources provided by the Georgian travellers regarding the Mount Athos Vatopedi Monastery's ownership of lands on Georgian soil during the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The "Kashueti" church (In the document mentioned above, we encounter the name "Kasheti" regarding the name of church owned by the Mount Athos Vatopedi monastery) built by Queen Mariam is still preserved. It is located east of village Beloti, approximately 1.5 km-s away. The mentioned cultural site was described during the expedition in 1982 by the Department of the Preservation of Cultural Sites of Georgia. By the time, the church was vastly damaged. The fragments of the southern wall were preserved, whereas there were semi-demolished parts of the eastern and western walls and remainings of the fence on the northern and western parts. The church is built with the ragged stones. The important hearth of the Christian religion is nowadays on the territory occupied by Russia and unfortunately Georgian scholars do not have an opportunity to conduct any kind of examination of the cultural site.



## GEORGIAN RULER OF THE OTTOMAN ALGIERS HASSAN IBN YUSUF AHISKALI

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The Ottoman Empire, the cradle for most of the modern states in the Middle East and North Africa, remains subject of great interest, its legacy still playing an important role in shaping modern political, economic and social lives of more than twenty states. At its height, the Ottoman Empire stretched from Morocco to the Caucasus and included some parts of the present-day Georgia. Generations of Ottoman statesmen of the Georgian descent made important and thrilling careers in the Ottoman administration and military.<sup>1</sup> Georgia, especially its western regions, was part of the thriving Ottoman slave trade, with Georgian youth kidnapped (or sold by local authorities) and transported to the Ottoman slave markets, where males were sold as servants and *mamluks* (slave soldiers), while many females ended up in Ottoman harems in Istanbul and other parts of the Ottoman sultanate. The scale of this slave trade was enormous and had devastating demographic effects on a small Georgian state. According to the French traveler Jean (John) Chardin, during the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century about twelve thousand individuals were kidnapped and sold yearly just from one western Georgian principalities of –Samegrelo (Mingrelia),<sup>2</sup> three thousand of these slaves were destined for the Istanbul slave market while the rest were sold throughout the Ottoman and Persian slave markets. Yet, slavery was not the sole source of Georgians in the Ottoman lands - some Georgians voluntarily migrated towards the Ottoman center or wealthier provinces of the empire. This was the case for the

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<sup>1</sup> Creelius, Daniel and Gotcha Djaparidze, "Relations of the Georgian Mamluks of Egypt with Their Homeland in the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (2002), 320-341.

<sup>2</sup> Chardin, Jean. *The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East-Indies* (London: Printed for Moses Pitt, 1686), 90.

youth living in Samtskhe-Saatabago (Meskheti), the historical province of south-western Georgia that came to be known as Çıldır Eyaleti (Ahıska Paşalığı) which was under the direct Ottoman rule from mid-16<sup>th</sup> to mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Majority of the population in this province were Muslim Georgians who sought and found various employment opportunities in the rest of the Ottoman Empire. Georgians, together with other slaves or renegades from the Mediterranean, Caucasian and Balkan lands, made successful careers and became prime ministers of the empire, rulers of provinces or high ranking officials of Ottoman administration and military establishment<sup>3</sup>.

One of these men was Hassan ibn Yusuf who ruled the stronghold and the center of the Mediterranean piracy, the city and regency of Algiers from 1791 to 1798. Unlike many of his countrymen, he migrated to distant Algiers during his youth years through Yeniçeri<sup>4</sup> recruitment, but continued to identify himself as “Ahıska” or a person from Ahıska<sup>5</sup> (a town and vicinity of modern day Akhaltiskhe in southern part of Georgia). According to a prominent scholar on Ottoman Algeria “Hassan was a Georgian by birth, who had come to Algiers as a very young man.”<sup>6</sup> Young Hassan began his service in the Ottoman army as a regular soldier stationed in Algiers but went on to become a ruler of the entire Algerian province. The most influential pirates of the Mediterranean Sea obeyed his orders, European monarchs and diplomats as well as first two Presidents of the United States exchanged letters with him and sought his favors. Yet, despite his prominent career, the life and exploits of Hassan ibn Yusuf remain largely obscured, with details scattered throughout writings of contemporary diplomats, travelers and former captives or slaves. This paper is an attempt to address exiting gap and recall the most remarkable events in the life of Algerian ruler Hassan from Akhaltsikhe, Georgia.

Until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Algiers was under the influence of the neighboring Morocco and Tunis and lacked centralized or capable government.

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<sup>3</sup> A biographical dictionary of Ottoman statesmen with Georgian origin was assembled and published by Murat K a s a p, Gürcüleri, Gürcistan Dosyluk Der. – Tika. İstanbul, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> The “new army”, a Janissary, salaried soldier in the standing infantry corps. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century they had additional civilian occupations and used their official commissions as supplements to their earnings from other sources (Bayerle, p. 168).

<sup>5</sup> Hassan produced a report on political and military situation of Algiers for Sultan Abdülhamid I (1774-1789) and signed it as Hassan ibn Yusuf Ahıskali, the copy of this manuscript is located in Topkapı museum archives.

<sup>6</sup> B a r n b y, p. 76, the original source in his book is cited incorrectly, although, considering the knowledge and the reputation of Barnby we can assume that the information on Hassan’s ethnic origin is mentioned elsewhere in British diplomatic correspondence.

After the arrival of thousands of Muslim refugees from the Iberian Peninsula at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Algiers became a target for Spain, although Spanish ambitions had been countered by the growing power of the Ottomans. By 1525, the Algerian corsair leaders Aruj and Hayreddin Barbarossa established their base of operations in Algiers and acknowledged Sultan's authority in exchange for the Ottoman assistance against Christian powers. The Algerian corsair warships were incorporated into the western division of the Ottoman navy and Hayreddin Barbarossa was appointed as a *Qapudan Pasha* or High Admiral of the entire Ottoman navy forces. By the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottomans consolidated their authority not only in Algiers but also in the neighbouring Tunis and Tripoli. *Yeniçeris* recruited from various parts of the Ottoman Empire became a backbone of the Ottoman rule in North Africa. The sultan's authority was represented by a pasha who was frequently given the title of beylerbey and was assisted by a local council, diwan, comprising of members of the local elite and *Yeniçeris* stationed in particular province. However, the *rai's*, captains of Algerian corsair vessels, formed a powerful corporation (*taifa*) that often wielded effective authority. It is noteworthy that many of these captains, in many cases their entire crews, originated from Europe.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the city of Algiers prospered through Mediterranean piracy and trade, its ruling elite become affluent. As the power of the Ottoman sultans diminished, diwans began to elect *deys*<sup>7</sup>, who enjoyed the same powers as Ottoman pashas and could exercise absolute power in internal affairs and partial in foreign affairs. Algiers continued to accept Ottoman suzerainty (even if nominally) and provided naval and military help to Ottoman sultans when required. Algerian corsairs continued to terrorize the Mediterranean trade and commerce, demanding tributes in exchange for safe navigation and seeking large ransoms for hundreds of the kidnapped Christians. European powers struggled to contain the threat of the Algerian corsairs but also used the piracy for their own trade advantages. England, France and Spain used a combination of diplomacy, military power and occasional bribery to safeguard their own maritime commerce while encouraging attacks on their rival merchant marines. King Louis XIV of France had once observed that "if there were no Algiers, he would have to build one as it would be the cheapest way of depriving the Italian States of their

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<sup>7</sup> Turkish word for maternal uncle, signifying the head of the state in Algiers since mid-17<sup>th</sup> century.

natural right of navigating their own seas.”<sup>8</sup> Newly established United States of America expressed considerable interest in Transatlantic and Mediterranean commerce in the 1780s, but absence of treaties with the pirate states left its commerce vulnerable to piracy. Hassan ibn Yusuf was destined to rule the Algerian province at a most vulnerable time for the United States in the region, he pursued a career in the navy and, like many young recruits, served on one of the Algerian corsair warships. He was a man of talent and his superior seamanship was soon noticed. Hassan was not only entrusted command of a cruiser but by 1770, was placed in charge of an entire squadron of Algerian warships that sailed to the Black Sea and fought alongside the Ottoman navy against the Russians. It was about this time that he gained a favourable notice of the Algerian Dey Muhammad ben Othman (1766-1791)<sup>9</sup> who would have known Hassan from his prior employment as “casnador<sup>10</sup> or the Dey’s confidential servant.”<sup>11</sup> In 1775, King Charles III of Spain ordered a major amphibious assault on Algiers in an effort to suppress corsair operations. Led by Alexander O’Reilly, the Spanish expedition involved 50 warships and some 230 transports carrying over 20,000 soldiers. The Spaniards attempted to land near Algiers in early July 1775 but mistakenly chose a rather difficult landing area and were subsequently trapped, surrounded and attacked by Algerians during a disastrous retreat, over 3000 Spanish troops were killed and many more captured.

Muhammad Dey informed the new Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid I (1774-1789) of this military triumph and offered him rich offering that included fifteen lions and dozens of Black and Christian slaves. In early November 1775 (check the date), the honor of delivering the news was entrusted to the “nephew and adopted son” of the dey, Hassan. The Sultan was extremely pleased to hear of the Algerian victory over Spain and received the Algerian envoy with great honours. While in Istanbul, Hassan produced for the sultan a special report entitled “*Tarih-i Cezâyir Veya Tehzibü’t-Tevarih*”<sup>12</sup>. The report has detailed description of Spanish

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<sup>8</sup> Naval documents related to the United States wars with the Barbary powers ... Naval operations including diplomatic background ... Published under direction of the ... Secretary of the Navy. Prepared by the Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, under the supervision of Captain Dudley W. Knox, U.S. Navy (ret.). Washington, U.S. Government print office, 1939, p.149.

<sup>9</sup> B a r n b y, p 76.

<sup>10</sup> Casnador refers to a guardian of Khasne or Algerian ruler’s treasury.

<sup>11</sup> The Captives, p. 134.

<sup>12</sup> S a v a s Ö z d e m i r, “Yârihçe-yi Cezâyir” (Hicrî 1189, Miladi 1775 – 1776), (Hasan bin Yusuf Ahîskavî)”, University of Marmara, Istanbul, 2006.

attack and Algerian resistance, it also narrates the history of Algerian, Ottoman and Islamic navy and focuses on few distinguished sailors. It is noteworthy that Hassan signed this report as “Hassan ibn Yusuf Ahiskali,”<sup>13</sup> indicating that he continued to identify himself with the land of his origin. During this trip Hassan was also charged with an additional task of recruiting troops and, according to French sources, he managed to enlist 1,800 soldiers.<sup>14</sup> On his way back to Algiers, Hassan travelled on a French ship “La Septimane,” carrying lavish gifts from the sultan, including an honorary robe and a ceremonial sword for the victorious Dey of Algiers<sup>15</sup>. Just before the ship entered the Algerian waters, it was intercepted by a Spanish patrolling cruise that declared “La Septimane” a lawful prize and escorted it to the Spanish port of Cartagena. As the news reached Algiers, the Dey remonstrated to a French ambassador - under contemporary rules of war because “La Septimane,” along with its cargo, crew and passengers, was under the French protection, release of the cargo and passengers had to be secured by the French Royal Court. Hassan was well-received in Spain where there was a growing interest in negotiating a long-lasting peace with Algiers, and was shown “every mark of distinction requisite to show a person of his rank”<sup>16</sup>. He received gifts from King Charles of Spain<sup>17</sup> and, according to Joel Barlow, American agent in Algiers, gained about one million dollars by negotiating a treaty of peace with the Spain<sup>18</sup>. While in Cartagena Hassan held several meetings with diplomats and merchants and made a very good impression on American merchant John Montgomery, who later reported that Hassan was “a man of uncommon abilities and a wise politician, he has also during his administration shewn as much partiality to the people of the United States as was in his power to do”<sup>19</sup>. Despite benevolent treatment he had received in Spain, Hassan did later complain about “coldness and lack of attention” from the French consul in Spain, adding that the French “are friends of the Algerians...but only in Algiers”<sup>20</sup>. Upon his

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<sup>13</sup> Fehmi Edhem Karatay, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi türkçe yazmalar kataloğu, Vol.1 (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), p. 306; İsmail Özen, *Osmanlı müellifleri*. Vol. 3, (İstanbul, Meral Yayınevi, 1975), p. 63.

<sup>14</sup> Esterhazy, p. 190-191.

<sup>15</sup> Plantet, p. 325.

<sup>16</sup> The Captives, p. 135.

<sup>17</sup> Grammont, p. 330.

<sup>18</sup> Naval, p. 141 (letter of Joel Barlow to the U.S. Secretary of State, March 18, 1776).

<sup>19</sup> Naval, p.32.

<sup>20</sup> Plantet, p. 330.

return in April of 1776, Hassan sent a letter to Louis XVI detailing his fate in Spain and thanking his majesty in getting him released<sup>21</sup>. The letter was signed as “Vekilhardji de la Marine D’Alger” or the chief administrator of harbor and the navy of Algiers. In 1783 he signs his letters to a French counterpart as “Intendant de la Régence d’Alger”<sup>22</sup>. Wealthy and successful, Hassan could afford marrying the daughter of the Algerian Prime Minister or Haznagi and had excellent relations with the ruler Dey Mohammad. His power, influence and wealth tempted some diplomats to think that Hassan was the “nephew and adopted son” of the Algerian ruler<sup>23</sup>, with some even suggesting that he was Dey’s cousin<sup>24</sup>. Hassan’s close relations with the ruling Algerian elite meant that he had good chances to become, in due time, designated successor to the Dey. In the meantime, Hassan’s efforts to arrange a peace treaty with Spain proved to be successful and, in 1785, the “Hundred Years Truce” between Spain and Algiers proclaimed free navigation through the strait of Gibraltar for the Algerian corsairs. Just weeks after the truce was announced, Algerian pirates, already operating in the Atlantic waters, captured two American vessels, brought them into Algiers and imprisoned twenty-one Americans on board<sup>25</sup>. The United States dealt with this crisis from as a weak a position as could be, for the American government was still in throes of a constitutional debate, lacked naval power to defend its interests on the other side of the Atlantic and had limited sway with its few allies; France and Spain helped negotiate with the Algerians and their remonstrance did help improve conditions for the prisoners, but Algiers refused to release them until a large ransom had not been paid. As negotiations continued, some American captives were ransomed through private channels and a few died from disease, but the majority continued to suffer in inhumane conditions. Unable to reach a compromise with Dey Muhammad,

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<sup>21</sup> Plantet, p. 228-230.

<sup>22</sup> Correspondance, vol 2, p. 375.

<sup>23</sup> Voulx, A. de. Tachrifat, recueil de notes historiques sur l’administration de l’ancienne régence d’Alger, [Edition de 1852], p. 40.

<sup>24</sup> Esterhazy p. 190.

<sup>25</sup> The „Maria”, sailing from Boston, was captured on July 24 while the „Dauphin” (from Philadelphia) on July 30 near Portugal. United States Department of States, The diplomatic correspondence of the United States of America: from the signing of the definitive treaty of peace, September 10, 1783 to the adoption of the constitution, March 4, 1789. Washington, 1837, Vol II, p.411. (a letter of Richard O’Brien to Jefferson, Aug. 24, 1785). Also see Osman Benchérif, The Image of Algiers in Anglo-American Writings, 1785-1962 (Washington: University Press of America, 1997); Christine E. Sears, American Slaves and African Masters: Algiers and the Western Sahara, 1776-1820 (New York: Springer, 2012), 7-88.



the U.S. diplomats hoped that his eventual successor Hassan, who had expressed sympathy for the Americans, would be more willing to negotiate and compromise. As one American prisoner in Algiers noted, Hassan “has very great influence and no man can fill [Dey’s] office better than he does, it is he who directs the cruisers where to cruise, and I believe that anything he mentions or advises the Dey has much weight... [Hassan] is most in favour of the Americans”<sup>26</sup>.

As predicted, Hassan received further promotions when his father-in-law, also named Hassan, who held the post of *hasnagi* or prime minister of Algiers, was executed in mid-May of 1788. It was customary for the entire property of the executed official to be confiscated and his relatives to be punished and expelled. Yet, this was not the case with Hassan ibn Yusuf, who, despite his father-in-law’s transgressions, faced no repercussions. To the contrary, he was in fact promoted and nominated for the post of a prime minister and treasurer of Algiers on May 26, 1788<sup>27</sup>. The executed prime minister’s house and property was not confiscated and was transferred to Hassan through his marriage.<sup>28</sup> A French diplomat Venture de Paradis, who visited Algiers just one year later, met with the Prime Minister Hassan, who, in light of Mohammed Dey’s advanced age and chronic illness, emerged as the most powerful and wealthiest official in Algeria. According to de Paradis, the walls of Hassan’s reception room were covered in gold and silver yataghans (short sabres), rifles, pistols, swords and other weapons ornamented with precious jewels<sup>29</sup>. He found Hassan to be “frank, loyal, a man who would not disguise what was on his mind and would hold no grudges either.”<sup>30</sup> At the same time another French diplomat Kercy thought that Hassan was just a bitter man with weak personality, who will soon be overpowered by the minister of navy, Ali the Georgian.<sup>31</sup>

On 12 July 1791 Mohammed Dey, weakened by age and dysentery, had passed away, handing over all state affairs to his “adopted son” Hassan. The election of a new Dey was held among “Turkish soldiers” and the members of *Diwan*, which comprised of forty-two senior military

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<sup>26</sup> Naval I, p. 16, (A letter from Richard O’Brien from April 28, 1787).

<sup>27</sup> *The Captives*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>28</sup> Venture de Paradis, Jean-Michel, *Alger au XVIIIe siècle*, édité par E. Fagnan, 1898, p. 115.

<sup>29</sup> Venture de Paradis, p. 121.

<sup>30</sup> Plantet, p. 111.

<sup>31</sup> Kercy, p. 93. There was indeed an ongoing rivalry among Hassan and Ali. The latter was eventually sent to Istanbul where he was appointed to various senior governmental posts.

officials stationed in Algiers<sup>32</sup>. According to the same source, at this occasion Hassan simply “procured his nomination, or rather proclamation” through a generous distribution of large sums of money among Yeniçeris. News of Hassan’s election as a new Dey of Algiers brought a renewed hope for the peace treaty and ransom of American captives. Optimism over the new appointment is obvious in a letter from the U.S. diplomat in France to the Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson: “I have reason to think that U.S. will more easily obtain a peace with the present Dey. I hope his present exalted station will not erase from his memory his former friendly sentiments toward the Americans... and perhaps the present Dey will be more favourable towards the ransom of captives...he was the only one of the Ministry that was in favour of the Americans.”<sup>33</sup> While assuming absolute power, Hassan continued the long-standing tradition of being a responsible and generous head of Turkish soldiers, corsair crews and military establishment at large. This also meant that, despite his opinion of the United States, he had to consider the financial interest of corsairs and owners of the captives. As Hassan once told a French diplomat “we, the high-ranking officials, cannot always do what we think is good. We live in a country of bandits who’s votes prevail”<sup>34</sup>. This is one of the reasons why American captives could not be ransomed and freed at once. Hassan was well aware that a lower or unsatisfactory ransom price could easily result in a revolt of Algerian pirates and slave-owners. Asking for bribes and ransom money was not just a capricious act but an established practice that brought the larger share of income for the Algerian political and military establishment, corsair crews and businesses engaged in the piracy and slavery. Previously made generous monetary gift to Hassan encouraged Spain to insist on full implementation of the 1785 peace treaty. The Spanish court congratulated Hassan on his accession to power and send a master shipbuilder as a token of its good will<sup>35</sup>. Shortly thereafter, Spanish troops departed from the occupied western provinces of Oran and Mers El-Kebir. Hassan celebrated the recovery of these territories and dispatched an envoy to the Ottoman capital to deliver the golden keys of Oran and inform the sultan of the great news. He soon received third

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<sup>32</sup> Naval I, p. 141.

<sup>33</sup> “Enclosure: Algier’s Affairs. To Thos. Jefferson Esqr. Secretary of State. Marseilles the 4<sup>th</sup>. September [1791]”, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 22, 6 August 1791–31 December 1791, ed. Charles T. Cullen. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986, pp. 123–125.

<sup>34</sup> Ventude De Paradis, p. 111.

<sup>35</sup> B a r n b y, p. 109.

tuğra<sup>36</sup> from Sultan Selim III, a rather special honor for any Ottoman governor.<sup>37</sup> New treaty with Spain, was followed by another temporary peace treaty between Algiers and Portugal, which allowed Algerian corsairs to pass through the Strait of Gibraltar once again. As a result, eleven U.S. vessels, with over 105 sailors, regular passengers and a commercial cargo, had been captured during the fall of 1793<sup>38</sup>. The very first serious attempt to negotiate peace and ransom American captives had failed. In 1793, US President George Washington sent a letter and his personal envoy to Hassan Dey. In a letter dated March 21, 1793, the President asked the ruler of Algiers to accept his personal envoy and negotiate the terms for a peace treaty and release of American captives.<sup>39</sup> As expected, Hassan Dey refused to negotiate, he simply couldn't and wouldn't forbid Algerian pirates to hunt for American vessels at a time when pass way to the Atlantic Ocean was open.

American diplomats involved in the negotiations had discovered that Hassan, who had been earlier praised as sympathetic for the American cause, had become “a man of unpredictable moods and ungovernable passions, a ruler whom the most experienced of diplomats would have found difficult... [During the negotiations] he blustered, sulked, stalked the floor, grew violent and enraged”<sup>40</sup>. In his private correspondence, the U.S. negotiator Joel Barlow described him as a man “full of whims and fancies as a sick child, as difficult to amuse and keep in a treaty-making mood as a cross bear”<sup>41</sup>. The French diplomats also observed that Hassan, who had been earlier known for his benevolent character, to the point of having abolished death penalty for most of the crimes and improving harsh conditions for Christian slaves in Algiers, had turned into a distrustful and suspicious ruler, just like his predecessors.<sup>42</sup> The final terms of the

<sup>36</sup> Tuğra means “horse-tail” attached to the standard of military commanders as a sign of rank; the sultan had six-horse-tail standard, the grand vizier had five, viziers were entitled to have three, pashas two and begs one. Beyerle, Gustav, Pashas, Begs and Effendis. The Isis Press, Istanbul, 1997. p. 159.

<sup>37</sup> Le Clercq, Maurice. Le tombeau des cinq deys d'Alger : légende algérienne, Imp. Daix, 1888, p. 48.

<sup>38</sup> Barnby, p. 111.

<sup>39</sup> “From George Washington to the Dey of Algiers, 21 March 1793”. The Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series, vol. 12, 16 January 1793–31 May 1793, ed. Christine Sternberg Patrick and John C. Pinheiro. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005, p. 356.

<sup>40</sup> Cantor, Milton, Joel Barlow's Mission to Algiers, *Historian*, 25:2 (1963: Feb.), p. 176.

<sup>41</sup> Todd, Charles Burr, *Life and letters of Joel Barlow, LL.D., poet, statesman, philosopher*, with extracts from his works and hitherto unpublished poems, New York, London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, p. 124.

<sup>42</sup> Grammont, H.-D. *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque (1515-1830)*, E. Leroux (Paris) 1887, p. 346.

Algerian-American peace treaty was negotiated and signed on September 5, 1795. Americans were obliged to pay a huge sum of 585,000 Mexican Dollars to Algiers for the ransom of over 100 American captives. To commemorate this “treaty of friendship” with America, Hassan Dey sent a special present - “an elegant gold mounted sword” - to George Washington<sup>43</sup>. Yet, despite this agreement, the U.S. had failed to collect and transmit the ransom and treaty funds within a timeframe set by the treaty. The payment was postponed several times, partially due to the delayed ratification of the treaty by the U.S. Senate and difficulties with transfer of funds. To secure the timely receipt of the monies, Hassan sent his Christian secretary, who was also a captured American sailor, to America, with a letter of reminder (dated May 5, 1796) to George Washington demanding fulfillment of the terms of the treaty without any further delays.<sup>44</sup> In his lengthy reply of June 13, 1796, Washington explained various reasons for the delay of treaty and ransom payments. As a compensation, the American president offered “to have built, & equipped, with as much expedition as the case will admit of, such a frigate” as the Algerian Dey desired<sup>45</sup>. In early December 1797, Washington sent another reminder letter yet again promising “that the payments will shortly be completed: for I have nothing more at heart than to fulfil with perfectly good faith the engagements made to you in my name in behalf of the United States of America.”<sup>46</sup> A further letter of apology for the delay was sent by the second president John Adams on December 25, 1797<sup>47</sup> and a special gift for the continued delay - the schooner “Hamdullah” - was delivered to Hassan Dey in February of 1798<sup>48</sup>.

Hassan helped American diplomats to conclude the peace treaties with neighboring Ottoman provinces of Tunis and Tripoli (Libya). The U.S. treaty with Tripoli was signed and guaranteed by Hassan Dey on January

<sup>43</sup> Letter from Abigail Adams to John Adams, 22 February 1796 [electronic edition]. Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/> [Checked on 11/10/2016].

<sup>44</sup> “To George Washington from Dey Hassan Bashaw, 5 May 1796,” Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-00488> [last update: 2015-12-30]), Naval I, p. 155.

<sup>45</sup> “From George Washington to Dey Hassan Bashaw, 13 June 1796,” Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-00619> [last update: 2015-12-30]).

<sup>46</sup> “From George Washington to Dey Hassan Bashaw, 3 December 1796,” Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-00053> [last update: 2015-12-30]).

<sup>47</sup> Naval I, p. 230-231.

<sup>48</sup> Naval I, p. 239-240.

3, 1797.<sup>49</sup> His signature is also featured on the truce that United States had signed with the ruler of Tunis; it is noteworthy that Hassan acted not just as a witness but as guarantor that Tunisian vessels would not damage, plunder or impede any American vessels<sup>50</sup>. This, further underscores the influence and prestige that Hassan ibn Yusuf enjoyed across much of North Africa. As one American diplomat noted, the navigation passport documents that were issued by Algerian Dey “was looked upon as being absolutely sacred with all the Barbary Powers.”<sup>51</sup> Hassan Dey died of old age on May 14, 1798 and was succeeded by wife and a daughter who was married to the last Ottoman ruler of Algiers Hussein ben Hassan (1818-1830).

For the first time in the history of the U.S. the abilities of the political establishment to negotiate with completely unknown, unfamiliar and ruthless enemy was tested. Relations with Algiers and other Ottoman piratical regencies of North Africa had a great impact on establishment and the course of the U.S. foreign policy. The tragic enslavement of the American captives in Algiers contributed to the heated debates in the U.S. government as well as in the society at large. To free American hostages and to secure the safety of the American navigation allowed George Washington to adopt the Naval Act of 1794 leading to the creation of permanent U.S. Navy. Relations with Algiers and ransom of captive Americans made significant impact on the debate on abolition of slavery in the United States. The Pennsylvania Abolition Society and its president Benjamin Franklin linked the discussions on the fate of Algerian held American captives with Africans slaves in the Western Hemisphere. A petition to abolish the slavery was filed with the U.S. congress in 1790 and caused heated debates, especially from the representatives of the southern States.<sup>52</sup> A topic of Algerian slavery was so popular that a novel by Royall Tyler “The Algerine Captive” originally published in 1797 was re-printed many times, the novel described fate of American captives and included description and relations with Hassan Dey<sup>53</sup>.

While only random events from the life of Hassan ibn Yusuf Ahiskali have been documented, his career and deeds played a significant role

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<sup>49</sup> Naval I, p. 178-179.

<sup>50</sup> Naval I, p. 122.

<sup>51</sup> Naval I, p.176.

<sup>52</sup> Lawrence A. Peskin, *Captives and Countrymen: Barbary Slavery and the American Public, 1785–1816*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009) pp. 74-76, 85.

<sup>53</sup> Tyler, Royall, *The Algerine Captive; or, The life and adventures of Doctor Updike Underhill [pseud.] six years a prisoner among the Algerines*. (Hartford, 1816), pp. 115.

in the development and shaping of the modern history of North Africa and of the United States. Just like several of his fellow countryman<sup>54</sup>, a remarkable young man from Akhaltsikhe, Georgia made a thrilling career and left his footprint on the history.

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<sup>54</sup> See Crecelius Daniel and Djaparidze Gotcha, Georgians in the Military Establishment in Egypt in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, *Annales Islamologiques*, 42 (2008), pp. 313-337.



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Georgian ruler of the Ottoman Algiers  
Hassan Ibn Yusuf Ahiskali

Thousands of enslaved Georgian youth were sold in Ottoman slave markets throughout 17th and 18th centuries, however, some of them managed to voluntarily migrate towards Ottoman capital and major provinces in search for employment and better career opportunities. Hassan ibn Yusuf Ahiskali or Hassan Dey of Algeria (1791-1798) was one such young Georgians, born in historical province of Meskhethi (or as Ottoman administration called it Ahiska). The article focuses on major events in life of Hassan Dey of Algeria, starting from his early career in navy, where he skillfully managed Ottoman navy operations as a head of Algerian corsair warships in Black Sea. Hassan was promoted to various elite Ottoman administrative positions in Algeria. At one point he delivered victorious message to the Sultan and was captured by Spanish navy on the way back. Hassan was released with the help of King of France and was promoted to highest positions before he was appointed to be the ruler of the city and regency of Algeria. He was destined to rule Algeria at a most vulnerable time for the United States in the region. The article discusses important role that Hassan Dey played in negotiating peace treaty between the USA and Algeria as well as release of American prisoners in Algeria that followed years of negotiations as well as personal involvement of the first president of the United States of America George Washington.



## MATERIALS, DOCUMENTS, MEMOIRES

### GEORGIAN-ARABIC CHRONICLE OF A JERUSALEMITE FAMILY

by *Besik Khurtsilava*

*Georgian National Youth Palace, Tbilisi*

The diary of St. Grigol Peradze “Roses of Jericho” was written in Polish and it became available to Georgian readers rather late. The diary partial parts was published in various newspapers and magazines in the late 1930s; Several chapters were printed in Poland, continued to be published in Germany, and then again in Poland, in a very small circulation in the parish newspapers. All of these have been searched and handed out by Henryk Paprocki. He published the first full version of the diary with the comments in “Pro Georgia. Journal of Kartvelological Studies” University of Warsaw in 2006 (Ed. David Kolbaia)<sup>1</sup>. In 2012, the full text of the diary was included in Volume 3 of St. Grigol Peradze’s works (Ed. Henryk Paprocki)<sup>2</sup>. The extracts of the diary were translated from Polish to Georgian by Ambrosi Grishikashvili and published in the Collelction “A Saint and a Scientist”. The full text of the

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<sup>1</sup> G. P e r a d z e, *Róże jerychońskie. Dziennik podróży po Ziemi Świętej i Syrii (5. VII.– 28. IX. 1936)*, “Pro Georgia. Journal of Kartvelological Studies, Centre for East European Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw”, 13(2006), 7-112.

