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ILIA CHAVCHAVADZE
(1837–1907)



*Photograph from the Archive
of the Giorgi Leonidze State Museum of Literature*

I. ARTICLES AND STUDIES

MATIANE KARTLISA¹

*Z języka starogruzińskiego przełożył i komentarzem
opatrzył David Kolbaia*

[253]* Po tym, jak zmarł święty męczennik Arczil², zostali jego synowie Jan i Dżuanszer. Udał się Jan do Egrisi i uprowadził swoją matkę i dwie siostry swoje. A Dżuanszer i dwie jego siostry zostały w krainie Kartlii i Kachetii³. Młodsza siostra Dżuanszera – Szuszan była pięknolica. O jej (urodzie) dowiedział się król chazarski – Hakan. Przysłał 5
posła, przez którego poprosił o rękę Szuszan i obiecał pomoc w walce z Saracenami⁴. Gdy przybył poseł Hakana, Dżuanszer zawiadomił o tym swojego brata i matkę. Jednak oni nie chcieli (wypełnić woli Hakana) i rzekli: „Nieważne, jak trudna byłaby nasza sytuacja, (ale) lepiej udać 10
się do Grecji⁵ i przyjąć chrześcijaństwo, niż pozwolić na znieważanie naszych córek przez pogan”. Szuszan także zganiła króla Chazarów⁶.

Po trzech latach Hakan przysłał swojego *spasalara*⁷ Bluczana⁸, (który) przeszedł po drodze leketskiej⁹ i doszedł do Kachetii, otoczył twierdzę, w której byli Dżuanszer i jego siostra Szuszan, i po kilku dniach zdobył 15
(twierdzę) i wziął ich do niewoli, zrujnował miasto Tbilisi, zniszczył Kartlię i cały ten kraj.

I gdy wyruszył (Bluczana z powrotem) drogą przez Darialan¹⁰, Szuszan rzekła do brata: „Lepiej, abym poniosła śmierć, by w nagrodę od Boga otrzymać przebywanie razem ze świętymi matkami, niż miałabym zostać sponiewierana przez pogan”. Miała ona pierścień, (z którego) wyjęła 20
kamień i połknęła i umarła od razu, ponieważ pod tym kamieniem była śmiertcionośna trucizna.

Bluczana udał się do Hakana; przyprowadził (też) Dżuanszera, który opowiedział mu o śmierci swojej siostry. I rozgniewał się on (Hakan za to, że) nie przynieśli szczątków tej, którą pragnął ujrzeć na własne oczy. Schwymano Bluczana, obwiązano jego szyję sznurkiem i oddano dwóm
 5 jeźdźcom//, [254] aby go rozerwali jadąc w przeciwnych kierunkach, i po bestialsku oderwali mu głowę. Gdy Dżuanszer spędził (tam) siedem lat, Hakan uwolnił go i obdarowanego wyprawił do jego kraju.

Od tego czasu zaczęły słabnąć rządy wielkich królów Chosrojan. I od tego momentu umocniła się władza Saracenów i od czasu do czasu kraj ten
 10 był pustoszony i niszczony. Potem zwiększyła się liczebność *mtawarów* w kraju Kartlii; zaczęli (oni) walczyć i nienawidzić się wzajemnie. I jeśli pojawiał się którykolwiek z synów Wachtanga, godny królowania, był poniżany przez Saracenów. Ponieważ miasto Tbilisi przejęli Agarianie, zamienili je w swoją siedzibę; dostawali z tego kraju daninę zwaną
 15 *haraczem*, bo z Bożej woli za wielką liczbę naszych grzechów do chwały wywyższony został ród Agarian.

A Dżuanszer wziął sobie żonę z rodu Bagrationów¹¹, córkę Adarnase, imieniem Latawri, a matka wypominała mu, że wziął ją za żonę, ponieważ
 20 nie wiedziała, że oni (Bagrationi) są potomkami proroka Dawida, którego (ród) wybrano, aby wydał na świat Syna Bożego¹². A gdy zobaczyła na własne oczy żonę syna swojego – pokochała ją, oddała jej cześć i pobłogosławiła.

Po upływie wielu lat przybył emir Agarian o imieniu Chuasro, który zapanował w Somchiti¹³ (Armenia), Kartlii i Heretii¹⁴ i odbudował
 25 zniszczone przez Chazarów miasto Tbilisi.

Gdy osłabli Grecy (Bizantyjczycy), odstąpił od nich *eristaw*¹⁵ Abchazów o imieniu Leon, syn brata *eristawa* Leona, który otrzymał w spadku Abchazję. Ten drugi Leon¹⁶ był synem córki króla Chazarów i z (pomocą) ich siły odstąpił od Greków, przejął rządy w Abchazji
 30 i Egrisii do Lichii, ogłosił się królem Abchazów, ponieważ // [255] Jana już nie było wśród żywych, a Dżuanszer był (zbyt) stary. Potem zmarł Dżuanszer¹⁷.

Jeszcze za życia Dżuanszera zamienił Adarnase Bagrationi jedną trzecią Klardżetii, Szawszetii, Adżary, Nigali, Asyspori, Artani i Dolny
 35 Tao¹⁸ i twierdze, które mieli wnukowie króla Wachtanga. Odjechał Adarnase do Klardżetii i tam zmarł.

Po śmierci Adarnase wywyższył Pan panowanie Aszota *kuropalata*¹⁹. Zawładnął on Kartlią i jej granicami. W tym samym czasie wkroczył Maslama do Grecji, ale odstąpił stamtąd osłabiony i okryty hańbą.

Wtedy król Grecji wyznaczył Aszota na *kuropalata*²⁰ – i zostali osłabieni Saraceni, zaś Aszot *kuropalat* okrył się chwałą. W Tbilisii nie było już ani jednego Saracena, oprócz Ali syna Szuaba²¹. A w Kachetii *mtawarem* był Grzegorz.

W tym czasie wkroczył Aszot *kuropalat*; pomagał mu Teodozjusz²², 5
król Abchazów, syn Leona drugiego, który był zięciem Aszota *kuropalata*. Przybył Grzegorz z Kachetii, Grzegorzowi pomagali Mtiuli i Canari²³ i emir Tbilisii²⁴. Aszot i Grzegorz stoczyli walkę na brzegu rzeki Ksani²⁵.

Potem przybył Chalil, syn Izyda (Arab)²⁶ i zajął Somchiti (Armenię), Kartlię i Heretię. Zabili Aszota *kuropalata* w Gardabani, w kościele, 10
a jego krew wówczas przelana dotąd wygląda jak świeża//. [256]

Saraceni ponownie opanowali Kartlię. Gdy Chalil wyruszył, zostawił jako emira (Ali) syna Szuaba. W tym czasie porozumieli się gardabańczycy i wybrali na chorepiskopa Daczi, syna Jana Kwabulisdze, a po nim chorepiskopem został Samoela Donauri. Powtórnie przybył 15
ten sam Chalil Arab. Gardabańczycy stoczyli z nim walkę pod Gawazi i (zmusili do ucieczki) Chalila, i zginęło mnóstwo (Arabów).

Ponownie emirem Tbilisi został Sahak²⁷, syn Ismaila. A Chalil wkroczył po raz trzeci i zabili go w Dżawacheti. Syn jego Mohamed przybył do Kartlii. Przyłączył się do niego Bagrat, syn Aszota *kuropalata* 20
i Mohamed dał mu Kartlię.

Wyruszył Sahak, emir Tbilisii, i rozlokował się nad rzeką Rechi²⁸, a Mohamed i Bargat zajęli Uplisciche²⁹. I przyszli gardabańscy Kachetyjczycy z pomocą dla Sahaka i spotkali się nad rzeką Rechii, i doszło między nimi do bitwy. Żadna ze stron nie ruszyła z miejsca, 25
dopóki się nie rozeszli. Wyruszył zatem Mohamed do Bardawi³⁰.

Upłynęło dwieście dziewiętnaście lat od momentu pojawienia się Mohammeda, twórcy wiary Saracenów, do chwili obecnej.

Wtedy pojawił się Buga Turek, niewolnik, którego wysłał Amir-Mumn z Bagdadu z licznym wojskiem: spustoszył całą Somchiti i wziął 30
do niewoli wszystkich *mtawarów*. Przyszedł i oblegał miasto Tbilisi. Ponieważ emir Sahak nie podporządkował mu się, zabił go, spustoszył Tbilisi, spalił i zniszczył wszystkie jego okolice.

A Teodozjusz, król Abchazów, wystąpił przeciw niemu i rozlokował swoje wojska w Kujercchobi. Gdy Buga się o tym dowiedział, wysłał 35
Ziraka, swojego *spasalara*, i Bagrata, syna Aszota *kuropalata*: stoczyli walkę i zmusili Abchazów do ucieczki, i mnóstwo z nich zginęło. Król Teodozjusz wycofał się drogą przez Dwaleti //. [257]

Wracającemu (wojsku Saracenów) w pobliżu Dżwaris-gwerdi zagrodzili drogę gardabańczycy i wojsko poniosło liczne straty. Gdy Buga dowiedział się o tym, wyruszył stamtąd i przybył do Czartaleti³¹, a rozlokowawszy się tam, wziął spośród mtiulów trzystu zakładników i zamierzał wkroczyć do Osetii³², i doszedł do Cchawati. Abulabaz, *eristaw* Ormian, i Guaram, syn Aszota, napisali do mtiulów, aby nie przepuścili (Buga Turka). I złożyli oni w ofierze swoich zakładników. Bóg pomógł: spadł obfity śnieg, zagrodzili mu drogę i stoczyli walkę. Bóg darował im zwycięstwo i zginęło wielu z rodu Saracenów, a ich konie otruły się i mnóstwo (ich) padło. Jednak ze względu na liczebność wojsk, straty nie były odczuwalne, ponieważ liczba jego (wojska) wynosiła sto dwadzieścia tysięcy.

Wycofał się (Buga) i przezimował w Bardawie. Pojmał syna pewnego duchownego, który został *mtawarem*, i zniszczył Gardabani. Otworzył bramy Darubandi, wyprowadził Chazarów z trzystu domów i osiedlił ich w Szankor. Przez Darialan wyprowadził ze stu domów Osetyjczyków i osiedlił ich w Dmanisi, a latem zamierzał wkroczyć do Osetii. Jednak gdy Amir-Mumn dowiedział się, że prowadzi on rozmowy ze swoimi współplemiennikami – Chazarami, kazał Bugowi zostawić Kartlię (Humedowi)³³ synowi Chalila. Odprawił Buga i emirem został Humed, syn Chalila. Odsunął Amir-Mumn Humeda i wyznaczył Ise, syna Szicha, krewnego tegoż Humeda.

Chorepiskopem był Gabriel Donauri, brat chorepiskopa Samoela. Po odejściu Ise przybył drugi emir o imieniu Abraham³⁴. Potem znowu przybył syn Chalila, Humed i w sposób zgodny z prawem zapanował nad całym krajem: Somchiti, Kartlią i Ranem.

Syn Chalila ustąpił i emirem został jeden z niewolników Saaka o imieniu Gabuloc. Guaram, syn Aszota *kuropalata*, porwał Gabuloca i wysłał go do Grecji, ponieważ Gabuloc wzmocnił się i poddali mu się gardabańczycy // . [258]

Aszot odnosił się wrogo do krewnych swojego ojca, do brata Guarama. Guaram zaś zdobył Dżawacheti, Trialeti, Tasziri, Aboci³⁵ i Artaani³⁶. Walczył (Guaram) z Saracenami; czasem wygrywał Guaram, czasem Saraceni. Guaram podzielił się swoimi posiadłościami ze (swoimi) braćmi – Adarnase i Bagratem, a Aboci podzielił się ze swoim szwagrem, królem Ormian.

W tym czasie wkroczył Jerzy³⁷, król Abchazów, brat Teodozjusza i Demetriusza, syn Leona, zdobył Kartlię i jako jej *eristawa* zostawił Czicha, syna Demetriusza. A gdy zmarł Jerzy, król Abchazów, syn

Demetriusz był nieletni, nazywano go Bagratem i znany był z faktu wygnania. Żona króla zabiła syna Demetriusza, *eristawa* Czicha, oszukała Jana, *mtawara* Szawliani, i rzucili Bagrata do morza. Jednak Bóg go ocalił i dotarł on do miasta Konstantynopola. Król Jan przywiózł dla swojego syna Adarnase na żonę córkę Guarama, syna Aszota. Zmarł Jan, król Abchazów, i panował po nim jego syn Adarnase. Liparit zdobył ziemie Trailetu, zbudował twierdzę Kldekari i ogłosił swoim patronem Dawida, syna Bagrata. 5

A Nasr, syn Guarama, i Gurgen byli po stronie Abchazów, zaś Dawid i Liparit pomagali Ormianom i walczyli Ormianie z Abchazami o (panowanie) nad Kartlią. W tym czasie Guaram wstąpił do klasztoru. 10

Gdy zmarł chorepiskop Kachetyjczyków Gabriel Donauri, panował (po nim) chorepiskop Fadla Arewmaneli³⁸, mąż mądry i doświadczony. Tymczasem Nasr, syn Guarama, zwiabił do siebie Dawida, syna Bagrata, syna brata swego ojca, i zabił go. 15

Przeciwko Nasrowi zjednoczyli się Ormianie, Liparit i Kartwelowie oraz Aszot, brat Dawida, a z nim Saraceni. Stoczyli walkę z Nasrem, zmusili go do ucieczki i odebrali mu twierdze. Udał się on do Grecji, do króla Greków. 20

Umarł Guaram, syn Aszota, i pochowano go w Opizie, którą po raz drugi odbudował³⁹. [259] 20

Bagrat, syn króla Abchazów Demetriusza, przebywał w Grecji, w Konstantynopolu. Dał mu grecki król wojsko, wysłał na statku morzem i wkroczył (Bagrat) do Abchazji, zabił Adarnase, syna Jana, i opanował Abchazję. Poślubił żonę (Adarnase), córkę Guarama, i wyprowadził Bagrat, król Abchazów (brata swojej żony z Grecji i dał mu swoje wojsko). A Nasr podbił trzy twierdze w Samcche⁴⁰: Odrzhe⁴¹, Dżwaris-ciche i Lomsiantu, wzniesione przez Guarama. 25

Wkroczyli Gurgen i Adarnase, syn Dawida, pomagali im Ormianie, stoczyli walkę nad (rzeką) Mtkwari; Abchazi ponieśli klęskę, zabili Nasra i Bakatarą, *mtawara* Osetyjczyków i *eristawa* Abchazów. 30

Chorepiskop Fadla wzmocnił się i podporządkował sobie Gardabańczyków, po nim chorepiskopem został Kwirike. W Kartlii władzę pełnili aznaurowie⁴². 35

W tym czasie wkroczył Konstantyn⁴³, król Abchazów, i podbił Kartlię; rozgniewał się na niego król Ormian Sumbat Tiezerakal, wkroczył z licznym wojskiem i otoczył Uplisciche; postawili siodła jedno na drugim i dzięki temu wybiegowi zdobyli twierdzę. Jednak (potem) 35

Sumbat i Konstantyn polubownie się porozumieli i zwrócił (Sumbat królowi Abchazów) Uplisciche i całość Kartlii.

5 A w ślad za tym pojawił się emir Agarian o imieniu Abul-Kasim, syn Abusadza, którego wysłał Amir-Mumn z olbrzymim i niezliczonym wojskiem, którego nie pomieścił kraj. Ponieważ przybył on najpierw do Somchiti i spustoszył całą Somchiti, Siwnieti (prowincja Sjunik), Waedzori, Aspuragan, Sumbat, król Ormian nie wytrzymał ze strachu przed nimi i uciekł w góry Abchazji, i tam przebywał.

10 Przybył syn Abu-sadza do Tbilisju, gdzie w tym czasie emirem był Dżafar, syn Aliego. Przybył i okrążył Udżarmę⁴⁴. Wewnątrz (twierdzy) było trzysta osób i walczyli oni wiele dni. Jednak gdy przekonali się, że nie zdołają się utrzymać (w twierdzy) //, [260] porzucili ją nocą i odeszli. Gdy przybyli (Saraceni) i zobaczyli pustą (twierdzę), (powiedzieli): „W okrążeniu zaciekle walczyli, a prawdziwą twierdzę zostawili bezludną”. Wzięli Boczormę, zajęli i pozostawili ją twierdzą warowną, a ściany twierdzy Udżarmy zburzyli.

15 Kiedy chorepiskop Kwirike przekonał się, że nie ma już sił, aby stawiać opór, zaprzysięgając się modlitwą, stanął się przed nim (Abusadzem). A ten zapytał: „Kto poradził Ci zjawić się tu?” I odrzekł (Kwirike): „Matka moja poradziła”. I rzekł Sadz: „Nie sprawię bólu (matce) jedyne go (syna)”. Pokochał go za jego cnotę, ale sam zajął Boczormę.

20 Potem wkroczył do Kartlii i zniszczył ją, a przed jego wkroczeniem zburzono mury Uplisciche, aby wróg nie mógł się w nich obwarować. Stamtąd poszedł do Samcche, zniszczył Samcche i Dżawachetię, otoczył twierdzę Tmogwi. Jednak przekonawszy się o jej wytrzymałości i mocy, przerwał oblężenie i udał się do Kweli, otoczył ją i zaczął walkę.

25 Był w niej (w twierdzy Kweli) pewien młodzieniec o imieniu Gobron, (walczył on razem ze swoimi bliskimi przez wiele dni. Ale kiedy zdobyli twierdzę, pojмали świętego Gobrona) i zamęczyli go, a męczeństwo jego dokładnie opisał nasz święty ojciec Stefane, biskup Mtbewari⁴⁵.

30 Wycofał się i poszedł do miasta Dwin. Przyszli i zameldowali mu, że król Sumbat wkroczył do twierdzy Kapoeti, (potem) szybko się (z niej) wycofał i rozkazał swemu wojsku, aby każdego żywego człowieka, jakiego znajdą, przyprowadzili do niego. Przybył i otoczył twierdzę Kapoetska i pojmał wszystkich, kogo znalazł spośród rodzin obrońców twierdzy poza (jej murami). Dlatego poddali (mu) twierdzę i porwał on Sumbata: zabrał go do Dwinu, powiesił na rei, i Sumbat zmarł.

Potem, po upływie kilku lat, kraj odbudował się, chorepiskop Kwirike wezwał króla Abchazów Konstantego; przybyli do Hereti i oblegli //

[261] twierdzą Wieżini. Król Abchazów podszedł od góry, a Kwirike – z dołu, i gdy już powinni byli zdobyć (twierdzą), pojawił się *patrik* Adarnase i w Paraskewis-dźwari zawarli pokój; (Adarnase) przekazał królowi Abchazów Ariszi i Gawazni, a Kwirike – Orczobi. Po rozejmnie wrócili. Przybył Konstantyn, król Abchazów, pomodlił się w Alawerdi⁴⁶ do świętego Jerzego i ozdobił złotem jego ikonę. Wyprawił większość swojego wojska w drogę; wielce czcił (go) chorepiskop Kwirike, i udał się (król Abchazów) do swego kraju.

5

Po kilku dniach zmarł Konstantyn, król Abchazów, i przez pewien czas Abchazję rozdzierały walki, ponieważ król Konstantyn miał dwóch synów – jednego starszego i drugiego młodszego, którego urodziła mu (druga) żona. Starszego zwali Jerzy, młodszego – Bagrat. Walka między nimi była zaciekle, co szczegółowo opisuje ich historia.

10

A ów Bagrat był zięciem *eristawa eristawów* Gurgena⁴⁷, pomagał Gurgen (Bagratowi) ze wszystkich sił. I dopóki nie umarł Bagrat, nie było spokoju. Po jego śmierci Jerzy został pełnoprawnym królem Abchazów⁴⁸. Był on przepełniony wszelkimi cnotami, odważny, postawny, miłujący Boga, budował kościoły, był łaskawy wobec biednych, hojny, skromny i przepełniony wszelką dobrocią. On (to) uporządkował i uporał się ze wszelkimi sprawami swoich włości i swojego królestwa, wznosił świątynię czkondydską, założył biskupstwo⁴⁹ i ozdobił je mnóstwem relikwii świętych męczenników.

15

W tym czasie zmarł chorepiskop Kwirike i godność tę objął Fadla⁵⁰, jego syn; zbudował on twierdzą Locobanską. W tym samym czasie wkroczyli Saraceni, zwani // [262] Sadżami, zniewolili Kachetię, spalili Dźwari w Mcchecie⁵¹ i wycofali się; odchodząc zabrali ze sobą rozebrany Święty Krzyż. I dokuczał im ból żołądka (masowa biegunka), więc zrozumieli, że ukarano ich za Krzyż. Zebrali więc Jego części, starannie opakowali i zwrócili⁵². W Heretii przed panowaniem Iszchanika wszyscy jego poprzednicy byli heretykami. Iszchanik był synem córki Gurgena *eristawa eristawów*, i matka jego królowa Dinar nawróciła go na prawosławie. W tym czasie Bardaw i Adarbadagan byli pojmani przez Salarów. Król Abchazów Jerzy dał Kartlię swojemu synowi Konstantemu.

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Po upływie trzech lat (Konstantyn) zaczął odnosić się wrogo wobec swojego ojca, dążąc do zdobycia (jego) królestwa. Ujawniły się jego zamiary, gdy wkroczył on do Uplisciche, a wspierali go Tbeli i wielu innych *aznaurów*.

35

Gdy król Jerzy przekonał się o odstępstwie syna, wyruszył ze wszystkimi swoimi siłami, sprowadził władców (Tao), chorepiskopa

Fadłę i otoczyli Uplisciche. Walczyli przez wiele dni, ale nie zdołali wyrządzić żadnej szkody twierdzy, ponieważ wewnątrz było wielu (obrońców). Walczyli zarówno jeźdźcy, jak i piechota.

5 Wtedy król Jerzy przeciągnął (na swoją stronę) *aznaurów* Szawereli⁵³, (którzy uprzedzili o tym i przekonali Konstantego) w następujący sposób: „Wyjdz, przeprowadzimy cię do Abchazji, zostaniesz królem, a twój ojciec będzie poza jej granicami”. On zaś uwierzył i zdał się na króla; chociaż ci *aznaurowie*, którzy pozostali przy nim, odradzali mu (to), jednak on nie posłuchał ich rad. Wyłynął nocą na tratwie na (rzekę) 10 Mtkwari i gdy tylko odpłynął od brzegu, oni (ci wierni dworzanie) nie wytrzymali i pognali, aby (go) pojmać. Gdy tylko wyczuł ich złe zamiary//, [263] obrócił tratwę tak, aby dopłynąć do twierdzy. (Ale) nie zdołał podporządkować sobie tratwy i zeskokczył w miejscu, gdzie przybijają tratwy. Podniósł się hałas, wystąpił król z całym wojskiem, 15 otoczyli twierdzę. I gdy zaświtało, zaczęli szukać (Konstantego). A on wyszedł (z wody), wszedł w szczelinę skalną i tam się ukrył. Znalazł go nieznanego człowieka, pojмали go i przyprowadzili do króla, który okrutnie go ukarał: najpierw wypalili mu oczy, a potem wykastrowali, po czym umarł. A tych *aznaurów*, którzy znajdowali się w twierdzy, wyprowadzili 20 na słowo honoru; Tbeli zostali w pokoju wypuszczeni i udali się do Aspuraganu.

Zmarł chorepiskop Fadla i chorepiskopem został Kwirike⁵⁴. Potem oderwali się gardabańscy *aznaurowie* i zaczęli pertraktować z królem Jerzy. Wyruszył król Jerzy, przybył do Kachetii, spalił (miasta, osiedla) 25 pozabijał (ludzi) i wrócił do swojego kraju. Potem znowu rozlokował się w Ateni. Jego syn Leon był *eristawem* Kartlii, zapewnił on (Jerzy) mu (Leonowi) wojsko w celu wkroczenia (do Kachetii). Zrozumiawszy, że sprzeciw jest bezskuteczny, Kwirike stawiał się przed nimi. Ale później zapragnął uciec w tajemnicy; pojmał go (Leon) i skierował się 30 do Kachetii, aby porwać całą jego rodzinę. (Jednak oni) schowali się, ponieważ dworzanie z Kartlii ich uprzedzili.

Przeszedł na stronę króla Jerzy (Szurta), brat chorepiskopa Kwirike, i przekazał mu twierdzę Udżarmę; zajęli też pozostałe twierdze Kachetii, z wyjątkiem trzech: Nachczewani, Boczormy i Locobanty.

35 Locobanta należała do Jana (Arszis dze), (który) obwarował się w niej, wydał (swojego) patrona. Wzniesli Szuris-ciche i rozmieścili w niej garnizon. Twierdzą Marana władał wtedy Chachua Arszisdze, brat Jana, (który), podobnie jak brat, chciał ją umacniać (twierdzę)//. [264] Przybył król (Jerzy), rozkazał wojsku stoczyć walkę. Zdobyli twierdzę podstępem

i pojmanego Chachua przyprowadzili przed króla, a król wziętego do niewoli wysłał do Dziketii.

Twierdzą Nachczewani władał Fadla, syn Kwirike. On również obwarował się w niej. Gdy chorepiskop Kwirike ujrzał własną bezsilność, poprosił o gwarancję zachowania życia i przekazał Kachetię 5 królowi Jerzemu. Chociaż Leon, syn króla, nie chciał wypuszczać Kwirike, ponieważ przy pierwszym jego porwaniu był przeciwko (jego) uwolnieniu, ojciec nie posłuchał go. Kwirike wyprosił jeszcze obietnicę, że tej zimy nie zostanie opanowana twierdza Boczorma (i dał słowo, że) 10 po Wielkanocy on sam odejdzie (z twierdzy), na co mu pozwolili. Za to zdobyli oni twierdzę Nachczewani, wzięli na zakładnika młodszego syna, Dawida, i uwolnili w dniu święta zapalania świec⁵⁵.

Wrócił król do Abchazji, zaś Kwirike dotarł do Boczormy, przygotowywał się i chciał odejść po Wielkanocy. Wtedy zmówili się 15 z Kwirike *aznaurowie* z Kartlii razem z dworzanami z Kachetii: Goderdzi, Mgdeuri, Mama Kanczaeli, Daczi Korinteli, Daczi i Jan Schwiloselni, Sar i Grzegorz, bracia Pchuenelni, i razem z nimi jeszcze pięćdziesięciu innych *aznaurów* przeszło na stronę Kwirike. Zaczęli odzyskiwać i wkrótce odbili wszystkie twierdze, zniszczyli Szurisciche i Locobantę 20 i Kwirike znowu zapanował nad swoim krajem.

Przyszli (stamtąd zbiegowie) i zawiadomili króla Jerzego o stracie Kachetii. Władca wielce się tym zmartwił i winił wszystkich, którzy 25 poradzili mu uwolnić chorepiskopa Kwirike. I gdy (zima się skończyła), znowu wyprawił swoje wojsko, na czele ze swoim synem Leonem. (Przybył on) i spalił Kachetię, a podczas tego pochodu przekazali mu wiadomość o (śmierci) wielkiego i kochającego Boga króla Jerzego. (Wtedy) wezwał Leon // [265] chorepiskopa Kwirike i spotkali się (oni) 30 w Bazaleti, na brzegu jeziora, (każdy w eskorcie) jednego jeźdźca; prowadzili pertraktacje przez cały dzień, dopóki nie obwieścił (Leon) o śmierci swojego ojca. Zapewnił o miłości i obiecał (uczynić swoim) zięciem jego syna. I gdy usłyszał o tym Kwirike, zszedł z konia i pokłonił się ze czcią i uradował się pokojem i miłością, a zwłaszcza obietnicą spowinowacenia się.

Wrócił Leon⁵⁶ i zapanował nad swoimi włościami i swoim królestwem, 35 ponieważ od razu wkroczył do Abchazji. I wywyższył Pan jego królestwo na podobieństwo ojcowskiego. I kochał on Boga i pełen był wszelkich dóbr. Zbudował kościół w Mokwi⁵⁷ i założył (tam) katedrę biskupią, pobołogosławił i zapewnił jej wszystko, co niezbędne. I gdy zawładnął on

krajem (matki) swojej, spełnił obietnicę daną chorepiskopowi Kwirike i dał swoją córkę za żonę jego synowi. (Córka Leona wkrótce zmarła).

(Leon) znowu zaczął odnosić się wrogo do Kwirike i dążył do zdobycia Kachetii; wyruszył ze swoim wojskiem i rozlokował się na brzegu Aragwi; zniszczył Muchnari, Cherki⁵⁸ i Bazaleti, ale podczas tego pochodu zachorował, wycofał się i wkrótce zmarł.

Potem królem został Demetriusz⁵⁹, brat Leona, i zapanował nad Kartlią. I upłynęło trochę czasu, podczas gdy on porządkował sprawy w swoim królestwie. A brat jego Teodozjusz był w Grecji; niektórzy mężowie z tego kraju wzywali go, aby wystąpił przeciw swojemu bratu, ponieważ wielki król Abchazów, Jerzy, jeszcze za swego życia odesłał dwóch swoich synów, Teodozjusza i Bagrata, do Grecji, aby tam się wychowywali i aby po jego śmierci nie było między nimi walki ani wrogości.

Wyruszył Teodozjusz z Grecji, przybył do Sameche i rozlokował się w Margis Mere; wzywał meschckich *aznaurów*, zbierał wojsko i chciał siłą zapanować nad krajem (matki) swojej. A król Demetriusz wysłał swoje wojsko: napadli nieoczekiwanie i // [266] zmusili Teodozjusza do ucieczki. Udał się on do Kartlii i zwrócił się do Adarnase, *mtawara* Dzameli; wprowadzili go do twierdzy dzamskiej i stamtąd starał się on spełniać swoje zamiary.

Wtedy król Demetriusz wysłał swoje wojsko, otoczył twierdzę dzamską i walczyli około trzech miesięcy. Ludność wokół twierdzy bardzo cierpiała. A gdy obrońcom twierdzy zaczęło być ciężko, poprosili, aby (napastnicy) solidnie przyrzekli, że puszcza Teodozjusza w pokój. Oni zgodzili się (na tę prośbę) i puścili go w pokój. Udał się do Dawida *kuropalata*⁶⁰, u którego spędził rok.

I znowu Teodozjusz wyszedł z Tao i przybył do Kachetii. Wtedy król Demetriusz wysłał posłańca do niego i chorepiskopa Kwirike z wiadomością: „Ponieważ przybył mój brat z Grecji, to (z winy) słów ludzkich nie będzie końca wrogości między nami; teraz powierz mi brata mego za twoim pośrednictwem i będziemy we dwóch równoprawnie panować w naszym królestwie, jak wcześniej ja i Leon; przyjmij ode mnie stanowcze zapewnienie i pośredników, a ja będę tobie bardzo wdzięczny za tę sprawę”. Gdy chorepiskop Kwirike poznał warunki króla Demetriusza, przyprowadził Teodozjusza (i) zaproponował, że powierz go (bratu), mówiąc: „Będę mścić się za ciebie”. Powierzył Teodozjusza bratu i odprawił go.

Wtedy wzięli od niego mocne przyrzeczenie, (takie jak to,) które złożyli w Sweticchoweli⁶¹ katolikos, biskupi i możni. I gdy przybył Teodozjusz

do swojego brata, przebywał tam niedługo. A król Demetriusz zapomniał o pośrednictwie Boga i ludzi i ośmielił się złamać przyrzeczenie: schwytał Teodozjusza i wypalił mu oczy. Zobaczywszy to, znajdujący się w jego królestwie zaczęli szukać brata jego, którego zwali Czala-król, ale nie zdołali go znaleźć, ponieważ Demetriusz był mężny i waleczny. A gdy umarł król Demetriusz, to możni tego kraju przekonali się//, [267] że jedynym dziedzicznym władcą Abchazji i Kartlii jest Teodozjusz, (zatem) przywieźli go i wyznaczyli na króla.

Wystąpili zatem kachetyjczycy i oblegli Uplisciche. Eritawem Kartlii był Jan Marusziszde⁶², mąż silny, mający wielu poddanych. Wysłał on posłańca do Dawida *kuropalata*, zaproponował, aby (ten) wkroczył ze swoimi siłami, by zdobyć Kartlię i zając (ją) samemu lub przekazać Bagratowi, synowi Gurgena i córki króla Abchazów Jerzego, któremu należne były Abchazja i Kartlia (w spadku) ze strony matki)⁶³. Ten sam Jan Maruszisz-dze chciał intronizacji Bagrata. Wysłuchawszy propozycji Jan Maruszisz-dze, Dawid *kuropalat* wyruszył ze wszystkimi swoimi siłami i przybył do Kartlii.

Przybył Dawid *kuropalat*, rozlokował się nad Kwachwreli i wyszedł mu na spotkanie *eristaw* Kartlii Jan Maruszisz-dze. (Dawid) przyjął od niego Uplisciche i przekazał Bagratowi i jego ojcu Gurgenowi, ponieważ Dawid był bezdzietny i Bagrata, syna Gurgena, wychował jak własnego potomka.

Ów *kuropalat* Dawid wywyższył się ponad wszystkich królów Tao.

Kochał on Boga i był łaskawy dla biednych; skromny, lubiący pokój, niepamiętliwy, budował kościoły, był dobry, szczodry, lubiący ludzi, łaskawy dla mnichów i przepelniony wszelkimi dobrami. On (to) zbudował (klasztor i) przybytek Boży – święty kościół Chachuli⁶⁴.

I kiedy wyruszył on stamtąd, zostawił w Uplisciche Gurgena i jego syna Bagrata. Był wtedy Bagrat jeszcze niepełnoletni i dlatego jako wspólnie z nim władającego zostawił jego ojca Gurgena. Zebrał dworzan Kartlii i rozkazał: „On jest // [268] dziedzicznym władcą Tao, Kartlii i Abchazji, syn i wychowanek mój, a ja jestem jego *mourawem* i pomocnikiem; jemu wszyscy się podporządkujcie”. Został kilka dni i wrócił do Tao.

Po pewnym czasie *aznaurowie* z Kartlii, zgodnie z właściwym im obyczajem, znowu zajęli się knuciem: umówili się z Nakurdewelami i Sabotarełami, sprowadzili wojska z Kachetii, oddali Uplisciche i wzięli do niewoli Gurgena, (jego syna) Bagrata i królową Guaranducht i wywieźli ich do Kachetii.

Gdy tylko dowiedział się o tym Dawid *kuropalat*, był wielce zaniepokojony, wyruszył ze wszystkimi swoimi siłami, przybył do Trialeti, aby przejść z niej do Kachetii. Dowiedziawszy się o tym kachetyjczy przysłali posłańca, który poprosił o pokój (na [następujących] warunkach): uwolnią Gurgena, Bagrata i królową Guaranducht, zwróca

5 Kartlii i Uplisciche, a twierdze Cirkuali i Gruj zostawią dla siebie. W tym czasie twierdzą Uplisciche i Kartlii rządziła królowa Guaranducht. Była (ona) córką króla Abchazów Jerzego i matką Bagrata.

W ciągu trzech (następnych) lat w Abchazji panował Teodozjusz

10 Smutny. Cały kraj ogarnął nieład i zmieniły się prawa i zarządzenia ustanowione przez pierwszych królów. Widząc to wszystko, wszyscy możni tego kraju byli w głębokim smutku.

Ten sam Jan Maruszis-dze zapragnął uczynić Bagrata królem Abchazji. I razem z nim wszyscy możnowładcy, *eristawi* i *aznaurowie*

15 Abchazji i Kartlii poprosili Dawida *kuropalata*, aby królem został Bagrat. A on, pod dużym przymusem i z trudem, spełnił tę prośbę, ponieważ było już powiedziane, że Dawid *kuropalat* został bez dziedzicznego władcy, pozwolił im (Dawid ukoronować Bagrata jako króla), zapewniwszy sobie twierdzą i zakładników//[269]

Przywiedli go (Bagrata) do Abchazji i ukoronowali na króla, i wszyscy podporządkowali się jego woli, ponieważ był on już pełnoletni. W ciągu

20 dwóch lat rozporządzał, kierował i porządkował wszystkie sprawy – podobnie do swego dziada, wielkiego króla Jerzego, a może nawet lepiej, ponieważ był podobny we wszystkim, w swoim zachowaniu, do swego wychowawcy, wielkiego króla Dawida *kuropalata* i wszystkie dobre

25 sprawy rozwiązywał podobnie jak on. Odprawił króla Teodozjusza, brata swojej matki, do Tao, do Dawida *kuropalata*, ponieważ uznał za lepsze, aby wszyscy ludzie, i wielcy, i mali, żywili do niego szacunek i odczuwali strach przed zamiarem wyrządzenia mu szkody.

Potem przybył do Kartlii, aby doprowadzić do ładu tamtejsze nieuporządkowane sprawy. Przybył i rozbił obóz w Tigwa. Niektórzy Kartlijscy *aznaurowie* nie chcieli wpuścić go do Kartlii, ponieważ

30 każdy z nich po swojemu prowadził sprawy (kraju) i zapewne nie podporządkowywali się (oni) woli Guaranducht.

Kartlijscy *aznaurowie* na (swego) przywódcę wybrali Kawtara Tbeli, przywitali (Bagrata) walką i rozlokowali się nad Mogrissi. Zobaczywszy to (Bagrat), król Abchazów, wezwał swoje wojsko; (jego ludzie) przyszli i stoczyli walkę. *Aznaurowie* z Kartlii rozbiegli się i rozproszyli. Przybył (Bagrat) do Uplisciche, przyjął twierdzą od swojej matki, został tam (kilka)

dni i doprowadził częściowo do porządku sprawy Kartlii, zabrał ze sobą matkę i udali się do Abchazji. I jak doświadczony sternik doprowadził do porządku wszystkie sprawy Abchazji: wyjawił wszystkich niepokornych, a na ich miejsce wywyższył swoich oddanych i zaufanych.

Minęło kilka lat. Eristawem był Kldekari Rati, rządził on twierdzą Ateni i częścią Kartlii na południe od rzeki Mtkwari, Trialeti, Manglisskim Wąwozem i Skwireti⁶⁵; a króla Bagrata nie słuchał jak się to godzi//[270]

Bagrat (zaś) nieoczekiwanie zebrał całe swoje wojsko i wkroczył do Kartlii: chciał pojmać eristawa Rati. Wtedy od razu zawiadomiono o tym Dawida *kuropalata*, a powiadomiono go w ten sposób: „Nie pójdzie on w żadne inne miejsce, a gotów cię zabić”. A (Gurgen), ojciec Bagrata, gotów był przyłączyć się do syna. Dawid *kuropalat* wyruszył natychmiast, wezwawszy swoje wojsko i wszystkich królów Somchiti. Żył wtedy jeszcze dziad Bagrata, król Kartwelów, i również on stanął się przed Dawidem *kuropalatem*, ponieważ obawiał się, że jego syn Gurgen zabierze mu królestwo. Przybył Dliw i rozlokował się z dużymi, niezliczonymi wojskami i wysłał je przeciw Gurgenowi. Spotkały (wojska te) Gurgena i stoczyły walkę na przełęczy góry Szawszetskiej, zmusiły Gurgena do ucieczki, a on uciekając skrył się; i wszedł do twierdzy Ceptisi.

W tym czasie Bagrat przybył do Trialeti, obozował w Karuszeti. Wysłał posłańca, obejrzał wojska i przekonał się, że nie zdołałby przeciwstawić się Dawidowi *kuropaladowi*. Wtedy zostawił wojska na swoim miejscu i sam zjawił się przed nim, poprosił o wybaczenie i wyjaśnił: „Przybyłem nie po co innego, jak tylko z powodu nieposłuszeństwa Rati”. A on oświadczył mu: „Zawiadomili mnie, że wyruszyłeś (z celem) zabicia mnie, ale teraz otrzymałem potwierdzenie twojej niewinności. Daję ci prawo (wystąpienia) przeciw Rati; podporządkuj go sobie, jak zechcesz”.

Wtedy odszedł on (Bagrat), przepełniony radością, i udał się do Abchazji, aby wystąpić nieoczekiwanie przeciw Rati, tak aby on się tego nie domyślił. Gdy nastąpiła pora // [271] zimowa, przybył ze wszystkimi swoimi siłami i otoczył Kldekari. Zobaczywszy to, wyszedł Rati (z twierdzy) i wyprowadził swojego syna Liparita i wstawiał się za nim u króla Abchazów, Bagrata, przekazał (mu) swoją twierdzą, a sam zasiadł w swoich włościach Argweti.

Po pewnym czasie, jak już o tym mówiłem, zabrał się (Bagrat) i uporządkował sprawy w Abchazji: niektórych dostojników usunął z wysokich stanowisk i na ich miejsca wyznaczył ludzi oddanych mu i bezbłędnie wypełniających jego rozkazy. Przewyższył wszystkich

królów (abchaskich i kartwelskich) swoimi czynami. I powiększył swoje wojska bardziej niż kiedykolwiek indziej.

Wyruszył ze wszystkimi swoimi wojskami, przeszedł przez Kartlię, wysłał posłańca do Kachetii i zażądał twierdz Kartlijskich, które były przez nich (Kachetyjczyków) zajęte. W tym czasie chorepiskopem był Dawid⁶⁶. I nie zechciał oddawać twierdz, i oświadczył: „Jeśli chcesz odzyskać twierdze, to niech spór między nami rozwiąże siła i wojna. Wyjdę ci na spotkanie na rzece Ksani”.

Rozgniewało to Bagrata, króla Abchazów i Kartwelów. Przebywał wtedy *kuropalat* w Dliwe, skąd kierował sprawami Tao i Kartlii, ponieważ już sam rządził Tao po śmierci swojego ojca, króla królów Gurgena. Natychmiast wysłał gońca, wezwał wojska Abchazji i Kartlii, a sam wyruszył ze (swymi) czołowymi wojskami: przeszedł przez Traileti i przez mechetyjski most. Przyłączyli się do niego Abchazi i Kartwelowie. Zajął Tianeti i zaczął niszczyć Kachetię. A Dawid nie zdołał stawić (mu) oporu, ponieważ jego siły (Bagrata) były niezliczone: (ów) zaczął zajmować twierdze i podbił w tym czasie kraj Ereti, wyznaczył na mtawara Abulala i wrócił do domu.

W tym czasie, gdy tylko wyruszył Bagrat, król Abchazów, odstąpili (od niego) osiadli Heretyjczycy i przeszli na stronę Dawida, a (ten) podbił Hereti. Wkrótce zmarł (Dawid). Znowu wystąpił z całym swoim wojskiem Bagrat, podbił powtórnie Hereti. Pojmał królową Dinar, zaczął domagać się Kachetii i swoimi niezliczonymi siłami // [272] w ciągu dwóch dni zajął wszystkie twierdze Kachetii. Zapędził Kwirike do Boczormy i zarządził trzymanie przy nim straży przez cały rok, i zajął Boczormę. Zajął całą Hereti i Kachetię, zabrał Kwirike ze sobą i trzymał go na swoim dworze.

W tym czasie wzmocnił się Fadlon, emir Gandzy, [który] zaczął gnębić eristawów (Heretii i) Kachetii od czasu do czasu rabunkowymi (napadami), niszczył i podbijał różne miejsca. I gdy wielki król Bagrat ujrzał jego grubiaństwo, był bardzo wstrząśnięty i przepełniła go chęć zemsty. Całe jego wojsko było w gotowości, wysłał zatem posłańca do szachansza Gagika, króla ormiańskiego, zapraszając go, aby (wspólnie) poskromić Fadlona. Ów (Gagik) bardzo się uradował, szybko wezwał całe swoje wojsko, wyruszył i przybył do króla Abchazów Bagrata. Spotkali się obaj w Dżorakerte, wystąpili przeciwko butnemu Fadlonowi, wrogowi chrześcijan, chcącemu zgładzić wszystkie sługi (świętego) Krzyża. Jednak ujrzawszy ich niezwyciężoną siłę, (Fadlon) wystraszył się, porzucił (swe) zamiary i ukrył się w twierdzach.

A ten wielki i we wszystkim zwycięski król Bagrat zniszczył kraj Ran, podszedł do miasta Szankor, przystawił maszyny do kruszenia murów i w ciągu kilku dni zburzył (jego) mury. Następnego dnia planował zburzyć i zniszczyć miasto. Jednak nocą zjawił się posłaniec Fadlona i prosił o litość; (Fadlon) zobowiązał się służyć mu (Bagratowi) przez 5 całe swoje życie, płacić haracz i występować ze swoim wojskiem przeciwko jego wrogom. Wtedy (Bagrat) nakazał wezwać wszystkich możnowładców i najpierw zaproponował wziąć miasto siłą. Mężowie owi zbadali, pojęli rzecz i orzekli, że nikt nie ma do tego odpowiednich sił//; [273] najbardziej z tego powodu, że byli zajęci innymi żołnierskimi 10 sprawami.

Znowu wezwał (ich król Bagrat i ogłosił swoją) decyzję o zawarciu rozejmu z Fadlem. I wszyscy oni mądrością swoją (to) osądzili i oddali pierwszeństwo pokojowi. Król kazał (zatem) wysłać posłańca i dał zgodę na pokój. Fadlon ucieszył się wielką radością i spełnił czynami to, co 15 obiecał słowem: przysłał wielkie i niezliczone dary, rozdał wszystkim możnowładcom mnóstwo podarków – (Bagrat) wrócił do domu jako zwycięzca.

Ten wielki król zbudował świątynię Bedyjską, założył tam katedrę biskupią, zniósłszy biskupstwo gudakwskie, poświęcił (duchowieństwu) 20 wiele osiedli z wązozami i miejscowościami, zaopatrzył we wszystko, co niezbędne, upiększył kościół wszelkimi sprzętami, pobłogosławił i wyznaczył biskupa. Jeśli ktoś zechce pojąć i zrozumieć jego wielkość, niech najpierw obejrzy piękno świątyni Wedyjskiej, i to (go) przekona, że 25 nie było innego podobnego do niego króla w kraju Kartlii i w Abchazji.

On pobłogosławił świątynię Kutatyjską jasnowidzeniem najwyższym i nieosiągalnym, ponieważ wezwał władców sąsiednich (krajów) i katolikosów, chorepiskopów i przeorów klasztorów, wszystkich 30 możnowładców, wyższych i niższych, ze swoich włości i swojego królestwa i innych państw.

Ów Bagrat, król Abchazów i Kartwelów, swoimi zdolnościami przewyższył wszystkich monarchów. Przypochlebiali się mu i jego 35 petentami zostali wszyscy bliżsi monarchowie, zwierzchnicy włości i jego królestwa, podobnie jak żołnierze jego najbliżsi i wierni. I podporządkował (mu) Bóg wszystkich wrogów i niepokornych, w dni jego (panowania) // [274] dał (Bóg) krajowi pokój i wielki ład. I jeśli ktokolwiek zechce dokładnie opowiedzieć o wszystkich jego czynach, nie wystarczy mu sił, a ja z tego wszystkiego opowiedziałem (ledwie)

cząstkę, aby nie uległo to zapomnieniu z powodu oddalania się (tych) czasów.

5 Powiem o tym, że po wielkim królu Wachtangu Gorgasali nie było nikogo podobnego do niego pod względem wielkości, potęgi i rozumu, liczby zbudowanych kościołów, łaskawości wobec biednych i sprawiedliwości wobec wszystkich.

10 Panował król Bagrat trzydzieści sześć lat i zmarł ubielony szlachetną siwizną, choronikon (w roku) dwieście trzydziestym czwartym⁶⁷, w maju, siódmego, w piątek. Przebywał w dni swojej śmierci w Tao. Szczątki jego przewiózł *eristawa eristawów* Zwiad i pochował je w Bedia.

W ślad za nim królestwo otrzymał jego syn Jerzy⁶⁸. I on również był pełen wszelkich dóbr.

15 A ów Jerzy uzyskał władzę nad wszystkimi włościami i królestwem swoim w latach chłopięcych i w okresie młodości, bo gdy wstąpił na tron, miał dwanaście lat.

20 W siódmym roku jego panowania⁶⁹ król grecki Bazyli⁷⁰ wystąpił przeciw niemu z całym swoim greckim wojskiem i niezliczonymi przedstawicielami innych plemion. Król Jerzy wyszedł mu naprzeciw, dowodząc dużą armią. Przez wiele dni ich obóz czekał w Kraju Basiańskim, ale nie zaczęli ze sobą walczyć. Król Jerzy odszedł, przyszedł i spalił miasto Oltisi. Stamtąd poszedł do (Kola), a za nim poszedł Bazyli, król Greków. Spotkały się tyłowe części (wojsk) Jerzego i czołowe części Bazylego; i doszło do wielkiej bitwy w pobliżu wioski, która nazywa się Szirimni. Z obu stron // [275] zginęło wielu (wojowników), byli 25 zabici *eristawowie* i możnowładcy: Rati, syn Liparita, i Chursi. Późno dotarł hałas wojny do Jerzego (i wieść), że jego wojska walczą tylko swoimi oddziałami tyłowymi. Wtedy nakazał swoim żołnierzom, by szybko się uzbroili. Wystąpił król Jerzy okazale, ponieważ był waleczny i niepokonany, jakby bezcielesny, a razem z nim (wystąpiło) mnóstwo 30 jego żołnierzy. Z tamtej strony podszedł Bazyli z całym swoim wojskiem. Zeszli się po tej i po tamtej (stronie), miała miejsce wielka bitwa, zginęło wielu Greków, a Kartwelowie wzięli wiele łupów. Walka tak się przedłużyła, że król Bazyli zaczął przygotowania do odwrotu.

35 Jednak Kartwelowie okazali się niecierpliwi, cofnęli się i odeszli. Ścigali ich Grecy i wielu zginęło od miecza. (Potem) wojsko (króla Jerzego) dogoniło (Greków) pod Artani, (Kartwelowie) wzięli do niewoli mieszkańców i zniszczyli Artani. (I gdy) król Jerzy udał się do Trialeti, (król Bazyli) podążył za nim, zniszczył obwód Dżawacheti i przeszedł do Trialeti. Znowu spotkali się; wzmocnił się Jerzy, ponieważ otrzymał

odsiecz z Kachetii i Heretii, jednak przeszkodzono im powtórnie stoczyć walkę.

Wycofał się król Bazyli z Trialeti, (potem) poszedł znowu do Trialeti i Artani. I znowu z wielkim okrucieństwem zniszczył te obwody. Udał się na zimowisko do Kraju Chaldejskiego, niedaleko od miasta Trapezunt⁷¹. I chodzili pomiędzy władcami posłańcy, proponując im pokój i miłość.

W tym czasie miały miejsce liczne rozruchy w Grecji. Zjednoczyli się Spaspet i Carwez (syn buntowniczego Poka) i zajęli wschodnie kraje. Bazyli był tym wstrząśnięty. Ale sprzyjał (mu) Bóg. Ksifi zabił Carweza i wycofali się jego stronnicy. A Ksifi ucierpiał za wiarołomstwo w stosunku do Carweza. *Dalasanosi* zwabili go do twierdzy, schwytali [w odwecie] za krew syna Poka i przekazali królowi Bazylemu, a on wypędził go na jakąś wyspę. Równocześnie wielu // [276] buntowników pozbawiono głów; wśród nich był Feris, syn Dżodzika, pochodzący z Tao, a pozostali byli Grekami.

Znowu wrócił Bazyli, przybył do Basiani, zażądał ziemi i twierdzy, a obiecał pokój i ład. Dowiedziawszy się o tym Jerzy wysłał *eristawa* Zwiada z jego wojskiem i nakazał zatrzymać (Bazylego) niezbyt długo na miejscu rozmowami o rozejmie, a sam podążył za nim z silnym wojskiem. I zastanawiał się: „Jeśli król Bazyli zechce pokoju, będzie tak, a jeśli wybierze wojnę, przygotowujemy się do niej”. A ci, którzy nie chcieli pokoju, zaczęli przygotowywać się do walki i podeszli do miejsca, gdzie rozlokował swój obóz król Bazyli, zwanego Swindaksem.

Zaczęła się bitwa. Część wojsk Bazylego została zmuszona do ucieczki. Rozgniewał się król królów Bazyli. Nakazał przynieść Drzewo Życia, położył na ziemię święte przykrycie, całun, i rzekł: „Jeśli oddacie mnie w ręce wroga, przestanę na wieki wieków was czcić”. I gdy przedłużała się między nimi walka, wojska kartwelskie zostały zmuszone do ucieczki i (Kartwelowie) wycofali się; mnóstwo (Kartwelów) przebito mieczami, a niektórych wzięto do niewoli. Zabrali (Grecy) liczne łupy i skarb królewski, który miał z sobą (Jerzy).

I prześladował go król Bazyli, jednak znowu zaczęli prowadzić rozmowy pokojowe, podobnie jak wcześniej, ponieważ (Bazyli) bardzo obawiał się (nowych) rozruchów w Grecji. Ustalili pokój i zawarli porozumienie. Król Jerzy jako zakładnika oddał swojego trzyletniego syna Bagrata, a twierdze, które wcześniej były przekazane *aznaurom*, uwolnił i zwrócił, do tego przekazał czternaście twierdz, i tak samo posiadłości (Dawida) *kuropalata*, które ten miał w Tao: (Basiani, Kola), Artani i Dżawachetii. A niektóre kościoły, osady i miejscowości z tych

obwodów przekazał (Bazyli) królowi Jerzemu. Wyruszył (król Bazyli) i wziął ze sobą // [277] jako zakładnika królewicza Bagrata, syna Jerzego, króla naszego. Dał (Bazyli) królowi Jerzemu obietnicę: „W trzecim roku odeślę syna twego”. I przebywał (Bagrat) trzy lata w królewskim mieście Konstantynopolu. A po trzech latach, tak jak obiecał, (król) odesłał go (do ojczyzny).

Aby (bezpiecznie) dotarł do swoich włości i swojego królestwa, towarzyszył mu kataban Wschodu do granicy jego posiadłości. Jednak gdy tylko przekroczył on granicę, szybko dogonił (katabana) mandatur i przekazał mu pismo od króla Konstantego, w którym było napisane: „Wolą Bożą zmarł brat mój błogosławiony, król Bazyli, i zamiast niego teraz ja zostałem królem całej Grecji. A teraz gdziekolwiek byłby, w ramach moich posiadłości, Bagrat, syn monarchy Abchazów, Jerzego, zawróćcie go jak najprędzej, aby stawił się przede mną”.

I ten, który przeczytał rozkaz króla, chciał zawrócić go (Bagrata), zgodnie z jego (króla) rozkazem. Wrócił szybko i pobiegł w ślad za nim. Dogoniwszy go ujrzał, że duża liczba ludzi wyszła mu na spotkanie: możnowładcy *eristawowie* i *aznaurowie* z Tao, Mecchi i Kartweli, których nie było końca. Wrócił (kataban) i rzekł *mandaturowi*: „Jeśli masz siły, zawróć się, ode mnie to i tak już nie zależy”. Wielki (był) cud i łaska Boża, która od razu wyrwała bogobojnego z rąk tych, którzy podstępem chcieli go zawrócić. I jeśli ktokolwiek (z was) chce to pojąć, bożą łaskę ujrzyjcie i pojmiecie Bożą opiekę wielokrotnie (okazaną) temu wielkiemu Bagratowi, królowi Abchazów, (opiekę), jaka nigdy nie była (okazana) żadnemu innemu z królów, o których w swoim czasie będzie mowa w następnej opowieści//[278]

Kiedy stanął on przed ojcem swoim, królem Jerzym, w domu ich w Kutatysi, zobaczyli rodzice swojego syna, podobnego do nich, o niezwykłej i niewysłowionej dobroci, pięknego pod każdym względem, mającego wszystkie wdzięki, których człowiekowi nie sposób opisać. Był wówczas w chronikonie (rok) dwieście czterdziesty piąty⁷².

Po dwóch latach, jeszcze w młodości, zmarł król Jerzy, człowiek obdarzony wszelkimi cnotami – wśród licznych jego przodków nie było nawet jednego, którego można by porównać z nim pod względem odwagi, rycerskości, męstwa, szacowności i wykształcenia, (tak) w pełni obdarzonego wszystkimi (przymiotami niezbędnymi dla) rządzenia państwem; umarł w chronikonu (w roku) dwieście czterdziestym siódmym⁷³, szesnastego dnia miesiąca sierpnia, w okolicach Trialeti, w miejscu nazywanym Mkinwari lub Icroni. Zostawił po sobie żalobę

i smutek wszystkich mieszkańców włości i (całego) swego królestwa. Wszyscy opłakiwali go za cnoty, rycerskość i bohaterstwo. Zawieziono go i pochowano w świątyni w Kutatisi.