<sup>2</sup> G. P e r a d z e, *Z dziennika podróży po Ziemi Świętej i Syrii (5. VII.-28. IX. 1936)*, “Polska Stronica Słowa”, 3:1938, numbers 5-6 of 30 January 1938, 6-7; numbers 7-8 of 13 February 1938, 4-6; number 9 of 27 February 1938, 6-7; numbers 12-13 of 27 March 1938, 5-7; numbers 14-15 of 10 April 1938, p 5-6; numbers 16-17 of 24 April 1938, 7-8; numbers 18-19 of 8 May 1938, 6-8; *Wiadomości Metropolii Prawosławnej w Polsce*, 2:1939, number 10 of 5 March 1939, 2-3; number 11 of 12 March 1939, 2-3; number 13 of 26 March 1939, 2-3; number 14 of 2 April 1939, 3; number 15 of 8 April 1939, 5; number 18 of 30 April 1939, 3; number 19 of 7 May 1939, 3; number 21 of 21 May 1939, 3; number 22 of 28 May 1939, 3; number 24 of 11 June 1939, 3; number 25 of 18 June 1939, 3; number 26 of 25 June 1939, 3; number 27 of 2 July 1939, 3; numbers 28-29 of 9 July 1939, 2-4; numbers 30-31 of 23 July 1939, 3-4; number 33 of 13 August 1939, 4-5; *Erlebnisse in und um Kaja Punar, “Orient im Bild”*, 11:1937, number 9, 33-34 (translated by Grażyna Bakota); *Betlejem. Wrażenia z pobytu osobistego*, „Polska Stronica Słowa, 2:1937, number 1 of 3 January 1937, 3; and *Uroczystości niepodległościowe w Aleppo. Wrażenia z podróży*, “Wschód-Orient”, 7:1936, number 4, 43-50. Św. Grzegorz P e r a d z e, *Dziela zebrane. Dzienniki, Kazania*, pod red. ks. Henryka P a p r o c k i e - g o, t. III, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa 2012, 31-132.

diary was translated to English as well and then to Georgian from English (Ed. Tamila Mgaloblishvili)<sup>3</sup>.

The diary describes St. Grigol Peradze's travels in the Holy Land in the period of July 5-September 28, 1936. Along with the other interesting episodes it tells us of Grigol Peradze's meeting with a Christian Jerusalemite. The first meeting was in the morning of July 28, 1936. Grigol Peradze writes, "*An Arab came to me and told me his name was Siksek and he was Georgian by origin. His ancestor came to Jerusalem five or six hundred years ago as a secretary in the Georgian king's suite. His name was Simon but his family name was unknown and he was called Siksek (the word describing his position, i.e. a secretary) . . . The Arab's father had a rich library, including the documents dated back to the afore-mentioned period, but his mother sold it after her husband's death. However, he still had an Arabic manuscript describing the locations of the Georgian monasteries in the Holy Land*"<sup>4</sup>. Father Grigol met the Arab twice after that. The second time he saw the man with Archimandrite Narcissus that evening. St. Grigol Peradze calls him the inspector of Orthodox Christian schools in Transjordan<sup>5</sup>. The third and last meeting happened on August 26. Father Grigol writes, "*On my way home I met Mr. Siksek, who I had not seen for a while. He told me that a stone with the Georgian inscription was discovered during the construction of a villa in the vicinity of the Monastery of Cross. He promised to tell about this discovery in detail and then asked me something . . . He told me that his Georgian ancestor was buried in the Georgian cemetery in Katamon and the grave had an inscription with his name and family name*"<sup>6</sup>. The next day Father Grigol really visited Katamon but could not find the tombstone described by Mr. Siksek. The diary does not tell us if they met again. On August 29, 1936 father Grigol left Palestine and headed for Syria.

Who was "Mr. Siksek" from Jerusalem

The diary of St. Grigol Peradze does not mention the first name or age of Mr. Siksek. The fact that father Grigol refers to him as "Mr. Siksek" probably means that he was a middle-aged man or quite

<sup>3</sup> G. Peradze, *The Roses of Jericho: Diary of a Journey through the Holy Land and Syria, 5 July-28 September, 1936*, (იერიქონის ვარდები. წმინდა მიწასა და სირიაში მოგზაურობის დღიური, 5 ივლისი-28 სექტემბერი, 1936), (Georgian Translation by K. Gurchiani and S. Rezhichenko, ed. T. Mgaloblishvili), Tbilisi 2016.

<sup>4</sup> G. Peradze, *The Roses of Jericho: Diary of a Journey through the Holy Land and Syria, 5 July-28 September, 1936*, ed. T. Mgaloblishvili, Tbilisi 2016.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.



well-known locally. The diary also shows that Mr. Siksek was connected with the Orthodox Christian Patriarchate of Jerusalem and its educational facilities in Palestine and Jordan. Another useful detail for identifying the person is the name of his ancestor “Simon”. Some of his descendants were most likely given this name. During father Grigol’s trip Palestine was under the British Mandate. Therefore, we started the search in the photo archives of the British Mandate period and we were lucky.

In view of the details mentioned above we established that Mr. Siksek, the acquaintance of father Grigol was George Siksek from Jerusalem. With the help of an old friend of the Siksek family, Mrs. Mona Hajjar Halaby, we soon got in touch with the granddaughter of George Siksek, Mrs. Randa Siksek living in Greece. The Siksek family members knew nothing about St. Grigol Peradze. However, the granddaughter easily identified her grandfather, George Siksek, in Grigol Peradze’s diary. The very first letter of this lady shows her excitement about our interest. *“My grandfather was so keen on researching his Georgian roots, he was so enthusiastic about this issue that he would have certainly met you if he were alive today”*, she wrote to us from Athens. Based on the data she provided we would like to present the biography of Mr. George Siksek.

George Siksek was born on July 12, 1887 in his ancestors’ house in the Christian Quarter of the old city of Jerusalem. His father died when he was not yet three years old. George had a sister Hilaneh. George went to the Greek Orthodox Christian primary school and then to St. Demetrius School which he finished with distinction in 1905. The same year he started working in the Orthodox Christian school of Ramle. Then he taught Arabic in the secondary school of the Patriarchate in Jerusalem. In 1909-1914 George worked in the Printing House of the Holy Sepulchre Church as an inspector of the Arabic prints. On November 7, 1910, 23 year old George married a sixteen-year-old Katherine, the daughter of George Hanania, owner of the Al-Quds Newspaper and Printing House. They had three children Hanna (John), Henriette and Simon. In 1919, George became a member of the Higher Educational Governmental Committee in Jerusalem. In 1921 he was a Consulting Member at the Inspecting Com-

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<sup>7</sup> G. Peradze. *The Roses of Jericho: Diary of a Journey through the Holy Land and Syria*, 5 July-28 September, 1936, 161.

mittee that was created and presided over by the Head of the Ceylon Judges, Sir Anton Biram. The next year he was appointed as General Inspector for the Greek Orthodox Schools of the Greek Patriarchate, in Palestine and Jordan. They were a total of 32 schools. In 1926, George became as member of the Electoral Committee in the Municipality of Jerusalem. In 1931 he was elected an honorable Judge at the Municipal Court in Jerusalem. He was appointed to this post by the resolution of the British High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel. He remained in this position for eight years, until the courts were closed down. In November of 1948, George Siksek was appointed as Arab Secretary to His Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

George Siksek wrote mostly in Arabic and had quite a large number of readers. He translated the Byzantine family law from the old Greek to Arabic. Since 1930 this translation has been published five times. He also translated 695-page book of Greek Orthodox prayers, which was published twice in 1914 and 1940. In addition to his native Arabic, George Siksek also knew Greek, English, French and Turkish. He was awarded the Cross of the Holy Sepulchre, in recognition of his dedicating fifty years to the field of education; tow badges of recognition from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, as well as honor awards by the governments of Lebanon and Greece. The walls of the Sikseks' cosy house in Jerusalem are covered with George's paintings. As a book lover he also had a rich library. George Siksek died at the age of 84 on the 18 June, 1971. He was buried in the Greek orthodox cemetery in Jerusalem, where his father and grandfather, as well as his wife, elder son and daughter are also buried.

George Siksek's wife Katherine Hanania (1894-1973) establishing of the first nursing home in Palestine, maternity hospital, orphanages, shelters for the sick, young and unwed mothers' homes in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Beit Sahur and Beit Jala. In 1961 she established "Four Homes of Mercy" (FHOM) in Bethany. Her daughter Henriette Siksek headed these charities after her death. The elder son of George and Katherine Siksek John (1913-1986) was a lawyer and a younger son Simon (1923-1989) – a law and economics expert. Their sister Henrietta Siksek-Farraaj (1918-2014) in addition to charity was also involved in teaching, journalism, writing. She was a children's' writer and an author of radio programs. All three children of George Siksek were educated in the leading universities of West Europe (USA, Great Britain).

### The Labyrinth of the Siksek's Family Traditions

Why did “Mr. Siskek” so persistently search for the Georgian roots of his family? What information did he have about the Georgian origin of his distant ancestor? Only George Siksek himself could have given us the accurate answers to these questions. It seems that Mrs. Henrietta Siksek-Farraj who died in 2014 at the age of 96 knew a lot about this.

The Siksek family had a long line of clerics. The family tradition has it that in 1643 one of their ancestors was a priest in Jvari Monastery. George's father Hanna II Khuri Siksek (1834-1889) and grandfather Jirji II Khuri Siksek were also priests. George never met his grandfather and was very young when his father died. However, according to his ancestors George learned about his Georgian origin from his father's and grandfather's writings. We do not know what documents were kept in the family before George's father died. After his death, George's mother Latifeh Hanna Nakhle' had to sell the family library to make ends meet.

George Siksek told Grigol Peradze about an Arabic manuscript kept in his family. According to his words, the manuscript described the Georgian monasteries in Jerusalem. First of all, we asked about this document. Randa Siksek gave us her grandfather's manuscript in addition to the other data. The title of the document is “*A Word about the Siksek family*”. The text says that this story was recorded in late April in 1912 in Jerusalem by George Siksek, the only son of Priest Hanna II Khuri Siksek. The text shows that George Siksek also used some documents in researching his Georgian ancestry. According to Randa Siksek one of the sources he used was the data published in the Patriarchate's newspaper *Nea Zion* in 1905<sup>8</sup>. It is noteworthy that St. Grigol Peradze also used one of the issues of this newspaper<sup>9</sup>. After separating this data from the text, we get the original information kept in the family. The extract below is the translation of George Siksek's manuscript.

*“The Sikseks are descendants of a Georgian nobleman who settled in Jerusalem 600 years ago around the 1300s. He was a “sekretarios” (secretary), which also means a writer. The natives could not pronounce such a long word and they changed and repeated the first sounds “Sek”. That is how the word “Siksek” was derived. The name of this sekre-*

<sup>8</sup> *Nea Zion, Jerusalem, 1905, 653.*

<sup>9</sup> *Nea Zion, vol. XI, Jerusalem, 1910. 132-134; Gr. Peradze. An account of the Georgian monks and monasteries in Palestine, Georgica, a journal of Georgian and Caucasian studies, 1937, № 4-5, 188.*

*tarios was Simon (Samaan in Arabic). He was the founder of the family. He arrived in Jerusalem from Georgia. He was the Georgian King's secretary and an authorized person. The Georgians owned a lot of monasteries around Jerusalem, including Golgotha Monastery as well as Cross Monastery (Al Musallabe), St. Jacob's Monastery, which is now the Armenian Patriarchate, St. John's Monastery (now the Franciscan Monastery), St. Demetrious' Monastery and St. Catherine's Monastery. During the reign of Mameluke Sultan Al-Nasir ibn Qalawun (1293-1341) the villagers occupied the Cross monastery and wanted to convert it into a mosque. They drove the Georgian monks out of the Monastery. The Georgian king and the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (1281-1333) sent a joint mission headed by Simon Sekretarios to Sultan Al-Nasir to ask him to return the monastery to the Georgians. In 1305, Simon with his wife Tamar and their two sons Joseph and John arrived in Jerusalem from the north of Georgia. He had the documents and was instructed by the Georgian king to return it to the Georgians. After getting the Cross Monastery back Simon stayed there with his wife and sons. He helped the abbot with the administrative affairs and took care of the Georgian peasants living around the monastery. There were about 1000 Georgian peasants in the villages of Malha and Katamon. The descendants of Simon stayed in the Monastery, north of St. Barbara's Church for about a century”.*

The Georgian chronicler Zhamtaaghmcereli, the Chronicles “Dzegli Eristavta”, Vakhushti Bagrationi and Arabic sources (Al-Qalqashandi, Al-Muḥibbī, Al-Maqrizi, Badr al-Din Al-Ayni, Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi, Abu'l-Faḍl) tell us about the occupation of the Cross Monastery by the muslims, turning it into a mosque and the struggle of the Georgians to take it back. According to the Arab chroniclers the Muslims took the Cross Monastery away from the Georgians under Sultan Baybars al-Bunduqdārī/Abu al-Futuh (1260-1277) and the Georgians took it back under Sultan Al-Nasir ibn Qalawun (1293-1294, 1299-1309, 1310-1341). There are no doubts about the identity of the Byzantine Emperor, he is Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1328).

There were several negotiations with the sultan of Egypt and the return of the Cross monastery took quite a long time<sup>10</sup>. In addition to missions sent in 1305 and 1310, George VI the Minor and George V the

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<sup>10</sup> Заметка Элькалькашанди о грузинах, перевод на русский язык и издание В.Г. Тищенко - з е н а, ЗВОРАОб, т. 1, вып. 3, СПб., 1886, 212-213.

Brilliant of Georgia later sent missions in 1316 and 1320. Jvari Monastery was captured and returned several times<sup>11</sup>. According to Al-Maqrizi in 1305 “*The envoys from the Emperor of Constantinople together with the Georgian king’s envoys arrived with gifts and a letter asking to open the Cross Monastery for the Georgians to see it. The Georgians promised to obey the Sultan and help him if necessary. An order was issued to open the monastery and it was opened. The envoys left with the appropriate answer*”<sup>12</sup>. According to Al-Mufad-Dal in 1310, the ambassadors of Al Lashkar (Laskar) accompanied by the Georgian envoys visited the court of the Sultan to ask him to return the Cross Monastery. The Monastery was turned into a mosque by Sheikh Khidr al-Futuh<sup>13</sup>. According to Agape (love feast) No 295/288 King David VIII (1293-1311) saved the monastery. In Agape he is called the second builder of the monastery who returned the monastery and the church that was turned into a mosque to the Georgians<sup>14</sup>. Some scholars date this event to 1305<sup>15</sup> and some – to 1310<sup>16</sup>.

It seems that the documents used by George Siksek date the mission (or the return of the Cross Monastery) to 1305. This date is found only in the works of Al-Maqrizi (1364-1442) and Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaymi (1456-1522). George Siksek determined the date of his ancestors' arrival in Jerusalem to the best of his abilities and he was quite accurate as we can see below.

### Original Sources of the Siksek Family Tradition

Whether or not George Siksek used the afore-mentioned data on the Georgian envoys, his family tradition includes some details, which were

<sup>11</sup> V. K i k n a d z e. *Georgia in XIV century*, (საქართველო XIV საუკუნეში), Tbilisi 1989, 63.

<sup>12</sup> *The Arab historians of XIV-XV centuries about Georgia*, (XIV-XV საუკუნეების არაბი ისტორიკოსები საქართველოს შესახებ), Translated by D. Gocholeishvili, Tbilisi 1988, 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> E. Metreveli. *Materials for the History of the Georgian Colony in Jerusalem*, (მასალები იერუსალიმის ქართული კოლონიის ისტორიისთვის), Tbilisi 1962, 43, 106.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-48; P. I n g o r o q v a, *Collection of works*, (თბულებათა კრებული), vol. I, Tbilisi 1963, 748-751.

<sup>16</sup> D. Gocholeishvili. *From the History of Georgia-Egypt Relations, 1<sup>st</sup> half of the XIV century*, (საქართველოს-ეგვიპტის ურთიერთობის ისტორიიდან, XIV ს-ის I ნახევარი), Works of Tbilisi State University, vol. 184, Tbilisi 1977, 265-267. V. K i k n a d z e. *Georgia in XIV century*, (საქართველო XIV საუკუნეში), Tbilisi 1989, 43; G. J a p a r i d z e. *When did Georgians return the Cross Monastery conquered by Mamluks?* In the collection: “*Shota Meskhia 90*”, (როლის დაუბრუნეს ქართველებს მამლუქების მიერ მიტაცებული ჯვრის მონასტერი? კრებულში: „შოთა მესხია 90“), Tbilisi 2006, 289-306.

never described by the Arab chroniclers mentioned above. These details are as follows: 1. The names of the Georgian king's envoy and his family members (Simon, Tamar, Joseph and John); 2. Simon's origin from northern Georgia; 3. Simon's settling in Jerusalem with his family; 4. Simon's support to the abbot of the Cross Monastery; 5. Simon's assistance to the Georgian peasants living around the Cross Monastery; 6. The data about St. Barbara's church in the Cross Monastery. George Siksek could not just make up these details. They were part of his family's narrative.

Although there is no St. Barbara's church in Jerusalem, but St. Barbara's Chapel is in the former Georgian Monastery of St. Nicholas. Besides, in 1483-1484, the Dominican theologian Felix Fabri and Count Philipp Ludwig von Hanik saw the Saint's relics there. In von Hanik's words "*the Monastery belongs to the Georgians. You can see St. Barbara's hand here*"<sup>17</sup>. Therefore, the Siksek family tradition was probably right and there was St. Barbara's Chapel in the Monastery area.

The Sikseks remember the exact time their family settled in the Christian neighborhood of Jerusalem. According to the researcher Mona Hajjar Halaby Henrietta Siksek often mentioned 1432 as the date when the Sikseks settled in their house in Jerusalem. According to the family tradition the descendants of Simon Sekretarios lived in the Cross Monastery for a century. Felix Fabri mentioned that the Georgian monks lived with their wives in Cross monastery and this data leads us to believe George Siksek. The ancestor of the Sikseks arrived in Jerusalem at the time when the Cross Monastery was in the Muslims' hands. After the return of the monastery, he stayed there and actively assisted the Abbot in the Monastery management. The Georgian kings sent several missions to the Sultan of Egypt in the first twenty years of the 14<sup>th</sup> century but we only know the names of Pipa Kvenipneveli, who headed the mission in 1320 and Priest Ioane Bandaisdze accompanying him. Before that at least three other missions had been sent, but we do not know the names.

The register of Agapes of the Cross Monastery shows the great efforts of the Georgian kings and noblemen to free this Monastery. George Siksek did not know Georgian and could not use these documents in his research. However, the stories passed down in the Siksek family about Simon's ancestors living in the monastery and one of the ancestors

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<sup>17</sup> G. Peradze. *Foreign Pilgrims's Information on the Georgian monks and Georgian Monasteries of Palestine*, (უცხოელ პილიგრიმთა ცნობები პალესტინის ქართველი ბერებისა და ქართული მონასტრების შესახებ), Ed. by G. Japaridze, Tbilisi 1992, 67.



serving as a priest in 1643, prove that the Sikseks preserved their native language for quite a long time. They could even have written the stories down. When the following generations forgot Georgian these stories were passed down as an oral tradition. By the way, Timote Gabashvili who visited Jerusalem in 1758 mentioned that among the local Arabs there were a lot of Georgians who had forgotten their language<sup>18</sup>.

#### The Identity of Simon “sekretarios” in the Context of Cross Monastery Agapes

According to the Siksek family tradition their ancestor arrived in Jerusalem in connection with the return of the Cross Monastery to the Georgians. The register of Agapes includes the events from the capture of the Cross Monastery to its return to the Georgians. It shows that in the period from 1273 to 1320 all the Georgian kings strove to free the Monastery. The Agapes mention the kings of Georgia, namely Demetrius II the Devoted (1259-1289), David VIII (1293-1311), Vakhtang III (1298/99 and 1302-1308), George V the Brilliant (1299-1302 and 1318-1346), George VI the Minor (1308-1313 and 1314-1318), Constantine I (1293-1327). It is a well-known fact that due to the intrigues of the Mongols the descendants of King Demetrius II sometimes reigned simultaneously in East Georgia.

According to the Agapes of the Cross Monastery the identities and sequence of the Monastery abbots was determined<sup>19</sup>. There are only two people named Simon (Svimeon, Svimon) among the “Jvaris mama” (the Monastery Abbot) in the period under discussion. They are Svimon (or Svimeon) Elmelikisdze and Simona Tsidashvili. The former can be the ancestor of the Sikseks. According to the family tradition he was a nobleman from the north of Georgia and stayed in Jerusalem before and after the return of the Monastery to the Georgians. The tradition also mentions that Simon was an assistant of the Monastery Abbot. The period of Svimon Elmelikisdze’s stay in Jerusalem in the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>20</sup>. His name is mentioned in Agapes

<sup>18</sup> *Timote Gabashvili. Travels. “Georgian Prose”, (მიმოსვლა „ქართული პროზა“), Book V, Tbilisi 1983, 539.*

<sup>19</sup> *E. Metreveli. Materials for the History of the Georgian Colony in Jerusalem, (მასალები იერუსალიმის ქართული კოლონიის ისტორიისათვის), Tbilisi 1962, 51; P. Ingorgva. Collection of works, 702.*

<sup>20</sup> *E. Metreveli. Materials for the History of the Georgian Colony in Jerusalem, 51; P. Ingorgva. Collection of works, 702.*

No 84/81, 65/63, 206/203. All three of these Agapes contain important information on the issue.

Agape No 84/81 was established after Svimon's death. Svimon Elmelikidze was "Jvaris mama" in the first period of George V-s reign when the Monastery reclaimed its status as the center of the Georgian colony in Jerusalem. Svimon was respected by the heads of the Monastery as he is called "Saint Father" in the Agape. The word "Saint" is only used for Prokhore Shavteli (the founder of the Monastery) and Luka Mukhaidze (a martyr killed when the Monastery was occupied)<sup>21</sup>.

Agape no 65/63 was jointly established by Svimon Elmelikidze, who was the abbot of the Cross Monastery ("Jvaris mama"), a priest of the church of Resurrection, the archpriest and the order of the Georgian monks in Jerusalem to commemorate the generous support provided to the monastery by Rusudan daughter of Demetrius II and her husband Taqa Fanaskerteli. It seems that Svimon Elmelikidze was the head of the Georgian colony (he is the only one whose name the Agape mentions). Although the Agape was entered in the register after freeing the Monastery, but the facts it mentions happened when the Monastery was in the Muslims' hands and the Georgian monks took refuge in a town church<sup>22</sup>.

Agape No 206/203 mentions king Vakhtang III (1297-1299 and 1302-1308) and his wife, who became a nun. The Agape was written after the death of Vakhtang and the freeing of the Cross Monastery, but it tells a story of capturing the Monastery and helps us to identify the ancestor of the Siksek family. The Agape says that 26 years passed after capturing the Monastery. This is probably 1299/1300. In exactly that period from November 1299 to March 1300 Vakhtang was in the army of Mahmud Ghazan (Ghazan Khan, Mongol ruler of Persia in 1295-1304) and participated in the battles against the Egyptian Mamelukes in Syria and Palestine. The army of Mahmud Ghazan took both Damascus and Jerusalem<sup>23</sup>. According to one of the assumptions the Cross monastery was temporarily returned to the Georgians and Vakhtang made a donation to the Monastery<sup>24</sup>. This may be true. However, we can also assume that

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 767.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 753.

<sup>23</sup> А. Цагарели. Памятники грузинской старины в Святой Земле и на Синае. Православный Палестинский сборнику Выпуск 10. (Т. 4. Вып. 1). Санкт-Петербург, 1888, 53-54; Z h a m t a a g h m t s e r e l i. *The Chronicle of One Hundred Years*, (ქ ა მ თ ა ა ლ მ წ ე რ ე ლ ი. ასწლოვანობა მატობა), Tbilisi 1987, 210.

<sup>24</sup> E. Metreveli. *Materials for the History of the Georgian Colony in Jerusalem*, 42; P. Ingorova. *Collection of works*, 750.

in 1298 during Vakhtang's reign a mission was sent from Georgia to the Sultan. Mahmud Ghazan put Vakhtang III on the throne in November of 1297 instead of his deposed elder brother David VIII<sup>25</sup>. The following year Vakhtang had his coins minted<sup>26</sup>. According to the Agape Svimon Elmelikidze was in Jerusalem at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. He was in the town church and assisted Solomon, the Abbot of the Cross Monastery who took refuge in the town church. The agape also mentions that these two people used Vakhtang's donation for the Monastery. It is interesting that Svimon is mentioned in the Agape without any clerical rank. There is a surprising similarity between the data in the Agape and the Siksek family's narrative. In short, the ancestor of the Sikseks "Simon Secretarios" is most likely Svimon Elmelikidze.

The surname Elmelikidze is not mentioned in the Georgian chronicles. If it is not a surname but a patronymic then we should pay attention to the inscription made in the 15<sup>th</sup> century on Largvisi Gospel (13<sup>th</sup> century). The inscription says, "*God intercede for Elmelik and Dedopali (Queen?) and their sons Giorgi and Datuna*". The inscription belongs to the dynasty of Ksani Eristavi (Dukes). Elmeliki mentioned in the inscription (the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) can be even a descendant of Svimon's father. If Svimon belonged to the dynasty of Ksani Eristavi, it explains why the Siksek family tradition says that he was from the north of Georgia and a nobleman. The chronicles of the Ksani Eristavi "Dzegli Eristavta" gives us the names of direct heirs, e.g. out of Shalva Kvenifneveli's 14 children only two are mentioned by name<sup>27</sup>. If we accept the assumption that Svimon Elmelikidze was sent to Jerusalem by Vakhtang III, we should also mention that Shalva Kvenifneveli was one of the closest and most loyal companions of Vakhtang. It sounds logical that the king would send one of the representatives of Kvenifnevelis with an important mission to Jerusalem. Svimon must have been a close relative of Shalva Kvenifneveli. Later in 1320 King George V the Brilliant sent Pipa Kvenifneveli (son of Shalva) and the priest Ioane Bandaisdze as

<sup>25</sup> Zhamtaaghmtsereli. *The Chronicle of One Hundred Years*, 203; V. Kiknadze. *Georgia in XIV century*, 35-36; Ts. Ghvaberidze. *Relations of Georgia with the Il-Khanid Iran and the Jaqlairids*, (საქართველოს ურთიერთობა ილხანთა ირანთან და ჯალაირთა სახელმწიფოსთან), Tbilisi 1986, 14-15.

<sup>26</sup> Ts. Ghvaberidze. *Relations of Georgia with the Ilkhanid Iran ...*, 14-15.

<sup>27</sup> "Annals of the Eristavi". Family Chronicles of the Eristavi of Ksani. Text was edited and accompanied with the studies, glossary and indices by Sh. Meskhia. "ძეგლი ერისთავთა". ქსნის ერისთავთა საგვარეულო მაგიანე. შ. მესხიას რედაქციით, "Materials on the history of Georgia and Caucasus", 30, Tbilisi 1954, 349.

envoys to the Sultan of Egypt. We can assume that he took into consideration the previous experience of the Kvenifnevelis in this matter. It is also noteworthy that St. Barbara's church was built in Kvenifnevi in the former residence site of the Eristavi. Grigol Peradze and George Siksek never met after 1936. George Siksek did not know about the martyrdom of Grigol Peradze and Father Grigol never found out whose descendant he met in Jerusalem.

#### Georgian-Arabic Chronicle of a Jerusalemite Family

The present paper explores the identity and ancestry of Mr. Siksek, a resident of Jerusalem mentioned in the diary of St. Grigol Peradze "Roses of Jericho". In 1936 when Grigol Peradze was in Jerusalem he met this man three times. However, he did not mention the man's first name, his age or his occupation in the diary. Nevertheless, we managed to identify the person. He was George Siksek, a well-known person in the Christian community of Palestine who held various positions in the period of the British Mandate. The paper presents a detailed biography of George Siksek and information about his family members.

The paper also explores the oral tradition of the Siksek family. George Siksek told this story Grigol Peradze this narrative to Grigol Peradze as well. According to the narrative the ancestor of the Sikseks was Simon, an envoy and a secretary sent by the Georgian king to Jerusalem to help the Cross Monastery in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In 1912 George Siksek wrote this narrative in Arabic. Along with the influence of various chronicles and historic sources this story also contains some original data from the family tradition. These details were separated and thoroughly analyzed in the paper and cross-checked with the other data. As many members of the Siksek family were clerics and some of them served in Cross Monastery in Jerusalem, the author of the paper concludes that the family tradition was originally in writing. At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the Georgians lost the Cross Monastery and the Georgian community in Jerusalem was destroyed the Siksek family's narrative was preserved as an oral tradition.

The paper also analyzes the data of the Cross Monastery Agapes. Agapes No 84/81, 65/63, 206/203 dating back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century mention Svimon Elmelikidze. In two cases he is mentioned as the abbot of the Cross Monastery and in one case as a secular assistant of the abbot. Based on the chronology and other crucial details the author concludes that Simon, the ancestor of the Sikseks is the same person as Svimon Elmelikidze mentioned in the Agapes. By order of King Vakhtang III Svimon travelled to Jerusalem with his family at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (when the Cross Monastery was in the hands of the Muslims). He actively participated in freeing the Monastery and its restoration. After freeing of the Cross Monastery (1305 or 1310) Svimon's descendants lived in the Monastery for a century and in 1432 they moved to the Christian Quarter of Jerusalem.

The author assumes that Svimon Elmelikidze belonged to the dynasty of Kvenifneveli (Ksani) Dukes. His argument is based on the mentioning of a man named Elmelik in one of the manuscripts of Ksani Dukes. The author believes that the Sikseks' narrative is true and verifies it with the data of historic sources.

The paper shows that Grogol Peradze and George Siksek never met after 1936. George Siksek did not know about the martyrdom of Grigol Peradze.





## A REPRESSED POLISH PAINTER IN SOVIET GEORGIA DURING STALIN'S TERROR KIRILL ZDANEVICH

*by Maka Khutsishvili  
University of Warsaw/Tbilisi*

### Introduction

This article presents a case of Soviet repressions on the example of a Polish origin painter living in soviet Georgia in the late 1940s.

It is well known, that “Great Purge” during the years 1937-1938 was a peak of Stalin’s terror, but throughout the history of the Soviet Union there had always been political repressions against the “anti-Soviet elements” and “enemies of the people”.

There are some works about Kirill Zdanevich in Georgian historiography, but from the perspective of his activities, details are not known about his repressions. The article is based on the primary sources, aiming to fill this gap in this regard and enter the academic circulation for the first time ever.

Kirill Zdanevich was repressed at the end of the 1940s charged with spying just for the reason, that he befriended a Scottish journalist visiting Moscow.

Kirill Zdanevich is known to the Georgian society for his artistic activity, but there is little known about the painter’s biography. I tried to reconstruct details of his life through the use of oral history narratives alongside periodical sources. Karaman Kutateladze<sup>1</sup>, the painter’s grandson told me about the artist.

### Early life and activity

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century several national uprising occurred in Poland, which were led by the Polish nobility (Shlakhta). Their goal was regaining independence and liberate from Russia’s domination.

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<sup>1</sup> Karaman Kutateladze – grandson of Kirill Zdanevich, lives in Tbilisi at the age of 59.

All uprising had ended in failure of the national forces. The Metropolis used loyal methods against the losers because the case concerned with the aristocracy. They were exiled to the Caucasus and into Siberia. Deported people called the Caucasus Warm Siberia.

Kirill Zdanevich's ancestor was also a military insurgent of the Polish national uprising in 1863 and deported to the Caucasus.

Karaman Kutateladze: "Military personals were not settled in cities, thus ancestor of Kirill Zdanevich lived in one of the villages of the Kutais Governorate. His parents inhabited in Tiflis<sup>2</sup> and they had a villa in Kojori, wherein Kirill was born in 1892. Father Michail was a french language teacher at the first gymnasium in Tiflis. His mother was Georgian origin, Valentina Gamkrelidze. She was a pianist. Unfortunately, I don't know from which city of Poland ancestor of Kirill was originated"<sup>3</sup>.

Kirill Zdanevich received elementary art education in Tiflis. He also took classes of a very famous painter by that time Nikolay Sklifasovsky<sup>4</sup> and then continued his studies at St. Petersburg Academy of Art, but he didn't complete the course. The first personal exhibition of Kirill Zdanevich opened in Moscow and Tbilisi in 1911.

In 1913 Kirill Zdanevich headed to Paris to study fine art. In Paris he was working in the workshop of the sculptor Alexander Archipenko<sup>5</sup> and opened his solo exhibition. His works had been so much appreciated, that collectors purchased some of them. Even Pablo Picasso visited the exhibition and wrote on the wall "5+Picasso".

After the outbreak of World War I, Kirill Zdanevich was called on the North-West front. Fearless fighter was awarded several medals, which he sold during times of hardship. The war stopped his creative life, but after returning from the front he started painting over again. Kirill Zdanevich became a member of "Futurist Syndicate". Later, he joined the "leftists" among them were representatives of various fields of art.

Kirill Zdanevich was making intellectual-cultural life of the then Tiflis varied. He was a theater designer and working with Kote Marjanishvili<sup>6</sup>, designing very beautiful scenic decorations in Tiflis

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<sup>2</sup> Capital city of Georgia was called as Tiflis until 1936.

<sup>3</sup> K. Kutateladze, oral history interview was submitted by Maka Khutsishvili, Georgia, Tbilisi 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Nikolay Sklifasovsky was a Russian origin painter and teacher. He moved to Georgia in 1895. Sklifasovsky opened courses in drawing and painting in his house.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Archipenko was a Ukrainian-born American avant-garde artist, sculptor, and graphic artist. He lived in Paris during the years from 1908 to 1914.

<sup>6</sup> Kote Marjanishvili was a Georgian theater director (1872-1933).

Opera House. Alongside the local artists Sergei Sudeikin<sup>7</sup>, Lado Gudiashvili<sup>8</sup>, and others Kirill Zdanevich also painted the Tiflis artistic café “Kimerioni” (currently Rustaveli Theater), decorated Art-cafes – “Argonavtebis Navi” and “Fantastiuri Dukani” with murals.

Karaman Kutateladze: “Kirill referred to himself as Polish and a Georgian too. He was very appreciated in Poland. After returning from fifteen years of exile in the late 1960s, when he visited Warsaw was accepted as a national hero. His book about Pirosmeni was translated into Polish language.

Valeria, first wife of Kirill was Polish origin, sister of painter Zygmunt Valishevski<sup>9</sup>. He had a son from the first marriage. For the second time he got married a Georgian lady. From the second marriage he had two daughters – my mother and my aunt. He made a friend with the Georgian artists, writers: Elene Akhvlediani<sup>10</sup>, Lado Gudiashvili, Paolo Iashvili<sup>11</sup>, Titsian Tabidze<sup>12</sup>, Grigol Robakidze<sup>13</sup>, generally he had friendly relations with Blue Horn Modernists<sup>14</sup>. Kirill has written notable memories about them”<sup>15</sup>.

#### The discovery of Pirosmeni

Georgian fine arts are enriched by unique works by Kirill Zdanevich. Except that Kirill Zdanevich created the original masterpieces along with his brother Ilya and their friend, artist Mikhail Le Dantiu completely unexpectedly discovered remarkable paintings by an unknown and untrained artist in a wine cellar in Tiflis in 1912. Up to this moment he had also noticed on the store banners and signboards such kinds of paintings. Actually, brothers Ilya and Kirill Zdanevich discovered Georgian painter Pirosmeni and promoted his works in Georgia and to the then European art society.

Karaman Kutateladze: “discovery of Pirosmeni was related to futuristic theories. Kirill and Ilya saw inside him a Georgian genetic remembrance, immediacy, which was exactly compatible with these theories.

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<sup>7</sup> Sergei Sudeikin was a Russian painter. He arrived to Tiflis in 1919.

<sup>8</sup> Lado Gudiashvili was a Georgian painter (1896-1980).

<sup>9</sup> Zigmunt Valishevski was a Polish origin painter (1897-1936).

<sup>10</sup> Elene Akhvlediani was a Georgian painter (1898-1975).

<sup>11</sup> Paolo Iashvili was a Georgian poet (1894-1937).

<sup>12</sup> Titsian Tabidze was a Georgian poet (1895-1937).

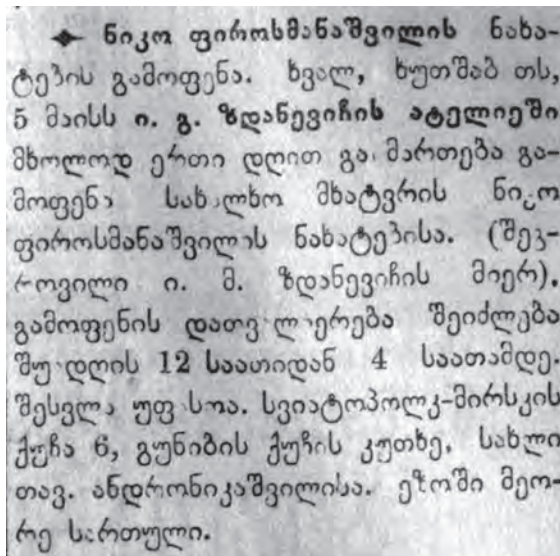
<sup>13</sup> Grigol Robakidze was a Georgian writer, publicist (1880-1962).

<sup>14</sup> “Tsisferkantselebi” a literary movement of Georgian symbolist poets and writers founded in 1916.

<sup>15</sup> K. Kutateladze, oral history interview was submitted by Maka Khutsishvili, Georgia, Tbilisi 2014.

Pirosmani was a gift for them. Ilya writes: “this was my dream, which came true”. The brothers Zdanevich spent a lot of energy to popularize Pirosmani, made the European art public sure to recognize Pirosmani as a great artist. They organized Pirosmani works’ exhibition at the Louvre. Kirill wrote a book about Pirosmani, which published in 1926”<sup>16</sup>.

Kirill Zdanevich started collecting his paintings, was looking for them everywhere, he also found their author and decided to organize an exhibition dedicated to these works. In 1916 the Georgian newspaper “Sakhalkho Furceli” reported the following information: “The exhibition of Niko Pirosmanashvili’s drawings. Tomorrow, Thursday, on 5 May at the atelier of K. M. Zdanevich will take place an exhibition of paintings (collected by K. M. Zdanevich) of People’s artist Niko Pirosmanashvili during only one day, you can see the exhibition from 12:00 p.m. to 16:00 p.m. Free entrance. Sviatopolk-Mirski street № 6, Gubini street corner. House of Prince Andronikashvili. In the yard second floor”<sup>17</sup>.



Piece of the Georgian newspaper: “Sakhalkho Furtseli” in original (Public sheet).

<sup>16</sup> K. Kutateladze, oral history interview was submitted by Maka Khutsishvili, Georgia, Tbilisi 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Sakhalkho Furceli, 1916 May 4, N566, p. 2.

Exactly on that day the then Tiflis society saw for the first time absolute genial paintings of an unknown artist. Actually, Pirosmani is a present of the Polish origin brothers to the Georgian people.

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It is well known, that the Soviet system demanded strict obedience in all areas of life, free thinking was unacceptable. During the “Great Terror” many intellectuals were executed or deported to Siberia. Repressions continued in 1940s not on a large scale, but in this period also were persecuted “unsustainable” and “harmful” elements, which were called “enemies of people”.

Karaman Kutateladze: “Kirill was an artist, futurist, they also were called as formalists, which was in contradiction with the framework of socialist art and as “unsustainable” person he was arrested in 1947. He was sentenced to ten years, sent to the Gulag (Inta Komi ASSR). Legends had been walking of how Kirill deeply loved Tbilisi’s “Dinamo”<sup>18</sup>. 40 degrees of frost he used to go out to the plac (only there was a radio) and listened to during two hours, how “Dinamo” was winning or losing. If “Dinamo” lost when entered inside, prisoners did on his shoulder a black ribbon.

Kirill painted even during his stay in exile. After ten years of imprisonment he had been in exile for five years near Moscow and had not right to live in Moscow or in Tbilisi.

As I know from my mother they came in and looked for something (for a certain period of time Kirill lived in Moscow, cooperated with the Foreger theater, publishing houses, in Moscow he had an apartment and he was arrested in Moscow) in searching the empty whiskey bottle fell out of the window. Kirill had a Scottish friend writer, journalist. He brought this whiskey and friends drank together. That was the reason for the arrest as a spy, which drinks whiskey with the West agent.

When he was released from prison demanded the case, which turned out to be completely empty. There is no real charge of why he was arrested.

He was released a year earlier, than he had given. Overall, he spent 14 years in custody. After release he lived for ten years. When he arrived had nothing. As my mother told me, friends gave him clothes”<sup>19</sup>.

Kirill Zdanevich passed away in 1969. He is interred in Didube Pantheon in Tbilisi.

It should be noted that Kirill’s brother Ilya was also artist and a representative of Georgian avant-garde. Ilya Zdanevich left the Soviet Union in 1930s and moved to Paris, there continued his activity.

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<sup>18</sup> Dinamo Tbilisi is a Georgian professional football club. It is founded in 1925.

<sup>19</sup> K. Kutateladze, oral history interview was submitted by Maka Khutsishvili, Georgia, Tbilisi 2014.



Kirill Zdanevich, volunteer during World War I

*Photograph from the Archives of Georgian State Museum  
of Theatre, Music, Cinema and Choreography*



### Conclusion

Kirill Zdanevich along with his brother Ilya brought to Georgia the modernist avant-garde, which is called contemporary art today. Actually by this means Kirill Zdanevich was establishing European values in Georgia and by popularizing of Pirosmeni promoting Georgian culture in the West, which was isolated in the Soviet space at that time. On the initiative of Kirill Zdanevich's grandson, Karaman Kutateladze founded an annual international festival of modern art named after the Brothers Zdaneviche in Georgia.

Kirill Zdanevich was educated in Europe (In France); befriended Pablo Picasso and other European artists; had organized some exhibitions in Europe; and was Polish origin. For the above-listed reasons Kirill Zdanevich was completely unacceptable to the Soviet ideology.

Georgian-Polish relations are various. These are not only cultural connections; it is a sharing history of the people having a great culture, who had to live under the same system for a certain period.

### A repressed Polish painter in Soviet Georgia during Stalin's terror Kirill Zdanevich

Kirill Zdanevich was a Polish origin painter, graphic artist, and scene-designer. He was born in 1892 near Tiflis.

Kirill Zdanevich got education in Russia and Europe. In 1912 moved to St. Petersburg, where he entered the Higher Art Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture under the Imperial Academy of Arts. One year later (1913) he headed to Paris to continue studying and actively involved in the European artistic society. After the First World War started he was called up for military service. Together with his brother Ilya Zdanevich he brought avant-garde art in Georgia for the first time and discovered a uniqueness of the works of the Georgian painter Niko Pirosmeni. After this unexpected discovery Kirill Zdanevich organized the first exhibition of Niko Pirosmeni's works at his home for the Georgian public. He did not spare his efforts to popularize Pirosmeni's output in Georgia and Europe as well.

In 1947 he was arrested as a spy and deported to Siberia. Being into exile slowed his activity, where had been about for 10 years.

The article is based largely on the oral history interview recorded with Karaman Kutateladze, grandson of Kirill Zdanevich in Tbilisi in 2014.



Ilya Zdanevich (left), Tyflis, 1919

*Photograph from the Karaman Kutateladze family archive*

FORMS OF GEORGIAN LITERATURE  
RECEPTION IN 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY.  
UKRAINIAN LITERARY DISCOURSE IN EMIGRATION

*by Ivane Mtchedeladze*  
*Tbilisi State University*

The exploration of Georgian-Foreign Literary Relations in the era of Cultural Globalization remains one of the dominant directions of Comparative Literary Studies. A cultural dialogue determines how and to what extent small national cultures can involve their own heritage in the treasury of mankind and how they can share and learn the experience of local cultures.

Contemporary cultural studies are developing border studies intensively. In this regard, special attention is paid to diaspora and migrants' lives (*ethnic and cultural memory, hybridization and multiculturalism, problems of liminality*) as well as to a study of alternate culture and interdisciplinary connections from the multidisciplinary perspective. Although a number of works have been dedicated to the history of literary and cultural relations between Georgia and Ukraine, the anti-Soviet emigration materials still remain unexplored. The historical events of the twentieth century also had a significant impact on the development of literary processes. The cultural history of the Soviet Union, which was created based on violence, can be divided into two major, opposing models - Soviet and anti-Soviet. Immigration was one of the biggest forms of anti-Soviet protest narrative. At the end of the twentieth century, the interest in colonial and post-colonial studies increased in both comparative literary studies and cultural studies. In the early 1990s, Susan Bassnett suggested that "the arrival of the term 'post-colonial' on the critical scene must surely be one of the most significant developments in comparative literature in the twentieth century"<sup>1</sup>. Post-colonial criticism expands its geographical

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<sup>1</sup> M. Albrecht, *Comparative Literature and Postcolonial Studies Revisited. Reflections in Light of Recent Transitions in the Fields of Postcolonial Studies// Comparative Critical Studies*, 2013, Volume 10, N 1, p. 47.

area of research, and migrates it into the research of Sovietology experiences. Most contemporary researchers believe that post-colonial studies are dominant in researching Soviet and post-Soviet history and cultural-literary processes.

Having studied colonial and anti-imperial discourses in classical and contemporary Ukrainian literature, Ukrainian researchers Budny and V. Ilnitsky draw their classification: “post-colonial studies can be divided into either colonial and neocolonial, imperial (dominated) or colonized “post-colonized (subordinated), anti-colonial and post-colonial categories”<sup>2</sup>. In the same work the authors pay special attention to the emigration materials in the anti-colonial category. The historical and cultural situation has also changed as a result of the falling and sovietization of the People’s Republic of Ukraine. The marginalized/peripheral Ukrainian literature presented as part of the Russian imperial model, seeks to overcome the colonial status by employing modernist /avant-garde trends from the beginning of the twentieth century.

The adoption of a global, modernist cultural style was the expression of synchronous integration with world cultural processes. As is known, the formation of the only movement of the Soviet culture, the so-called Social realism, was found in principle antagonism with free creative processes. This led to the forced stopping of the avant-garde in a number of Soviet republics. Evolutionary development of literary processes was replaced with the revolution, which led to deformation of processes and created two models: in Soviet Ukraine and beyond its borders.

Jean-Marc Moura, a researcher of the Francophone Literature and Postcolonial Theory, shares J. McCloud and other scholars’ ideas that post-colonial studies should focus on “reading the works of emigrating writers from the countries rich with the history of colonialism”<sup>3</sup>.

The imagological model - The Georgian theme in Ukrainian emigrants poetry - can be considered to be the first form of the Georgian-Ukrainian literary reconciliation. Professor of Comparative Literature, Ukrainian Kartvelologist Liudmila Hrytsyk, focused on this very rare event. This was Vyacheslav Lashchenko’s poem called “Sakartvelo”. Vyacheslav Lashchenko was a writer and teacher who emigrated to Europe and America in 1920. In 1927, in Poděbrady, Czechoslovakia, he

<sup>2</sup> Людмила Г р и ц и к, *Українська компаративістика: концептуальні проєкції*, Донецьк «Юго-Восток», 2012, pp. 191-192.

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Marc Moura, *Francophonie Literature and Postcolonial Theory*. Translated from French by Rusudan Turnava. Tbilisi: Publishing House “Mtsignobari”, 2013, pp. 28-29.

published a collection of his works on the “River of Babylon”. The poem “Sakartvelo”<sup>4</sup>, in the opinion of L. Hrytsyk, is dedicated to the revolt of 1924 against the Soviet rule in Georgia, which, in fact, enveloped the whole country. Despite its scale, the rebels were defeated. The Bolsheviks shot many of them and others became victims of repression. Vyacheslav Leshchenko, as an active participant of the cultural processes of the twentieth century, had intensive ties with Kharkov where modern Ukrainian culture was being created. During this period, a Georgian student, M. Kintsurashvili was studying at Kharkov University. He was friends with young F. Zgoralsky and Oleksandr Oles (later a victim of the communist repression, a representative of the “Executed Renaissance”). With their help, the young Georgian student studied the Ukrainian language and even translated Olse’s poem into Georgian. Literary critic L. Hrytsyk proposes the following assumption according to which Vyacheslav Vashenko, through his friends, got acquainted with Kintsurashvili. It was Kintsurashvili who told him about the history of Georgia. During this period only the emigrants, within their circles, could talk and write openly about the anti-Soviet problems. In the context of Georgian-Ukrainian relations, such materials were also unknown for a long time.

The second model of the perception of Georgian literature in the Ukrainian emigrant literature is a critical reception. As is known, in the 20s of the twentieth century, the first wave of Ukrainian intelligentsia was localized in Czechoslovakia - Podêbrady and Prague. In literary studies this group is known under the name of the “Prague School”. According to the established opinion, the poet and culturologist Evhen Malaniuk became the leader of the Ukrainian emigration. Since 1929, Evhen Malaniuk and several representatives of the Prague School (Natalia Livitska-Kholodna, Olena Teliga) have left Czechoslovakia and moved to Poland, where creative activity develops at a new pace. In 1929, a well-known public figure, emigrant Yuri Lipa, with the support of Evhen Malaniuk, and the literary group in Warsaw, founds another literary group, called “Tank”. Apparently, the group “Tank” was one of influential groups in the Ukrainian emigration of the first wave, because it had its branches in Paris, Krakow, Uzzhorod and Podêbrady. In 1933, the literary group with the new name “Us” and with new mem-

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<sup>4</sup> Л. Г р и ц и к, *Українська компаративістика: концептуальні проєкції*, Донецьк «Юго-Восток», 2012, pp. 191-192.

bers founded the famous publishing house “Variag” in Warsaw. Since then, members of the Polish “Tank” have been considered together with the group “Us” and “Variag”. The leader and organizer of all these processes was Evhen Malaniuk.

During one of my scientific trips to Kiev, with the help of the famous Kartvelologist, Honorary Doctor of Tbilisi State University, Professor Liudmila Hrytsyk, I received 4 - 5 issues of the Polish magazine “East” (Wschód/Orient 1933, Rok IV.Nr), which published the Polish translation of “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin” and a four-page publication “Ten, co nosi skórę barsa”. At the end of the review, there was written a cryptonym ‘EM’. After the consultations with Professor L. Hrytsyk, when working on the above-mentioned publication, it became necessary to work on extensive literary materials by the Georgian as well as Ukrainian emigrants. As a result of the special investigation by Georgian and Ukrainian Kartvelologists (whose results were reflected in the publications<sup>5</sup>) it was revealed that the publication was written by Evhen Malaniuk. For the Ukrainian poet, Georgia / Caucasus is associated with the archetype of mythical and ancient culture, which somewhat shares the perception of the Caucasus and Georgia in the Slavic literary tradition. “Caucasus, the heroic and mythical place full of legends, where legends, sayings and myths starting from the Golden Fleece to romantic Bironism, live and transform-revived myths known from the ancient Colchis about the liberation of Georgia by the Caucasian highlanders. The voice of those turbulent years is still heard in the valley between lofty mountains scorched by the southern sun and against this remarkable background, legends about the courage and perseverance of these proud and devoted people have become the sources of many songs. Georgia is in the heart of the Caucasus, together with tragic and heroic histories reflected in the people of the country, which has been the muse of many a poet<sup>6</sup>”.

Malaniuk actively cooperated with the well-known Polish edition “Marcholt`a” which, based on authoritative scientific sources, was one of the most important quarterly publications of Warsaw in litera-

<sup>5</sup> Л. Грицик, *Руставелі в комунікативних моделях Євгена Маланюка* In: *Теорія літератури: концепції, інтерпретації*, Науковий збірник, Київ – Логос – 2014, p. 86-92. [http://philology.knu.ua/files/library/Teoria\\_Liter\\_2012-2015/Teor\\_lit\\_2014.pdf](http://philology.knu.ua/files/library/Teoria_Liter_2012-2015/Teor_lit_2014.pdf); Mchedeladze, I. Ukrainian Anti-Soviet Emigration and Reception of “The Man in the Panther’s kin” in the Context of New Materials. In: *Literary Researches* N# 2, Tbilisi 2017, pp. 225-251; [http://press.tsu.edu.ge/data/file\\_db/elzhurnalebi/journ.pdf](http://press.tsu.edu.ge/data/file_db/elzhurnalebi/journ.pdf)

<sup>6</sup> Е.М. „Ten, co nosi skórę barsa“// Wschód/Orient IV. Nr 5-4 Warszawa: 1933 Rok, p. 78.



ture and culture about Georgia in 1934-1938. Works of various public figures namely R. Ingarden, M. Dabrowska and others were published here at various times and the aesthetics of formalism was discussed<sup>7</sup>. Malianiuk published his project "Drafts on the Typology of Culture" in this very edition. In this essay, he developed the theoretical concepts of interaction between Eastern and Western cultures and intercultural communication. Malianiuk develops the idea that the cultural-literary synthesis is more organic and more productive in the places "where cultural processes exist in a synthetic and fermenting form and continue for centuries". In "Drafts" Malianiuk expresses the following opinion about the East: "We are interested in how the 'Eurasian' is called the East; there are two expressions of the East, southern – the Black Sea coast and Iranian cultures, essentially educated by the influence of the Asia Minor Hellenism and Mediterranean cultures, and the second East is – Mongolian - Altaic"<sup>8</sup>.

This opinion by Malianiuk expressed in 1935 may be considered as another argument if we compare to it the opinion about the Georgian culture expressed in the magazine "The East", expressed slightly earlier: "A country which is encircled by two major cultures Iran -Arabian and Greek (Asia Minor), formed as a statehood much earlier than European ones did. In the beginning of European history, Georgian culture has already had its distinctive form, which was based on the Byzantine and rich Arabic-Persian cultures<sup>9</sup>". He also writes that "when the history of Europe was threatened by various invaders, the role of Georgia and Georgian culture was immeasurably great for them"<sup>10</sup>.

When writing about the Georgian Renaissance and Humanism, Malianiuk relies on I. Kavtaradze's work well-known in Poland in the 20s, which he also cites in the publication (J. Kawtaradze "Gruzja", p. 52), "The epoch of the Renaissance in the XII century was expressed in the original Georgian Humanism, which was the result of a vivid blend of a healthy and intelligent West and passionate and fantastic East". Only on the basis of a developed and mature culture (from such writers as Khoneli, Shavteli, Chakhrukhadze and a cohort of writers of

<sup>7</sup> A. Biernacki, Marcholt in: *Literatura polska XX wieku. Przewodnik encyklopedyczny*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo naukowe PWN, 2000, p.411.

<sup>8</sup> С. М а л а н ю к, *Шкіці до типології культур//Вісниківство. Літературна традиція та ідеї*. Дрогобич, 2009, p. 321.

<sup>9</sup> Е.М. „Ten, co nosi skórę barsa“, in: *Wschód/Orient IV*. Nr 5-4 Warszawa: 1933 Rok, p. 78.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

similar standards) could the eternal poem “Man in the Panther Skin”<sup>11</sup> have been born from the pen of the ‘King of Literature’, Shota Rustaveli.

According to the established consideration in Literary Theory, “the task of the cross-cultural communication is to explore the problems of mutual understanding of the representatives of different national cultures in today’s politico-cultural space. The scope of this science also includes the study of the relationships between different cultures and ethnos<sup>12</sup>”. In the process of intercultural contacts it is important to understand the ethno-cultural expression of “the stranger” / “Other”.

In the Ukrainian scientific discourse the perception of the Georgian literary canon was established in the context of the Christian culture of the East, which led to the study of its literature in Oriental studios. The perception of Georgia in the context of the Oriental countries had a geopolitical significance: such an approach, according to the Russian tradition, served to promote the Orientalization of the Georgian culture, which is similar to the model of Culture and Imperialism suggested by E. Said<sup>13</sup>.

Professor of Comparative Literature, I. Ratiani’s reasoning “The realization of the Georgian literary canon must be strictly carried out with respect to Western and Eastern models of the universal canon<sup>14</sup>”. The researcher also notes that the Universal Model from the perspective of the Georgian National canon reads as predominantly western / Christian, which also expresses the state of Georgian literature, but due to various factors, it is tolerant towards oriental culture<sup>15</sup>. It may be possible to argue that the perception of the Georgian culture by Malaniuk is such a trans-civilized approach in the context of a dialogue of Western and Eastern cultures.

Literary translation has become an important form of Georgian - Ukrainian literary interpretation in emigration. In this respect the

<sup>11</sup> Е.М. „Ten, co nosi skórę barsa“, in: *Wschód/Orient* IV. Nr 5-4 Warszawa: 1933 Rok, p. 78.

<sup>12</sup> I. M o d e b a d z e, „Long Live Understanding!“ Interpretations on the Themes: *Linguo-Culturology, Inter-Cultural Communication, Cross-Cultural Linguistics, Cross-Cultural Dialogue* // *Sjani Annual Scientific Journal of Literary Theory and Comparative Literature*, Volume 11, Tbilisi, 2010, pp. 128-134.

<sup>13</sup> М. К а р б е л а ш в и л и, *Проблема сюжета поэмы Руставели «Витязь в тигровой шкуре» в контексте геополитики: Грузия – Европа или Азия?* // Сджани (Размышления). 15. Журнал теорий литературы и сравнительного литературоведения. Тбилиси: Издательство Института Литературы, 2014, pp. 126-144.

<sup>14</sup> I. R a t i a n i, *Georgian Literature and the World Literary Process*, Tbilisi, 2015, p.47.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 46.

translation work of the famous culturologist, translator and orientalist Vladimir Derzhavin stands out distinctively. It is well known that he was fluent in Oriental languages and studied classical philology at St. Petersburg and Kharkov University. Derzhavin has important research in the theory of literature and translation. Since 1944, Derzhavin is in immigration in Europe. He is an active member of the Ukrainian art movement in Munich, Germany.

The public-political and literary journal published by the Ukrainian emigrants "Liberation Road" was founded in London in 1948. It was this journal which published V. Dzerhavin's translations of classical and modernist Georgian poetry. V. Derzhavin translated the 19th century Georgian poems by Orbeliani "Queen Tamar's Face in the Church of Bethania", and "Horn" by R. Eristavi. As well as this, he translated Georgian modernist poetry. The main principle of the material selection was based on the idea of making the Georgian national culture known to the Ukrainian reader. Derzhavin translated the poems dedicated to the legendary Georgian queen - Тамар (Важа-Пшавела «Велика Тамара», Ал. Шаншіяшвілі «Тамара»), Georgian mythology dedicated to the famous hero Amiran (Коте Макашвілі «Амірані», Акакі Цецелі «Амерані»), Iia Chavchavadze (Ти, прегарний краю мій) and Akaki's Khandzhali (Кинджал). To explain Georgian cultural realities, Derzhavin, as a translator, uses the commentary method and explains the role of Queen Tamar in the history of Georgia. As for Amiran, he considers him as a hero in Georgian mythology, which is similar to the Greek Prometheus. At this stage, with the help of Professor L. Hrytsyk (*which is why the author of this article is very grateful to her*) this material has been made available to us to reflect on Georgian-Ukrainian literary relations in emigration. However, it may be reasonable to assume that there are still many undisturbed materials in both Ukrainian and Georgian archives.

Forms of Georgian Literature reception in 20<sup>th</sup> century.  
Ukrainian Literary Discourse in Emigration

This article discusses the cases of Georgian-Ukrainian literary relationships in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The empirical material is based on the newly found materials about the Ukrainian anti-Soviet intellectual emigration, which reflect the forms of reception of Georgian literature represented in various forms; namely, the Georgian theme in Ukrainian emigrant literature (the poem “Sakartvelo” by Vyacheslav Lashchenko); critical reception (the publication by Evgeni Malaniuk “the Knight in the Panther’s Skin”, based on the author’s theoretical reasoning of intercultural communication (“Drafts on the Typology of Culture”)). The third model of perception singled out in the article refers to translation. The history of the Georgian poetry is analyzed based on the data from the Ukrainian diaspora circles. The article also discusses translations of the Georgian poetry by the Ukrainian translator, theorist and famous Orientalist V. Derzhavin.

## LOST TRIBE OF ISRAEL: THE JEWS OF DAGESTAN

by *Varvara Krasutskaya*  
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Introduction to the terminology: Ashkenazim, Sephardim and Mizrahim.

“Who is a Jew?” is the ultimate dilemma being discussed probably since the beginning of Judaism and the Jewish nation. It is not only a question posed from the outside, but also an issue of internal self-identification coming from inside Jewish communities. “To be a Jew” may contain multiple religious, cultural, ethnic and genealogical components depending on the approach one chooses.

Judaism can be primarily divided into Ultra-Orthodox - the most dogmatic branch, Orthodox and Conservative (the most adhered to) and Reform - the most liberal<sup>1</sup>. Each denomination has its own norms and expectations. In Orthodox and Conservative Judaism a Jew is a person born by a Jewish mother or a Convert who underwent orthodox giyur - the process of conversion to Judaism<sup>2</sup>. According to *halacha* - the Jewish law<sup>3</sup>, once one has finished the conversion process, no Jew is allowed to remind that person<sup>4</sup> about it (Talmud (Bava Metzia 58b-59b)). The type of conversion is also very important, since not all conversions are recognised by all branches of Judaism.

However, two opinion polls (Pew Research Center 2013 survey of U.S. Jews<sup>5</sup> and Pew Research Center 2016 survey of Israeli Jews<sup>6</sup>) have

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<sup>1</sup> W. H a z e n, (2002, September 1), *Inside Judaism*, Milliken Publishing Company.

<sup>2</sup> M. D i e m l i n g, L. R a y, (2015, September 7), *Boundaries, Identity and Belonging in Modern Judaism*, Routledge.

<sup>3</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, Halakhah, Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Halakhah>

<sup>4</sup> Rabbi Dr. Gidon R o t h s t e i n, *Treating Converts Well and Carefully*, Retrieved from: <https://www.ou.org/torah/machshava/change-your-pesach-change-your-life/treating-converts-well-and-carefully/>

<sup>5</sup> PEW Research Center (2013, October 1), *A Portrait of Jewish Americans*, Retrieved from: <http://www.pewforum.org/2013/10/01/chapter-3-jewish-identity/>

<sup>6</sup> PEW Research Center (2016, March 8), *Israel's Religiously Divided society*, Retrieved from: <http://www.pewforum.org/2016/03/08/identity/>

shown that vast majority of Jews in America and Israel primarily identified with ancestry, Jewish culture and tradition, while religion was less valuable to them<sup>7</sup>. Mountain Jews however have their own historical and cultural path, which shaped their identity and defined their unique place within the Jewish world.

Of course, Jewish identity can also be understood through ethnicity. The most distinct, homogeneous and well-known ethnic group is Ashkenazi Jews, who are indeed the most numerous Jewish ethnic division<sup>8</sup>.