Miał on (czworo) dzieci: (jego) synowie (to) Bagrat i Demetriusz, a córki Guaranducht i Kata; piątego ich dziecka, Marty, nie było już 5
wśród żywych. Po śmierci wielkiego króla Jerzego królem wszystkich włości i jego królestwa, Górnego i Dolnego, został Bagrat, (a miał on wtedy) dziewięć lat.

W tym czasie przeszli *aznaurowie* z Tao do Grecji, Wacze Karicisz-
dze i biskup Baneli Jan, i razem z nimi wielu dworzan z Tao. Król 10
Konstantyn po upływie roku wysłał parkimansa z niezliczonym wojskiem; ów (parkimanos) przybył, rozlokował się i zniszczył te same okolice i obwody, które były zniszczone przez króla Bazylego. Przybył do Trialeti, do podnóża twierdzy Kldekari, (która) należała wówczas do *eristawt-eristawa* Liparita (syna Liparita). (Liparit) zebrał wokół siebie 15
innych *aznaurów*, wysunął swoje siły w kierunku Gandzy, (gdzie) // [279] stoczono walkę u podnóża twierdzy. Gdy tylko parkimanos zobaczył, że nie zdoła wyrządzić (twierdzy) żadnej szkody, zawrócił. W tym samym czasie Czanczachi Paleli udał się do Grecji, przekazał Grekom twierdzę Garkloba i przyłączył się do nich, a Ardżewan Hololas-dze oddał im 20
twierdzę Cerepti.

Gdy Saba, biskup Mtbewari, zobaczył, że w Szawszeti nie było innej siły (do obrony), zbudował twierdzę na wzgórzu wznoszącym się nad Tbeti, zajął twierdzę Szawszeti, wykazał duże oddanie Bagratowi, królowi 25
Abchazów. (Za to) uszanował go Bóg i nie zdołali wrogowie odebrać (tego) kraju. Właśnie w tym czasie *parkimanos*⁷⁴ i *proedros*⁷⁵ wysłali Jana Baneli chartulara, (który) wziął ze sobą Walanga z licznym wojskiem, dał mu także kłardża Demetriusza, syna Sumbata, w celu oddziaływania na miejscowych mieszkańców; (w szczególności) prosty lud przyłączył się do nich. Wkroczył do tej twierdzy Ezra Anczeli⁷⁶ i inni dworzanie, 30
(którzy) pozostali wierni (królowi Bagratowi), weszli do (tejże) twierdzy i mocno się w niej obwarowali.

A twierdza Artanudzi należała do Jana, *eristawa* Abusera, i w tym czasie w niektórych okolicach miały miejsce bitwy, wojny domowe i wzajemne najazdy. I gdy tak silnie wstrząsały one krajem, Bóg okazał 35
łaskę Bagratowi, królowi Abchazów i Kartwelów. Śmiertelna choroba dosięgła króla Konstantyna. Wezwał on *parkimansa* – *proedrosa* do powrotu. Chociaż wyruszył on z pośpiechem, przed jego przyjazdem król

Konstantyn zmarł. Przed śmiercią powołał na tron innego króla o imieniu Roman i oddał mu za żonę swoją córkę Zoję.

5 W trzecim roku po tym wydarzeniu udała się królowa Mariam, matka Bagrata, króla Abchazów, do Grecji, aby szukać pokoju i zjednoczenia (z imperium), a także zdobycia tytułu króla/kuropalata dla swojego syna, ponieważ wymagały tego obyczaj i porządek, (obowiązujące) w ich (królewskim) domu, i aby przywieźć dla syna żonę//. [280]

10 I gdy przybyła ona do Grecji do króla Greków, z radością spełnił (on) wszystkie jej życzenia: przysiągł jej i dał twierdzę w imię połączenia się wzajemną miłością, potwierdził złotą bullą, dał stopień kuropalata i za żonę Bagratowi – królową Helenę.

Gdy królowa Mariam dotarła do włości swojego syna, w kraju Tao, przekazała (synowi) stanowisko kuropalata, urządzono wesele, udzielono im ślubu w Bana⁷⁷.

15 (Po pewnym czasie) królowa Helena zmarła w Kutatisi i król Bagrat poślubił Borene, córkę króla Osetyjczyków, siostrę Dorgolela.

20 Król Jerzy miał też (w twierdzy Anakopia⁷⁸) drugiego syna, z drugiej żony – córki króla Osetyjczyków. Wśród części *aznaurów* pojawiły się pogłoski (o jego intronizacji), a dziecko (to) było małe, zwali go Demetriuszem. Jednak nie zdołali wynieść go na tron, chociaż niektórzy mieli taki zamiar, i (w tym samym czasie) ani król Bagrat i jego matka, ani tawadi-możnowładcy nie zdołali wyprowadzić go (z twierdzy). Jednak nie zdołał on oprzeć się królestwu (kartwelskiemu) i oddalić się od niego, zwrócił się do króla greckiego (z prośbą wzięcia go pod opiekę) i przekazał mu Anakopię. Od tego momentu aż po czasy współczesne 25 królowie abchascy utracili Anakopię.

Potem Bagrat utrwalił (swoją władzę) i zapanował nad swoim królestwem – Górnym i Dolnym.

30 A wielki Fadlon król działał wrogo i lekcewał wszystkich stojących na czele tego (kartwelskiego) królestwa. (I dlatego) jeszcze w młodości Bagrata zebrano się całe wojsko jego królestwa, przywiedli Liparita⁷⁹ i Jana Abazas-dze⁸⁰, przybył też wielki Kwirike, król Ranów i Kachetyjczyków, a także Dawid, król Ormian, i Dżafar, emir Tbilisium. Ponieważ wszyscy oni (na podstawie porozumienia z Kwirike) // [281] zebrali się w Eklecji 35 przeciwko Fadlonowi, zmusili go do ucieczki, wybili jego wojsko, wzięli łupy i niezliczone skarby. Od tego czasu do samej śmierci Fadlon żył w złości.

I (znowu) wykorzystując małoletniość króla Bagrata Liparit Liparitidze i Jan Abazas-dze, eristaw Kartlii, wywiedli emira Tbilisium

do Muchatgwerdi i porwali go, trzymali długo w więzieniu i odebrali mu Birtwisi. Ułaskawił (go potem) król Abchazów i wrócił on znowu do Tbilisi (jako emir) i od tego czasu pozostała wrogość pomiędzy Liparitem, jego ludźmi a emirem.

Po pewnym czasie Liparit poradził (królowi) podbić Tbilisi. Otoczył je z jednego brzegu Mtkwari, powyżej i poniżej (nurtu rzeki), a wojska króla Abchazów z drugiego brzegu, ze strony Isanii, podeszły wojska Kachetyjczyków i Heretców. Do tego czasu Kwirike, wielki król Kachetyjczyków, został już zabity przez pewnego niewolnika Osetyjczyka za to, że król Kwirike zabił podczas walki osetyjskiego króla Urdure. Król Kwirike został zabity wskutek krwawej zemsty podczas polowania w górach Fidrazi przez niewolnika Osetyjczyka.

W tym czasie królem Kachetii był Gagik⁸¹, syn Dawida króla Ormian, samszwilskiego i dzorakertskiego, syn siostry Kwirike, a walka o Tbilisi trwała dwa lata. W tym czasie emirem był Dżafar, syn Ali. (Oblegający) doprowadzili mieszkańców Tbilisi do takich strat, że połec oślego mięsa był sprzedawany za pięćset drachm, i nie mogli już oni wytrzymać głodu i okrutnych walk. Mieszkańcy postanowili poddać miasto. Podczas walki o Tbilisi wojska króla Abchazów odbiły twierdze Orbeti i Parcchisi. Emir i jego wojska zaczęli się zaopatrywać, przygotowali tratwy i łodzie, aby nocą udać się do Gandzy do Laszkari, // [282] syna Fadlona. (W tym samym czasie) niektórzy możnowładcy w tajemnicy (bez wiedzy Liparita) przekonali króla, aby nie wypuszczał emira i w tajemnicy przed Liparitem zawarli pokój z emirem; podali tę (decyzję) do publicznej wiadomości i uznali go za emira Tbilisiu. Król Abchazów przeciągnął na swoją stronę z Kachetyjczyków: Aszota – *mtawara* Marileli, zięcia króla Kwirike, Chachwilu Gurta z (twierdzą) Dżwarisciche. I zawarł król Abchazów pokój z miastem (Tbilisi), i zaczął wrogo odnosić się do Kachetyjczyków. Od tego czasu Liparit ukrywał wrogość wobec swojego patrona.

Król Abchazów wyruszył w pochód na Kachetię, stoczył walkę i zajął górę Mikelia i Gabriela. Podczas walki pojmał: Stefanoza Wardżanis-dze – *eristawa* Pankisi, Wacze, syna Gurgena Beri – *eristawa* Chornabudzi, Dżedi, syna siostry Goderdzi – *eristawa* Sztori i Maczeli. Przeszedł przez Tianeti i spalił pałac Bododzi, dom rozślawniony, zbudowany przez wielkiego króla Kwirike. Eristawowie sami ofiarowywali i przekazywali (królowi Bagratowi) swoje twierdze, jednak (król) nie mógł (z tego skorzystać) i wkroczyć do Kachetii, ponieważ (dowiedział się, że) Liparit zaczął przygotowywać się do zdrady.

Po niedługim czasie Liparit przywiózł z (Bizancjum) brata Bagrata (z nieprawego łoża) – Demetriusza z wojskiem greckiego króla (z celem wyniesienia Demetriusza na tron). Przyłączyli się do Liparita również inni możnowładcy i *aznaurowie*, przeszli przez Górne Ziemie i zeszli do Kartlii, oblegli Ateni i spalili Kartlię, to tu, to tam.

Liparitowi pomagali Kachetyjczycy i Grecy, jednak nie zdołali zdobyć Ateni, ponieważ władający twierdzą zachowali wierność Bagratowi, oprócz Parsmana Tmogweli i Beszkena Dżakeli, *eristawa* Tucharisi⁸². (Zwolennicy króla) wyruszyli do Dżawachetii i zaczęli budować mury (wokół) Achalkalaki, ponieważ (to miasto) nie było jeszcze obwarowane. Nastąpiła zima i Grecy chcieli zawrócić. (Dlatego) Liparit zawarł pokój (z królem Abchazów, który) // [283] dał (mu) stanowisko *eristawa* Kartlii. Wrócili Grecy do Grecji i zabrali ze sobą Demetriusza.

I (Bagrat) znowu wzmocnił się i okrył się chwałą w swoim kraju. Los podarował mu sprzyjające czasy, (objął bowiem panowanie nad) dziewięcioma anijskimi twierdzami, z wyjątkiem Amberda. Anijczycy przekazali Anisi (matce Bagrata), ponieważ jego ziomkami byli Ormianie – matka Bagrata, królowa Mariam była córką ormiańskiego króla Senakerima.

Nastąpiła wiosna i Bagrat znajdował się w Abchazji, obległ Anakopię i prawie doprowadził do zdobycia (twierdzy). (Jednak w tym czasie) przybyli Tbilisicy berowie, ponieważ wcześniej zmarł Tbilisiki emir Dżafar. Obiecali (miasto królowi Bagratowi) i wezwali go pośpiesznie (do Tbilisii). (Król zostawił obóz, sam) udał się (do Tbilisii), a oblężenie Anakopii przejął Kuabulel Czaczasdze Otago z abchaskimi wojskami. Bagrat wyruszył i przybył do Kutatisi, wziął z Kutatisi wojsko (z ziem Samokalako) i przywiódł gurielni *aznaurów* i lomsianów do Chupatii; przyciągnęli tarany i walczyli. Król posunął się naprzód i przybył do Kartlii, tam też (do Tbilisii) przybyli inni *tbilisicy berowie*.

Udał się do Tbilisii i na polu Digomi spotkali go *berowie miasta*, słudzy dworu, jeźdźcy i wszyscy piesi, ustawieni w Umedeuli – było mnóstwo kobiet i mężczyzn na placu. Z obu stron rozlegał się głośny dźwięk trąb i bicie dzwonów wstrząsające ziemią, i była zdumiewająca radość z obu stron. Zaprowadzili (króla) do miasta, obeszli (razem z nim całe miasto, mieszczenie) obsypali go drachmami i drachkanami⁸³, wręczyli mu klucze do miasta i wprowadzili go do pałacu emira. Zasiadł król Bagrat do prowadzenia spraw państwowych. Zawładnął on wieżami (które ochraniały bramę miejską) i postawił w nich swoich ludzi, zajął miejską twierdzę Daridżeli, obie wieże Ckalkinisi i Tabori, rozlokował w nich

swoje drużyny i wyznaczył swoich eristawów // . [284] A Isańczycy zerwali most i odmówili oddania (królowi Bagratowi) Isanii, przyciągnęli tarany, (z których strzelali) i walczyli za Isanii. Na isańskie pole na przyjęcie do króla przybyli król Kachetii Gagik i eristawt-eristaw Goderdzi i wszyscy możni Kachetii (i poprosili go o pokój). Wtedy wyszedł król Bagrat na isańskie pole, wziął pod swoją opiekę bijących czołem Kachetyjczyków i puścił ich, darując im pokój. I zapanowały radość i spokój, a spraw związanych z rządzeniem państwem z dnia na dzień przybywało.

Gdy upłynęły letnie dni, Liparit znowu zaczął snuć zdradzieckie knowania. Za pomocą oszustwa wywiódł z Anisi, od królowej, Abusera, *eristawa* Artanudzi, władającego twierdzami Chicha, Cichis-dźwari i Ackuri, i *eristawa* Jana, a także Dadiani Jana i Guarama Goderzisz-dze, właściciela Becziszicze, i pojmał ich przed bramą anijską. Wtedy król (Bagrat) opuścił Tbilisi i udał się do Dżawachetii.

Potem wyprowadził Mackuereli Meschów, kosztem Bagrata, aby okazać pomoc królowi, (który) stał z obozem w Drtila. A Liparit zebrał wojsko Kachetyjczyków i obległ Poka⁸⁴. Uciekł Mackuereli od króla (Bagrata) i zmówił się z Liparitem. Dowiedziawszy się o tym, król Bagrat podczas strasznej zimowej zamieci przeszedł przez Szarwaszeti i zszedł do Kartlii.

Liparit znowu przywiódł z Grecji Demetriusza, brata króla Bagrata. Zapewniono mu pomoc dzięki środkom i wojskom króla greckiego. Wywołało to rozłam wśród ludzi w królestwie: część opowiedziała się za Demetriuszem, a część pozostała wierna Bagratowi. Zaś syn Liparita Jan pozostał zakładnikiem Bagrata i Liparit poprosił go o niego, a w zamian wypuścił Abusera w pokoju (i zwrócił) mu twierdzę. Po stronie Liparita byli Kachetyjczycy ze swoimi siłami i Dawid, król Ormian, ze swoimi siłami. Wzmocnił się on (Liparit) dzięki tym siłom w kraju Kartlii // . [285] A przeciwnicy króla (Bagrata) dalej snuli (zdradzieckie) knowania.

Przybyło trzy tysiące Warangów⁸⁵ i rozmieścił ich w Baszi, pojmał i wziął ze sobą siedemset osób. Bagrat przybył z wewnętrznym wojskiem, a owi Warangowie nie doczekali się Meschów, przyszli i stoczyli walkę u wejścia do zagajnika Sasiretskiego⁸⁶, zaś wojska wewnętrzne uciekły. W tej walce pojmano Abusera i razem z nim innych możnowładców, (którzy) nie zdołali wytrzymać walki z Warangami; (potem) dał ich Liparit na służbę Pasztom, którzy gościli ich chlebem i solą, ponieważ przeszli oni przez Lichi.

Wcześniej umarł Demetriusz, brat Bagrata. Po ucieczce (przed wojskami Liparita) Bagrat obawiał się rozpadu królestwa i swoich

włości. Poprosił Liparita (o zawarcie rozejmu) i z nieliczną jazdą przybył do niego do Chowle. Dowiedziawszy się o jego przyjeździe, Liparit nie zechciał spotkać się z nim i oddalił się. Oddalił się też król i udał się do Abchazji.

5 Wkrótce po tym Sula, eristaw Kalmachi, i Grzegorz, eristaw Artanudzi, porozumieli się, przeciągnęli na swoją stronę również innych dworzan i wezwali króla Bagrata. (Bagrat) przeszedł z wojskiem przez przełęcz Rkinis-dżuari i spotkali się (wszyscy oni) przy Arkis-ciche. Dowiedziawszy się o tym, zebrał Liparit swoje wojsko, wezwał Kachetyjczyków i Ormian,
10 a przy nim znajdowali się Grecy. Niespodziewanie napadł na Arkis-ciche i stoczyli walkę. Znowu zwyciężył Liparit, zmusił króla do ucieczki, wziął do niewoli Sulę, *eristawa* Kalmachi, i pod groźbą tortur i wbicia na pal zażądał od niego (twierdzy) Kalmachi⁸⁷, jednak ten nie ustąpił. W tej samej walce pojmano Grzegorza, syna Abusera, i pod groźbą śmierci
15 zażądano od niego (twierdzy) Artanudzi //, [286] i on (ją) oddał. Umocnił Liparit swoją władzę na Górnych Ziemiach, zapanował nad twierdzami, przeciągnął na swoją stronę Tawadów, z ich wojskami wyruszył w dalszy pochód, do Dwinu, i stoczył walki w interesie greckiego króla przeciwko (władcy) Dwina, a potem wrócił na swoje włości.

20 Po upływie roku na ziemiach Basiani pojawili się Turcy sułtana Barahim Ilmiana. Wyruszyło wojsko greckiego króla i wezwali Liparita. Udał się Liparit, aby udzielić pomocy Grekom z całym swoim górskim wojskiem. Stoczyli walkę poniżej Ordru i Ukumii. Turcy zmusili do ucieczki całe greckie wojsko i wojsko króla Liparita. Miała miejsce straszna
25 zagłada, pojмали (Turcy) Liparita i wzięli go ze sobą do Chorasana do sułtana. Możliwość władcy całego królestwa i synowie Liparita, Jan i Niania, w poszukiwaniu bezpieczeństwa uznali (Bagrata za prawowitego) króla. Znowu umocnił się (Bagrat), pojmał synów Liparita, zajął Uplisciche i uwolnił Jana.

30 Urządzili Turcy postoje w kraju Gandza i oblężona (przez Turków) Gandza była na granicy upadku. Grecki król, zamiast (dowodzić) osobiście, wysłał lichturi z licznym wojskiem, wezwali Bagrata z całym jego wojskiem i udał się on razem z nimi. Skierowali się w stronę Turków, doszli do bram Gandzy. Turcy uniknęli (walki), (opuścili)
35 Kraj Gandzyjski, a (sojusznicy) wrócili z pokojem. Potem mieszkańcy Tbilisi znowu wezwali i przekazali miasto Bagratowi, wprowadzili go do (miasta). I (znowu) zapanowała radość i wielki pokój.

W ślad za tym uwolnił się Liparit od Turków i wszedł do Anisi. Bagrat odmówił przyjęcia Tbilisii ze względu na Liparita, poszedł w górę przez

Kartlię i przybył do Dżawachetii. Liparit, będąc w niewoli (u Seldżuków) za służenie królowi Greków, udał się (po uwolnieniu) do Grecji, zobaczył króla Greków i otrzymał od niego pomoc, umocnił się i Bagrat nie mógł mu się przeciwstawić//. [287]

Jeszcze przed tymi wydarzeniami urodził się Bargratowi syn Jerzy. 5
Zostawił go w Kutatisi jako króla Abchazji, a sam udał się do Grecji. W tym czasie królem greckim był (Konstantyn Monomach⁸⁸, a potem Michał⁸⁹). Zgodnie z wolą Liparita Bagrat nieprędko wrócił do ojczyzny, spędził tam w wielkim majestacie i szacunku trzy lata.

Dopóki Bagrat znajdował się w Grecji, Liparit poprosił matkę 10
i możnowładców swojego królestwa o zgodę na koronację Jerzego, syna Bagrata, na króla). Przywieźli go do świątyni Ruisskiej i koronowali na króla. Na jego wychowawcę wyznaczono Liparita, a na opiekunkę – siostrę Bagrata, królową Guaranducht; była (Guaranducht) przepełniona wszelkimi cnotami, piękna zewnątrz, mądra, szczodra, gorliwie 15
odprawiała nabożeństwa. Po pewnym czasie Guaranducht poprosiła (greckiego króla o uwolnienie Bagrata) (i o zgodę na jego powrót do ojczyzny) i wysłał grecki król (Bagrata) z wielkimi honorami i niezliczoną ilością darów. Całe wojsko wyszło mu na spotkanie na abchaskie wybrzeże Morza, w Chupati. Była radość wielka, wznosili podziękowania Bogu; 20
i wszedł (król) do swojej stolicy Kutatisi.

Liparit zapanował zaś nad całym Górnym Krajem i byli z nim w przyjaznych stosunkach w Chorasane – sułtan Doglubek i w Grecji – król grecki, i wychowywał on małoletniego syna Bagrata, Jerzego, nazywając go królem. Pod panowaniem Bagrata znajdował się cały kraj 25
poniżej Lichi.

Wkrótce możnowładców kraju znudziło się panowanie Liparita. Sula Kalmacheli i wszyscy wielcy możni Meschowie stanęli przeciwko niemu, pojмали w Dliwe Liparita i jego syna Jana, a Niania uciekł – postanowił wejść do Kldekarni, jednak drużyna jego ojca nie wpuściła go, zatem 30
udał się do Anisi (do Greków). Niewolników Liparita // [288] i Jana pojmał Sula i wziął ze sobą do Kalmachi. Natychmiast udał się Sula do króla i wezwał go do Sulta. Guaranducht i Jerzy, syn Bagrata, znajdowali się w Drtila i gdy tylko dowiedzieli się o zniewoleniu, zatrzymali się w Achalkalaki i oczekiwali na Bagrata w Sulta. Przybył Bagrat i za 35
okazaną przysługę ofiarował (Sule) w spadku Cichis-Dżwari i Odrche z Bodo-klde, mnóstwo innych bogactw, paramentów kościelnych i wszystko, co zechciał.

Przybył Sula do Dżawachetii do króla, przywiódł więzionych: Liparita i Jana i oświadczył, że od poddanych Liparita przyjął Artanudzi i Kweli, Uplisciche i Birtwisi, ale Kldekari wytrwale broniła znajdująca się w twierdzy drużyna (Liparita), ponieważ przebywał w niej Anamor, mcignobartuchucesi⁹⁰ (kanclerz) Liparita. Przywiedli (Liparita i Jana) do Trialeti, jednak obrońcy twierdzy nie poddali się na prośbę Kldekarni, (przybyli) wzniesli pale i zagrozili nabiciem na nie Liparita i Jana, skazując (ich) na śmierć. Jednak po kilku dniach (przedstawiciele) obrońców twierdzy Liparita umówili się z królem i możnowładcami kraju, (by) uwolnić w pokoju Liparita i Jana. Przekazali Kldekarni (królowi), że Liparit wyniósł swoje dobra i wstąpił do klasztoru, a swojego syna Jana powierzył królowi. Argwetskie włości pozostały przy Janie. Liparit złożył królowi przysięgę lojalności i udał się do królestwa (Bizancjum).

Po pewnym czasie również Jan uciekł i udał się do Grecji, gdzie żył kilka lat. Niania zmarł w Anisi w greckim poddaństwie, a o (uwolnienie) Jana prosił Bagrata jego ojciec.

Sam Bagrat wezwał i przywiódł (Jana z Bizancjum) do swojego królestwa, dał mu włości argwetskie i Kartlijskie i podporządkowywał się (Jan) wiernie (Bagratowi). Przebywał on wśród Tawadów całego// [289] królestwa (i (był) głównym wodzem dzięki jego (króla) cnocie. Tymczasem zmarł Liparit w Grecji, w królewskim mieście Konstantynopolu. Oddani i wychowani przez niego (ludzie) z wielkim szacunkiem przywieźli jego ciało i pochowali w Kacich, w grobowcu ich ojców.

Umocnił się i okrył się chwałą Bagrat bardziej niż wszyscy królowie królestwa (Kartwelów). Zajął on wszystkie twierdze Heretii i Kachetii, oprócz Kwetery i Nachiczewanii. Potem miały miejsce wielkie dzieła (i trwoga wielkich królów).

Podczas jego (Bagrata) panowania wystąpił sułtan Arpasaran, król Persji, i dokonał napaści (na nasz kraj). Nieoczekiwanie napadł i zniszczył Kangari i Trialeti, w ciągu jednego dnia jego grabieżczy oddział dotarł do Kwelis Kuri, przeszedł do Szawszetii, Klardżeti, Tao i dotarł także do Panaskerti. I tego samego dnia zszedł (oddział) do Tori i Gwiwis-chewii, a on sam na trzy dni rozłokował się w Trialeti.

W tym czasie król z matką, siostrą i synem szedł z Tao, i stali oni w Hekrebulta. I w tym czasie, gdy udali się (tam), napadło na nich wojsko sułtana, (które) przybyło i zajęło łańcuch górski. Jednak zdążyli oni (rodzina królewska) zejść do Kartlii. Udali się Turcy do Dżwachetii i oblegli Achalkalaki (ponieważ dworzanie meschscy i Górnej Ziemi wytrwale bronili Achalkalaki), wytrzymali trzy dni, a ponieważ nie

była jeszcze zakończona budowa trwałego ogrodzenia Achalkalaki, nie zdołali (dłużej) wytrzymać silnego nacisku; obrońcy miasta uzbroili się i otworzyli bramy miejskie. Walczyli zaciekle i wielu zginęło od ich mieczy. Wdarli się (Turcy) do miasta, wzięli do niewoli (niezliczoną liczbę) chrześcijan, łupy i mnóstwo jeńców, i zabarwiła się achalkalaska rzeka krwią. 5

Z Achalkalaki sułtan przysłał do Bagrata posłańca, zaproponował swaty – poprosił o rękę córki siostry (Bagrata). Wycofał się król do Anisi //, [290] zniszczył i zajął je, zabił i wzięł do niewoli wielu mieszkańców i udał się do swojego kraju, do Persji, a Anisi odebrał Grekom i przekazał je Manuce, synowi Abulaswara. 10

A córka siostry Bagrata, o którą prosił sułtan, (w tym samym czasie) była (zarazem) córką brata króla Ormian, Kwirike. Poprosił Bagrat (by wypełniono życzenie sułtana), jednak król Ormian nie zgodził się na to. Wysłał zatem Bagrat z wielkim posłannictwem *eristawa* Waraz-Bakura Gamrekeli. Przekonał on zaufanych ludzi króla Ormian, i gdy król Ormian Kwirike i jego brat Sumbat udali się do Samszwilde, do Kweszis Czala, pojmali ich i obwieścili o tym Bagratowi. Z Kwachureli Bagrat natychmiast udał się i przyprowadzili do niego jeńców pod twierdzą Kldekarni. Zażądał (Bagrat, aby mu przekazano) Samszwilde, jednak oni odmówili, ponieważ jeden z braci, Adarnase, znajdował się tam. Wtedy podprowadzili ich do Samszwilde, wzniesli pał i wbili króla Ormian Kwirike na pał na trzy dni, poprosili o pokój i oddali Samszwilde. Tam też znajdowali się dwaj *eristawowie* króla Ormian: Luki i Kakwakara. Brat Kwirike Sumbat oferował i dawał (Bagratowi) trzy twierdze (Opreti, Koszk, Warzakar). Zmiłował się jednak król Bagrat, zwrócił mu wszystkie twierdze, oprócz Samszwilde, i uwolnił innych władców twierdz, i możnowładców również nie wpuścił tam, zajął Samszwilde jako swoją rezydencję i w ten sposób podporządkowali (mu) się Ormianie. 15 20

(Wielki król) Bagrat wydał swoją córkę Martę za męża za króla greckiego. 25 30

A potem wydał córkę swojej siostry za męża za perskiego sułtana. Po trzech latach wyruszył nieoczekiwanie sułtan, obszedł Ran i wkroczył do Heretii⁹¹. A możnowładcy tego kraju byli zwolennikami (króla) i byli oddani Bagratowi. W tym czasie Agsartan, król Kachetii, syn Gagika⁹², posiadał niewielki majątek. Wszyscy zostawili swoje twierdze i uciekli w góry Kaukazu. W tym czasie król Bagrat // [291] znajdował się w pochodzie, zamierzając zdobyć Kachetię, i swoje wojsko wysłał naprzód do wielkiego *eristawa* Cirkwaleli. Wróciło (wojsko) bez walki 35

i złożyło (królowi) meldunek o wkroczeniu sułtana i (o tym) jak porzucono twierdze. Wrócił (Bagrat) natychmiast do swojego kraju, Kartlii.

5 Agsartan przeszedł na stronę sułtana. Ofiarował mu wielkie dary, porzucił wiarę (chrześcijańską, a przyjął islam), dokonał obrzędu
5 obrzezania i obiecał płacić haracz, a sułtan przekazał mu wszystkie te twierdze, które były porzucone przez (ich właścicieli): zarówno przez
ludzi króla Abchazów, jak i (ludzi) samego Agsartana. A po trzech tygodniach skierował się on przeciwko królowi Abchazów. Przyłączyli
się do niego król Ormian Kwirike, emir Tbilisiu i Agsartan; weszli razem
10 z nim do Kartlii przez Dżaczwi. O świcie i do wieczora cała Kartlii była (nimi) przepełniona. Miało to miejsce dziesiątego grudnia, we wtorek,
w chronikonie (w roku) dwieście osiemdziesiątym ósmym⁹³.

Było w Kartlii dużo chleba i wina. Został tu sułtan sześć tygodni i zaczął pustoszyć i wyniszczać mieszkańców. I przeszedł jego rozbójniczy
15 oddział do Argweti. Dotarli oni do Swerisciche⁹⁴ i (wszystko po drodze) grabili. Zginęło i dostało się do niewoli mnóstwo chrześcijan i był
w Kartlii przerażający widok: zniszczone kościoły. Z powodu mnóstwa trupów nie można było patrzeć na ziemię, a z góry niebo świadczyło
o gniewnej Bożej karze za nasze grzechy, i krwawa chmura zakryła
20 Kartlię ze wschodu, i ciemna noc była jasna jak dzień. Widok był straszny i wstrząsający, a w niektórych miejscowościach ludzie widzieli krwawy
deszcz. Zima była surowa; ci, którzy uciekli i ukryli się w górach//, [292] zginęli z powodu ostrego zimna. W całej Kartlii było rozmieszczone
wojsko (Turków – Seldżuków), a sam zwierzchnik (Turków) sułtan stał
25 w Karbi, a potem zszedł do Szertulta. I było im ciężko z powodu ciężkiej zimy i strasznych zamieci.

I wysłał król Bagrat Jan, syna Liparita, (do sułtana) z ofertą pokoju. Sułtan odesłał go jednak do Abchazji do Bagrata, żądając haraczu dla
zawarcia rozejmu. Jednak z powodu srogiej zimy (nie mógł) doczekać
30 się odpowiedzi i odszedł (z) Kartlii. Schodząc zajął Tbilisi i Rustawi i przekazał je Fadlonowi, patronowi Gandzy. I nie z powodu wrogości
wobec naszych królów oderwał on Tbilisi i Rustawi od tego królestwa i nie dlatego sprawił, że emirzy zostali wydani jego dworowi, ale dlatego,
że zamiast dobra i służby wszystkim wyrządzali oni zło lub pokładali oni
35 w sile niewiernych, i we wszystkim byli zdraдлиwi, podstępni. Podczas tego zniszczenia Kartlijczyków liczebność jego wojska sięgała pięciuset
tysięcy.

Udał się sułtan do swojego kraju. A z nadejściem wiosny rozpoczęła się straszna powódź. Mtkwari nie mieściła się w swoim korycie, rozlała

się po polach i uniosła ze sobą mnóstwo żywotów ludzkich, ocalałych od ręki sułtana.

A potem Fadlon stał się pyszny i zaczął niegodziwie postępować i z okolic Tbilisi wywozić rzemieślników. Z nadejściem lata król (Bagrat) przeszedł do Kartlii i zamieszkał w Didgori, bo miejsce to jest królewskim letnim pałacem. Fadlon zlekceważył pobyt króla w Didgori. Z wojskiem w składzie trzydziestu trzech tysięcy żołnierzy skierował się do Tbilisi i rozmieścił swój obóz na Polu Isanskim. A (potem) zostawił tam swoje namioty, wspiął się (nocą) do Muchnari i (zaczął grabić) przygraniczne obwody Kartlii //.[293]

Znajdujący się po tej stronie od Tbilisi król Abchazów dowiedział się o występkach Fadlona i ciężkich przestępstwach (popelnionych przez niego) w Kartlii. (Bagrat) w celu sprawdzenia (sytuacji) wysłał Jana – syna Liparita, Niania Kwabulsidze i Murwana Dżakeli – *eristawa* Kweli i razem z nimi nielicznych innych *aznaurów* z doborowym wojskiem. Jednak kiedy przybyli oni do Kartlii, ich (Fadlona z jego wojskiem) tam już nie było, i gdy ci wycofywali się, wyprzedzili ich przed Muchnari przy Górze Cilkańskiej. Stoczyli walkę z tyłami (ich wojsk) i przy pierwszym zamachu mieczem zmusili do ucieczki Fadlona. I uciekające wojsko Fadlona doszło do Doliny Narekuawskiej, a żołnierze króla abchaskiego zabijali i chwyтали ich, i zapełniał się parów (trupami) koni i ludzi.

Zarazem części wojska (Fadlona) zmuszone do ucieczki zaczęły przechodzić przez Las Szobowski. Z lasu i kolczastych zarośli żołnierze króla Bagrata wyciągali jak piskłeta chowających się żołnierzy Fadlona. Wyprzedzili oni (ci żołnierze) ich (żołnierzy Fadlona) przy wąskim przejściu Garti⁹⁵ i mało kto zdołał (przez nie) przeskoczyć. Ścigało ich wojsko Bagrata do góry Cherki. Wybili wojsko Fadlona, (a pozostałych) wzięli do niewoli. A Fadlon (z) piętnastoma (przybocznymi) jeźdźcami szedł po drodze Cilkańskiej, okrążył Aragwi i po rozmytej drodze wyszedł do Erc⁹⁶ i podawał się za posłańca, głosząc: „Jam wysłannik Fadlona i jako zwiastun dobra jadę do (króla Kachetii) Agsartana (ogłosić), że zmusiliśmy do ucieczki wojsko króla Abchazów”.

Jednak spotkał go człowiek znający Fadlona i rzekł (mu): „Ty nie jesteś wysłannikiem, lecz samym emirem emirów – Fadlonem”.

Rzekł temu człowiekowi Fadlon: „Dostaniesz ode mnie mnóstwo złota, srebra i (wszelkiego) bogactwa, ale nie wydawaj mnie, przeprowadź mnie przez pole i pójdz razem ze mną”.

Jednak człowiek ów odrzekł: „Nie mogę uczynić tego, bo jestem rdzennym mieszkańcem tego kraju. A teraz bacz i podążaj za mną,

a zawiodę cię do Agsartanu, a ten niech pośle cię do twojego kraju” //.
[294]

Fadlon nie chciał tego, jednak nie mógł nigdzie pójść z Erco. Zaprowadził go człowiek ten i przywiódł do Żaleti⁹⁷, do meschskiego dworzanina Izaaka Toloszelisdze. Dowiedziawszy się o przybyciu Fadlona w swoje progi, (Izaak Toloszelisdze) ograbił ludzi Fadlona, zegnał ich z koni, pojmał, a Fadlona posadził na muła. I (nie) przypomniał sobie Izaak o istnieniu króla Abchazów, zapomniawszy, że porwał on uciekającego od abchaskiego króla Fadlona, i (zamiast) przywieźć (Fadlona) do króla Bagrata do Boczormy, szybko odprowadził go i przyprowadził do Telari do Agsartana. Agsartan natychmiast zabrał go do Chornabudzi, ponieważ bał się prześladowania ze strony króla Abchazów. (Obrońcom) Chornabudzi pokazali Fadlona i poddali oni Chornabudzi. Zabrał go do Aradeti i przekazał Aradeti temu samemu Agsartanowi.

Bagrat uwolnił Fadlona, dał Kachetyjczykom (w zamian) Boczormę i Udżarmę i zabrał go. Wbili go na pal (Fadlona) i podeszli do Tbilisium, jednak zdobyli je z trudem, ponieważ znajdujący się tam mąż sprawujący władzę sam chciał zostać emirem. Ale Bagrat nie zajął Tbilisium sam i odszukał pozostawionego w Dmanisi Sitl-araba, przywiódł go do Tbilisium i dał mu je (twierdzą). A sam (Bagrat) zajął twierdze Rustawi, Parchisi, Agarani, Grigolcmindani, Kawazini, i nałożył haracz w wysokości czterdziestu czterech tysięcy drachkanów, (wziął) również zakładników: syna jego brata, syna Manucze i trzech tawadów Gandzy.

W tym czasie sułtan Saranga przysłał Alchaza i za jego pośrednictwem i na prośbę sułtana zawarł Bagrat rozejm z Fadlonem i wypuścił go, i wysłał go do swojego państwa, do Gandzy. I Sarang udał się razem z nim//. [295]

Wręczono (królowi Bagratowi) klucze (od twierdzy) Gagi, i zajął król Abchazów Gagi. W związku z tym Fadlon naruszył przysięgę i z pośrednictwem wielkiego sułtana zajął Kawazini [nie wiem, czy dobrze zrozumiałem]. A potem, (gdy) król był w Abchazji, Fadlon obległ Agarani i dowodzący obrońcami twierdzy oddali (mu) Agarani. Natychmiast wyruszył król, przybył, obległ i odbił Agarani.

Wyprowadził (Bagrat) Dorgoleła, króla Osetyjczyków, z czterdziestotysięcznym wojskiem osetyjskim, na ich czele postawił swojego syna kuropalata Jerzego. Zniszczył on Gandzę i wziął niezliczone rzesze jeńców i łupów, i udał się do swojego królestwa. A potem wielki król Osetyjczyków wyraził wobec Dorgolele życzenie, (by zobaczyć) męża siostry swojej, duchownego i poprosił Bagrata, aby go przyjął.

Bagrat wyraził zgodę i uradował się król Osetyjczyków i udał się razem ze wszystkimi osetyjskimi tawadami; przeszedł po drodze Abchaskiej i przybył do Kutatysi. Zobaczył się (król Osetyjczyków) ze swoją siostrą, królową, matką kuropalata Jerzego, a kuropalat Jerzy wyprzedził go, potem zaprowadzili go (króla Osetyjczyków) do Kartlii. (Król (Bagrat) 5
znajdował się w Zagajniku Tinchidskim) w Nadarbazewi i powitał go z wielką czcią i poważaniem.

Spotkali się w pewnym miejscu w Kozuni. Była radość wielka, a dźwięki dzwonów i rogów zagłuszały wszystko wokół. Zatrzymali się na dwanaście dni, odpoczywali i radowali się. Jednak z powodu 10
(zbliżającej się) zimy pospieszyli się i (król Bagrat) wynagrodził darami króla i wszystkich wielkich możnowładców Osetii. Odesłali ich i ci odeszli z radością.

A potem sułtan przysłał posłańca, posyłał królowi Bagratowi dary i słodkimi słowy prosił o *haracz*. Król Bagrat nie nałożył jednak (na swój 15
kraj) *haraczu* // [296] i (ze swojej strony) wysyłał posłańca i dary. I była między nimi w słowach miłość.

Po kilku latach król Bagrat, przebywając nad Jeziorem Samszwildzkim, zachorował na żołądek i zatrzymał się w Marabde⁹⁸. Jednak pojawiły się powikłania i leżącemu wzięli go (z Marabdy); był z nim *kuropalat* Jerzy 20
i wszyscy możni lennicy. A *kuropalat* Jerzy wyprzedził wszystkich; przywieźli króla do Kartlii i przybyli tam wszyscy możnowładcy. Przybyła (tam także) matka jego, Mariam, i żona jego, Borena, i córka jego Mariam. Po kilku dniach ogłosił on możnowładcom swego królestwa, że wyznacza syna swojego *kuropalata* Jerzego na króla, powierza mu królestwo. I rzekł 25
swojej matce: „Matko, żal mi ciebie z tego powodu, że wszystko przez ciebie zrodzone odeszło wcześniej od ciebie i umrzesz samotna”. I zaraz po tym zmarł w listopadzie dnia dwudziestego czwartego, (co) w kronice (zapisano przy) roku dwieście dziewięćdziesiątym drugim.

I w tym czasie został zabity sułtan przez starca – Turka, (gdy 30
znajdował się) on przy swoim wojsku w namiocie. Przeszedł Dżeon⁹⁹ z siedemdziesięcioletnim wojskiem, wystąpił przeciwko królowi Turków, obległ twierdzę w pobliżu Samarkandy i został zabity przez Turka, pana tej twierdzy. A Turek ów nie zdążył wejść do twierdzy i bezlitośnie pocięli go mieczem. I tak sułtan i Bagrat nie dowiedzieli się 35
nawzajem o swojej śmierci.

W ślad za tym królem został syn Bagrata, *kuropalat* Jerzy¹⁰⁰.

I był całkowity spokój w jego państwie. I z wielką czcią i szacunkiem odwieźli go (Bagrata) i pochowali w Cz kondidi. Król Bagrat został

królem, gdy miał jedenaście lat//, [297] a zmarł w wieku pięćdziesięciu sześciu. Ów Bagrat najpierw był *kuropalatem*, potem został nowicjuszem, *nowelisimem*, a potem duchownym Sewastem. Był on najpiękniejszy, pełen mądrości, posiadał wymowność filozofa, był szczęśliwy, bogatszy
 5 od wszystkich abchaskich królów, łaskawy dla grzeszników, szczodry dla (biednych). Jednak w czasie jego panowania nie było w kraju pokoju: kościoły i chłopci, *aznaurowie* i biedni (nie) mogli znaleźć praworządności.

Król Jerzy był łaskawy i biedni mogli znaleźć u niego sprawiedliwość, był to człowiek potężny i najbardziej szczodry ze wszystkich abchaskich
 10 królów, najbardziej gościnny ze wszystkich ludzi, świetny jeździec i strzelec.

Po (śmierci) swego ojca przebywał w spokoju jedną zimę i połowę lata. A potem zagrozili jego królestwu Niania Kwabulisdze, Jan, syn Liparita, i Wardan, *eristaw* Swanów (jakby poczuli się czymś skrzywdzeni),
 15 korzystając z młodości (i niedoświadczenia) króla Jerzego podburzyli jego kraj. Jan w sojuszu z Kachetyjczykami usadowił się na brzegu Skanii, Niania przejął skarb państwa Kutatisi i zajął Kutatisi, a Wardan odsunął skłonnych do przestępstw Swanów; ograbili i spustoszyli Saegro.

Król Jerzy przewyciężył ich dobrocią i mądrością i nie pamiętając wyrządzonego mu zła darował: Janowi – Samszwilde, synowi Jana, Liparitowi, zamiast przekazanego Kachetyjczykom Rustawi – Locobanii i Niania – Tmogwi i inne doborowe majątki, Wardana zaś obdarzył (Askalaną i Ugatubo Dżakeli). Za radą Jana i wszystkich wiernych i niewiernych król Jerzy okrył łaską i tak uspokoił swoje królestwo.
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Ponownie zbuntował się Jan, syn Liparita, i dowiedział się o tym król Jerzy. Z Kutatisi przeszedł do Samcche, zjednął sobie Meschów, przeprowadził się i podszedł do wrót Samszwilde. Przywiódł tam // [298] Agsartana, króla Kachetyjczyków. Nie zdołał Jan utrzymać się w twierdzy i znalazł schronienie w górach na południu. W czasie tych rozruchów (król Jerzy) zajął Agsartan oraz zabrał Liparitowi Locobanni. Odszedł z Samszwilde, przeszedł do Dżawachetii, przywiódł król-królów Jerzy (Jana), złożyli przysięgę w Ekranta i umocnił Jan przy sobie Kldekari i Samszwilde.
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Znowu zbuntował się Jan, wyłudził od obrońców twierdzę Jerzego Gagi i sprzedał ją Fadlonowi, władcy Gandzy. I (w tym czasie) przybył sułtan Mālik-Šāh¹⁰¹, wróg wszystkich chrześcijan. Wysłał Jan na jego przywitanie swojego syna Liparita i oddał (Jan syna) pod opiekę sułtana, i pozostał (syn) z nim niewiele czasu, a (potem) uciekł. Przybył sułtan (do Kartlii) i obległ Samszwilde, wziął Samszwilde
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i dostali się do niewoli sam Jan z żoną i wnukami i ze wszystkimi *aznaurami* i z ich czeladzią, i zajął sułtan Samszwilde. I gdy znajdował się tam, zniszczył Kartlię, wziął jeńców i niezliczone łupy i wycofał się. A (potem) zdobył Gandzę i jako władcę Gandzy zostawił Saranga z czterdziestotysięcznym wojskiem dla prowadzenia walki z (otaczającymi) krajami. Obwarował się Fadlon w mocnej twierdzy, jednak nie zdołał przeciwstawić się wrogowi, wyprowadzili go (z twierdzy) i wzięli jako jeńca. 5

Wkrótce Sarang ze swoimi gandzyjskimi wojskami, z pomocą emirów dwinńskiego i dmaniskiego, skierował się przeciwko królowi Jerzemu. Zebrał się Jerzy z całym swoim wojskiem, górnym i dolnym, zaprosił Agsartana, króla Kachetyjczyków, (i) porozumieli się. Wzmocnił Bóg króla Jerzego. Prowadzony przez Święty Krzyż napadł (Jerzy) na (Saranga) poniżej Parcchisi i obóz Saranga wycofał się, zmusili (ich) do ucieczki i zniszczyli. Była wieczorowa pora, ciemność uratowała resztki wojska Saragna. A król królów Jerzy bez strat i w pokoju wrócił do swego królestwa//. [299] 10 15

W ślad za tym łaska boska zwróciła (państwu kartwelskiemu) twierdze zabrane przez Greków siłą. Odebrał (król Jerzy) Grekom Anakopiję – główną twierdzę Abchazji i liczne twierdze Klardżeti, Szawszeti, Dżawachetii i Artaani. A potem, znowu z Bożej łaski, wziął miasto Kari i twierdzę z (przylegającymi) ziemiami, wanadskie i karniporskie umocnienia, i przegnał Turków ze swego kraju. 20 25

KOMENTARZE

¹ *Matiane Kartlisa (Kronika Kartlii)* to, dzieło anonimowego autora z XI wieku, przedstawiające historię Gruzji w VIII – XI wieku, ze zbioru *kartlis cchowreba* (Historia Gruzji). Profesor Iwane Dżawachiszwili nadał tej kronice nazwę *Matiane Kartlisa*. Data powstania kroniki przypada na lata 1072-1073. Składa się z dwóch głównych części – historia Gruzji od końca VIII wieku do końca X wieku, aż do panowania Bagrata III, oraz historia zjednoczonej Gruzji do pierwszych lat panowania Jerzego II, do 1072 roku. Pierwsza część kroniki jest bardzo krótka, druga – stosunkowo długa. Według autora w VIII wieku Gruzja była zjednoczonym krajem, rządzonym przez króla Arczila. Po śmierci króla jego potomkowie nie utrzymali jedności, a kraj się rozpadł. Główną ideą dzieła jest walka o zjednoczenie kraju i jego obrona przed wrogami zewnętrznymi. Autor wykorzystał źródła gruzińskie i obcojęzyczne. Dobrze znał historię sąsiednich krajów, ich zamiary wobec Gruzji i ówczesną sytuację międzynarodową na Bliskim Wschodzie. Dzieło jest wypełnione patriotycznym duchem, napisane w wyrafinowanym stylu. Zawarte w nim informacje w większości są wiarygodne. Autor próbuje wyjaśnić wydarzenia historyczne ukazując związki przyczynowo – skutkowej. Daty panowania władców i wydarzeń podane są w dziele według kalendarza gruzińskiego (chronikon). Tekst przetłumaczono także na staroormiański (XII wiek), francuski (XIX wiek), (Por. M. Brossset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Petersburg 1849, s. 256-345.), rosyjski (Por. *Матиане Картлиса. Перевод, введение и примечания* М. Д. Лордкипанидзе, Тбилиси 1976; *Летопись Картли. Перевод, введение и примечания* Г.В. Цулая, Тбилиси 1982) oraz angielski, (*Mat'iane Kartlisa (The Chronicle of Kartli)*, przeł. A. Chant'uria. *History of Georgia*, ed. Roin Metreveli and Stephen Jones, Tbilisi 2014, s.141-169). Niniejsze tłumaczenie zostało oparte na wydaniu tekstu *kartlis cchowreba* (pod. red. R. Metreveli, Tbilisi 2008, s. 253-299), w języku starogruzińskim. Podczas tłumaczenia tekstu wzięliśmy pod uwagę wszystkie wcześniejsze wydania Kroniki.

* Strony w nawiasach są zgodne z paginacją tekstu zawartej w *kartlis cchowreba*.

² *Męczeństwo świętego Arczila, tłum. i oprac.* D. Kolbaia, „Pro Georgia” 26 (2016), s. 9-16. Podczas wyprawy Chuzajmy Ibn Chazima Arczil udał się do niego, by prosić o uszanowanie kościołów i chrześcijaństwa. Chuzajma początkowo uległ jego urokowi, jednak w końcu nakazał ściąć mu głowę (20 marca 786 r.) za odmowę nawrócenia się i oddania królewskich skarbów.

³ Kachetia była niezależnym księstwem od końca VIII wieku, na początku XI wieku została włączona do królestwa Gruzji.

4 Nazwa „Saraceni” (po gruzińsku *Sarkinozi*) wywodzi się z czasów przedchrześcijańskich. W starożytnej Grecji i w Rzymie określano nią Arabów, żyjących w północno-zachodniej Arabii i na półwyspie Synaj. Być może termin ten wywodzi się od nazwy jednego z plemion jemeńskich Saraken, którą przytacza Pliniusz (*Geographia* V, 17, § 3). W średniowieczu określane „Saraceni” obejmowało wszystkich Arabów, później także wszystkich wyznawców islamu. Por. ks. K. K o ś c i e l n i a k, *Grecy i Arabowie. Historia Kościoła melkickiego (katolickiego) na ziemiach zdobytych przez muzułmanów (634-1516)*, Kraków 2004, s. 123.

5 Grecja po gruzińsku *Saberdzneti*, co w średniowiecznej literaturze gruzińskiej oznaczało zarówno klasyczną Grecję, jak i imperium bizantyjskie.

6 Chazarowie, półkoczownicze plemiona tureckie zamieszkałe początkowo w Środkowej Azji, które w drugiej połowie VII wieku utworzyły niezależny Kaganat Chazarski Północnego Kaukazu. Podbiły Bułgarię Wołżańsko-Kamską, Krym oraz niektóre plemiona Słowian wschodnich: Polan naddniestrzańskich, Wiatyczów, Sewerzan oraz Radymiczów, które odtąd płaciły daninę Chazarom. W VIII wieku Chazarowie przyjęli judaizm. W X wieku ulegli rozbięciu przez księcia kijowskiego Światosława. Po upadku Kaganatu w X wieku Chazarowie prawdopodobnie asymilowali się z innymi miejscowymi ludami.

7 Spasalar, naczelny wódz, będący jednocześnie dygnitarzem dworskim, ministrem, wezyrem. Wyraz pochodzenie arabskiego.

8 Dokładna data najazdów Chazarów nie została ustalona. Uważa się jednak, że był to jeden z najazdów skierowanych przeciwko Arabom i miał miejsce w 764 r.

9 Droga Leketi jest zazwyczaj utożsamiana ze wspomnianą poniżej drogą Dariala („droga Darialana”).

10 Darial, wywodzi się od perskiego słowa Dari-alani (Brama Alanów). Wąwóz był znany Pliniuszowi jak Porta Caucasiae (Brama Kaukazu) i Porta Hiberiae (Brama Iberów). Ptolemeusz nazywał go Sarmatikai Pulai (Brama Sarmatów), Arabowie i Persowie – Dari-i-alan (Brama Alanów). W źródłach gruzińskich spotykamy formę Darial, Dariela, Brama Aragwi, Brama Iberi.

11 Bagrationi, Bagratydzi, Bagratuni, dynastia panująca w Gruzji w latach 809-1800 (okresowo jako lennicy Persów lub Mongołów); w Armenii (w tym czasie określanej też jako państwo Ani) w latach 861-1045 oraz w lokalnych księstwach. Przez dwieście lat zdołali utrzymać niepodległość walcząc z Arabami i Bizancjum.

12 Bagrationi uważali się za potomków króla proroka Dawida. Zgodnie z Ewangelią Chrystus też pochodził z plemienia Dawida.

13 Somchiti (jak w tekście) lub Somcheti – gruzińska nazwa Armenii. Somchiti według starogruzińskich źródeł południowa część wschodniej Gruzji – Kwemo

Kartli, bezpośrednio graniczące z Armenią. Somcheti zaś odnosi się do Armenii. W tym wypadku w tekście mowa o Armenii.

14 Na przełomie VIII i IX w. powstały księstwa we wschodniej Gruzji – Kachetia i Heretia, które walczyły z Arabami; na czele Kachetii stanął władca, który się nazwał chorepiskopem, księstwu Heretii natomiast przewodził Patrycjusz; później obaj przybrali miano królów.

15 Eristawo, to zestawienie dwóch wyrazów ery – naród i tawi – głowa. Eristawami nazywano przywódców jednostek terytorialno-administracyjnych.

16 Leon II (753-798), który miał tytuł archonta, tylko nominalnie uważany był za wasal Cesarstwa Bizantyjskiego, ale faktycznie rządził krajem jako niezależna głowa państwa. Umiejętnie wykorzystując sprzyjające okoliczności, gdy „Grecy osłabli”, ogłosił niezależność Abchazji i przybrał tytuł króla. Nastąpiło to pomiędzy rokiem 786 a 798. Po utworzeniu nowego Egrisko-Abchaskiego królestwa – „Królestwa Abchazów” – Gruzja Zachodnia nazywana jest w źródłach gruzińskich Apchazeti (Abchazja). Analogiczne nazwy są używane w greckich, perskich, staroruskich źródłach. Niekiedy termin ten jest używany również dla oznaczenia całej Gruzji.

17 Dżuanszer zmarł 787 roku.

18 Historyczne prowincje południowo zachodniej Gruzji.

19 Aszot I (786-826) Bagrationi prowadził uporczywą walkę przeciwko Arabom, skorzystawszy z zamieszek wywołanych przez Babeka uwolnił od nich ziemie gruzińskie (815-820) i przywrócił królestwo Kartwelów. Tytuł króla Aszot I przybrał jeszcze w latach 803-813, wtedy gdy ziemie gruzińskie zostały uwolnione od Arabów. Tytuł kuropalata otrzymał z rąk cesarza bizantyjskiego po osiedleniu się w południowo-zachodniej Gruzji (nie wcześniej niż w 818 r.).

20 Kuropalat, tytuł bizantyjski – marszałek dworu. Pojawił się w V wieku i oznacza urzędnika wysokiej rangi zajmującego się pałacem cesarskim. W czasach Justyniana I tytuł ten stał się jednym z najwyższych tytułów w państwie, obok cezara i nobilissimusa, będąc tak jak one zarezerwowany dla członków rodziny cesarskiej. Był także nadawany od VI do drugiej połowy XI wieku w stosunku do książąt i królów Iberii Kaukaskiej, a od VII wieku – władców ormiańskich. W XI i XII wieku godność ta utraciła dawne znaczenie. Tytuł kuropalata przetrwał do okresu Paleologów ale był już rzadko używany.

21 Emir Ali ibn Szuab (787-827).

22 Teodozjusz II (798-825), syn Leona II.

23 Canari, plemiona kartwelskie, zamieszkiwały obszar wąwozu Darialski (historyczna nazwa: wąwóz Canarski). Canarowie aktywne uczestniczyli w życiu politycznym i kulturalnym Królestwa Kachetii VIII i XI wieku.

24 Emir (po arabsku Amir), tytuł muzułmańskich dostojników państwowych. W początkowym okresie (od VII w.), był to tytuł dowódców wojsk arabskich,

później tytuł ten przyszedł na namiestników prowincji imperium mianowanych przez kalifa. Emir był władcą sprawującym najwyższą władzę wojskową i cywilną nad podległym mu terytorium. Emirowie czasami zakładali własne dynastie. W Tbilisi po Szuabidach z pierwszej połowie IX wieku nastali Szajbanidzi, a po nich, na początku X wieku Dżafarydzi.