In *sensu largo* Jews can be separated into three main ethnic groups according to their historical migration patterns: Mizrahim - Eastern or oriental, Sephardim - Jews of Spain and Portugal and Ashkenazim<sup>9</sup>, who emerged from the Holy Roman Empire<sup>10</sup> in the middle ages.

This primordial split's influence is not limited to simple physical appearance, but also deeper, more "fluid" concepts, such as spirituality, values and the interpretation of the Jewish law - halacha. The term Ashkenazim refers to Jews from Central and Eastern Europe or, so-called, "white Jews", those whose voices are heard loudly<sup>11</sup>. Ashkenazim are the people responsible for matzo-balls, Hasidism, Yiddish and Woody Allen. They are the people, whom most would describe, if ask to imagine a Jew. However, Jewish identity and its characteristics among cultures will differ. For example, in the poll mentioned above American Jews were more likely than Israelis "to see intellectual curiosity and a good sense of humor as key parts of their Jewish identity"<sup>12</sup>. Diane Tobin called the limited understanding of diversity, race and Judaism the "Woody Allen syndrome"<sup>13</sup>, according to which Jews are presented as

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<sup>7</sup> M. Lipka, (2016, March 16), *A closer look at Jewish identity in Israel and the U.S.*, Retrieved from: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/03/16/a-closer-look-at-jewish-identity-in-israel-and-the-u-s/>

<sup>8</sup> A. J. Heschel, (1948, May 1), *The Two Great Traditions: The Sephardim and the Ashkenazim*, Retrieved from: <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-two-great-traditionsthe-sephardim-and-the-ashkenazim/>

<sup>9</sup> M. Rabbi Rachel Solomon, *Sephardic, Ashkenazic, Mizrahi and Ethiopian Jews*, Retrieved from: <https://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/sephardic-ashkenazic-mizrahi-jews-jewish-ethnic-diversity/>

<sup>10</sup> C. Mosk, (2013). *Nationalism and economic development in modern Eurasia*. New York: Routledge. p. 143.

<sup>11</sup> D. Shasha (2010, June 20), *Understanding the Sephardi-Ashkenazi Split*, Retrieved from: [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-shasha/understanding-the-sephard\\_b\\_541033.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-shasha/understanding-the-sephard_b_541033.html)

<sup>12</sup> M. Lipka (2016, March 16), *A closer look at Jewish identity in Israel and the U.S.*, Retrieved from: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/03/16/a-closer-look-at-jewish-identity-in-israel-and-the-u-s/>

<sup>13</sup> D. Tobin (2012, June 7), *Are All Jews White? The Woody Allen Syndrome*, Retrieved from: [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/diane-tobin/are-all-jews-white-the-woody-allen-syndrome\\_b\\_1577788.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/diane-tobin/are-all-jews-white-the-woody-allen-syndrome_b_1577788.html)

quick, funny and most importantly - white. Such a stereotype is widely presented both inside and outside the international Jewish community<sup>14</sup>.

In Israel and the USA, majorities said that remembering the Holocaust is essential to their Jewish identities (73% in U.S., 65% in Israel<sup>15</sup>). But what about those who don't feel that way? Jewish history is thought of mainly as European, Sephardi and Mizrahi students studying in Israel and interacting daily with state institutions and the larger society are not taught about their heritage and history as Jews in the Orient. This has led to Ashkenazi culture dominating Jewish culture to the point of it becoming ashke-normative. Anne McClintock in her book "*Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*" mentions that during the educational process non Ashkenazi children are automatically included into Ashkenazic historical memory of "our ancestors, the residents of the shtetls (small Jewish towns) of Poland and Russia<sup>16</sup>". Jews from Muslim and Arabic countries only feature in this history timeline at the beginning of the many aliyoth - Jewish migrations to Israel, when the two groups literally appeared on the map of a Jewish state: in British Mandate Palestine, now known as Israel.<sup>17</sup> In reality, the "story" of the Sephardim and Mizrahim starts much earlier.

Before contemporary Zionism, during the Ottoman Empire, Oriental Jews represented the majority of the entire Jewish population of Palestine (Jewish population was around 80-90.000 - 14% of the total population<sup>18</sup>). They were the biggest and wealthiest group with sophisticated manners<sup>19</sup> and prestigious education. These Mizrahi Jews came to Palestine much earlier than the others and saw themselves as a type of Jewish nobility<sup>20,21</sup>. The strong social and economical position of

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>15</sup> M. Lipka (2016, March 16), *A closer look at Jewish identity in Israel and the U.S.*, Retrieved from: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/03/16/a-closer-look-at-jewish-identity-in-israel-and-the-u-s/>

<sup>16</sup> A. McClintock (1997), *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, University of Minnesota Press, p. 45.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>18</sup> A. Jacobson (2001), *The Sephardi Jewish Community in Pre-World War*, Journal of Palestine Studies p. 24, Retrieved from: [http://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/14\\_Sephardi\\_2.pdf](http://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/14_Sephardi_2.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> A. J. Heschel, (1948, May 1), *The Two Great Traditions: The Sephardim and the Ashkenazim*, Retrieved from: <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-two-great-traditionthe-sephardim-and-the-ashkenazim/>

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>21</sup> D. Shasha (2010, June 20), *Understanding the Sephardi-Ashkenazi Split*, Retrieved from: [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-shasha/understanding-the-sephard\\_b\\_541033.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-shasha/understanding-the-sephard_b_541033.html)



Eastern Jews was based on their knowledge of the Muslim culture and traditions of their overlords<sup>22</sup>. The mentality of the Ottoman functionaries was much more familiar and approachable to the Jews from Muslim countries rather than to the Ashkenazim<sup>23</sup>. The majority of Sephardim were not just Sephardic, but called themselves “*Sephardi Tagor*” - pure sephard<sup>24</sup>. Many of them were able to trace their heritage back to the time of Columbus or even earlier. They had distinctive Spanish last names<sup>25</sup>, such as: Calderon, Rubio, Toledano, Castro, Franco et cetera. All of which was well-received by the Ottoman leaders. However, the domination of the Eastern-Jewish culture failed with the start of the British Mandate, as Ashkenazim adapted to the cooperation with the new authorities much better. Since then Ashkenazic culture started to be treated as the higher class culture, repatriates from Casablanca or Baghdad were treated as second class citizens, even if they had been better educated or had their own businesses. New immigrants from Arab countries were settled in barracks and were not offered the same jobs as their Ashkenazi neighbours. In schools Mizrahi and Sephardic children were asked to forget their “primitive culture” and take an example from the “white” Israelis<sup>26</sup>.

Sephardim, ethnically, are ancestors of Jews which coalesced on the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages and those, who had lived in Northern Africa: Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco<sup>27</sup>. Nowadays, the term “Sephardim” is used to refer to Eastern and West Asian Jewish communities, to those who are non ashkenazi. Even though genealogically not rooted to the Iberian Jewish Tribes of modern Spain and Portugal, they have adopted a Sephardic style of liturgy and customs. This could be a result of Sephardim joining Mizrahi communities

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<sup>22</sup> E. B. Ekinçi (2017, October 13), *Jewish Community in Ottoman Empire*, Retrieved from: <https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2017/10/13/jewish-community-in-ottoman-empire>

<sup>23</sup> A. Jacobson (2001), *The Sephardi Jewish Community in Pre-World War*, Journal of Palestine Studies p. 24, Retrieved from: [http://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/14\\_Sephardi\\_2.pdf](http://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/14_Sephardi_2.pdf)

<sup>24</sup> З. Гейзель (2000), *Разные евреи Израиля*, Retrieved from: <http://www.berkovich-zametki.com/Nomer17/Geyzell.htm>

<sup>25</sup> M. P. Raphael (2017, August 7), *THE MEANING OF SOME COMMON SEPHARDIC LAST NAMES*, Retrieved from: <http://esefarad.com/?p=79424>

<sup>26</sup> З. Гейзель (2000), *Разные евреи Израиля*, Retrieved from: <http://www.berkovich-zametki.com/Nomer17/Geyzell.htm>

<sup>27</sup> A. J. Heschel (1948, May 1), *The Two Great Traditions: The Sephardim and the Ashkenazim*, Retrieved from: <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-two-great-traditionsthe-sephardim-and-the-ashkenazim/>

after the 1492 Alhambra Decree, which expelled Jews from Spain and Portugal<sup>28</sup>. This is emphasized further today in Israel as all Mizrahi Rabbis are under the jurisdiction of the Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Israel.

For the purpose of the article I would suggest to use stricter but a less common definition of “Mizrahi” which literally means “eastern Jews”<sup>29</sup>. The term covers descendants of Babylon, local middle-eastern communities and Mountain Jews, who call themselves Juhuro<sup>30</sup>, Gorsky Jews, Kavkazi Jews and sometimes referred as Tats, living mainly in Dagestan, Azerbaijan, Chechnya and Ingushetia.

Juhuro of Dagestan are the main subject of my research and are classified as representatives of the Mizrahi Jewry, however, I suspect that the identity of Mountain Jews is in fact much more complex. The lifestyle, physical appearance and traditions of Juhuro are directly affected by their Muslim neighbours. Gorsky Jews have two mother tongues: Russian and Juhuri - a Judeo-persian dialect, the equivalent of Yiddish in Europe or Ladino spoken in the Ottoman Empire. Since all Northern Caucasus Jews also speak Russian, they are often mistaken as members of the Russian Ashkenazi Jewry, even though they differ greatly from European Jews.

The multiple factors that constitute Mountain Jewish identity are ambiguous, malleable but essential. This identity is not exactly coherent with the simplistic distinction of Mizrahi, Sephardi and Ashkenazi.

For example, the Mountain Jews I met see nothing heterogeneous to be Jewish, Russian, Sephardic, Mizrahi and Caucasians observing some Muslim traditions, all the while, nurturing their Jewish heritage. During my pilot research, I realized that they could be easily mistaken for Caucasians while in Moscow, Russian Ashkenazim in Israel or Muslim Caucasians in America. Trying to clarify who they really are, Juhuro introduce themselves as Caucasian Jews from Russia<sup>31</sup>.

I aim to show that Mountain Jews are a separate Jewish cultural and religious group, which could be understood and reviewed from vari-

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<sup>28</sup> E. B. Ekinçi (2017, October 13), *Jewish Community in Ottoman Empire*, Retrieved from: <https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2017/10/13/jewish-community-in-ottoman-empire>

<sup>29</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, *Mizrahi Jews*, Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Oriental-Jews>

<sup>30</sup> J. B. Minahan (2014, February 10), *Ethnic Groups of North, East, and Central Asia: An Encyclopedia*, ABC-CLIO.

<sup>31</sup> R. Mordechai (2014, April 17), *The Community That Dwells In Remote Mountains: The History And Culture Of Gorsky Jews*, Retrieved from: [www.jewishpress.com/sections/features/features-on-jewish-world/the-community-that-dwells-in-remote-mountains-the-history-and-culture-of-gorsky-jews/2014/04/17/](http://www.jewishpress.com/sections/features/features-on-jewish-world/the-community-that-dwells-in-remote-mountains-the-history-and-culture-of-gorsky-jews/2014/04/17/)

ous perspectives. As Russian speakers they can be viewed as part of the Russian Ashkenazim. According to Israeli law<sup>32</sup> all Mountain Jewish Rabies function under the auspices of the Chief Sephardic Rabbi of Israel. Culturally the Mountain Jewish community is very close to the rest of the Caucasian nations, however being one of the peoples who received Torah in Sinai is essential for the Caucasian Jews I met. However, I perceive Juhuro as an absolutely unique, separate group with its own culture, rite, traditions and identity, different from the rest of Jewry, but at the same time - an important part of it.

After conducting initial source study into Jewish communities I came to the conclusion that an imaginary congeneric Jewish world does not exist in the meaning I imagined. It was almost impossible for me to come up with a “common denominator” in order to define central aspects of Jewish identity.

#### The place of Mountain Jews among the Lost Tribes of Israel

According to the Torah the Twelve Tribes of Israel are the descendants of the twelve sons of the patriarch Jacob by his wives Leah and Rachel and concubines Zilpah and Bilhah (Deuteronomy 33:6–25 / Judges 5:14–18). Even though the term “ten lost tribes” does not appear in the Torah per se, the discourse was shaped in both the Jewish and Christian communities<sup>33</sup>: in the New Testament it is stated that ten out of twelve tribes of Israel are missing. In the *Tanach* - the old testament - Isaiah was the first Prophet who described the loss of the tribes in Assyria<sup>34</sup>: the tribes of Reuben, Simeon, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Manasseh and Ephraim<sup>35</sup>.

A major theme of various messianic visions is the return of the lost tribes to reunite with the rest of Israel. Anthropologist Shalva Weil has examined various tribes and peoples claiming to be part of the Lost Tribes across the world<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> CHIEF RABBINATE OF ISRAEL LAW, 5740-1980, Retrieved from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170217091701/http://www.israelawresourcecenter.org/israelaws/fulltext/chiefabbinateisrael.htm>

<sup>33</sup> Z. Ben-Dor Benite (2009, September 4), *The Ten Lost Tribes: A World History*, Oxford University Press.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>35</sup> R. Clayton Brough (1979), *The Lost Tribes: History, Doctrine, Prophecies, and Theories about Israel's Lost Ten Tribes*, Cedar Fort.

<sup>36</sup> S. Weil (1991), *Beyond the Sambatyon: the Myth of the Ten Lost Tribes*, Tel-Aviv: Beth Hatefutsoth, the Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora.

For example, in 1605, Jesuit missionary, Matteo Ricci, found a community of ten or twelve families of Chinese Jews in China, the Kaifeng Jews<sup>37</sup>. We can also consider contemporary communities such as: **Bnei Menashe** located in the North-Eastern Indian states of Mizoram and Manipur, who have been studying Hebrew and observing Halacha<sup>38</sup>. The representatives of Bnei Menashe regularly migrate to Israel, where they continue their Jewish learning and deepen their Jewish tradition<sup>39</sup>.

**Beta Israel** - Jews of Ethiopia, who are according to some scholars descended from the lost Tribe of Dan. Despite their own folklore claiming that they in fact derived from the Queen of Sheba<sup>40</sup>. At the moment there are about 130,000 Ethiopian Israeli citizens and their descendants who came from Ethiopia to Israel<sup>41</sup>. Notable other examples of possible lost tribes are: the **Igbo Jews** of Nigeria<sup>42</sup>, the **Pashtun**<sup>43</sup> of Afghanistan and Pakistan, Native American<sup>44</sup> and Japanese Jews<sup>45</sup>, the list goes on.

Mountain Jews are one more curious example of a group of people which appears on the same list as the lost tribes of Israel<sup>46</sup>. The origins of Juhuro, who are located in the Northern Caucasus currently part of the Russian Federation, have always been a topic of a certain doubt and suspense<sup>47</sup>.

This small ethnic group thought to have derived from Persian Jews<sup>48</sup>, but greatly affected by the surrounding groups in the Caucasus<sup>49</sup>, became

<sup>37</sup> *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas*, p. 108 in Gallagher's English translation (1953).

<sup>38</sup> S. Weil (2004). "Lost Israelites from North-East India: Re-Traditionalisation and Conversion among the Shinlung from the Indo-Burmese Borderlands". *The Anthropologist*. 6(3): 219-233.

<sup>39</sup> S. Weil (2011), "Via India to Israel: The Migrations of the Bnei Menashe, International Relations and Security Network", Retrieved from: <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Articles/Detail/?ots591=4888caa0-b3db-1461-98b9-e20e7b9c13d4&lng=en&id=133889>

<sup>40</sup> S. Weil (2008), 'Jews in Ethiopia'; 'Jews in India'; 'The Jews of Pakistan'; 'The Pathans of Afghanistan and their Israelite Status', in M. Avrum Ehrlich (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of the Jewish Diaspora*, Santa Barbara: ABC CLIO, 2: 467-475; 3: 1204-1212, 1228-1230, 1230-1231.

<sup>41</sup> Y. Mekelberg (2015, May 25), *The plight of Ethiopian Jews in Israel*, Retrieved from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-32813056>

<sup>42</sup> E. Bruder (2005, June 5), *The Black Jews of Africa: History, Religion, Identity*, OUP USA.

<sup>43</sup> J. B. Minahan (2012, August 30), *Ethnic Groups of South Asia and the Pacific: An Encyclopedia*, ABC-CLIO.

<sup>44</sup> Z. Ben-Dor Benite (2009, September 4), *The Ten Lost Tribes: A World History*, Oxford University Press.

<sup>45</sup> J. Edelberg (2014), *The Japanese and the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel*, Gefen Books.

<sup>46</sup> G. N. Knoppers (2013, May 2), *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations*, Oxford University Press.

<sup>47</sup> S. Bayme (1997), *Understanding Jewish History: Texts and Commentaries*, KTAV Publishing House.

<sup>48</sup> K. A. Brook (2006), *The Jews of Khazaria* (2 ed.). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. p. 223.

<sup>49</sup> L. Mikdash-Shamailov (2002), *Mountain Jews: customs and daily life in the Caucasus*, Muze'on Yišra'el (Jerusalem), UPNE.

the object of historical and anthropological research only in the second part of the nineteenth century, when primarily Russian scientists started traveling to the Caucasus<sup>50</sup>. The first attempts to define the ethnicity of the nation were based solely on biblical study and religious texts. The earliest evidence of these people are the *matzevot* - tomb steles, in and around the Madzhalis area of Dagestan. These monuments only date as far back as the XVI century<sup>51</sup>. There are several interesting hypothesis regarding the origins of the Northern Caucasian Jews:

- (a) One of these states that Juhuro are there because the western shores of the Caspian Sea had once been part of the territory occupied by the Khazar Khaganate - the Asiatic “Jewish Empire” that had been converted and accepted Judaism as the official religion in the early Middle Ages<sup>52</sup>.
- (b) Armenian and Georgian chronicles report the first Jewish movements into the Caucasus at the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE<sup>53</sup>. Many of the first arrivals were probably captives sent as gifts to friendly rulers by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon in 586 BC<sup>54</sup>. After the Persians captured the Babylonian possessions in 539 BC, Emperor Cyrus, the great founder of the Achaemenid Empire (580-529 BC), decreed the return of the Jews to Jerusalem, but a sizable community of Jewish settlers remained<sup>55</sup>. Following on from that a Jewish Diaspora formed inside the Persian Empire.
- (c) Another hypothesis describes the Jewish refugees accessing the Caucasus—probably via Mesopotamia and Persia—after the destruction of the Second Temple<sup>56</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> В. Ю. Коваленко (2009), *Евреи в хозяйственной, политической и социальной жизни российской провинции в конце XIX - первой трети XX веков :на материалах Ставрополя и Кубани*.

<sup>51</sup> Г. Н. Сосуннов (2009), *Еврейские памятники Восточного Кавказа*, Букинистическое издание.

<sup>52</sup> J. L. Epstein (2015, January 14), *Converts to Judaism: Stories from Biblical Times to Today*, Rowman & Littlefield.

<sup>53</sup> F. Coene (2009, October 16), *The Caucasus - An Introduction*, Routledge.

<sup>54</sup> F. W. Halle (1946, October 1), *The Caucasian Mountain Jews*, Retrieved from: <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-caucasian-mountain-jews/>

<sup>55</sup> A. Murinson (2008), *Jews in Azerbaijan: a History Spanning Three Millennia*, Retrieved from: <http://www.visions.az/en/news/112/504c92fb/>

<sup>56</sup> Halle, F. W. (1946, October 1), *The Caucasian Mountain Jews*, Retrieved from: <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-caucasian-mountain-jews/>

It is extremely difficult to determine which of these hypotheses is more likely let alone true, and if the understanding of Juhuro as the lost tribe has a historical ground. In my opinion the reason the Mountain Jews appear in the Northern Caucasus and if they are the descendants of the Lost Tribes is not vital. Clearly they could be considered “lost” due to the lack of proper research and the possibility that they were simply overlooked, “lost” in the more dominant, traditional ashkenazi-sephardic narrative.

#### Northern Caucasian Jews during the Russian Empire and the WWII

From the early 16<sup>th</sup> century until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the territories of the Caucasus were under Persian rule<sup>57</sup> until Russian forces claimed it in the Russo-Persian wars of 1804-1813<sup>58</sup>.

Dagestani Jews have been living in isolation from the Southern Caucasian Jews in Georgia and Ashkenazim in “European” Russia, west of the Ural mountains. Juhuro primarily settled in auls along the western shores of the Caspian Sea<sup>59</sup>. The Jews of Derbent - the most “Jewish” city in Dagestan are even mentioned in the Talmud. In ancient times when the great Talmudic schools were centered in Babylon, many outstanding Talmudists lived in Derbent.

The first stated contact between Russian Ashkenazim and Mountain and Georgian Jews was when the “Statute of the Jews” (rus: “Положение о евреях”) of 1804 allowed Jews of the Pale of Settlement to move to the Caucasian Guberniya. Many ashkenazi craftsmen took residence in Tiflis, present day Tbilisi, Georgia and began forming their own communities<sup>60</sup>.

I was told in Derbent, that in the 1820’s, many Ashkenazim spread to Dagestan and Azerbaijan following the need for laborers created by construction of the “Baku Oil and Gas Region” (rus: *Бакинский нефтегазоносный район*). At the end of the nineteenth century Juhuro emigration to Palestine started<sup>61</sup>. The term “Mountain Jews” as a sepa-

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<sup>57</sup> (2010, May 1), Caucasus: *Oxford Bibliographies Online Research Guide*, Oxford University Press, USA.

<sup>58</sup> N. E. Saul (2014, December 16), *Historical Dictionary of Russian and Soviet Foreign Policy*, Rowman & Littlefield.

<sup>59</sup> F. W. Halle (1946, October 1), *The Caucasian Mountain Jews*, Retrieved from: <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-caucasian-mountain-jews/>

<sup>60</sup> F. Kandel, *История Российских Евреев, до 1881 года*, Retrieved from: <http://felixkandel.org/index.php/books/269.html>

<sup>61</sup> istok.ru, *Горские евреи и страна Израиль, Связи Страны Израиль и Кавказа в XIX в.*, Retrieved from: <http://www.istok.ru/library/199-gorskie-evrei-19-gorskie-evrei-i-strana-izrail.html>

rate ethnic group was officially used for the first time in the 1897 census and counted 152,000 Mountain and Georgian Jews in the Russian Empire (1.6% of the Russian population)<sup>62</sup>. However it is almost impossible to calculate the number of Juhuro, since some of them converted to Islam or, as in the Southern Caucasus, to Christianity

Absorption of the Northern Caucasus by the Russian empire gave the Mountain Jews Russian protectorate from Muslim pogroms of Shamil's gangs and forced conversions to Islam<sup>63</sup>.

Imam Shamil was a Caucasian spiritual leader, who promised to cleanse Dagestan and Chechnya of "religious impurities"<sup>64</sup> and fought for Caucasian autonomy from the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>65</sup>.

Jews already looked and behaved like their neighbour nations, they knew local languages and were almost indistinguishable from other caucasian groups. Their main occupation was farming small plots of land and selling their goods at local markets<sup>66</sup>, despite some muslims regularly robbing them<sup>67</sup>.

These same muslims were also frequently using the services of Jewish doctors and their medication. Even Imam Shamil had, of his two doctors, one Jewish doctor Sultan Gorichiev (rus: Султан Горичиев)<sup>68</sup>. Before the Caucasian War (1817—1864)<sup>69</sup> there were cases where Jews who were being forced to convert to Islam escaped to Russians asking for their protection, as shown when vassal Udi-Mulla (rus: Уди-Мулла Гордалинский) gave an ultimatum to the Jews of Doycur-Aule (rus: Дойкур-аул)<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Р. Гусейнов (2008), *Иудаизм на Кавказе*, Retrieved from: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/iudaizm-na-kavkaze>

<sup>63</sup> В. Дымшиц (1999), Горские евреи, *История горских евреев в XIX — начале XX вв., ДААТ/Знание ИЕРУСАЛИМ. МОСКВА*, Retrieved from: <http://www.istok.ru/library/199-gorskie-evrei-2-istoriya-gorskih-evreev-v-xix-nachale-xx-vv.html>

<sup>64</sup> S. M. Norris, W. Sunderland, (2012, November 11), *Russia's People of Empire: Life Stories from Eurasia, 1500 to the Present*, Indiana University Press.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>66</sup> J. V. Minahan (2014, February 10), *Ethnic Groups of North, East, and Central Asia: An Encyclopedia*, ABC-CLIO.

<sup>67</sup> В. И. Немирович-Данченко (2017), «Кавказские евреи-горцы. Сборник», Retrieved from: <https://www.litmir.me/br/?b=576325&p=2>

<sup>68</sup> Л. Виленский (2015, September 13), *Евреи в нанаксах*, Retrieved from: <http://www.isrageo.com/2015/09/13/kavkazim/>

<sup>69</sup> М. Гаммер (2007, October 22), *Ethno-Nationalism, Islam and the State in the Caucasus: Post-Soviet Disorder*, Routledge.

<sup>70</sup> Н. Шварц (2007), *Густо заваренный кисель сочувствия*, Retrieved from: <http://www.jerusalem-korczak-home.com/np/war/np143.html>



During the war, Caucasian Jews were frequently robbed, repressed and attacked by Shamil's gangs<sup>71</sup>. Throughout that period and particularly when trying to save themselves from Shamil's attacks, Mountain Jews moved closer to Russian settlements and nearer to the towers of the Northern Caucasus<sup>72</sup>. The number of members of the Jewish community of Derbent raised significantly<sup>73</sup>. That is when Caucasian Jews started expanding their area of settlement from their ethnic territory: spreading into Buynaksk, Makhachkala, Endirey, Khasavyurt, Grozny, Mozdok, Nalchik, Dzhegonas etc<sup>74</sup>.

As a result, in 1840 the chief Rabbi of the Derbent wrote in Hebrew a petition to Nikolay I of Russia seeking his protection against Muslims<sup>75</sup>. In 1851 Aleksandr Variatinski (rus: Александр Иванович Барятинский) was selected as a commander of the left flank during the Caucasian War. He began meeting the Rabbis and asking them to try to convince their community-members to join the Russian Army<sup>76</sup>. Those who agreed and their families received Russian citizenships and subsistence<sup>77</sup>. According to the law, after the end of the Caucasian War all Mountain Jews fighting for the Empire were freed from taxation for the next twenty years and received the right to travel unencumbered throughout the Russian Empire<sup>78</sup>. During the attack on Derbent in August 1831, Jews were fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with Russians against Muslims<sup>79</sup>. One Russian officer described Mountain Jews as *“brave, when they have a weapon, braver than their fellow-Jews in the civilized countries. Despite being peaceful*

<sup>71</sup> В. Дымшиц (1999), Горские евреи, История горских евреев в XIX — начале XX вв., ДААТ/Знание ИЕРУСАЛИМ. МОСКВА, Retrieved from: <http://www.istok.ru/library/199-gorskie-evrei-2-istoriya-gorskih-evreev-v-xix-nachale-xx-vv.html>

<sup>72</sup> В. И. Немирович-Данченко (2017), «Кавказские евреи-горцы. Сборник», Retrieved from: <https://www.litmir.me/br/?b=576325&p=2>

<sup>73</sup> gorskie.ru, (2015, March 1), *Горские евреи в период присоединения Кавказа к России и восстания Шамиля*, Retrieved from: <https://gorskie.ru/juhuro/history/item/6344-gorskie-evrei-v-period-prisoedineniya-kavkaza-k-rossii-i-voztaniya-shamilya>

<sup>74</sup> В. И. Немирович-Данченко (2017), «Кавказские евреи-горцы. Сборник», Retrieved from: <https://www.litmir.me/br/?b=576325&p=2>

<sup>75</sup> Н. Шварц (2007), *Густо заваренный кисель сочувствия*, Retrieved from: <http://www.jerusalem-korczak-home.com/np/war/np143.html>

<sup>76</sup> gorskie.ru, (2011, January 14), *Горские евреи в кавказской войне*, Retrieved from: <https://gorskie.ru/juhuro/history/item>.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>79</sup> В. Дымшиц (1999), Горские евреи, История горских евреев в XIX — начале XX вв., ДААТ/Знание ИЕРУСАЛИМ. МОСКВА, Retrieved from: <http://www.istok.ru/library/199-gorskie-evrei-2-istoriya-gorskih-evreev-v-xix-nachale-xx-vv.html>

*merchants, they are not used to handling a weapon and have never attacked anybody*<sup>80</sup>.”

The laws discriminating against Russian ashkenazim during the Russian Empire never applied to the Mountain Jews<sup>81</sup>. Many Jews, as like Armenians were happy to remain under the Russian Protectorate when they “didn’t have to pay for worshipping their G-d” any longer<sup>82</sup>.

Certainly, not all Caucasian Jews supported the Russian Empire and many Jews from Chechnya and Dagestan, especially those who converted to Islam, were fighting for Caucasian independence. Jewish cantonists - whom were taken to military service as children and placed for six-year in military cantonist schools, who already served in the Russian army did not see any sense in fighting for the Russian Empire were escaping to Shamil, who gave them a separate aule - Vedenno in contemporary Chechnya.

Interestingly, after the Caucasian war Ashkenazim, who served in the Russian Army in the Caucasus, brought back a nigun - a Jewish religious tune with no words - called “*Nigun Shamil*”<sup>83</sup>, which became one of the most popular niguns of Lubavitch *Hasidim* - mainly ashkenazi ultra-orthodox religious group. The melody inspired by Shamil is supposed to represent suffering of the soul in the material world<sup>84</sup>. And vice versa, Ashkenazi Jews affected Caucasian traditions by popularizing the holiday of Hanukkah, which was not as significant among Mountain and Bukhar Jews<sup>85</sup>.

In contemporary Jewish academia the “history of pain” of the Jewish nation is almost exclusively presented through the Ashkenazi experience, the central aspect of which is the Holocaust<sup>86</sup>. Since the this perspective is the best-known, the typical depiction of pogroms is primarily related

<sup>80</sup> gorskies.ru, (2015, March 1), *Горские евреи в период присоединения Кавказа к России и восстания Шамиля*, Retrieved from: <https://gorskies.ru/juhuro/history/item/6344-gorskies-evrei-v-period-prisoedineniya-kavkaza-k-rossii-i-vostaniya-shamilya>

<sup>81</sup> В. Дымшиц (1999), *Горские евреи, История горских евреев в XIX — начале XX вв., ДААТ/Знание ИЕРУСАЛИМ. МОСКВА*, Retrieved from: <http://www.istok.ru/library/199-gorskies-evrei-2-istoriya-gorskih-evreev-v-xix-nachale-xx-vv.html>

<sup>82</sup> В. И. Немирович-Данченко (2017), «*Кавказские евреи-горцы. Сборник*», Retrieved from: <https://www.litmir.me/br/?b=576325&p=2>

<sup>83</sup> T. Zigman (2017, September 11), *The Sufi Freedom Fighter Who Inspired the Lubavitcher Rebbe*, Retrieved from: [http://blog.nli.org.il/en/mendel\\_schneerson/](http://blog.nli.org.il/en/mendel_schneerson/)

<sup>84</sup> E. Koskoff (2000, November 6), *Music in Lubavitcher Life*, University of Illinois Press.

<sup>85</sup> В. Дымшиц (2010, December 13), *Традиции Хануки у ашкеназских евреев*, Retrieved from: <https://news.jeps.ru/proiudaizm/tradiczii-xanuki-ashkenazskie-evrei.html>

<sup>86</sup> У. Арун (2005), *The Pain Of Knowledge: Holocaust And Genocide Issues In Education*, Transaction Publishers.

to those of Eastern Europe, however that's not particularly accurate and Mountain Jews have their own story of anguish.

Hatred towards the Jewish population was shown during the last anti-Russian strike in Dagestan in 1877, during the Russian-Turkish war. The leaders of the uprising were striving to create a government according to Imam Shamil's ideas. Many followers were taking Jewish houses and property under the guise of shariah. According to testimonies, after the strike Jews were left with almost no synagogues or praying houses. They had to resort to gathering for Shabbat in somebody's big shed, where they were praying quietly. If Muslims noticed any Jewish assembly they collectively barged into the building and beat and humiliated worshippers<sup>87</sup>.

During WWI and the Russian Civil War the Jewish population increased sharply due to the migration of Jews from the front-line<sup>88</sup>. Local Jews were collectively moving from aules to the cities<sup>89</sup>. Religious immigration to Palestine which had started around the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had stopped due to the forced closure of Caucasian Zionist organizations by Soviets<sup>90</sup>.

In 1918-20, now Soviet Russians were behaving very aggressively towards Mountain Jews, arranging pogroms in Kizlar and Grozny, despite the fact that institutional antisemitism was not present in the Northern Caucasus as it was in Russia and Ukraine. Since the question of Caucasian independence was off the table, locals were treating both Ashkenazi Jews who stayed and Mountain Jews positively. In Dagestan and other republics Ashkenazi synagogues and cemeteries functioned as normal. Jews were able to access universities and executive positions despite their nationality. Double standards in terms of the treatment of Ashkenazi and Mountain Jews benefited the latter during the Second World War<sup>91</sup>.

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<sup>87</sup> gorskie.ru, (2015, March 1), *Горские евреи в период присоединения Кавказа к России и восстания Шамиля*, Retrieved from: <https://gorskie.ru/juhuro/history/item/6344-gorskie-evrei-v-period-prisoedineniya-kavkaza-k-rossii-i-vosstaniya-shamilya>

<sup>88</sup> gorskie.ru (2015, July 10), *Горские евреи во время революции и гражданской войны на Кавказе*, Retrieved from: <https://gorskie.ru/juhuro/history/item/8738-gorskie-evrei-vo-vremya-revolutsii-i-grazhdanskoj-vojni-na-kavkaze>

<sup>89</sup> istok.ru, *Расселение горских евреев*, Retrieved from: <http://www.istok.ru/library/199-gorskie-evrei-10-rasselenie-gorskih-evreev.html>

<sup>90</sup> istok.ru, *Горские евреи и страна Израиль, Связи Страны Израиль и Кавказа в XIX в.*, Retrieved from: <http://www.istok.ru/library/199-gorskie-evrei-19-gorskie-evrei-i-strana-izrail.html>

<sup>91</sup> K. F e f e r m a n "Nazi Germany and the Mountain Jews: Was There a Policy", *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 96–114.

Kiril Feferman in his research “Nazi Germany and the Mountain Jews: Was There a Policy” writes that the Nazi authorities were not sure, if Mountain Jews were “racially” Jewish, and became involved in a discussion trying to verify the origin of Mountain Jews even before the war. The status of “special” Jewish groups had been discussed in advance, as in the case of the Karaites (in Lithuania, France and Crimea), the Krymchaks, Georgian Jews in France and others.

According to Wehrmacht reports, local Mountain Jews were perceived as one of the ethnic Caucasian groups, contrary to Nazi policy regarding the Ashkenazim as a foreign body in Europe. Unlike the Ashkenazim in Caucasus, local Jews adapted to the Caucasian rules and social norms and succeed to develop functioning and open relationships with their neighbours. Suddenly, from just Jews they became “our Jews.”

The Wehrmacht’s conclusion was that “discrimination against or partiality toward any one of the many ethnic groups in the Caucasus could destroy the delicate fabric of the relationships with the local population, and thus pull into question their positive attitude toward the Germans.”<sup>92</sup> Despite the Nazi policy forbidding the showing of favoritism towards any single nation, Germans were inclined to the opinion that Mountain Jews were not really Jewish, since physically they did not have a Jewish “appearance” and because they practiced polygamy so unusual in the European Jewish tradition<sup>93</sup>.

The faith of Juhuro in the postwar Soviet period

Fannina W. Halle in her article<sup>94</sup> published on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1946 writes that Mountain Jews started coming to northern Dagestan in about the 6th century. She writes that in 1946 there were about 40 000 of them in Dagestan<sup>95</sup>.

The news about establishment of the state of Israel supported by USSR raised hopes for the aliyah among Juhuro. A Jew from Nalchik - Bentzion Shabtay (rus: Бенцион Шабтай) started preparing a list of families willing to immigrate. However, the list was confiscated by Ministry of State Security. Those who were mentioned there were interrogated<sup>96</sup>.

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<sup>92</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>94</sup> F. W. Halle (1946, October 1), *The Caucasian Mountain Jews*, Retrieved from: <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-caucasian-mountain-jews/>

<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>96</sup> istok.ru, *Горские евреи и страна Израиль, Связи Страны Израиль и Кавказа в XIX в.*, Retrieved from: <http://www.istok.ru/library/199-gorskie-evrei-19-gorskie-evrei-i-strana-izrail.html>

During my pilot research I noticed that the Jews of Dagestan did not want to be perceived as a “Jewish diaspora” since they lived in their land for centuries and view it as home.

In contrast, the Ashkenazim lived their lives in galut - the state of exile from the homeland of Israel, the feeling of being disconnected from one’s roots. The definition is commonly used to define the period between the destruction of the Second Holy Temple and the establishment of the modern state of Israel, where the law of return was specifically designed to bring all the Jews back from galut, back to their homeland, but Mountain Jews, as they said, are home already. Dagestani Jews kept correcting me, when I, by mistake, called them a “Jewish diaspora”. Instead they were referring to their friends and relatives who immigrated to Israel as “Gorsky Diaspora” in Israel. There is an ancient Jewish custom of burying loved ones in the Holy land, many Transatlantic Jews fly the bodies of their relatives to Israel or people go there when they are about to die<sup>97</sup>. According to the Talmud it brings a certain measure of atonement for sins<sup>98</sup>. In Dagestan, conversely, Mountain Jews prefer to be buried in Dagestan, with their families. Some Jews who made aliyah in the 1970’s come back to the Caucasus specifically for that purpose.

The land in the Caucasus plays an important role in the lives of the people that live in it, its effects are reflected in Caucasian folklore<sup>99</sup> and the morals of each community. It could be compared to the role of the land of Israel for the majority of Ashkenazim. The law of the land - adats (rus: адаты) - describes common morals and customs which should be observed. These often conflict with and in certain cases supersede the religious laws of halacha and sharia<sup>100</sup>. This has resulted in the evolution of types of Judaism and Islam that differ significantly from that of the Middle East<sup>101</sup>. Mountain Jews underwent a process of adapting and even assimilating with their Muslim neighbors the result of which produced a culture similar to but not exactly Sephardic.

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<sup>97</sup> Y. Zur (2017, February 5), *Jews Abroad Are Just Dying to Be Buried in Israel*, Retrieved from: <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-jews-abroad-are-just-dying-to-be-buried-in-israel-1.5494322>

<sup>98</sup> Rabbi Joseph Te l u s h k i n (2009, February 10), *A Code of Jewish Ethics, Volume 2: Love Your Neighbor as Yourself*, Potter/TenSpeed/Harmony.

<sup>99</sup> D. H u n t (2012, May 28), *Legends of the Caucasus*, Saqi.

<sup>100</sup> Коллектив авторов (2017, September 5), *Обычай и закон в письменных памятниках Дагестана V – начала XX в. Том II. В царской и ранней советской России*, Litres.

<sup>101</sup> M. A y o o b, M. I s m a y i l o v (2015, February 20), *Identity and Politics in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Routledge.

During the soviet era, starting in the 1930's, northern caucasian Jews were subjected to a process of Tatisation<sup>102</sup>, during which Juhuro were forced to be registered as Tats instead of Mountain Jews<sup>103</sup>. The word Tat has Persian origins<sup>104</sup>, in Dagestan I heard several explanations of the meaning of the word. Some local Jews said "tat" means a slave, others claimed it means a thief.

Anisimov writes that contemporary Tats originally were Jews who embraced Islam only when the Arabs conquered the country<sup>105</sup>. The majority of contemporary scholars see Tats and Juhuro as one nation, dividing them on the basis of the religion onto: Muslims and Jews<sup>106</sup>, even so Dagestani Jews do not refer to themselves as "Tats", do not want to be identified with them and found the tag "Tat" offensive<sup>107</sup>. It is important to highlight that Tats and Mountain Jews are not the same nation. The Tats are Muslims of Iranian origin, who only intermarried with Jews and who spoke juhuri - a dialect of Tat language mixed with Hebrew.

The territory of the republic of Dagestan is officially inhabited by more than 30 nationalities<sup>108</sup>, who speak over 50 languages<sup>109</sup>, 14 of which have official status<sup>110</sup> and the Tat language (of the Southwestern group of the Iranian branch<sup>111</sup>) is one of them<sup>112</sup>.

Soviet authorities claimed that the process of replacing jewish identity with tat identity was necessary in order to decrease antisemitism. At the moment, the majority of scholars explain the process of tatisation as an attempt to stop the spread of zionism and "Jewish bourgeois nationalism". According to the 1989 Soviet census, 30,000 Tats lived in the Soviet Union, even after the massive migration of Russian Jewry in 1970's to Israel<sup>113</sup> and USA<sup>114</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> Y. Ro'i, A. Becker (1992), *Jewish Culture and Identity in the Soviet Union*, NYU Press.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>104</sup> M. M. Valzer (2009), *Religion and Politics in Russia*, M. E. Sharpe.

<sup>105</sup> И. Анисимов (1888), *Кавказские евреи*, Москва;

<sup>106</sup> M.M. Valzer (2009), *Religion and Politics in Russia*, M.E. Sharpe.

<sup>107</sup> J. M. Clifton, G. Deckinga, L. Lucht, C. Tiessen (2005), *Sociolinguistic Situation of the Tat and Mountain Jews in Azerbaijan*, SIL International.

<sup>108</sup> A.M. Cheney (2001), *The Making of New Russia*, Har-Anand Publications.

<sup>109</sup> (2002) *Dobro pozhalovat' v Dagestan*, Agentstvo putestestvii "Dzhami".

<sup>110</sup> M. Lähteenmäki (2010), *Language Ideologies in Transition: Multilingualism in Russia and Finland*, Peter Lang.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>112</sup> Л. Виленский (2015, September 13), *Евреи в nanaxax*, Retrieved from: <http://www.isrageo.com/2015/09/13/kavkazim/>

<sup>113</sup> Y. Ro'i, A. Becker (1992), *Jewish Culture and Identity in the Soviet Union*, NYU Press.

<sup>114</sup> J. M. Clifton, G. Deckinga, L. Lucht, C. Tiessen (2005), *Sociolinguistic Situation of the Tat and Mountain Jews in Azerbaijan*, SIL International.

In 1956 Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, introduced the theory of peaceful coexistence<sup>115</sup>. The concept of peaceful coexistence (rus: Мирное сосуществование) allowed for the possibility of a political compromise between the socialist and capitalist countries. Inside the Soviet Union this concept was presented as “Friendship of Nations”, which implied Mountain Jews were not Jewish anymore, but first of all - Soviet, the same as Caucasian Muslim identity was put aside and the Soviet one started to dominate. The approach was especially handy in the Caucasus, where ethnic russians were just a minority. During my pilot studies, I noticed that this principle still actively operates in Dagestan, where posters with the slogan “Friendship of Nations” are found on almost every street.

Since the idea of Caucasian independence started to fade, Jews and Muslims integrated and cooperated with each other even more. One of my interlocutors said that in Soviet schools nobody knew and nobody cared for nationality, the issue appeared only after school, when young men had to find wives. Only then, suddenly, they discovered that one of them is Jewish, one is Tabasarani, another one is Lezgin etc.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 catalyzed a mass migration to Israel, the USA and Central Europe (primarily Germany and Austria). I noticed more and more Dagestani Jews stay in Russia, but move to Moscow. Currently, there are only two synagogues in Dagestan, contrary to Moscow which has about a dozen Mountain Jewish, Bukhari and Georgian synagogues. In the beginning of the 90's The Moscow Religious Community of Sephardic Jews (MEROS) was opened. On September 12th, 1996 the chairman of the organization Shalom Simanduev sent a letter to the Sephardi American Federation asking for help in regards to the discrimination towards Sephardic Jews in Moscow by the Ashkenazic administration<sup>116</sup>.

Many made aliyah due to economical reasons, unlike British and American Jews, who moved to Israel mainly because of their ideological or zionist views.

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<sup>115</sup> A. M. Wittmann (2016, December 5), *Talking Conflict: The Loaded Language of Genocide, Political Violence, Terrorism, and Warfare*, ABC-CLIO.

<sup>116</sup> S. L. Goluboff (2012, March 6), *Jewish Russians: Upheavals in a Moscow Synagogue*, University of Pennsylvania Press.

<sup>117</sup> A. A. Abbasov (2001, April 26), *Materialy Mezhdunarodnogo nauchnogo simpoziuma “Gorskie evrei Kavkaza”*, World Sephardi Federation, Federatsiia evreiskikh organizatsii i obshchin Rossii.



In Derbent, Dagestan I discovered that in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Azerbaijanis, who could not afford to propose to an Azerbaijani women, were kidnapping young Jewish women at the watering well. They took them to their villages and consumated the marriage. Normally, Jewish families did not agree to welcome back such a daughter and she was forced to go back to her new home, where she learned Azerbaijani and had to follow a Muslim lifestyle. Those “brides” usually took new Azerbaijani names and their husband’s surname. Now many Azerbaijanis in Derbent have Jewish grandmothers, which was normally hushed up, until the 90s, when the grandchildren started searching for Jewish documents, preparing their application for aliyah. As far as I understood, those people do not emigrate to Israel permanently, but go there for a couple of months per year to make money and come back.

The second wave of the emigration in the 90’s was caused by the Chechen Wars<sup>117</sup>. The conflicts in the region shook the already fragile stability in the Northern Caucasus, what inclined many Jews to change their nationality from “Tat” back to “Mountain Jew” and go to Israel. Those who were not able or did not want to leave, because of their already comfortable position in Dagestan, were sending their parents, wives or children to Israel or to relatives in other countries.

Since the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century about 40,000 Caucasian Jews had left for Israel<sup>118</sup>. The Jewish Agency for Israel “Sochnut”<sup>119</sup>, which helps Jews make aliyah from almost all over the world, in 2003 estimated that 10 percent of Dagestan’s 10,000 scattered Juhuro will leave by the end of the year<sup>120</sup>.

In Israel the majority of Juhuro had to undergo a painful transformation striving to preserve their mentality and traditions. Unfortunately, deep misunderstanding between primarily western-centric Israel and eastern culture of Caucasian Jews, the latter appeared in an uncomfortable position. One Israeli Ashkenazi interlocutor I was speaking with described the attitude towards Mountain Jews as “far from positive”, however I did not succeed to understand what could be a possible reason. For example, Russian Jews in Israel are often called “not really Jew-

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118 Р. Гусейнов (2008, March 3), *Иудаизм на Кавказе*, Кавказ & Глобализация Кавказ & Глобализация.

119 Jewish Agency for Israel - official website: <http://www.jewishagency.org/aliyah>

120 Т. Parfitt (2003, April 23), *Life drains away from lost tribe of Mountain Jews*, Retrieved from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/azerbaijan/1428516/Life-drains-away-from-lost-tribe-of-Mountain-Jews.html>

ish”, since the majority of post-Soviet Jews come from mixed, Russian-Orthodox families, raised very far from any kind of Jewish tradition. On the contrary, since the religion ban of the USSR barely affected the Caucasus, the majority of Mountain Jews are “pure-blood” Jewish, with strong Jewish identity and knowledge of their ancestry.

Mountains Jews have had problems adjusting to life in Israel, trying to fit Caucasian traditional culture and family structure to the Israeli society, where Ashkenazi lifestyle still dominates. For example, Kavkazim, as they are called in Israel, do not allow their daughters to serve in the gender equal conscripted IDF. One Rabbi told me that in the Israeli army Mountain Jews were officially exempt from doing dishes or wiping floors. Both of these cases can be explained by the traditional distribution of duties in Caucasian families, in which domestic activities are “a woman’s responsibility”. The majority of Israeli ashke-normative stereotypes towards the Sephardic population also affect the Mountain Jewish diaspora. As a result, several Juhuro I know, male and female, were asked by Israeli Ashkenazim not to admit that they are Caucasian Jews, while talking to Ashkenazim. Some of them were told that being a Mountain Jew is not something to be proud of.

Even religiously many Ashkenazim do not want to go to the same religious schools as their fellow Jews from Muslim countries<sup>121</sup>. The concern is based on different approaches towards the halacha among Jews. When in 18<sup>th</sup> century, despite being rather traditional, Mountain Jews and the rest of the Sephardic world had moderate and even positive attitude towards modernity and secular education<sup>122</sup>. On the other hand, the Jewish enlightenment of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>123</sup> pushed some Ashkenazim to emerge more strict and dogmatic “Orthodox Judaism”<sup>124</sup>. At present Orthodox Judaism is the most common form of the religion and is taken as the “proper” Judaism, even though Orthodox Judaism is the newest<sup>125</sup>. The older Sephardic traditions correspond closer to those

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<sup>121</sup> D. Shasha (2010, June 21), *Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and Ultra-Orthodox Racism in Israel*, Retrieved from: [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-shasha/sephardim-ashkenazim-and\\_b\\_615692.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-shasha/sephardim-ashkenazim-and_b_615692.html)

<sup>122</sup> A. Sharabi (2014), *Religion and Modernity: Religious Revival Movement in Israel*, Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 1–26, Retrieved from: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.842.9254&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

<sup>123</sup> A. P. Socher (2006), *The Radical Enlightenment of Solomon Maimon: Judaism, Heresy, and Philosophy*, Stanford University Press.

<sup>124</sup> M. K. Silber, *Orthodoxy, The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, Retrieved from: <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Orthodoxy>

<sup>125</sup> *Ibidem*.

of the ancient times<sup>126</sup>. Despite that, many Ashkenazim feel like they “own” Judaism, the same way as many westerners have a tendency to perceive western culture as the better of them all.

After such a massive immigration from all over the Northern Caucasus, the Jewish community in Dagestan remains. The most active Jewish centers in Dagestan are the communities of Derbent and Makhachkala. All main holidays are observed in synagogues of these cities. As I was pleased to see, the representatives of local Muslim organizations and Muftiat are invited and come to the synagogue to celebrate major holidays<sup>127</sup>. In Derbent there is a functioning Jewish kindergarten located in the building of the synagogue. Children are taught Jewish culture and traditions on a daily basis. There also is a Jewish Sunday school for older children. In the same building there is a Museum of Mountain Jews organized by Irina Michailova, presenting history and customs of Juhuro. The synagogue in Derbent is always full of children, as opposed to Makhachkala where the average age of community-members is much higher. Many of them hope that their children will come back to Dagestan from abroad, but almost no one does. If those who emigrated visit their families frequently, their children visit even more rarely.

### Conclusion

Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century anthropological and historical researchers have investigated the question of the identity and origins of Juhuro. The majority of scholars have pointed out similarities in culture, traditions, ethics, norms between the Mountain Jewish and that of Muslim Caucasian nations.

In this article I focused on the structure of the Jewish world and its tendencies towards ashkenormativity and western-centrism. I hope to present an alternative narrative in which we can clarify and value the experience of Juhuro. I hope this account can show the strengths offered to the wider Jewish community that are currently lacking in the ashkenormative world that dismisses the Oriental Jews as somehow lesser. Source study showed the ancient history and tradition of the subject as well as its cultural characteristics: connection to the land, strong fam-

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<sup>126</sup> A. J. H e s c h e l (1948, May 1), *The Two Great Traditions: The Sephardim and the Ashkenazim*, Retrieved from: <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-two-great-traditionsthe-sephardim-and-the-ashkenazim/>.

<sup>127</sup> М. Р. Курбанов (2006), *Религии в истории народов Дагестана*, Изд. дом “Народы Дагестана”.

ily structure, ability to cooperate and adapt, while preserving its Jewish heritage. In the literature, the Jewish community of Dagestan faces political, ethnic and religious challenges defining their role among Caucasian nations and within the Jewish civilization. While the ethnic status of Mountain Jews remains uncertain. Several labels, such as Mountain Jews, Kavkazim and Tats, were placed upon them from external sources in order to categorise Juhuro at least on the semantic level.

I have attempted to portray Juhuro as a separate cultural group which needs to be understood on its own terms and not through the ashkenazic paradigm. This article presents the differences and similarities between Gorsky Jews and groups such as Russian Ashkenazim, Caucasian Muslims, Israelis and the rest of Sephardim.

The literature study brought us to certain theoretical ramifications.

First, Mountain Jews cannot be perceived through the same prism as Russian ashkenazim, since: a.) Caucasian Jews appeared under the Russian rule much later and developed in a different historical context; b.) they operated within absolutely different laws and conditions than Ashkenazim; c.) they were influenced by Caucasian norms and ethics.

Second, Juhuro do indeed hold a place among Caucasian nations, however they differ on the basis of Religious law: a.) For centuries Jews held subordinate position compared to Muslim ethnicities, had to pay tax for worshipping their G-d without the right to defend themselves; b.) Lived in a state of animosity with Muslims due to their cooperation with Russians during the Caucasian war; c.) they did, however, develop their appearance and behaviors based on the Caucasian adats.

Third, Juhuro do not conform with the stereotypical role-model of an Israeli: a.) Kavkazim experienced a cultural shock after they did aliyah and had to undergo an adaptation process; b.) They are often perceived as second class citizens, while their heritage and traditions are devalued; c.) The idea of zionism and a Jewish state is foreign for Mountain Jews, who perceive Caucasus, and not Israel, as their homeland.

Forth, Caucasian Jews can be only partly treated as Sephardim, because: a.) According to the law, Juhuro Rabbis are under the jurisdiction of the Sephardic Chief Rabbi; b.) Mountain Jewish rite and approach to the halacha is close to Sephardic, but c.) Mountain Jewish culture was not accepted by arabic culture and norms as experienced by the Sephardim of the Middle East and North Africa. Additionally, Dagestani Jewish tradition is affected by Caucasian adats, but not Sharia.

These findings confirm that Juhuro of Dagestan have a special place among Jewish groups, which cannot be expressed by a single label. The research gave me an insight into the full extent of the illusion of Jewish homogeneity presented by the Ashkenazic narrative as well as Western-centrism of a contemporary Jewish academia.

The proposed paradigm of Jewish pluralism and multiculturalism seems to be not only the best suited, but also the most realistic and approachable, because it draws on the strength of a diverse Jewish nation.

#### Lost tribe of Israel: the Jews of Dagestan

This article investigates a little known ethnic group known as Mountain Jews located in the Republic of Dagestan. In particular the following aspects of the matter will be considered: (1) the traditional division of world Jewry; (2) the theory of the lost tribes within the diverse Jewish civilization; (3) the origins and historical background of the Mountain Jews during the Russian Empire, WWII and the Soviet Era; (4) Cultural aspects of Jewish emigration from the Caucasus.

## REVIEWS AND COMMENTAIRES

### ETHNO-POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE GEORGIAN-OSSETIAN RELATIONS IN KAZBEGI REGION<sup>1</sup>

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The necessity of scientific study of the Georgian-Ossetian relations in Kazbegi region was conditioned by the recent events developed in our country, when after the occupation of Georgia's Tskhinvali and Akhagori regions by Russia in 2008, Kazbegi region appeared in the area of political interests of Russia/Ossetia, claiming on the territories of Ossetian settlements in the region - the Kobi basin and the Truso gorge<sup>2</sup>. They are located next to the Georgian Military Road (a major route through the Caucasus from Georgia to Russia) which passes through Kazbegi municipality and is only 15 km away from the Roki tunnel. This is the only motorway linking Russia to Armenia and Iran from where cargo goes via the shortest route to both points. According to experts, since possessing the Truso Gorge will give Russia the opportunity to control the strategically important section of Georgia's military road, this territory has become a new target for Russia. Consequently, after that period the campaign for accession of Kazbegi region to North Ossetia started in the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania<sup>3</sup>. It was assumed that in the struggle for this territory, Russia, relying on the fact of living of Ossetians in these territories, was creating a new scenario for this region manipulating the Ossetian factor. The question arises: what will be the role of the Georgian-Ossetian relations in this

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<sup>1</sup> The article is written within the framework of the project: *Perspectives of Georgian-Ossetian relations in Kazbegi region*, Financed by the Rustaveli National Science Foundation.

<sup>2</sup> Today Ossetian villages are actually empty and most of the Ossetians of Kazbegi region resettled in North Ossetia.

<sup>3</sup> M. Arëshidze, საქართველო-რუსეთის საზღვარი, არსებული მდგომარეობა და საფრთხეები, წიგნში: ომის შემდგომი გამოწვევები და პერსპექტივები, Tbilisi 2009.

scenario? What markers of culture will Russia manipulate to achieve its far-reaching political objectives?

The article focuses on the relations between Georgians (Mokheves) and Ossetians from Kazbegi region and their perspectives through the prism of Russia-Georgian relations; it will try to find out those aspects that might form potential threats for the development of positive intercultural communication between these peoples.

Kazbegi Municipality is bounded by Dusheti municipality to the south-east, by the current de facto South Ossetian districts - Akhalkory to the south and Java to the west, and to the north by the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania (the subject of the Russian Federation). This region was mostly inhabited by Georgians (Mokheves) and Ossetians. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union Ossetians had their compact settlements in the Kobi basin and the Truso gorge. Historically the Truso gorge was inhabited by Kartvelian tribes - first by Tsanars and then by Dvals and was under the Georgian Kingdom. Due to the pressure of Ossetian tribes from the North, one part of Dvals migrated to the south and the remaining Dval population was gradually assimilated by Ossetians who consequently occupied their dwelling territories. Georgian historians ascribe the appearance of Ossetian settlements in the Truso Gorge to the 17th-18th centuries and some later in the Kobi Basin<sup>4</sup>. Based on the falsified history Russia is trying to present this territory as a historical homeland of Ossetians, annex it to Ossetia (South/North) and thus, control a geostrategically important area.

Actually Georgian-Ossetian relations in Kazbegi region have a long history. Although, the Ossetian settlements were mono-ethnic and compact here, social and economic relations between Georgians and Ossetians, especially in the Soviet period, linked them very tightly. They not only cooperated and had friendly relations, but got married, had baptismal ties which passed over generations. Existence of ethnically mixed families furthered integration of these ethnic groups and correspondingly engendered mutual respect and love. The fact, that many Georgian families had Ossetian son-in-laws or daughter-in-laws and vice versa, promoted positive intercultural communication and inter-ethnic attitudes. Generally, in case of mixed marriages, when diffusion of cultural elements is unavoidable, both sides get to know better each other's traditions, values, behavioral norms and

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<sup>4</sup> R. Topchishvili, დვალეთი და დვალეები, Tbilisi 2016, p. 46; N. Lomouri, ოსთა საქართველოში ჩამოსახლების ისტორიის ძირითადი ასპექტები, Tbilisi 1992, „ცისკარი“, no 5; J. Gvasalia, აღმოსავლეთ საქართველოს ისტორიული გეოგრაფიის ნარკვევები შიდა ქართლი, Tbilisi 1983.



learn each other's languages. This happens with their children, too, who as a rule are bilinguals and are both culture carriers. The kinship context sets up relationship between the relatives of a couple; they meet each other at a family gatherings (wedding, baptism, religious holidays, birthday, funeral, commemorations, etc.), where the representatives of different ethnic groups interact already as kinsmen. This is a direct way to ethnic tolerance.<sup>5</sup> Such relations continued to maintain even when Kazbegi Ossetians massively migrated to North Ossetia after the 1990s.

Intensive intercultural communication of Georgians and Ossetians promoted existence of common religious cults and sanctuaries and many similar elements of culture (family life, religion, traditional law, cuisine, etc.). For example, they had common sanctuaries in the village of Toti in Khevi, where Georgians and Ossetians lived together until the migration of the latter to North Ossetia. The same was the situation in Kazbegi's Ossetian village Kobi where Ossetians and Georgians celebrated festivals together at the shrine of St. George. Georgians and Ossetians from both sides of the border attended one of the biggest holidays of all-Khevi on the feast of Dormition of Virgin (Mariamoba) at the Gergeti Trinity Church.

The migration of Ossetian population from Kazbegi region to North Ossetia, mainly Ordzhonikidze (present Vladikavkaz) started from the 1970s; it was easier to get work, trade, receive education etc., there. Thus, the purpose of their migration was to arrange a better life. This process initially had a seasonal character. In winter they stayed in North Ossetia and spent summer in Kazbegi region. However, profitable living conditions of Ordzhonikidze attracted not only Ossetians, but the Georgian population too and Mokheves also migrated to North Ossetia. Many Georgians of Kazbegi region received education at schools and higher institutions in Ordzhonikidze and part of them even worked there. The majority of Ossetians and also Mokheves of Kazbegi region possessed houses in Ordzhonikidze, as they had to live and work on both sides of the border. Opportunity to freely pass the border in Soviet period created particularly favorable conditions for the intensive social-economic and cultural communication between Georgians and Ossetians. Intensity of ethnically mixed families maintained the tendency of positive intercultural communication. The Georgian and North Ossetian population depended on each other. They were closely related not only due to the territorial factor but by socio-economic proximity as well. North Ossetia was supplied from

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<sup>5</sup> N. Jalabadzé, *Religions in the Caucasus*, Baku-London 2016, pp. 219-228.

Georgia with agricultural products (Livestock, greenhouse), and multiple goods were imported from there to Kazbegi. In addition to economic profits, Mokheves' interest in North Ossetia was also caused by medical needs. Respondents from Khazbegi region claim: "Georgians of Kazbegi went shopping to Orjonikidze. The distance from Kazbegi to Orjonikidze was short, much closer than to Tbilisi, it was 40 minutes drive. Russian goods were cheaper and even better. Georgians went there to buy some products in the morning and returned back by the evening. Besides, in winter the pass was closed and the only possibility to contact with the civilized world was Orjonikidze. Because of the absence of a modern hospital in the region, those who fell ill or were in need of surgery were taken to North Ossetia". (*Author's field material, Kazbegi 2017*).

From the early 1990s, after the break down of the Soviet Union, migration from Kazbegi to the north acquired intensive character, which was accelerated by the Georgian-Ossetian conflict in 1991-1992 (it is worth noting, that their migration was not ethnically motivated). After the conflict of 1991-1992 the Georgian population of North Ossetia became the subject of aggression of Ossetians moved from the former autonomous region of South Ossetia to Orjonikidze. They directly forced Georgians of Orjonikidze to leave and as a result many Mokheves abandoned North Ossetia. Georgians from North Ossetia and Ossetians from Georgia massively exchanged houses. But in that confrontation, Ossetians of Orjonikidze always managed to protect their Georgian neighbors. Local Ossetians perceived as a personal insult the fact that their Georgian neighbors were forced by newcomers from South Ossetia to abandon their houses in North Ossetia.