25 Ksani, średniowieczna twierdza, leżąca nad brzegiem rzeki o tej samej nazwie.

26 Pierwsze wzmianki o Arabach pojawiają się w Starym Testamencie, już ok. 1000 r. przed Chrystusem. Zamieszkiwali oni głównie rejon Półwyspu Arabskiego. W VII wieku rozpoczęli ekspansję i mieszały się z ludnością na zdobywanych terenach, która uległa w znacznej części arabizacji. Najczęstszym wyznaniem wśród Arabów jest islam sunnicki, ale jest również wielu szyitów (głównie w Iraku, Jemenie, Asyrii i Libanie) oraz chrześcijan (głównie w Libanie, Syrii i Egipcie). Zob. A. H o u r a n i , *Historia Arabów*, tłum. J. D a n e c k i , Gdańsk 1995; D. M a d e y s k a , *Historia świata arabskiego. Okres klasyczny od starożytności do roku 750*, Warszawa 1999; M. D z i e k a n , *Dzieje kultury arabskiej*, Warszawa 2007.

27 Sahak, syn Ismaila, emir Tbilisi (830-853).

28 Rechi, wieś koło miasta Gori.

29 Uplisciche, dosłownie twierdza władcy, jeden z ośrodków politycznych w Kartlii w okresie antycznym, największe miasto skalne na Kaukazie. Stanowiło centrum Iberii. Było zlokalizowane niedaleko przechodzącego przez te tereny Szlaku Jedwabnego. Funkcjonowało jako ważny ośrodek polityczny i religijny w Iberii. Wraz z chrystianizacją Kartlii na początku IV wieku, Uplisciche zaczęło tracić swoje strategiczne znaczenie. Zob. L. C h a c h u t a i s z w i l i , *Uplisciche. 1957-1963 arkeologiuri kwlewa-dziebis szedegebi*, Tbilisi 1964.

30 Bardaw (Partaw), miasto położona nad Terterem, stanowiące ważny ośrodek kultury i handlu. W V wieku siedziba władców i biskupów w królestwie Albanii. W VIII w. podbite przez Arabów.

31 Czartaleti, prowincja we wschodniej Gruzji, stanowiąca część Mtiuleti.

32 Osetia znaczy tutaj współczesna Północna Osetia.

33 Humed, syn Chalila, emir z Tbilisi w latach 853-870.

34 Abraham, emir Tbilisi w latach 870-878.

35 Aboci, prowincja, najdalej na południe wysunięty kraniec Gruzji. W IX wieku w Aboci i przylegających gruzińskich ziemiach energiczną działalność prowadził syn Aszota Wielkiego Kuropalata Guaram Mampal. Obecnie Aboci znajduje się w granicach Armenii.

36 Artaani, historyczna prowincja w południowo-zachodniej Gruzji.

37 Król Jerzy I, panował w latach 861-868.

38 Chorepiskop Fadla I (881-893).

39 Opiza, średniowieczny monaster gruziński w Tao-Klardzeti (obecnie Turcja). Pierwsze centrum kulturalne feudalnej Gruzji, odbudowany po najazdach arabskich VII i VIII wieku; por.: W. D j o b a d z e , *Early medieval Georgian monasteries in historical Tao, Klarjet'i and Savset'i*, Stuttgart 1992.

40 Samcche, historyczna prowincja w południowo-zachodniej Gruzji.

41 Odrzche, twierdza położona nad rzeką Odrzche. Zbudowano ją na wysokiej skale, stanowiącej dział wodny między rzekami Odrzche i Kurcchali. Od czasów króla Parnawaza (pierwsza połowa III wieku p.n.e.) miasto było rezydencją *eristawa* Samchce i Adżarii. Po śmierci króla Wachtanga Gorgasali w V wieku Odrzche zostało rezydencją rodziny królewskiej. VIII wieku straciło swoje znaczenie.

42 Aznaur pochodzi od perskiego słowa Azna i w języku gruzińskim oznacza (sławny). Być może jednak termin ten wywodzi się od perskiego Zana (wspólnotowy ród). Według źródeł gruzińskich w Kartlii byli *Wielcy Aznaurowie (Did-didni aznaurni)* i *Nie-aznaurowie (Uaznoni)*. Ich istnienie potwierdza autor *Męczeństwo świętej Szuszanik (475-483)*.

43 Król Egris-Abchazji Konstantyn III (893-929).

44 Miasto-twierdza Udżarma, wzniesione na przełomie III-IV wieku podczas panowania króla Aspagura. Stało się ważnym i silnym ośrodkiem za panowania króla Wachtanga Gorgasali, który uczynił Udżarme jedną ze swoich rezydencji.

45 Męczeństwo świętego Gobrona – w roku 914, podczas kampanii Sadżydy Jusufa przeciwko królowi armeńskiemu Sumbatowi, który schronił się na terytorium gruzińskim, twierdza Kweli została zdobyta mimo oporu garnizonu, zagrzewanego do walki przez Gobrona. Odmówił on nawrócenia się i został stracony wraz z towarzyszami, Na temat tego tekstu wyd. М. Сабинин, Полное жизнеописание святых грузинской церкви, II, 1872, s. 57-63.

46 Katedra w Alawerdi (Kachetia) zbudowana została w pierwszej połowie XI w.

47 *Eristaw eristawów* Gurgen, zmarł 941 roku.

48 Jerzy II, król Egris-Abchazji (929-957).

49 Od IX wieku, a zwłaszcza w wieku X, księżęta i królowie zabiegają o tworzenie lub reaktywowanie biskupstw: Iszchani, Bana, Ancza, Ackuri, Tbeti, Czkon-didi, Bedia, Kutaisi, Ruisi i Urbnisi, Cilkani, Alawerdi, Samtawisi, Ninocminda. Bernadette M a r t i n - H i s a r d , *Chrześcijaństwo i Kościół w świecie gruzińskim*, w: *Historia Chrześcijaństwa*. T. 4, Warszawa 1999, s. 475.

50 Chorepiskop Fadla II (918-929).

51 Mccheta, nazwa ta ma pochodzenie semickie (מֶשֶׁחָ) od imienia Meszeha, syna Jafeta i wnuka Noego (Rdz 10,2; Ez 27,13), por.: W. G e s e n i u s , *Hebraeisches und armaeisches Handwoerterbuch*, Leipzig 1899, s. 491.

- 52 Krzyż został pocięty na kawałki i wywieziony przez Sadzydów, jednak epidemia czerwonej zmusiła ich do odesłania go z powrotem. Cud krzyża z Mcchety, który się wówczas wydarzył, obrazuje trwałość chrześcijaństwa w regionach najbliższych związanych z dominacją muzułmańską.
- 53 Sazwereli, ród szlachecki w Kartlii.
- 54 Chorepiskop Kwirike II (929-976).
- 55 Święto pogańskie, (po gruzińsku Lamproba), które później przekształciło się w święto chrześcijańskie.
- 56 Leon III, król Egris-Abchazji w latach 967-975.
- 57 Katedra w Mokwi została wzniesiona z inicjatywy króla Abchazji Leona III w latach 957-967.
- 58 Cherki (Chewi), jednostka administracyjna wzdłuż południowego, lewego brzegu rzeki Aragwi. Według lokalizacji Wachushti, ze wschodu graniczyło z górą Erco, z południa – z górą Zedazeni, z północy z regionem pomiędzy górami Nikorna-Bokocani, z zachodu – rzeką Aragwi. Cherki było centrum twierdzy Zedazeni.
- 59 Demetriusz II, król Egris-Abchazji w latach 957-967.
- 60 Dawid Kuropalat, król Tao, Bagrationi, zmarł 1001 roku.
- 61 Katedra Sweticchoweli w Mcchecie, wybudowana w XI w.
- 62 Jan Maruszis-dze, eristaw, władca kartlii, król Egris-Abchazji.
- 63 Grupa *aznaurów* z Kartlii z Janem Maruszis-dze na czele wyznaczyła jako kandydata na króla zjednoczonego królestwa Bagrata III, który po kądzieli był następcą tronu abchaskiego, po mieczu królem Kartlii, a jednocześnie został adoptowany przez bezdzietnego króla Tao-Klardżeti Dawida III *kuropalata*. W 980 r. Bagrat III objął tron królów abchaskich, a po śmierci Dawida III został kuropalatem (1001 r.). W 1010 r. do tego królestwa zostały przyłączone Kachetia i Heretia.
- 64 W drugiej połowie X wieku została zbudowana przez Dawida *kuropalata* świątynia Chachuli – jeden z większych ośrodków kultury i sztuki X-XII w.
- 65 Skwireti – Skoreti najstarsza nazwa rzeki Wera.
- 66 Chorepiskop Dawid (976-1010).
- 67 W 1014 r.
- 68 Król Jerzy I (1014-1027).
- 69 W 1021 r.
- 70 Bazyli II Bułgarobójca, cesarz bizantyński w latach 976-1025 z dynastii macedońskiej.
- 71 Trapezunt. Trebizont, Trebizonda, obecnie Trabzon (gr. Τραπεζούντα), miasto w Turcji położone nad Morzem Czarnym, historyczna stolica i główne miasto Pontu, założone przez kupców z Miletu w 756 r. przed Chrystusem na szlaku jedwabnym. W średniowieczu główny ośrodek Cesarstwa Trapezuntu. Do 1923 r. zamieszkałe głównie przez Greków pontyjskich. W mieście była także duża kolonia gruzińska.

72 W 1025 r.

73 W 1027 r.

74 W *parakoimomenos* (gr. *παρακοιμώμενος*), dosłownie „ten, który śpi obok [„komory cesarza]”) bizantyjski tytuł przyznawany wysokiej rangi urzędnikom dworskim.

75 *Proedros* (grecki: *πρόεδρος*, „prezydent”) to bizantyjski tytuł przyznawany wysokiej rangi urzędnikom dworskim i kościelnym od około X do XII wieku.

76 Ezra, biskup Anczi.

77 Według Sumbata Dawitis-dze, „I ten Adarnase (881-923) syn zamordowanego Dawida zbudował Banę, ręką Kwirike Baneli, który został mianowany pierwszym biskupem Bana”. „*Pro Georgia*”, 22(2012), s. 21.

78 Twierdza Anakopia po raz pierwszy wymieniona została w VI w. przez Prokopa z Cezarei pod nazwą Trachea. Nazwa ta pochodzi od greckiego *τραχέα//τραχεία //τριχι*, mającego znaczenie chropowaty, skalisty, surowy, dziki, bezwzględny i dokładnie oddaje rzeźbę terenu. Nie jest wykluczone, że nazwa grecka jest tłumaczeniem gruzińskiego *უყაყი* „trudny do przebycia”. Od XI w. to miejsce znane jest pod nazwą Anakopia. Uważa się, że ta nazwa pochodzi od abchaskiego *kuap* („występ skalny”).

79 Liparit Bagwasz, *eristaw* Kldekari.

80 Jan Abazas-dze, *eristaw* Kartlii.

81 Gagik, król Kachetii i Hereti (1039-1058).

82 Tucharisi, twierdza położone w Tao-Klardżeti. W IV wieku miasto opanowali Bizantyjczycy. W V wieku znowu powróciło do królestwa Kartlii. Następnie należało do księstwa Tao-Klardżeti. Nazwa Tuchar-k – twierdza pojawia się w ormiańskiej geografii VII w. Historyk ormiański S. Eremian uważa, że Tuchar-k to Tucharisi koło Klardż, dziś wieś Cheres. Podobne zdanie miał Muscheliszwili, który uważał, że Tucharisi leżało poza obszarem Tao. Inni traktowali zaś wieś Cheres jako zniekształconą formę tej nazwy – (Tu)charisi. N. Berdzeniszwili przypuszczał, że rdzeń Ticha, oznacza ziemia, gleba, glina (dla porównania nazwa twierdzy Mtweris-ciche – Ziemna twierdza).

83 Drachkan – drachma, złota moneta.

84 Poka miejscowość (wieś) położona na południowym brzegu jeziora Parawani, w miejscu, w którym wypływa z niego rzeka Parawani.

85 Warangi, Waregowie, Wariagowie – nazwa używana na określenie skandynawskich wikingów, którzy w VIII i IX wieku działali w rejonach obecnej Ukrainy i Rosji, tworząc tam w późniejszym okresie m.in. pierwszy organizm państwowy, nazwany później Rusią Kijowską.

86 Sasireti – miejscowość w Kartlii.

87 Kalmachi twierdza w Tao.

- 88 Konstantyn IX Monomach cesarz Bizancjum od 11 czerwca 1042 r. do 11 stycznia 1055 r. Na rok przed jego śmiercią, 16 lipca 1054 r. wysłannik papieża Leona IX nałożył ekskomunikę na patriarchę Konstantynopola Michała I Cerulariusza. Tym samym rozpoczęła się wielka schizma wschodnia, zrywająca jedność Kościoła Chrześcijańskiego.
- 89 Michał VI Stratiotikos, cesarz bizantyjski w latach 1056-1057.
- 90 Mcignobartuchucesi – stanowisko kanclerza.
- 91 Mowa o najazdach Seldżuków w 1068 roku.
- 92 Agsartan, syn Gagika, król Kachetii (1058-1084).
- 93 Chronikon dwieście osiemdziesiąty ósmy – odpowiada mu 1068 rok.
- 94 Swerisciche, twierdza w Argweti.
- 95 Garti, przejście Garti koło Mchety.
- 96 Erco historyczna prowincja nad rzeką Iori.
- 97 Żaleti, twierdza w prowincji w Erco.
- 98 Marabda osada w Dolnej Kartlii.
- 99 Dzeon – Amu-daria, rzeka w Uzbekistanie, Turkmenistanie i Afganistanie, jej odcinek stanowi także granicę Tadżykistanu.
- 100 Król Jerzy II (1072-1089).
- 101 Sułtan Mālik-Šāh (1072-1092).

Matiane Kartlisa (Chronicle of Kartli)

Matiane Kartlisa (Chronicle of Kartli) is an integral part of the *kartlis tskhovreba* (The History of Georgia). The anonymous chronicle, titled as *Matiane Kartlisa* by professor Ivane Javakhishvili, covers history of Georgia between 8th and 11th century. Created between 1072-1073, it consists of two main parts – the history of Georgia from the end of the 8th century to the end of 10th century, until the rule of Bagrat III, and the history of the united Georgia to the first years of the reign of George II, until 1072.

The first part of the chronicle is very short, the second – relatively long. According to the author of this testimony in the 8th century Georgia was a united country, ruled by king Archil. Following the king's death, his descendants did not stay united and the country fell apart. The main concept of this work is the fight for the unification of the country and defending it from external enemies. The author used both Georgian and foreign sources. He knew very well the history of the neighbouring countries, their intentions towards Georgia and the international situation in the Middle East at that time. His work is filled with a patriotic spirit, written in a sophisticated style. Most of the information contained in this work is reliable. The author tried to present the historical events in a cause-and effect-sequence. The regnal dates and other records are listed according to the Georgian Calendar (chronikon). The piece was translated into Old Armenian (12th c.), French (19th c.), Russian as well as into English. This translation is based on the Old Georgian edition of the text *kartlis tskhovreba*. While translating the text, we took into account all previous editions of the Chronicle.

Key words: Georgia, *kartlis tskhovreba*, Leon II, Abkhazia, Bagrat III, Jan Marushisdze

NIHILUM I EMPIREUM

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Z pojawieniem się chrześcijaństwa podstawą wszelkich rozważań stała się Biblia z jej opisem stworzenia. Poza tym zaakceptowano antyczną koncepcję sfer niebieskich oraz „miejsca” przebywania Boga (*Empireum*). Kluczowe znaczenie ma w tym tekst Księgi Rodzaju, mówiący o stworzeniu (1,1-2,1). Opis ten nie jest ani dokumentem historycznym ani pracą naukową, jest raczej poematem, być może pieśnią liturgiczną, przypominającą o konieczności świętowania szabat¹. Tekst nie posługuje się słowem „przestrzeń” lub „miejsce”², mówi natomiast o niebie i „bezkształtnej” ziemi, czyli materii pierwotnej, co odpowiada pojęciu chaosu w mitologiach i filozofii starożytnej. Mówi natomiast o ziemi, wodzie i ciemności, czyli *de facto* o trzech „przestrzeniach” pozostających w relacji do trzech pierwszych i trzech kolejnych dni stworzenia³. Według św. Augustyna czas i przestrzeń zostały stworzone wraz ze światem⁴, gdyż „poza światem nie ma miejsca”⁵. Natomiast Filon Aleksandryjski pod wpływem platonizmu uważał, że Bóg najpierw stworzył idee:

W pierwszej więc kolejności stworzył Stwórca niematerialne niebo i niewidzialną ziemię oraz ideę powietrza i pustej przestrzeni, przy czym pierwszą nazwał ciemnością, ponieważ powietrze z natury jest ciemne,

¹ M. Heller i T. Pabjan, *Stworzenie i początek Wszechświata. Teologia – filozofia – kosmologia*, Kraków 2013, s. 26-27.

² Mówi natomiast o tym tekst „... jak mówi Pan Bóg, który stworzył niebiosa i ich przestrzeń” (Iz 42,5).

³ M. Heller i T. Pabjan, *Stworzenie i początek Wszechświata. Teologia – filozofia – kosmologia*, s. 27.

⁴ Św. Augustyn, *Państwo Boże* (XI, 5), s. 408-409.

⁵ Tamże (XI, 5), s. 409.

a drugą otchłanią, ponieważ pusta przestrzeń jest bardzo głęboka i niezmierna. Następnie stworzył niematerialną substancję wody i tchnienia powietrza, a po tym wszystkim, jako siódmą z kolei, niematerialną substancję światła, które także było niematerialne i posłużyło za wzór dla słońca i wszystkich świetlistych gwiazd, jakie Bóg zamierzał stworzyć na ziemi⁶.

Istnieje też opinia, że „mówi się tu o stworzeniu nieba, czyli świata bezcielesnych czystych duchów i ziemi, jako pierwocin, a zarazem wszechrzeczy naszego świata”. Paralełę między tymi światami wyraża spójnik współrzędny „i”. Na taką interpretację wskazuje modlitwa Ezdraśza, w której jest mowa o tym, że Bóg stworzył niebiosa, niebios niebios i cały ich zastęp, ziemię i wszystko to, co jest na niej (Ne 9,6). Księga Hioba podaje jednak, że aniołowie zostali stworzeni przed powstaniem gwiazd (38,7). Według św. Augustyna zostali stworzeni pierwszego dnia, gdy padły słowa: „Niech stanie się światłość” (Rdz 1,3). Z kolei inni Ojcowie Kościoła (Bazyli Wielki, Grzegorz Teolog, Jan Chryzostom, Ambroży z Mediolanu, Jan z Damaszku...) uważali, że aniołowie zostali stworzeni przed pierwszym dniem stworzenia⁷.

Jest rzeczą oczywistą, że stworzenie wymaga miejsca (przestrzeni) i „bezszaftna” materia musiała mieć miejsce, w którym zostanie ukształtowana w określoną rzeczywistość empiryczną. W rzeczywistości Biblia nie zawiera jednak żadnej kosmologii, a już zwłaszcza systematycznej, Biblia nie daje żadnych wyjaśnień w tym zakresie⁸, mówi wyłącznie o stworzeniu świata. Chrześcijańska kosmologia pozostaje pod wpływem myśli greckiej, czego pierwsze ślady widzimy już w *Liście do Kościoła w Koryncie* św. Klemensa Rzymskiego, w jego rozważaniach o porządku kosmicznym⁹. Podobnie ujmował to zagadnienie św. Justyn Męczennik¹⁰. Wyłącznie więc tekst Rdz 1,1-2 ma kluczowe znaczenie dla rozwoju chrześcijańskiej filozofii i teologii:

⁶ Filon Aleksandryjski, *O stworzeniu świata* (39), [w tegoż:] *Pisma*, I, s. 39.

⁷ S. Bułgakow, Drabina Jakubowa. Rzecz o aniołach, przeł. T.P. Terlikowski, Warszawa 2005, s. 47-48.

⁸ N. M. Wildiers, *Obraz świata a teologia. Od średniowiecza do dzisiaj*, przeł. J. Doktor, Warszawa 1985, s. 29-30.

⁹ Św. Klemens Rzymski, *List do Kościoła w Koryncie* (XX, 1-11), [w:] *Pierwsi świadkowie. Wybór najstarszych pism chrześcijańskich*, przeł. A. Świderkówna, Kraków 20102, s. 60-61.

¹⁰ Św. Justyn Męczennik, *1 Apologia* (59,1-6), [w:] *Pierwsi apologety greccy*, przeł. L. Misiarczyk, Kraków 2004, s. 249.

בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ: וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה תְּהוֹ וּבְהוּ וְהַיָּם עַל־פְּנֵי תְּהוֹם
וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֵף עַל־פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם: ¹¹

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος¹².

In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi: et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas¹³.

Na początku¹⁴ Bóg stworzył niebo i ziemię. Ziemia zaś była niewidzialna i bezkształtna¹⁵, i ciemność nad otchłanią, a Duch Boży unosił się nad wodami¹⁶.

Tekst ten jest różnorako tłumaczony, jako „początek stwarzania przez Boga”, ziemia była określana jako „zamęt i bezład”, „pustka i ciemność”, „pusta i próżna”, „bezład i pustkowię”. Jest też mowa nie o otchłani, a o „głębokości” i „powierzchni bezmiaru wód”¹⁷.

¹¹ Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, ed. W. Rudolph et H.P. Rüger, Stuttgart 19842, s. 1. Transkrypcja: bereszit bara elohim et haszszamajim weet ha arec, wehaarec hajeta tohu wawo-hu wechoszech al-pene tehom weruach elohim merachefet al-pene hammajim, por. S. Wronka, *Transliteracja i transkrypcja alfabetu hebrajskiego*, „Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny” 67(2004), z. 1, s. 58.

¹² *Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, ed. A. Rahlfs, Stuttgart 19792, s. 1.

¹³ *Biblia łacińsko-polska czyli Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*, przeł. J. Wujek, Wilno 18963, I, s. 1.w

¹⁴ Lub: „W Początku”, w nawiązaniu do J 8,25, gdzie Chrystus mówi o sobie, że jest „Początkiem”, por. św. Augustyn, *Przeciwko manichejczykom komentarz do Księgi Rodzaju* (II, 3), [w tegoż:] *Pisma egzegetyczne przeciw manichejczykom*, przeł. J. Sulowski, Warszawa 1980, s. 22-23.

¹⁵ W tekście hebrajskim: „była bezkształtną pustką”.

¹⁶ Tak samo tłumaczy Rdz 1,1-2 Biblia starosłowiańska, por. Библия. Книги Священного Писания Ветхого и Нового Завета на церковнославянском языке с параллельными местами, Moskwa 19933, s. 1. Apokryficzna Księga Jubileuszów precyzuje, że pierwszego dnia stworzono niebiosy, ziemię i wody, a także wszystkie duchy, otchłan, ciemności i światłość (*Księga Jubileuszów* 2,1, przeł. A. Kondracki, [w:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, red. R. Rubin-kiewicz, Warszawa 1999, s. 265). Apokryficzna syryjska Grota Skarbów dodaje jeszcze „dzień i noc, wichry i wiatry” (Grota Skarbów 1,3, przeł. A. Tronina, [w:] *Apokryfy syryjskie*, red. M. Starowieyski, Kraków 2011, s. 106-107).

¹⁷ Por. tłumaczenia Izaaka Cyłkowa, Ewy Gordon, ks. Jakuba Wujka i ks. Czesława Jakubca: *Pięcioksiąg Mojżesza. Genesis, Księga Rodzaju*, przeł. I. Cyłkow, Kraków 1895, 20062, s. 3; *Chamisza Chumsze Tora. Księga pierwsza Bereszit*, przeł. E. Gordon, Kraków 2001, s. 2; *Biblia łacińsko-polska czyli Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*, I, s. 1; *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w przekładzie z języków oryginalnych*, Poznań 19712, s. 22.

W tekście hebrajskim na uwagę zasługuje czasownik בָּרָא (*bara* – *stwarzać*), który odnosi się tylko do Boga i nigdy nie jest stosowany w odniesieniu do tworzenia czegoś przez ludzi.

Opis stworzenia kończy się stwierdzeniem, że „W ten sposób zostały ukończone niebo i ziemia oraz wszystkie jej zastępy stworzeń. A gdy Bóg ukończył w dniu szóstym swe dzieło, nad którym pracował, odpoczął...”. Słowo „ukończył” (בָּרָא , wayekal; LXX: $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$) w tekście Rdz 2,2 mówi o skończeniu dzieła stworzenia, co jednak nie oznacza, że Bóg nie mógł zawrzeć w stworzeniu mocy dalszego rozwoju.

Według interpretacji kabalistycznych (קבלה *kabała* – *otrzymywanie, przyjmowanie*) przed wszystkim istniała tylko Światłość (wola), zwana Nieskończonością (אין סוף *Ein Sof*¹⁸), czyli Bóg, poza Nim nie istniała żadna pusta przestrzeń¹⁹. Gdy Bóg zechciał stworzyć świat, wycofał się przez ograniczenie siebie (צמצום *cimcum* – *wycofanie, skurczenie się*) w centrum skupienia swego światła. Najpierw powołał więc sferyczną nicność, przestrzeń dla wszystkich przyszłych światów, skończonych i ograniczonych w przestrzeni. W tak powstałą przestrzeń wpłynął promień Boskiej Światłości. Po wycofaniu woli Bożej stało się możliwe stworzenie świata. Czasownik בָּרָא (*bara*) oznacza stwarzanie z niczego (*creatio ex nihilo*) w powołanej przez Boga pustej przestrzeni²⁰. Stworzone światy są emanacjami (האצלה *haacala* – *natchnienie, emanacja*) Boga²¹. Następuje dziesięć emanacji Boskiego światła, zwanych sefira (ספירות , l.mn. ספירות *sefirot*), które są mocami Boga, przejawiającymi się w stworzeniu²². Akt *cimcum* jest gwarancją, że w ogóle istnieje proces światowy umożliwiający powstanie czegoś, co na pewno nie jest Bogiem. W praprzestrzeni tworzą się pierwotne obrazy wszelkiego bytu, dzięki połączeniu różnych rodzajów boskiego światła²³. W biblijnej i kabali-

¹⁸ Ein Sof to Bóg w swojej najbardziej bezosobowej formie, jest to mię Boga kosmicznego i transcendentalnego. W Drzewie Życia (עץ החיים , *ec ha-chajim*) – rosnącym w środku raju – jest ono najwyższym punktem, istniejącym przed kreacją i wszelkimi podziałami. Za tę uwagę dziękuję panu Rabinowi Szyszme Kellerowi.

¹⁹ D. Brylla, *Differentia specifica kabalistycznej kategorii Ein Sof*, „Roczniki Teologii Fundamentalnej i Religiofilozofii” 4(59)(2013), s. 179-203.

²⁰ N. Aviezer, *Kabała, nauka i stworzenie*, przeł. D. Brylla, „Filozoficzne Aspekty Gnozy” 11(2014), s. 245-247.

²¹ Chamisza *Chumsza Tora. Księga pierwsza: Bereszit*, s. 4-5.

²² M. Lurker, *Przesłanie symboli w mitach, kulturach i religiach*, s. 170. Sefirot to pierwotnie dziesięć pralicz, na których zasadzała się cała rzeczywistość, por. G. Scholem, *O mistycznej postaci bóstwa. Z badań nad podstawowymi pojęciami kabały*, s. 35.

²³ G. Scholem, *Kabała i jej symbolika*, przeł. R. Wojnakowski, Kraków 1996, s. 122-124. Kabaliści uważali, że zasada, którą nazywa się Zło, jest właściwością w samym Bogu. Nawet „bramy Syjonu” są od strony zła, tamże, s. 101-102.

stycznej koncepcji chaosu (הַחֹסֶם הַרְבֵּהּ *tohu wabohu* – *chaos, bezład*) oraz bezmiaru wód (Rdz 1,1) widoczne są wpływy babilońskie. Sama koncepcja *creatio ex nihilo* jest pochodzenia greckiego²⁴ i w Biblii pojawia się dopiero w 2 Księdze Machabejskiej, napisanej po grecku w Jerozolimie pomiędzy 130 a 125 r. p.n.e.:

Proszę cię, synu, spojrzysz na niebo i na ziemię, a mając na oku wszystko, co jest na nich, zwróć uwagę na to, że z *niczego* stworzył je Bóg (ὄτι οὐκ ἔξ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ Θεός; quia *ex nihilo* fecit illa Deus) i że ród ludzki powstał w ten sam sposób (7,28)²⁵.

Na uwagę zasługuje tu, że język grecki rozróżnia między negacją sytuacji realnych (używa się wtedy zaprzeczenia οὐ, οὐκ) i negacją sytuacji nierealnych (używa się wtedy zaprzeczenia μή), gdy – na przykład – opisujemy marzenia senne. Stąd też możemy dwójako określić niebyt, jako οὐκ ὄν lub jako μή ὄν. W oparciu o to rozróżnienie ks. Sergiusz Bułgakow uznał, że akt stwórczy oznacza przemianę οὐκ ὄν (укои в терминологии автора) w μή ὄν (μᾶον)²⁶. Formuła grecka οὐκ ὄν oznacza niebyt, czyli brak bytu, a μή ὄν oznacza byt jeszcze nieokreślony. Przemiana *ukonu* w *meon* jest więc stworzeniem uniwersalnej materii traktowanej jako pramatka całego świata naturalnego²⁷. Wynika z tego, że według chrześcijaństwa świat jest radykalnie nowy, został stworzony z „niczego” – z *ouk on*, a nie z względnego *me on* – gdyż *ouk on* oznacza radykalną negację, nicość²⁸.

Według gnostyków z Otchłani (Βυθός, inaczej Praojciec będący Pełnią) narodził się Nous (Νοῦς), który z kolei rodzi obrazy myślowe, istoty pośredniczące między Otchłanią (Bogiem) i światem, czyli eony (αἰών) lub archetypy (ἀρχέτυπος). Ostatniego z nich, czyli Sophię (Σοφία – Mądrość), opanowała żądza poznania, za co została wygnana z Pleromy (Πλήρωμα), czyli Pełni. W swym osamotnieniu zrodziła nicość (κενότητα), przestrzeń rozumianą jako subiektywną formę oglądu upadłego świata²⁹.

24 K. Kornacka-Sareło, *Hebrajska metafizyka. Związek żydowskiej myśli mistycznej z ontologią zachodnioeuropejską*, „Kwartalnik Filozoficzny” 44(2016), z. 4, s. 81-102.

25 Oczywiście, w Biblii występuje znacznie więcej tekstów o stworzeniu świata, na przykład Ps 103 i Ps 135.

26 S. Bułgakow, *Свет не вечерный. Созерцания и умозрения*, Moskwa 1917, s. 183-184

27 S. Bułgakow, *Ипостась и ипостасность*, [w:] *Сборник статей, посвященных Петру Бернадовичу Струве ко дню 35-летия его научно-публицистической деятельности*, Praha 1925, s. 353-371.

28 O. Clément, *Boski kosmos. Wybrane zagadnienia z kosmologii*, przeł. P. Mikulska, Kraków 2010, s. 12.

29 G. Quispel, *Gnoza*, przeł. B. Kita, Warszawa 1988, s. 133.

Według mitu Walentyniańskiego Otchłań znał jedynie Nous, dla wszystkich innych eonów Otchłań była niewidzialna i niepojęta. Żądza Sophii to poszukiwanie Praojca, którego wielkość chciała pojąć. Gdy znalazła się poza Pleromą, była w pustej przestrzeni pozbawionej gnozy, w przestrzeni, którą stworzyła mocą swojej pychy³⁰. Sophia przebywała w przestrzeni rozpościerającej się ponad niebiosami, czyli w krainie pośredniej poniżej Pleromy³¹. Koptyjskie słowo $\omega\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau$ na określenie przestrzeni odpowiada greckiemu τόπος lub χώρα. W słownictwie Walentynian oznacza miejsce, przestrzeń Demiurga, albo samego Demiurga³².

W hermeneutycznym dziele *Poimandres* (Ποιμάνδρης) na początku wszystko stało się przyjemną i radosną światłością, lecz wkrótce nastąpiła ciemność, która rozciągała się w dół, przestrzeń straszna i posępna, rozpostarta w splotach podobnych do węża. Następnie ciemność przemieniła się w wilgotną naturę, wydzielala dym i wydawała rodzaj dźwięku, lament nie do opisanias i krzyk. Światłość jest Rozumem, który objawił się w ciemności³³. W Rozumie był rodzaj pierwowzoru, pierwsza zasada bezkresnego początku³⁴. Demiurg-Rozum, zjednoczony ze Słowem (Λόγος), zwraca swoje stworzenie od nieokreślonego początku ku nieokreślonemu kresowi, wszystko bowiem zaczyna się tam, gdzie się kończy³⁵.

Według *Ewangelii prawdy* Pełnia przebywała w Ojcu, ale eon Plane (Πλάνη – *Błąd, Niewiedza*), stworzyła materię w pustce niepoznanej przez siebie prawdy³⁶. Logos doszedł natomiast do przestrzeni pustych, należących do przerażenia³⁷. Jezus odwrócił wielu od Plane, zstąpił nawet do tych ich przestrzeni, które sami opuścili, przyjmując Plane, gdyż otacza On każdą przestrzeń sam nie będąc otoczony³⁸. Ojciec jako doskonały poznaje każdą przestrzeń, która w nim się znajduje, ponieważ zna każdą przestrzeń zanim ona zaistnieje³⁹. Sam Ojciec jest niewidzialny (ἀόρατος), ale to z Niego pochodzi każda przestrzeń⁴⁰.

30 Tamże, s. 137.

31 Tamże, s. 140.

32 W. E. C r u m, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 19794, s. 188 (II,B); por. W. V y c i c h l, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1983, s. 109.

33 *Poimandres* (4), przeł. W. Myszor, [w:] G. Q u i s p e l, *Gnoza*, s. 156.

34 Tamże (6), s. 157.

35 Tamże (11), s. 157.

36 *Ewangelia prawdy* (17,5-17), przeł. W. Myszor, [w:] *Teksty z Nag-Hammadi*, Warszawa 1979, s. 143.

37 Tamże (20,34-36), s. 147.

38 Tamże (22,20-23), s. 148-149.

39 Tamże (27,24-25; 42,8-10), s. 153, 167.

40 Tamże (20,20-22), s. 146-147.

Echa tej koncepcji światła można znaleźć w *Wyznaniach* św. Augustyna, który ponad swoim umysłem ujrzał niezmierzoną jasność Boga, wypełniającą całą przestrzeń ogromem jasności⁴¹, a także w *Boskiej komedii*, gdy Dante po wstąpieniu w sfery raju coraz bardziej i głębiej wkracza w promienie światła⁴².

W interpretacji św. Cyryla Jerozolimskiego ziemia wynurzyła się z wody i przez sześć dni stworzenia Duch unosił się nad wodami⁴³. W nauczaniu Cyryla znajdujemy echo mitologicznych koncepcji, że „niebo składa się z wody”⁴⁴.

Opis biblijny stał się podstawą bazującego na tekście Biblii sformułowania dogmatycznego w *Credo* nicejsko-konstantynopolitańskim (artykuł 1):

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα, Παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων⁴⁵.

Credimus in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, factorem coeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium⁴⁶.

Wierzymy⁴⁷ w Jednego Boga⁴⁸, Ojca⁴⁹ Wszechmogącego⁵⁰, Twórcę⁵¹ nieba i ziemi⁵², wszystkiego, co widzialne, i co niewidzialne⁵³.

Creatio ex nihilo jest jednym z najważniejszych problemów filozoficznych i teologicznych, podkreślającym stworzenie świata z nicości (*nihilum*). Oznacza to, że jedynie Bóg jest rzeczywistością niestworzoną i pierwszą, a świat jest powołany do istnienia przez Boga, czyli nie ma własnego bytu, jest zależny. Teoria ta, zwana kreacjonizmem, pozostaje w opozycji do emanatyzmu, według którego świat stanowi emanację Boga, oraz materializmu głoszącego wieczność materii. Wiąże się

41 Św. Augustyn, *Wyznania* (VII, 10), przeł. Z. Kubiak, Kraków 2009, s. 194-195.

42 Dante, *Boska komedia* (Raj, XXXIII, 109-120), przeł. E. Porębowicz, Warszawa 19652, s. 487.

43 Św. Cyryl Jerozolimski, *Katechezy* (III, 5), przeł. W. Kania, Warszawa 1973, s. 50.

44 Tamże (IX, 5), s. 118.

45 H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, Freiburg 196031, s. 41 (№ 86).

46 Tamże, s. 41 (№ 86).

47 Ps 26,13 i paral.

48 Pwp 6,4 i paral.

49 Pwp 32,6 i paral.

50 Rdz 1,20 i paral.

51 Greckie ποιητής – *wykonawca, twórca* (łacińskie *factor*), por. *Słownik grecko-polski*, red. Z. Abramowiczówna, III, s. 569; *Słownik łacińsko-polski*, red. M. P l e z i a, II, s. 493-494.

52 Rdz 14,19 i paral.

53 Sdz 13,4 i paral.

z monoteizmem i jest istotnym elementem nauczania judaizmu, chrześcijaństwa i islamu⁵⁴.

Filozofia starożytna nie знаła pojęcia stworzenia w absolutnym sensie tego słowa. Platoński Demiurg jest tym, który porządkuje, tworzy kosmos, co oznacza ład, porządek. O stworzeniu mówi pierwsze zdanie Księgi Rodzaju: „Na początku Bóg stworzył niebo i ziemię”. Najpierw autor księgi wspominał o „początku”, aby nikt nie wątpił, że świat ma początek, a następnie słowo „stworzył” mówi o wszechmocy Stwórcy⁵⁵.

Biblia hebrajska często nazywa Boga „Stworzycielem nieba i ziemi” (Rdz 14,19.22). W judaizmie istnieje przekonanie, że Bóg stworzył świat z niczego swoim słowem. W midraszach można jednak spotkać pogląd, że świat powstał z resztek poprzednich światów, zniszczonych przez Boga niezadowolonego ze swych prób. Kabała opowiada się za koncepcją emanacji. Istnieje zgoda co do bezpośredniej zależności świata od Boga, przy czym Tora stanowi projekt stworzenia świata, gdyż Mądrość stworzona przed światem (Prz 8,22) została utożsamiona właśnie z Torą jako planem⁵⁶. Budowa ziemi zaczęła się od kamienia węgielnego (por. „święte wzgórze” w mitologii egipskiej)⁵⁷. Emanacja natomiast oznacza zaistnienie świata jako stopniowego przejawiania się istoty Boga. Dokonuje się ona za pomocą dziesięciu sefirot, czyli boskich struktur stanowiących jedność czterech światów (emanacja, stworzenie, ukształtowanie i działanie)⁵⁸.

W średniowieczu filozof Juda Halevi w dziele *Kuzari* wyraził przekonanie, że judaizm opis stworzenia w Księdze Rodzaju rozumie jako *creatio ex nihilo*⁵⁹. Jednak współcześni badacze uważają, że ogół autorów i interpretatorów Biblii – przed i po upadku Drugiej Świątyni w 70 roku – postrzegał Boga Stwórcę jako Demiurga i nie znał pojęcia *creatio ex nihilo*. Druga Księga Machabejska (7,28) jest tu wyjątkiem⁶⁰. W tym ro-

54 *Creatio ex nihilo*, [w:] *Religia. Encyklopedia PWN*, III, s. 57.

55 H. Paprocki, *Bóg Biblii i Bóg filozofów*, „Przegląd Filozoficzny” 19(2010), z. 1(73), s. 112.

56 Cohen A., *Talmud. Syntetyczny wykład na temat Talmudu i nauk rabinów dotyczących religii, etyki i prawodawstwa*, przeł. R. Gromacka, Warszawa 1995, s. 56-57.

57 Tamże, s. 60.

58 Mówią o tym: *Sefer Jecira czyli Księga Stworzenia*, przeł. W. Brojer, J. Doktor i B. Kos, Warszawa 1995, s. 81-143, por. przekład: *Księga Jecirah*, przeł. M. Prokopowicz, Warszawa 1994, s. 3-77; *Opowieści Zoharu*, przeł. I. Kania, Kraków 1994, s. 9-28.

59 I. Broydé, *Judah ha-Levi*, [w:] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York 1906, VII, s. 346-363.

60 J. C. O’Neill, *How Early is the Doctrine of «creatio ex nihilo»?*, „The Journal of Theological Studies” 53(2002), s. 49-65; M. R. Niehoff, *Creatio ex Nihilo. Theology in Genesis Rabbah in Light of Christian Exegesis*, „Harvard Theological Review” 99(2006), s. 44.

zumieniu zwycięstwo w judaizmie koncepcji *creatio ex nihilo* dokonało się pod wpływem egzegezy chrześcijańskiej.

W chrześcijaństwie wpływ na rozwój doktryny stworzenia z niczego miał niewątpliwie fragment 2 Mch 7,28, gdyż Biblią Kościoła pierwszych wieków była Septuaginta. Jednak wpływy filozofii greckiej były tak silne, że około 200 roku mieszkaniec Kartaginy Hermogenes łączył w swojej doktrynie elementy Platońskie, gnostyckie i chrześcijańskie głosząc, że Bóg stworzył świat z odwiecznie istniejącej materii. Nie mógł to być odosobniony pogląd, ponieważ Tertulian uznał za konieczne napisanie traktatu polemicznego *Adversus Hermogenem*⁶¹. Również św. Teofil z Antiochii napisał traktat *Przeciwko herezji Hermogenesa*, który się nie zachował, ale został wspomniany przez Euzebiusza z Cezarei⁶². Ponieważ nie zachowały się także pisma Hermogenesa, o ile był on autorem jakichś pism, jako jedyne źródło informacji pozostaje traktat Tertuliana.

Tertulian zarzucał Hermogenesowi, że odwrócił się od chrześcijan do filozofów i materię zrównał z Bogiem, gdyż według niego zawsze ona istnieje.

Hermogenes nie kwestionował faktu stworzenia świata przez Boga, ale uważał, że dokonano stworzenia z czegoś i tym czymś była materia. Materia ta była uważana za podległą Bogu i niższą od Niego. W istocie jednak jako odwieczna materia stawała się równą Bogu⁶³.

Już w II wieku na stworzenie świata z niczego zwrócił uwagę wspomniany św. Teofil z Antiochii w swojej apologii:

Cóż więc wielkiego byłoby, gdyby Bóg stworzył wszechświat z istniejącej wcześniej materii? Podobnie przecież człowiek rzemieślnik, gdy otrzyma od kogoś materiał, czyni z niego cokolwiek chce. Moc Boga natomiast w tym się objawia, że z niebytu czyni, co zechce [...]. Bóg natomiast posiada moc wyższą od człowieka, dlatego swoje stworzenie wyposaża w rozum, zdolność oddychania i odczuwania. W tym więc wszystkim Bóg potężniejszy jest od człowieka dlatego, że posiada moc stwarzania z nicości⁶⁴.

61 Tertulian, *Adversus Hermogenem*, PL II, 195-238.

62 Euzebiusz z Cezarei, *Historia kościelna* (VI, 24), s. 184.

63 A. M. Filipowicz, *Wieczność materii w kontekście polemiki Tertuliana z Hermogenesem*, [w:] Ks. Józef Marcełi Dołęga – pokorny uczoney, człowiek o wielkim serce. Księga jubileuszowa, red. J. Sokołowski, Warszawa-Łomża 2010, s. 99-113.

64 Św. Teofil z Antiochii, *Do Autolika* (II, 4, 7-9), [w:] *Pierwsi apologetyci greccy*, przeł. L. Misiarczyk, Kraków 2004, s. 400.

Problemem stworzenia z niczego zajmował się także św. Augustyn z Hippony, zwłaszcza w *Wyznaniach* i w *Komentarzu słownym do Księgi Rodzaju*. Augustyn uważał, że świat został wywiedziony z nicości przez Słowo Boże. Przed tym aktem nie było żadnej materii⁶⁵. Ostateczną przyczyną stworzenia świata jest wola Boża. Dla Augustyna ważne jest pojęcie materii bezkształtnej (*informis*), która różni się od pojęcia materii uformowanej przez akt woli Bożej⁶⁶. Augustyn precyzuje swoje poglądy w *Wyznaniach*:

Uczyliś niebo nad niebiosami i ziemię, lecz nie z siebie. Gdybyś je uczynił z siebie, byłyby one równe Jednorodzonemu Synowi Twemu, przeto i Tobie [...]. Na pewno więc z niczego uczyniłeś niebo nad niebiosami i ziemię, coś wielkiego i coś małego – rzeczy dobre, jak wszystko, co stworzyłeś, bo i wszechmocny jesteś, i dobry – tamto wielkie niebo i tę małą ziemię. Ty byłeś i niczego nie było poza Tobą. Z niczego więc stworzyłeś niebo nad niebiosami i ziemię – dwie różne dziedziny: jedną bliską Ciebie, drugą bliską nicości; jedną, którą tylko przerastasz, i drugą, od której niczego nie ma⁶⁷.

Na przeciwległych więc krańcach stoją aniołowie i materia, co jest rozróżnieniem o charakterze platońskim⁶⁸. Są bowiem dwie dziedziny stworzenia, ziemia blisko Boga i niebo nad niebiosami, bliskie nicości. Bóg stwarza wszechświat w dwóch etapach. Najpierw tworzy go w pełni – aniołów, firmament, ziemię, morze – a następnie świat w zarodku jako *rationes seminales*⁶⁹. Według Augustyna świat jest brzemienny przyczynami bytów⁷⁰, gdyż Bóg wszystko ciągle stwarza. W *Komentarzu słownym do Księgi Rodzaju* Augustyn zastanawia się nad stworzeniem, czy dokonało się ono w czasie, czy też czas zaczął się od stworzenia. Być może słowo „Początek” oznacza Syna Bożego (J 8,25). Zwraca też uwagę na to, w jaki sposób Bóg niezmienny stwarza rzeczy zmienne, a określenie „niebo i ziemia” można odnieść do bytów subtelných, czyli aniołów, i materii, bądź też oznacza ono materię niekształtną⁷¹. W związku z interpretacją „Początku” jako Syna Bożego, pojawia się kwestia, czy

⁶⁵ Św. Augustyn, *Wyznania* (IX, 5-7), s. 342-343; por. S. Świeżawski, *Dzieje europejskiej filozofii klasycznej*, Warszawa 2000, s. 348.

⁶⁶ S. Świeżawski, *Dzieje europejskiej filozofii klasycznej*, s. 349-350.

⁶⁷ Św. Augustyn, *Wyznania* (XII, 6,6), s. 377.

⁶⁸ S. Świeżawski, *Dzieje europejskiej filozofii klasycznej*, s. 350.

⁶⁹ Tamże, s. 351.

⁷⁰ Św. Augustyn, *O Trójcy Świętej* (III, 9,16), przeł. M. Stokowska, Kraków 1996.

⁷¹ Św. Augustyn, *Komentarz słowny do Księgi Rodzaju* (I, 2), [w tegoż:] *Pisma egzegetyczne przeciw manichejczykom*, przeł. J. Sulowski, Warszawa 1980, s. 113.

Bóg wypowiedział słowa „Niech się stanie światłość” (Rdz 1,3) w czasie czy też w wieczności Słowa (Verbum, Λόγος)⁷².

Na uwagę zasługuje tu koncepcja apokatastazy. Termin „apokatastaza” pochodzi od greckiego rzeczownika ἀποκατάστασις, który oznacza przywrócenie do stanu poprzedniego, powrót do czegoś, do poprzedniego położenia. Odnosił się też do periodycznego powrotu ciał niebieskich w obiegu, cyklu kosmicznego, ponownego ukazania się słońca i księżyca po zaćmieniu (ἀποκαταστικτός – *powracający, sprowadzający z powrotem*)⁷³. Samo słowo apokatastaza występuje w Nowym Testamencie tylko jeden raz: „... aby też posłał nam zapowiedzianego Mesjasza Jezusa, którego niebo musi zatrzymać aż do czasu odnowienia wszystkich rzeczy – ἀποκαστάσεως πάντων – co od wieków przepowiedział Bóg” (Dz 3,21)⁷⁴. Tekst ten pozostaje w związku z dwoma innymi fragmentami Nowego Testamentu:

...niebo było od dawna i ziemia, która z wody i przez wodę (ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ δι' ὕδατος) zaistniała na słowo Boże, i przez nią ówczesny świat zagnął wodą zatopiony. A to samo słowo zabezpieczyło obecnie niebo i ziemię jako zachowane dla ognia (πῦρ) na dzień sądu i zguby bezbożnych ludzi (2 P 3,5-7)⁷⁵.

Jak złodziej zaś przyjdzie dzień Pański, w którym niebo ze świstem przemienie, gwiazdy się w ogniu rozsypią (πυρούμενοι), a ziemia i dzieła na niej zostaną znalezione. Skoro to wszystko w ten sposób ulegnie zagładzie, to jakimi winniście być wy w świętym postępowaniu i pobożności, gdy oczekujecie i staracie się przyspieszyć przyjście dnia Bożego, który sprawi, że niebo zapalone pójdzie na zagładę, a gwiazdy w ogniu się rozsypią. Oczekujemy jednak, według obietnicy, *nowego nieba i nowej ziemi* (2 P 3,12-13).

Według Heraklita z Efezu wieczność kosmosu dokonuje się przez jego nieskończenie powtarzające się cykle. Świat rodzi się z ognia i w nim periodycznie w wieczności pogrąża się⁷⁶. Za różnorodnością świata

⁷² Tamże (I, 4), s. 113.

⁷³ *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe, Oxford 19847, s. 195; W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian Literature*, translated by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, Chicago-London 19792, s. 92; *Słownik grecko-polski*, red. Z. Abramowiczówna, I, s. 271; A. Oepke, ἀποκατάστασις, [w:] G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Stuttgart 1888, I, s. 389.

⁷⁴ R. Popowski, *Wielki słownik grecko-polski Nowego Testamentu*, s. 62 (№ 600): ποκατάστασις – *ponowne ustanowienie*.

⁷⁵ Tamże, s. 186 (№ 1607*); ἐκπυρόω – *niszczyć ogniem, palić na popiół* (s. 186), od πῦρ – *ogień* (№ 4309), s. 540.

⁷⁶ W. Szerba, *Koncepcja wiecznego powrotu w myśli wczesnochrześcijańskiej i jej greckie źródła*, Toruń 20142, s. 53.

fenomenalnego kryje się uporządkowana struktura, czyli kosmos, która sprowadza się do jednej zasady (*ἀρχή*). Światy wyłoniły się z żywiołów lub z *apeironu*⁷⁷. Apokatastaza posłużyła przy opisywaniu powrotu konstelacji w rocznym cyklu do pierwotnego ustawienia, co być może było przyczyną powstania holistycznej teorii czasu i teorii samej apokatastazy. Filozoficznie termin ten odnosi się do przywrócenia pierwotnego porządku świata, odtworzenia tego stanu. Klasyczną apokatastazę kosmiczną znajdujemy u Chryzypa z Soloi i jest ona nieskończonym cyklem powstawania i giniecia. Tym samym koncepcja ta oznacza, że przez odradzanie się kosmos jest wieczny⁷⁸.

Nemezjusz z Emezy przekazał pogląd stoików, że gdy planety w swych obrotach osiągną ten sam znak Zodiaku, wysokość i pozycję, które miały w momencie powstawania świata, to nastąpi pożar i zniszczenie wszystkich rzeczy. Następnie będzie miała miejsce dokładna rekonstrukcja świata, jak wyglądał w poprzednich swych wersjach i jak będzie wyglądał dalej w nieskończonej ilości pożarów i odrodzeń. Tej zasadzie nie podlegają jedynie bogowie. W przeciwieństwie do teorii nieskończonych powrotów chrześcijaństwo głosi jednorazowe zmartwychwstanie przy końcu dziejów⁷⁹.

Również św. Augustyn w *Państwie Bożym* wspomina filozofów uważających, że świat jest wieczny, bez względu na to, czy przyjmują istnienie jednego, czy też wielu światów, a także przyjmujących, że światy powtarzają się i giną nieskończoną ilość razy⁸⁰.

Doktryna ta – w chrześcijańskiej wersji św. Grzegorza z Nyssy⁸¹ – mówi o przywróceniu do początkowej doskonałości naszego świata, nie zajmuje się natomiast problematyką istnienia innych światów, zarówno sukcesywnych, jak i równoległych⁸².

Orygenes przyjmował istnienie kolejno wielu światów. Na pytanie: „Jeśli świat zaczął się w czasie, to co robił Bóg przed początkiem świata?”, Orygenes odpowiadał, że Bóg nie zaczął działać po raz pierwszy

77 W. Szczerba, *A Bóg będzie wszystkim we wszystkim... Apokatastaza Grzegorza z Nyssy. Źródła, kształt koncepcji*, Kraków 2008, s. 25-26.

78 W. Szczerba, *Koncepcja wiecznego powrotu w myśli wczesnochrześcijańskiej i jej greckie źródła*, s. 21-23.

79 Nemezjusz z Emezy, *O naturze ludzkiej* (38,55), przeł. A. Kempfi, Warszawa 1982, s. 126-127.

80 Św. Augustyn, *Państwo Boże* (XII, 12), przeł. W. Kubicki, Kęty 19982, s. 454.

81 Opinia teologiczna św. Grzegorza z Nyssy nigdy nie została potępiona, w przeciwieństwie do poglądów Orygenesusa, por. *Dokumenty Soborów Powszechnych*, opr. A. Baron i H. Pietras, Kraków 2001, I, s. 294-297.

82 Szerzej na temat różnych wersji wiecznych powrotów i apokatastazy patrz: H. Paprocki, *Czas. Eseje o wieczności*, s. 93-131.

dopiero wtedy, gdy stworzył ten oto widzialny świat. Po skończeniu tego świata będzie inny świat, tak jak istniały inne światy przed zaistnieniem naszego świata. Powoływał się przy tym na słowa proroka Izajasza o nowym niebie i nowej ziemi („Bo jak nowe niebiosa i nowa ziemia, które Ja uczynię, trwać będą przede Mną – wyrocznia Pana – tak będzie trwało wasze potomstwo i wasze imię”, Iz 66,22) oraz Koheleta o tym, że co zostało uczynione, znowu się stanie („To, co było, jest tym, co będzie, a to, co się stało, jest tym, co znowu się stanie”, Koh 1,9). Nie uważał natomiast, że równocześnie istnieje wiele światów, lecz że po obecnym świecie nastąpi znowu inny świat⁸³. Tym samym światy następujące po sobie są całkowicie inne⁸⁴.

Orygenes uważał też, że miejsce pobytu świętych i błogosławionych mieści się ponad sferą gwiazd stałych niczym w „dobrej ziemi” i w „ziemi żywych”. Na owym niebie i owej ziemi w pewnym i bezpiecznym miejscu istnieje kres wszystkiego i doskonałość⁸⁵.

Według św. Bedy Czcigodnego w zamyśle Słowa Bożego wszystko istniało przed stworzeniem. Na samym początku stworzenia z niczego uczynione zostały niebo, ziemia, aniołowie, powietrze i woda. Wszechświat (*mundus*) to cała rzeczywistość składająca się z nieba i ziemi. Niebo ma naturę delikatną i ognistą. Z nieukształtowanej materii jednorazowym aktem zostały stworzone żywioły świata. Materia ta jest dalej kształtowana przez sześć dni jako stworzenie niebieskie i ziemskie. Wody niebieskie znajdują się na firmamencie, zachowane dla wywołania potopu. Świat dzieli się na pięć sfer. Dzięki zarodkom stworzenia i pierwotnym przyczynom sprawczym całego świata, dokonuje się naturalny bieg czasu⁸⁶.

Św. Jan z Damaszku w *Wykładzie wiary prawdziwej* zwraca uwagę na wieczną wizję, realizowaną przez Boga w czasie:

Widział [Bóg] wszystko w pozaczasowej myśli, zanim się cokolwiek stało, i wszystko dzieje się w przód określonym czasie zgodnie z Jego

⁸³ Orygenes, *O zasadach* (III 5,3), przeł. S. Kalinkowski, Warszawa 1979, s. 268-269.

⁸⁴ Tamże (II 3,1), s. 131; por. L. Kusak, *Idea wiecznego powrotu światów w perspektywie kosmologiczno-antropologicznej*, „Zeszyty Naukowe UEK” 53(2010), z. 846, s. 94-97. Idea następujących kolejno po sobie różnych światów jest nie do pogodzenia z apokatastazą, por. H. Crouzel, *Orygenes*, przeł. J. Margański, Bydgoszcz 1996, s. 341-351.