In 2000, Russia introduced visas for Georgian citizens; however, Mokheves and Kazbegi Ossetians still freely moved across the Georgia-Russia border and continued their activities in both states. For example, Ossetians visited their villages in Kazbegi region and stayed in their abandoned houses in summer or brought cattle in the Truso gorge on pastures. For Kazbegi population the movement across the border was not restricted and they could cross it using a special document certified only to the citizens of the border area. The economic and other relations were supported and the life was more or less going on as usual. For that period in Ossetian villages in the Truso gorge and the Kobi basin, there were only a few elderly people left.

The situation complicated since 2006 when Russia imposed food embargo on Georgia and closed the only legal border check-point Larsi between Georgia and Russia. This situation considerably changed the tradi-

tional form of Georgian-North Ossetian communication. Above all, it kept relatives on both sides of the border apart. According to the Kazbegi residents: “The loss of the Russian market caused the loss of the main source of income for the Georgian farmer who previously traveled to Russia without a visa, brought his own harvest for realization and supported his family with the earned money in winter” (*Author’s field material, Kazbegi 2016*).

The situation remained the same after the 2008 August war. According to experts: “notwithstanding the stream of reports on the deterioration of Georgian-Ossetian relations after the Russian-Georgian war of 2008, no cases of mass outflow of Ossetians from Georgia or specific incidences of oppression in the aftermath of the conflict have been observed, though there have been several cases of resettlement to North Ossetia unconnected to the hostilities. Outside the former autonomous region of South Ossetia, there has been no souring of Georgian-Ossetian relations since the war”<sup>6</sup>.

Though, in 2010 the Larsi check-point was opened, the restrictions on border crossing for the Georgian population still remains in force until today. Ossetians (and also the citizens of Russia) have the right of free movement across the border, while Georgians cannot go to North Ossetia/Russia without a visa. This creates some problems to the population of Kazbegi region, because due to territorial proximity Vladikavkaz traditionally remains a quick way to receive rapid medical care, develop favorable trade relations and easily get a job. Kazbegi population is discouraged by today’s situation: “While the Russian border is closed for us, Ossetians of Russia come and make money here. They carry people on their cars, take the goods and lots of other things from Kazbegi and sell there! People from Khevi want to go freely to North Ossetia, as before” (*Author’s field material, Kazbegi 2017*).

Kazbegi Georgians find a way out from the current situation in dual citizenship; to cross the Georgia-Russia border freely, some Kazbegi Georgians prefer to have passports of both states and use them in case of necessity. According to my field materials, about 30 % (if not more) of average age Mokheves has Russian passports. The possibility of holding double citizenship was given to Kazbegi population in times of Saakashvili’s presidency. The citizenship of Georgia was admitted to Kazbegians living in Vladikavkaz, to allow them cross the border and return to their homeland. Besides crossing the border, the dual citizen-

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<sup>6</sup> G. Sordia, *Ossetians in Georgia In the Wake of the 2008 War*, ECMI Working Paper no 45, European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), 2009, p. 17.

ship has one more advantage for them, which lies in getting the Russian pension. The elderly people who have official dual citizenship get their pension in one of the states. They prefer to get Russian pension in Vladikavkaz, because it is higher than in Georgia. For the sake of the Russian pension, Georgian citizens of retirement age move to Vladikavkaz and register on the place of residence. Russia, having its own far-going plans, easily allows such individuals to get passports there. Presumably, these people receive pensions in Russia and illegally in Georgia, too. As some of my respondents from Kazbegi say: “Although the situation is not a secret to the officials, they turn a blind eye to it: Georgians, because they could not offer economically better conditions and Russians, because they want to use it to their advantage”. For Russia, it is very advantageous to have its own citizens in the territory which is in the focus of its political interests and seeks to control. This could be assessed as a kind of annexation and one of the strategies of the Russian hybrid war.

Concerning the issue of double citizenship, alarming information was published in one of the Georgian newspapers recently, that the Russian State Duma was preparing a bill on mass distribution of Russian passports to the citizens of the former Soviet republics, who more or less know the Russian language. They even do not hide in Russia that it will be a sort of annexation, and this method has already been proved in Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Limitation of free communication to the north and correspondingly restriction of trading activities for Kazbegi population, which was the main business of Ossetians and Georgians living in both sides of the border, is a kind of economic lever of the official Moscow against Georgia. Under the limited conditions, Georgians still manage to enter Vladikavkaz and purchase goods and products for provision of markets in Kazbegi region. 100 kg of goods are not the subject to formal customs clearance; Mokheves even cross the border 2 or 3 times a day and supply their shops in Kazbegi district. Double citizenship is one way to solve this problem.

As one of the levers of hybrid war Russia increasingly uses the information war and propaganda as a tool to undermine the traditional Georgian-Ossetian relations. The question of territories of the Truso gorge and the Kobi basin (also Khevi-Kazbegi), as the original Ossetian possessions, is being the current topic of Ossetian/Russian mass media and propaganda. The demands of “returning” these territories to Ossetia, which has been gradually increasing since 2008, is directly linked with the activities of several anti-Georgian social organizations, namely “Dariali”, “For united Os-

setia” and “Kazbegi”, established in Vladikavkaz;<sup>7</sup> their program envisages annexation of “Central Ossetia” i.e. Kazbegi region to Ossetia (North/South). It is obvious that their advocacy is based on falsified history, anti-Georgian rhetoric and desire to demarcate new borders. On the basis of falsified history and apocryphal facts the Ossetian/Russian media launches territorial claims to the Georgian party and thus paves the way for Russia’s future plans. The representatives of Georgian media less likely bring historically proved counterarguments, they usually cite facts. Information announced in the Georgian language by the Georgian media is not accessible for Russian-speaking audience. It is seldom translated into Russian and English; the same is the situation with scientific articles. Discussion of problems by the Georgian side proceeds mainly in the Georgian language while the Ossetian side basically spreads information in Russian. Therefore, they have much wider Russian-speaking audience and have a better perspective to win the information war<sup>8</sup>. Furthermore, Russia engages provocateurs mainly of Ossetian ethnic origin for achieving its goals. Their main activities imply inspiration of confrontation between Georgian and Ossetian population.

Under hybrid war conditions, when Ossetians/Russians claim for the territories of Ossetian settlements in Kazbegi region, the strategy of development<sup>9</sup> of touristic infrastructure and Kazbegi branding can evoke definite problems. These problems are directly linked with the issue of land ownership in Ossetian settlements. Considerable part of land in Ossetian settlements is not registered on the name of their owners who live in North Ossetia at present. Majority of them left Georgia in the Soviet period when no land was privatized. The lands of Kobi village that were not shown on the cadastral map have been taken by the state on its balance. So today they cannot legalize their lands and houses unless disputed at a court. In general, the question of land registration remains to be a problem in Kazbegi municipality, like in whole Georgia and is connected not only with Ossetian settlements; the similar situation is in Georgian villages, too.

Branding strategy of Kazbegi municipality has been elaborated in 2017. The list of local services, products and sightseeing was composed in

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<sup>7</sup> K. Łukjanowicz, საქართველოს ჩრდილოეთი საზღვრის სტრატეგიული გადასასვლელები და მათი როლი ქვეყნის უსაფრთხოებაში. გეოპოლიტიკური და ისტორიული ანალიზი. სალოქტორო დისერტაცია, Tbilisi 2015.

<sup>8</sup> N. Jalabadze, თრუსოს საკითხი მედიაში 2008 წლის რუსეთ-საქართველოს ომის შემდეგ, pp. 133-154.

<sup>9</sup> Tourism has a particular place in the 2016- 2020 Kazbegi Municipality Development Strategy.

order to accomplish commercialization and unification of concrete trends, by maintaining their authenticity under the same brand. The whole specifics of the region with cultural elements associated with Ossetian ethnos and Ossetian spaces are the parts of the mentioned strategy, for example: Cheese of Kobi, less developed several unique routs of the Truso gorge, villages, ruined dwellings, the Kobi mineral resort, Kobi mountain-skiing touristic town, etc. It is planned to create the single Kazbegi-Kobi-Gudauri skiing space through constructing a 7 km long cable car connecting the village of Kobi with Gudauri ski resort. Some of the Kobi village lands, as mentioned above, are the unregistered areas the ownership of which is unclear. The prospect of transforming the Kobi village into a mountain touristic town and the desire to get profit (sell the land or build a hotel), may encourage Ossetian migrants from Kobi, who could meet the controversy regarding land ownership, to take some measures. In the politically tense present day situation, when the Ossetians/Russians have the interest in appropriation of Kazbegi region, the land problem in Kobi and Truso may evoke significant problems in future.

Some Russian experts believe that the Georgian-South Ossetian conflicts of the early 1990s and the 2008 August War could have strongly prevented neighbors from having friendly and business contacts. But still it is not quite so. North Ossetia continues to be linked with the neighboring country actively developing tourism, trade and uninterrupted family ties. Georgia dominates in the list of the countries with which North Ossetia conducts foreign trade. Today North Ossetians (included those South Ossetians who migrated there after the first conflict) are involved in trade with or through Georgia. It is easier for them to go to their native places where they still retain both relationship and friendly ties. These contacts in many ways help to lead a joint business. According to the view of the director of a Vladikavkaz Touristic firm, “a lot of our local people buy real estate in Georgia, in the resort area. This speaks of a recovering relationship.”<sup>10</sup>

It is apparent that Georgian-Ossetian relations in Kazbegi region has become the target of the Russian hybrid war since 2008. For realization of its far-reaching goals Russia applies all the possible methods: the information war which is oriented on: deliberately fabricated stories; disfiguring the history and real facts, provocations, passportization, economic levers etc.

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<sup>10</sup> Ж. Тарханова, Шелелев Михаил. Грузия – Северная Осетия: невидимые связи; <https://jam-news.net/?p=35045&lang=ru/>.

Though Russia deliberately tries to create environment to hot up hostility between Georgians and Ossetians, ethnic hetero stereotypes are mostly positive and there is a positive social attitude between them. Field research makes us suppose that ethnic opposition in the region, due to the absence of ethno-psychological basis and traditionally positive intercultural communication could not be triggered. North Ossetians and Georgians still maintain positive relations as in old times.

#### Ethno-political aspects of the Georgian-Ossetian relations in Kazbegi region

This paper examines the Ethno-political Aspects of the Georgian-Ossetian relations in Kazbegi Region against the backdrop of recent events developed in our country; after the occupation of Georgia's Tskhinvali and Akhlagori territories by Russia in 2008, Kazbegi region appeared in the area of political interests of Russia/Ossetia, who claim on the territories of Ossetian settlements in the region – the Kobi basin and the Truso gorge.. Based on the falsified history Russia is trying to present this territory as a historical homeland of Ossetians, annex it to Ossetia (South/North) and thus, control a geostrategically important area.

Both Georgians (Mokheves) and Ossetians lived in this region almost in full harmony until the migration of Ossetians to North Ossetia. Social and economic relations between Georgians and Ossetians linked them very tightly. They not only cooperated and had friendly relations, but got married and had baptismal ties; ethnically mixed families furthered integration of these groups. However, the migration of Ossetians to the north considerably changed the traditional form of Georgian-Ossetian communication. The situation was aggravated due to the Georgian–Ossetian conflict (1991-1992), Visa regime with Russia since 2000, the 2006 food embargo, closure of the Georgia - Russia border and the 2008 August war. Although today Ossetian population has actually abandoned Kazbegi region, the topic of Ossetian villages bear potential threats for maintaining positive intercultural communication between Georgians and Ossetians.

It is apparent that Georgian-Ossetian relations in Kazbegi region have become the target of the Russian hybrid war against Georgia. Official Moscow applies all the possible methods: the information war oriented on deliberately fabricated stories, disfiguring the history and real facts, provocations, passportization, economic levers etc.

Relying on the ethnographic materials and specialist literature I try to show the real picture of intercultural relations in Kazbegi region and how they could be used as a tool for undermining the traditional Georgian-Ossetian relations.





## OSSETIANS AND GEORGIANS IN KAZBEGI REGION HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES<sup>1</sup>

*by Lavrenti Janiashvili*  
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According to a modern administrative-territorial division Kazbegi municipality unites historical Khevi, Truso (located in the upper reach of the Tergi Valley; nowadays a depopulated ethnographic region) and a small part of Mtiuleti to the south of the Jvari Pass (Gudauri resort and nearby settlements). The main part of the region (Khevi and Truso) is situated beyond the Watershed Ridge of the Caucasus and is bordered by Russian Federation (Ingusheti and North Ossetia) to the north of the Dariel Pass; It borders on the historical Dvaleti with the Truso gorge in the west, the so-called South Ossetia in the southwest, Mtiuleti and Gudamakari in the south and Khevsureti with the Sno gorge in the east.

Ossetians lived together with Georgians in Kazbegi region until the end of the last century. Nowadays this region is almost empty from the Ossetian population due to their migration. The present ethno-demographic situation is tightly linked to the strict natural environment, difficult economic situation and its location in the border area. Relatively easy communication with North Ossetia, economic benefits, comparatively accessible education and intensity of relative and friendly ties conditioned migration not only of Ossetians but also of Mokheves (autochthon Georgians of Kazbegi region) to the north.

Over the last years, the keen interest of the Russian/Ossetian and Georgian media was focused on the Ossetians, migrated in the last century from Kazbegi region to North Ossetia (the Russian Federation) and their abandoned villages. On the one hand, the Ossetian side, mainly the representatives of the de facto government, several researchers and journalists declare,

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<sup>1</sup> The article is written within the framework of the project: Perspectives of Georgian-Ossetian relations in Kazbegi region, Financed by the Rustaveli National Science Foundation.

that “The territory, adjacent to Tskhinvali region is the Ossetian property and it will also be freed from Georgians”<sup>2</sup>; on the other hand, the Georgian media and some experts consider that Kazbegi region has become a potentially dangerous place where new Russian aggression is expected under the pretext of the return of the Ossetian “refugees” from Kazbegi region. This situation inspired a group of researchers to accomplish the scientific project “The perspectives of Georgian-Ossetian relations in Kazbegi region”.

According to historical sources, Tsanars were aboriginal inhabitants of the region in the second century, who lately plaid an important role in the struggle against Arab invaders and in formation of Kakhetian Principality.<sup>3</sup> There are different suppositions about Tsanars’ ethnic origin in scientific literature. Part of researchers consider them of Svan (N. Mari, S. Kakabadze, J. Gvasalia) or Chaldean-Chan (T. Papuashvili) origin, and part regard them as the North Caucasian-Vainakh (V. Minorskiy, A. Genko, A. Novoseltsev, A. Mkrtumian) or Dagestanian (V. Bartold) origin.

In the early feudal epoch Tsanars defended Georgian Kingdom from the North Caucasian nomad invaders and acted as organizers of the Georgian political unit - The Kakhetian Diocese. Architectural monuments preserved in the territory of their settlement are by all signs similar to the Kakhetian monuments of the same period. As for the epigraphic materials, they are totally Georgian.<sup>4</sup> All these evidence that Tsanars, by the time of Arabic invasions, completely and inseparably belonged to the Georgian ethno-cultural world.

Since the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, Dvals (an ethnographic group of Georgian origin) penetrated near the source of the Tergi River - the present day Truso gorge. Initially it could have been a natural migration, when excess population started reclaiming the upper reaches of the Terek River. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century this process intensified. Ossetians driven out from the North Caucasian valleys by Mongol invaders, settled in the Caucasian highlands including Dvaleti and oppressed the native population, who moved to other parts of Georgia and preferably to the neighboring Truso gorge. The first

<sup>2</sup> С. Козаев, *Вопрос Восточной Осетии не снимается с повестки дня*, <http://osradio.ru/obshество/91476-obshество.html>; М. Чернов, *Границы Осетии должны быть пересмотрены*, <http://expert.ru/2013/08/21/granitsyi-osetii-dolzhnyi-byit-peresmotrenyi/> voskanapat.info; А. Туаева, *Трусовское ущелье. почему оно за границей?*- [http://iratta.com/materials/sovremennost/48-trusovskoe\\_ushhele\\_pochemu\\_ono\\_za\\_granicejj.html/](http://iratta.com/materials/sovremennost/48-trusovskoe_ushhele_pochemu_ono_za_granicejj.html/).

<sup>3</sup> М. Lortkipanidze, *ფეოდალური საქართველოს პოლიტიკური გვერთიანება*, Tbilisi 1963, pp. 139-150; Т. Papuashvili, *რანთა და კახთა სამეფო (VIII-XI სს.)*, Tbilisi 1982, pp. 26-53.

<sup>4</sup> Т. Papuashvili, *რანთა და კახთა სამეფო (VIII-XI სს.)*, pp. 50-53.

contingent, driven from Maghran-Dvaleti seems to have occupied initially the area before Kasara. Lately, oppressed by Ossetians, they moved even more to the east, along the Tergi Valley<sup>5</sup>.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century Ossetians came to the source of the Tergi River and the process of assimilation of the Dvals began. More lately they occupied the territory to the east before the village of Kobi. Simultaneously, Ossetians settled in several villages of Khevi (Kobi, Achkhoti, Ukhati, Toti). The initiators of their settlement are often considered the promoted Georgian families of Ghudushauri and lately Kazbegi.<sup>6</sup> By some Ossetian specialists, Dvals which were completely assimilated by Ossetians are considered to be a tribe of Ossetian origin<sup>7</sup>.

The royal court could not pay proper attention to mountainous regions after dissolution of the united Georgian kingdom. Political disintegration, economic isolation and limited communication characteristic of the feudal epoch, created an opportunity to strengthen the local community governance. Ossetians gained ethnic dominance in Truso and even formed a separate territorial community<sup>8</sup>; though, politically the Truso gorge stayed within the space of the Georgian state. Lately, the region of contemporary Kazbegi municipality was joined to the principality of the Aragvi Eristavs, and in 1743 the Georgian Royal court directly subordinated it.<sup>9</sup>

By the time of the Russian supremacy in Georgia, the Ossetians, living in the upper reach of the Tergi River were totally integrated into the Georgian social-political milieu and actively participated in the ongoing processes. The situation definitely changed from the 19<sup>th</sup> century after the Russian dominance in Georgia. Initially, the uprisings of Ossetians against Russian dominance were systematic and irreconcilable. They fought against Russian Rule side by side with Georgian insurgents. Later Russia managed to

<sup>5</sup> Vakhushti Batonishvili, ალწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა, ქართლის ცხოვრება, IV, Tbilisi 1973, p. 647; R. Topchishvili, დვალეთი და დვალეები, Tbilisi 2016, p. 50; V. Itonishvili, დვალეები და დვალეთი, II, Tbilisi 2016, p. 86; Itonishvili, თემი და თემობრიობა საქართველოში, Tbilisi 2017, p. 43.

<sup>6</sup> V. Itonishvili, მობევეების ყოფა-ცხოვრება, Tbilisi 2016, pp. 40-50.

<sup>7</sup> З.Н. Ванети, *К вопросу времени заселения Юго-Осетии*, Изв. Юго-Осет. НИИ АН Грузии, 1936, вып 3, pp. 270-278; Ю. А. Дзиццойты, *Диалектология и древняя история Южных Осетин*, Ю. С. Гаглойти, Сарматы и Центральный Кавказ, Тезиси докладов на конференции по осетиноведению, под редакцией А.А. Магомедова, Владикавказ 1994, pp. 58-59.

<sup>8</sup> A. Kazbegi, ხევისბერი გოჩა, თბზულებანი, Tbilisi 1985, pp. 619-622; V. Itonishvili, თემი და თემობრიობა საქართველოში, p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> G. Togoshvili, საქართველო-ოსეთის უერთიერთობა XV-XVIII სს., p. 195; I. Bagrationi, ქართლ-კახეთის ალწერა, Tbilisi 1986, p. 35.

entice hostile Ossetians and used them as a political weapon in the great Caucasian confrontation<sup>10</sup>.

There are different suppositions in the Georgian and Russian/Ossetian historical societies concerning the question of ethnogenesis of Ossetians, their political history and settlement in Georgia. Migration of Ossetians to Georgia and the stages of their settlement are the subjects of bitter debates. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century a part of Ossetian specialists considered the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries the oldest periods of Ossetian migration<sup>11</sup>; others supposed that the first period of their infiltration in Georgia was connected to Mongol dominance in the North Caucasus. There were attempts, based on genealogies of Ossetian family names, to attribute their migration to the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The results of investigations of some Georgian and Russian researchers corroborate that the settlement of Ossetians in the mountainous part of Kartli occurred in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and their migration to western Georgia – in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>12</sup> Compact settlements appeared gradually in the northern part of Shida Kartli, in the valleys of the rivers Liakhvi and Ksani, though the majority of Ossetians dispersed throughout Georgia.

For the whole period of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Ossetians actually didn't live in the villages of Kartlian foothills. Migration of Ossetian there (mainly in destroyed villages) began in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. In this period Ossetians occupied considerable part of the foothills of the Patara Liakhvi valley. Since that period and especially in the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was an individual migration of Ossetians from the mountainous part of Shida Kartli to the villages of its foothills and

<sup>10</sup> Kh. Kокрашвили, რუსეთის პოლიტიკა შიდა ქართლის მთიანეთში, საქართველო-რუსეთის ურთიერთობა XVIII-XXI საუკუნეებში, II, Tbilisi 2016, p. 10; М. Ткавашвили, *Русско-осетинское противостояние в Грузии в начале XIX века, Некоторые вопросы истории осетин Шиды картли*, Tbilisi 2010, pp. 218-251.

<sup>11</sup> М. Блиев, *Южная Осетия в коллизиях Российско-Грузинских отношений*, Москва 2006, p. 11; Ю.С. Гаглойти, *Сарматы и Центральный Кавказ*, pp. 44-46; Б.В. Тихов, *этнической принадлежности создателей кобанской культуры Центрального Кавказа, от скифов до осетин, Материалы по осетиноведению*, Москва 1994, pp. 44-46

<sup>12</sup> Е.Г. Пчелина, *Краткий историко-археологический очерк страны Ирон-Хусар, Материалы по изучению Грузии: Юго-Осетия*, Tiflis 1925; В.И. Абаев, *Осетинский язык и фольклор*, Москва 1959; В. Gamkrelidze, კუდაროს ხეობა, VIII, 2003; Gamkrelidze, ოსთა განსახლების საკითხისათვის საქართველოში, ოსთა საკითხი, Tbilisi 1996; G. Chikovani, დასავლეთ საქართველოში ოსთა ჩასახლების საკითხისათვის (რაჭა), 2003; N. Abkhazava, კულტურულ-ეთნიკური პროცესები შიდა ქართლის ჩრდილო-დასავლეთ ნაწილში უძველესი დროიდან გვიან შუა საუკუნეებამდე (არქეოლოგიური მასალების მიხედვით), ოსთა საკითხი, Tbilisi 1995.

<sup>13</sup> R. Topchishvili, საქართველოში ოსთა ჩამოსახლებისა და შიდა ქართლის ეთნო ისტორიის საკითხები, Tbilisi, 1997, pp. 21-23; B. Gamkrelidze, კუდაროს ხეობა, VIII, 2003, p. 155.

plains.<sup>13</sup> There are different opinions on the history of creation of South Ossetian administrative unit in Georgia. It's worth mentioning, that the terms South and North Ossetia are not stated in written sources until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This term appears only after Georgia annexed to Russia. In their reports to the emperor the Russian military officers refer the territory inhabited by Ossetians in Liakhvi mountainous regions as "Ossetia", "Georgian Ossetia" or "Kartlian Ossetia" (1812-1837). Then a binary opposition "South Ossetia –North Ossetia" appeared. In the 1840s the "Ossetian district" was established in Georgia. This served as the basis for naming the territorial-administrative unit created by the Bolsheviks in Shida Kartli as the South Ossetian autonomous district.

It should be mentioned that the field ethnographic materials of the ethnographers: B. Kaloev, Z. Vaneev, L. Chibirov and others, give definite information to specify the period of resettlement of Ossetians in the upper reach of the Tergi Valley. However, when interpreting the material the same authors are usually tendentious which is reflected in their conclusions. These conclusions formed the basis for new false ethno-genetic conceptions.

Georgian and Ossetian authors come to radically different conclusions owing to diverse interpretation of one and the same archeological data, written sources and ethnographic materials. In order to corroborate statements about Ossetians indigenusness the most Ossetian authors are compelled to search for new conceptual basis for argumentation and comprehend distinctively the archeological material due to scarcity of written sources. The process of creating new Ossetian mythologemas is noticeable. Even comparatively moderate historians (for example Mark Bliев) avoid exact quoting, fearing that Georgians will destroy the historical sources stored in Georgia<sup>14</sup>. However, these publications are cited already by other authors. Thus, it seems as though the work is based on a solid scientific sources. Such publications are apprehended negatively by the Georgian society aggravating negative attitudes, whereas in Ossetians it strengthens the feeling of national pride and sense of historic distinctiveness and makes them lose the desire to compromise. In this situation, the idea of restoration of "historical Ossetia" and returning "old lands", primarily Kazbegi region and the Ghuda gorge became popular, which significantly reduces the perspectives of resolution of the Ossetian question.

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<sup>14</sup> М. Б л и е в, *Южная Осетия в коллизиях Российско-Грузинских отношений*, Москва 2006, р. 9.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, intensive migration proceeded in present day Kazbegi municipality. On the basis of scientific literature and field ethnographic material obtained in the targeted region, the economic, political and ethno-cultural factors determining the Ossetian migration can be identified.

Animal husbandry (mostly sheep breeding) and agriculture with preference of cattle breeding were traditionally the main fields of farming in this region. Alternation of winter and summer pastures is not proved before Russian dominance in Georgia. The main reason was the difficult accessibility of winter pastures. In the Kakheti valley Kazbegians failed to compete with Tushs, who had tight economic contacts with Kakhetians, and the population of the foothill zone in winter pastures of Kartli. Keeping of many sheep in cattle shed was almost impossible. If a family possessed more than two tens of sheep they had to care about contacts with the lowlands<sup>15</sup>.

The potential of sheep breeding enhanced significantly when after the Russian rule the use of the winter pastures of the North Caucasus became possible. Since the 1870s - 1880s, the population of Khevi and Truso extensively used the winter pastures of Chechnya and Kizlyar, where they kept their sheep from October till the end of April. The share of cattle breeding was enhanced in the Soviet period. Sheep flocks of collective and private farms were pastured intensively in mountains in summer and in northern valleys in winter. In the 1930s the economic environment of the region was changed drastically due to collectivization. Livestock which was mainly in private ownership before, was nationalized and became the property of collective farms. As a result the profitability of this economic field was enhanced. Herewith transformation of symbiotic forms of farming proceeded systematically, which reduced the share of agriculture in the mountainous zone and limited the usage of arable lands for individual farmers. Under the Soviet labor organization the forms of mutual aid that have existed for centuries were forgotten gradually. As a result of increasing the share of mechanization, the use of old agricultural tools in the field was limited.<sup>16</sup>

Notwithstanding the definite raise of income, the harsh climate of Kazbegi region, bad communal conditions and less available education conditioned high intensity of Ossetian migration to North Ossetia. The migrants were mainly Ossetians, because there already existed a springboard of

<sup>15</sup> V. Itonishvili, მოხვევების ყოფა-ცხოვრება, Tbilisi 2015, pp. 43-44.

<sup>16</sup> G. Jalabadze, მიწათმოქმედება თერგის ხეობაში, საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის მოამბე, 22-II, Tbilisi 1961, pp. 201-202; V. Itonishvili, ცენტრალური კავკასიის მთიელების საოჯახო ყოფა, Tbilisi 1969, p. 224.



Ossetians immigrated in 1944, they had tight relative ties with. The Ossetian settlements of the region gradually got emptied.

This process was especially evident in Truso. Hard living conditions and less perspective of social-economical development made people search for labor and housing in North Ossetia. Massive constructions of new types of houses started in the 1960s along the Military road; but this did not happen in the Truso gorge. The Living, farming, defensive and religious buildings in Truso, which is nowadays totally depopulated, evidence that since the 1960s nothing has been built there. Unlike the Khevi villages, gasification of the Truso gorge was not accomplished.<sup>17</sup> This increased the desire of population to improve their living conditions and leave the woodless area. It could be said that the possibility of comfortable housing in Orjonikidze served for population of the Truso gorge as an important motivation.

The change of ethno-cultural vector, implying replacement of Georgian orientation with Russian, promoted migrational aspirations of Ossetians. Prior to Russian hegemony the integration of Ossetians into the Georgian world occurred naturally, which implied gradual assimilation of components of the Georgian material and spiritual culture. Until the 1970s, the family names of the majority of Truso and Kobi population ended in suffix -shvili as in Georgian surnames. Lately the tendency of replacement of the Georgian anthroponomical model with the Russian one was noticeable. The number of family names with Russian endings (suffixes -ov -ev) increased.<sup>18</sup> Since 1905 the liturgy and church registers were conducted in Russian. It was planned to replace the Georgian language by Russian as *Lingua Franca* and change the political, economic and religious vectors focused on Georgia in favor of Russia.

After the collapse of the Soviet regime, on the background of the radical political, economic and demographic transformations, the scale of sheep breeding was reduced significantly. The winter pastures of the North Caucasus, due to the locked borders with the Russian Federation, were inaccessible. The economically unproductive Truso gorge was totally depopulated; but in turn Mokheves, who were oppressed by Ossetian refugees - the migrants from Tskhinvali region, started massive immigration from North Ossetia.

In the 1990s diminishing of animal husbandry made the local population of the region to seek alternative sources of income. As Khevi vil-

<sup>17</sup> V. Itonishvili, ხევი ძველად და ახლა, Tbilisi 1967, pp. 66-75.

<sup>18</sup> საქართველოს ეროვნული არქივი, f. 254, p. 436; საქართველოს ეროვნული არქივი, f. 489, p. 46.

lages were provided with free natural gas, the locals started development of private greenhouses, where cucumbers and tomatoes were grown. Mokheves were basically occupied with this business, though Ossetians, migrated from Georgia to North Ossetia were actively occupied in trading relations and became the main distributors of production into Russia.

Soon appointing the limits on free gas by the state, greenhouses lost their actuality, but as my respondents notice, Ossetians have maintained friendly and business relations with Mokheves until today. The change of the economic profile of the region was painful for all social layers of the population. Animal husbandry and agriculture is unable to provide perfectly the life of local population. Tourism remains to be the only prospective sector in the region, though the number of people occupied in tourist business is not large. In such conditions most people believe that the prospect of returning Ossetians in the Truso gorge is doubtful. Moreover, the new direction of agricultural contacts is evident, which is linked to seasonal transhumance from Kazbegi region to the lowlands of Eastern Georgia. For the last period, besides Mokheves Azeri herders from Iormughanlo also use the summer pastures, and the most sheep flocks of Kazbegi region are moved to the winter pastures in Kvemo Kartli valleys. And the Ossetians themselves, the former residents of Truso, rarely visit their dwellings, places of worship and ancestors graves even in summer.

The Georgians and Ossetians of the region were involved in long-term mutually beneficial cultural and economic relations. Usually in ethnically mixed villages Ossetians and Georgians had common shrines and sanctuaries, they celebrated their religious festivals together and performed cult practices within the same space and at the same time. In mono-ethnic villages Georgians came to visit their Ossetian friends and relatives and vice versa at each other's religious festivals. The influences of confessional, ethnic, social-economic factors and state institutions determined the character (syncretism, unification, nationalization etc.) and dynamics of these rituals. The study of mutual sacred places is important for determination of direction of their migration, since the Georgian highlanders, wherever they migrated, almost universally retained the habit of visiting the sacred places of their ancestors at festivals of their pagan shrines and participate in religious rituals.

Field materials evidence that the number of Ossetian visitors to traditional festivals is decreasing for the last period. Presumably, most of them replaced old festivals with rituals typical of the new environment. Trans-

formation of political, economic and ethnic environment has been clearly reflected on traditional rituals. “Vachiloba”, which used to be the festival of Ossetians, living in Toti, nowadays is celebrated by Georgians, settled in neighboring village, they are the main actors (Dekanoz - priest at pagan shrine, flag bearer, feast leader etc.) and Ossetians have the guest status. The individual elements of the ritual have been modified (for example to the sacred place they bring the state flag of Georgia, instead of a specially designed traditional flag), women sit with men at the table and etc. It could be said, that the nature of transformation of the above mentioned traditional rituals, is closely linked to the concrete local socio-economic and political changes on the one hand and the general socio-cultural tendencies in the world on the other.<sup>19</sup>

Definite developments were peculiarly depicted on the Georgian-Ossetian relations in Kazbegi region: massive migration of Ossetians to the North Caucasus from the 1940s to former settlements of the Ingush people, deported from their homeland in 1944; the Georgian-Ossetian conflict in Tskhinvali region; declaration of a visa regime by Russia and giving definite privileges to the population of border region; the Russian - Georgian war in August, 2008; transformation of Russian policy after this war etc.

Mokheves distinguish between North Ossetians, the so-called “Irons” and “Kudatses”, those migrated from Tskhinvali region and other territories of Georgia to North Ossetia. Interviews manifested the negative attitude of majority of Mokheves towards the last group. They consider Ossetians of Tskhinvali region to be aggressive and unfair. It’s worth mentioning, that according to Mokheves, North Ossetians have a similar attitude towards “Kudartses” and the relations between them are not so good.

Integration of individuals and ethnic groups under the conditions of prolonged relations is accompanied by their cultural modification i.e. acculturation, when the primary cultural paradigm of both groups more or less change and in the result definite cultural unification occurs. Usually this process goes independently and is characterized by transformation of orientations in values, role behavior and social attitudes. Therefore, it’s not surprising that in the opinion of some interviewees Kudartses are on much higher cultural level than North Ossetians, as they underwent influence of Georgian culture and adopted many cultural elements. They think that after migration of Ossetians of Tskhinvali to the north, the culture of North Ossetians, which was far behind and pagan, “upraised”.

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<sup>19</sup> L. Janiashvili, *ობთა სპიობი ყაზბეგის რეგიონში*, Tbilisi 2017, pp. 66-80.

Personal assessment of Ossetians revealed that they are regarded mainly as tradition followers, friendly, hospitable and respectful for the elderly people, though comparatively minor part considers them to be untrustworthy, less cultural and aggressive.

The following picture was depicted concerning the perspectives of Georgian-Ossetian coexistence in Kazbegi region: a 46% of interviewed population consider impossible returning of migrated Ossetians to their dwellings; a 27% think about their partial return (e.g. in summer), though according to the majority, it can occur only if political circumstances change (free will of the government, allowing them to transfer their cattle etc.) or improvement of the housing conditions. According to the absolute majority of respondents (Georgians and Ossetians) geostrategic interest of Russia is the core reason inducing the Georgian-Ossetian conflict, which by encouraging the separatist processes, hinders the formation of a strong, independent Georgian state in Transcaucasia. They often bring positive examples (David Soslan was ethnic Ossetian, Georgian Kings used to involve Ossetians in their troops etc.) from the history of Georgian-Ossetian interrelations, in order to show the perspective of coexistence of the two people, though opposite tendencies are also met (e.g. Georgians remember Ossetian betrayal during the Mongol period and the first independent Republic of Georgia; Ossetians recollect punishing expedition against Ossetians, carried out by Valiko Jugheli in the period of first Republic of Georgia, events developed in the 1990s, etc.).

There are sharply negative estimations concerning Ossetians and nuances of their life and culture. Ossetian respondents are more reserved, though their narratives also contain negative connotation. Many of them believe that territorial claims of Ossetians in Georgia are fair.

Most respondents are convinced that repatriation of immigrated from Georgia Ossetians is not expected because they are well able to integrate in their new places of residence (basically in Russia).

The talks on the annexation of the territory of Kazbegi and Kvemo Kartli (the so-called "Trialetian Ossetia") to the Ossetian state are inspired by the Russian political circles and activities of separate organizations like "Dariali" that serves only the financial interests of its leaders.

As a result of the aforementioned processes, the number of Mokheves having intensive contacts with Ossetians has been halved. The economic ties and the practice of joint participation in religious rituals have been lost. Intercultural sensitivity is directed from ethno relative to ethnocentrist. Ethno political processes which started from the 1980s obliged people to make

distinctive ethnic identification; this resulted in full integration not at the group but at the individual level (expressed by Georgianization or Ossetianization). According to the survey, the majority considers it impossible to return the Ossetians to the Kazbegi region and considers this issue as another provocation of Russia.

The Russian-Georgian war of 2008 and the Russian-Ukrainian confronting made actual the model of hybrid future war, elaborated by military theoreticians of Kremlin. Theory of a hybrid war was elaborated for achievement of military and political goals and implies multilateral, complex attack on the antagonist party. All kinds of methods are applied openly and secretly, like: diplomatic, military, economic, informational and conventional, irregular (partisan and asymmetric), terrorist, criminal and cyber methods.

The imperial strategy of Kremlin, in relation with Georgia historically is characterized by considerable diversity. In the end of the 20th century the change of geopolitical realities made Kremlin to apply different methods. Simultaneously, a new national politics of Moscow, ensuring the nationalist (state) interests of the Russian state and society on internal and external arenas, actually represents the transformed version of the Tsarist policy. The Soviet state originated from the ruins of Tsarist Russia and its main legal successor, the Russian Federation, inherited the task of full assimilation of the Empire peoples. However, the delicacy of the situation is that without the obvious violations of universally recognized general principles, the Georgian state should be represented as an unsuccessful project, in order to convince Georgians of their helplessness and refuse political independence. By Kremlin calculations, in perspective, it will provide staying of Georgia on the Russian orbit at the initial stage and total assimilation in future. For such a purpose it was considered the most appropriate to provoke internal conflicts and use compactly dwelling “minorities” in Georgia to incite the conflict. It goes without saying that Russia intended to undertake monitoring and control of this confrontation as a peacekeeper.

Separatist regions play a decisive role in achieving the strategic goals. In the 1990s Russia managed to practically separate these regions from the Georgian political and economic space, which after the war of 2008 ended by open occupation and annexing. Moscow for embellishing the situation recognized Abkhazia and the so-called South Ossetia as independent states, and explained its own action as an act of support of Abkhazian and Ossetian people living in these territories.

Kremlin tries to restrict the historical territorial possessions of Georgia and extend frontiers to the south as much as possible primarily to broaden the territory of favorable for them Ossetians. Corroboration of century old dwelling of Ossetian ethnos and proving ethnic hegemony of Ossetians on the territory of upper reach of the Tergi River would be the best opportunity to legitimize pretensions of the so-called south Ossetian State.

Pseudo historical works could be applied especially effectively for the above mentioned purposes. The influence of historical literature on interethnic relations naturally evokes temptation to veil ethnocentric aspirations with "Patriotic feelings". Scientists against their will are exposed to the open or hidden influence of society, which, naturally, affects their creativity. This was well known to the Soviet authorities, who very effectively controlled historical literature to manage the processes in the desired direction.

The Georgian-Ossetian/Russian conflict is a multifaceted phenomenon. Beside political, economic, social and ethno cultural aspects each Party's claim to get back the historically granted place has a great influence on inspiration of this conflict. Thus, a part of scientists have possibilities to fulfill the geopolitical order of conjuncture and by exaggerating the historical role of this or that people, influence ethnocentric sentiments.

According to the recently published scientific literature, the conception of the Ossetian side about the perspectives of Georgian-Ossetian relations is the following: the Georgian government imposes a despotic princely ideology on the population and on the establishment – an orientation towards NATO (Western Europe, USA) and military support for the current government. Ossetians are oriented to absolutely different values. This plan contains the following objectives: the unification of Ossetians with the support of Russia; modernization, carried out by Russia, and participation in the global processes.

The conception of Georgian side on this issue is different. Euro-Atlantic choice is primarily related to the establishment of democratic values and consolidation of human rights. The essence of the national policy is as follows: consolidation of the Georgian society and integration of different groups into the single state organism.

Ossetians and Georgians in Kazbegi region  
historial and cultural issues

The article presents historical and ethno-cultural issues related to Georgian-Ossetian relations of Kazbegi Region. According to historical sources, Kazbegi region was originally inhabited by Georgian tribes - the Tsanars some of whom migrated to the eastern Georgian lowlands in the Principality of Kakheti. Later (the 13<sup>th</sup> -14<sup>th</sup> centuries) Tsanars were replaced by the ethnographic group of Georgian origin - Dvals; in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Ossetians penetrated to the source of the Tergi River and began to assimilate the Dvals who had migrated there. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as a result of ethnic processes, the area close to the upper reaches of the Tergi River (now Truso) were completely inhabited by Ossetians; below, the settlements from the village of Kobi to the village of Jaryah, were mostly inhabited by the Georgian Mountaineers, Mokheves.

Ossetians were fully integrated in the Georgian social-political space and actively participated in the ongoing processes. Integration of Ossetians into the Georgian world occurred naturally, which implied gradual assimilation of components of the Georgian material and spiritual culture.

Later the Russian Empire managed to entice hostile Ossetians and use them as a political weapon against Georgia's interests. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Ossetian population almost completely moved to North Ossetia from today's Kazbegi region due to the ecological, socio-political and economic factors. However, some of the Ossetian organizations and political circles instigated by the Russian propaganda consider Kazbegi region as their historical homeland and declare political claims on the territory.





Mariam Chkhartishvili, საქართველო III-V საუკუნეებში. ხოსროვანთა სამეფო სახლის ისტორია (*Georgia in 3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> Centuries. History of the Royal Family of Chosroids*), Nekresi Publishing, Tbilisi 2018, pp. 303; ISBN 978-9941-457-96-8

A famous researcher, the author of more than 200 scholarly works (among them 11 books), the editor and publisher of a number of collections and books, a teacher with a longstanding experience, the supervisor of many doctoral dissertations, the organizer and participant of many scientific conferences is before us.

The scientific works by Mariam Chkhartishvili always draw attention with their original issues, along with her special style of writing, which is typical just of her, her high academic level. The author never avoids obstacles; on the contrary, for her research she selects the tasks which are difficult to overcome, and addresses the most complicated questions.

This time, the reviewed book researches one of the most complicated epochs in the Georgian history, which is studied not so well. The author realized the problem and responsibility set before her. Many years had passed since the time when the author started to think of the questions which are included and studied in the book and began to make related publications. Thus, the present book is the result of a long- standing research.

The main complicity of the study of the history of Georgia of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> cc. is determined by the lack of sources which have, as a rule, reached up the present not as authentic, intact manuscripts, but as versions distorted by later copyists. Absence of chronology for the related times is also a problem for the scholars studying the epoch. Although the same two main written monuments are before the researchers – “Conversion of Kartli” (“მოქცევაჲ ქართლისაჲ”) and “The History of Kartli” (“ქართლის ცხოვრება”) and the same parallel foreign sources – Armenian, Latin, Greek, which are not rich with the needed evidence, the different reading and interpretation of the sources give the possibility to restore frequently a completely different historic picture.

One of the advantages of the present work is that it reflects all achievements of the scholarly literature. The author doesn't miss any research concerning the surveyed issues whether of Georgian or of foreign historiography. The author avoids polemic with the opponents, with the authors who have different opinions and tries to focus on her own perceptions or assumptions bringing the related convincing arguments.

A greater part of the book is given to the analysis of the used sources, mostly of “Conversion of Kartli” and “History of Kartli (“ქართლის ცხოვრება”). Here are offered speculations concerning the time of their creation and editing, structure, significance of the “Conversion of Kartli” for “The History of Kartli”, the level of reliability of each evidence from both monuments. The comparative study of these two monuments reveals in some cases the advantage of one, and in others - of the other. Such a work leads the author to the conclusion that the husband of the daughter of Ayet – Azo was put on the throne of Kartli by Alexander the Great and they jointly ruled the state for a while. The author shares the opinion that the king of Kartli Mirian, in whose reign Christianity was proclaimed as the state religion in Kartli, didn't belong to the Pharnavazid dynasty. According to her assumption, he was the illegitimate son of the Persian Shah (probably Hormizd-Ardashir's 272-273). He was the founder of Chosroid dynasty. A special place is given in the book to the life and activities of Mirian, to his family members, descendants. The author thinks that Bakur/Bakar was the grandson of Mirian and not his son. Meriban of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, in her opinion, was the same Trdat. Trying to find out who Varaz-Bakur was, the author comes to the conclusion that he was the son-in law of Trdat, the husband of his daughter Bakurdukhtya. The scholar broadly argues about the Great Bakur and comes to the conclusion that he was the brother of Trdat - Peter the Iberian's grandfather. The author determines the identity of Ultra. In her opinion, he was the son of Aspagur and his mother was the daughter of Mirian's daughter's son.

The author presumes that the father of Vakhtang Gorgasali was Mirdat/Ultra, the son of Varaz-Bakur from the first marriage, who was adopted by Archil. Along with that the author dates their activities.

The author offers an extensive review of the creation of the Georgian script, which is not her first attempt in this regard, either. The creation of the Georgian alphabet belongs to eternal issues. As it's known, the issue has been considered in scholarly literature many times. Nevertheless, one cannot consider the issue as resolved. Research in this direction is under way. Unlike some other researchers, the author attributes the creation of the Georgian alphabet to the Pharnavaz epoch (4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cc. BC). The author considers the evidence of Leonti Mroveli's chronicle as convincing. However, she notes that alphabet has passed different stages and its development and survival are the merit of different figures.

The present book is one more attempt to restore the Georgian history of the 3<sup>rd</sup>c-5<sup>th</sup> cc. Some conclusions made in the book will be the subject of debate and speculations in the future. Nevertheless, I think that it deserves attention not just of narrow scholarly circles, but of broader readers interested in the Georgian history.

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## CHRONICLE

### ZE WSPOMNIENÍ O PROFESORZE TEJMURAZIE CZIKOWANIM (1924-2007)

*napisal Andrzej Woźniak*



Tejmuraz Czikowani z żoną Liq Czladze w Polsce, 1975 r.

W tym roku<sup>1</sup>, w czerwcu minęła dziesiąta rocznica śmierci mojego wieloletniego przyjaciela, wybitnego uczonego gruzińskiego, etnografa, archeologa i jednego z twórców gruzińskiej etnoarcheologii, profesora Tejmuraza Czikowaniego. Przez długie lata był przewodnikiem i doradcą w moich gruzińskich poszukiwaniach.

Tejmuraz Czikowani urodził się 3 października 1924 r. w Meschetii, w miejscowości Ackuri, położonej kilkanaście kilometrów na północny wschód od głównego miasta regionu Achalciche. W przeszłości Ackuri było ważnym ośrodkiem strategicznym w systemie obronnym południowej Gruzji, czego świadectwem są położone tam na skale ruiny twierdzy Ackuris-ciche. Na południe od Ackuri położony jest jeden z najwspanialszych zabytków architektury gruzińskiej, wielki klasztor, wykuty w skale w XII w. – Wardzia.

Prawdopodobnie na przełomie lat dwudziestych i trzydziestych ubiegłego wieku rodzina Czikowanich przeniosła się czy też raczej wróciła do Tbilisi,

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<sup>1</sup> Tekst był pisany w 2017 roku.

gdzie w 1943 r. Tejmuraz Czikowani ukończył szkołę średnią. Piszę – prawdopodobnie – gdyż losy rodziny Czikowanich w pierwszych latach władzy sowieckiej w Gruzji nie są mi znane, zaś w oficjalnej, bardzo zwięzłej *Autobiografii*, której kopię przysłał mi T. Czikowani przed ponad 20 laty, pisał o „starej tbiliskiej rodzinie”, w której się urodził. Czikowani nie byli jednak rodziną mieszczańską. M. Wadbolowski w swojej pracy o heraldycznej symbolice Gruzji pisał: „174. Herb nowej gałęzi Dadianich – Czikowanich (emblem – wyobrażenie smoka strzęgącego złotego runa”<sup>2</sup>, a stronę wcześniej: „160. Herb starej (dawnej) dynastii Dadiani (emblem – baran, św. Jerzy, sztandar bojowy, szabla, strzały, płynący statek, a w środku umieszczony krzyż”<sup>3</sup>.

Udzielni księżęta Megrelii (Samegrelo, Odiszi), ród Dadianich, a szczególnie Lewan II Dadiani w XVII w. odgrywali istotną rolę w życiu politycznym, żegludze i handlu (zwłaszcza jedwabiem) na wschodnim wybrzeżu Morza Czarnego. Siedemnastowieczny historyk ormiański, Arakel z Tebrizu, wspominając o poszukiwaniach żony dla króla Kartli, Luarsaba II, pisał nawet: „Księżęta wysłali ludzi do krainy książąt Dadianich i wyswatali Luarsabowi za żonę córkę króla (podkr.-AW) Dadianiego”<sup>4</sup>. W XIX wieku niezależne księstwo Megrelii, pod protektoratem Rosji, rządzone przez Dadianich utrzymało się do 1855 roku.

W rodzinie Czikowanich, jak mogłem zauważyć, do rodzinnych tradycji największą uwagę przywiązywał ojciec Tejmuraza – Anton (Antoni), którego zdążyłem poznać w czasie mojego pierwszego pobytu w Gruzji w 1971 r. O przeszłości swojej rodziny nie zapominał też sam Tejmuraz, zwłaszcza po śmierci ojca. W liście do mnie z września 1976 r. pisał: „U nas wydarzyło się wielkie nieszczęście, 2 sierpnia umarł mój ojciec, teraz więc w naszej rodzinie ja jestem najstarszy”<sup>5</sup>, a po kolejnym pobycie w sanatorium, gdzie leczył się na nerki, w liście z października 1986 pisał do mnie: „dwa tygodnie byłem na badaniach terenowych w Zachodniej Gruzji, w prowincji Samegrelo (Megrelia). Mieszkaliśmy tam we wsi Salochino, co w tłumaczeniu znaczy „miejsce dla spędzania czasu”. Z tej wsi pochodzili moi dalecy przodkowie. Stoi tam jeszcze w pięknym parku na pół zrujnowany pałac. W tym właśnie parku była nasza baza, gdzie dwa tygodnie mieszkał twój przyjaciel”<sup>6</sup>.

Po ukończeniu szkoły średniej Tejmuraz Czikowani rozpoczął studia na wydziale Orientalistyki Uniwersytetu Tbiliskiego, które ukończył w 1951 r. W tym samym roku został aspirantem w Gruzińskiej Akademii Nauk obierając jako kie-

<sup>2</sup> M. Wadbolowski, *Sakatrwelos heraldikuri simbolika. Geraldiczeskajasiwoliika Gruzii*, Tbilisi 1980, s.104.

<sup>3</sup> *Tamże*, s. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Arakel z Tebrizu, *Księga dziejów*, Z rosyjskiego przełożyli W. Dąbrowski i A. Mandalian, wstęp - W. Hensel, Warszawa 1981, s.103. Nieco wcześniej Arakel z Tebrizu, pisząc o poszukiwaniach żony dla Luarsaba II, zauważa, że wyniosłe i dumne plemię gruzińskie /.../ „nade wszystko ceni sobie drzewa genealogiczne i pochodzenie przodków, i pilnie je bada”, *tamże*.

<sup>5</sup> Listy T. Czikowaniego, I-14 z 26.09.1976.

<sup>6</sup> Listy T. Cz. I-38, 27.10.1986.

runek etnografię Kaukazu. W 1954 r. skończył aspiranturę i obronił pracę kandydacką o budownictwie mieszkalnym i gospodarczym w Trialeti. Od 1955 do 1961 r. pracował w Państwowym Muzeum im. Simona Dżanaszvia w Tbilisi jako młodszy, a następnie jako starszy pracownik naukowy. W 1961 r. przeniesiony został do Działu Etnografii Kaukazu Instytutu Historii, Archeologii i Etnografii im. J. Dżawachiszwili Gruzińskiej Akademii Nauk, gdzie w 1967 r. obronił pracę doktorską na temat ludowego budownictwa mieszkalnego Zakaukazia. Od 1978 r. pracował w Centrum Badań Archeologicznych Akademii, kierując tam Sekcją Badań Terminologii Archeologicznej i Etnoarcheologicznej.<sup>7</sup>

Krąg zainteresowań badawczych T. Czikowaniego – ludowa kultura materialna, życie społeczne i gospodarcze, zarysował się już na początku jego drogi naukowej. Znacznie późniejszym, specjalistycznym ukierunkowaniem jednego z głównych nurtów jego zainteresowań jest etnoarcheologia.

Jako badacz terenowy przemierzył całą Gruzję, Armenię, Azerbejdżan, Inguszetie i Północna Osetię. Uczestniczył w badaniach etnograficznych w Polsce (1968) i Bułgarii (1971, 1972). Wieloletnie badania prowadził m.in. nad genezą i rozprzestrzenianiem domu mieszkalnego typu *darbazi* (*glchatun*, *karadam*), zagadnieniu temu poświęcił kilka prac, w tym obszerne studium porównawcze pt. *Amierkawkazis chalchur sacchowrebel nagebobata istoriidan* (Tbilisi 1967). Praca ta była jego rozprawą doktorską.

W latach 1990-1992 wykładał etnografię Gruzji na Uniwersytecie A. Cereteli w Kutaisi. Od 1991 r. prowadził kurs etnografii ogólnej w Instytucie Azji i Afryki w Tbilisi.<sup>8</sup> Był autorem licznych prac naukowych i popularnonaukowych, w tym 12 osobnych pozycji.<sup>9</sup>

Kontakty T. Czikowaniego z Polską trwały blisko czterdzieści lat i wspomnienia o jego pierwszej wizycie w naszym kraju na zaproszenie profesora Witolda Dynowskiego, wówczas kierownika Katedry Etnografii UW i Zakładu Etnografii Instytutu Historii Kultury Materialnej PAN, nieco zataryły się w mojej pamięci. Latem 1968 r. byłem po rocznym stażu świeżo upieczonym asystentem Katedry Etnografii UW. W czasie jednego z moich dyżurów w sekretariacie katedry, prof. Dynowski poprosił mnie do swojego, sąsiadującego z sekretariatem gabinetu i przedstawił gościowi z Gruzji – dr. Tejmurazowi Czikowanemu, mówiąc, że od dawna interesuję się Gruzją, jej kulturą i historią. Pamiętam, że w pierwszej chwili powiedziałem tylko *gamardżoba batono*, a kiedy gość profesora się przedstawił, wspomniałem coś o królach Gruzji noszących to samo, co on imię – Tejmuraz. Jak mi się zdaje, te parę pierwszych słów utrwaliło chyba w pamięci gruzińskiego gościa prof. Dynowskiego wspomnienie o naszym spotkaniu, bo pisał o nim później w wydanej po powrocie do Gruzji popularnej książeczce o podróży po Polsce, noszącej tytuł *W gościnie u górali* (*Guralebtan*, Tbilisi 1969).

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<sup>7</sup> A. Woźniak, *Profesor Tejmuraz Czikowani*, „Pro Georgia”, t.III: 1993, s. 42.

<sup>8</sup> *Tamże*.

<sup>9</sup> W końcu lat 90. ubiegłego wieku było tych prac ponad 80.

Do dziś nie wiem, jak od strony formalnej wyglądało zaproszenie dr. T. Czikowania do Warszawy, bo nasza katedra nie miała wtedy żadnych oficjalnych kontaktów z Gruzją. Był on chyba zatem na wpół prywatnym gościem prof. Witolda Dynowskiego, który ogólnie znany był z tego, że potrafił załatwiać sprawy, wówczas formalnie nie do załatwienia.<sup>10</sup> Jego trochę staroświecka uprzejmość i galanteria zjednywały mu sympatię rozmówców, zwłaszcza zaś szerokiego grona pań urzędniczek, które obdarowywał licznymi komplementami, kwiatami i drobnymi prezentami. Pamiętam jednak, że profesor Dynowski starannie unikał wszelkich ukłonów w stronę ówczesnej władzy. Nie chodził np. na obowiązkowe wtedy pierwszomajowe pochody. Zastępowali go w tym „dyżurni” współpracownicy z katedry.

Gruziński gość prof. Dynowskiego nie mieszkał w hotelu; w czasie pobytu w Warszawie nocował w katedrze, w gabinecie profesora, wyposażonym w jego prywatne meble, z obszerną otomaną i wiszącym nad nią dużym olejnym pejzażem, biurkiem i półkami z książkami. Większość czasu T. Czikowani spędził jednak poza Warszawą. Polecony przez prof. Dynowskiego opiece pracowników Państwowego Muzeum Etnograficznego odbył z nimi podróż naukową na południe Polski. Podróż swojego gościa prof. Dynowski, o ile wiem, dyskretnie dofinansował, bo od Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego żadnych diet gość z Gruzji nie dostał. Zespół pracowników Państwowego Muzeum Etnograficznego, z którym T. Czikowani wyruszył w podróż na tę wyprawę składał się z kilku osób i kierowcy muzealnej nysy. Kierował nim Piotr Szacki, kurator Działu Kultury Materialnej PME. Nad dokumentacją filmową badań czuwał jego współpracownik, Juliusz Dominowski.<sup>11</sup> Przez Baranów, Sandomierz, Rzeszów, zespół zmierzał ku Beskidowi Niskiemu i Sądeckiemu, w okolice Gorlic, Grybowa, Krynicy, Starego i Nowego Sącza, a później przez Kraków z powrotem do Warszawy. Podróż muzealną nysa przez miasteczka i wsie południowej Polski; etnograficzne poszukiwania w najodleglejszych zakątkach polskiej prowincji, pełne wiernych kościoły w niedzielne przedpołudnia, małomiasteczkowe targi, noclegi po campingach; spotkanie ze sztuką Nikifora; później spotkania i rozmowy w Warszawie...Szybko zmieniające się krajobrazy i rozmówcy, niekiedy nakładają się na siebie, czasem mylą się nazwy zwiedzanych miejscowości.<sup>12</sup>

W Muzeum Okręgowym w Nowych Sączu Tejmuraz Czikowani mógł obejrzeć liczne prace Nikifora Krynickiego, których największą kolekcję tam właśnie zgromadzono. W swojej książeczce o podróży po Polsce (Guralebtan) sztuce Nikifora, którego nazywa „sonczeli Pirosmani” tj. Pirosmani z Sącza, poświęca sporo miejsca. Do tekstu o Nikiforze wkradło się jednak nieco nieścisłości i omyłek.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Być może zresztą, że wizyta T. Czikowania w Polsce była całkowicie prywatnym przedsięwzięciem Profesora.

<sup>11</sup> T. Cz i k o w a n i, *Guralebtan*, Tbilisi, 1969, s. 23-29.

<sup>12</sup> A. Woźniak, *op. cit.*, s. 42-43.

<sup>13</sup> Nikifor Krynicki, a właściwie Epifaniusz Drowniak – malarz prymitywista pochodzenia łemkowskiego – urodził się w 1895 r. w Krynicy (a nie w Nowym Sączu), zmarł



Następny rozdział tej książeczki o Polsce, obszerniejszy niż poprzedni, poświęcił autor śladom Gruzinów w różnych okresach przebywających na polskiej ziemi (*Kartweli kacis nakwalewze*). Opowiada tu m.in. jak zwiedzając stary rzeszowski cmentarz dokonał małego odkrycia; odnalazł mianowicie nagrobek z 1741 r. z nazwiskiem Gurżicki, a więc Gruzina, którego nieznanne losy niegdyś tam przywiodły. Nieco dalej, niejako w nawiązaniu do tego odkrycia wspomina T. Czikowani o dość dobrze historykom gruzińskim i polskim znanej postaci Gruzina na służbie Rzeczypospolitej, królewskiego rotmistrza i posła do Iranu – Bogdana Gurdzieckiego, który w połowie XVII wieku osiadł w Polsce, otrzymał indygenat i dobra ziemskie.<sup>14</sup>

Ten krótki, dwutygodniowy pobyt Tejmuraza Czikowaniego w naszym kraju, zaowocował wielorako. Nasunął mnóstwo tematów do przemyśleń. Pozwolił też nawiązać znajomości i przyjaźni, trwające wiele lat. Stał się tematem niewielkiej popularnonaukowej książeczki o Polsce, parokrotnie tu cytowanej – *Guralebtan (W gościnie u górali)*, wydanej w 1969 roku przez tbiliskie wydawnictwo „Nakaduli”. Była ona pierwszą z serii popularnonaukowych książek T. Czikowaniego. Druga, skierowana do tego samego czytelnika, ale znacznie obszerniejsza i staranniej przez to samo wydawnictwo wydana – *Idumela* (1975), poświęconą była osobliwościom gruzińskiej ludowej kultury materialnej, zwłaszcza budownictwa. Krótka jej recenzja ukazała się w 1977 r. w czasopiśmie „Etnografia Polska”.<sup>15</sup> W tym okresie idea popularyzacji kultury ludowej i treści, które ona w sobie zawierała stawała się autorowi *Idumali* coraz bliższa, ale ulegała dalszym przekształceniom. Narodził się pomysł serii niedużych, skierowanych do szerokiego kręgu czytelników, popularnonaukowych monografii historyczno-etnograficznych regionów południowo-wschodniej Gruzji, mniej od innych znanych. Jako pierwsza ukazała się nieduża praca poświęcona jednemu z regionów Gruzji południowej – *Trialeti* (Tbilisi 1976), później kolejno wychodziły: *Mescheti, Samcche, Istoriul-etnografiuli narkwewi* (1979), *Dżawacheti* (1982), *Zemo Kartli, Samcharetmcdneo istoriul-etnografiuli narkwewi* (1987).

W latach siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych popularyzacja kultury ludowej stała się dla prof. T. Czikowaniego zadaniem pierwszoplanowym. Rezultaty swoich badań naukowych publikuje w specjalistycznych periodykach etnograficznych i historycznych, zaś niemal wszystkie osobne jego prace oprócz wyda-

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w 1968 r. w domu pomocy społecznej w Folszku koło Jasła, pochowany w Krynicy. Był artystą bardzo płodnym – stworzył około 40 tysięcy dzieł. Ich największy zbiór znajduje się w muzeum w Nowym Sączu. Muzeum Nikifora o charakterze biograficznym powstało w zabytkowej willi w Krynicy, z którą artysta był najbardziej związany.

<sup>14</sup> T. Cz i k o w a n i, *Guralebtan, op.cit.*, s. 33. Do tej tematyki wrócił jeszcze T. Czikowani po kilkunastu latach w artykule Czweni poloneli megoban, który napisał z zaprzyjawnionym historykiem Tamazem Natroszwili i opublikowanym w czasopiśmie „Literaturuli Sakartwelo” (z. 10.08.1984 r, s. 11).