⁸⁵ Orygenes, *O zasadach* (II 3,7), s. 139-140. Odpowiada to pojęciu Empireum.

⁸⁶ Św. Beda Czcigodny, *Natura wszechświata* (I-IX), [w tegoż:] *Natura wszechświata. Czas i jego rodzaje. Rachuba czasu*, przekład zbiorowy, Lublin 2015, s. 49-54; por. M. Karas, *Kosmologia Bedy Czcigodnego (VIII wiek)*, „Roczniki Teologiczne” 60(2012), z. 1, s. 7-26.

władczym pozaczasowym zamysłem, który jest jednocześnie postanowieniem, obrazem i wzorem⁸⁷.

Myśli Boga są więc Jego twórczymi aktami, a Bóg przede wszystkim stwarza idealną sferę świata – „eoniczną nicość” według św. Maksyma Wyznawcy – jedność idealnych zasad, którą wzorując się na platonizmie można nazwać Duszą Świata, *Anima Mundi*, warunkującą i kształtującą konkretną jedność świata, czyniącą harmonię widoczną⁸⁸.

Według Jana z Damaszku Bóg stworzył świat z nadmiaru dobroci, aby dzielić się z nim dobrem. Stworzył wszystko swoją myślą, która staje się dziełem przez Słowo⁸⁹, gdyż Bóg „myśli rzeczami”. Wyprowadza wszystkie byty swoją wolą z nicości, a jako pozaczasowy rodzi Syna poza czasem i odwiecznie⁹⁰. Natomiast w czasie tworzy rzeczy mające początek i zniszczalne. Najpierw jednak powołał z nicości wiekiustych aniołów⁹¹, a następnie stworzył świat widzialny⁹². Bez użycia materii stworzył niebo i ziemię, a inne byty wywiódł z tego, co uprzednio stworzył, na przykład rośliny i zwierzęta⁹³.

Średniowiecze charakteryzuje precyzowanie wcześniej osiągniętych definicji teologicznych i filozoficznych. Jan Szkot Eriugena zauważył, że stworzenie istnieje w Bogu i jest stwarzane w Bogu w sposób cudowny i niewyraźalny⁹⁴. W takim ujęciu Bóg staje się „miejscem” całej rzeczywistości empirycznej. Z kolei Anzelm z Canterbury podkreśla, że zanim rzeczy zostały stworzone, w umyśle Bożym już istniały jako idee⁹⁵.

Idee Boże są pierwowzorami, przyczynami stwarzającymi substancję rzeczy, gdyż przez nie Bóg zdeterminował i stworzył wszystko⁹⁶. Każda stworzona rzecz ma swą styczność z Boskością przez swoją ideę, rację, *logos* będący celem, do którego zmierza⁹⁷. To z *Logosu* pochodzą *logoi* stworzeń – „stworcze promienie” – i dlatego zmierzają do *Logosu*, gdyż

87 Św. Jan z Damaszku, *Wykład wiary prawdziwej* (I, 9), przeł. B. Wojkowski, Warszawa 1969, s. 47.

88 H. Paprocki, *Bóg Biblii i Bóg filozofów*, s. 115.

89 Św. Jan z Damaszku, *Wykład wiary prawdziwej* (II, 2), s. 64.

90 Tamże (I, 7), s. 36-37.

91 Tamże (II, 3), s. 64.

92 Tamże (II, 5), s. 69.

93 Tamże (II, 5), s. 70.

94 S. Świeżawski, *Dzieje europejskiej filozofii klasycznej*, s. 413.

95 Tamże, s. 449.

96 Pseudo-Dionizy Areopagita, *Imiona Boskie* (V, 8), [w tegoż:] *Pisma teologiczne*, I, s. 116-118.

97 W. Łoski, *Teologia mistyczna Kościoła wschodniego*, przeł. M. Szczaniecka, Warszawa 1989, s. 86.

wszystko jest w Nim zawarte⁹⁸. Istoty rzeczy, obejmujące ducha i materię, czyli logosy, nadają stworzeniu sens, są „głębią rzeczy”.

Tym samym Bóg jest jedyną zasadą całego stworzenia, które to stworzenie – według Hugona od św. Wiktora – wykazuje jeden zamysł i jedne rządy⁹⁹. Średniowieczny filozof i teolog Robert Grosseteste uważał, że Bóg stworzył materialny punkt, od którego świat wziął swój początek. Od owego punktu ekspansywnie rozchodziło się światło, porywając za sobą materię i tworząc w ten sposób kulę. Grosseteste odróżniał światło *lux* wyznaczające granice świata i światło *lumen*, będące poza wszechświatem¹⁰⁰. Światło zwane *lux* było pierwszą „formą cielesną” rzeczy materialnych i rozprzestrzeniało się w sposób sferyczny we wszystkich kierunkach, rozciągając za sobą materię, wypełniając cały wszechświat i tworząc w najodleglejszym punkcie swego rozprzestrzeniania sferę, która składała się jedynie ze światła i materii pierwszej¹⁰¹.

Grosseteste, który komentował słowa Księgi Rodzaju „Wtedy powiedział Bóg: Niechaj stanie się światłość! I stała się światłość” (Rdz 1, 3), uważał, że skończona sfera materialnego świata wraz z jej różnorodnością i skomplikowaniem powstała w wyniku rozprzestrzeniania się nieskończenie wiele razy samopomnażającego się punktu światła (*lux*). Na początku bowiem Bóg stworzył prosty punkt materialny obdarzony formą. Wystarczył, ponieważ było to światło, które nie mając wymiarów tworzy trójwymiarową rzeczywistość. Światło było jedyną i pierwotną zasadą rzeczywistości, prostą formą cielesną, która kształtowała całkowicie bierną materię pierwotną. Zewnętrzna granica sfery świetlnej tworzy firmament, który odbija i wypromieniowuje światło duchowe (*lumen*). Współdziałając z tym światłem wtórnym wytwarza ciała elementarne, a z nich powstają złożone byty w różnych nieskończonościach¹⁰².

⁹⁸ Tamże, s. 87.

⁹⁹ Tamże, s. 525-526.

¹⁰⁰ Czy ostatecznie wszystko jest światłem?, zapytuje w tym kontekście W. P. Grygiel, *Stephena Hawkinga i Rogera Penrose'a spór o rzeczywistość*, Kraków 2018, s. 365.

¹⁰¹ M. Boczar, Roberta Grosseteste'a teologia światła, „Idea. Studia nad Strukturą i Rozwojem Pojęć Filozoficznych” 5(1992), s. 43-54; M. Trepczyński, *Światło jako arché świata. Metafizyka światła Roberta Grosseteste*, „Ethos” 30(2017), z. 3, s. 93-115.

¹⁰² R. Grosseteste, *O świetle, czyli o pochodzeniu form*, przeł. M. Boczar, [w:] M. Boczar, Grosseteste, Warszawa 1994, s. 132-139; M. Boczar, *Grosseteste*, s. 33, 50, 58; U. Ecco, *Sztuka i piękno w średniowieczu*, przeł. M. Olszewski i M. Zabłocka, Kraków 1994, s. 77-79; R. Podkoński, *Ryszard Kilvington. Nieskończoność i geometria*, Łódź 2016, s. 20, 30. Na temat wpływu koncepcji Grosseteste na filozofię przyrody patrz: R. Podkoński, *Dруга „metafizyka światła”*. Czternastowieczni oksfordzcy filozofie przyrody, *Jan Dumbleton i Ryszard Swineshead o naturze i działaniu światła*, „Przegląd Tomistyczny” 20(2014), s. 89-116.

Zajmowano się także pojęciem przestrzeni, często jednak utożsamiano miejsce (*locus*) z położeniem ciała, z próżnią lub z przestrzenią. Przestrzeń traktowano jako niezależną od ciała rozciągłość, chociaż równocześnie uważano ją za rodzaj „pojemnika” dla idei, atomów i ciał, które zajmowały w niej określone miejsca. Była to przestrzeń absolutna, różna od trójwymiarowego obszaru. Zajmowano się też rozważaniem możliwości pojęcia nieskończonej przestrzeni oraz rozważano czym jest miejsce.

We wszystkich tych analizach zaznaczał się wyraźny wpływ myśli Arystotelesa, zwłaszcza jego koncepcji skończonego i wypełnionego wszechświata wykluczającego próżnię. Uważano powszechnie, że natura wzdraga się przed próżnią (*Natura horret vacui*). Dlatego próżnię traktowano jako abstrakcję matematyczną. Dyskutowano jednak nad możliwością istnienia wielu światów. Niektórzy myśliciele, jak Mikołaj z Autrecourt, dopuszczali istnienie próżni. Mikołaj z Oresme uważał, że poza sferą gwiazd stałych może istnieć przestrzeń pusta i bezcielesna, czyli próżnia¹⁰³.

Koncepcja stworzenia z niczego jest też cechą islamu. Omawiając stworzenie świata według islamu, należy zwrócić uwagę na dwa źródła informacji uznające Boga za Stwórcę, a mianowicie opowieści mityczne, związane z wierzeniami ludowymi, oraz Koran. Wierzenia ludowe zostały zapożyczone z różnych obcych kultur i połączone z naukami Koranu¹⁰⁴.

Szczególne miejsce zajmuje w nich Al-Kaba, która miała istnieć w postaci zmętnienia przestrzeni kosmicznej przed powstaniem świata. W tym sensie może być uważana za odpowiednik prawzgórze z mitologii egipskiej. Z Al-Kaby zostały wywiedzione kolejne sfery nieba i ziemi. Poza tym wraz z Tronem Stwórcy wyznacza ona oś świata.

Pierwszą ze stworzonych rzeczy była Biała Perła, mająca rozmiary nieba i ziemi. Wykazuje ona podobieństwo do kosmicznego jaja z różnych starożytnych mitologii.

Z Perły powstała Tablica sięgająca od wschodu do zachodu, wykonana ze szmaragdów i rubinów. Tablica zawiera wiedzę o wszystkim, co było w przeszłości, jest w teraźniejszości i będzie w przyszłości. Znajdują się na niej imiona wszystkich ludzi, w czym widać wpływy koncepcji

¹⁰³ *Historia filozofii średniowiecznej*, red. J. Legowicz, Warszawa 1979, s. 310-313.

¹⁰⁴ Na temat uwarunkowań kulturowych patrz: F. C. Copleston, *Filozofia i kultury*, s. 95-100.

Liber vitae z pierwotnego chrześcijaństwa¹⁰⁵. Na Tablicy znajduje się też niebiański prototyp Koranu¹⁰⁶, co wskazuje na wpływ koncepcji Tory jako prototypu stworzenia¹⁰⁷. Tablica została przymocowana do Tronu Stworzyciela, który patrzy na nią 360 razy dziennie.

Gdy pewnego razu Perła została wezwana przez Boga, tak bardzo ją to wzburzyło, że wprawilo w drgania i przeistoczyła się w wodę, która stała się początkiem wszystkiego, co powstało¹⁰⁸. Gdy woda uspokoiła się, przestała drgać i w ten sposób powstało sklepienie świata. Woda jest ponad niebiosami.

Jako drugą rzecz Bóg stworzył Tron (al-Arsh), wykonał go z klejnotu zielonej barwy¹⁰⁹. Według jednej wersji Tron był unoszony przez wiatr, według drugiej Tron znajduje się na wodzie¹¹⁰, a woda na wietrze. Potem Bóg powołał czterech nosicieli Tronu, którzy przyjęli formy człowieka, lwa orła i byka¹¹¹. Bóg stworzył też ze światła podnóżek Tronu. Dopiero na końcu stworzył świat (na przykład góry powstały z zamarych w uniesieniu fal). Bóg stworzył też siedem niebios i siedem ziem¹¹². Niebo zostało stworzone z pary wodnej. W przedostatnim dniu stworzenia pojawili się aniołowie, którzy są zbudowani ze światła¹¹³.

Najważniejszym źródłem do poznania koncepcji stworzenia według islamu jest jednak Koran. Sformułowania tej księgi wywarły wpływ na średniowiecznych awerroistów¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁵ *Liber vitae* było w pierwotnym chrześcijaństwie księgą, w której zapisywano imiona chrześcijan, por. H. P a p r o c k i, *Misterium Eucharystii. Interpretacja genetyczna Liturgii bizantyjskiej*, Kraków 2010, s. 262-263. Koran mówi o księdze w niebie, podstawie wszystkich ksiąg objawionych, *Koran* (5,48), przeł. J. Bielawski, Warszawa 20174, s. 136, zwanej też „księgą ukrytą” (56.78), s. 647. Poza tym określenie „karty rozpostarte” (74,52) dotyczy księgi, w której są zapisane wszystkie czyny ludzi, tamże, s. 699. Liturgia maronicka zna „Księgę uczynków”. Ludzkie czyny, dobre i złe, są zapisane w tej księdze i zostaną zaprezentowane w dniu Sądu Ostatecznego, H. P a p r o c k i, *Misterium Eucharystii*, s. 263.

¹⁰⁶ „To zaś jest Koran godny chwały na tablicy strzeżonej”, *Koran* (85,21-22), s. 718.

¹⁰⁷ Patrz traktat *Awot* 3,14; Traktat *Genesis Rabba* 1,1, [za:] A. Unterma n, *Żydzi. Wiara i życie*, przeł. J. Zabierowski, Łódź 1989, s. 40; H. P a p r o c k i, *Czas. Eseje o wieczności*, s. 76-77; „Tora płonęła przed Bogiem, napisana jako ogień czarny na ogniu białym”, G. S c h o l e m, *O mistycznej postaci bóstwa. Z badań nad podstawowymi pojęciami kabały*, s. 21.

¹⁰⁸ Por. koncepcję Talesa z Miletu.

¹⁰⁹ „Jego tron jest tak rozległy jak niebiosy i ziemia”, *Koran* (2,255), s. 62.

¹¹⁰ „A Jego tron był na wodzie”, *Koran* (11,7), s. 261.

¹¹¹ Por. symbole czterech Ewangelistów, Ez 1,12.

¹¹² Koncepcja siedmiu niebios jest odpowiednikiem sfer niebieskich.

¹¹³ Opracowano na podstawie: R. P i w i Ń s k i, *Mitologia arabska*, Warszawa 1989.

¹¹⁴ J. i D. S o u r d e l, *Cywilizacja islamu (VII-XIII w.)*, przeł. M. Skuratowicz i W. Dembski, Warszawa 1980, s. 121-150.

Według Koranu Bóg jest Stwórcą nieba i ziemi¹¹⁵ (por. Rdz 1,1), który uczynił świat w ciągu sześciu dni¹¹⁶. Powstanie bytów dokonuje się na Jego słowo „Bądź!”¹¹⁷, odpowiadające biblijnemu „Niechaj się stanie...” (Rdz 1,3). Niebiosa i ziemia stanowiły jedną zwartą masę, którą Bóg rozdzielił¹¹⁸, co jest zapożyczone z mitologii babilońskich. Stworzone niebo było pierwotnie „dymem”¹¹⁹. Bóg stworzył też ciemność i światłość (inaczej: noc i dzień)¹²⁰ oraz słońce i księżyc. Słońce „płynie” do swego stałego miejsca, terminu, kresu¹²¹, w czym można postrzeżać wpływ judaizmu, w którym co 28 lat na początku miesiąca nisan odbywa się uroczystość błogosławienia słońca (*ברכת ההמה birhat ha-chama*) w związku z jego powrotem na to samo miejsce na niebie, na którym znalazło się ono w momencie swego powstania (Rdz 1,16-19)¹²². Bóg stworzył też konstelacje¹²³, a niebiosa są bez filarów, które można by widzieć¹²⁴. Niebo zostało stworzone jako „rozległa przestrzeń”¹²⁵ i jako chroniące sklepienie¹²⁶. Niebo jest budowlą, a ziemia posłaniem¹²⁷. W ciągu dwóch dni zostało stworzonych siedem niebios ułożonych warstwami. Każde z nich ma swoje zasady i umieszczone są na nich księżyc i słońce¹²⁸. Jest też siedem ziem¹²⁹. Koncepcja siedmiu niebios pozostaje w związku z teorią siedmiu sfer Ptolemeusza. Bóg jest Panem tego, co jest w niebiosach i na ziemi, a także każdej rzeczy¹³⁰. Jest także twórcą tego, co jest między niebiosami i ziemią¹³¹. Człowiek został stworzony – według sur Rozróżnienie i Wysłannicy – z wody¹³², która potem została umieszczona w pewnym miejscu¹³³. Według innej sury – Hidżr – człowiek został

¹¹⁵ *Koran* (6,1; 6,73; 2,117), s. 151, 162, 24.

¹¹⁶ *Tamże* (11,7), s. 261.

¹¹⁷ *Tamże* (2,117; 6,73), s. 24, 162. Por. „Nasz rozkaz jest tylko jeden, jak mgnienie oka”, *tamże* (54,50), s. 640.

¹¹⁸ *Tamże* (21,30), s. 388.

¹¹⁹ *Tamże* (41,11), s. 571-572.

¹²⁰ *Tamże* (6,1; 21,33), s. 151, 388.

¹²¹ *Tamże* (31,29; 36,38-40; 39,5), s. 495, 528, 549.

¹²² A. Unterman, *Encyklopedia tradycji i legend żydowskich*, s. 252.

¹²³ *Koran* (25,61), s. 436.

¹²⁴ *Tamże* (31,10), s. 492. Por. mitologię egipską.

¹²⁵ *Tamże* (51,47), s. 628.

¹²⁶ *Tamże* (21,32), s. 388.

¹²⁷ *Tamże* (2,22), s. 8.

¹²⁸ *Tamże* (67,3; 71,15-16; 41,12; 2,29; 65,12; 23,86; 65,12), s. 680, 691, 572, 9, 676, 414-415, 676-677.

¹²⁹ *Tamże* (65,12), s. 676.

¹³⁰ *Tamże* (4,126; 39,62; 54,49), s. 116, 557, 640.

¹³¹ *Tamże* (25,59; 15,85; 5,17; 5,120; 12,65), s. 436, 316, 130, 150, 369.

¹³² *Tamże* (25,54; 77,20), s. 435, 705.

¹³³ *Tamże* (77,22), s. 705.

stworzony z suchej gliny, z ukształtowanego mułu¹³⁴. Bóg stworzył także z ognia¹³⁵ dżinów¹³⁶, powołanych do istnienia wcześniej niż człowiek¹³⁷. Aniołowie oddali pokłon Adamowi, ale z wyjątkiem Ibsa, czyli dżina, który zbuntował się przeciwko Bogu¹³⁸.

Koran legł też u podstaw doktryny filozoficznej zwanej awerroizmem, opartej na interpretacji myśli Arystotelesa przez Awerroesa, a wcześniej przez Awicennę.

Początki arystotelizmu arabskiego sięgają jednak Al-Kindego¹³⁹, który przypisywał materii aktualność, dzięki której jest źródłem różnych form, przy czym traktował ją jako odwieczną, ale odmawiał jej cechy wieczności. Jako podłoże wszystkiego, co istnieje, musi być odwieczna, ale ma swój początek w nieruchomym poruszycielu¹⁴⁰.

Al-Farabi¹⁴¹ stworzył podstawy filozofii muzułmańskiej wprowadzając zarazem ciekawą koncepcję stworzenia świata, zastępując teorię *ex nihilo* teorią emanacji, tak bardzo rozwijaną w szkole Plotyna. Poszczególne emanaty (*fajd*) zajmują przestrzeń między Bytem Pierwszym, czyli Bogiem, a światem ziemskim. Łącznikiem obu światów jest czynny intelekt¹⁴².

Awicenna¹⁴³ pojmował świat teocentrycznie jako stworzony z myśli Bożej, a nie z woli Bożej, ale stworzony z materii, a nie z nicości, gdyż świat także był wieczny. Myśl tę Awicenna zapożyczył od Arystotelesa. Świat nie powstał od razu i nie został stworzony cały bezpośrednio

134 Tamże (15,26), s. 312.

135 Tamże (15,27; 55,15), s. 312, 641.

136 Tamże (6,100; 51,56), s. 167, 629.

137 Tamże (15,27), s. 312.

138 Tamże (18,50), s. 356. Motyw odmowy przez Szatana złożenia pokłonu Adamowi wcześniej występuje w apokryfie *Pokuta Adama* (12), przeł. A. Tronina, [w:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, s. 30-31. Również według syryjskiego apokryfu *Grota Skarbów*, „zbuntowany zastęp, czyli jeden z zastępów duchowych”, nie chciał czcić „prochu, uczynionego z gliny”, czyli człowieka, *Grota Skarbów* (3,1-6), [w:] *Apokryfy syryjskie*, s. 110-111.

139 Ch. Butterworth, *Al-Kindi*, [w:] *Wielcy myśliciele Wschodu*, s. 558-562.

140 P. Adamson, *Al-Kindi i recepcja filozofii greckiej*, przeł. A. Wąs, [w:] *Historia filozofii arabskiej*, red. P. Adamson i R. C. Taylor, Kraków 2015, s. 43-60; H. Corbin, *Historia filozofii muzułmańskiej*, przeł. K. Pachniak, Warszawa 2010, s. 140-143; P. Kaczmarek, *Kontrowersje wokół osoby i filozofii Awerroesa, czyli recepcja Ibn Ruszda w Dar-al-Islam i Orbis Christianorum*, „Łódzkie Studia Teologiczne” 22(1013), s. 83-84.

141 M. Aminrazavi, *Al-Farabi*, [w:] *Wielcy myśliciele Wschodu*, s. 567-570.

142 D. S. Reisman, *Al-Farabi i program nauczania filozofii*, przeł. A. Wąs, [w:] *Historia filozofii arabskiej*, s. 61-78; H. Corbin, *Historia filozofii muzułmańskiej*, s. 143-149; P. Kaczmarek, *Kontrowersje wokół osoby i filozofii Awerroesa, czyli recepcja Ibn Ruszda w Dar-al-Islam i Orbis Christianorum*, s. 83.

143 M. Aminrazavi, *Awicenna*, [w:] *Wielcy myśliciele Wschodu*, s. 571-578.

przez Boga. Bóg jest jednością, a z jedności może powstać tylko jedność. W takim razie kolejne rzeczy powstać mogły tylko dzięki dalszym aktom tworzenia. Najpierw powstał najwyższy intelekt, następnie inteligencje niższe (sfery niebieskie), potem najniższe (intelekt czynny człowieka) i na końcu formy rzeczy materialnych¹⁴⁴.

Awicenna wierzył także, że jednostki miały niesamodzielną rolę. Nawet Bóg mógł rządzić jedynie losami gatunków, a jednostkowymi rzeczami tylko o tyle, o ile ich los wpływa na los ich gatunków lub podlega ogólnym prawom.

Awicenna rozwinął odmianę dowodu kosmologicznego. Niektóre rzeczy istnieją i te, które istnieją, muszą mieć swą przyczynę. Jednak ten ciąg przyczyn jest skończony. Istnieje przyczyna, która jest przyczyną wszystkiego, a sama nie ma przyczyny. Jest to Bóg jako byt konieczny¹⁴⁵.

W swojej kosmologii Awicenna przedstawił też własną wersję emanacjonizmu. Uważał, że świat nie powstał od razu. Skoro Bóg jest jednością, to z jedności może powstać tylko jedność. Kolejne rzeczy powstają dzięki dalszym aktom tworzenia. Na samym końcu powstają formy bytów materialnych. Bóg nie stwarza bytów materialnych bezpośrednio, lecz przez stworzone przez siebie Inteligencje. Ostatecznie jednak absolutna Jednia i materia to dwie zasady rzeczywistości¹⁴⁶.

Awerroes¹⁴⁷, kontynuator myśli Awicenny, uważał Arystotelesa za największego człowieka w dziejach i komentował jego dzieła. Znana jest jego teoria „podwójnej prawdy” oraz poglądy na ludzką duszę, którą uważał za nieśmiertelną tylko jako jedną duszę ludzkości, a indywidualne dusze giną po śmierci ciała. Awerroes starał się uzgodnić swoje poglądy filozoficzne z ortodoksyjną teologią islamu, twierdząc, że prawdy religijne są inną interpretacją prawd, które odkrywa filozofia, ale nie ma między nimi sprzeczności¹⁴⁸.

Według Awerroesa świat rozciąga od czystej materii w dole do czystego aktu, czyli Boga, w górze. Między tymi granicami znajdują się rzeczy

¹⁴⁴ R. Visnovsky, *Awicenna i jego tradycja*, przeł. A. Wąs, [w:] *Historia filozofii arabskiej*, s. 97-133; H. Corbin, *Historia filozofii muzułmańskiej*, s. 150-156.

¹⁴⁵ É. Gilson, *Historia filozofii chrześcijańskiej w wiekach średnich*, przeł. S. Zalewski, Warszawa 1966, s. 216-218; R. Heintzmann, *Filozofia średniowiecza*, przeł. P. Domański, Kęty 1999, s. 139-141.

¹⁴⁶ F. C. Copleston, *Historia filozofii*, przeł. S. Zalewski, Warszawa 2000, II, s. 227-229; W. Stróżewski, *Ontologia*, s. 74.

¹⁴⁷ Ch. Butterworth, *Awerroes*, [w:] *Wielcy myśliciele Wschodu*, s. 593-597.

¹⁴⁸ R. C. Taylor, *Awerroes: dialektyka religijna i arystotelesowska myśl filozoficzna*, przeł. K. Pachniak, [w:] *Historia filozofii arabskiej*, s. 173-190; H. Corbin, *Historia filozofii muzułmańskiej*, s. 212-217; É. Gilson, *Historia filozofii chrześcijańskiej w wiekach średnich*, s. 182-196.

złożone z możliwości i aktu. Bóg wyprowadza formy rzeczy materialnych z możliwości czystej materii i stwarza Inteligencje, w liczbie dziesięciu, stwarzanie jest jednak zdeterminowane¹⁴⁹.

Tym samym Awerroes odrzucił emanację. Uznał też, że człowiek żyje po śmierci cielesnej nie jako osobowa jednostkowa rzecz, ale jako moment w powszechnej i wspólnej inteligencji gatunku ludzkiego. Nieśmiertelność istnieje, ale nie ma nieśmiertelności osobowej¹⁵⁰.

Komentarze Awerroesa do dzieł Arystotelesa były tak trafne, że za św. Tomaszem z Akwinu nazywano go „Komentatorem”. Tomasz z Akwinu przeciwstawił się jednak w kilku istotnych kwestiach Awerroesowi i jego uczniom, przede wszystkim twierdzeniu, że można dowieść wieczności świata. Tomasz bronił twierdzenia, że świat został stworzony przez Boga z niczego. Polemizował z poglądami Awerroesa w dziełku *O wieczności świata*¹⁵¹ oraz w *Sumie przeciw poganom*¹⁵².

Myśl Awerroesa wywarła olbrzymi wpływ na Europę i arabski arystotelizm spowodował powstanie łacińskiego awerroizmu, którego najważniejszymi przedstawicielami byli Siger z Brabancji i Boecjusz z Dacji.

Na uwagę zasługują poglądy filozofów muzułmańskich, zwanych mutakallimów. Nurt ten skupiał ortodoksów islamskich, dążących do tego, by filozofia i nauka w niczym nie sprzeciwiały się Koranowi. Myśliciele z tego kierunku nawiązali do starożytnych atomistów głosząc teorię, że rzeczy składają się nie z materii i formy, jak uważał Arystoteles i jego muzułmańscy zwolennicy, lecz z atomów, które ze swej natury są jednorodne. Ludzie nie mają wolnej woli, ich los poddany jest przeznaczeniu, nieubłaganemu fatum¹⁵³. Głosili, że każda rzecz może mieć każdą właściwość, zmienić ją na inną. Właściwości rzeczy są przelotne, nie ma praw ani składników stałych, świat ma nieograniczone możliwości i nieograniczoną zmienność, a trwanie właściwości polega na jej stałym odtwarzaniu się na nowo. Rzeczy są pozbawione zdolności działania, nie mogą być przyczyną tego, co się dzieje, przy-

¹⁴⁹ Porównaj koncepcję dziesięciu sefirot w judaizmie.

¹⁵⁰ F. C. Copleston, *Historia filozofii*, II, s. 233-234; R. Heintzmann, *Filozofia średniowiecza*, s. 142-144; J. i D. Sourdel, *Cywilizacja islamu (VII-XIII w.)*, s. 152-198; A. Mez, *Renesans islamu*, przeł. J. Danecki, Warszawa 1980, s. 198-216.

¹⁵¹ Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *O wieczności świata. Teksty i studia*, przeł. A. Pokulniewicz, Warszawa 2003.

¹⁵² Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *Summa contra gentiles. Prawda wiary chrześcijańskiej w dyskusji z poganami, innowiercami i błędzącymi* (II, 31-38), przeł. Z. Włodek i W. Zega, Poznań 2003, I, s. 328-352.

¹⁵³ H. Corbin, *Historia filozofii muzułmańskiej*, przeł. K. Pachniak, Warszawa 2010, s. 63, 99, 165, 283; S. Wielgus, *Średniowieczna filozofia i nauka islamska oraz jej wpływ na filozofię i naukę zachodnią*, „Biuletyn Ekumeniczny” 31(2002), z. 121, s. 76.

czyną wszystkiego musi być Bóg, wszelkie działanie jest działaniem Boga, to On udziela atomom własności i porusza je, gdyż między rzeczami nie ma stałych związków, nie ma przyczyny i skutku. Bóg nie jest niczym nieograniczony, stoi ponad wszystkim, także ponad regułami etycznymi¹⁵⁴.

Według Sigera byt z chwilą ujęcia go przez umysł staje się zasadą jego działania, a tym samym przedmiotem filozofii. W kosmologii rozważał materię obdarzoną ruchem. Materia jest jednorodnym podłożem całej rzeczywistości jako zasada możliwościowa. To materia powoduje zmienność wszystkich rzeczy i ich różnorodność. Za arabskimi myślicielami uważał, że świat jest wieczny, odrzucał też koncepcję pierwszej przyczyny świata, uważając istnienie Boga za hipotezę. Światem rządzi konieczność, której podlega także człowiek i jego rozum.

Jednostkową duszę ludzką traktował jako zniszczalną, natomiast człowiek uczestniczy w duszy wspólnej całej ludzkości i w niej oraz przez nią myśli i poznaje jako konkretna osoba ludzka¹⁵⁵.

Podobne poglądy głosił też Boecjusz z Dacji, uczeń Sigera. Uznawał on konieczność pierwszego Poruszyciela¹⁵⁶, ale uważał wszechświat za współwieczny z Bogiem¹⁵⁷. Wszechświat jest niezniszczalny, gdyż wszystko, co nie powstało przez narodziny, jest niezniszczalne. Tym samym wszechświat ma moc istnienia zawsze, czyli istnienia wiecznego¹⁵⁸. Również żydowski arystotelik Majmonides poza Bogiem postrzegał trzy stopnie bytu:

- 1) czyste inteligencje kosmiczne, które są czystą formą bez materii;
- 2) ciała niebieskie mające formę i materię, obdarzone duszą i intelektem;
- 3) świat podksiężycowy z opornej materii. Kosmos traktował jako jeden organizm dążący do doskonałości¹⁵⁹.

Majmonides przyjmował też punkt widzenia mędrców żydowskich, którzy twierdzili, że w Biblii nie ma pełnego opisu stworzenia, gdyż

¹⁵⁴ M. Bashed, *Filozofia naturalna*, przeł. K. Pachniak, [w:] *Historia filozofii arabskiej*, red. P. Adamson i R. C. Taylor, Kraków 2015, s. 265-283.

¹⁵⁵ É. Gilson, *Historia filozofii chrześcijańskiej w wiekach średnich*, s. 381-390.

¹⁵⁶ Boecjusz z Dacji, *O wieczności świata* (327), [w tegoż:] *O dobru najwyższym czyli o życiu filozofa i inne pisma*, przeł. L. Regier, Warszawa 1990, s. 75.

¹⁵⁷ Tamże (102), s. 64.

¹⁵⁸ Tamże (128), s. 66.

¹⁵⁹ E. Stein, *Majmonides jako arystotelik żydowski*, Warszawa 1937, s. 18-19.

temat ten jest wielką tajemnicą¹⁶⁰. Natomiast w odniesieniu do Boga należy zanegować wszystko, co zakłada cielesność lub bierność¹⁶¹. Szeregi przyczyn działających w świecie prowadzą do pierwszej przyczyny. Bóg jest formą wszystkich form i ostatecznym celem wszystkiego¹⁶². Nie istnieje nic oprócz Boga i wszechświata, a jedynym dowodem na istnienie Boga jest wszechświat w całości i w każdej swojej części¹⁶³.

Według Majmonidesa powód, dla którego filozofowie nazywają Boga przyczyną, a nie czynnikiem działającym, nie leży w ich przekonaniu, że wszechświat jest wieczny, lecz w innych motywach¹⁶⁴. Można bowiem rozumowo orzekać zarówno o wieczności świata, jak i o jego stworzoności¹⁶⁵.

Bóg jest czynnikiem działającym, formą i celem. W jakim jednak sensie można powiedzieć o Bogu, że jest czynnikiem działającym, formą i ostateczną przyczyną wszechświata? Majmonides nawet zalecał, żeby nie zaprzętać sobie głowy zagadnieniem, czy świat został stworzony przez Boga, czy też jest wieczny¹⁶⁶. Bóg, który jest Jeden, stworzył tylko jeden byt¹⁶⁷, co znaczy, że wszechświat w całości jest tylko jednym pojedynczym bytem¹⁶⁸.

Pozostaje jednak całkowitą tajemnicą, w jaki sposób Bóg rządzi wszechświatem i zaspakaja jego potrzeby, gdyż z jednej strony można udowodnić, że Bóg jest transcendentny wobec świata, a z drugiej Jego panowanie i opatrność¹⁶⁹.

Bóg jest przyczyną każdego zdarzenia, jakie zachodzi w świecie, tak samo, jak jest też Stwórcą całego wszechświata w takim sensie, w jakim on teraz istnieje¹⁷⁰. Poza tym Majmonides uznawał istnienie próżni, czyli jednej lub większej ilości przestrzeni nic nie zawierających, w których nic się nie znajduje i które zarazem pozbawione są jakiegokolwiek substancji¹⁷¹.

¹⁶⁰ Majmonides, *Przewodnik błędzących*, przeł. U. Krawczyk i H. Halkowski, Kraków 2008, s. 17.

¹⁶¹ Tamże (LV), s. 132.

¹⁶² Tamże (LXIX), s. 169-173.

¹⁶³ Tamże (LXXI), s. 184.

¹⁶⁴ Tamże (LXIX), s. 170.

¹⁶⁵ S. Swieżawski, *Dzieje europejskiej filozofii klasycznej*, s. 553.

¹⁶⁶ Majmonides, *Przewodnik błędzących* (LXIX), s. 170.

¹⁶⁷ Tamże (LXXII), s. 188.

¹⁶⁸ Tamże (LXXII), s. 185.

¹⁶⁹ Tamże (LXXII), s. 193.

¹⁷⁰ Tamże (LXXIX), s. 170.

¹⁷¹ Tamże (LXXXIII), s. 196; R. Heinzmann, *Filozofia średniowiecza*, s. 145-148; H. i M. Simon, *Filozofia żydowska*, przeł. T. G. Pszczołkowski, Warszawa 1990, s. 114-132.

Judaizm rozwinął też teorię mistycznego obrazu Bóstwa, zwaną *szuur koma* (שיעור קומה – *wymiary ciała*). Jest to próba dania odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy Bóg, którego nie wolno czcić pod żadną postacią (Wj 20,4), sam również nie ma postaci? Bóg jest przecież źródłem wszelkiej formy, ale czy sam ma jakąś formę? Opis teofanii na Synaju mówi wyraźnie: „Dźwięk słów słyszeliście, ale poza głosem nie dostrzeżliście postać Boga” (Pwp 4,12)¹⁷².

Jeżeli człowiek jest stworzony na „obraz” Boga, to tym samym musiał być wzór człowieka i to w samym Bogu. Człowiek jest obrazem Boga, a więc istnieje coś na kształt obrazu boskiego, co określa istotę człowieka i jego cielesności¹⁷³. Bóg stworzył człowieka na swój obraz we wszystkich jego członkach i we wszystkich jego częściach¹⁷⁴. O takiej właśnie interpretacji w II wieku mówi św. Justyn Męczennik w swoim *Dialogu z Żydem Tryfonem*:

Gdy zaś powiada: Ujrzę niebiosa, dzieła rąk Twoich, tedy jeśli nie rozumiem, że to oznacza działanie Słowa Jego, niedorzeczne będę miał pojęcie, tak właśnie jak wasi nauczyciele, którzy mniemają, że Ojciec wszechrzeczy i Bóg niezrodzony ma ręce, i nogi, i palce, i duszę, jak jakie żywe, z części się składające stworzenie. Toć oni właśnie dlatego uczą, że to sam Ojciec pokazał się Abrahamowi i Jakubowi¹⁷⁵.

Mistyka rydwanu z Księgi Ezechiela (1,4-28) zakłada kształt przestrzenny. Chodzi tu o opis wizji rydwanu, czyli *Merkawy* (מרכבה – *tron, rydwan*), na którym opiera się tron Boga. Wizję tę miał prorok w czasach wygania do Babilonu nad rzeką Kebar (prawdopodobnie kanał *ka-ba-ru* koło Nippur w dzisiejszym Iranie). Rydwan unosiły istoty z wyższego świata, mające postaci zwierzęce i ludzkie. Prorok dostrzegł nad rydwanem kształt tronu, a na nim jakby zarys postaci człowieka (Ez 1,26). Jest to mistyczna postać Bóstwa, ciało Stwórcy, zwane ciałem Bóstwa¹⁷⁶. To „boskie ciało” ukazuje się mistykom. Bóstwo ma więc mistyczną postać, która manifestuje się w aspekcie widzialnym i słyszalnym¹⁷⁷. W tej interpretacji Pieśń nad pieśniami jest traktowana jako opis ciała Bóstwa i opo-

172 G. Schollem, *O mistycznej postaci bóstwa. Z badań nad podstawowymi pojęciami kabaly*, s. 5-6.

173 Tamże, s. 7.

174 Tamże, s. 41.

175 Św. Justyn Męczennik, *Dialog z Żydem Tryfonem*, (114,3), [w tegoż:] *Apologia. Dialog z Żydem Tryfonem*, przeł. A. Lisiecki, Poznań 1926, s. 302.

176 Tamże, s. 10-11.

177 Tamże, s. 21.

wiada o ukazaniu się Bóstwa i jego postaciach¹⁷⁸. W kabale faktycznymi elementami postaci Bóstwa stają się elementy imienia w literach języka hebrajskiego¹⁷⁹.

Spośród średniowiecznych myślicieli żydowskich Chasdaj Kreskas uważał, że przestrzeń jest nieskończona, a miejsce skończone. Tym samym może istnieć przestrzeń niezajęta przez ciała¹⁸⁰.

Nie powinno budzić zdziwienia, że w 1270 roku biskup Paryża Étienne Tempier potępił piętnaście twierdzeń, z których trzynaście wyrażało poglądy awerroistów. Siedem lat później wydał nowy dekret, w którym potępił dwieście dziewiętnaście twierdzeń, wśród których były twierdzenia awerroistów oraz imiennie wymienił Sigera z Brabancji i Boecjusza z Dacji jako przywódców awerroizmu. Wcześniej poglądy głoszące wieczność materii potępił Sobór Laterański w 1215 roku: *creator omnium visibilium et invisibilium, spiritualium et corporalium: qui sua omnipotenti virtute simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam*¹⁸¹. Tym samym łaćski awerroizm został odrzucony.

Jest rzeczą zrozumiałą, że koncepcja *creatio ex nihilo* i *creatio ex materia* były dyskutowane w średniowieczu. Przyczynił się do tego także fakt, że niektórzy zwolennicy myśli św. Augustyna z Hippony uważali, że można logicznie wykazać wieczność stworzonego świata¹⁸². Przed wszystkim jednak św. Tomasz z Akwinu przeciwstawił się Awerroesowi i jego kontynuatorom, którzy twierdzili, że można udowodnić wieczność świata.

¹⁷⁸ Tamże, s. 22. Pieśń nad pieśniami była w judaizmie traktowana jako tekst ezoteryczny, o czym pisze Orygenes: „Obyczaje żydowskie nakazują, aby nikt, kto nie osiągnął pełnoletności, nie był upoważniony do trzymania w ręku tej księgi. Co więcej, chociaż rabini oraz nauczyciele nauczają wszystkich tekstów biblijnych oraz przekazują tradycję ustną dzieciom, to jak dotąd ukrywają oni cztery następujące teksty: początek Księgi Rodzaju z opisem stworzenia świata; początek prorocstwa Ezechiela, gdzie mowa jest o cherubinach; zakończenie opisujące świątynię przyszłości oraz Pieśń nad pieśniami”, por. O r y g e n e s , *In Canticum canticorum prologus interpreto Rufino* (26,5), PG XIII, kol. 66-64.

¹⁷⁹ G. S c h o l e m , *O mistycznej postaci bóstwa. Z badań nad podstawowymi pojęciami kabaly*, s. 45; por. I. G r u e n w a l d , *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism (Ancien Judaism and Early Christianity)*, Leiden 20142.

¹⁸⁰ J. O c h m a n , *Średniowieczna filozofia żydowska*, Kraków 1995, s. 232; H. i M. , S i m o n , *Filozofia żydowska*, s. 149-160.

¹⁸¹ Definicja Soboru Laterańskiego IV z 1215 roku, H. D e n z i n g e r , *Enchiridion Symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum, (№ 428)*, s. 199.

¹⁸² Zwykle powoływano się na następujące pisma św. A u g u s t y n a : *Przeciwko manichejczykom komentarz do Księgi Rodzaju* (I, 3; 7, 11), [w tegoż:] *Pisma egzegetyczne przeciw manichejczykom*, przeł. J. Sulowski, Warszawa 1980, s. 25 i 29 oraz *Niedokończony komentarz słowny do Księgi Rodzaju* (3, 10; 4, 15), tamże, s. 87 i 89.

Według Tomasza stworzenie jest aktem, który zakłada, że poza Stwórcą niczego nie ma. Nie ma żadnej „materii pierwszej” (*materia prima*), która pojawia się dopiero po akcie stworzenia, będącym aktem woli Stwórcy. W wyniku tego aktu powstają byty zależne od Boga, natomiast Bóg nie jest od nich zależny w żadnym stopniu¹⁸³.

Twierdzenie o *creatio ex nihilo* jest jednym z podstawowych twierdzeń kosmologii i dogmatyki chrześcijańskiej¹⁸⁴.

Tomasz precyzuje, że Bóg jest przyczyną wszystkich rzeczy, bowiem z Niego wypływają wszystkie byty¹⁸⁵. Bóg jako pierwsza przyczyna sprawia, że dzięki Jego najwyższej dobroci inne byty nie tylko istnieją, ale same stają się przyczynami, gdyż materia jest możliwością¹⁸⁶. Tomasz przeciwstawił się tezie, że materia jest wieczna i nosi w sobie zarodki wszystkich form, a ciąg narodzin w przeszłości i przyszłości ma charakter nieskończony¹⁸⁷.

Problem istnienia świata dla średniowiecznych myślicieli wiązał się z pytaniem o Boga. Tomasz z Akwinu był przekonany, że byty mogą zaistnieć tylko przez stworzenie¹⁸⁸. Bóg nie zmieniając się wyprowadza rzeczy do istnienia nie odwiecznie, chociaż sam Bóg jest wieczny¹⁸⁹. Tomasz uważał, że ziemia jest niedoskonała, natomiast doskonale są ciała niebieskie, które mają inną naturę, gdyż są stworzone z doskonalszej materii¹⁹⁰.

Poza światem nie ma żadnego miejsca i stąd niewłaściwe są pytania o usytuowanie świata w przestrzeni. Wiara katolicka nie przyjmuje niczego, co byłoby współwieczne Bogu¹⁹¹.

Tomasz powrócił do tych zagadnień w dziełku *O wieczności świata*, którego głównym problemem jest zagadnienie odwiecznego stwarzania

183 É. Gilson, *Historia filozofii chrześcijańskiej w wiekach średnich*, s. 365-368.

184 Mówią o tym definicje Soboru Watykańskiego I z 1870 roku: Hic solus verus Deus bonitate sua et „omnipotentem virtute” non ad augendam suam beatitudinem nec ad acquirendam, sed ad manifestandam perfectionem suam per bona, quae creaturis impertitur, liberrimo consilio simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam. ... Si quis dixerit, res finitas tum corporeas tum spirituales aut saltem spirituales divina substantiae emanasse aut divinam essentiam sui manifestatione vel evolutione fieri omnia [...] anathema sit. H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum, definitio-num et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* (№ 1783 i 1804), s. 491, 498.

185 S. Swieżawski, *Dzieje europejskiej filozofii klasycznej*, s. 663.

186 Tamże, s. 666, 669. Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *Kwestie dyskutowane o prawdzie*, przeł. A. Aduszkiewicz, L. Kuczyński i J. Ruszczyński, Kęty 2001, I, s. 510.

187 S. Swieżawski, *Dzieje europejskiej filozofii klasycznej*, s. 550-551.

188 Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *O wierze*, przeł. J. Salij, Poznań 2000, s. 113.

189 Tamże, s. 115.

190 N. M. Wildiers, *Obraz świata a teologia. Od średniowiecza do dzisiaj*, s. 57.

191 Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *O wierze*, s. 120.

świata. Platonizm ze swoją wieczną lecz nieuporządkowaną materią, kształtowaną przez Demiurga, bądź też emanacje plotyńskie, stanowiły dla Akwinaty problem. Zagadnienie początku świata należy do najtrudniejszych problemów filozofii¹⁹².

Tomasz zaczyna swój traktat od stwierdzenia, że zgodnie z wiarą katolicką nie było świata odwiecznie, lecz miał on początek trwania¹⁹³. Czy jednak mógł być zawsze? Jeśli uważa się, że coś zawsze istniało, to nasuwa się pytanie, czy Bóg mógł sprawić coś, co zawsze istniało¹⁹⁴. Czy możliwe jest więc powstanie czegoś, co będzie zawsze istnieć?¹⁹⁵ Podstawową tezę Tomasza jest, że coś zostało uczynione, ale nie ma niczego, z czego mogłoby zostać uczynione¹⁹⁶. Tomasz powołał się tu na *Wykład wiary prawdziwej* św. Jana z Damaszku, który uważał, że skoro świat jest dziełem woli Boga, to nie jest Mu współwieczny. To, co przeszło z niebytu do istnienia nie może być współwieczne z Bogiem, który nie ma początku i istnieje zawsze¹⁹⁷.

Słuszną wydaje się uwaga, że należy odróżnić pojęcie stworzenia świata od jego początku i bez popadania w sprzeczność można uznać, że świat jest stwarzany przez Boga, ale nigdy nie miał początku¹⁹⁸. Stworzenie ma istnienie od Innego, czyli wieczny świat nie może istnieć sam z siebie i byłby niczym bez aktu stwórczego Boga¹⁹⁹.

W średniowieczu doszły też do głosu inne koncepcje, jak Mistra Eckharta, który idąc za św. Maksymem Wyznawcą uważał, że Bóg nie jest bytem i istnieniem, lecz jest czymś więcej²⁰⁰. Na szczególną uwagę zasługuje tu osoba kardynała Mikołaja z Kuzy, filozofa pośredniczącego między średniowieczem i nowymi czasami. Uważał on, że Bóg jest wszystkim tym, co może być, czyli nieskończonym urzeczywistnieniem. W Bożej nieskończoności *maximum* zespala się z *minimum* w Bożej nieskończoności w *coincidentia oppositorum*. Dlatego Bóg jest załączkiem wszystkich rzeczy, nawet sprzecznych, gdyż jest On wszystkim i wszyst-

192 E. Gilson, *Tomizm. Wprowadzenie do filozofii św. Tomasza z Akwinu*, przeł. J. Rybałt, Warszawa 1960, s. 213.

193 Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *O wieczności świata. Teksty i studia* (1), s. 95.

194 Tamże (1), s. 97.

195 Tamże (2), s. 97.

196 Tamże (6), s. 111.

197 Św. Jan z Damaszku, *Wykład wiary prawdziwej* (I, 8), s. 36.

198 M. Heller, *Ostateczne wyjaśnienie wszechświata*, Kraków 2012, s. 173.

199 Tamże, s. 175; por. Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *O wieczności świata. Teksty i studia* (7), s. 113.

200 S. Świeżawski, *Dzieje europejskiej filozofii klasycznej*, s. 748; por. B. Chmiel, *Rozum w filozofii średniowiecznej*, „Kultura i Wartości” 3(2013), z. 7, s. 125-145.

ko jest w Nim. Każda rzecz jest stworzona na obraz Trójcy, każda jest też odbiciem doskonałości Boga, ukazuje coś z Boga, odbijając tym samym cały wszechświat. Świat jest jeden, gdyż jest zbudowany z tego samego tworzywa i jest nieograniczony²⁰¹.

Jeśli natomiast świat miał początek, to będzie też miał i koniec. Jednak według teologii powtórne przyjście Chrystusa nie zawiera się w czasie, lecz jest poza czasem. Trudność interpretacji Apokalipsy polega na tym, że księga ta nie mówi o końcu historii w czasie, czas bowiem jest znamięniem świata upadłego, które prawo postępu przedłuża w nieskończoność. Dlatego przewyciężając stan upadku wychodzi się poza czas. Koniec świata to koniec czasu. Sam koniec historii nie może być wydarzeniem historycznym, nie może być umieszczony w przyszłości, bo sama przyszłość jest kategorią czasu, a czas musi zostać przewyciężony. Historia musi „przejsć” z czasu historycznego w czystą egzystencję pozaczasową. Koniec świata jest w stosunku do samego świata wydarzeniem transcendentnym, dokonuje się ono nie w historii, ale w metahistorii, gdyż w historii – w której panuje „zła nieskończoność” – takiego momentu może w ogóle nie być²⁰².

We wszystkich średniowiecznych rozważaniach o wszechświecie i stworzeniu istotną rolę odgrywały trzy pojęcia: przestrzeń (*spatium*), próżnia (*vacuum*) i miejsce (*locus*). Jedno miejsce miało znaczenie szczególne.

Chodzi tu o „Empireum”, którego zwięzłą, ale doskonałą definicję podaje *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: Empireum (*Empyrus*, adaptacja ἔμυρος – w ogniu, od πῦρ – ogień), miejsce na najwyższym niebie, które w starożytnych kosmologiach miało być miejscem ognia lub eteru. Tym samym była to nazwa firmamentu, w literaturze chrześcijańskiej miejsce zamieszkania Boga i świętych oraz źródło światłości²⁰³.

²⁰¹ Mikołaj z Kuzy, *O oświeconej niewiedzy* (II, 1), s. 94-99; por. S. Swieżawski, *Między średniowieczem a czasami nowymi. Sylwetki myślicieli XV wieku*, Warszawa 2002, s. 184-188; R. Heinzmann, *Filozofia średniowiecza*, s. 274-286.

²⁰² J. Klinger, *Geneza sporu o epiklezę. Eschatologiczny a memorialny charakter Eucharystii w kanonie pierwszych wieków*, Warszawa 1969, s. 110-111.

²⁰³ *Empyrean*, [w:] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. Ch. Hugh, Cambridge 191011, IX, s. 362; por. M. Kurdziałek i G. Maurach, *Empyreum*, [w:] *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, red. J. Ritter, K. Gründer i G. Gabriel, Darmstadt 1972, II, s. 478-480. *Słownik łacińsko-polski*, II, s. 382: empireum – ognisty. Wizja pałacu Bożego w etiopskiej *Księdze Henocha* przypomina opisy *Empyreum*, por. *Księga Henocha etiopska* (14,8-12), przeł. R. Rubinkiewicz, [w:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, s. 148-149. Św. Augustyn podaje, że pierwszy pojęcie Empireum wprowadził Porfiriusz, uczeń Platona; św. Augustyn, *Państwo Boże* (X, 9), s. 368.

Słownik języka polskiego mówi, że według mistyków greckich i wczesnochrześcijańskich Empireum jest siedzibą bogów lub Boga, czyli niebem, rajem, a tym samym przymiotnik „empirejski” znaczy „niebiański”²⁰⁴. Empireum jest więc miejscem związanym z najwyższym kręgiem niebios²⁰⁵.

Koncepcja Empireum wiąże się ze średniowiecznym obrazem wszechświata, który był wynikiem połączenia wizji biblijnej z myślą grecką i arabską, sięgającymi Mezopotamii. Szczególną rolę odegrała w tym opowieść Platona w dialogu *Państwo* o żołnierzu imieniem Er, który dwanaście dni po śmierci powrócił do życia i opowiedział o życiu kosmosu w obrotach ośmiu kręgów nad nieruchomą ziemią²⁰⁶. Podobny opis, lecz szczegółowszy, znajdujemy w Śnie Scypiona z traktatu *O państwie* (VI, 9-29) Cycerona:

Czy nie spojrzysz nawet, do jakich przestworów niebieskich przybyłeś? Całość okolona jest dziewięciu sferami czy raczej kulami, z których jedna, najdalsza, jest niebem i ona obejmuje sobą wszystkie inne. Jest to sam bóg najwyższy, który zamyka w sobie i ogarnia wszystko. W tej sferze tkwią toczące się z nią razem wieczyste biegi gwiazd. Poniżej siedem sfer toczy się wstecz, obrotem przeciwnym niż niebo. Jedną kulę spomiędzy nich dzierży ta, którą nazywają na ziemi Saturnem. Następną jest przychylna i korzystna dla rodzaju ludzkiego jasna gwiazda, zwana Jowiszem; po niej idzie czerwona i groźna dla Ziemi, którą nazywacie Marsem. Poniżej, środkowe prawie miejsce zajmuje Słońce, wódz najwyższy i kierownik innych światła niebieskich, rozum kierujący światem, tak ogromne, że wszystko blaskiem swym rozświetla i wypełnia. Jak przybocznicy idą za nim kręgi Wenerę i Merkurego, a na samym dole obrotu swe wykonuje Księżyc wysrebrzony promieniami Słońca. Niżej są już jedynie rzeczy śmiertelne i przemijające, z wyjątkiem tylko dusz, które w darze od bogów otrzymał rodzaj ludzki, powyżej zaś Księżyc wszystko jest wieczne. Owa zaś środkowa, dziewiąta kula to Ziemia, która tkwi nieruchomo, znajduje się najniżej i ku niej własnym pędem kierują się wszystkie ciężary. [...] Ziemia bowiem, dzie-

204 *Słownik języka polskiego*, II, s. 724-725.

205 *Wielka Ilustrowana Encyklopedia Powszechna*, Warszawa 1996, IV, s. 255.

206 *Platon, Państwo* (616 c-617 b), [w tegoż:] *Państwo, Prawa (VII ksiąg)*, przeł. W. Witwicki, Kęty 1999³, s. 331-334.

wiąta z kolei, tkwi nieruchomo zawsze na jednym miejscu, zajmując środek wszechświata²⁰⁷.

W Biblii występuje inna koncepcja, związana nie ze sferami niebieskimi, ale z niebiosami, o czym mówi apostoł Paweł: „Znam człowieka, który [...] został porwany aż do trzeciego nieba (ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ). I wiem, że człowiek ten – czy w ciele, nie wiem, czy poza ciałem, też nie wiem, Bóg to wie – został uniesiony do raju (εἰς τὸν παράδεισον)” (2 Kor 12,2-3). Tekst ten niewątpliwie jest uzależniony od apokryficznych ksiąg *Apokalipsa Mojżesza*, zwanej inaczej *Życie Adama i Ewy*, według której archanioł Michał uniósł Adama „do Raju, do trzeciego Nieba” (37,2) oraz *Pokuta Adama*, mówiącej o „raju trzeciego nieba”²⁰⁸. *Księga Jubileuszów* mówi wyraźnie o stworzeniu niebios, o tym, że Bóg „uczynił siedem wielkich dzieł pierwszego dnia”²⁰⁹. *Wniebowstąpienie proroka Izajasza*²¹⁰ i *Testament Lewiego* zawierają wyraźne informacje o siedmiu niebiosach²¹¹. Również słowiańska *Księga Henocha*, której czas powstania jest trudny do określenia, mówi o siedmiu niebiosach, zamieszkałych przez aniołów²¹². Z kolei hebrajska wersja tej księgi podaje, że jest siedmiu wielkich księżąt, wyznaczonych nad siedmioma niebiosami i ich aniołami²¹³. Poza tym są też księżęta wyznaczeni nad orbitami słońca, księżycy, planet i gwiazd²¹⁴. Według tradycji judeochrześcijańskiej jest więc siedem niebios zamieszkałych przez aniołów. Św. Ireneusz z Lyonu

²⁰⁷ M. T. C y c e r o n, *Sen Scypiona* (17-18), [w tegoż:] *Wybór pism naukowych*, przeł. K. Wisłocka-Remerowa, Wrocław-Warszawa 20062, s. 300-301. Księżyc jest medium naturae i medium quantitatis, gdyż znajduje się na pograniczu nieba i ma odmienną naturę od innych ciał niebieskich, por. M. K u r d z i a ł e k, Średniowieczne stanowisko wobec tezy: *Ziemia jest jedną z planet*, [w tegoż:] *Średniowiecze w poszukiwaniu równowagi między arystotelizmem a platonizmem. Studia i artykuły*, Lublin 1996, s. 242. *Księgę o obrotach ciał niebieskich zawiera Księga Henocha etiopska* (72-82), [w:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, s. 167-173.