<sup>15</sup> A. Woźniak, T. Cz i k o w a n i, *Idumala*, Tbilisi 1975, „Etnografia Polska” t,XXI:1977, z. 1, s. 230.

nych przez Akademię Nauk w 1989 r. *Studiów etnoarcheologicznych (Etnoarcheologiuri etuidebi)*, to książki o charakterze popularnonaukowym.

Meschetia (Samcche), to kraina, w której, jak wiemy, T. Czikowani się urodził i spędził pierwsze lata dzieciństwa. Monografia tego regionu to najobszerniejsze, bo liczące ponad 150 stron, z popularnych opracowań autora.<sup>16</sup> Opatrzona też została aparatem naukowym w postaci przypisów i bibliografii. Na jej okładce i w tekście znalazła się fotografia ruin twierdzy Ackuris-ciche, we wsi Ackuri, miejscu urodzenia autora.

Po raz pierwszy Gruzję odwiedziłem na prywatne zaproszenie dr. Tejmuraza Czikowaniego na przełomie sierpnia i września 1971 roku. Przez dwa tygodnie byłem wtedy gościem państwa Lii i Tejmuraza Czikowanich. T. Czikowaniego poznałem, jak już wcześniej pisałem, latem 1968 r.. Później nawiązała się między nami korespondencja, ale listy z lat 1968-1971, dotyczące zresztą przeważnie kwestii związanych z moim zaproszeniem do Gruzji, nie zachowały się. Tylko dedykacja w przesłanej mi w 1969 r. książeczce o podróży po Polsce z datą 22.08.1969, o tej korespondencji przypomina.

Podczas mojego krótkiego pobytu w Gruzji, trochę po kraju podróżowałem. Oprócz samego Tbilisi, którego zwiedzanie, przeważnie w towarzystwie młodszego kolegi T. Czikowaniego z Akademii Nauk, Bachwy Gamkrelidze, zajęło mi parę dni, odbyłem z gruzińskimi przyjaciółmi wycieczkę terenowym gazikiem Instytutu, w którym pracował T. Czikowani, Drogą Wojenno-Gruzińską, z paroma wypadami do przyległych wąwozów.

Na początku września, kiedy w Gruzji rozpoczyna się rtweli – zbiór winogron, spędziłem z państwem L i T. Czikowaniami dwa czy trzy dni w Kacheti, w okolicach słynącej z białych win miejscowości Gurdzaani. Znajomi państwa Czikowanich, którzy nas gościli, mieszkali w tradycyjnym wiejskim domu, gdzie po raz pierwszy widziałem *marani*, miejsce w piwnicy domu, gdzie w wielkich, wkopanych w ziemię dzbanach *kwewri*, przechowywało się wino. W podwórku niedaleko domu znajdował się piec do pieczenia gruzińskiego chleba – *tone*.

Mimo że, o ile pamiętam, pojawiliśmy się w domu znajomych państwa Czikowanich pod wieczór, gospodarze, którzy nas oczekiwali, zaprosili nas do stołu, przy którym siedziało już grono krewnych i sąsiadów.

Każdy, kto kiedykolwiek odwiedził Gruzję, bez wątplenia doświadczył gruzińskiej gościnności (*purmarili*). Gość jest dla Gruzinów wysłannikiem Pana Boga. Trzeba zatem go odpowiednio podjąć, a jeśli możliwe - zorganizować biesiadę – *suprę*. Dla Gruzinów biesiada (*stól - supra*) jest niezmiernie ważnym składnikiem życia społecznego i jednym z najpowszechniejszych sposobów spędzania wolnego czasu<sup>17</sup>.

Przyjęcie przeciągnęło się do dość późnych godzin. Rano odwiedziliśmy niewielką winnicę gospodarzy, a później zasiedliśmy do biesiady na świeżym

<sup>16</sup> T. Cz i k o w a n i, *Mescheti, Samcche, Istoriul-etnografiuli narkwewi*, Tbilisi 1979.

<sup>17</sup> A. W o ź n i a k, *Dobry Europejczyk w Tyflisie. Śladami Artura Leista*, Warszawa 2017, s.68.

powietrzu, obok świątyni z VIII wieku, najcenniejszego zabytku architektury w okolicach Gurdżani.<sup>18</sup> Po powrocie do Tbilisi ostatnie dni mojego pobytu w Gruzji upłynęły już pod znakiem przygotowań do wyjazdu do Polski, około połowy września.

W czasie dwutygodniowej gościny u państwa Czikowanich mogłem poznać ich najbliższych: ojca T. Czikowaniego – Antoniego, córkę z pierwszego małżeństwa – Mananę oraz braci Lii Człaidze Czikowani – Badriego i Mamukę, a także liczne grono przyjaciół i kolegów z pracy profesora.

Pierwszy okres po powrocie do Warszawy wypełniły sprawy rodzinne. Wkrótce na świat przyszła nasza córka Zofia, później oczekiwaliśmy na przeprowadzkę do nowego, większego mieszkania, co pozwoliło na planowanie terminu zaproszenia naszych gruzińskich przyjaciół do Polski. Okazało się jednak, że ustalenie tego terminu jest znacznie trudniejsze, niż mogliśmy przewidzieć. Wizyta, z różnych powodów, niekiedy w ostatniej chwili była parokrotnie przekładana. Raz była to parotygodniowa delegacja pani Lii do Turcji, a później do Moskwy, innym razem jej choroba. Naszych przyjaciół mogliśmy zatem przywitać na warszawskim Dworcu Gdańskim dopiero latem 1975 r.

Pierwsze dni ich pobytu w Warszawie poświęcone były zwiedzaniu miast, a przy okazji zaglądaniu do różnego rodzaju sklepów, łącznie ze spożywczymi, bo goście chcieli wiedzieć, co można w nich kupić. Również w pierwszych dniach pobytu gruzińskich gości w Warszawie wybrałem się z nimi na jednodniową wycieczkę nocnym pociągiem do Krakowa, który pani Lia bardzo chciała zobaczyć. Przyjechaliśmy tam wczesnym rankiem. Już wtedy alergicy mieli przed południem w Krakowie kłopoty z oddychaniem i pani Lia też tego doświadczyła. Dopiero, gdy słońce nagrzało powietrze, sytuacja się poprawiła. Te chwilowe przykrości wynagrodziło jej jednak piękno miasta i jego zabytków. Późnym wieczorem, również pociągiem, wróciliśmy do Warszawy. Dla T. Czikowaniego Kraków nie był taką atrakcją, jak dla jego żony, bo widział już to miasto kilka lat wcześniej.

Po paru dniach, dzięki mojemu wujowi – Jerzemu Zabierzowskiemu, udało się zorganizować podróż jego samochodem na Wybrzeże, gdzie mieszkali przyjaciele wujostwa, państwo Poznańscy, którzy gościli nas w swoim domu. Po obejrzeniu Gdańska, pojechaliśmy samochodem pana Piotra Poznańskiego na wycieczkę po miasteczkach i wsiach Szwajcarii Kaszubskiej, zakończoną pobytem nad jednym z jezior, gdzie państwo Poznańscy mieli letni domek. W drodze powrotnej pojechaliśmy inną niż na Wybrzeże trasą i zwiedziliśmy po drodze skansen w Olsztyńku, który szczególnie zainteresował profesora Czikowaniego, od lat zajmującego się budownictwem ludowym.

Olsztynek, pisze M. Pokropek w swoim *Atlasie*... – Park Etnograficzny, założony w 1940 r. po przeniesieniu z Królewca obiektów budownictwa drewnianego, gromadzonych tam od 1909 r. Po zniszczeniach w czasie II wojny światowej

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<sup>18</sup> Świątynia, jedyny tego rodzaju zabytek w Gruzji, wyróżnia się dwoma wieżami umieszczonymi jedna za drugą wzdłuż linii szczytu dachu.

udostępniono na nowo muzeum w 1953 r. jako oddział Muzeum Mazurskiego w Olsztynie. Od 1969 r. samodzielne Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego, stale rozbudowywane. Zgromadzono kopie i oryginały budownictwa XVIII-XX wiecznego z terenu Warmii, Mazur, Powiśla i Litwy. Są to: wieża przy kościółku i kościółek drewniany ośmioboczny, karczma z okolic Pasłęka, chałupa, kłeta rybacka, stodoła, kuźnia, spichrze, wiatraki i inne obiekty. Budynki wyposażono w meble, sprzęty domowe i gospodarskie, narzędzia, środki transportu.<sup>19</sup>

W następnym, 1976 r. Warszawę odwiedzili: brat żony profesora Czikowania – Badri Człaidze z żoną Tamiłą (Tamarą). Przyjechali na zaproszenie moich wujostwa, wspomnianych już Lucyny i Jerzego Zabierzowskich. Wuj Jerzy, człowiek bardzo towarzyski i przyjacielski, z naturą rzec można – gruzińską, szybko się z gośćmi zaprzyjaźnił i zapewne zadbał, aby w czasie pobytu w Polsce się nie nudzili, ale szczegółów już sobie nie przypominam. Wiem tylko z listu T. Czikowania, że byli bardzo ze swojej podróży zadowoleni i wdzięczni wujostwu Zabierzowskiemu.<sup>20</sup> Wujostwo umawiali się wprawdzie z młodymi Człaidze na rewizytę w Gruzji, ale z powodu stanu zdrowia mojej ciotki, nie udało się tego planu zrealizować.

W 1977 r. do Gruzji została zaproszona przez prof. Czikowania cała nasza rodzina. Podróż z Warszawy do Moskwy w trzyosobowym przedziale sypialnym przebiegła wygodnie i bez żadnych niespodzianek. Problemy zaczęły się dopiero na Dworcu Kurskim w Moskwie, gdzie okazało się, że nasza warszawska rezerwacja miejsc w pociągu do Tbilisi niewiele tam znaczyła. Dopiero po burzliwej interwencji u wicedyrektorki dworca udało się nam dostać miejsca w pociągu do Erywania. Podróż w *biezkupiejszym* wagonie przyniosła nam sporo nie zawsze przyjemnych niespodzianek. W końcu jednak po trwającej półtorej doby podróży, dotarliśmy w środku nocy do Tbilisi, gdzie nikt się nas jeszcze nie spodziewał (zmiana czasu). Miasto mimo późnej godziny zrobiło na nas - zwłaszcza w porównaniu z Moskwą – miłe wrażenie, a serdeczne powitanie przez zaskoczonych gospodarzy przeszło nasze oczekiwania.<sup>21</sup>

Dwa pierwsze dni po przyjeździe do Tbilisi wypełnił nam wypoczynek po męczącej podróży z Moskwy, powitalne przyjęcie z krewnymi i znajomymi naszych gospodarzy oraz krótki spacer po mieście. Na zwiedzanie Tbilisi przeznaczaliśmy parę następnych dni. Mogliśmy wówczas odwiedzić najciekawsze rejony starszej części miasta i zobaczyć najciekawsze zabytki. Wybraliśmy się też ze znajomymi państwa Czikowanich na jednodniową wycieczkę do ich letniego domku w górach. Później czekała nas zaplanowana przez prof. Czikowania dwu czy trzydniowa wycieczka samochodem brata jego żony – Badriego Człaidze, do wschodniej części Gruzji, słynącej z win Kachetii. Po drodze zwiedzaliśmy najslynniejsze zabytki tego regionu, a m.in. kościół Alawerdi czy pozostałości zespołu architektonicznego średniowiecznej akademii

<sup>19</sup> M. Pokropiek, *Atlas sztuki ludowej i folkloru w Polsce*, Warszawa 1978, s. 254.

<sup>20</sup> List T. Czikowania z października 1976.

<sup>21</sup> M. Woźniak, *Zapiski z podróży do Gruzji w 1977 roku*, (15 lipca).

gruzińskiej – Ikalto, monastery Dzweli i Achali Szuamta. Po drodze zatrzymaliśmy się w położonym już przy granicy z Dagestanem miasteczku z ruinami dawnej twierdzy Sighnaghi.

Program naszego pobytu w Kachetii nie ograniczał się do zwiedzania zabytków, choć poświęciliśmy im sporo czasu. Kachetyjscy znajomi profesora nie omieszkali podjąć go wraz z nami, jego gośćmi, biesiadą. Odbывała się ona na obszernej werandzie wiejskiego domu, z udziałem około dwudziestu osób. Biesiada przeciągnęła się do późnych godzin nocnych, ale my z profesorem Czikowanim wyjechaliśmy wcześniej do Telawi, gdzie nocowaliśmy w hotelu. Następnego dnia zwiedzaliśmy miasto, niegdyś stolicę królestwa Kacheti i jego liczne zabytki. W drodze powrotnej do Tbilisi, znajomi profesora zorganizowali pożegnalne przyjęcie w przyrodzonym lesie nad strumieniem.<sup>22</sup>

Do Tbilisi dotarliśmy w nocy. Parę następnych dni spędziliśmy mniej aktywnie – zwiedzaliśmy tbiliskie stare miasto i dzielnicę Sololaki. Odwiedziliśmy dawną stolicę Gruzji – Mcchetę, a po drodze wczesnośredniowieczną świątynię Dźwari. Przyjaciele profesora zabrali nas na obiad do restauracji, której specjalnością było *lobio* – fasola po gruzińsku. Wieczorem stosunkowo kameralna wizyta w miłym domu przyjaciela prof. Czikowaniego – historyka interesującego się również Polską – Tamaza Natroszwili.

Na przełomie lipca i sierpnia wyjechaliśmy nocnym pociągiem z naszymi gospodarzami i ich znajomą na tygodniowy wypoczynek we wsi nad Morzem Czarnym, gdzie mieliśmy zarezerwowane wcześniej przez T. Czikowaniego kwatery prywatne. Mieszkaliśmy w dosyć spartańskich warunkach, we wsi niedaleko Biczwinty (Picundy). Posesję naszych gospodarzy dzieliła od morza jedynie szosa i kamienista plaża, po której nie sposób było chodzić bez kłapek, bo rozgrzane słońcem kamienie parzyły stopy.

Organizacja tego wyjazdu do Abchazji musiała być dla T. Czikowaniego niełatwym zadaniem, zwłaszcza w kwestii zaopatrzenia w żywność, bo w naszej kwaterze mieliśmy tylko noclegi. W miejscowych sklepach dosłownie niczego nie było, niewiele lepiej na bazarze, gdzie w dodatku ceny były zawrotne. O kupieniu mąki lub oleju trudno było nawet marzyć. Część produktów na posiłki przywieliśmy w słoikach z Tbilisi. W dużym uniwersamie (*uniwersmagu*) w stolicy Abchazji- Suchumi, na półkach pustki. Stały tam niemal wyłącznie paczki z makaronem (*wermiszelem*).

W ciągu dnia większość czasu upływała na kąpielach w morzu i dość oszczędnym opalaniu się, bo żar lał się z nieba. T. Czikowani pływał jak delfin - wypływał tak daleko w morze, że niekiedy traciliśmy go z oczu i trochę się niepokoiiliśmy. Największą atrakcją tego tygodniowego pobytu w Abchazji była jednodniowa wycieczka autobusem nad słynne jezioro Rica, a po drodze wiele wspaniałych, niezapomnianych widoków. Nad samym jeziorem koczowały tłumy turystów, ale była też restauracja, gdzie zjedliśmy szaszłyki.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> M. Woźniak, *Zapiski...*, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> J.w.

Po raz drugi mogliśmy gościć naszych gruzińskich przyjaciół w Warszawie w 1980 roku. Tym razem sprawy związane z ich zaproszeniem oraz terminem przyjazdu udało się załatwić stosunkowo sprawnie i bez kłopotów. Przyjechali latem, kiedy właśnie zaczynał się wielki ruch strajkowy poprzedzający powstanie Solidarności. Parę dni po ich przyjeździe w Warszawie strajkowali śmieciarze – zamiast normalnych śmieciarek na miasto wyjechały zastępcze samochody, z dość przypadkowo skompletowaną obsługą, która nie bardzo dawała sobie radę z niecodzienną dla nich pracą. Oboje z żoną pamiętamy jak *batoni* Tejmuraz z naszego balkonu oglądał te niesprawne działania „zastępczych” śmieciarzy. Kiedy mu wyjaśniliśmy, co się dzieje, skomentował to bodajże stwierdzeniem, że u nich byłoby to niemożliwe. Należy tu jednak chyba dodać, że w tamtych czasach w Tbilisi normalne wywożenie śmieci niewiele różniło się od tego naszego awaryjnego.

Dziś nie pamiętam już szczegółów tego drugiego, i jak się okazało później, ostatniego pobytu w Warszawie. W programie była m.in. wycieczka do Wilanowa, spacer po Warszawie. Wtedy też chyba wybraliśmy się z nimi na Saską Kępe, która bardzo im się podobała, a profesor porównywał ją z tbiliską dzielnicą Sololaki. Odwiedziliśmy też krewnych i znajomych. Zwiedzanie obcego kraju, to także poznawanie jego smaków, kuchni i tradycyjnych potraw. Nie mam tu na myśli posiłków w restauracjach w różnych miejscowościach podczas obu podróży z naszymi przyjaciółmi po Polsce. Zresztą poza jednym obiadem na Starym Mieście w Warszawie i jedynej, jak się wydaje, restauracji w Ciechanowcu, gdzie jadaliśmy podczas pobytu w tym miasteczku, niewiele innych takich okazji pamiętam.

Nasi goście mieli możliwość poznać nie tylko kuchnię mojej żony z jej rodzinnymi tradycjami, lecz również bardzo dobrą kuchnię mojej ciotki Lucyny Zabierzowskiej czy znajomych wujostwa z Wybrzeża – państwa Poznańskich. Wspomnieć też można obiad u naszych przyjaciół, państwa Młyników, gdzie podano tradycyjne polskie dania – schabowy z kapustą i mizerię. Szczególnie smakowała gościom mizeria, która postanowili zrobić w domu.

Jednym z głównych punktów programu tego drugiego pobytu Lii i Tejmuraza Czikowanich w Polsce była parodniowa wyprawa do Muzeum Rolnictwa w Ciechanowcu. Już sama podróż jadącym z Warszawy do Brańska przez Ciechanowiec autobusem pozwoliła T. Czikowaniemu na obserwacje z okien autobusu miasteczek i wsi wschodniej Polski, której dotąd nie znał.

Społeczne Muzeum Rolnictwa w Ciechanowcu im. Krzysztofa Kluka powstało na przełomie 1962 i 1963 roku z inicjatywy Towarzystwa Miłośników Miasta Ciechanowca<sup>24</sup>. Profesor Czikowani z dużym zainteresowaniem oglą-

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<sup>24</sup> Ciechanowiec był wówczas małym miasteczkiem w pow. siemiatyckim, pograniczu Podlasia i Mazowsza, Przed II wojną rozwijał się tu przemysł włókienniczy, liczne były warsztaty rzemieślnicze i sklepy. W czasie okupacji niemieckiej, po eksterminacji ludności żydowskiej Ciechanowiec stracił większość mieszkańców, upadło rzemiosło, przemysł i handel. Znaczna część zabudowy została zniszczona. Po wojnie odbudowa miasta



dał zbiory Muzeum, przede wszystkim zaś zabytki drewnianego budownictwa z tych okolic w stale rozbudowywanym skansenie w pałacowym parku.

Kiedy zegnaliśmy naszych przyjaciół wyjeżdżających z Warszawy do Tbilisi, nie przypuszczaliśmy, że jest to ich ostatni pobyt w Polsce. Wydaje mi się nawet, że snuliśmy plany następnych wzajemnych odwiedzin. Wydarzenia późniejszych lat w Polsce i w Gruzji nie pozwoliły jednak na ich realizację. W latach osiemdziesiątych, po moim przejściu z Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego do Polskiej Akademii Nauk byłem jeszcze w Gruzji dwukrotnie, w roku 1984 i 1987. Były to wyjazdy naukowe w ramach planów badawczych PAN, realizowane w drodze wymiany pracowników między pokrewnymi instytutami obu akademii. W czasie tych wyjazdów z moimi gruzińskimi przyjaciółmi spotykałem się tylko w chwilach wolnych od pracy naukowej.

Mój pierwszy wyjazd do Gruzji w roku 1984 trwał dwa tygodnie i miał dość rozległy program badawczy, na kontakty towarzyskie pozostawiało mi zatem niewiele czasu, ale w domy Lii i Tejmuraza Czikowanich bywałem po pracy często.

Wspominając o moich kontaktach z prof. Czikowanim i jego żoną, nie sposób nie wspomnieć o formalnej ich stronie. Mimo wielu lat naszej znajomości, która z biegiem czasu przekształciła się w głęboką przyjaźń, nigdy nie przeszedłem z Profesorem na „ty”. Prawdopodobnie przede wszystkim z powodu dużej różnicy wieku między nami, wynoszącej ponad 15 lat. W pierwszym okresie naszej znajomości Tejmuraz Czikowani zwracał się do mnie (w języku rosyjskim) per „wy”, a więc pan, później zwracał się do mnie po imieniu lub przyjacielu (*drużiszcze*), a w ostatnich latach często nazywał mnie „młodszym bratem”. Ja przez wszystkie lata naszej znajomości zwracałem się do niego, używając gruzińskiego słowa *batono* (panie) lub *batono Tejmuraz*, a do jego żony *kalbatono Lija*. Chyba nigdy nie przyszło mi do głowy, aby te formy uprościć.

Profesor Czikowani od dawna miał kłopoty ze zdrowiem. Choroba nerek, o której dowiedziałem się po kilku latach naszej znajomości, z biegiem lat pogłębiała się. Profesor często jeździł do sanatoriów. Wspominał o tym w listach. Były to nie tylko sanatoria gruzińskie, ale i sanatoria w innych republikach byłego ZSRR. Leczył się w krajach nadbałtyckich, trafił również do Truskawca, przed 1939 r. naszej polskiej miejscowości kuracyjnej. Pisał o tym w jednym ze swoich listów, wspominając, że Truskawiec znajduje się blisko polskiej granicy.

W czasie gruzińskiego kryzysu politycznego i ekonomicznego w latach 90. XX w. stan służby zdrowia w Gruzji był dosyć opłakany, a stan zdrowia Profesora pogarszał się... [...].

*Profesor Andrzej Woźniak przygotowywał wspomnienie o Tejmurazie Czikowanim w 10 rocznicę jego śmierci. Niestety sam nie mógł dokończyć i oddać do druku artykułu. Zmarł w dniu 13 stycznia 2018 r.<sup>25</sup>*

przebiegała powoli i nie odzyskało ono dawnego znaczenia gospodarczego ani wcześniejszej liczby ludności.

<sup>25</sup> Ostatnie fragmenty jego tekstu odnalazła w rękopisie Pani Maria Woźniak, małżonka Profesora i przekazała do druku redakcji (uwagi redaktora).



## IN MEMORIAM



ANDRZEJ WOŹNIAK (1939-2018)

13 stycznia 2018 roku odszedł od nas prof. dr hab. Andrzej Woźniak – etnograf, blisko związany z Katedrą Etnografii UW, której był absolwentem i Zakładem Etnografii Polski Instytutu Historii Kultury Materialnej Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Kiedy podjąłem studia etnograficzne w 1964 roku, gdy Katedrą kierował prof. Witold Dynowski, Andrzej był studentem IV roku. Był opiekunem Koła Naukowego i z niezwykłym darem łagodnej perswazji pokazywał nam najciekawsze sfery społecznej i gospodarczej mazowieckiej kultury ludowej. Później zajmował się rodziną chłopską i mechanizmami samorządu wsi mazowieckiej XVIII i XIX wieku. Przygotował do druku rozproszone prace A. Chętnika, zebrane w tomie *Życie Puszczańskie Kurpiów*. Od końca lat 70-tych fascynowała go kultura robotnicza; był, jak mawialiśmy „ojcem żyrardyzmu polskiego” – kierował zespołem, który badał te zagadnienia w Żyrardowie, czego plonem, oprócz kilkudziesięciu artykułów, była wydana pod Jego redakcją książka *Kultura robotnicza Żyrardowa*. Problematykę badania procesów urbanistycznych

kontynuował w odniesieniu do rodzinnego Grochowa: mieszkając na Zatrasiu prowadził badania w całej dzielnicy, czego efektem jest m. in. ostatnie opracowanie *O zróżnicowaniu etnicznym i wyznaniowym międzywojennego Grochowa*. Interesował się cudzoziemcami na Mazowszu, szczególnie losami starowierów osadzonych za czasów paskiewiczowskich w okolicach Modlina. Pod koniec lat 80-tych, powołał wraz z Davidem Kolbą czasopismo „Pro Georgia. Prace i materiały do dziejów stosunków gruzińsko-polskich”. Dzisiaj „Pro Georgia. Journal of Kartvelological Studies” jest liczącym się w świecie naukowym kwartalnikiem wydawanym przez Studium Europy Wschodniej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Problematyka kartwelologiczna pochłonęła go całkowicie: jeździł na Kaukaz, napisał wiele artykułów naukowych – w ubiegłym roku opublikował swoją ostatnią książkę: *Dobry Europejczyk w Tyflisie. Szlakiem Artura Leista*. Społeczność etnograficzna utraciła Wspaniałego Człowieka: mądrego, kryształowo uczciwego, dobrego.

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MAREK MĄDZIK (1946-2016)

Profesor Marek Mądziak urodził się 19 IV 1946 r. w Zaklikowie. Jego, trwająca ponad pół wieku, przygoda z historią rozpoczęła się podczas studiów historycznych w Instytucie Historii Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej w Lublinie, które ukończył z wyróżnieniem w 1969 r. obroną pracy magisterskiej pt. *Polityka wewnętrzna Kazimierza Jagiellończyka w czasie Wojny Trzynastoletniej*. Jego zaangażowanie oraz badawcza docieklivość skłoniły profesora Juliusza Willaume, kierownika Katedry Historii Powszechnej Nowożytnej, do zatrudnienia Marka Mądziaka na stanowisku stażysty. Rok później, 1 V 1970 r. Marek Mądziak został asystentem w Katedrze Historii Narodów Związku Radzieckiego kierowanej przez doc. dr hab. Mirosławę Zakrzewską-Dubasową.

Magister Marek Mądziak zainteresował się wówczas kwestią aktywności handlowej Polaków w Rosji u schyłku Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów oraz w pierwszych dekadach rozbiorów. Badania te po kilku latach zaowocowały dysertacją doktorską pt. *Polskie inicjatywy handlowe w rosyjskich portach czarnomorskich w końcu XVIII i na początku XIX w.* (Lublin 1976), napisaną

pod kierunkiem docent Zakrzewskiej-Dubasowej. Stopień doktora nauk humanistycznych w zakresie historii nowożytnej Marek Mądzik uzyskał 30 VI 1976 r.

Po uzyskaniu doktoratu Marek Mądzik, który awansował na stanowisko adiunkta, zmienił pole swoich badań naukowych. Postanowił zająć się problemem aktywności Polaków na Kaukazie na przełomie XIX i XX w. Aby dotrzeć do źródeł, które pozwoliłyby zrekonstruować rolę Polaków na tym terenie, podjął się kwerend archiwalnych w Tbilisi i Erewaniu. Owocem jego wieloletnich poszukiwań stała się rozprawa habilitacyjna pt. *Działalność społeczno-kulturalna i polityczna Polaków w Gruzji na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, wydana w 1987 r. Na jej podstawie Marek Mądzik 24 X 1988 r. uzyskał stopień doktora habilitowanego. Samodzielny naukowo badacz w 1990 roku objął funkcję kierownika Zakładu Historii Krajów Europy Wschodniej Instytutu Historii UMCS, a trzy lata później (1 XII 1993 r.) został zatrudniony na stanowisku profesora nadzwyczajnego.

W następnych latach Profesor skupił swoją uwagę badawczą na mało wówczas znanych w historiografii losach uchodźców z Królestwa Polskiego w Rosji w latach 1915–1918, koncentrując się zwłaszcza na działalności Polskiego Towarzystwa Pomocy Ofiarom Wojny w Rosji. Dzięki wieloletnim kwerendom w archiwach Moskwy, Petersburga, Kijowa, Charkowa i Warszawy powstała monografia *Polskie Towarzystwo Pomocy Ofiarom wojny w Rosji w latach I wojny światowej* (Lublin 2011), która wraz z pozostałym dorobkiem naukowym stanowiła podstawę do uzyskania przez Marka Mądzika tytułu profesora. Akt nominacyjny, z rąk Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, odebrał Profesor 18 IV 2013 r.

Po uzyskaniu tytułu profesora Marek Mądzik wywodzący się z Zaklikowa badacz powrócił do fascynacji z czasów szkolnych i rozpoczął gromadzenie materiałów dotyczących historii rodzinnego miasta oraz regionu, z którego się wywodził.

Prowadzący rozległe badania Profesor, chętnie służył radą i pomocą działającym jego pasję wychowankom. Stworzył wraz ze swoimi uczniami zespół badawczy, który skutecznie pozyskiwał środki finansowe na badania w archiwach Rosji, Białorusi, Litwy i Ukrainy. Zaowocowało to powstaniem współautorских monografii – *Tułaczy los. Uchodźcy polscy w imperium rosyjskim w latach pierwszej wojny światowej* (Lublin 2007) oraz *Polacy na wschodniej Ukrainie w latach 1832–1921* (Lublin 2012).

Marek Mądzik przez wiele lat udzielał się również na niwie dydaktycznej. Był wykładowcą darzonym przez studentów szacunkiem i sympatią. Otwierane przez niego seminaria magisterskie zawsze cieszyły się dużym zainteresowaniem. Profesor Mądzik potrafił bowiem zainspirować studentów do podejmowania tematów trudnych i niezbadanych, zachęcić do badawczej samodzielności, rozbudzić badawczą pasję. Zawodowa rzetelność z jednej strony, z drugiej zaś bardzo dobry kontakt ze studentami sprawiły, iż z powodzeniem przez wiele lat pełnił funkcję Prodziekana ds. Studenckich Wydziału Humanistycznego UMCS (1996–2002 i 2005–2012), również w ten sposób wpływając na wychowanie

kolejnych pokoleń humanistów. Skromny i bezinteresowny Profesor Marek Mądzik cieszył się z zawodowych sukcesów swoich wychowanków i współpracowników, dumny z ich osiągnięć nieustannie zachęcał do dalszej pracy.

Do ważnych dokonań Profesora należy zaliczyć także wypromowanie ośmiu doktorów, którzy zawsze mogli liczyć na wsparcie i dobrą radę swojego Mistrza. Przez wiele lat służył radą i wsparciem współpracującym z nim habilitantom, stając się ich mentorem w drodze do naukowej samodzielności. Jego doświadczenie i wiedza wykorzystywane były w przewodach doktorskich i habilitacyjnych, w których uczestniczył w charakterze recenzenta.

Profesor angażował się również w działalność różnych gremiów naukowych. Był członkiem Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego (od 1970 r.) i Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego (od 1987 r.). Należał do Komitetu Słowianoznawstwa Polskiej Akademii Nauk (1993–1999), Komitetu Badania Polonii PAN (od 1999 r.), Komitetu Redakcyjnego czasopisma „Pro Georgia” (od 1991 r.) i Komitetu Redakcyjnego czasopisma „Res Historica” (od 1996 r.). Za swoje osiągnięcia naukowe i dydaktyczne otrzymał Złoty Krzyż Zasługi (2004) oraz kilkakrotnie Nagrodę Rektora UMCS.

28 XII 2016 r. odszedł nie tylko zasłużony historyk i mądry, dobry człowiek, ale również szanowany i ceniony nauczyciel, wychowawca, przyjaciel.

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