²⁰⁸ *Pokuta Adama* (48), [w:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, s. 38.

²⁰⁹ *Księga Jubileuszów* (2,2-3), przeł. A. Kondracki, [w:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, s. 265.

²¹⁰ *Wniebowstąpienie proroka Izajasza* (7,13-11,22), przeł. S. Kur, [w:] *Apokryfy Nowego Testamentu. Listy i apokalipsy chrześcijańskie*, opr. M. Starowieyski, Kraków 2001, s. 151-162. O niebiosach mówią również inne apokryficzne apokalipsy chrześcijańskie (tamże, s. 182, 195, 212-214, 245), które opisują też zstąpienie do Tartaru jako odwrotności Empireum (tamże, s. 185, 191-195, 264-272, 281-292).

²¹¹ *Testament Lewiego* (2-3), przeł. A. P a c i o r e k, [w:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, s. 50-51.

²¹² *Księga Henocha słowiańska* (3-22), przeł. R. Rubinkiewicz, [w:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, s. 200-203.

²¹³ *Księga Henocha hebrajska* (17,1), przeł. M. Prokopowicz, [w:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, s. 225.

²¹⁴ Tamże (17,4-7), s. 225-226.

również mówi o tym, że „świat otoczony jest przez siedem niebios, w których mieszkają moce, aniołowie i archaniołowie”²¹⁵.

Trzeba było więc pogodzić teorię sfer niebieskich z Biblią, która nic o owych sferach nie mówi, jak i biblijną koncepcję „wód nad sklepieniem”, nazwanym przez Boga niebem (Rdz 1,6), której z kolei nie zna filozofia grecka.

Wszechświat był traktowany jako wielka machina, która działa harmonijnie. Harmonia ta jest niezmienna i ostateczna. Grecy i Rzymianie rozumieali świat jako skończony i zorganizowany system, ograniczony gwiazdami, i nazywali go kosmosem (κόσμος, w języku łacińskim *mundus*). Wszechświat jako całość nazywali τὸ πᾶν (*uniwersum*)²¹⁶. Pojęcie „porządku” (*ordo*), wynikające z tekstu Mdr 11,20 („Tyś wszystko urządził pod miarą i liczbą i wagą”), odgrywa istotną rolę w myśli św. Augustyna²¹⁷. Kosmos jest wielką harmonijną machiną, którą porusza nieruchomy Poruszyciel świata²¹⁸. Bóg doskonale uporządkował świat, kosmos jest synonimem porządku²¹⁹. Mówi o tym na początku XVII wieku Wiliam Szekspir w *Troilusie i Kresydzie*²²⁰. Poza tym kosmos uważano za pieśń pochwalną ku czci Trójcy Świętej²²¹. Stąd kochać Boga znaczyło kochać porządek, o czym śpiewał św. Franciszek z Asyżu w hymnie *Pochwała stworzenia*, zwanym też *Hymnem do Słońca*²²². Odrzucono jednak starożytną koncepcję wpływu gwiazd na losy człowieka, jako niezgodną z zasadą wolnej woli, ciała niebieskie są wyłącznie do podziału czasu²²³.

215 Św. Ireneusz z Lyonu, *Wykład nauki apostołskiej* (I, 9), przeł. W. Myszor, Kraków 1997, s. 31; por. R. Zając, *Przewodnik po niebie, piekle i ich mieszkańcach*, Kraków 2014.

216 D. J. Furley, *Greek Theory of the Infinite Universe*, „Journal of the History of Ideas” 42(1921), z. 4, s. 572.

217 Św. Augustyn, *Komentarz słowny do Księgi Rodzaju* (IV, 3), [w tegoż:] *Pisma egzegetyczne przeciw manichejczykom*, przeł. J. Sulowski, Warszawa 1980, s. 170.

218 N. M. Wildiers, *Obraz świata a teologia. Od średniowiecza do dzisiaj*, s. 49.

219 Tamże, s. 85.

220 W. Szekspir, *Troilus i Kresyda*, przeł. L. Ulrich, [w:] W. Szekspir, *Dziela dramatyczne*, opr. S. Helsztyński, R. Jabłkowska i A. Staniewska, Warszawa 19632, V, s. 29-31 (akt I, scena III).

221 N. M. Wildiers, *Obraz świata a teologia. Od średniowiecza do dzisiaj*, s. 51.

222 Św. Franciszek z Asyżu, *Pochwała stworzenia*, [w tegoż:] *Kwiatki św. Franciszka z Asyżu*, przeł. L. Staff, Warszawa 19592, s. 25-26; por. N.M. Wildiers, *Obraz świata a teologia. Od średniowiecza do dzisiaj*, s. 71.

223 N. M. Wildiers, *Obraz świata a teologia. Od średniowiecza do dzisiaj*, s. 51. Por.: „Ludzie panami są swoich przeznaczeń: / Jeżeli nisko spadamy, częstokroć / Nie jest to wina gwiazd, ale nas samych”, W. Szekspir, *Juliusz Cezar*, przeł. J. Paszkowski, [w:] W. Szekspir, *Dziela dramatyczne*, opr. S. Helsztyński, R. Jabłkowska i A. Staniewska, Warszawa 19632, V, s. 696 (akt I, scena II).

Uważano, że ziemię otacza siedem sfer, na których są rozmieszczone planety wywierające wpływ na ludzi i wszystkie zjawiska w świecie. Ziemia znajduje się w bezruchu w centrum kosmosu²²⁴, a pod sferami planetarnymi są jeszcze trzy inne sfery, w najniższej z nich (*stellatum*) są nieruchome gwiazdy. Kosmos jest doskonale okrągły, a planety poruszają się po kołowych orbitach²²⁵

Koncepcja ta sięga Sumeru i Akadu, w których czczono jako bóstwa siedem planet, widocznych gołym okiem (oprócz Marsa, Merkurego, Jowisza, Wenus i Saturna zaliczono do nich błędnie także Słońce i Księżyc)²²⁶. Teoria siedmiu niebios (siedmiu sfer) ze względu na siedem widocznych planet, powstała w Mezopotamii siedem tysięcy lat temu. Później poszczególne niebiosy powiązano z określonymi mieszkańcami i rządzącymi nimi archaniołami, których dlatego jest siedmiu²²⁷. W zaraturstrianizmie występuje koncepcja sześciu „Świętych Nieśmiertelnych” (*Amesza Spenty*), którzy są odpowiednikami archaniołów i opiekują się planetami²²⁸. Etiopska Księga Henocha wymienia imiona siedmiu archaniołów²²⁹, natomiast hebrajska mówi poza tym o liczbie aniołów: „Jest siedmiu wielkich książąt wspaniałych, pięknych, niezwykłych, chwalebnych, wyznaczonych nad siedmioma niebiosami. Każdy z nich jest księciem zastępów nieba i każdemu z nich towarzyszy 496000 miriadów aniołów czuwających”²³⁰. Oznacza to, że aniołów jest $7 \times 496000 \times 10000$, gdyż miriada ($\mu\upsilon\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, dopełniacz $\mu\upsilon\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$) to 10000²³¹. W Księdze Tobiasza, której akcja ma miejsce częściowo w Mezopotamii, jest mowa o spotkaniu z aniołem wyjawiającym swoje imię: „A gdy [Tobiasz] wyszedł, spotkał stojącego przed sobą anioła Rafała, a nie wiedział, że jest to anioł Boży [...] «Ja jestem Rafał, jeden z siedmiu aniołów, którzy stoją w pogotowiu i wchodzi przed majestat Pański»” (Tb 5,4; 12,15). W Nowym Testamencie Apokalipsa mówi o siedmiu aniołach, „którzy stoją przed

224 Można jednak mówić, że Ziemia jest centrum kosmosu, a mianowicie o kosmicznym antropocentryzmie i o kosmicznym mistikocentryzmie. W pierwszym wypadku chodzi o to, że człowiek staje się takim centrum, a w drugim Jerozolima ze względu na śmierć i Zmartwychwstanie Chrystusa.

225 N. M. Wildiers, *Obraz świata a teologia. Od średniowiecza do dzisiaj*, s. 50-51.

226 J. Black i A. Green, *Słownik mitologii Mezopotamii*, s. 30.

227 R. Webster, *Encyklopedia aniołów*, przeł. L. Russel, Białystok 2016, s. 174-175.

228 G. Davidson, *Słownik aniołów w tym aniołów upadłych*, przeł. J. Ruskowski, Poznań 1998, s. 15.

229 *Księga Henocha etiopska* (20,1-8), [w:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, s. 150.

230 *Księga Henocha hebrajska* (17,1-2), [w:] *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu*, s. 225.

231 *Słownik grecko-polski*, red. Z. Abramowiczówna, III, s. 177; R. Popowski, *Wielki słownik grecko-polski Nowego Testamentu*, s. 404 (№ 3334).

Bogiem” (8,2) i są powszechnie uważani za archaniołów²³². W judaizmie Juda Al-Barceloni kojarzył archaniołów z nazwami planet²³³. Mówiono też o dwunastu archaniołach, opiekujących się znakami Zodiaku. Koran wymienia czterech archaniołów²³⁴.

W Asyrii gryfy (akadyjskie *kâribu* – *strzegący*; wczesna grecka forma γρύψ później γρύφων lub γρύπων), czyli postaci o twarzach ludzi lub lwów z ciałem byka, orła lub sfinksa, odpowiadały cherubinom (l.p. כרובים, l.mn. כרובים – *silni*; χερουβείμ) i były „zbudowane” z czterech postaci zodiaku, oznaczających przesilenie dnia z nocą oraz równonoc: Byk – wiosenne, Lew – letnie, Skorpion – jesienne i Wodnik – zimowe²³⁵. Prorok Ezechiel opisał cherubinów w swojej wizji (Ez 1,6-10)²³⁶.

Akadyjskie określenie tego stworzenia jako muš.ħušu jest zapożyczeniem językowym z sumeryjskiego muš.ħuš, znaczącego dosłownie *prze-razający wąż* i oznacza hybrydę z głową, szyją i tułowiem węża, przednimi nogami lwa, tylnymi nogami ptaka, ogonem i rogami na głowie. Lew-smok (Asag, Asakku) to mityczne stworzenie z przednią częścią ciała przedstawiającą lwa, zaś tylnymi łapami, ogonem i skrzydłami ptaka, a Anzu lub Imdugud to z kolei ogromnych rozmiarów ptak z głową lwa²³⁷.

Przestrzeń niebieską dzielono na trzy nieba: *caelum empyreum*, *caelum crystallinum* i *caelum stellatum*, inaczej *firmamentum*²³⁸. W firmamencie, czyli w niebie gwiazdzistym, miało znajdować się siedem sfer planetarnych, po których poruszają się Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Słońce, Wenus, Merkury i Księżyc. Firmament, sklepienie niebieskie, to *de facto* abstrakcyjna sfera o nieokreślonym promieniu otaczająca obserwatora znajdującego się na Ziemi, utożsamiana z widzianym przez niego niebem. Wierzono, że sfera niebieska jest kopułą, dziś wiadomo, że jest to złudzenie optyczne. Wszystkie obiekty postrzegane na niebie jawią się

232 G. Davidson, *Słownik aniołów w tym aniołów upadłych*, s. 57.

233 J. Al-Barceloni, *Commentary on the Book of Creation (Perush Sopher Yezirah)*, ed. S. J. Halberstam, Berlin 1885.

234 Tamże, s. 57.

235 R. Webster, *Encyklopedia aniołów*, s. 8-9; J. Black i A. Green, *Słownik mitologii Mezopotamii*, s. 79.

236 R. Webster, *Encyklopedia aniołów*, s. 68-69; G. Davidson, *Słownik aniołów w tym aniołów upadłych*, s. 92-94.

237 J. Black i A. Green, *Słownik mitologii Mezopotamii*, s. 28-29, 85-86, 110-111, 221.

238 Mitologia babilońska mówiła o trzech niebach (niebo gwiazd, niebo Igiga czyli dziesięciu bogów i niebo boga Anu). Horyzont zachodni był z kolei podzielony na trzy pionowe pasy (J. Black i A. Green, *Słownik mitologii Mezopotamii*, s. 98-99).

nam jako tak samo dalekie, układają się więc w naszym wyobrażeniu na powierzchni sfery.

Niebo empirejskie było uważane za ognisto-światlistą sferę poniżej Empireum, za raj, miejsce pobytu świętych i aniołów. Koncepcja nieba empirejskiego została przejęta z myśli antycznej²³⁹. Chrześcijańską wizję tego nieba przekazał między innymi Dante w *Boskiej komedii*²⁴⁰.

Każda ze sfer miała natomiast przydzieloną inteligencję, która ją porusza. Aniołowie poruszają planetami, czyli określają ruchy sfer niebieskich, co czyni świat harmonijną całością²⁴¹. Ludzie średniowiecza uważali też, że cały kosmos zamieszkują aniołowie, stanowiący doskonałą hierarchię, opisaną przez Pseudo-Dionizego Areopagite²⁴². Dużo problemów sprawiało teologom niebo pośrednie między *caelum empyreum* a *caelum stellatum*, czyli tak zwane *caelum crystallinum*, łączące dwa pozostałe nieba, ale rzeczywistość trzech nieb była traktowana jako odbicie tajemnicy Trójcy Świętej. Całą rzeczywistość kosmosu traktowano symbolicznie jako obraz Trójcy, a także jako symbol doskonałości, czego świadectwem jest siedem sfer planetarnych, ponieważ siódemka jest symbolem pełni, harmonii. Wszystkie te sfery pozostają w idealnym ruchu po kołowych orbitach. Cynceron uważał, że to, co zawsze jest w ruchu, musi być wieczne. Coś, co innemu nadaje ruch, musi zakończyć swe istnienie po ustaniu ruchu²⁴³. Gdy ruch kosmosu ustanie, nie będzie już dni, miesiący i lat, nic się nie narodzi i nie umrze, nastąpi wieczność po końcu świata²⁴⁴.

Ruch ciał niebieskich – z wyjątkiem Empireum, które jako mieszkanie Boga jest nieruchome – łączono z działaniem aniołów. Według Platona „na każdym kręgu chodzi Syrena obracająca się razem z nimi”²⁴⁵. Nawiązywano także do Arystotelesa, który tłumacząc ruch planet odwoływał się do „inteligentnych istot” (*intelligentiae separatae*) i utożsamiano je z aniołami, którzy wprawiają planety w ruch²⁴⁶. Uważano bowiem, że żadne materialne ciało nie może poruszać się samo z siebie. Za Cyncero-

239 M. Kurdziałek, *Empirejskie niebo*, [w:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, red. R. Łukaszyk, L. Bieńkowski i F. Gryglewicz, Lublin 1983, IV, kol. 963.

240 Dante, *Boska komedia* (Raj, XXXI), s. 474-477.

241 N. M. Wildiers, *Obraz świata a teologia. Od średniowiecza do dzisiaj*, s. 50.

242 Tamże, s. 73-76.

243 M. T. Cynceron, *Sen Scypiona* (27), [w tegoż:] *Wybór pism naukowych*, s. 306.

244 N. M. Wildiers, *Obraz świata a teologia. Od średniowiecza do dzisiaj*, s. 50-51.

245 Platon, *Państwo* (617 b), [w tegoż:] *Państwo, Prawa (VII ksiąg)*, s. 334.

246 N. M. Wildiers, *Obraz świata a teologia. Od średniowiecza do dzisiaj*, s. 51.

nem przyjmowano też istnienie „wielkiego roku”, który trwa 12 954 lata i po którym wszystkie gwiazdy wracają na to samo miejsce²⁴⁷.

Ziemię traktowano jako kulę znajdującą się pośrodku jako najcięższą poniżej rzeczywistości niebieskiej składającej się z trzech nieb i siedmiu planet²⁴⁸. Na ziemi spoczywa lżejsza woda, nad nią jeszcze lżejsze powietrze, a ogień jako najlżejszy znajdował się na obwodzie²⁴⁹.

Orbita księżycy stanowiła granicę regionu wyższego i niższego, co jest nawiązaniem do Arystotelesa, który umieszczał Księżyc na granicy pomiędzy obszarem zmiennych żywiołów (ziemi, wody, powietrza i ognia) a sferami planet i gwiazd stałych, zbudowanych z eteru²⁵⁰, oraz do Cyserona uważającego księżyc za granicę między rzeczami wiecznymi i znikomymi²⁵¹.

Centralna kulista ziemia jest otoczona serią pustych i przezroczystych kul, obejmujących jedna drugą, z których każda kolejna jest większa od tej, która znajduje się bliżej ziemi. Są to sfery, niebios, w każdej z pierwszych siedmiu sfer tkwi jedno świecące ciało, siedem planet. Poza sferą Saturna (ostatniej planety) jest *stellatum* („niebo gwiazdziste”), do którego należą wszystkie gwiazdy. Poza *stellatum* wznosi się sfera zwana *Primum Mobile*, czyli sfera pierwszego ruchu. Arystoteles uważał, że na zewnątrz nieba nie ma ani miejsca, ani pustki, ani czasu. Cokolwiek tam jest, nie zajmuje żadnego miejsca i nie podlega czasowi²⁵². Jest to więc odpowiednik „miejsca poza niebem” (ὑπερουράνιον τόπον), pojęcia używanego przez Platona, na oznaczenie doskonałej sfery Form, w której zebrane są wszystkie idee rzeczy.

Wszechświat średniowieczny będąc niewyobrażalnie wielkim, był jednocześnie skończonym. Miał kształt doskonale kulisty²⁵³.

Światopogląd średniowieczny przekazuje Don Kichote podczas swojej rzekomej podróży z Sanczo na wykonanym z drewna koniu Kołkowcu Chyżym z kołkiem na czole:

²⁴⁷ Cyseron, *Hortensius* (80): „horum annorum in fastis habemus magnus XIIIDCCCCLIV complectitur”.

²⁴⁸ C. S. Lewis, *Odrzucony obraz. Wprowadzenie do literatury średniowiecznej i renesansowej*, przeł. W. Ostrowski, Warszawa 1986, s. 128-129; por. J. Strzelczyk, *Średniowieczny obraz świata*, Poznań 2004; J. Buczek, *Obraz świata w średniowiecznej teologii*, „Resovia Sacra” 16(2009), s. 45-70.

²⁴⁹ C. S. Lewis, *Odrzucony obraz. Wprowadzenie do literatury średniowiecznej i renesansowej*, s. 15, 72.

²⁵⁰ Arystoteles, *O niebie* (270 b; 278 a), [w tegoż:] *Dziela wszystkie*, II, s. 240, 258; G. Reale, *Historia filozofii starożytnej*, II, s. 449-461.

²⁵¹ M. T. Cyseron, *Sen Scypiona* (17), [w tegoż:] *Wybór pism naukowych*, s. 300.

²⁵² Arystoteles, *O niebie* (279 a), [w tegoż:] *Dziela wszystkie*, II, s. 259.

²⁵³ C. S. Lewis, *Odrzucony obraz. Wprowadzenie do literatury średniowiecznej i renesansowej*, s. 73-74.

Zawiązali sobie oczy i Don Kichote czując, że wszystko jest jak należy, dotknął kołka; za ledwie dwa palce na nim położył, kiedy wszystkie ochmistrzynie, ile ich tam było obecnych, podniosły głos wołając:

– Niech Bóg cię prowadzi, dzielny rycerzu! [...]

Don Kichote, czując również podmuch, rzekł:

– Bez żadnej wątpliwości, Sanczo, musimy już sięgać drugiej sfery nieba, gdzie rodzą się grad i śniegi; grzmoty, pioruny i błyskawice powstają w trzeciej sferze; jeśli z taką szybkością wznosić się będziemy, dotrzemy niebawem do sfery ognia i nie wiem, jak hamować tym kołkiem, abyśmy nie wzniesli się do miejsca, gdzie się spalimy.

W tej chwili pakułami uwiązanymi do trzciny, które równie łatwo zapalić jak ugasić, zaczęto im ogrzewać twarze. Sanczo, poczuwszy żar, rzekł:

– Niech mnie zabiją, chyba już jesteśmy w sferze ognia, albo bardzo blisko; mam już bowiem połowę brody osmałoną [...].

– Nie mogę uwierzyć, abyśmy wzniesli się wyżej, sfera ognia znajduje się bowiem między niebem księżycowym a ostatnią sferą powietrza²⁵⁴.

Zwieńczeniem harmonijnej budowli kosmosu było Empireum. Cyceyron nazywał je „siedzibą, domem wiecznotrwałym”²⁵⁵ na niebie, określonym miejscem, gdzie trwa wieczne szczęście²⁵⁶. W wizji średniowiecznej było to miejsce przebywania Boga i świętych. Platon zapożyczył z mitologii ideę zajmujących się porządkiem kosmosu i losami ludzi bogiń, mówiąc, że naokoło siedzą trzy postacie kobiece w równych odstępach i każda ma swój tron. Są to Mojry, córki Konieczności²⁵⁷.

Ogień, będący według Heraklita zasadą wszechrzeczy, został przez pitagorejczyków umieszczony w centrum kosmosu. Platon umieszczał w kosmosie napięte wrzeciono Konieczności, „które wszystkie kule obraca”²⁵⁸. W filozofii Arystotelesa miejsce ognia zajął eter (*αιθήρ*, dopełniacz *αιθέροϛ*), jeden z podstawowych elementów świata, piąty żywioł. Już Platon postulował istnienie dwunastościanów foremnych, z których stworzone zostały niebiosy. Na powierzchni Ziemi występują cztery żywioły, natomiast „świat nadksiężycowy” zbudowany jest z piątego żywiołu, niewystępującego na Ziemi i nazwanego przez Arystotelesa

²⁵⁴ M. de Cervantes Saavedra, *Przemysłny szlachcic Don Kichote z Manczy* (II, 41), przeł. A.L. i Z. Czerny, Warszawa 1957, II, s. 368, 369, 374

²⁵⁵ M. T. Cyceyron, *Sen Scypiona* (25), [w tegoż:] *Wybór pism naukowych*, s. 305.

²⁵⁶ Tamże (13), s. 297-298.

²⁵⁷ Platon, *Państwo* (617 b), [w tegoż:] *Państwo, Prawa (VII ksiąg)*, s. 354.

²⁵⁸ Tamże (516 c), s. 333.

eterem. W „świecie nadksiężycowym”, w którym poruszają się gwiazdy i planety, panują inne prawa. Eter nie powstaje i nie ginie, przeto świat nadksiężycowy jest niezmienny. Buduje gwiazdy i planety, które dzięki niemu poruszają się wiecznym ruchem kolistym. Arystotelesowska koncepcja eteru, wraz z jego fizyką, była dominującym poglądem przyrodniczym aż do czasów nowożytnych. W średniowieczu pojęcie eteru funkcjonowało pod łacińską nazwą *quinta essentia* (piąta esencja). Z tych wszystkich koncepcji zrodziło się pojęcie Empireum jako siedziby Boga.

O wydzielonej siedzibie Boga mówi żyjący w VII wieku św. Adamnan z Hy, który miał objawienie (spisane w XI wieku), gdy jego dusza pod opieką anioła została przeniesiona do królestwa niebios. Przybyła do krainy świętych, w której panuje piękna pogoda. Obecni tu święci kontemplują sklepienie, na którym znajduje się dziewięć hierarchii aniołów, i śpiewają cudowną muzykę, będąc otoczeni kręgiem ognia. Maria i dwunastu apostołów tworzą osobną grupę w pobliżu Wszzechmogącego. Są tam też patriarchowie, prorocy i uczniowie Chrystusa. Ponad głową Boga, zasiadającego na tronie, jest wielkie sklepienie, przypominające hełm, i trzy kręgi oddzielają Boga od zastępów. Nikt nie jest w stanie opisać zasiadającego na tronie Boga, którego oblicze jaśnieje siedem mocniej niż słońce. Miasto, w którym stoi tron, otacza siedem kryształowych murów różnej barwy.

Docierający do tego miejsce przechodzą przez różne bramy. W głównej bramie jest zasłona z ognia i zasłona z lodu. Sześć strzeżonych bram prowadzi do królestwa. W pierwszej siedzi Archanioł Michał i dwóch młodzieńców z żelaznymi różgami. W następnej bramie, której strażnikiem jest Archanioł Ariel, są z nim dwaj młodzieńcy z ognistymi biczami w rękach. Przed bramą znajduje się rzeka ognia, której strzeże Anioł Abersetus. Przed trzecią bramą płonie ognisty piec, przed czwartą ognisty strumień. Przed piątą ognista rzeka z dziwnym rodzajem wiru i dopiero szósta brama czeka na tych, którzy nie zostali zatrzymani w poprzednich bramach i skierowani do piekła. Dwunastu ognistych smoków połyka każdą duszę jeden po drugim, aż najmniejszy umieści ją w paszczy diabła.

Piekło jest scharakteryzowane jako dolina wypełniona ogniem, nad którą jest niezwykły most, z którego spadają grzesznicy. Trafiają do krainy całkowitych ciemności, w której są karani w różnoraki sposób. W pierwszym regionie piekła, w dolinie ognia, czeka na grzeszników osiem straszliwych węży, w innych są karani atakami bólu, stoją w ogniu sięgającym podbród-

ków, bądź w bagnie, chodzą po rozpalonym bruku, są nękani na przemian ogniem i zimnem, wbija się w nich rozpalone gwoździe²⁵⁹.

W tych opisach widoczne są wpływy żywotów męczenników, apokryfów apokaliptycznych oraz dzieł Ewagriusza z Pontu, Grzegorza Wielkiego, Grzegorza z Tours i Bonifacego. Adamnan może być uznany za poprzednika Dantego²⁶⁰, który trzykrotnie wymienia Empireum w *Boskiej Komедii*:

Po odejściu Chrystusa do Empireum²⁶¹ zbawieni sławią tryumf Matki Boskiej, a następnie idą w ślad za Chrystusem²⁶².

Po odśpiewaniu przez dusze hymnu na cześć Trójcy Świętej – św. Piotr wypowiada gwałtowną inwektywę przeciwko złym papieżom i wszyscy zbawieni wstępują do Empireum²⁶³.

Poeta podziwia w Empireum ognistą rzekę światła, którego iskry spadają na porośnięte kwieciami brzegi, kontempluje mistyczną Różę utworzoną z aniołów i zbawionych²⁶⁴.

W opisie Empireum istotną rolę odgrywa pojęcie światłości ognistej ze strugami iskiei, co ma wyraźne odniesienia do starożytnych koncepcji ognia jako centrum wszechświata:

Ujrzałem światłość w postaci potoku:
 Światłość ognistą między brzegów dwoje,
 Malowanych barwą wczesnej pory roku.
 Ze strugi iskiei wytryskały roje
 I zapadały w ukwieconej błoni,
 Niby rubiny w złociste zawoje.
 Potem jak gdyby omdlałe od woni
 Zanurzały się znowu w cudną pianę:
 To wynikały, to ginęły w toni. [...]
 Światłość to zatem, czyniąca widoczną
 Twarz Stworzyciela poprzez stworzeń wzrokiem,
 Które w Nim jednym, wiedzą, że odpoczną.

²⁵⁹ *Wizja Adamnana* (3-29), przeł. J. Sokolski, Wrocław 2002, s. 33-42.

²⁶⁰ J. S o k o l s k i, *Wstęp*, [w:] *Wizja Adamnana*, s. 25-26.

²⁶¹ Empireum pojawia się w wielu utworach literackich, na przykład: „Te ogniste stropy / Prawdziwie empirejskim zdają się obłokiem” (J. S ł o w a c k i, *Mazepa. Tragedia w pięciu aktach* [akt 1, scena 5], [w tegoż:] *Dzieła*, Wrocław 1952, VII, s. 198) lub: „Aniołem była Beatrycze, nie dziw, że tęskniło się jej do aniołów, do nieba empirejskiego” (E. P o r e b o w i c z, *Dante*, Lwów 1906, s. 44).

²⁶² A. D a n t e, *Boska komedia* (Raj, III, 23), s. 436.

²⁶³ Tamże (Raj, III, 27), s. 454.

²⁶⁴ Tamże (Raj, III, 30), s. 469.

A rozciąga się kolistym otokiem
 Tyle, że całe jego rozpowiecie
 Byłoby słońcu pasem zbyt szerokiem
 Całe z promieni, przegląda się w szczycie
 Owego Pierworuchomego koła,
 Co bierze odeń i władzę, i życie²⁶⁵.

Interesującą interpretację opisu raju w *Boskiej komedii* Dantego podaje Carlo Rovelli. Wizja Dantego to punkt światła, otoczony przez sfery aniołów czyli potężną kulę, która „otacza i jest jednocześnie otoczona” przez sferę samego Wszechświata. To „Miłość i blask je swym kręgiem zamyka, / Jak ono mniejsze kręgi”²⁶⁶, dzięki czemu „A zda się wsnutym w to, co sam osnuwa”²⁶⁷. Tym samym punkt światłości i sfera aniołów otaczają Wszechświat, a jednocześnie są otoczone przez niego, co jest opisem sfery trójwymiarowej²⁶⁸.

Opis Dantego powstał pod możliwym wpływem mozaiki Coppo di Marcovaldo *Sąd Ostateczny* w kopule baptysterium San Giovanni we Florencji. W tej kopule dochodzi się zawsze do świetlika. Rovelli uważa, że inspiracją dla Dantego była nie tylko mozaika, ale całe baptysterium, w tym kształt tej budowli²⁶⁹.

Istnieje też w plastyce odmienne przedstawienie raju zbawionych – na tryptyku Hieronima Boscha *Ogród ziemskich rozkoszy* – jako jeziora z fontanną, z którego to jeziora przez cztery wymyślne bramy wypływają rzeki (podobna konstrukcja znajduje się w scenie stworzenia Ewy w ziemskim raju), co nawiązuje wprost do opisu raju w Księdze Rodzaju: „Z Edenu zaś wypływała rzeka, aby nawadniać ów ogród, i stamtąd się rozdzielała, dając początek czterem rzekom” (Rdz 2,10-14)²⁷⁰.

Nie ulega wątpliwości, że również kosmologia orficka inspirowała filozofię średniowieczną, co jest widoczne w zachowanym dziele Honoriusza z Autun *Imago Mundi*, w którym przedstawił on swoją wizję kosmogoniczną. Według Honoriusza Wszechświat ma kształt jaja. Opierając się na średniowiecznej nauce o czterech pierwiastkach, Honoriusz

265 Tamże (Raj, III, 30), s. 471-472.

266 Tamże (Raj, XXVII, 112-113), s. 457.

267 Tamże (Raj XXX, 12), s. 469.

268 C. R o v e l l i, *Rzeczywistość nie jest tym, czym się wydaje*, s. 110.

269 C. R o v e l l i, *Rzeczywistość nie jest tym, czym się wydaje*, s. 114-115.

270 A. B o c z k o w s k a, *Hieronim Bosch*, Warszawa 1974, s. 36-41; A. B o c z k o w s k a, *Hieronim Bosch. Astrologiczna symbolika jego dzieł*, Wrocław 1977, s. 103-140.

wyróżnił cztery elementy Wszechświata: Ziemia, jako najcięższa znajduje się w jego centrum, woda, „jako lżejsza od Ziemi otacza ją i przenika”, powietrze wypełnia pustkę między Księżycem a Ziemią oraz ogień, „którego naturalnym miejscem jest ‘góra’, obejmująca przestrzeń od Księżyca do firmamentu”, strefa zwana eterem, z którego mają się formować ciała astralne. Te cztery elementy Wszechświata Honoriusz przyporządkował czterem pierwiastkom i porównał z czterema elementami jaja:

Niebo = woda = skorupka
 Eter = ogień = białko
 Powietrze = powietrze = żółtko
 Ziemia = ziemia = zarodek²⁷¹.

Św. Hildegarda z Bingen rozróżniała świat nadprzyrodzony i świat przyrodzony, które razem stanowią jeden Kosmos. Najpierw został stworzony świat nadprzyrodzony, a w nim byty czysto duchowe, czyli aniołowie. Aniołowie są światłem intelektualnym, jak w koncepcji Pseudo-Dionizego Areopagity²⁷². Podzielała w tym względzie poglądy średniowiecza, które rozróżniało niebo poznawalne intelektualnie i niebo poznawalne zmysłami. Pierwsze tworzą hierarchie aniołów i dusze świętych, a za granicę między obydwo ma niebami powszechnie uważano sferę eteru. Natomiast według Hildegardy tą granicą jest sfera ognia²⁷³. W drugiej kolejności został stworzony świat materialny celem pojawienia się człowieka. Najpierw więc stworzono makrokosmos, a następnie mikrokosmos, czyli człowieka. Świat stworzony przez Boga był doskonały i istniał poza czasem, gdyż nie było w nim żadnego ruchu. Ruch – a tym samym czas – jest efektem upadku człowieka, jednak nie jest z tym upadkiem tożsamy. Jest dziełem miłości Boga, gdyż wprawienie świata w ruch zapobiegło jeszcze większemu upadkowi, a nawet anihilacji świata. Obroty ciał niebieskich są następstwem ruchu, także powstanie rzeczy

²⁷¹ Honoriusz z Autun, *Imago mundi*, PL 172,115-188. Jajo pojawia się także w wizjach mistycznych, na przykład Hildegardy z Bingen, która w dziele zatytułowanym *Scivias* przedstawiła swoje typowe dla średniowiecza wizje i podała ich interpretacje. W „Trzeciej wizji z pierwszej księgi” św. Hildegarda z Bingen nie opisuje jednak Kosmosu w kształcie jaja, ale rzeczywistość Boską, mówiąc o tym, że ujrzała wielką okrągłą konstrukcję w kształcie jaja, Św. Hildegarda z Bingen, *Scivias* (I, 3), przeł. J. Łukaszewska-Haberkowa, Tyniec 2011, I, s. 154-155.

²⁷² Pseudo-Dionizy Areopagita, *Hierarchia niebiańska* (XV, 4), [w tegoż:] *Pisma teologiczne*, przeł. M. Dzielska, Kraków 1999, II, s. 108; por. M. Kowalewska, *Bóg – Kosmos – Człowiek w twórczości Hildegardy z Bingen*, Lublin 2014, s. 111-112

²⁷³ M. Kowalewska, *Bóg – Kosmos – Człowiek w twórczości Hildegardy z Bingen*, s. 110.

materialnych jest wynikiem łączenia się czterech żywiołów. Z ruchem firmamentu związany jest czas uznany za odzwierciedlenie wieczności²⁷⁴.

Najdoskonalszą bryłą jest sfera i dlatego jest obrazem Boga, chociaż Hildegarda odwoływała się też do obrazu okręgu. Kosmos stanowią uporządkowane strefy czterech żywiołów, czyli ognia, eteru, wody i powietrza. W eterze krążą gwiazdy i poruszają się obłoki. Powietrze z kolei dzieliła na sferę wilgotną (wody nad firmamentem) i mocną²⁷⁵.

Św. Benedykt z Nursji dostąpił ujrzienia całego świata „w jednym promieniu słońca”:

Gdy bracia jeszcze spali, mąż Boży Benedykt już czuwał, wyprzedzając porę nocnej modlitwy. Stojąc przy oknie, modlił się do Boga wszechmogącego, gdy nagle, późną nocą, ujrzał światło, które rozlewając się z góry, przepłoszyło nocne mroki i takim blaskiem jaśniało, że dzień by zbladł przy nim, choć ono lśniło wśród ciemności. A gdy na nie patrzył, wydarzyło się coś bardzo dziwne-go: jak sam później opowiadał, cały świat ukazał się jego oczom jak-by skupiony w jednym promieniu słońca (łac. *omnis etiam mundus velut sub uno solis radio collectus, ante oculos eius adductus est*)²⁷⁶.

Św. Grzegorz Palamas w *Triadach* twierdzenie o kontemplacji nadprzyrodzonego światła zilustrował właśnie tym przykładem z Żywota św. *Benedykta*, kiedy ten „w jednym promieniu ujrzał cały świat”. Palamas uważał światło widziane przez Benedykta jednoznacznie za niestworzone:

Znów ktoś inny z tych doskonałych świętych ujrzał wszystkie byty zawierające się jakby w środku intelektualnego promienia słońca, jeśli, oczywiście i tamten nie ujrzał, które i jakie jest tamto światło, ale jeśli uczynił siebie zdolnym do przyjęcia przez siebie tego, i pojął przez tę kontemplację i ponad umysłem to zjednoczenie; nie to światło, które tyczy się natury, ale to, które jest prawdziwe i nadprzyrodzone, czyli nadsubstancjalne, inne od wszystkich bytów; które jest Pańskie i jedyne i obejmuje w sobie każdy byt²⁷⁷.

²⁷⁴ Tamże, s. 116-117.

²⁷⁵ Tamże, s. 120-127. Szerzej na ten temat: H. Paprocki, *Czas. Eseje o wieczności*, s. 78-83.

²⁷⁶ Św. Benedykt z Nursji, *Regula, żywot, komentarz*, przekład zbiorowy, Tyniec 1979, s. 118.

²⁷⁷ Św. Grzegorz Palamas, *Triady w obronie świętych hezychastów* (I, 2, 22), przeł. I. Zogas-Osadnik, Głogów 2019, I, s. 172-173.

Św. Grzegorz Palamas stał na stanowisku całkowitej niemożliwości stosowania do Boga wszelkich pojęć pozytywnych, a nawet negatywnych, w tym pojęcia istoty i bytu, ponieważ terminy te stosuje się także do stworzeń i używał pojęcia „nadistotny” (ὑπερούσιος), kiedy mówił o Bogu samym w sobie²⁷⁸. Pod pojęciem „istota” rozumiał ukryte, transcendentne Bóstwo. Określenie to jest jednak nieściśle, ponieważ terminy „istota” lub „jestestwo” nie mogą być stosowane w swym ścisłym znaczeniu do Boga w samym sobie, lecz jedynie do Jego „uzewnętrznień”. Dlatego też w zależności od znaczenia, w jakim stosował on pojęcia οὐσία i φύσις – umownego czy też właściwego – należy rozumieć pod nimi albo ukrytą „nadistotę”, albo też będącą naturalną właściwością Boga „wyjście naprzeciw, ukazanie się i energię”²⁷⁹. Bóg jest bowiem „jestestwem wszystkich istot, gdyż wszystkie one są Jego uczestnikami i kształtują się poprzez uczestnictwo w Nim, lecz nie przez uczestnictwo w Jego istocie, a w energiach”²⁸⁰.

Interesujący komentarz do wizji św. Benedykta z Nursji dał Anioł Ślązak:

Jak Benedykt ujrzał świat w promieniu jednym?
Bo wszystko (nie wiesz jeszcze?) się we wszystkim mieści²⁸¹.

Wyimaginowany model wszechświata średniowiecze ciągle doskonaliło, aż stał się jakby dziełem sztuki. Poza pięknem dawał on tym, którzy w niego wierzyli, pewność i zadowolenie, że żyją w uporządkowanym i harmonijnym kosmosie, który pozostanie takim aż do końca świata²⁸².

Jednak Mikołaj Kopernik „zdetronizował” ziemię z jej centralnego miejsca we wszechświecie, a odkrycia Galileusza i Keplera całkowicie zmieniły obraz kosmosu²⁸³. Poza tym okazało się, że *theologia perennis* czy też *philosophia perennis* nie są możliwe, gdyż zależą od określonego obrazu świata²⁸⁴. Zaczynały się nowe czasy...

²⁷⁸ Palamas stosował więcej takich określeń, jak na przykład: ὑπερουράνιος – *ponadniebieski*; ὑπερθεός – *ponadboski, więcej niż boski*, i inne.

²⁷⁹ В. Кривосезин, Аскетическое и богословское учение св. Григория Паламы, [w tegoż:] Богословские труды, opr. А. Мушин, Нижний Новгород 20112, s. 147-148.

²⁸⁰ Tamże, s. 148; por. P. Nikolski, *Św. Jan od Krzyża wobec prawosławnej tradycji ascetycznej*, Poznań 2006, s. 96.

²⁸¹ Anioł Ślązak, *Cherubinowy wędrowiec* (IV, 159), s. 151.

²⁸² C. S. Lewis, *Odrzucony obraz. Wprowadzenie do literatury średniowiecznej i renesansowej*, s. 20-21.

²⁸³ Ostatecznie średniowieczny obraz świata załamał się w XVII wieku (N. M. Wildiers, *Obraz świata a teologia. Od średniowiecza do dzisiaj*, s. 173).

²⁸⁴ Tamże, s. 66.

Nihilum and Empyreum

The presented article is a fragment of a book being prepared about space, which in turn is a continuation of a published work on time (*Time. Essays About Eternity*, Warsaw 2019, in Polish). It concerns medieval concepts (including Islamic and Jewish) of the existence of heavenly spheres and the Empireum as God's seat. Celestial spheres, as well as the whole empirical reality arose from nothingness (Latin *nihilum*). The medieval worldview perceived the world as a closed spherical space. Some thinkers, however, preached the infinite space of the cosmos, thus contributing to the emergence of a Renaissance vision of the world.

Key words: philosophy, theology, the Middle Ages, nothingness, empyreum, cosmos, space

THE SYMBOLIC MEANING OF NUMBERS IN THE KARTVELIAN PROVERBS¹

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Introduction

The family of related Kartvelian languages is represented by four independent languages – Georgian, Megrelian, Laz and Svan. Out of these, Georgian is the State language; hence, it has the status of the literary language, whereas Megrelian, Laz and Svan are non-written languages (they have independent language systems, but, in their sociolinguistic function, they are equal to dialects). The **aim** of the paper is to carry out the functional-semantic analysis of the symbolic meaning of numbers found in the Kartvelian proverbs. The analysis of the material is based on descriptive-static, historical-comparative **methods**, as well as methods of substitution and syntactic transformation (resp. paraphrasis).

The use of numbers in their symbolic meaning is widespread in the worldwide folklore. Numbers were attached special importance in the Mesopotamian mythology, the antique world, medieval scientific thinking etc. Numbers were used in their sacred meaning in the Biblical texts, from which they spread into literature and folklore. It is well known that, with time, different nations and cultures began to use numbers in their sacred meanings. Such sacred numbers are: ***three, seven, nine, twelve etc.*** Gradually, these numbers were enriched with new semantic nuances and their meanings became more precise. Sacred numbers are abundant also in proverbs.

¹ This article is based on a paper presented at the 8th International Conference on „Narrative and Language Studies“, Trabzon, Turkey, 2-3 May 2019.

Sacred Numbers in the Kartvelian Proverbs

One of the most widespread sacred numbers is **nine**. In the Georgian linguo-cultural space, this lexeme also denotes indefinite multitude (Expl. Dict., 1964).

„Almost always, **nine** is used to denote general multitude in the Georgian toponymy. Other widespread numbers are **three**, and, more rarely, **seven** and **five**. These numbers may denote both real and unreal amount of objects, while **nine** is always used in its metaphorical meaning“ (Apridonidze 1989, 236).

Georgian **cxra** (**nine**) has its phonetic correlates in other Kartvelian languages. Namely, in Megrelian it is čxor-o, in Laz it is čxor-o², and in the Svan language it is čxar-a“ (Fähnrich & Sarjveladze 1990, 416). The fact that the numeral **nine** denotes indefinite multitude in all the four Kartvelian languages³ is also proved by the proverbs. Analysis of Georgian, Megrelian, Laz and Svan proverbs has yielded the following data:

Georgian:

(1) კაცმა რომ კაცი გაიცნოს, ცხრა⁴ ფუთი მარილი უნდა შეჭამოსო (<http://idioms.tsu.ge/?p=20037>).

ḱac-ma rom ḱac-i ga-i-cn-o-s cxra-ø put-i maril-i unda še-čam-o-s-o.
men-ERG that men-NOM PRV-SV-introduce-CONJ-FUT.S3.SG
nine-NOM pood-NOM salt-NOM must PRV-eat-CONJ-S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: Before you make a friend, eat a bushel of salt with him.

Word by word: in order to get to know someone really well, you should eat nine poods of salt with him/her.

(2) დაშინებული ძაღლი ცხრა წელიწადს ხეს შეჰყეფდაო (<http://idioms.tsu.ge/?p=19969>).

dašinebul-i zaḡl-i cxra-ø čeličad-s xe-s še-h-čep-d-a-o.
scared-NOM dog-NOM nine-NOM year-DAT tree-DAT PRV-IndO3-
bark-EM-IMPF.S3. SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: A burnt child dreads the fire.

² The phonetic variants of this word-form in the Laz language are lexical units (n)čxovro//čxolo.

³ It should also be noted that another function of the numeral **nine** – the expression of multitude in the metaphorical meaning – is also natural for Megrelian. This is proved by the data of the dictionaries: čxoro (čxoros) „nine“ // metaphorical meaning – numerous (Kajaia 2002, 336); čxoro „nine“; many, numerous (metaphorical meaning) (Kobalia 2010, 649).

⁴ In this and all other cases, the numerals are underlined by the author (G. J.).

Word by word: A scared dog barked at the tree for nine years.

(3) უხეირო პატარძალმა ცხრა ცოცხი მოიხმარა და ერთი
ოთახი ვერ გამოჰგავაო (<http://idioms.tsu.ge/?p=9976>).

uxeiro- \emptyset patarzal-ma cxra- \emptyset cocx-i mo-i-xmar-a da ert-i otax-i ver
gamo-h-gav-a-o.

useless-NOM bride-ERG nine-NOM broom-NOM PRV-SV-use-
AOR.S3.SG and one-NOM room-NOM not PRV-IndO3-sweep-AOR.
S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: A bad workman quarrels with his tools.

Word by word: A clumsy housewife used nine brooms, but could not
sweep even one room.

Megrelian:

(4) ართი თხირიში გური ხხორღ ჯიმაღეუქ გირთესია (Sherozia
& Memishishi 1994, 10).

art-i txir-iši gur-i cxoro- \emptyset žimal-ep-k g-i-rt-es-ia

one-NOM nut-GEN heart-NOM. nine-NOM brother-PL.ERG IndO2-
SV-divide-AOR.S3.PL-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: An onion shared with a friend tastes like roast
lamb.

Word by word: One nut kernel was shared by nine brothers.

(5) arTi coda maxinjis uRunia do Cxoro minjesia (Sherozia
& Memishishi 1994, 12).

art-i coda- \emptyset maxinj-is u \dot{g} u-n-ia do cxoro- \emptyset – minže-s-ia

one-NOM sin-NOM thief-DAT have-PRS.S3.SG-ENCL and nine-
NOM owner-DAT-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: He is as guilty who holds the bag as he who puts in.

Word by word: A thief has committed one sin, the robbed person has
committed nine.

(6) ხხორღოშა დონათენი, ხოლო (იშენ) მუთუნი ვახვარუნია
(Sherozia & Memishishi 1994, 166).

cxoro-ša do-nat-e-ni, xolo (išen) mutun-i va-xvar-u-n-ia

nine-REP PRV-christen-CONJ-SUB(that) still nothing NPTC-help-
THM-PRS.S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: A crow is never the whiter for washing herself
often.

Word by word: Even if he/she is baptized nine times, he/she won't be
made any better.

Laz:

(7) არ მთხირი ნხხოვრო ჯუმაქ უკუირთერენ (Sherozia & Memishishi, 1994, p. 200).

ar-ø mtxir-i nčxovro-ø žuma-k ukuirt-eren
one-NOM nut-NOM nine-NOM brother-SG.ERG IndO2-divide-
PERF.S3.SG

Conceptual equivalent: An onion shared with a friend tastes like roast lamb.

Word by word: One nut kernel was shared by nine brothers.

(8) nCxovro mTugiq katu dokores (Sherozia & Memishishi 1994, 242).

nčxovro-ø mtugi-k kaṭu-ø do-kor-es
nine-NOM mouse-ERG cat-NOM PRV-tie-AOR.S3.PL

Conceptual equivalent: Unity is strength.

Word by word: Nine mice managed to catch and tie a cat.

Svan:

(9) აშე ჭიშხმეკეშა ტიშს ნხარა ესერ ლაყყურა ოთზელალა (Davitiani 1973, 18).

aš-û čišxmeḱûš-a tiš-s čxara-ø eser laqûra-ø ot-zelal-a
one-DAT broken leg-DAT louse-DAT nine-NOM Encl:IndSp3 bed-
NOM PRV-walking-PERF.S3.SG

Conceptual equivalent: N/A

Word by word: One louse with a broken leg walked across nine beds.

(10) ეშეი კინჩხ შგურ ნხარამუნ ესერ ოხჭეცა (Davitiani 1973, 37).

ešûi-ø ḱinčx-ø šgur-ø čxara-m-un eser o-x-qûic-a
one-NOM neck-NOM shame-DAT nine-REP Encl:IndSp3 PRV-
IndO3-cut-PERF.SG

Conceptual equivalent: It's better to die with honor than to live in infamy.

Word by word: Shame can cut one and the same neck nine times.

(11) ნაცლგროთე ღემალ ნხარა ლაღღიშს ესერ ანღრი (Davitiani 1973, 115).

na-clør-te ḡemal-ø čxara-ø ladḡ-iš-s eser an-ḡr-i
PART-torn-PP raven-NOM nine-NOM day-DDAT Encl:IndSp3 PRV-
go-PRS.S3.SG

Conceptual equivalent: N/A

Word by word: A raven will come to the carrion even if it takes him nine days to reach the place.

Thus, as empirical material has proved, in Georgian, Megrelian, Laz and Svan proverbs, the numeral **nine** expresses an indefinite multitude and

does not denote a concrete number. The given research has proved that other, less widespread numerals represented in the Kartvelian proverbs have the same meaning. These numerals are: **seven, ten, twelve, forty, hundred** and **thousand**⁵.

Note: In the Kartvelian languages, the above-mentioned numerals are represented by the following lexical units: a) Georgian **švid-i** „seven“: Megrelian **škvit-i**; Laz **škvit-i/škit-i**; Svan **šgûid/šgûid-, i-šgûid** (Fähnrich & Sarjveladze 1990, 382); b) Georgian **at-i** „ten“: Megrelian **vit-i**; Laz **vit-i**; Svan **ješd-/ješt-** (Fähnrich & Sarjveladze 1990, 32); c) Georgian **tormet-i** „twelve“: Megrelian **vitožir-i**; Laz **vitožur-i**; Svan **(j)ešdjiori**; d) Georgian **ormoc-i** „forty“: Megrelian **ža(a)rneč-i**; Laz **žureneč-i**; Svan **ûormoc**; e) Georgian **as-i** „hundred“: Megrelian **oš-i**; Laz **oš-i**; Svan **äš-ir//aš-ir** (Fähnrich & Sarjveladze 1990, 39); f) Georgian **atas-i** „thousand“: Megrelian **antas-i**; Laz **vitoš-i/vi toš-i**; Svan **atas/atäs**.

In order to prove the above-mentioned, I will bring examples from Georgian, Megrelian, Laz and Svan proverbs:

Georgian:

(12) გველს რომ შვიდი ტყავი გააძრო მაინც გველიაო (<http://idioms.tsu.ge/?p=15176>).

gvel-s rom švid-i tqav-i ga-a-žr-o mainc gvel-i-a+o
snake-DAT that seven-NOM PRV-NV-skin-CONJ-FUT.S2.SG still
snake-NOM-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: The leopard cannot change its spots.

Word by word: Even if you peel seven skins off the snake, it will still remain a snake.

(13) ათჯერ გამოძე და ერთხელ მოსჭერო (<http://idioms.tsu.ge/?p=1141>)⁶.

at-žer ga-zom-e da ert-xel mo-s-čer-i-o
ten-REP PRV-measure-IMPV.S2.SG and one-REP PRV-cut off-
IMPV.2.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: Measure thy cloth ten times, thou canst cut it but once.

⁵ These numerals have not been found in their direct meaning of concrete number in the empirical data. In every proverb, they denote indefinite multitude.

⁶ Interestingly enough, parallel to this proverb, there is another paremic unit in which the number **ten** has been replaced by **hundred**. This once again proves that these numerals are used in the meaning of indefinite multitude. Cf. “ასჯერ გამოძე, ერთხელ გასჭერი” (<http://idioms.tsu.ge/?p=1170>) asžer gazome, ertxel gasčeri – Measure a hundred times before you cut once.

Word by word: Measure ten times before you cut once.

(14) თორმეტი კბილს რომ სიგყვა გადმოსცლება, თორმეტი მთას
გადაივლისო (<http://idioms.tsu.ge/?p=11343>).

tormet-ø kbil-s rom sitqva-ø gadmo-s-cdeb-a, tormet-ø mta-s gada-i-
vl-i-s-o

twelve-DAT tooth-DAT that word-NOM PRV-cross-CONJ-S3.SG
twelve-DAT mountain-DAT PRV-SV-cross.FUT-THM-S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: A bad rumour flies on wings.

Word by word: when a word passes through twelve teeth, it will walk over
twelve mountains.

(15) ერთმა ჭუჭყიანმა ღორმა ახდ სუფთა ღორი გასვარაო
(<http://idioms.tsu.ge/?p=11261>). ert-ma čučqian-ma ġor-ma

as-i supta-ø ġor-i ga-svar-a-o

one-ERG dirty-ERG pig-ERG hundred-NOM clean-NOM pig-NOM
PRV-soil-AOR.S3. SG -ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: One drop of poison infects the whole turn of wine.

Word by word: one dirty pig smeared a hundred clean ones.

(16) ათასი მტერი სჯობია ერთ უმსგავსო მოყვარესა
(<http://idioms.tsu.ge/?p=11107>);

atas-i mter-i s-žob-ia ert-ø umsgavso-ø moqvar-e-s-a

thousand-NOM enemy-NOM excel-PRES.S3.SG one-NOM indecent-
NOM friend-DAT-L

Conceptual equivalent: False friends are worse than open enemies.

Word by word: It is better to have one thousand enemies than one unworthy
friend.

Megrelian:

(17) ართ დღამ მეტებულ საქმეჲ ქარნებ დღამა გინიღუა
(Sherozia & Memishishi 1994, 9).

art-ø dġa-š meṭebul-ø sakme-k žarneč-ø dġaš-a gini-d-u-a

one-NOM day-GEN abandoned-NOM affair-ERG forty-NOM day-
ALL PRV-postpone-AOR.S3. SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today.

Word by word: A job left undone for one day was put off for forty days.

(18) ართი წიკვილ ლეჯჲ თმი ლეჯი ღოწიკუა (Sherozia
& Memishishi 1994, 12).

art-i čikvil-ø ġež-k oš-i ġež-i do-čik-u-a

one-NOM dirty-NOM pig-ERG hundred-NOM pig-NOM PRV-soil-
AOR.S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: One drop of poison infects the whole turn of wine.

Word by word: One dirty pig smeared a hundred clean ones.

(19) ართი ცორადილი უშქური ოში უშქურც ცორიდუნცია
(Sherozia & Memishishi 1994, 12).

art-i 'oradil-i uškur-i oš-i uškur-c 'orid-un-c-ia
one-NOM rotten-NOM apple-NOM hundred-NOM apple-DAT rot-
PRS.S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: A falling tree brought down its neighbours.

Word by word: One rotten apple will make other hundred apples rotten too.

Laz:

(20) აჯელე ნა ყვა ია დულია შქვით ფარა იქიფ (Sherozia & Memishishi 1994, 202).

ažele na qva ia dulia-ø škvit-ø fara i-k-i-p
hurriedly made-GEN that affair-GEN seven-REP PRV-make-FUT.S2.SG

Conceptual equivalent: The more haste, the less speed.

Word by word: One job done hastily will make you do it seven times.

(21) არ ელახცაფერი უშქირიქ ვით უშქირი ოხცინაფს (Sherozia & Memishishi 1994, 199).

ar-ø elaxcaper-i uškiri-k vit-ø uškiri-oxcin-ap-s
one-NOM rotten-NOM apple-ERG ten-NOM apple-NOM rot-PRS.
S3.SG

Conceptual equivalent: A falling tree brought down its neighbours.

Word by word: One rotten apple will make other ten apples rotten too.

(22) არ მცუდელაში ნენათენ ჟურენენხი კოხი დიყვილერენ
(Sherozia & Memishishi 1994, 200);

ar-ø mcudela-ši nena-ten žureneč-i koč-i di-qvil-eren
one-NOM deceiver-DAT tongue-ACT forty-NOM men-NOM PRV-
kill-FUT.S3.SG

Conceptual equivalent: A man's ruin lies in his tongue.

Word by word: The tongue of one liar will kill forty people.

(23) არ ზენგინიმ ოძღუს ომ ფუკარაში ოძღუ უჯგინ (Sherozia & Memishishi 1994, 199).

ar-ø zengin-iš ožgu-s oš-ø fučara-ši ožgu-ø u-žg-i-n
one-NOM rich-GEN satiation-GEN hundred-NOM poor-GEN
satiation-NOM excel-FUT.S3.SG

Conceptual equivalent: N/A

Word by word: It is better to feed a hundred poor people than one rich man.

(24) ხამიქ არ კოჩი ილუ, ნენაქ – ვიგოში⁷ (Sherozia & Memishishi 1994, 263).

xami-k ar koč-i il-u nena-k vitoš-i
knife-ERG one-NOM men-NOM kill-AOR.S3.SG tongue-ERG
thousand-NOM

Conceptual equivalent: An evil tongue may do much.

Word by word: A knife kills one man; a tongue may kill a thousand.

Svan:

(25) ეშუი ესერ ლგწჳე ი დემლ ლგწჳემ ლგწჳე (Davitiani 1973, 36).
ešüi-ø eser læ-čh-e-ø i ješd-ø læ-čh-e-m læ-čh-e-ø
one-NOM Encl:IndSp3 PART-invitation-NOM and ten-NOM PART-
invitation-GEN PART-invitation-NOM

Conceptual equivalent: N/A

Word by word: If you invite one person, he will invite ten others.

(26) ეშდარუ მგემს ეშუი მურღუ ესერ ჯიხსრე (Davitiani 1973, 36).
ešdjar-û mæ-gem-s ešüi-ø mu-rg-û eser ži-x-äsr-e
twelve-DAT PART-builder-DAT one-NOM PART- destroyer-NOM
Encl:IndSp3 PRV-IndO3-NV-excel-PRES.SG

Conceptual equivalent: N/A

Word by word: One destroyer is more powerful than twelve builders.

(27) აშირს ქოუ ლახჯელიუ ი მიხა ქოუ ჩემინ (Davitiani 1973, 18).
ašir-s k-oû lä-x-čed-iû i miča k-oû čem-in
hundred-DAT Encl:IndSp3 PRV-S2-inquire-AOR.SG and Refl
Encl:IndSp3 make-AOR.

Conceptual equivalent: Look before you leap.

Word by word: Ask a hundred persons and then do what you think is right.

(28) ათას ბაქს ეშუი ტკიც ესერ ახხოჩა (Davitiani 1973, 8).
atäs-ø bāks ešüi t̥kic eser axxoča
thousand-GEN lie-DAT one-NOM truth-NOM Encl:IndSp3 PRV-Ind.
O3- excel-PERF.S3.SG

Conceptual equivalent: He that once deceives is ever suspected.

Word by word: It is better to tell the truth once than to tell a thousand lies.

In order to prove my opinion that the above-mentioned numbers do not have concrete referents and they denote indefinite numbers//

⁷ It should be mentioned that in Laz proverbs, alongside with the word ვიგოში *vitoši* „thousand“ we find another variant of the same numeral *Siloa šilja*, it has the same function of denoting an indefinite multitude (see Sherozia & Memishishi 1994, 258);

multitude, I used **the method of substitution**, which implies „substitution of a language unit with other element which is lexically or functionally similar to the given unit“ (Tandashvili 2016, 12). If the above-mentioned numbers are used in the Kartvelian proverbs to underline the multitude of objects instead of denoting a concrete amount, then it should be logically possible to substitute them. For the purpose of illustration, let us analyze the following Georgian proverb:

(29) ვირს ცხრა სკოლა გამოაგარეს, ისევ ვირი იყო.

vir-s **cxra-ø** skola-ø gamo-a-tar-es, isev vir-i i-ǰ-o-o

donkey-GEN nine-NOM school-NOM PRV-NV-graduate-AOR.

S3.PL still donkey-NOM

PASS-be-AOR.S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: The leopard cannot change its spots.

Word by word: A donkey graduated from **nine** different schools, but was still a donkey.

In this proverb, we have substituted the numeral **nine** with other sacred numbers (**seven, ten, forty, hundred, thousand**). The obtained variants are as follows:

a) ვირს შვიდი სკოლა გამოაგარეს, ისევ ვირი იყო.

vir-s **švid-i** skola-ø gamo-a-tar-es, isev vir-i i-ǰ-o-o

donkey-GEN seven-NOM school-NOM PRV-NV-graduate-AOR.

S3.PL still donkey-NOM

PASS-be-AOR.S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: The leopard cannot change its spots.

Word by word: A donkey graduated from **seven** different schools, but was still a donkey.

b) ვირს ათი სკოლა გამოაგარეს, ისევ ვირი იყო.

vir-s **at-i** skola-ø gamo-a-tar-es, isev vir-i i-ǰ-o-o

donkey-GEN ten-NOM school-NOM PRV-NV-graduate-AOR.S3.PL

still donkey-NOM

be- PASS-be-AOR.S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: The leopard cannot change its spots.

Word by word: A donkey graduated from **ten** different schools, but was still a donkey.

c) ვირს თორმეტი სკოლა გამოაგარეს, ისევ ვირი იყო.

vir-s **tormet-i** skola-ø gamo-a-tar-es, isev vir-i i-ǰ-o-o

donkey-GEN twelve-NOM school-NOM PRV-NV-graduate-AOR.

S3.PL still donkey-NOM

PASS-be-AOR.S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: The leopard cannot change its spots.

Word by word: A donkey graduated from **twelve** different schools, but was still a donkey.

d) ვირს **ორმოცი** სკოლა გამოაგარეს, ისევ ვირი იყო.

vir-s **ormoc-i** skola- \emptyset gamo-a-tar-es, isev vir-i i- \dot{q} -o-o

donkey-GEN forty-NOM school-NOM PRV-NV-graduate-AOR.

S3.PL still donkey-NOM

PASS-be-AOR.S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: The leopard cannot change its spots.

Word by word: A donkey graduated from **forty** different schools, but was still a donkey.

e) ვირს **ასი** სკოლა გამოაგარეს, ისევ ვირი იყო.

vir-s **as-i** skola- \emptyset gamo-a-tar-es, isev vir-i i- \dot{q} -o-o

donkey-GEN hundred-NOM school-NOM PRV-NV-graduate-AOR.

S3.PL still donkey-NOM PASS-be-AOR.S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: The leopard cannot change its spots.

Word by word: A donkey graduated from **hundred** different schools, but was still a donkey.

f) ვირს **ათასი** სკოლა გამოაგარეს, ისევ ვირი იყო.

vir-s **atas-i** skola- \emptyset gamo-a-tar-es, isev vir-i i- \dot{q} -o-o

donkey-GEN thousand-NOM school-NOM PRV-NV-graduate-AOR.

S3.PL still donkey-NOM PASS-be-AOR.S3.SG-ENCL

Conceptual equivalent: The leopard cannot change its spots.

Word by word: A donkey graduated from **thousand** different schools, but was still a donkey.

As we can see, the substitution of numerals has not led to the change in the meaning, wisdom and essence of the proverb, i.e. the initial paremic unit (*example (29)*) has not lost its proverbial character or content. This proves that all the above-mentioned variants (*a, b, c, d, e, f*) are quite natural from the theoretical viewpoint. Thus, the method of substitution proves that replacement of sacred numbers in proverbs yields functionally and semantically valid variants.

Conclusion

Thus, the use of numbers in their sacred meaning, which has a longstanding history in various cultures of the world, is also a widespread phenomenon in Georgian, Megrelian, Laz and Svan paremic units. Proverbs reflect religious faith, culture and mentality of a given nation. Various numerals used in their sacred meaning serve as attributes to

different members of a sentence, adding the meaning of indefinite multitude. The empirical material under analysis has proved that there is similar correspondence between the numerals **one** and **nine**, **one** and **hundred**, as it is between **one** and **many** or **one** and **plenty**.

The Symbolic Meaning of Numbers in the Kartvelian Proverbs

The use of numbers in their sacral meaning has a longstanding tradition and still plays an important role in the world folklore. Numbers were attached special importance in the Mesopotamian and Greek mythology as well as medieval scientific thought. Numbers are used in their symbolic meaning also in the Bible from which the tradition was spread throughout literature and folklore. The use of numbers in their sacral meaning is frequent in proverbs, phraseological units, fairy-tales and blessing formulae.

The aim of the given paper is to carry out the functional-semantic investigation of numbers used in their symbolic meaning in the Kartvelian (Georgian, Megrelian, Laz and Svan) proverbs.

Analysis of corresponding empirical material has proved that one of the most widespread sacral numbers used in the proverbs is nine. It frequently denotes a general quantity instead of referring to a concrete number of the noun. Less frequently used numbers – seven, forty, hundred and thousand – are essentially of the same semantics. Substitution of one of the above-mentioned numbers by another does not affect the pragmatic-semantic content of the proverb and yields functionally and semantically valid variants.

The above-mentioned issues are discussed in the paper based on the ample empirical material.

Key words: Sacral Numbers, Proverb, Kartvelian Languages.

IRAN AND COLCHIS IN 400-300 B.C

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Iranian-Georgian political, cultural and economic relations have a long history. In Georgian historiography the aspects of these relationships are studied at a very high level. Studies are still in progress in this direction. Special interest from Georgian scholars is observed in the Middle Ages, Islamic Era of Iran. This situation is not unexpected, because Iran-Georgia relations were never intensive as in the Middle Ages, especially in the 16th-18th centuries. Until recently, great attention was not paid study of relationships between ancient Georgian states (Iberia, Colchis) and Achaemenid's Iran and it was not properly understood by Iran's role and importance at the cultural processes of the Pre-Christian history of Georgia. This situation had its objective reasons and first of all, this is a very scarce of source basis. In this regard we have almost nothing around the relationship between Iran and Georgia in the I millennium B.C. Unfortunately, nothing has survived in the Achaemenid's inscriptions too. In the well-known inscription of Behistun, where a reference to a number of countries and people of this epoch, the Georgian universe is not mentioned at all. The situation does not substantially alter the attempts of some researchers to see the in the toponym of Behistun's inscription Makka to see old Georgian province Meskheta.¹ Bigger temptation about the toponym "Karka". As notes Prof. Maia Sakhokia, the translator and publisher of the Achaemenid Inscription Corp. in Georgian, that toponym also causes Caucasian certain

¹ M. Sakhokia, აქემენიდური ძველი სპარსული წარწერები (*Akemenidta dzvelsparsuli tsartserebi*), Tbilisi 2012, p. 86.

hypothesis and it is connected with Colchis,² but at this stage of research there is a big question about the identity “Karka” and “Colchis.”

Failure conditions of the written sources archaeological data starting point remains. As a result of intensive archeological excavations produced in Georgia in the 70s and 80s of last century accumulated significant artifacts, which are clearly linked to the Iranian world of 400-300 B.C. The study of this material showed that in this period Iranian-Georgian relations developed quite intensively and these contacts had several aspects.

First of all let's consider the written sources. The oldest source in which a reference to the relationship between Iran and Colchis is the “History” of Herodotus. As it is known, Dario The First conducted administrative reforms in Iran and the Empire divided into Satrapies. One of them, XIX satrapy, combined the Kartvelian (Georgian) tribes of South Colchis. According to Herodotus, it included Tibarans, Mosiniks, Macrons, Moskhs and Marrs. Herodotus will separate Colchis separately and notes that they are not included in any of the satrapy. According to him, these people are not directly involved in the Empire by Dario. Colchis' attitude towards Iran was a voluntary tribute or a gift and they every fifth year was sending in Iran 100 girls and 100 boys [Herod. III.94-9]. The Herodotus is somewhat complemented by Greek commander and historian Xenophon. In 401 B.C. he was in the southern part of Colchis with the military unit and notes, that tribes living here (Colchis, Kardukhs, Tibarens, Mosiniks and Makrons) were free from the Iranian authorities [Anab. VII. 8. 25]. This notice of Xenophon belongs to that time, when Cyrus rebelled against his own brother Artaxerxes II. Apparently, the tribes of the south of Colchis took advantage of this situation and released from the influence of Iran. These historical facts seem to be a direct testimony to 400-300 B.C. the Kingdom of Colchis didn't experience the impact of Iran, because difficult internal political situation in this country would not be able to control the Colchis. However, the opposite situation is presented by archaeological achievement.

Especially rich materials was given by results of the excavations of city site Sairkhe for study of Iran-Colchis relations. Sairkhe is located near of the dividing line of east and west Georgia. From 1982 to 1988 here were excavated the rich tombs of the noble persons of Colchis kingdom. Our current interest are materials of the tombs № 1; №5; №8 and №13 and cult area data. The tomb N 13 is the earliest among the complexes that have been excavated in Sairkhe and it is dated of the first half

² Ibid., p. 94.



Fig. 1. Golden plate with a bull and lion battle. Sairkhe, Burial №13.



Fig. 2. Graphic image of a gold plate. Sairkhe, 5th century B.C.

of the 5th century B.C. (estimated 480-450 B.C.)³. For our research is noteworthy gold plate and (Fig. 1-2) silver jug (Fig. 3). My interest is not only the form of these items, but the subject matters of this artifacts. The same scenes are presented on both of them. These are images of bull and lion. The topic of both items is similar-the lion defeats the bull. The topic of animal fighting was widely spread in Iranian art. In Achaemenid Iran this motive was perceived as the main day of the Zoroastrian calendar and as the primary religious holiday. This was the time when Shah's ceremonial coronation was happening, which symbolically relates to the Spring Equinox. That is why the lion's defeating the bull was associated with the military and political power and represented a symbol of strength. In Colchis except Sairkhe the bull and the lion's battle story is presented on the golden diadem from Vani city site and dated to the second half of 5th century B.C. It's hard to say, what a symbolic load had the subjects on the diadem from Vani and the golden plate and silver jug from Sairkhe, but one thing is obvious, that we are dealing with directly influenced by Iran's religion and art.

³ G. Makharadze, M. Tsereteli, სსიპი (Sairkhe), Tbilisi 2007, p. 101.

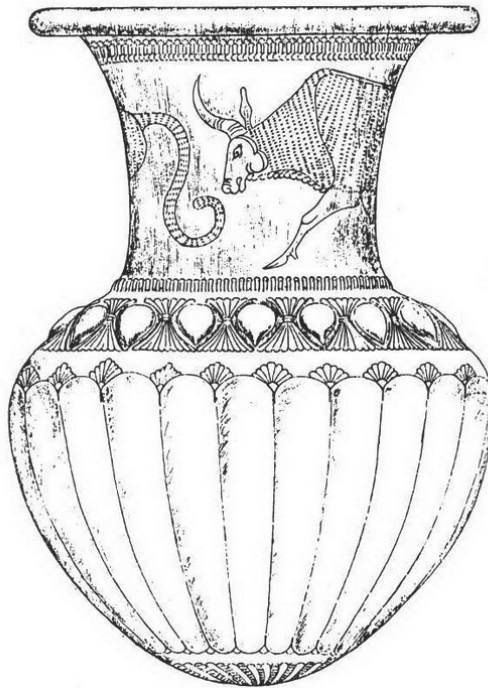
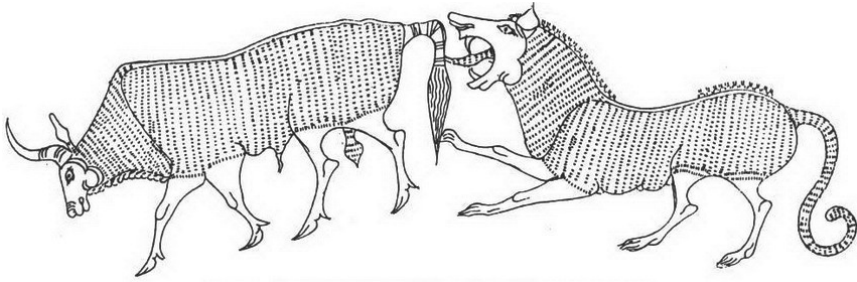


Fig. 3. Graphic image of a silver jug. Sairkhe, 5th century B.C.

The local, Colchian origin of Vani diadem does not doubt, because such kind of jewelry is unknown outside of Colchis and only in Vani and in Sairkhe are discovered⁴. As for the golden plate and silver jug from Sairkhe, no assumption will be excluded-they may be local products, or brought from Iran. If these pieces are local, Colchian samples, then their scientific significance is increasing, because Colchis jewelers an Iranian topic were depicted and it's clear that the masters in this case were ordered by the owners of these things.



Fig. 4. Gold medallions Ahura Mazda. Sairkhe, 4th century B.C.

I will discuss another three things from Sairkhe, the horse's sponge gold medallions from the tomb №8 (Fig.4), the golden earrings from the tomb №1 and a glass bowl from the cult square. A total of two glasses bowls of Achaemenid epoch found on the territory of Georgia. One of them is detected in Algheti⁵ [Saginashvili, Gagoshidze 1973: 84-92] and the second is Sairkhe. The glass bowl from Sairkhe is dated the middle of the 5th century B.C. (460-440 B.C.) and represents an oldest sample

⁴ Z. Bragavadze, M. Tsereteli, „კოლხურ დიადემებთან დაკავშირებული ზოგიერთი საკითხი“ (*Kolkhur diademebtan dakavshirebuli zogierti sakitkhi*), „საქართველოს ხელოვნების სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის ნარკვევები“ (*Essays of Georgian State Art Museum*), Tbilisi 5(1999), pp. 38-46.

⁵ M. Saginashvili, I. Gagoshidze, „ალგეთის ფიალა“ (*Algeti phiala*) „საქართველოს მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის მაცნე“, Tbilisi 4(1973), pp. 84-92.

of glass in Georgia.⁶ The gold medallions found in the eighth tomb are also unique. These are the images of Ahura Mazda (Fig. 4) They are not detected on any other archaeological monument except Sairkhe. Ahura Mazda, as the main deity of Zoroastrianism was a very popular cult in ancient Georgia. In Georgian scientific literature it is mentioned, that the primary deity Armazi of the Iberia (Kartli) Kingdom is nothing more than a local variation of the Ahura Mazada.⁷ It should be recalled, that according to the ancient Georgian historical tradition (*kartlis tskhovreba*-Life of Kartli) by the first king of Kartli (Iberia) Parnavaz was declared Armazi as the chief idol of the Kingdom, because his name means Armaz in Persian.⁸ From the etymological point of view, that Ahura Mazda, Armazi and Parnavaz are similar names. It has already been mentioned that in addition to the burials in Sairkhe there was also discovered the cult square too, where the remains of burnt wood were found. There is no doubt, that at funeral ritual the fire took a special place in Sairkhe. The facts of fire and images of Ahura Mazda are to be confirmed, that the official religion Zoroastrism of Achaemenian Iran was not an unknown event in ancient Colchis. At this stage of research, it is difficult to argue, that in this part of Colchis, the Iranian religion had or not an official form, but one thing should not be doubted. In my opinion, we have some local manifestation of Zoroastrianism in Colchis of 400-300 B.C.

Another archaeological artifact confirming the relationship between Colchis and Iran, there is an earring, found in the tomb №1 in Sairkhe, which is dating to the 350-300 B.C. Such type of jewelry is considered to be typical examples of Achaemenid Iran art and they are in ample quantities of fixed in Suza and in Pasargad.⁹ Sairkhe is second archaeological monument in Georgia where these earring were found. Another pair of earrings is confirmed by the so-called “Akhlagori Treasure” (East Georgia).¹⁰

⁶ M. Saginashvili, G. Makharadze, „აქემენიდური მიხის ფილა საინხიდან“ (*Aqemeniduri minis phiala sairkhidan*), „საქართველოს ხელოვნების სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის ნარკვევები“ (*Essays of Georgian State Art Museum*), Tbilisi 5(1999), pp. 47-50.

⁷ M. Gvelesiani, „არმაზის კერპის საკითხისათვის“ (*armazis kerpis sakitkhisatvis*) „საქართველოს ხელოვნების სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის ნარკვევები“, (*Essays of Georgian State Art Museum*), Tbilisi 6(2000), pp. 49-60.

⁸ „ქართლის ცხოვრება“, ლეონტი მროველი, მეფეთა ცხოვრება (*Kartlis tskhovreba, leonti mroveli, mepeta tskhovreba*), Tbilisi, I (1955), p. 23.

⁹ D. Stronach, *Pasargade. A report on the excavations conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963*, Oxford 1973, pp. 168-178.

¹⁰ O. Lordkipanidze, „ახალგორის განძი“ (*Akhlagoris gandzi*), „ძიებანი“ (*Dziebani*), Tbilisi 11(2003), p. 31.



Fig. 5. Red painted jugs. 4th century B.C.

As the archaeological material showed, there are discovered many archaeological artefacts characteristic of the Iranian world in ancient Georgia. Intensive contacts between these two civilizations shows very frequent detection cases of daily household items on the archeological sites of 400-300 B.C. of Georgia. I mean the ordinary pottery, which is obviously different from the local ceramic products with the appearance and style of decoration. These are red painted jugs and they are discovered at many

archeological sites of Georgia (Fig. 5). The geographical area of their discovery includes almost all of Georgia¹¹ and their Iranian origin does not cause doubts among researchers. Such type of jugs in Colchis are found in Vani,¹² in Sairkhe,¹³ in Zevri¹⁴ and in Itkhvisi.¹⁵ Of course, I think that cases of such numerous of red painted potteries had a daily, practical use in Colchis and they should have entered the territory of Colchis as well as in the rest of Georgia, as a result of intensive trade-economic relations between Iran and Georgia. We should consider the same context the perfume of the Achaemenian origin Kohl-Tubbe, from the Greek necropolis of Pichvnari.¹⁶ This is also an additional proof of the fact that relations with Iran were not only the internal regions of Colchis, but also the Black Sea area. Colchian jewelry also gives an interesting picture. In particular, in Vani and Sairkhe detected the ram's crown bracelets (Fig.6).



Fig. 6. The bracelet. Sairkhe, 4th century B.C.

¹¹ Г. Нариманишвили, *Керамика Картли V-I Века до н.э.*, Tbilisi 1991, pp. 79-102.

¹² O. Lordkipanidze, *Vani Ein Antikes Religioses Zentrum Im Lande Des Golden Vlieses (Kolchis)*. Mainz 1996: Tab. 72.

¹³ J. Nadiradze, საირსე – საქართველოს უძველესი ქალაქი (*Sairxe saqartvelos udzvelesi qalaqi*). Tbilisi 1990, p. 77.

¹⁴ Z. Bragvadze, „ძვერის გვიანანტიკური ხანის სამარხები“ (*Dzevris gvianantikuri khans samarkhebi*), „ძიებანი“ (*Dziebani*), Tbilisi, 12(2003), p. 89.

¹⁵ I. Gagoshidze, N. Gogiberidze, G. Makharadze, „ითხვისის სამაროვანი“ (*Itxvisis samarovani*), „არქეოლოგიური ჟურნალი“ (*Archaeological Journal*), Tbilisi 4(2006), pp. 43-44.

¹⁶ A. Kakhidze, „აქემენიდური მინის ფიალა ფიჭვნარის სამაროვნიდან“ (*Aqemeniduri minis phiala pichvnaris samarovnidan*) „იბერია-კოლხეთი“ (*Iberia-kolkheti*), Tbilisi, 4(2008) p.53.

According to A. Chkonia they made using the Achaemenid model in Colchis.¹⁷ However, the Achaemenian origin of this style is uncertain. I would like to note that the rich tombs of Sairkhe besides the mentioned artifacts contains gold and silver samples made from imitation of Achaemenid Iranian origin or Iranian art. Naturally, each of them is a subject of consideration and research. This time we are limited to their list, so that the interested readers have the opportunity to have their number. These items are: gold plates with eagles and ducks; the small golden statue of tuck; crescent shaped golden hanger; silver jug, silver bowl and a silver spoon; golden necklace with ram's crown; bull's golden hank; silver bowls with gold omphalos (Fig. 7); bowls with omphalos (Fig. 8); eagle golden statues; silver spoons. The presented samples may be not so numerous, but it can be emphasized, that's our knowledge in today's stage Sairkhe appears as the archaeological sites of ancient Colchis, where more than two dozen of Iranian origin have been identified and that reality is further strengthening its scientific significance.



Fig. 7. Silver bowl with golden omphalos. Sairkhe, 5th century B.C.



Fig. 8. Silver bowl with silver omphalos. Sairkhe, 5th century B.C.

In the same context should consider, the silver Rhyton, made of imitation of Iranian toreptic found in Mtisdziri (West Georgia).¹⁸ In the burial ground in Mtisdziri could be buried the noble person of the society, which probably did not play a secondary role of the governing of this part of the Kingdom of Colchis.¹⁹

¹⁷ A. Chkonia, „ძველი კოლხეთის კონტაქტები აქემენიდურ სამყაროსთან“ (*Dzveli kolkhetis kontaktebi aqemenidur samkarostan*). „იბერია-კოლხეთი“ (*Iberia-kolkheti*), Tbilisi 9 (2013) pp.117-121.

¹⁸ G. Gamkrelidze, ცენტრალური კოლხეთის ძველი ნამოსახლარები (*Centraluri kolkhetis dzveli namosakhlarebi*), Tbilisi 1982, pp. 73-80.

¹⁹ G. Gamkrelidze, „Two Silver Rhytons From West Georgia – Colchis (*Mtisdziri and Gomi*)“, „იბერია-კოლხეთი“ (*Iberia-kolkheti*), 5(2009), pp. 204-214.

In addition to trade contacts should have existed intensive political relations between Iran and Colchis. Although written sources do not tell us much about this, but archaeological artefacts at our disposal do not exclude such an opinion. As a result of the reforms carried out by Dario I, Iran has expanded its influence on the lands of the north from Iran, including territories, where old Georgian tribes lived. It is noteworthy that the establishment of the state of Colchis coincides with the reign of Dario The First in Iran. Georgian historiography accepted idea, that Colchis state set up in the 6th century B.C. And the 6th-4th centuries B.C. is the strong era of this kingdom.²⁰ This epoch coincides with the magnificent centuries of Achaemenid Iran. Obviously, the state organization implies the regulation of the governance of the country and the establishment of administrative units. According to Strabo Colchian kingdom was divided into Sceptuchies [Strabo. X.12]. The Sceptuchies were the administrative units created on the territorial principle. The Sceptuchs were the rulers of Sceptuchies. They also had secular and religious authorities and they had delegated these rights from the Colchis kings. Based on the archaeological data of Colchis in 400-300 B.C. Vani and Sairkhe were the main centers of Sceptuchies and those rich tombs that are studied here belongs to Skeptuchs.²¹ It should also be recalled that after the reform of Dario I, administrative-territorial units were created in the Iranian Empire. Although a Satrapy was a much larger land-water unit in comparison with Sceptuchies, but both of them were based on the same principle – management of a certain districts and the protection of state interests. In addition to the general statement of Strabo about the administrative arrangement of ancient Colchis, we don't have any other conclusion. However, in this case, some kind of assistance can be provided by a similar reform carried out by King Parnavaz in the Kingdom of Kartli (Iberia). According to the historical tradition of “*kartlis tskhovreba*” (Life of Georgia) Parnavaz has divided the kingdom into administrative territorial units and, most importantly, he made this reform and organized the Kingdom “like the kingdom of Persia”.²² From this historical point obvious that, the

²⁰ M. N i n a d z e, „კოლხეთის სამეფოს სკეპტუხიათა საკითხისათვის“ (*Kolkhetis samephos skeptukhiata*). „საქართველოს მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის შობაზე“ (*The Bulletin of the Georgian Academy of Sciences*), Tbilisi 26(1961), pp. 783-790.

²¹ Z. B r a g v a d z e, „საირხე კოლხეთის სამეფოს სკეპტუხიის ცენტრი“ (*Sairkhe kolkhetis samephos skeptukhiis centri*), „საქართველოს ხელოვნების სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის ნარკვევები“ (*Essays of The State Art Museum of Georgia*), Tbilisi 4(1998), pp. 67-68.

²² „ქართლის ცხოვრება“, ლეონტი მროველი, მეფეთა ცხოვრება (*kartlis tskhovreba, leonti mroveli, mepheta tskhovreba*), Tbilisi I (1955), p. 23.

Iranian model of arranging the state was established in the Kartli (Iberia) Kingdom after the destruction of the Achaemenid Empire, in 3rd century B.C. This is a very significant historical reference, because it shows well, that the reforms implemented in Iran was even after the fall of the Persian Empire. Another important moment can be seen in “*kartlis tskhovreba*”. In particular, the second Georgian Kingdom (Kartli-Iberia), which was created late, repeats the system of state structure that exists in Colchis. There is a question of why skeptics were created in Colchis? We can assume the assumption that what Strabo is referring to as Sceptuchies, related to Iranian onomastics, because I think, that the Sceptuchies in Colchis should have been created by direct interference of the Iranian Kingdom. Moreover, at this stage of the survey I suppose that the formation of a state organization itself directly in Colchis is linked to Iran’s military-political interests in the Caucasus. Herodotus describes in detail the battles, which Darius The First led the nomadic Scythians. These nomads created great problems for neighbors, including Iran. Apparently Iran needed a strong force in the Caucasus, through which he would be able to avoid the attacks of Scythians and then Sarmatians. Since Colchis was directly related to the Caucasus ridge, it was necessary to have a strong state organization here, in order to be locked in the crossing of the Caucasus and Iran’s “friend country Colchis” will be going to be a restraining force for these nomadic tribes. Thus, strong and state-well organized Colchis was also at political interest of Iran, because for Iran has provided a good guarantee for the attack from the north. Due to the above, no speculation about the active role and direct participation of Iran in the creation of the Colchian state. That’s why the political organization of the Kingdom of Colchis is like Achaemenid Iran. It does not seem to be accidental that after the overthrow of the Achaemenid Empire, the Sceptuch’s dynasty in Colchis has been resolved. The most luxurious burial on the Sairkhe cemetery belongs to the end of 300 B.C.²³ in that era, when the Achaemenid dynasty was finished.

After the collapse of Iran Empire the branch of Sceptuchs in Sairkhe ceased its existence. The latest rich burial from Sairkhe dates to the turn of 300 B.C.²⁴ that is when Achaemenian dynasty stopped its existence. At that time rich burials in Sairkhe absolutely disappeared. In the scien-

²³ J. Nadiradze, საირსე საქართველოს უძველესი ქალაქი (*Sairkhe saqartvelos udzvelesi qalaxi*), Tbilisi 1990, p. 84.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

tific literature this phenomenon is connected with the loss of political and social continuity of Skeptuch brunch.²⁵

Proceeding from this reasoning it is possible to take out the following conclusion that the artifacts found in Sairkhe could be considered as the result of military-political and cultural-religious relations. Iranian shahs and satraps used to send precious gifts to Colchian Skeptuches as a token of fidelity as to the subordinates and allies. In my mind, gold and silver artifacts of Achaemenian origin, reveled in Sairkhe, represent a part of those gifts.

Iran and colchisin 400-300 b.c.

The archaeological excavations, carried out in the western part of Georgia showed that in the 400-300 B.C. the relations between Georgia and Iran were rather intensive and interesting. From this point of view Sairkhe excavations gave us plenty of material. Especially fruitful were the excavations of rich graves of Colchian nobles, where separate artifacts, characteristic for art and life of Achaemenian Iran were revealed.

They specify on close cultural, religious and economic relations between these countries. Besides, there should be close political mutual relations between Achaemenid Iran and Colchis. In the scientific literature there exists the opinion that Colchis, as a state, was founded in the 6th century B.C. and the flourishing period of this kingdom is considered to the 500-400 B.C. The mightiest period of Achaemenid Iran.

The organization of the state meant both: the arrangement of ruling of the country and creation of administrative units. According to Strabo Colchian kingdom was divided into Sceptuchies. At the given investigating phase I assume that the creation of the state organization of Colchis is directly connected with the military-political interests of Iran in South Caucasus.

The artifacts found in Sairkhe could be considered as the result of military-political and cultural-religious relations. Iranian shahs and satraps used to send precious gifts to Colchian Skeptuches as a token of fidelity as to the subordinates and allies. In my mind, gold and silver artifacts of Achaemenian origin, reveled in Sairkhe, represent a part of those gifts.

Key words: Iran, Georgia, Colchis, Sairkhe, Vani.

²⁵ Z. Bragvadze, „საირხე კოლხეთის სამეფოს სკეპტუხის ცენტრი“ (*Sairkhe kolkhetis samepos skeptukhiis centri*), „საქართველოს ხელოვნების სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის ნარკვევები“ (*Essays of The State Art Museum of Georgia*), Tbilisi 4(1998), pp. 67-68.

EXCAVATIONS AT MACHKHOMERI
– KHOBI MUNICIPALITY.
PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE 2019 SEASON¹

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Introduction

The site of Machkhomeri sits on a hill ridge 100 metres above sea level (Fig. 1, 2). It is situated 3.5 km to the northwest of Khobi and 22 km from the coast as the crow flies. From the site, the view dominates the wide coastal plain until the Black Sea littoral to the west. The location of the site is already known to modern scholarship. Nikoloz Murghulia surveyed this hilltop in 2010, documented the visible remains of the walls and sketched a provisional plan. He advanced the conclusion that Machkhomeri was part of the complex defensive system of late antique Lazica. He connects the site to a central defensive section that includes ten other forts, and believes its main function was to signal nearby fortifications in case of attack.²

¹ The Excavations at Machkhomeri have been conducted with the financial support of Khobi Municipality. Further, this work has been supported by the Danish National Research Foundation under the grant DNRF119 – Centre of Excellence for Urban Network Evolutions (UrbNet).

² N. Murghulia, *The fortification system of Lazika (Egrisi) kingdom in the 4th–6th centuries (research into west Georgian castle)*. FaRiG final report 2010 [available at: farig.org/images/pdfs/research-nikoloz-murghulia.pdf; accessed 15/11/2019], 33–34, 91.

At this stage, the ancient name of the site remains unknown and it is not possible to track down its history through written sources.

Preliminary archaeological investigations on the hilltop were conducted in summer 2018 by a team of the Georgian National Museum led by Dr Revaz Papuashvili. The 2018 investigations, which lasted two weeks, aimed to clear the heavily forested hilltop from vegetation and expose selected portions of walls already partially visible on the ground to clarify the orientation, nature and size of a building at the centre of the fortifications. During the removal of the topsoil, pottery and glass was found that pointed towards a late antique chronological horizon for the fill of the building. In addition, two fragmentary inscriptions in Greek were found, one of which mentions a synod.

In August 2019, excavations resumed thanks to funds from the Khobi Municipality. The fieldwork was conducted in collaboration with Emanuele E. Intagliata (Centre for Urban Network Evolutions, Aarhus University) and Davit Naskidashvili (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University). In that year, the team continued working on exposing the walls of the building and excavated two deep trenches both immediately outside (Trench A) and inside the compound (Trench B) in order to retrieve stratigraphic data and pinpoint the date of the construction and occupation of the building.

The Church and its Surroundings

The building sits within an enceinte that remains partially in place to the west and north (Fig. 3). The extension of the fortification appears to encompass a large portion of the hill's ridge but not its entirety. The remains of a section of this wall are still visible for about 22 m and are overall still preserved in relatively good condition – in some places up to 2 m high – to the west of the church. The wall consists of two faces of roughly cut stones arranged in irregular courses and tied together with a core of mortared rubble. The northern end of the wall concludes with a square tower, while the southern end turns sharply to the west to disappear in the vegetation. Due to high vegetation cover and the priority given to excavating the church, this year it was not possible to plan the entire course of the fortifications. However, it should be noted that the remains of a second tower projecting outward are visible five metres further to the south of the turn of the wall. This had already

been noted and documented by Murghulia.³ Remains of the walls are also visible to the east of the excavated building. The building technique in use for the construction of this enceinte and the data recovered at this early stage of research do not help pinpoint any exact dating. However, one should note that there are notable differences in construction techniques and mortar composition between the walls of the church and that of the fortifications. Whether or not this suggests that the perimeter wall is not contemporary with the church remains to be clarified with further excavations.

The removal of the topsoil conducted in 2018 and 2019 exposed a large part of the central building situated within the area encompassed by the fortification wall. All clues point to interpret this building as a single-hall church with lateral annexes and a narthex. The main body of the compound, which is approximately 20 m by 12 m in size, consists of a single hall, two lateral rectangular annexes – the northern being fully exposed and 2.20 m by 13 m in size – and a 7 m by 12 m narthex provided with a central pathway in white flat stones. The apse of the building, which is orientated toward the east, remains to be fully exposed. The building is situated on the highest ground of the hill and on a prominent location. In antiquity, it would have been a most visible landmark for people travelling from the middle Rioni valley to modern-day Abkhazia and vice versa by land. No remains of other structures are currently visible on the ground or have been exposed. In this report, we will focus on the results of the excavation of two trenches that have yielded significant evidence for the understanding of the nature of the building and its chronology.

Trench A

A 3 × 2 m trench was excavated against the southern short wall of the narthex (Fig. 4). This was carried out to expose the foundations of this structural feature and identify any potential occupational contexts outside the main building. After removing the topsoil, excavations revealed three thick collapse layers whose material pertained to the southern wall of the narthex. The earliest collapse was found immediately on top of the natural soil, which was a compact mid-greyish brown silty clay dotted with frequent lenses of mid yellowish brown clay. The natural soil appears

³ N. Murghulia, *The fortification system of Lazika* (op. cit.), 34, fig. 1.

to have been flattened in order to prepare the ground for the installation of the narthex wall of the basilica, which is situated on top of it and is devoid of any foundations.

A few pottery sherds were found mixed up with ceramic building material. This included a large collection of coarse ware but not fine ware. No structures have been found abutting the narthex wall of the basilica, suggesting that this area was left free from buildings – possibly because of the steep slope that characterizes this sector of the site.

The remains of the southern wall of the narthex still in situ consists of two faces of flat stones arranged in regular courses and joined together by a core of mortared rubble. Small uncut stones and ceramic building material are visible in the mortar joint. Surprisingly, as discussed above, the wall has no foundations and this affected its stability. The structure is tilted towards the south as a result of the collapse. The removal of the topsoil inside the church enabled to understand that the wall abuts the eastern wall of the main hall of the church, thus proving that the narthex is a later addition. Excavation also revealed a layer of white plaster, which still partially survives on the lowest level of the wall. At this stage of the excavation, there is no evidence to suggest the dating of the collapse nor of the construction of the narthex.

The excavation of the trench has revealed a large assemblage of ceramic building material. Bricks are of three types, namely triangular ($37 \times 22 \times 39 \times 4.8/5$ cm) – likely used for the construction of arches – and rectangular ($32 \times 23 \times 3.5/4$ cm; $38.5 \times 13.5 \times 4$ cm). It is not clear how exactly the brick were supposed to be used in the wall structure. Presumably, they would have been originally placed in brick bonds, as it is suggested by evidence of brick bands uncovered in the north-east corner of the building. The use of brick banding (“*opus mixtum*”) is particularly common in late antique architecture in western Georgia and is found extensively in fortification walls and church architecture.⁴ Roof tiles come in two types: a large flat type with lateral flanges and a curved type. Only one example of the latter survives in relatively

⁴ V. Japaridze, *Egrisis I-VII ss. materialuri kulturis dzeglebi (arkeologiuri gatkhebi, gamokvleva)*, Tbilisi 2006, 52–57; L. G. Khroushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens de la côte orientale de la mer Noire. Abkhazie. IVe-XIVe siècles* (Bibliothèque de l’Antiquité Tardive 6), Paris 2006, 42–43; see recently at Tsikhisdziri, E. E. Intagliata, D. Naskidashvili and J. R. Snyder, *Towards a high-definition approach to the study of Byzantine fortifications. The case study of Tsikhisdziri (western Georgia)*, “*Anatolica*” 45.

good conditions from the excavation of trench B. This is 39 cm long and 2.3 cm thick – the width is not preserved. The same building material has been found scattered in very large quantities during the removal of the topsoil and the excavation of Trench B.

Trench B

Inside the building, the excavation targeted the remains of the northern lateral annexe. The western section of the annexe has revealed a red mortared floor 30 cm below the ground, whilst the eastern section, has yielded a deeper stratigraphy. A tree between these two sections has so far proven to be an obstacle for our understanding of how these two areas were connected. Excavation of the eastern section has revealed the presence of a room (Fig. 5). The structure of the inner face of its walls suggest that this room was constructed at different stages. The southern wall shows two different building techniques: one with large cut stone blocks arranged in regular courses and the other making use of two faces of flat stones arranged in regular courses joined together with a core of mortared rubble. In between the flat stones are smaller angular stones and fragments of reused flat roof tiles with lateral flanges. This might suggest that the church experienced structural disruption at some point in time and that was later restored when the annexe was added. Whether this disruption was caused by natural or human factors remains to be established.

The room was originally covered with marble slabs.⁵ Some of these slabs, whose original dimensions are not preserved, were found in its fill, whilst one was still against the northern walls and with traces of mortar on its back side. The white marble slabs have different thicknesses, suggesting they were robbed from one or more existing buildings and then reused for decorating the room.

Within the abandonment and collapse layers, a number of triangular (31.5 × 17 × 4 cm; 25 × 14 cm × 4 cm), diamond-shaped (20 × 12 × 4 cm; 10 × 4 × 2.5 cm) and squared (23.7 × 23.7 × 4 cm) floor tiles in white marble, grey and red granite were found. This were originally arranged to create a floor with a geometric pattern. Whether this floor was in this room or the tiles were originally in another room and were later discarded there after the abandonment of the structure remains to

⁵ Cfr the Basilica at Sebastopolis; L. G. Khrushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens*, 62.

be clarified with future excavations. Floors decorated with geometric patterns in church context are not common in the western Caucasus, the only example of which being in the basilica of Sebastopolis.⁶ Together with the Octagonal church, the basilica at Sebastopolis is believed to have a terminus ante quem dated to AD 542; the floor of the basilica, which functioned as a funerary chapel has been compared to similar installations in ‘modulo piccolo’ at Antioch and Cyprus, dated to the 5th–6th centuries AD⁷.

The graves have different orientations. Grave 1 and 2, which run parallel to each other, are orientated east to west (dimensions of Grave 1: 212 × 66 cm, 59 cm deep; Grave 2: 210 × 66 cm, 44 cm deep). Grave 3, which is smaller but deeper (154 × 53 cm, 82 cm deep) is orientated north to south. All graves present at the top a step on their four sides that would have supported stone slabs. Some of these slabs were carved and have been found in a fragmentary state within and outside the graves mixed with ceramic building material. The carving of these slabs has a limited range of iconographies – generally crosses with flared ends encompassed by wreaths or birds. Graves 1 and 3 are not excavated in the natural rock but are modelled in a red mortar bed, which is found across the whole room. This building technique finds comparisons in the ecclesiastical complex at Sebastopolis, Grave 15, in the 6th-century church of Candripš, in the church of the fortress of Šapky and in the area of Cebel’da.⁸ The walls of Grave B are, by contrast, made of monolithic stone slabs. One of this bears a carved Latin cross with flared ends surrounded by a simplified wreath.

The presence of roof tiles, bricks and marble wall slabs found within the graves suggest that their contents had already been looted in antiquity, before the church had collapsed. A few bones were found in the graves not in situ. Entire skulls were absent. The grave goods left in place by the robbers consist of pottery, metal objects – including a Latin cross with flared ends – and carved stone objects.

⁶ L. G. Khroushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens*, 62, 222, fig. 40a–b; L. G. Khroushkova, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de l’Abkhazie: entre orient et occident*, in R. Harreither, P. Perfoia, E. Pillinger and A. Polz (eds) “Acta Congressus Internationalis XIV Archaeologicae Christianae”, Città del Vaticano–Vienna 2006, 478, Taf. 164, fig. 6.

⁷ L. G. Khroushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens*, 62; L. G. Khroushkova, *Les monuments paléochrétiens*, 478.

⁸ L. G. Khroushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens*, 48, 59.

A large amount of glass fragments has also been found, most of these being retrieved scattered in Grave 1 (Fig. 6). The poor state of preservation of the glass and the sheer amount of fragments suggest that the glass material found in these graves is not in situ. It was likely collected in the church and thrown into the opened graves after the floor of the room had been destroyed and the tombs robbed.

A preliminary analysis and documentation of this glass has been conducted. Most of the diagnostic fragments identified so far are associable with early Byzantine glass lamps. The most diagnostic form of assemblage, and one of the most frequent, is a round base with a tubular body and almost straight vertical walls (Fig. 6, MH18.001). Lead thin metal straps with a hole in the middle, found extensively in the site, would have allowed the wick in the lamp to stay in position. The type is ubiquitous in early Byzantine contexts along all the Black Sea littorals and in both halves of the Mediterranean.⁹ Comparanda in the western Caucasus include finds dated from the 5th to the early 7th century AD –¹⁰ Pichvnari (mixed deposit),¹¹ Sebastopolis (AD 542 destruction layer)¹² and Gyenos (5th–early 7th century).¹³ In Crimea, they seem to be attested within the same chronological horizon.¹⁴

A second frequent group consists of large open forms with small handles attached to the body (Fig. 6, MH18.011). The handles would support chains that allowed the lamp to be hung on the roof. A large variety of handles have been brought to light during the excavation of the room. These include simple small specimens, normally ca 2 cm long (Fig. 6, MH18.043, 044 and 0224) and handles with flat straps,

⁹ L. Golofast, *Early Byzantine Glass from the Tauric Chersonesos (Crimea)*, in E. Lafi (ed.), "Late Antique/Early Byzantine Glass in the eastern Mediterranean" (Colloquia Anatolica et Aegaea; Acta Congressus Communis Omnium Gentium Smyrnae II), Izmir 2009, 310–311, with extensive literature.

¹⁰ L. G. Khrushkova, *Late Antique Glass from the Eastern Black Sea. Christian Context*, in E. Lafi (ed.), "Late Antique/Early Byzantine Glass in the eastern Mediterranean" (Colloquia Anatolica et Aegaea; Acta Congressus Communis Omnium Gentium Smyrnae II), Izmir 2009, 342.

¹¹ A. Kakhidze, E. E. Intagliata, F. Harley, and D. Naskidashvili, *A Late Antique church at Napurvala hill (Pichvnari, western Georgia) and its associated cemetery. A reappraisal based on the surviving evidence at the Batumi Archaeological Museum*, "Phasis – Greek and Roman Studies" 21–22, 75/207 and 75/223; L. Chkhaidze, *P'ichvnaris adrep'eodaluri ark'eologiuri xanis masalebi*, "Samxret'-dasavlet' sak'art'velos dzeglebi" 9–1980, 51, fig. 5.4.

¹² L. G. Khrushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens*, 67, 227, pl. 41.c; L. G. Khrushkova, *Late Antique Glass*, 341–342.

¹³ L. G. Khrushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens*, 233, pl. 47.24–27.

¹⁴ L. G. Khrushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens*, 342; L. Golofast, *Early Byzantine Glass*, 310–311.

'tails' dragged downwards (Fig. 6, MH18.017 and 005) – characteristic of the early Byzantine period.¹⁵ A few fragments have left us a handle associated with a rim. Lamps of this group come in different variants at Machkhomeri. The group is attested in the Byzantine world as early as the 4th century AD but continued throughout the medieval period.¹⁶ The most fitting examples for this material in the western Caucasus come, once again, from the late antique contexts at Sebastopolis¹⁷ and Gyenos.¹⁸

Finally, it is worth mentioning the presence of a relatively small number of caliche bases (Fig. 6, MH18.068). With the exception of a few cases, in which the base survives in its entirety, most of these bases are very fragmentary. Given the context in which they were found, it seems reasonable to conclude that at least part of these caliches were in use as lamps rather than drinking vessels. Examples of caliche-like glass lamps have been found extensively in the eastern half of the Mediterranean in late antiquity, but rarely in the west.¹⁹ In western Georgia, however, they have been identified with difficulty.²⁰

Whilst it is possible that these glass lamps were produced locally, it should not be excluded that they were imported from elsewhere. Glass characterization from specimens brought to light at the Dariali fort has proven the existence of a lively glass trade through the Caucasus throughout the medieval period.²¹ Trade in glass lamps through the Pontic region is attested in the Miracles of Saint Eugenios, a collection of miracle stories most likely dated to the 9th century but collated in the 14th century. Miracles 5 and 18 in particular describe two journey conducted

¹⁵ L. Golofast, *Early Byzantine Glass*, 309.

¹⁶ L. Golofast, *Early Byzantine Glass*, 307–308, with extensive literature; on the 9th–10th century AD handled lamp from Dariali fortress, see A. M. Mowat, *Vessel glass from the Dariali fort*, in E. Sauer (ed.) *Dariali: The 'Caspian Gates' in the Caucasus from Antiquity to the Age of the Huns and the Middle Ages: The Joint Georgian-British Dariali Gorge Excavations and Surveys 2013–2016*, Oxford 2020, 554.

¹⁷ L. G. Khroushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens*, 67; L. G. Khroushkova, *Late Antique Glass*, Fig. 23.39–40.

¹⁸ L. G. Khroushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens*, 233, pl. 47.f, 1–16; L. G. Khroushkova, *Late Antique Glass*, 353, Fig. 24.1–39.

¹⁹ L. Golofast, *Early Byzantine Glass*, 310–311.

²⁰ L. G. Khroushkova, *Late Antique Glass*, 343.

²¹ A. M. Mowat, *Vessel glass*; Y. Abe and R. Shikaku, *Report of chemical compositional characterization of glass fragments excavated from Dariali fort (Georgia) by non-destructive X-Ray fluorescence analyses*, in E. Sauer (ed.) *"Dariali: The 'Caspian Gates' in the Caucasus from Antiquity to the Age of the Huns and the Middle Ages: The Joint Georgian-British Dariali Gorge Excavations and Surveys 2013–2016"*. Oxford 2020, 593–602.

by monks from Trebizond to Constantinople and Phasiane (Armenia) to buy glass lamps.²²

Discussion

Although it is still too early to reach conclusions on the different stages of construction of the building and their chronology, there remains little doubt that the building excavated was a late antique church and that underwent at least one stage of refurbishment, the latter including the addition of a narthex and two lateral annexes. The deposit of glass lamps in the graves is witness of a phase in which most of the building was still standing but was already undergoing spoliation. As a preliminary analysis of the glass lamps from the graves has demonstrated, most of the glass material fits within a late antique chronological horizon (possibly 5th–6th centuries AD). The architecture of the church seems to prove this. The building is not unique in the panorama of late antique church architecture in the Caucasus. Single-nave apse with lateral annexes and narthices are relatively frequent in the region from late antiquity and beyond.²³ So far, no hard evidence has been found to substantiate an occupation of the building after the 7th century AD. Furthermore, nothing so far seem to suggest that the collapse of the building occurred after a violent destruction. Rather the demise of the building seem to have occurred gradually. During its last phase of life, the building was subjected to heavy spoliation aimed at robbing the church and its graves from its movable goods as well as possibly also its decoration. However, if the function of the building is evident, the nature of the site remains to be fully clarified.

Summary

This article presented the results of the excavation of a late antique church at Machkhomeri, 3,5 km to the northwest of modern-day Khobi. The clearance of the vegetation has revealed that the building sits at the centre of an extensive fortification. Sections of the building have partially been exposed, revealing a single hall church with lateral annexes and

²² J. O. Rosenqvist, *Lamps for St Eugenios: A note on Byzantine glass*, "Eranos" 92–1994, 52–59.

²³ L. G. Khrushkova, *Les monuments chrétiens*, 70.

a narthex. A deep sondage conducted to the east of the northern annexe has brought to light three graves on a bed of red mortar. Scattered in these graves, and in particular in grave A, was a large assemblage of glass vessels, some of which belonged to lamps. These were not part of the grave goods, but had been discarded in the room when the church had already been abandoned and the graves robbed from most of their contents. The study of the material is in progress and the chronology of the church still has to be fully pinpointed, but so far a preliminary analysis of the architecture and the goods found in the building suggest a 5th–6th centuries AD chronological development for its construction and abandonment.



Fig. 1. Location of Machkhomeri (E. E. Intagliata).



Fig. 2. Drone photograph of the hilltop – on the background (D. Naskidashvili).

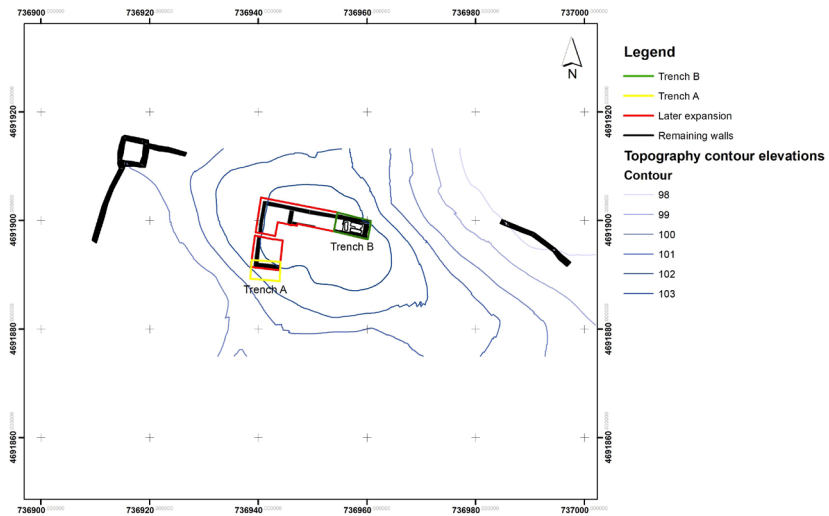


Fig. 3. Plan of the exposed sectors (2019) (D. Naskidashvili).



Fig. 4. Trench A, view from the south (E. E. Intagliata).



Fig. 5. Trench B, northern section – view from the west (E.E. Intagliata).

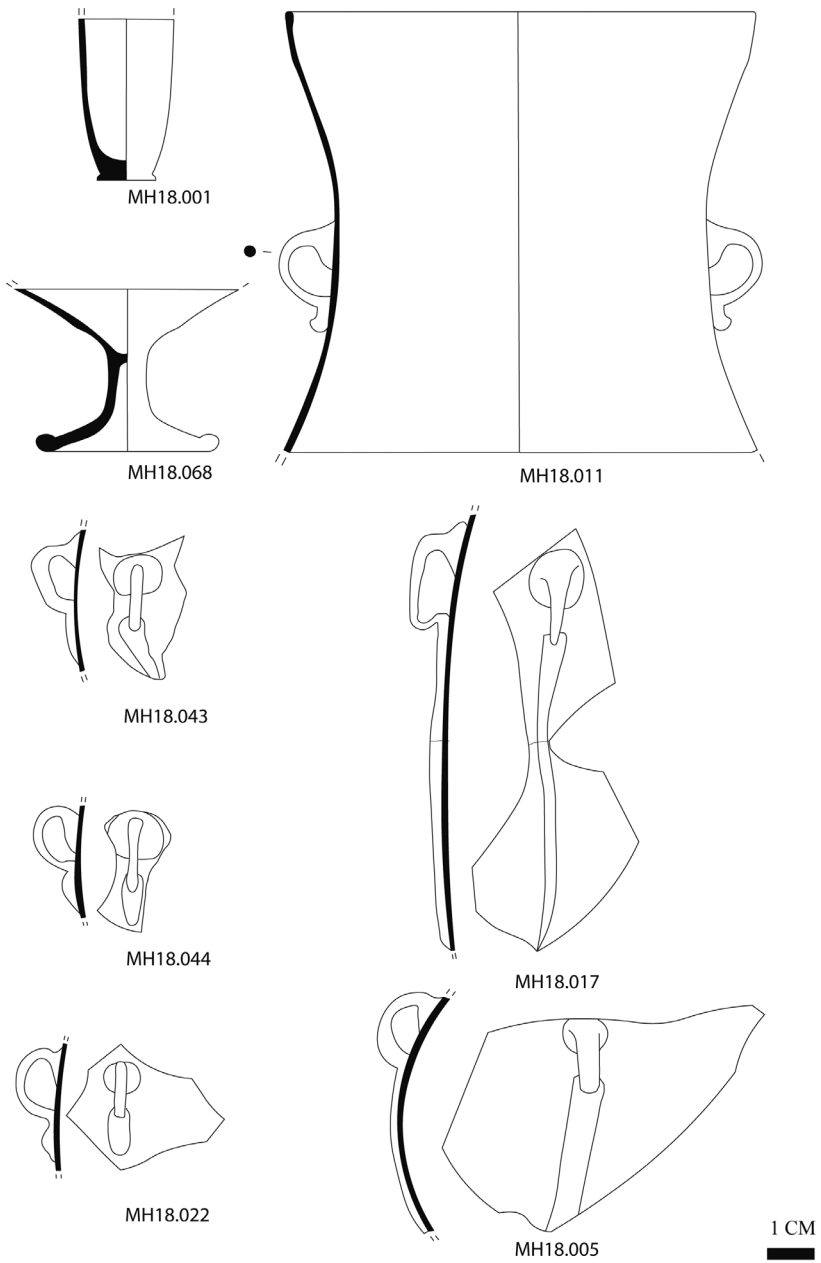


Fig. 6. Selected glass from Trench A, Grave 1 (E. E. Intagliata).

Excavations at Machkhomeri – Khobi Municipality.
Preliminary Report of the 2019 Season I

This contribution aims to present the results of new excavations at Machkhomeri conducted in summer 2019. In this year, the fieldwork targeted a building at the centre of the area encompassed by the fortification walls. The removal of a thick topsoil deeply disturbed by the presence of dense roots, has revealed the plan of a late antique single-hall church with two lateral annexes and a narthex. The excavation of the eastern section of the northern annexe has uncovered a multi-burial chamber with three graves. Although few of the presumed original grave goods were found, a large deposit of glass lamps from this room has been brought to light, providing clues on the chronology of the latest stage of occupation of the building.

Key words: Machkhomeri, Khobi Municipality, Danish National Research Foundation, Late antique, Single-hall church.

A ROCK-CUT HERMITAGE
OF CHICHKHITURI MONASTERY OF GAREJI
WITH ST. JACOB THE PERSIAN'S MARTYRDOM MURAL

by Lado Mirianashvili
"Udabno" Science Fud, Tbilisi

There exists a tradition that the Christian monasticism in Georgia originated in the 4th-5th centuries, though documented evidence of these activities is known only starting from the 6th century, when the so called Thirteen Syrian Fathers came to east Georgia to purify faith of the Georgians. There exist two viewpoints about the time of their coming: either in the first half of the sixth century or in the mid-sixth century. The Syrian monks established monasteries, some of which gained large fame even beyond Georgian borders. Among them are three rock-cut monasteries established by St. David and his disciples in the Gareji wilderness: the Lavra of St. David, Dodorka monastery and Natlismtsemeli monastery. In the 9th century, monastic life in Gareji began to flourish: new cave complexes were rock cut. According to G. Chubinashvili, the upheaval of construction work in Gareji was associated with activities of St. Hillarion the Georgian. But this would not have been possible without upheaval of political and economical life of the country that would promote growth of donations from noble houses: monasteries had to support themselves from income derived from estates, serfs and donations. I can say that St. Hillarion was at the right time and right place: in 880s the Arab domination in Georgia has come to an end. Only the emirate of Tiflis was surviving, which ruled over certain parts of eastern Georgia.¹ As

¹ In 654 the Arabs captured Tiflis and established an emirate.

a result of intense monastic activity, the number of monasteries in Gareji wilderness increased up to twenty.

St. David, as the founder of the Lavra, established an architectural framework within which the monks lived: each within his own cell, and within the Lavra as a community. The very first rock-cut cells in Gareji are thought to have been rather small and irregular. Since caves are generally damp, monks took care of their proper insulation and carved caves mainly along a north to south axis with an opening towards south. The caves were cool in summer and warm in winter thanks to the feature of rocks to maintain constant temperature.

According to the Life of St. David, the first communal church in the Lavra was rock cut some time after its founding. A nobleman who together with his family members was baptized in Gareji, became a *ktetor* of the first communal church. Delayed rock cutting of a communal church in the Lavra suggests that rock cutting of private chapels in Gareji has a long tradition. This fact is well-attested by material finds.

There were certain ascetics in Gareji wilderness who preferred to live separately from the community. Hermitages for recluses are found in all monasteries, including the Chichkhituri monastery. The latter lies in vicinity of the Lavra of St. David and of the Dodorka monastery. For decades, the Chichkhituri monastery was considered of negligible interest to scholarly audience for a simple reason: in 1929 the site was first visited and hastily inspected in a course of a scholarly expedition to the region for documenting certain monasteries of Gareji wilderness. The expedition failed to find anything interesting, including a painted chapel mentioned by the Russian traveler Andrey Muraviov in his book published in 1848. However, the monastery is of note at least for its seclusion tower, the sole surviving structure of that kind throughout Gareji wilderness.² The seclusion tower of Chichkhituri is a square construction of three floors with large windows (Fig. 1). Hermit's cell was on the middle floor and a chapel on the upper one. The ground floor was used as a storage room. The tower had a latrine.

² There is a seclusion tower – like structure in Dodorka monastery. It is not a tower.



Fig. 1 – Seclusion tower of the Chichkhituri Monastery of Gareji.
Photo by Lado Mirianashvili

Apart from the seclusion tower, the Chichkhituri monastery has a single nave church and a very interesting rock-cut hermitage complex, which fits well the general hermitage type identified by our team in the Dodorka monastery.³ The study of the Dodorka hermitages revealed a common origin of their typology, with certain variations in size and layout. Hermitages of the Dodorka type are found throughout Gareji wilderness, including the Chichkhituri monastery. Of course, the hermitage complex of Chichkhituri monastery cannot compete with a highly elaborate “Grigol’s complex” from the Dodorka monastery, rooms of which are exclusively well thought out, carved and laid out, but Chichkhituri hermitage, in difference from “Grigol’s complex”, is richly decorated with murals, among which is the martyrdom of St. Jacob the Persian (St. James the Intercisus. “Intercisus” means “cut up”) – a unique scene in Georgian monumental painting. Such naturalistic depictions of a martyrdom with lot of blood and scaring details are found mainly in miniature paintings, e.g. in the Menologion of Basil II.

The hermitage in Chichkhituri monastery is rock cut high up in the face of the rock (Fig. 2). The hermitage was reached by means of a vertical communication shaft, rectangular in shape. The south wall of the shaft had collapsed and now it stands half open. Height of the shaft is 5.8 m from the recent ground level. A ladder or rope had to be used in order to climb up the shaft. The shaft opened in the floor of the main room. From examples of the Dodorka monastery complexes, we can assume that there was a niche over the opening. Top of the shaft was secured by means of a wooden access hatch bolted from within. The access through the vertical shaft guaranteed security of a hermit from beasts, robbers and unwanted guest.

³ A multidisciplinary team of scholars (N. Bakhtadze, M. Bulia, D. Chikhladze, T. Jojua and L. Mirianashvili) worked on the rock-cut Monastery of Dodorka with financial support of the Swiss National Science Foundation. Hermitages of the monastery were analyzed in an interdisciplinary context jointly by D. Chikhladze, T. Jojua and L. Mirianashvili and the conclusions about general tendencies in the architectural structure of rock-cut complexes and functions of constituent spaces were drawn jointly. The book dedicated to the results of the study is under preparation. Joint conclusions about the general architectural structure of rock-cut cave complexes of the Dodorka Monastery are reflected in the description of the Chichkhituri hermitage found in the present paper. Preliminary results based on the analysis of the so-called “Grigol’s Complex” from the Dodorka monastery can be found in: David Chikhladze, *Architecture of the Dodorka Monastery of Gareji*. In: *Proceedings of an International Conference “David Gareji: Multidisciplinary Study and Development Strategy”*, Georgia, 18-20 April, 2019. Tbilisi 2020, pp. 82-88.



Fig. 2 – The view onto the facade of a Chichkhituri hermitage. Photo by Lado Mirianashvili



Fig. 3 – The main room of the hermitage. Photo by Lado Mirianashvili

The hermitage of the Chichkhituri monastery is a multi-room complex: it consists of three rooms. The main, central room (Fig. 3) is noted for its large size (5.3 m X 3.3 m X 2.5 m) and mural decoration on its east and north walls. The south side of the main room has collapsed, therefore on this side the room is completely open. The room has a flat ceiling. A prayer niche is rock cut in the north half of the east wall. The niche is vaulted. It measures 107 cm X 84 cm X 41 cm. At some subsequent time after the room was entirely plastered, the east wall around the prayer niche was replastered a second time. Namely, thickness of the plaster layer was increased in the upper part of the wall to shape a semi circle around the niche. Thus a kind of a two-step niche was formed. Two small niches are carved beneath the prayer niche. A larger vaulted niche is carved to the right of the latter. There is a rock-cut well in its base. The rainwater collected on a mountain slope⁴ was channeled into the well by means of earthenware pipes which can still be seen.⁵ The well was necessary for self-sustainment of the hermitage. The main, dwelling room, with east and north walls decorated with murals, was used for everyday life activities and for saying a prayer. Combination of a prayer room with the dwelling room was the feature of many hermitages in Gareji and Eastern Christendom in general. They are well attested in the Dodorka monastery.

The main room is flanked by two smaller rooms. The room on the east side measures 3.2 m X 2.4 m X 2 m. It is not plastered and the walls are uneven. It was probably used as a storage room. The room on the west side measures 3.3 m X 2 m X 2.15 m. It is not plastered. A continuous bench is running along the walls. The bench is built out of stones and plastered. It is 30 cm in width, except for the north portion where it reaches 60 cm. Existence of a plastered bench renders it possible that the entire room was plastered as well. Probably it was used as a sleeping room. There was one more cave neighbouring the complex from the west. It had collapsed partially. There are deep niches rock cut in its east and north walls. With high probability, the Chichkhituri hermitage was equipped with an individual latrine as is the case in rock-cut complexes

⁴ Monks successfully used ancient rainwater catchment techniques.

⁵ Analogous water collecting and storage systems were found in three complexes of Dodorka monastery. One of them, with sedimentation basin and a water cistern cut in the rock floor, fully survived. See: David Chikhladze, *Architecture of the Dodorka Monastery of Gareji*. In: *Proceedings of an International Conference "David Gareji: Multidisciplinary Study and Development Strategy"*, Georgia, 18-20 April, 2019. Tbilisi 2020, pp. 87-88. The rock-cut well for water storage survived in one of the hermitages in the Lavra of St. David as well.



Fig. 4 – A hermitage of the Udabno monastery. Photo by Lado Mirianashvili

of the Dodorka monastery. Structure of the hermitage described above ensured a maximum isolation of an enclosed anchorite who had austere detached from this world.

The main room is lavishly decorated with murals. In a process of the study of Dodorka rock-cut monastery of Gareji, we have noted that only several private chapels of hermitages were decorated with mural paintings; moreover existence of a mural in a dwelling room was rare and if such occurred, it was restricted to the single scene – the Crucifixion. A bit different is the program of private chapels in Udabno Monastery of Gareji, where we mainly see the Deesis and Mother of God with Child in the apse, and figures of military saints and of Church Fathers on the north wall (Fig. 4).

In difference from the above, main room of the hermitage in Chichkhituri monastery is lavishly decorated with Christological scenes and the martyrdom of St. Jacob the Persian. Since such elaborate complexes are in minority in almost all rock-cut monasteries of Gareji, one can suppose that it was a residence of the most admired monk.⁶

⁶ Joseph Patrich also considers that the most elaborate complexes were residences of admired monks. See J. Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism. A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries*. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington 1995, p. 128.

Graffito of the dweller of the rock-cut complex is found next to the niche of the rock-cut well. The inscription is executed in Georgian Mkhedruli script. It is written in two lines. Based on paleographic features of the graphemes, the inscription can be dated to the 13th century. It reads:

With Lord's grace, this cave | belongs to Zosime-Pimen.

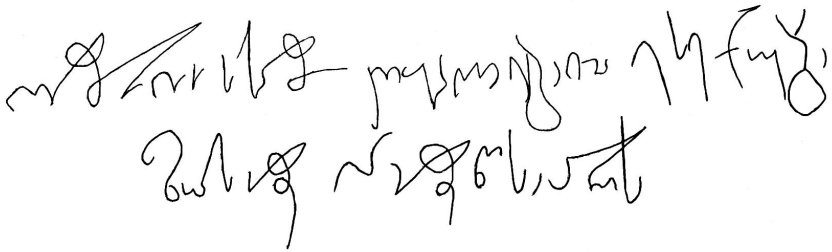


Fig. 5 Graffito of Zosime-Pimen

From the “Chronicle of Kartli” we know that in the 13th century a prominent monk Pimen the Holy Fool carried out his activities in the Gareji Desert. “From Gareji he went to Belakan where he resided in a cave, and he converted the people of Lezgins to Christ’s faith”.⁷

Taking into consideration that the hermitage of our interest is an elaborate cave complex, i.e. supposedly a residence of an admired monk, and noting a graffito of its owner with name Pimen, a cautious assumption can be made that Zosime-Pimen (a double name) and Pimen the Holy Fool were the same individuals.

It is important to note that the resident of the three-room hermitage calls it a cave and not the caves. By the way, the same approach is confirmed in two more cases. A graffito from the multi-room complex of Tsamebuli Monastery of Gareji reads: “This cave belonged to Khariton” (11th c.). Analogous is a graffito from the multi-room complex of the Mravaltskaro Monastery of Gareji: “This cave belongs to Stephan” (11th c.). We can conclude that in the 11th-13th centuries a multi-room rock-cut hermitages in Georgia were called simply a “cave”.

⁷ ქართლის ცხოვრება, *The text was established by S. Kaukhchishvili*, v. II, 1959, p. 283.

As I have already mentioned, east and north walls of the main room are decorated with murals. Starting from the south-east corner of the room, when proceeding anticlockwise from right to left, the following scenes can be distinguished: Martyrdom of St. Jacob the Persian, Annunciation (divided into two parts by the Golgotha Cross), an unidentified scene (interpretation of the painting is hindered by its poor state and the fact that identifying inscription is missing), The Lamentation and Entombment (the Christ is wrapped in linen cloths), and the Myrrhbearer Women at the Tomb of Jesus (Angel's figure has faded and vanished over the course of time) (Fig. 6).

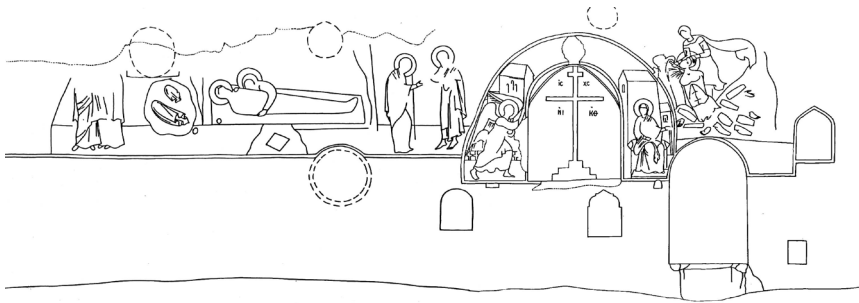


Fig. 6 – Murals on the east and north walls of the main room.
Tracing: Kakhaber Demuradze

All these mural scenes are arranged in a single register and start at a height of 110 cm from the floor level. The latter feature is characteristic of the Middle Byzantine period. Iconographic analysis of these murals has shown that they date to the 12th century. It can be easily noted that the colours of the murals have been refreshed. I suggest that the murals were renovated in ca. 17th century. This suggestion is based on the outline of a small niche beneath the prayer niche: in a process of replastering, the upper curve of the former was shaped in a specific outline characteristic of the 17th century.

Of special interest is the mural depicting martyrdom of St. Jacob the Persian (Fig. 7). St. Jacob was a Persian martyr. He is often quoted and portrayed as a military officer, though in the *Vita* he is not mentioned as such. The hagiographer just mentions that he was a wealthy man of noble descent. In 421 St. Jacob was dismembered and decapitated, thus winning the glory of martyrdom. His feast day is 27 November.



Fig. 7 – Annunciation and the Martyrdom of St. Jacob the Persian. East wall of the main room. Photo by Lado Mirianashvili



Fig. 8 – Annunciation and the Martyrdom of St. Jacob the Persian. East wall of the main room. Tracing: Kakhaber Demuradze

The mural of our interest depicts St. Jacob the Persian's execution (Figs. 7, 8). The executioner stands behind the martyr, holding his head with his left hand, tilting it back and cutting the victim's throat with large knife or dagger in his right hand. Blood is spilling from the cut throat of St. Jacob. Cut limbs of the martyr are scattered around. It is of interest that the cut hands and feet of the saint are depicted with fingers, whereas we know that the executioner first had cut off St. Jacob's fingers: "And the butcher cut off the thumb of his right hand... And then the butcher cut off the forefinger...". The painter applied a method of symbolic realism to make the limbs recognizable and the painting more convincing. One can see that though the term "symbolic realism" in arts is a late introduction, the method was already applied in medieval painting. The mural has an identifying inscription in Georgian Asomtavruli script which reads: "Martyrdom of Saint Jacob". Paleographically the graphemes can be attributed to the 12th-13th centuries. Based on this, the 13th century must be considered the upper margin for execution of the mural, moreover it is a later addition that is manifested in a clunky proximity of the martyrdom scene with the neighbouring mural, a sign that the scene was adapted to the space available. Based on iconographic analysis, the Martyrdom scene can be dated to the first half of the 13th century.

A rock-cut Hermitage of Chichkhituri Monastery of Gareji with st. Jacob the Persian's Martyrdom Mural

Chichkhituri is one of the rock-cut monasteries of Gareji wilderness. It lies in a semi-arid steppe zone, some 65 kilometers southeast of Tbilisi. The paper concerns a rock-cut hermitage found in the monastery.

The hermitage is a three-room complex. Its planning ensured complete isolation of a recluse from the environment. The first and main feature is its inaccessibility that was achieved by rock-cutting the hermitage at a height of ca. 6 meters over the ground level and equipping it with a vertical communication shaft. The shaft opened into the main room decorated with murals. The main room is flanked by two smaller rooms: probably a storage room and a bedroom. The hermitage was completely self-sustained: apart from the storage room, it had a rock-cut well for storing rainwater collected on a mountain slope and channeled into the well by means of earthenware pipes.

East and north walls of the main room are decorated with murals on Christological themes. They date to the 12th century. It can be easily noted that the colours have been refreshed. I suggest that the murals were renovated probably in the 17th century.

The scene of St. Jacob the Persian's (St. James the Intercisus') martyrdom on the east wall of the room is a later addition. It is a unique theme for Georgian monumental painting. The mural dates to the first half of the 13th century.

Graffito of a monk who dwelt in the hermitage in the 13th century is found on the east wall of the main room. The graffito is executed in Georgian Mkhedruli script and reads the following: "With Lord's grace, this cave belongs to Zosime-Pimen". It is suggested that this was probably a prominent monk Pimen the Holy Fool, who carried out his activities in the Gareji wilderness in the 13th century, and later on moved to Belakan where he converted the Lezgins.

Key words: Gareji wilderness, Rock-cut, Chichkhituri monastery, Hermitage, Mural decoration, Graffito, Martyrdom of St. Jacob the Persian.

THE SYNOD OF MAR YAHBALAHA (AD 419/420)
AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE HISTORY
OF THE CHURCH OF KARTLI

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Numerous conflicting views have been expressed on the earlier legal status of the Church of Kartli². The most important accounts concerning this issue are preserved in the Synodicon Orientale, in particular in the Act of the Synod of Mar Yahbalaha (419/420). These accounts radically change our perception of the legal status of the Church of Kartli in the 5th century, and about the timing and circumstances of introduction of the title of catholicos. In this paper I will discuss the legal status of the Church of Kartli in accordance with the Act of the Synod of Mar Yahbalaha, as well as the legal status of the church of the East by 420, as the most important issue to clarify the legal status of the Church of Kartli. This is important, because the Church of the East, as well as the Church of Kartli, are still actively considered to have been subjects to the See of Antioch for the period under consideration.

In 419/420, the second Synod of the Church of the East in Sassanian Persia was held in the city of Seleucia.³ The following is stated in its Acts:

¹ The paper is part of a thesis defended by the author at Ilia State University in 2018. Supervisor of the thesis was Bezhan Javakhia. The recent paper was written under the direction of Professor Bezhan Javakhia and doctor of philosophy, Professor Lado Mirianashvili.

² Kartli was a self-proclaimed name of Eastern Georgia, which in Byzantine and Roman sources was called Iberia.

³ According to the act of the Synod of Mar Yahbalaha, the Synod took place in „the twenty-first year of the reign of the victorious Yazdgard, the King of Kings, (Chabot, Jean-Baptiste, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902, Sir, 37, French 276; Braun. Oscar, *Das Buch der Synhados oder Synodicon Orientale*. Amsterdam: Philo press. 1900, 36). The reign of Yazdigerd was counted from August 14, 399 (Chabot, Jean-Baptiste, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902, 254, Note. 2; Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sa-*

“The Synod of Mar Yahbalaha, catholicos of Beit Lapat, Nisibis, Fars, Armenia, Perat de Maišan, Hedayab, Beit Garmai, Gurzan⁴, Beit Madaye, ’Aran, ’Abaršahr, Adorbigan, the islands, ’Istahar, Karka, ’Arzun, Šuš, Šošter, Balašpar, Dasqarta, Zabe, Piroz Šabur, Dargerd, Beit Daraye, Šabur-Kuast, ’Ardašir-Prihad, Beit Šabur, Simart“.⁵

Jean-Baptiste Chabot considered that the above-mentioned onomasticon should be the title of Mar Yahbalaha, i.e. it should have included place names of the provinces to which Yahbalaha’s jurisdiction extended.⁶ Though, such understanding of the text is hampered by the fact that the list includes both the Metropolitanates (Beit Lapat, Nisibis, Perat de Maišan, Hedayab and Beit Garmai) and bishoprics which fall under the above Metropolitanates (Karka, Šuš, Šošter – the Metropolitanate of Beit Lapat; ’Arzun – part of the Metropolitanate of Nisibis). For the title it would be suffice to enumerate only the names of Metropolitanates.

Oscar Braun, publisher of the German translation of the Synodicon Orientale restored the text in the following form: „The Synod of Mar Yahbalaha, catholicos [and Bishops] of Beit Lapat, Nisibis, Fars, Armenia, Perat de Maišan, Hedayab, Beit Garmai, Gurzan, ...“.⁷

Another publisher of the text – Jean-Baptiste Chabot in his French translation restored the above-mentioned fragment in the following form: “The Synod of Mar Yahbalaha, catholicos [of Seleucia-Ctesiphon and Bishops] of Beit Lapat, Nisibis, Fars, Armenia, Perat de Maišan, Hedayab, Beit Garmai, Gurzan“.⁸ In such interpretation, it is clear that the above-mentioned onomasticon belongs not to Mar Yahbalaha, but to the bishops attending the Synod.

saniden aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari: Übersetzt und mit ausführlichen Erläuterungen und ergänzungen versehen. (Leiden: Brill. 1879), 418) Therefore, the Synod is supposed to be held between August 14,419, and August 13,420, since king Yazdegerd attended it; Seleucia-Ctesiphon was the King’s winter residence. Joffrey Herman suggests that the Synod was to be held between the winter of 419 and the spring of 420. (Geoffrey Herman, *The Last Years of Yazdgird I and the Christians*, in Geoffrey Herman, *Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, Religious Dynamics in a Sasanian Context* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2014), 74).

⁴ Gurzan is the Syriac rendering of Iberia – present-day Eastern Georgia (Alison Vacca, *Non-Muslim Provinces under Early Islam: Islamic Rule and Iranian Legitimacy in Armenia and Caucasian Albania*, Cambridge University press, 2017,54).

⁵ Chabot, Jean-Baptiste, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902, Sir, 37, French, 276; Braun, Oscar, *Das Buch der Synhados oder Synodicon Orientale*. Amsterdam: Philo press. 1900, 35-36.

⁶ Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, 276. Note. 1.

⁷ Braun, *Das Buch der Synhados...*, 35.

⁸ Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, 276, Note. 1.

Though, the above interpretation of the text contains contradictions. Namely:

a) The text mentions Hedayab. The bishop of Arbela was Metropolitan of Hedayab.⁹ According to the Chronicle of Arbela, Bishop Daniel did not attend the Synod of Mar Yahbalaha: „Mar Yahbalaha, wrote and called upon all bishops that they should come to him and gather due to church affairs ... but due to a difficult illness, Mar Daniel was not able to be present at the Synod“.¹⁰ If this account is true, the place names listed in the text cannot be perceived as the names of those dioceses, the bishops of which attended the Synod.

b) The document issued by the Synod has twelve signatures (including the signatures of Catholicos Yahbalaha and Acacius of Amida).¹¹ Based on this, the scholars assume that only twelve bishops attended the Synod.¹²

On the other hand, 27 or 28 dioceses are listed in the initial part of the document.¹³ I consider that contradictions found in the texts published by O. Braun and J.-B. Chabot can be overcome if the following cautious assumption is made concerning the dubious account found in the Chronicle of Arbela¹⁴: Acts of the Synod lack the signature of Bishop Daniel of Arbela (the reasons will be discussed later). Perhaps the author of the Chronicle of Arbela, who was familiar with the Act of Mar Yahbalaha's Synod, decided that Daniel of Arbela did not attend the Synod, since his signature was absent. In order to justify his absence, the chronicler made up a story that Daniel failed to participate in the Synod due to his sickness.

As mentioned above, the Act of Mar Yahbalaha's Synod has twelve signatures, of which only five names are mentioned together with the names of the bishoprics: 1. Mar Yahbalaha, Catholicos 2. Acacius (the Bishop of the city of Amida), 3. 'Agapeta, Bishop of Beit Lapat, 4. Hoša,

⁹ Ibid., 273.

¹⁰ Mšihā-Zkhā (Texte et traduction) par A. Mingana, *Sources Syriaques*, T. I. 1907, 144.

¹¹ Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, 283-284.

¹² Wigram, William Ainger, *An introduction to the history of the Assyrian Church, or, The Church of the Sassanid Persian Empire, 100-640 A.D.* London, Society for promoting Christian knowledge; New York, E.S. Gorham, 1910, 110-111; Dr. Samuel, Vilakuvil Cherman, *The Growing Church (An Introduction to Indian Church History)*. Kottayam: Divyabodhanam Publications, Orthodox Seminary, P. B. 98. 1992, 48; Baum, Wilhelm, Winkler, Dietmar Werner, *The Church of the East: A Concise History*, London and New York: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2003, 17.

¹³ The inaccurate numbers of named bishoprics is due to the different reading of the text: in the Syriac text there is ܕܟܪܬܐ ܕܙܒܐ – Daskarta d'Zabe (Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, 37) This is how O. Brown reads it (Brown, *Das Buch der Synhados...*, 36) and Chabot divided it into two parts, and read Dastagerd and Zabe (Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, 276).

¹⁴ Scholars debate the authenticity and reliability of the Chronicle of Arbela. A detailed *discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of my paper.*

Bishop of Nisibis, 5. Šaumi, Bishop of Karka, 6. Theodore the Bishop, 7. Doqa, Bishop of Šuš, 8. Gora, Bishop of Šošter, 9. Šatman the Bishop, 10. Garyan the Bishop, 11. Baršma the Bishop, 12. Narsai the Bishop.¹⁵ If we take a closer look, we will notice correspondence in the sequence of place names and signatures. Namely:

Provinces named in the Synod's act:	Signatures:
1. Beit Lapat	1. Yahbalaha, Catholicos
2. Nisibis	2. Acacius the Bishop
3. Fars	3. 'Agapeta, Bishop of Beit Lapat
4. Armenia	4. Hoša', Bishop of Nisibis
5. Perat de Maišan	
6. Hedayab	
7. Beit Garmai	
8. Gurzan	
9. Beit Madaye	
10. 'Aran	
11. 'Abaršahr	
12. Adorbigan	
13. the islands	
14. Istakhr	
15. Karka	5. Šaumi, Bishop of Karka
16. 'Arzun	6. Theodore the Bishop (?)
17. Šuš,	7. Doqa, Bishop of Šuš
18. Šošter ¹⁶	8. Gora, Bishop of Šošter ¹⁷

¹⁵ Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, 283-284.

¹⁶ Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, 276.

¹⁷ Ibid., 283-284.

Comparison of the names of provinces with the names of bishops present at the Synod enables us to make it clear which bishopric was represented by Bishop Theodore (His signature lacks the name of the bishopric). Theodore's signature stands between the signatures of the Bishops of Karka and Šuš. On the other hand, only the bishopric of "Arzun / Arzon" is mentioned between Karka and Šuš. I consider that Theodore must have been the bishop of Arzon.¹⁸ In this case, the lists supplied to the beginning and end of the Synod's Act match up perfectly.

15. Karka	5. Šaumi, Bishop of Karka
16. 'Arzun	6. Theodore the Bishop [of 'Arzun]
17. Šuš	7. Doqa, Bishop of Šuš
18. Šošter ¹⁹	8. Gora, Bishop of Šošter ²⁰

That is why I consider that the names of the provinces listed in the beginning of the Act belong to the bishops who participated in the Synod. Therefore, signatures of the bishops have reached us in an incomplete form. The fragment of the list starting with signature of the Bishop of Fars and ending with that of the Bishop of Istakh (total twelve signatures), including the signature of the representative of the Church of Kartli and five or six signatures more, seems to be lost.²¹ Initially, the total number of signatures of all attendees should have been 29 or 30 (including the signatures of Mar Yahbalaha and Acacius of Amida). Thus,

¹⁸ At first glance, this opinion is opposed by the fact that Daniel was listed as the Bishop of Arzon at the Synod of 410 (C h a b o t, *Synodicon Orientale*, 272, 274) and again at the Synod held in 424 (C h a b o t, *Synodicon Orientale*, 285). But it is quite possible that these two Daniels were different persons, and that in the interval between their rule the See of Arzon was administered by Theodore. The similar succession of three individuals is evidenced in another case as well: in the acts of the Synod of 410, Abisho (Abdisho?) is mentioned as the Bishop of Šošter (C h a b o t, *Synodicon Orientale*, 272). In the acts of the Synod of 420 Gura is listed as the Bishop of Šošter (C h a b o t, *Synodicon Orientale*, 282), and again Abdisho is mentioned as the Bishop of Šošter in the acts of the Synod of 424 (C h a b o t, *Synodicon Orientale*, 285).

¹⁹ C h a b o t, *Synodicon Orientale*, 276.

²⁰ Ibid., 283-284.

²¹ Original written version of the "Chronicle of Arbela" did not survive. It came down to us only in the 10th century manuscript (The date was suggested by Alphonse Mingana, the first publisher of the text in French translation). The scribe may have had a defective copy, which lacked a fragment of the text with a number of signatures.

a representative of the Church of Kartli should have attended the Synod of 419/420, as certain scholars believe.²²

It was Mikheil Tarkhnishvili who first paid attention to mentioning of Gurzan/Kartli in the 420 Synod's Acts. According to him, "Bishops from Gurzan" (i.e. from Georgia) took part in the Synod. According to this Act, Yahbalaha was the Catholicos of all the bishops gathered there. He was called "the head of the bishops of the East throughout the Kingdom of Yazdegerd". In a word, the bishops attending the Synod were considered to be subordinate to Mar Yahbalaha. This does not mean anything more than the fact that in the beginning of the 5th century the church of Georgia was indeed a constituent part of the Persian Catholicate, and was undoubtedly legally dependent on it".²³

G. Mamulia assumed that since the Acts of the 410 Synod lack information about participation of the representatives of the Church of Kartli in the Council, supposedly the Church of Kartli was not yet under the direct influence of the Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. The situation changed in 420, when apart from the representative of Kartli (Gurzan), bishops of Armenia and Caucasian Albania (Aran) also participated in the Second Council of the Persian Church. Accordingly, the Church of Kartli became subordinate to Persian Catholicate not in the beginning of the 5th century, but later on, in 420s. G. Mamulia considers that M. Tarkhnishvili's observation about canonical subordination of the Church of Kartli to the Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 420 is unconvincing. In his opinion, in the situation that existed at the period under consideration, which was marked by peaceful relations between Byzantium and Sasanian Persia, and due to close relations of the Persian Church with the Church of Byzantium, when the former even recognized canonical dependence on the Patriarchate of Antioch, Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon would not risk aggravating the situation by encroachment of their rights on the Church of Kartli (Metropolitan of Amassia is implied). In his opinion, at that time, and the Persian Church itself was include contact with the Bizantine Church, It aslo did not deny its canonical attitude towards the Patriarchate of Antioch. According to G. Mamulia, the Catholicos of

²² *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, edited by Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth Pennington, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 2012, 331.

²³ Tarchnisvili, M., *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Kirchlichen Autokephalie Georgiens*, Le Muséon, 73, 1960, 110.

Seleucia-Ctesiphon could have subdued the Church of Kartli only after 424, when it declared autocephaly and independence from Antioch.²⁴

In order to find out whether the Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon could subordinate the Church of Kartli by 419/420, we must discuss a legal status of the Church of the East within the Persian Empire. According to available sources, the Church of the East was subordinate to the Bishop of Antioch.

According to Mari ibn Suleiman (12th-century Nestorian author), Gregory Bar Hebraeus (1226 – 1286) and ‘Amr ibn Mattā (14th-century), the early leaders of the Church of the East were consecrated in Antioch and Jerusalem.²⁵ After Ahadabui was consecrated in Jerusalem, the Western bishops allowed the Eastern bishops to consecrate Catholicos without the need to go to Antioch:

“The Western bishops allowed the Eastern bishops to elect and consecrate a new leader after the death of the old one without him needing to go to Antioch, and wrote them a letter to this effect, that the grand metropolitan of the East might be proclaimed catholicus and patriarch; although the patriarch of Antioch was greatly displeased with the whole idea“.²⁶ According to Bar Hebraeus, “After the death of Ahadabui, the Eastern bishops assembled and consecrated him (Shahlufa). He was the first catholicos to be consecrated by the Eastern bishops“.²⁷

Thus, these sources imply that the Church of the East left jurisdiction of the bishop of Antioch already in the beginning of the 3rd century.²⁸ According to these sources, The Synodal Epistle of the Western Patriarchs fits well the above sources. It states that the western Patriarchs had given the patriarchal rights on Media, Assyria and Persia to the Bishop of Seleucia, Kingdom of the Arsacids.²⁹

²⁴ Mamulia, G., *Kartli Church in V-VI century*, 1992, 8.

²⁵ Gregorii Barhebraei, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*: 20-26; Maris, Amri, et Salibae: *De Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria I*, 2-4; Maris, Amri, et Salibae: *De Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria II*, 4-5.

²⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *The Ecclesiastical Chronicle. English Translation, Translated by David Wilmshurst*, Gorgias Press, 2016, 316.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 316.

²⁸ According to Amr Ibn Matta, Ahadabui was the bishop of Seleucia-Ctesipone in 205-220. Maris, Amri, et Salibae: *De Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria ex codibus Vaticanis edidit ac Latine reddidit Henricus Gismondi*, pars. I: Amri et Slibae textus versio Latina Rome: excudebat C. de Luigi, 1897, 6.

²⁹ Giovanni Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*. T. I. Florentiae: *expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti*, 1759, 705-706.

However, as it seems, all these sources are a late invention. According to the French Dominican Father, prominent Church historian and Syriacist Jean Maurice Fiey (1914-1995), Ahadabui and Shahlufa were fictitious bishops of Seleucia-Ctesiphon whose lives were concocted in the sixth century to bridge the gap between the late 3rd century bishop Papa, the first historically attested bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and the apostle Mari, the legendary founder of Christianity in Persia.³⁰

Chronicle of Arbela notes that by 224 Seleucia-Ctesiphon did not yet have bishops: „The day, on which the kingdom of the Parthians ended, the sons of Aršaq the Mighty, was the twenty-seventh in the month of Nisan, on Wednesday, of the year 535 after the rule of Jawan. There were more than twenty bishops, but Nesibin and Medinata (Seleucia-Ctesiphon) had no bishops for fear of the heathens“.³¹

According to the Chronicle of Arbela, the first bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was Papa, who was consecrated by the bishop of Arbela Ahadabuhi and the bishop of Susa, Hai-be'ël.³²

As for Synodal Epistle of Western Patriarchs, according to Charles Joseph Hefele, it is “clearly fictional”.³³

Papa, the first bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, intended to subdue under his jurisdiction the bishops of the Sasanian Empire.³⁴ In 315 a Synod was held in Seleucia to condemn Papa's aspiration. He was deposed and replaced by his archdeacon Shemon Bar Sabbae. Papa appealed the verdict to the “Western Fathers” and after their acquittal, Papa was restored.³⁵

According to the Chronicle of Arbela, on the basis of a letter from the Western Bishops, Papa “became as universal head of all bishops and all Christians in the land of the East“.³⁶

The same account is found in the Act of the 424 Synod: “The fathers commanded:^[P]_[SĒP] “Mar Papa shall be proclaimed at the head of all in the

³⁰ Jean Maurice Fiey, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'Eglise en Iraq*. Corpus scriptorium Christianorum Orientalium. V. 310. (Louvain: Secretariat du Corpus SCO. 1970), 64-65.

³¹ Mšihā-Zkha ..., 106-108.

³² Ibid., 120.

³³ *A history of the councils of the church: from the original documents* by Karl Joseph von Hefele, Vol. 1. 1895, 77.

³⁴ Mšihā-Zkha ..., 121-122.

³⁵ Mšihā-Zkha ..., 122-123; *Histoire Nestorienne (Chronique de Séert), I partie, fasc.1. Publiée par Addāi Scher*. Graffin, R – Nau, F. Patrologia Orientalis. T. 4. Paris: Firmin-Didot et C, Imprimeurs-Editeurs. Paris. 1908, 296; Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, 291.

³⁶ Mšihā-Zkha ..., 122-123.

‘Book of the Living,’ and all who preceded him shall be proclaimed after him“.³⁷

A synodal letter cited by Timothy, the Patriarch of Syrian Jacobites, narrates the same. According to it, in 300 the Patriarchs of Rome, of Constantinople, of Antioch, and of Alexandria, granted the dignity of Patriarch of entire Persia to the Bishop of Seleucia.³⁸ However, the prominent scholar of the Church history Ch. J. Hefele calls this letter “a pure invention”.³⁹

An interesting account of the status of the Church of the East was given in the “Arabic” Canons of Nicaea. Two out of 84 canons concern the Eastern church.

„From now on the See of Seleucia in the East was allowed to establish the Metropolitans, as the Patriarchs had done, in order for their journey to Patriarch of the East, that is Syrian Antioch, and their return not to give excuses to the pagans of the Roman Country to start persecuting our brothers, the Christians there. The Patriarch of Antioch was motivated by a strong desire, he was dissatisfied with the repeal of jurisdiction over the East, because the peace of our Persian Christian brothers required this to prevent vain accusation and murders in the land of Pagans. If for any reason a gathering took place in the Roman State, the prelate of Seleucia would enjoy the privilege of sitting before of the metropolitans of the [Roman] Empire. He would take the seventh place and sit after the bishop of Jerusalem“.⁴⁰

“The desire of the ecumenical council was to not give the right to hold a general council in East, in the Persian Empire. Cannons can not be sanctioned there without the patriarch’s permission, but the Persian Christians must submit to all the tradition of chefs. The concession, that they were made for their tranquility does not give them the power to bind and unlink, to add or to subtract from ecclesiastical prescriptions, as if it was their own right. On the contrary, they must submit to the

³⁷ Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, 291; Braun, *Das Buch der Synhados oder Synodicon Orientale*. 53.

³⁸ Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*. T. I, 1245-1246; Hefele, *A history of the councils of the church...*, Vol. 1, 108.

³⁹ Hefele, *A history of the councils of the church...*, Vol. 1, 108.

⁴⁰ T. J. Lam y, *Le concile tenu à Séleucie-Ctésiphon en 410 in Compte rendu du troisième Congrès scientifique international des catholiques tenu à Bruxelles du 5 au huit septembre 1894*. Deuxième section: Sciences religieuses (Brussels 1895), 276. In Mansi’s editions this law is given with minor modification. Mansi, Giovanni Domenico, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*. T. II. Florentiae: *expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti*, 1759, 993.

community and to the Catholic Church. The ecumenical synod strikes with anathema the one who transgresses these decisions“.⁴¹ According to these documents, the Council of Nicea granted only autonomy to the Church of the East.

Michael the Syrian cites the letter of John, the Patriarch of Antioch (631-648), to Marutha of Tagrit, Maphrian of the East (629-649), in which he writes: “The See of the catholicos of Persia and [the see] of the catholicos of Armenia, Gurzan (Eastern Georgia) and Aran (Caucasian Albania) were subject to the see of Antioch, until the murder of catholicos Babai”.⁴² Babai is an erroneous name of the Catholicos. Actually, this was Babowai, who was executed by Peroz in 484.⁴³ Therefore, according to this source, until 484 the Church of the East was subordinated to the Patriarch of Antioch.

All reviewed sources agree in one: for some time, the Church of the East was subordinated to the Patriarch of Antioch.

Mor Philexinos Yuhanon Dolabani (1885–1969) considered that Serapion, the bishop of Antioch (191-211) granted the Persian Christians right to elect their own bishops.⁴⁴

According to Joan Zouberi, the 424 Synod declared independence from Constantinople.⁴⁵ But in historiography prevails an opinion that in 424 Church of the East was proclaimed independent, and it came out from subordination of Antioch.⁴⁶

W. Samuel discussed the sources about the ordination of the Bishops of Seleucia-Ctesipone in Antioch and denied the credibility of the sources’ information about Antioch’s jurisdiction over the Persian church.⁴⁷

⁴¹ T. J. Lamy, *Le concile tenu à Séleucie-Ctésiphon en 410 in Compte rendu du troisième Congrès scientifique international des catholiques tenu à Bruxelles du 5 au huit septembre 1894. Deuxième section: Sciences religieuses* (Brussels 1895), 276. Mansi, 2. 993.

⁴² *Chronique de Michel le syrien Patriarche jakobite d’Antioche. Editee pour la première et traduite en français Par Jean-Baptiste Chabot*, T. II, Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur. 1901, 434.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 434. Note 3.

⁴⁴ *Ecclesiastical History of the Patriarchs, By H. E. Metropolitan Y. Dolabani*, Netherlands, 1990, 12.

⁴⁵ Joan Zouberi, *The role of religion in the foreign affairs of Sasanian Iran and the Later Roman Empire (330-630 A.D.)* *Historia i Świat*, nr 6 (2017), 127.

⁴⁶ J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l’empire perse sous la dynastie Sassanide..*, 120-125; Fortescue, *The lesser eastern churches..*, 51; P. M. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Vol. I. 1915, 468; Christensen, *L’Iran sous les Sassanides..*, 276; Fray, *The History of ancient Iran..*, 321; Rassam, S., *Christianity in Iraq. Its Origins and Development to the Present Day*. Leominster: Gracewing, 2006, 36.

⁴⁷ Dr. Samuel, *Vilakuvelil Cherian, The Growing Church (An Introduction to Indian Church History)*. Kottayam: Divyabodhanam Publications, Orthodox Seminary, P.B. 98. 1992, 42-43.

Sebastian Brock concluded that there are no reliable indications that the Church of the East was subordinate to Antioch.⁴⁸

According to W. Winkler, “Concerning relations with the patriarch of Antioch, no claim of Antiochene jurisdiction over the Church of the East during the synods of 410, 420, and 424 can be found. In fact, none of the ancient ecclesiastical sources claims a dependence of the East Syriac church upon Antioch as mother church. Certain texts of the Middle Ages (e.g. Ibn at-Taiyib; the lists of patriarchs of Mari b. Suleiman and Amr b. Matta) are the first to present the idea of the ordination of the catholicos of the Church of the East in Antioch or Jerusalem“.⁴⁹

Moreover, in 410 the Church of the East was established at the Synod of Seleucia. At this Synod, Nisibis was formed as one of the Metropolitanates of the Church of the East. The bishops of Arzon (Arzanene), Qardu (Corduene), Beit Zabdai (Zabdicene), Beit Rehimai (Rehimene), Beit Moksaye (Moxoene) subjected to it.⁵⁰ All of these territories used to belong to the Eastern Roman Empire. After the defeat and death of Emperor Julian (361-363) in 363, Jovian (363-364), who ascended the throne, made peace with Shapur II and handed over to Persia five provinces on the other side of the Tigris – Arzanene, Moxoene, Zabdicene, Rehimene and Corduene, with fifteen fortresses and Nisibis, Castra Maurorum and Singara.⁵¹

It is especially important to find out what was the situation like in this area before the provinces were handed over to the Persians: were there any episcopacies? And if so, to whom were they subordinated? In historiography prevailed an opinion that by 363 there were episcopacies in the above territories, before they were handed over to the Persian Empire. They were subordinated to the bishop of Antioch.⁵² Since the authors do not verify any sources to substantiate their considerations, I decided to study the issue of these episcopacies thoroughly.

⁴⁸ Sebastian Brock, *The Church of the East in the Sasanian Empire up to the Sixth Century and its absence from the councils in the Roman Empire*, *Syriac Dialogue First Non-Official Consultation on Dialogue within the Syriac tradition*, edited on behalf of the Foundation Pro Oriente by Alfred Stirnemann/ Gerhard Wilflinger, Vienna 1994, 75.

⁴⁹ Baum, Wilhelm, Winkler, Dietmar Werner, *The Church of the East: A Concise History*, London and New York: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2003, 21.

⁵⁰ Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale.*, 272.

⁵¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History*. London: Bohn, 1862, 393.

⁵² Wigram, *An introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church of Sassanid Persian Empire 100-640 A.D.*, 72; Metselaar-Jongens, Marijke, *Defining Christ: The Church of the East and Nascent Islam*. Ph.D. dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2016, 7.

Nisibis – Nisibis was a bishopric See since the early fourth century. There are difference opinions about the identity of its first bishop. Babu (300-309) is sometimes named as the first bishop of Nisibis.⁵³ The second part of the scholars named Jakob of Nisibis (308/309-338) as the first bishop of Nisibis, and the thought Babu was his successor (338-346/350).⁵⁴ Except them, before the city fell into the hands of the Persians, two more bishops were also known: Vologesus and Abraham. In 361, Vologesus died⁵⁵ and Abraham became the bishop of Nisibis.⁵⁶ In 363, the Emperor Jovian was forced to hand over Nisibis to Persians. He gave three days to city residents to leave the city.⁵⁷ The population left the city with Abraham the bishop of Nisibis. Shapur settled down 12 000 Persian in an empty city.⁵⁸

Arzun (Arzanene) – according to J. M. Fiey, the first bishop of Arzun was Papa “the disciple of Eugene”, whose Memorial Day is on October 2.⁵⁹ The chronicle of Arbela named Arzun as bishopric see at the end of Arsacid rule in Persia and the beginning the Sassanian rule (224-226).⁶⁰ In 299, with the Peace of Nisibis, Arzanene was handed over to Rome⁶¹ and with the peace of 363 Persia returned it. At that time, Arzanene was still the bishopric. This is confirmed by the account of P’awstos Buzand, in which is mentioned an anonymous bishop of Arzanene carrying out his activities in 364-367 (Arm. Աղձնիք – Aghdznik).⁶²

⁵³ De Lacy O’Leary, *How Greek Science Passed On To The Arabs*, London, 1951, 47.

⁵⁴ David Bundy, *Vision for the City: Nisibis in Ephrem’s Hymns on Nicomedia*. *Religions of Late Antiquity in practice*. Princeton University Press, 2000. 191. Ute Possekel, *Concile Vatican II et Eglise contemporaine. IV. Inventaire des Fonds...*, 18; Ephrem the Syrian: *Hymns. Translated and introduced by Kathleen E. McVey*. New York, Paulist Press, 1989, 8. Christin Shepardson, *Anti-Judaism and Christian Orthodoxy: Ephrem’s Hymns in fourth-century Syria*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008. 11.

⁵⁵ The Chronicle of Edessa..., 1864, 32.

⁵⁶ Ute Possekel, *Concile Vatican II et Eglise contemporaine. IV. Inventaire des Fonds...*, 19; Christin Shepardson, *Anti-Judaism and Christian Orthodoxy: Ephrem’s Hymns in fourth-century Syria*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008, 11.

⁵⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History*. London: Bohn, 1862, 399.

⁵⁸ The History of al-Tabari. Volume V, *The Sasanids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen*, translated and annotated by Eamund Bosworth, Albany: State University of New York Press. 1999. 62-63.

⁵⁹ Jean Maurice Fiey, *Nisibe: métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours*. (Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1977, 186.

⁶⁰ Mšiha-Zhka..., 107.

⁶¹ *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars AD 226-363: A Documentary History*, Compiled and edited by Michael H. Dodgeon and Samuel N. C. Lieu. London and New York, 1994, 133.

⁶² P’awstos Buzandac’i’s, *History of the Armenians*, Book.4.Chapter 15; Փ ա լ լ Ֆ ն ս Բ ն լ զ ա ն ղ, Պատմություն Հայոց, 1968, 175; Sophene, Gordyene, and Adiabene: *Three Regna Minora of Northern Mesopotamia ...*148-149.

Qardu (Corduene) – according to J. M. Fiey Miles, was the first bishop of Qardu, that attended the synod of Dadisho (424).⁶³ Basically, this is the opinion we find in the scientific literature.⁶⁴ But, between 364-367 Faustos Buzand mentioned an anonymous bishop of Qardu (Կորդուք – Korduk') among the bishops who consecrated the archbishop of Armenia Č'unak.⁶⁵ Therefore, Qardu was already seen as a bishopric See in the 60s of the 4th century. As for Miles, we can consider him as the first bishop of Qardu, whose name is known.

Beit Zabdai (Zabdicene) – It is one of the oldest bishopric Sees. According to the Chronicle of Arbela, in 120 Šemšon was consecrated as the bishop of Hedayab by Mazra, the bishop of Bet Zabdai.⁶⁶ Some sources mention Šubha-lišo, the bishop of Bet Zabdai – between 258-277.⁶⁷ And between 273-291 – Sabtha the bishop of Bet Zabdai.⁶⁸ In 299, with the peace of Nisibis, Zabdicene was handed over to Rome.⁶⁹ In Zabdicene a bishop is attested in 360 when the Persians were fighting against Zabdicene. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, the bishop of Zabdicene sent a priest to Shapur II and told him, that the Persians should interrupt the fight and return to their homeland. However, Shapur II did not listen to this admonition. Even more than that: the Persians attacked exactly those points, which were the weakest in Roman defense. This fact raised suspicions among the Romans that the bishop had informed the enemy of the weakest points of their defense.⁷⁰ It is true that Ammianus did not mention the name of the bishop of Zabdicene, but I consider that he must have been the Bishop Heliodorus of Bet Zabdai. According to the Martyrdom of the Prisoners of War, in the 53th year of his reign (i.e. in 361) Shapur II captured Heliodorus in the fortress of Beit Zabdai together with other clergy and roughly nine thousand civilians. While on the way to Beth Huzaye, Bishop Helidorus fell ill in Dascarta. It was there that he consecrated Dausa as bishop. Soon Bishop Helidorus died in Dascarta. The group continued its way. At one of the night stops, the non-resident

⁶³ Fiey, Nisibe: *métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours...*, 174.

⁶⁴ *The Acts of Mār Mārī the Apostle...*, 15, 25.

⁶⁵ P'awstos Buandac'i's, *History of the Armenians*, Book 4, Chapter 15; Փ ա լ Վ Ֆ ն ս Բ ն ի զ ա ն դ, Պ ա ս ս ն ի ղ յ յ ո յ ն Հ ա յ յ ո յ յ յ, 1968, 175; Sophene, Gordyene, and Adiabene: *Three Regna Minora of Northern Mesopotamia* ...148-149.

⁶⁶ Mšiha-Zhka..., 80; Fiey, Nisibe: *métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours...*, 163.

⁶⁷ Mšiha-Zhka... 113.

⁶⁸ Mšiha-Zhka...117-118.

⁶⁹ *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars AD 226-363...* 133.

⁷⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History...*, 226.

bishop of Beit Zabdai – Dausa, and his companions were told to deny Christ. After they refused to renounce the Christian faith, all of them were massacred.⁷¹

Beit Rehimai/Rehimene – the prominent scholar of the Church of the East J. M. Fiey, begins the history of bishopric See of Rehimene from 410.⁷² Bishop's activity in the early Rehimene is not confirmed.

Beit Moksaye/Moxoene – J. M. Fiey begins the history of bishopric See of Moxoene from 410.⁷³ I could not find any bishop of Rehimene prior to that year.

As mentioned above, scholars believe that all six of these bishoprics were subordinated to the See of Antioch. As I have already mentioned, after the transfer of these territories to Persia in 363, two bishoprics out of six, namely those of Nisibis and Beit Zabdai, were left without bishops. We have no data about of Rehimene and Moxoene, and we know for a fact that Arzanene and Corduene had bishops. It is unknown when were other bishoprics restored. In 410 all this episcopal Sees were formed into one Metropolitanate and were subordinated to the Metropolitanate of Nisibis. Until 363, the bishopric of Nisibis was undoubtedly subjected to the bishop of Antioch,⁷⁴ and we have no direct data about the remaining five bishoprics.

Therefore, by 410 the bishop of Seleucia not only did not depend on the bishopric of Antioch, but even subjugated its former bishoprics (at least that of the Nisibis) to himself. Thus, there is no reason for speculations about subordination of the Church of the East to the bishop of Antioch by 410 and especially by 419/420.

Let's get back to the main question: does the mention of Kartli in the Acts of the 419/420 Synod mean a legal subordination of the Church of Kartli to the bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon?

If we perceive the place names mentioned in the beginning of the 419/420 Synod's act as the names of those provinces over which the jurisdiction of the Catholicos Yahbalaha's extended, then mentioning of Kartli in the Acts will mean that Yahbalaha's jurisdiction extended over

⁷¹ *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer. Mit einem Anhang: Ostsyrisches Mönchsleben Aus dem Syrischen übers.* von Oskar Braun. Kempten-München: Verlag der Jos. Kösel'schen Buchhandlung. 1915, 110; Assemani, *Acta Sanctorum Martyrium Orientalium et Occidentalium*, vol. I, 134.

⁷² Fiey, *Nisibe: métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours...*, 184.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁷⁴ Michel Le Quien, *Oriens christianus in quatuor patriarchatus digestus in quo exhibentur Ecclesiae patriarchae caeterique praesules totius Orientis*, T. II, Parisiis, 1740, 995-996.

the Church of Kartli as well. But if we assume that these place names are the names of bishoprics of the attending bishops, will this mean that by 419/420 the Church of Kartli was subordinated to the Catholicos of the East?

The fathers present at the Synod used the following epithets to address Catholicos Yahbalaha: „Our honorable father, and the head and leader of us and of all our brothers, the bishops who are in the whole realm of the illustrious, valiant, and peace-loving Yazdgerd, the King of Kings.“⁷⁵ Therefore, all the fathers present at the Synod, including the representative of the Church of Kartli, considered the Catholicos of the East to be their father and leader. He was considered to be the head of the bishops throughout the empire of King Yazdegerd. This means that at the time under consideration, the Church of Kartli was subordinated to the Catholicos of the East. This is corroborated by other fragment from the Synod’s Act: „We bishops who are here in the presence of our honorable father, Mar Yahbalaha, bishop catholicos of the East,...“⁷⁶

Whatever is the decision on the issue of mentioning Kartli in the Acts, it goes without saying that the mention of Kartli in the Acts of the 419/420 Synod means that its Church was subordinated to the Catholicos of the East.

Taking into consideration that in 410 Church of the East was not subordinated to the Bishop of Antioch, and it even subjugated several bishoprics of Antioch, the Church of the East could have subordinated Churches of Kartli, Armenia and Albania to herself, moreover politically the kingdom of Kartli was already subordinated to Sasanian Iran.

In my earlier paper I paid a special attention to the fact that the 419/420 Synod was attended by a representative of the Church of Kartli and Acacius of Amida, an ambassador of Eastern Roman Emperor and a member of the Church of Antioch. The joint attendance of the two countries’ representatives was a proof that in 420 Antioch had no claims to the Church of Kartli. Hence, the Church of Kartli was not subordinated to the Bishop of Antioch even much earlier than that.⁷⁷

Despite the fact that the Church of the East subjected the former bishoprics of the Church of Antioch, neither the Emperor of the

⁷⁵ Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*., 280-281.

⁷⁶ Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*., 283.

⁷⁷ D. Chikovani, *About the Fallaciousness of the thesis that the Church of the East and the Church of Kartli were subordinated to the See of Antioch*, 2nd International Conference Georgia-Byzantium-Christian East abstracts of papers, Tbilisi, 2019, 120.

Eastern Roman empire, nor the Bishop of Antioch, as well as other representatives of the Church of Antioch made any claim. Even more than that, they actively participated in reorganization of the Church of the East. Accordingly, negligence of subordination of the Church of Kartli to the Catholicos of the East by the Emperor of the Eastern Roman empire and the Church of Antioch cannot not be explained exclusively by independence of the Church of Kartli from the day of its establishment. Under the treaty signed by the Roman empire and Persia, Kartli fall to the latter. Simultaneously with political subordination of Kartli, Persia probably started to interfere into its Church affairs. The interference must have begun with its withdrawal from subordination to any western Churches (first de facto, then de jure) and would have ended with its subordination to the newly established Church of the East. This must have taken place between 410 and 419.

True, the Acts of the 419/420 Synod does not resolve the issue of the legal status of the Church of Kartli from the time of its establishment, but they directly indicate that from 410-419 the Church of Kartli was not subordinated to the See of Antioch or to any of Western bishops, as is customary to consider so far.

Therefore, all the sources which clearly state the fact of subordination of the Church of Kartli to the bishop of Antioch after 410, are erroneous. It is noteworthy, that the account about subordination of the Church of Kartli to the bishop of Antioch first appeared in the 7th century, in a letter of John, the Patriarch of Antioch (631-648), sent to Marutha of Tagrit, Metropolitan of Jacobites (629-649). The letter was cited by Michael the Syrian. This is the same source, in which an idea of subordination of the Church of the East to the See of Antioch emerged.

By the resolution of the Synod of 410, the dioceses of the Church of the East had to accept the canons passed by the Synod.⁷⁸ Simultaneously, bishops of the Church of Kartli were obliged to accept the laws affirmed by the Synod. Hence, the Church of Kartli had accepted 21 canons affirmed by the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410, including the most important resolution: "The first and chief see is that of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and the bishop who occupies it is the great metropolitan and head of all the bishops".⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale...*, 273.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 272.

Thus, between 410 and 419, the Church of Kartli lost its nominal autonomy, and the Catholicos of the East became its highest hierarch. At the Synod of 419/420, a representative of the Church of Kartli, together with other participating fathers, had to accept the canons of the Nicaea Council, as well as the canons of Ancyra (314), Neocesaria (between 314 and 325), Gangra (343), Antioch (341) and Laodicea (c. 365) Councils.⁸⁰

But why the accounts about subordination of the Church of Kartli to the Catholicos of the East are not preserved in Georgian written sources? I consider that actually, they have survived: according to the Georgian chronicler Juansher Juansheriani (8th or 9th c.), „Archil appointed a bishop, who was called Mobidan. He was a Persian by birth and outwardly observed Orthodoxy. But [in fact] he was an impious magus and subverter of the church order. However, King Archil and his son were unaware of Mobidan’s impiety and through he was a believer. And he did not reveal the preaching of his religion out of fear of the king and the people, but secretly he wrote books of total deceit“.⁸¹

Why did King Archil, who fought all his life against the Persians, appoint a person of Persian nationality as the archbishop? I think it did not happen of his own free will. In this case, I would remind events which took place in the Armenian Church, when the Sasanian King Bahram V (420-438) appointed Syrian Brk’isho and Samuel instead of the local, Armenian bishops.⁸² I think Mobidani, as well as Brk’isho and Samuel were the henchmen of the Persian King and of the Catholicos of the East.

A viewpoint exists in the Georgian historiography that the account about Mobidan found in Juansher’s Chronicle points to the fact that the Catholicos of the East intervened in the affairs of the Church of Kartli.⁸³ According to G. Mamulia, Mobidan might have been really a magus before, who adopted Christianity and became one of the hierarchs of the Persian Church. It is possible that for confessional reasons, Juansher avoided description of an actual relationship between the Churches of

⁸⁰ Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, 278; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l’empire perse sous la dynastie Sassanide (224–632)*, 101-103; Baum, Winkler, *The Church of the East*.18.

⁸¹ *The History of King Vaxt’ang Gorgasali, Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles: The Original Georgian Texts and the Armenian Adaptation (Oxford Oriental Monographs), The Original Georgian Texts and The Armenian Adaptation Translated with Introduction and Commentary by Robert W. Thomson*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996, 157.

⁸² Moïse de Khorene, *Histoire d’Arménie, Texte Arménien et traduction Française par P. Le Vaillant de Florival*, vol. II, Paris, 1941, 179-181.

⁸³ Mgaloblishvili, T., *Christian Georgian in the IV-V centuries*, Matsne /Herald, Language and literature Series, 1988, N 1, 111.

Kartli and the East, and redrafted accounts about Mobidan. However, the chronicle still reflects a genuine historical fact.⁸⁴

I consider that the mention of Mobidan as Magus is a later modification. One can recollect Brk'isho, whom Movses Khorenatsi and Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi exposed as a corrupt and greedy individual.⁸⁵ Stepanos Taronatsi considered him the Jacobite,⁸⁶ that is not only the mistake, but also an anachronism.⁸⁷ Apparently, proclamation of the bishops appointed by the King of Persia and the Catholicos of the East as a heretic or magus was an adopted practice both in Armenia and Georgia.

According to G. Mamulia, the canonical subordination of the Church of Kartli to the Church of Persia is evident during the reign of the Archbishop Glonokor, who occupied bishop's seat after Mobidan.⁸⁸ According to The Conversion of Kartli (moktsevey kartlisay), „Mirdat reigned as King. And the archbishop was Glonok'or, and this archbishop also was [appointed] erist'avi by Barazbod the pitiaxshi of k'art'li and Heret'i'”.⁸⁹ According to G. Mamulia, there is an obvious connection between the Persian authorities and Archbishop Glonok'or. Archbishop Glonok combined both religious and secular functions granted to him by the Persian ruler. In order to show that high religious officials in Persia combined both religious and secular functions, G. Mamulia gives an example of Dadisho who is said to lead the defence of Khorasan from barbarians, earning the gratitude of Bahram V.⁹⁰ The author cites Artur Christensen's book. The latter really contains the above information, though Christensen doesn't indicate the source.⁹¹ As it turned out, in both cases the factual error was made. According to Mari ibn Suleiman and Amr ibn Matta, defence of Khorasan was led not by Dadisho, but

⁸⁴ Mamulia, G., *Kartli Church in the V-VI centuries*, 14.

⁸⁵ Moise de Khorene, *Histoire d'Armenie*, 179; Yovhannēs Draxanakertci', *History of Armenia, Translation and Commentary* by Rev. Krikor H. Maksoudian, Atlanta, Georgia, Scholars Press, 1987, 89.

⁸⁶ *The Universal History of Step'anos Tarōnec'i: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* by Tim Greenwood. Oxford University Press, 2017. 144.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁸⁸ Mamulia, G., *Kartli Church in the V-VI centuries*, 15.

⁸⁹ *Royal List II, Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography: Early Texts and Eurasian Contexts*. by Stephen H. Rapp Jr. Subs. 113 (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Book 601), Lovanii, In Aedibus Peeters, 2003, 305.

⁹⁰ Mamulia, G., *Kartli Church in the V-VI centuries*, 15-17.

⁹¹ Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran Sous Les Sassanides*, 1944. 281.

by Samuel, the Bishop of Tus, who presented candidature of Dadisho to Bahram V for the position of the Catholicos.⁹²

G. Mamulia draws parallel with contemporary events in Armenia, when Bahram V assigned Samuel, the Syrian archbishop of Armenia, the responsibility for secular affairs. The scholar suggests that the same might have happened in Kartli as well.⁹³

G. Mamulia links withdrawal of the Church of Kartli from the influence of the Church of the East with persecution of Christians by Yazdegerd II (446) and the revolt of Armenia-Albania in 450-451.⁹⁴

I consider that this is the case when we should again draw parallels with contemporary events which took place in the Church of Armenia. In 428, when Archbishop Sahak (387-428) was deposed, Bahram V appointed Surmak, the local bishop, as the archbishop of Armenia (He was deposed a year later).⁹⁵ The next appointed archbishop of Armenia was Brk'isho, who lasted in this position for three years (429-432).⁹⁶ The next was Samuel, who occupied the archbishop's seat for five years (432-437).⁹⁷ Since then, no one of other nationality than Armenian has occupied the seat of the archbishop of Armenia. This was probably associated with changes in the royal court of Persia: Bahram V died in 438 and his son Yazdegerd II ascended the throne. It is true that the latter did not persecute Christians until 446, but apparently he did not continue his father's policy of subjugating the countries of the south Caucasus through the Church. After losing the Shah's support, the Catholicos of the East gradually lost influence over the south Caucasus, and the Church of Kartli withdrew from subordination to the Church of the East.

⁹² Maris, Amri, et Salibae: *De Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria ex codibus Vaticanis edidit ac Latine reddidit Henricus Gismondi, pars.II. Maris textus arabicus et versio Latina*, Rome: excudebat C. de Luigi, 1899, 31; Maris, Amri, et Salibae: *De Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria ex codibus Vaticanis edidit ac Latine reddidit Henricus Gismondi, pars.I: Amri et Slibae textus versio Latina*. Rome: excudebat C. de Luigi, 1897, 17.

⁹³ Mamulia, G., *Kartli Church in the V-VI centuries*, 16.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁵ Moise de Khorene, *Histoire d'Arménie*, 179.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 187.

The Synod of Mar Yahbalaha (AD 419/420)
and its Significance for the History of the Church of Kartli

The most important information about the history of the Church of Kartli in the first half of the 5th century is preserved in the “Synodicon Orientale”, namely in the act of the Synod of Mar Yahbalaha (AD 419/420). This account radically changes existing perceptions about the legal status of the church of Kartli in the 5th century, as well as about introduction of the title of catholicos. Unfortunately, until recently, researchers have not paid due attention to this written source. What concerns existing viewpoints on the issue, they need to be reconsidered in the light of current studies.

Legal statuses of both Churches of Kartli and of the East in 419-420 are discussed in the present paper. The latter is especially important for understanding the legal status of the Church of Kartli, since the Church of the East, as well as the Church of Kartli, are still actively considered to have been subjects to the See of Antioch for the period under consideration. Based on the study of written sources, the author has arrived to the conclusion that by the beginning of the 5th century the Churches of the East and Kartli were not subjected to the bishop of Antioch, and that in 410-420, the Catholicos of Seleucia managed to subdue the Church of Kartli. A consideration about the time and circumstances of withdrawal of the Church of Kartli from submission to the Catholicos of the Church of the East is suggested. It is assumed that this was probably due to change in the policy of Persia introduced by Yazdegerd II (438-457).

Key words: Church of Kartli, Church of the East, See of Antioch, Synod of Seleucia, legal status.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF GEORGIA IN MEDIEVAL PERIOD BASED ON ISLAMIC-ARABIC SOURCES

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Introduction

The culture and civilization of Georgia, and especially its background, history back to a distant yet glorious past. After the spread of Islam to Persia and then Azerbaijan, it went through Aras River and penetrated in *Arran*, *Shirvan* and other parts of the south Caucasus in the 7th century, resulting in Arabs' conquest of Georgia and Islamic rule over Tbilisi.

Since the 5th century, manuscripts have been written in Georgian but most of them were sacred and religious until the 10th century. As is widely known, the 9th-11th centuries were the peak of Islamic culture, civilization, religious, and scientific development. In this era, Georgia was a *Wilayah*¹ of the Islamic-Arab World. Tbilisi as Georgian capital was an important scientific center of the whole oriental world in this era, to which many historians and geographers traveled due to its geographical proximity to important Islamic cities such as Baghdad. Georgia's geographical location and its relations with other nations and states made Georgians more familiar with other nations' cultural achievements as cited in various Islamic sources.

The national culture of Georgia has benefited not only from its own pure original cultural resources, but also from the cultural, spiritual, and scientific resources of other nations. This is true about any other civilization and culture, but it is particularly more prominent about Georgia, which is the bridge between the Eastern and the Western worlds. Hence

¹ A wilayah (State) is an administrative division. The word comes from the Arabic "w-l-y", "to govern".

its history is a prime example of a creative and innovative combination of the scientific and cultural resources of other nations and its national and indigenous cultural heritage. Therefore, although this country has been the area of conflicts and struggles of hostile powers and subject to intense political, religious, and economic changes for centuries due to its geographical location, it has taken the most advantage of its position for intellectual and cultural interaction with both the East and the West, acting as the focal point for these two cultures and a point of political and military conflict. As a result, many sources have touched upon the geography of this land, but there is still no comprehensive research on this subject. This study attempts to introduce some of the important Islamic-Arabic sources that have dealt with Georgia and Tbilisi for future studies on the historical geography of Georgia. This article is a part of studies under the supervision of *Prof. Barbara Kaim* on historical sources of the Caucasus for my Ph.D. thesis at the Institute of Archeology, the University of Warsaw.

Georgia in Arabic sources

Georgia has been known under various names in Arabic and Islamic sources throughout its vicissitudinous history. The names of *ĵurĵan*, *gurġān*, *Korĵ*, and *al-Korĵ* have been mentioned in the works of Arab and Muslim authors more than other names. Those names are different than the native name of *Sakartvelo*. Here I survey on most famous historical texts:

In *Futūh al-Buldān*² of 9th century, *Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī*³ writes: “*Tbilisi* is part of *Manĵilis*, which is itself a part of red – *ĵurĵan*”.⁴ *Aḥmad al-Ya’qubī*⁵ also mentions Georgia as *ĵurĵan* or *ĵurzan* beside *Abkhazia*,⁶ and as *Gorĵestan* somewhere else,⁷ which is its current name

² An Arabic work, the *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān* is a digest of a larger lost work of geographical history of the Caliphate empire, the political histories and events leading to inclusion of the locations within it, including accounts of the prophet Muhammad’s early conquests and the early caliphs.

³ He was a 9th-century Muslim historian. One of the eminent Middle Eastern historians of his age, he spent most of his life in Baghdad and enjoyed great influence at the court of the caliph al-Mutawakkil. He traveled in Syria and Iraq, compiling information for his major works.

⁴ *A l - B a l ā d h u r ī*, *Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā*, *Futūh al-Buldān [Conquests of the Lands]*. Translator: M.E. Ayatī, Tehran 1988, p. 290.

⁵ He was a Muslim geographer at the 9th century and perhaps the first historian of world culture in the Abbasid Caliphate.

⁶ *A l - Y a ’ q u b ī*, *A h m a d*, *Tarikh Al-Yaqubi*. Translator: M. E. Ayati, Tehran 1983, Vol. 2, p. 61.

⁷ *A l - Y a ’ q u b ī*, *A h m a d*, *Tarikh Al-Yaqubi*. Translator: M. E. Ayati, Tehran 1983, Vol. 1, p. 218.

in Persian, distinguishing him from others in this regard. *Ibn Hawqal*⁸ used *Korj* for Georgia⁹ and so did *ibn Ibri*.¹⁰ *Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani*¹¹ also calls it *jurzan*.¹² *Ibn Khordadbeh*¹³ also considers Tbilisi to be a part of Armenia Major, consisting of *Sisjan*, *Aran*, *Tbilisi*, *Barda*, *Beylagan*, *Gebele*, and *Şirvan*.¹⁴

*Al-Mas'udi*¹⁵ describes the geography of Georgia in more detail. In his opinion, *Joziyeh*, *jurġin*, and *Barda* are other names for the country. He considers *Joziyeh* to be adjacent to *Abkhazia*, where Tbilisi is also located there.¹⁶ The interesting point is that *Al-Mas'udi* has recorded the word of *jurġin* the same as the Latin form of Georgia, which makes him unique among Muslim authors.

*Al-Maqdisi*¹⁷ describes geographical units, such as *Iqlim* (country), *Kasbah* (town) and city, and discusses the Caucasus in greater detail. He uses the word *Rahab* for the Caucasus and writes that *Rahab* consists of three parts, *Aran*, *Armenia*, and *Azerbaijan*, and considers Tbilisi and *Abkhazia* to be two cities in *Aran*.¹⁸

*Yāqūt al-Hamawī*¹⁹ considers *jurzan* as the name of a region in Armenia and regards Tbilisi as a city in it. He states: "According to *Ali Ben Hussein*, *jurzan* is next to *Abkhazia*, but I say *jurz* is the Arabic term

⁸ Alī Ibn Hawqal al-Naṣībī, was a 10th-century Arab Muslim writer, geographer, and chronicler who travelled 943-969 AD.

⁹ Ibn Hawqal, Muḥammad Abū'l-Qāsim, *Ṣūrat al-'Ard [The face of the Earth]*. Translator: J. Shoar, Tehran 1966, p. 89.

¹⁰ Other name: Bar Hebraeus – 13th century. Ibn Ibri, Abu 'l-Faradī (Gregory Bar Hebraeus), *Tārīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal [Summary History of Countries]*. Translator: M.A. Tajpour & H. Riyazi. Tehran 1985, p. 131.

¹¹ He was a 10th-century Persian historian and geographer, famous for his *Mukhtasar Kitab al-Buldan* written in Arabic.

¹² Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani, Aḥmad, *Mukhtasar Kitab al-Buldan [Summary Book of Lands]*. Translator: H. Masoud. Tehran 1970, p. 113.

¹³ He was the author of the earliest surviving Arabic book of administrative geography at the 9th-10th centuries.

¹⁴ Ibn Khordadbeh, *Abu'l-Qasim Ubaydallah, Kitāb al Masālik w'al Mamālik [Book of Roads and Kingdoms]*. Ed: S. Khakround. Tehran 1992, p. 122.

¹⁵ He was an Arab historian, geographer and traveler in the 10th century.

¹⁶ Al-Mas'udi, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī, *Murūj al-Dahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar [Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems]*. Translator: A. Payandeh, Tehran 1965, Vol. 1, p. 199.

¹⁷ He was a medieval Arab geographer at the 10th century.

¹⁸ Al-Maqdisī, Muḥammad, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm [Best Divisions in the Knowledge of the Regions]*. Translator: A. Monzavi, Tehran 1983, Vol. 2, pp. 554-555.

¹⁹ He is famous for his great "geography", an encyclopedia of Islam written in the late Abbāsīd era and as much a work of biography, history and literature as a simple work of geography in the 12-13th centuries.

for *Korj*”.²⁰ Yāqūt’s confidence suggests that *jurzan* is indeed other terms for Georgia. It should be added that his writings can provide first-hand information on geographical, historical, religious, cultural and ethnic conditions and even the territory of Georgia to anyone interested in researching the region at that specific time. *Korj* or *Gorj* likely means the historical city of *Kerch* by the Azov Sea and geographers considered all parts of the region to be close to one another.

Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī in the book of *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, calls this area directly *Abkhaz* and *gurjistan*, where divides it into five parts, namely *Alan*, *An*, *Tbilisi*, *Khanan* and *Qors*. On the other hand, he considers the boundaries of Georgia as follows: “... its boundaries are confined to *Arran*, *Armen* (Armenia), and *Rūm*”.²¹ Accordingly, it was bounded by *Arran* or the present-day Azerbaijan Republic on the east, by *Armen* or present-day Armenia on the south, and by *Rūm* or present-day Turkey on the west in the 13-14th centuries.

Moeinuddin Natanzi in the 14th century writes in his book, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-e Moeini*: “*gurjistan* is an extremely vast country, as it takes one month to travel from *Dar al-Mulk* of Tbilisi to *Abkhaz* and it extends from *Arzanjan*²² to *Alborz*²³ and *Lakzestan*.”²⁴ *Hafiz-i Abru*, a Persian historian working at the courts of *Timurid* rulers of Central Asia in the 14-15th century, defines Georgian western boundary only in *Zobda Al-Tawarikh*, pointing to the development of this land next to Trabzon.²⁵

Regarding the geographical and climatic features of Georgia, *Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī* refers to the cold weather,²⁶ and *Natanzi* writes: “Between them, all are high mountains, vast forests, large rivers, and extensive grasslands.”²⁷

²⁰ Al-Rūmī al-Hamawī, Yāqūt Shihāb al-Dīn, *Kitāb Mu’jam al-Buldān [Dictionary of Countries]*. Translator: M.P. Gonabadi, Tehran 1969, Vol. 2, p. 125.

²¹ Mustawfī Qazvīnī, Ḥamdallāh, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb [Pleasure of the Hearts]*. Ed. M.D. Sīaqi, Tehran 1957, p. 128.

²² Current Erzincan in east Anatolia – south of Trabzon.

²³ Mount Elbrus.

²⁴ Most probably mean the territory of Laki people around Dagestan and the north of Arran. Natanzi, Moeinuddin, *Montakhab al-Tavrikh Moeini [Collection Histories of Moeini]*. Ed. J. Ubon, Tehran 1957, p. 13.

²⁵ Hafiz-i Abru, Abdallah, *Zobdat al-Tawārik [Choice of Histories]*. Ed. S. K. Ḥājī Sayyed Jawādi, Tehran 1992, Vol. 1, p. 56.

²⁶ Mustawfī Qazvīnī, Ḥamdallāh, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb [Pleasure of the Hearts]*. Ed. M.D. Sīaqi, Tehran 1957, p. 108.

²⁷ Natanzi, Moeinuddin, *Montakhab al-Tavrikh Moeini [Collection Histories of Moeini]*. Ed. J. Ubon, Tehran 1957, p. 108.

Tbilisi in Arabic Sources

Tbilisi was the focus of attention of most Muslim historians and geographers for several reasons, such as its strategic position, the centrality of the Caucasus, its prosperity and superior economic status, and is the boundary between the Islamic world and the Christendom world. *Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī* defines the geographical position of Tbilisi as follows: “Tbilisi is located in the region of *Manjalis* from the *ḡurzan* country”.²⁸ *Aḥmad al-Ya’qubi* considers Tbilisi to be located in Armenia and writes: “Tbilisi is a city in Armenia, thirty Parasang²⁹ to *Qaliqala*. Kabir River³⁰ originates from the cities of *Qaliqala*,³¹ then to the city of Tbilisi and from there to the east”.³² However, it is interesting to note that *Al-Maḡdisī* calls it *Velayat-e Tiflis*, indicating it was either very vast or divided into several smaller parts or having annexed some parts and suburbs of Tbilisi.³³

Ibn Hawqal mentioned almost every feature of this city, writing about its importance that it is a border city with many enemies, smaller than *Bāb al-Abwāb*³⁴, with two mud fences and three gates.³⁵ *Abu Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Farisi al-Istakhri* a 10th-century travel-author and geographer, wrote valuable accounts in Arabic of the many Muslim territories especially about Tbilisi: “*Tbilisi* is smaller than *Derbent* and has two mud walls; it is a rich place with abundant fruit and crops. Its bathhouses get heated without fire, and there is no city in *Arran* bigger than *Barda*, *Derbent*, and *Tbilisi*”.³⁶

As some Muslim geographers have pointed to the existence of hot springs and permanently heated baths in Tbilisi, therefore I can argue that most probably the etymology of Tbilisi is derived from the Georgian word of ‘Tbili’, meaning hot, thereby referring to the hot springs, which have made it a popular city.

28 *Al-Balādhurī*, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā, *Futūḥ al-Buldān [Conquests of the Lands]*. Translator: M.E. Ayati, Tehran 1988, p. 291.

29 The parasang (almost 6 km) is a historical Persian unit of itinerant distance, the length of which varied according to terrain and speed of travel.

30 Kura River in Georgian: Mtkvari.

31 Most probably means the Lesser Caucasus mountain.

32 *Al-Ya’qubi*, Aḥmad, *Tarikh Al-Yaqubi*. Translator: M.E. Ayati, Tehran 1983, p.144.

33 *Al-Maḡdisī*, Muḥammad, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma’rifat al-aqālīm [Best Divisions in the Knowledge of the Regions]*. Translator: A. Monzavi, Tehran 1983, p. 60.

34 Means Gate of Gates for Derbent city in Dagestan.

35 *Ibn Hawqal*, Muḥammad Abū’l-Qāsim, *Ṣūrat al-’Arḍ [The face of the Earth]*. Translator: J. Shoar, Tehran 1966, p. 89.

36 *Al-Istakhri*, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, *Masalik al-Mamalik [Routes of the Realms]*. Ed. I. Afshar, Tehran 1968, p. 158.

Conclusion

This study was conducted using the historical and geographical sources of the middle ages during which most of the historical and geographical texts were compiled. A noteworthy point in this study is that almost everything mentioned about Georgia in the sources matches this country's current political geography. Another interesting point is according to Arab and Muslim authors, Abkhaz was used to refer to Western Georgia and sometimes all of Georgia. Abkhaz residents were Christians, speaking the Georgian language and calling themselves Georgians. Additionally, according to *Vladimir Minorsky*³⁷, by Abkhazia, it is not meant the main inhabitants of the Black Sea but meant the Georgians.

Historical Geography of Georgia in Medieval Period based on Islamic-Arabic Sources

Understanding historical geography is one of the most important studies of nations and different geopolitical areas. The Caucasus and Georgia have always been prominent in Islamic and Arabic sources, with most Muslim geographers referring to both names. About Georgia, geographical sources have spoken more homogeneously and it is commonly referred to as *ĵurĵan*, *gurġān*, *gurġistan*, *Korĵ* or even Abkhazia. Therefore, the study of the historical geography of Georgia and the Caucasus based on geographical and historical Islamic texts seems to be necessary, from this point of view, it can be found the Muslims' view toward Georgia and its strategic importance in the sources.

Therefore, this study aims to determine the historical geography of Georgia, the form and geographical boundaries of this land, based on Islamic historical and geographical texts of the Middle Ages. The methodology of this research is based on a descriptive and analytical approach and using main Islamic Geography sources.

Key words: Islamic and Arabic sources, Georgia, Historical Geography, *Ĵurĵan*, *Gurġān*, *Korĵ*, Abkhazia

³⁷ Vladimir Fedorovich Minorsky (1877–1966) was a Russian Orientalist.

THE BURIAL SITES OF THE GEORGIAN KINGS: GEOGRAPHY AND POLICY

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Although medieval Georgian sources preserve a number of significant and reliable statements relating directly to the deaths and burials of Georgian monarchs, fundamental questions concerning the sites of these burials have yet to be made the focus of historical research. The objective of the present paper is not to provide an exhaustive account of the available data, but simply to articulate and consider some key issues, observe some tendencies and patterns, discuss some principles that governed the selection of burial sites, and offer certain conclusions.¹

The structure of this paper reflects the appropriateness of applying a system of periodization to our investigation of these matters that is similar to the system generally applied to Georgian history.²

The Pre-Christian Period

Written sources regrettably provide us with virtually no information on royal burial places dating from this era. The only known statement of this nature concerns King of Kartli Parnavaz: “and Parnavaz died and was buried before the Idol of Armazi...”³

¹ A specialized and multi-perspectival study (covering in detail each kingdom and principality to have been established over the course of Georgian history) is a desirable project for the future, as are the comprehensive cataloguing of extant written information and archaeological data and the creation of a unified database containing not only the places of burial of kings, queens, and other rulers, but also those of other distinguished individuals.

² This paper was translated into English by Geoffrey Gosby.

³ ლეონტი მროველი, ცხოვრება ქართველთა მეფეთა, „ქართლის ცხოვრება“, რედ. რ. შეტრეველი, თბილისი 2008, p. 46; As this excerpt is absent from the English edition of *The Georgian Chronicle (kartlis tskhovreba, 2014)*, the above is our own translation from the Georgian.

This information and some archaeological discoveries allow us to suppose that the pagan kings of Kartli (Iberia) were predominantly (or possibly without exception) buried at the capital Mtskheta/Armazi,⁴ which appears to have reflected a policy of establishing Mtskheta as a powerful religious⁵ and state centre.⁶

Where exactly are the graves of the pre-Christian Kartlian kings of antiquity located? Despite its relevance from a research point of view, we presently lack clear answers to this question. It is to be hoped that new royal graves will be revealed by future archaeological excavations. In the meantime, although it is my view that individual discoveries enable us to articulate some advance suppositions at this stage, I shall not discuss this period any further here.

The Early Christian Period

The information provided by the available sources on the burial of the Kartlian (Iberian) kings of the 4th-6th centuries is likewise scant. We have accounts of the resting places of two kings, each of whom enjoys considerable distinction in Georgian history: 1) “King Mirian⁷ passed away and was buried in the upper church [i.e. Samtavro Church in Mtskheta – author], by the middle southern pillar, on the northern side... The following year Queen Nana died [Mirian’s spouse – author] and was buried by the same pillar, where King Mirian had been buried earlier, just on its western side”;⁸ 2) “And Vakht’ang [Gorgasali] passed away, and he was buried in Mtskheta... where he rests under the protection of the God-given pillar”.⁹

⁴ Although the graves of the kings of Kartli remain unlocated to the present day, four burial places of other royal family members (women and children) from the pagan period have been identified. Each of these is located within the territory of Mtskheta and dates from the 1st to 3rd centuries.

⁵ Note that it was in Mtskheta (i.e. “Greater Mtskheta”, or Mtskheta itself together with its adjoining districts/settlements) that the major idols of the Kingdom of Kartli (Iberia): to Armaz, Zaden, Gats and Ga/Gaim, and Ainina and Danina, were erected.

⁶ Note that we have no record of Tbilisi, which became the capital both of Kartli and of the Kingdom of Georgia, serving as the place of burial of a single Georgian king.

⁷ The first Christian king of Kartli (Iberia) – Mirian III (2nd half of c. 3rd – 1st half of c. 4th)

⁸ Leont’i Mroveli, *The Lives of the Georgian Kings, “kartlis tskhovreba” (A History of Georgia)*, Foreword by R. Metreveli, Editor in Chief of the English edition: Stephen Jones, Tbilisi 2014, p. 67.

⁹ Juansher Juansheriani, *The life of Vakht’ang Gorgasali, “kartlis tskhovreba” (A History of Georgia)*, Foreword by R. Metreveli, Editor in Chief of the English edition: Stephen Jones, Tbilisi 2014, p. 105; It is clear that in this context, the name of the town of Mtskheta is being used synonymously with Svetitskhoveli Church. We shall need to understand “Mtskheta” to refer to Svetitskhoveli in several more instances below..

The same “upper church” (Samtavro) is apparently the burial place of King Mirian’s sons Rev and Bakar: “King Mirian completed the church of the bishopric, and celebrated its consecration with much splendor. Twenty five years after the conversion of King Mirian, his son Rev... whom Mirian granted the kingdom in his lifetime, died. He was buried in a tomb, built by Rev himself”;¹⁰ “[Bakar died]...He was buried beside his brother”.¹¹

Although it is difficult to make generalizations based on this small number of instances, it appears from these statements that the burial of the entire royal family (the king, the queen, and both sons¹²) at Samtavro Church in Mtskheta (“the upper church”) constructed by King Mirian was intended to lay the foundations of a new royal place of burial and, more generally, of a new, Christian, royal burial tradition.¹³ We are led to conclude from this that Samtavro Church served as the burial place not only of Mirian and his sons, but of subsequent kings as well.

The nation or church-building policy of the celebrated Kartlian (Iberian) king Vakhtang Gorgasali (second half of c. 5th – 502) attributed a special importance to Svetitskhoveli as the renewed embodiment of the nation’s first and pre-eminent cradle of religion (a stone basilica replacing the wooden church of King Mirian’s age). Just as Tbilisi was transformed upon King Vakhtang’s initiative into the capital of Kartli (and subsequently of the Kingdom of Georgia), so did Svetitskhoveli fulfil the function first of Kartli’s and subsequently of the united Kingdom of Georgia’s ecclesiastical centre. In addition to building a new church, introducing the institution of Catholicos, and seating the holder of this position at Svetitskhoveli, the energetic and ambitious king also created a symbol of the state, by establishing a new royal burial place in a “new” country (as we shall see below, this tradition too would reveal itself to be a firm one).

It is notable that, with the exception of Vakhtang Gorgasali, we have no information on the burial of any other king at Svetitskhoveli in the Early Christian period; we are however led to suppose that, prior to Iran’s

¹⁰ Leont’i Mroveli, *The Lives of the Georgian Kings*, p. 67. Although the location of the tomb is not directly indicated, as the information concerning the burial of the prince/coregent directly follows discussion of the completion of construction and consecration (*satpureba*) of Samtavro Church, we are led to conclude that Rev’s tomb was located there as well.

¹¹ Leont’i Mroveli, *The Lives of the Georgian Kings*, 2014, p. 68.

¹² Of these two, it was Bakar who succeeded Mirian.

¹³ The discovery of the burial place of one royal family member from the classical period on the territory of Mtskheta’s Samtavro district indicates that a burial site for the kings of Kartli prior to Mirian could be located nearby.

abolishment of the Kartlian monarchy (c. 6th), those kings who followed Vakhtang were likewise interred at Svetitskhoveli in accordance with the new tradition.¹⁴

The Interregnum and Period of Kingdoms and Principalities (c. 8th-c. 10th)

Although available sources provide us with some relevant information about the burial places of the kings and other rulers (the *Erismtavaris* of Kartli and the Bagrationi rulers of Tao-Klarjeti) of this period, I shall not devote space to discussing them here.

Information concerning the resting places of the kings of Abkhazia (Egrisi-Apkhazeti) and of the kings and princes of Kakheti-Hereti is regrettably lacking; it is however my view that it will be possible to present certain perspectives on these questions in the future, following the collation of available written (narrative and epigraphical sources about ecclesiastical buildings) and architectural data.

The Unified Kingdom of Georgia (Bagrat III to David the Builder)

The period of approximately a century (1014-1125) during which the unified Kingdom of Georgia was established¹⁵ is distinguished by an abundance of statements relating directly to the questions examined in this paper,¹⁶ providing us with enhanced insight into these issues and enabling us to arrive at specific conclusions in relation to them, and I will therefore discuss it in some detail here.

“Bagrat’ [Bagrat III (978-1014) – author] reigned thirty-six years, and he died, adorned with beautiful grey hair, in the year two hundred and thirty-four of the koronik’ on [= 1014], on the seventh of May, a Friday. On the day of his death, he was in T’ao, and Zviad the eristavi of eristavis brought his body from there and buried it at Bedia”.¹⁷

“King Giorgi [Giorgi I (1014-1027) – author] died, in the prime of his life, filled with all virtues... in two hundred and forty-seven of the

¹⁴ Due to a lack of written sources, I shall leave the question of where the pagan and early Christian kings and rulers of western Georgia (Egrisi) were buried unexplored here.

¹⁵ The qualitatively new process of uniting “Georgian lands” within a single kingdom began under Bagrat III and was ultimately completed in the period of David the Builder.

¹⁶ *The Georgian Chronicle (kartlis tskhovreba)* contains information about the death and burial of virtually every king in this period.

¹⁷ *Mat’iane Kartlisa, “kartlis tskhovreba” (A History of Georgia)*, Foreword by R. Metreveli, Editor in Chief of the English edition: Stephen Jones, Tbilisi 2014, p. 151.

koronik'on [= 1027], on the seventeenth of August, in the land of Trialeti, at a place called Mq'invarni or Its'roni... He was buried in the Kutatishi church".¹⁸

"King Bagrat' [Bagrat IV (1027-1072) – author], who was staying at the Samshvilde lakes, was afflicted with stomach disease. He went to Marabda, but the disease became worse and he was carried in a litter... The King was brought to Kartli¹⁹... After this he passed away on the twenty-fourth of November, two hundred and ninety-two of the koronik'on. [= 1072]... With great praise and honour he was borne to Ch'q'ondidi and buried there".²⁰

After, as the chronicler states, Giorgi II (1072-1089) voluntarily made his son David (who would come to be called David the Builder) king in his stead,²¹ the former's name vanishes from *The Georgian Chronicle (kartlis tskhovreba)*, and we do not know where he is buried. We may suppose that like his grandfather, the former king was buried in Kutaisi Church (widely known today as Bagrati Cathedral).²²

It is paradoxical that no information about the death or burial place of David IV the Builder (1089-1125) is provided to us by his own chronicler, who devoted his exceptional work to this greatest of all Georgian kings. By contrast, he tells us at length about David's founding of Gelati Monastery. It appears that the medieval author simply neglected, or considered it unnecessary, to relate information that was universally known by indicating David's place of burial to be Gelati.

A similar state of affairs applies with respect to David the Builder's gravestone: although it makes no mention of David's name, the identity of the individual buried in the "strange" place²³ in the gateway of the monastery, is, together with the contents of his final will and testament, presumably intended to be clear to all.²⁴ It should be noted that this grave-

¹⁸ *Mat'iane Kartlisa*, 2014, p. 153.

¹⁹ "Kartli" should be understood here in its narrow sense, referring to its central part, Inner Kartli.

²⁰ *Mat'iane Kartlisa*, 2014, p. 162.

²¹ It is more or less accepted in contemporary historical scholarship that this is not an entirely convincing account.

²² If it is the case that Giorgi II was removed from the throne by force, then we should also entertain the possibility that he was buried at a less authoritative ecclesiastical centre.

²³ David the Builder's gravestone is set in the gateway in a transverse orientation, so that it cannot be stepped around. According to oral tradition, it was the modest king's wish that all entering the monastery should step on his breast.

²⁴ Valeri Silogava rightly points out that oral tradition should be taken into account in addition to the monumental nature of the grave/inscription, and "the slab with the inscription be considered David the Builder's gravestone" (Silogava 1980: 140).

stone is the oldest among those of the Georgian kings to have survived to the present day.²⁵

An indication that David (and his successors too) have their resting place at Gelati is provided in the work of a later author – Vakhushti Batonishvili (c. 18th), who writes that Gelati “is the burial place of the Builder, Giorgi, Tamar, Lasha, Rusudan, Davit, Davit,²⁶ and others as well, and the kings of today following the division [of the unified kingdom – author], who are the kings of the Imeretians, are now buried there”.²⁷

Information about the place of David’s death is notably provided by the later Armenian chronicler Vardan Areveltsi (c. 13th): “He ruled for thirty-three years, and died in Tiflis”.²⁸

The information discussed above provides us with a number of significant indications:

1) *The Georgian Chronicle (kartlis tskhovreba)* provides us with information about the burial places of almost all of the kings of the unified Georgia of that period.²⁹ The historians of the royal court purposefully provide not only indications of the locations of the kings’ burial places, but other details too connected with their deaths and burials (including cause, location, and exact date of death, reinterment, and other information). This, in my view, serves to underline the importance of such information under the conditions of the new political reality, in addition to the political significance of our questions of interest and the stances adopted by chroniclers with respect to them.³⁰

2) Not a single instance is known to us of a king being buried either at or close to their place of death: Bagrat III was transferred for burial from Phasnakeri (in Tao Province) to Bedi (in Egrisi/Abkhazia); Giorgi I, who died

²⁵ Generally speaking only a small number of examples survive, and all of these other than David’s date from the late period. The majority of gravestones, as with the specific locations of the graves, remain unidentified to this day.

²⁶ For some reason, Demetre I has been excluded from this list. “Giorgi” must be Giorgi III, and the two “Davids” David Ulu and David Narin (as we shall see below, there is an inaccuracy here: David Ulu is buried at Svetitskhoveli).

²⁷ ვახუშტი ბატონიშვილი, აღწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა, ქართლის ცხოვრება, IV, ტექსტი დადგენილი ყველა ძირითადი ხელნაწერის მიხედვით ს. ყაუხჩიშვილის მიერ, თბილისი 1973, p. 754.

²⁸ Robert W. Thomson, ‘The Historical Compilation of Vardan Areveltsi’. In *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 43 (1989), p. 203.

²⁹ Written sources likewise provide no information about the resting places of the kings of another political entity of the period located in eastern Georgia: Kakheti-Hereti; this is a matter which merits a separate study.

³⁰ The valuable information provided by the state-minded anonymous author of *Mat’iane Kartlisa* stands out in this respect.

in Trialeti Province, was buried in western Georgia in Kutaisi, which was the political centre of unified Georgia at that time; Bagrat IV died in Inner Kartli (Shida Kartli) and was buried in Chqondidi (Egrisi); and David the Builder, who died in Tbilisi, was borne away to Gelati Monastery, which had been built near Kutaisi. Furthermore, the places of death and burial were located in provinces that were at some distance from one another, so that transportation of the kings' remains over such distances clearly would have involved considerable complications (these journeys would have taken several weeks in some cases); this indicates that the ultimate resting place of the kings was a matter of special significance, and that a specific location would have been selected in advance in each case.

3) All of the leaders of this period are buried in differing locations.³¹ Although this may appear unusual, it is clear that it is not a matter of chance. From the dividing line of the 10th-11th centuries onward, a new era began: a process of the unification of the "Georgian lands" into a single kingdom. Under these conditions, new political challenges were becoming part of the agenda, and the creation and strengthening of individual cultural and political centres was in progress.

4) All royal resting places are in western Georgia (in present-day Abkhazia/Apkhazeti, Samegrelo, and Imereti): Bedia and Chqondidi are in historical Saegro/Egrisi, and Kutaisi and Gelati are in Samokalako. This was at a time when the royal dynasty had its origins and political roots in southern Georgia, and their ancestors' resting places were naturally located there as well.³² This "anomaly" can be explained with reference to political objectives.

For the representatives of this southern Georgian dynasty, burial in western Georgia was a carefully considered political step. As the Bagrationis were "newcomers" in western Georgia, and their arrival had not been entirely legitimate,³³ it was necessary for them to create additional arguments as well as political or religious traditions and symbols

³¹ Only the resting place of Giorgi II is unknown to us.

³² The burial grounds of the Bagrationis (and the tombs of their extended family in general) in Tao-Klarjeti are a subject which must await a separate study, based on the investigation of historical and hagiographical sources and of epigraphical, archaeological, and architectural data.

³³ The Bagrationis and local feudal lords had dethroned King Theodos in Western Georgia (the Kingdom of Abkhazia) in 978 and made his sister's son Bagrat Bagrationi, who was the legal heir to a political entity or entities in southern Georgia, king in his place. The fact that Theodos was blind and without heirs in no way mitigated the illegitimacy of Bagrat's succession; following the death of the king, the state belonged rightfully to a successor selected by Theodos and not necessarily to his nephew Bagrat.

for their own legitimization. The geography of the kings' burial sites was very much a marker of the state: a statement to the effect that this land was theirs to such an extent that they were buried there, and that this territory belonged to their successors, who would one day say that it was the burial place of their fathers and grandfathers.³⁴

The burial of the "first generation" of the kings of a unified Georgia on the territory of the former Kingdom of Abkhazia (Western Georgia) should accordingly be considered in the context of the laying of a solid political foundation for a unified Georgian state. Neither does it appear coincidental that each king was buried at a different location; this served to increase the number of markers and the common geography.

It should be noted that the pursuit of such a policy would likewise have been expected in the event of the Bagrationi Prince's legitimate accession in the Kingdom of Abkhazia,³⁵ due to the fact that the dynasty was not of local origin and the country, finding itself on the road to unification, would have required a symbol of this nature in this case as well.

In my view, however, the problem was by no means limited to the Bagrationis' "non-western" origin. Recall that, generally speaking, east and west-Georgian kingdoms under the influence of various empires (political Kartli³⁶ and Egrisi³⁷) had prior to that time had virtually no long-lasting and continuous tradition of state or ecclesiastical unity; instances of the unification of western and eastern Georgia into a single kingdom had only been episodic in nature,³⁸ and had by no means meant the unification of all "Georgian lands" without exception. Accordingly, under the conditions of unification in place beneath the cultural and ecclesiastical

³⁴ There were already a sufficient number of markers of this kind in Bagrationi-ruled Tao-Klarjeti – "the Kingdom of the Georgians/Kartvels" (political "Kartli"/geographical "Upper Kartli"), and in Kartli itself (Inner Kartli). These regions had been "Kartli" since time immemorial (the same name provides the root for *Sakartvelo*, the Georgians' name for Georgia).

³⁵ A legitimate succession would, for example, have been Theodos naming Bagrat as his official successor, or, after his death, the nobles of the Kingdom of Abkhazia making a unanimous decision, in light of the king's death without an heir, to invite his nephew Bagrat to the throne.

³⁶ Which, in addition to Kartli itself, was considered to extend over other provinces of eastern Georgia and also southern Georgia (Meskheti/Upper Kartli).

³⁷ This political term for western Georgia was replaced from the end of the 8th century onward by the political term "Abkhazia".

³⁸ The annexation unification of Egrisi by Parnavaz and Vakhtang Gorgasali; the taking into possession of Egrisi by the *Erismtavaris* of Kartli; the bringing of Inner Kartli into the Kingdom of Abkhazia, and other such instances.

hegemony³⁹ of “Kartli” from the 10th century onward, it would have been of great importance to establish new Georgian religious/cultural centres⁴⁰ (including episcopates, monasteries, and cultural/literary centres)⁴¹ and new symbols of state (including royal residences⁴² and royal graves) precisely in western Georgia, and not in “Kartli” (eastern and southern Georgia), which suffered no shortage of such centres.⁴³

5) Almost every burial location (other than Gelati) was an episcopal seat at the time of the royal burial carried out there; this is true of Bedia, Kutaisi, and Chqondidi (the founding of Bedia episcopate is linked with the name of the king buried there). This is highly significant, because in western Georgia the founding of an episcopate⁴⁴ had likewise been an event of political and state importance from as early as the time of the Abkhaz king Giorgi II (922-957).⁴⁵ The burial of several generations of Bagrationi leaders in such “new” ecclesiastical centres in preference to others, must have been intended to emphasize that the deceased were not only the genetic heirs of their predecessors by the female line, but very much their political heirs as well.

The Unified Kingdom of Georgia (David the Builder to the Mongol Invasions)

The kings who succeeded David the Builder were, like him, buried at the newly-founded Gelati Monastery:

³⁹ On the other hand, the political role played by Egrisi-Abkhazia was extremely significant. It was the result of a century of political effort on the part of the Abkhaz kings that Bagrat III inherited the territory of a strictly centralized kingdom (all of western Georgia plus Inner Kartli), in contrast to the southern Georgian lands.

⁴⁰ These centres were formerly ecclesiastically part of the Constantinople Patriarchate, and culturally largely part of the Greek world (ბუბა კუდავა, დასავლეთ საქართველოს ეკლესია (IX-XI სს.), ისტორიის მეცნიერებათა კანდიდატის სამეცნიერო ხარისხის მოსაპოვებლად წარმოდგენილი დისერტაცია, თბილისი 2002, pp. 55-136).

⁴¹ Recall, for example, the ecclesiastical centres founded or reconstituted in western Georgia in the 10th-11th centuries: Bichvinta, Chqondidi, Mokvi, Dranda, Bedia, Kutaisi, Tsageri, Nikortsminda, Katskhi, and others.

⁴² For example, the Palace of Geguti in western Georgia near Kutaisi became one of the main royal residences of the united Georgian Kingdom.

⁴³ Note that, after the process of Georgia’s political unification began, the era of large scale construction in southern Georgia (Tao-Klarjeti) virtually came to an end (one of the last large projects was the reconstruction of Ishkhani Cathedral in 1030).

⁴⁴ King Giorgi II of Abkhazia founded the episcopate of Chqondidi and Leon III the episcopate of Mokvi; each king is supposedly buried in his respective episcopate (ბუბა კუდავა, დასავლეთ საქართველოს ეკლესია (IX-XI სს.), p. 99).

⁴⁵ ბუბა კუდავა, დასავლეთ საქართველოს ეკლესია (IX-XI სს.), pp. 55-72.

Demetre I (1125-1256) “passed away at Belt’istsikhe [Bebristsikhe, a fortress near Mtskheta – author]. He was buried at Gelati in the new monastery consecrated by him”.⁴⁶

Giorgi III (1156-1184) “died at St’agiri, K’akheti on March 27, on a Tuesday, in Holy Week. He was buried at Mtskheta because of the exigencies of the season and that same year his body was conveyed to Gelati”.⁴⁷

“Tamar [co-regent 1178/79-1184, king⁴⁸ 1184-1213 – author] died at the time of her sojourn in T’abakhmela [Tabakhmela, near Georgia – author]. And they brought her to Gelati, a place that belonged to her inheritance, and buried her in the holy grave”;⁴⁹ “[They brought the ailing king] to the fortress of Agari... On the eighteenth of January, Tamar fell asleep with the sleep of a righteous one... Then they brought her remains and rested them for just a few days in the cathedral in Mtskheta, after which, they buried them in Gelati, in her family tomb, so that she would be praised together with her forefathers and fathers, the eminent great kings”;⁵⁰ Tamar “ascended to God... on January 12, a Wednesday, in Agara, Somkhiti, in 427 of the koronik’on [= 1207].⁵¹ She was buried at Gelati, in the new monastery”.⁵²

Giorgi IV Lasha (1213-1223) “died at Baghavan on January 18, a Wednesday, in 442 of the koronik’on [= 1222]⁵³ ... he was taken at once to Gelati and buried next to his father”;⁵⁴ “...they brought him to their burial place in Gelati”.⁵⁵

“Queen Rusudan [Rusudan (1223-1245) – author] was fading sadly away ... and passed away in Tbilisi. And the mtavaris took her and with

⁴⁶ *The Chronicle of Giorgi Lasha and His Time, “kartlis tskhovreba” (A History of Georgia)*, Foreword by R. Metreveli, Editor in Chief of the English edition: Stephen Jones, Tbilisi 2014, p. 202.

⁴⁷ *The Chronicle of Giorgi Lasha and His Time*, 2014, p. 202.

⁴⁸ Both Tamar and her daughter Rusudan were accorded the title and status of *mepe* (“king”) although the sources also make reference to each as *dedopali* (“queen”).

⁴⁹ *The History and Eulogy of Monarchs, “kartlis tskhovreba” (A History of Georgia)*, Foreword by R. Metreveli, Editor in Chief of the English edition: Stephen Jones, Tbilisi 2014, p. 277.

⁵⁰ *The Life of Tamar, “kartlis tskhovreba” (A History of Georgia)*, Foreword by R. Metreveli, Editor in Chief of the English edition: Stephen Jones, Tbilisi 2014, pp. 302-303.

⁵¹ The sources present us with mutually exclusive dates for King Tamar’s death, and accordingly scholars subscribe to differing alternatives: 1207, 1210 and 1213.

⁵² *The Chronicle of Giorgi Lasha and His Time*, 2014, p. 204.

⁵³ His date of death is presently considered to be 1223.

⁵⁴ *The Chronicle of Giorgi Lasha and His Time*, 2014, p. 205.

⁵⁵ *The Hundred Years’ Chronicle, “kartlis tskhovreba” (A History of Georgia)*, Foreword by R. Metreveli, Editor in Chief of the English edition: Stephen Jones, Tbilisi 2014, p. 322.

great honors and howls and buried her at the burial place of her forefathers in the monastery of Gelati”.⁵⁶

As in the preceding period, the significance of the monarch’s resting place is apparent here; as before, royal remains are conveyed over large distances (from Shirvan/Sheki, Kakheti, and Kartli) to be buried in western Georgia, at the dynastic burial place.

The sources cited above preserve two notable accounts of royal remains being temporarily buried⁵⁷/laid to rest⁵⁸ at “Mtskheta”/Svetitskhoveli and subsequently reinterred at Gelati. In the case of Giorgi III, a reason is also provided: “the exigencies of the season”.⁵⁹ These statements serve to again underscore the considerable significance of the king’s eternal resting place, in addition to the practice of the church being selected in advance and not altered by place of death, the difficulty of the journey, or other issues.

Also made clear is the observance of a new tradition suitable for the new era, for which the foundations were laid by David the Builder: the kings of the unified Kingdom of Georgia, this time without exception,⁶⁰ are buried at Gelati. This centre, like the other places of burial, is significantly also in western Georgia. It appears from this detail that the creation of new⁶¹ ecclesiastical centres and markers of the importance of the state on the territory of the former Kingdom of Abkhazia (Egris-Apkhazeti) is once again relevant.

It is my view that the burial of the kings of unified Georgia in western Georgia acquired an additional significance in the 12th-13th centuries. The reconquest of Tbilisi and the transfer of the capital there,

⁵⁶ *The Hundred Years' Chronicle*, 2014, p. 338.

⁵⁷ There is a direct indication that Giorgi III “was buried” – presumably for several months. This appears to be the case from the statement that his remains were reinterred “that same year” (*masve tselsa*).

⁵⁸ The extant information about Tamar creates the impression that rather than being buried, her remains were only “rested” (*dadves*) at Svetitskhoveli for “just a few days” (*mtsireta shina dgheta*). It is clear that burial for such a short space of time would have made no sense. This raises the question of why this was done: was it the weather (according to one account, the king died in January), or perhaps related to the organization of the burial ceremony?

⁵⁹ What is meant here – is it the weather (the king died in March)? The approaching Easter celebrations (Giorgi died before Easter, during Passion Week)? Internal political complications relating to Tamar’s ascent to the throne? It was most likely the last of these, as the king’s reinterment took months.

⁶⁰ Sources fail to indicate only the location of David V’s grave. This king must also have been buried at Gelati in my view; see discussion below.

⁶¹ It is characteristic of the available sources that for a lengthy period they refer to Gelati as “the new monastery” (see above quotations).

the annexation of Kakheti-Hereti, the significant expansion of the kingdom's borders eastward and southward, and new challenges and dangers arising from those same regions inevitably shifted the political focus in these geographical directions. A "strange coincidence" can also be observed: during the period of interest (between and including those of Bagrat III and Rusudan), not a single Georgian monarch died in western Georgia; only one such death (Bagrat III's) took place in southern Georgia, and the remaining kings died in eastern Georgia, and predominantly in Kartli.⁶² This may indicate that kings generally spent at least the majority of their time in the politically and socio-economically active region of eastern Georgia. In these circumstances, the reinitiated burial of kings in western Georgia (in addition to the coronation of kings in western Georgia, in Kutaisi) likely served as a certain form of "compensation" for this region and a means of underscoring its significance, in addition to being another unifying symbol for the kingdom.

Another notable tendency is that, for the first time in the history of unified Georgia, generations of kings are buried in the same church.⁶³ As we have seen, prior to David the Builder, kings selected differing places for burial. In this case, a single burial place appears to be the result precisely of the country having been made stronger, fully united, centralized, and stabilized; an initial phase of "searching" had come to an end and a new symbol – the "stable" royal burial place – had been created.

We should certainly not forget other factors in the creation of this new tradition: King David's authority, Gelati's status as a powerful ecclesiastical, cultural, and educational centre, and the "new" monastery's significance as the symbol of a qualitatively "new" state.

The available sources offer one more notable account of the burial of a royal family member from this period. Following the suppression of uprisings instigated against Giorgi III, the son of his nephew David V, Demetre (Demna) suffered the following fate: "...his eyes were gouged out, after which he died. He was buried in Mtskheta".⁶⁴

This statement is of considerable interest from the point of view of the issues at hand. It is clear that this prince, who had come out in opposition to the king and been branded a traitor, was intentionally not buried

⁶² In only a small number of cases do we not know the place of death.

⁶³ Compare with the old kingdom of Kartli (with its royal burial site at Mtskheta) and the late medieval kingdoms of Kartli, Kakheti, and Imereti, with the "stable" burial sites of Svetitskhoveli, Alaverdi, and Gelati.

⁶⁴ *The Chronicle of Giorgi Lasha and His Time*, 2014, p. 202.

at the dynastic burial site at Gelati. Although the royal court considered the threat posed by Demna to have been neutralized, it appears that burial at Gelati would have been an excessive legitimatization of his claims. Furthermore, as a representative of the senior branch of the royal dynasty and a direct continuer of the male line, who had also fought for the restoration of rights, the prince obviously would have had many contemporary sympathizers, and all the more so under the circumstances of Giorgi III lacking a son; as such, burying Demna next to his renowned ancestors would have been additionally symbolic at a time when King George was preparing to place his daughter Tamar upon the throne.⁶⁵

The decision not to bury this individual at the dynastic site served as a particular kind of message to society and to Giorgi III's political opponents. Although the victorious king wished, in declining to bury Demna at Gelati, to diminish his name, however, it was also his desire to appear merciful, which is why, in spite of his "betrayal", Demna as a member of the royal family and the grandchild and son of kings is granted the due honour of burial beside the "old" kings (of Kartli) at "Mtskheta" (Svetitskhoveli). Giorgi III is also showing concern not only for his own reputation, but also for the prestige of the royal dynasty, for however diminished the defeated prince may have appeared, he was still a Bagrationi and due his share of respect.⁶⁶

Neither does it appear coincidental that the resting place of Demna's father David V (1155) of the unified Kingdom of Georgia, who clashed with his father and brother, is unknown. The circumstances surrounding the accession, brief (6-month) reign, and sudden death of David son of Demetre at a young age remain fraught with suspicion and uncertainty to this day, and all the more so because information relating to these events in Georgian sources is extremely scant.⁶⁷ We are left with the impression that *The Georgian Chronicle* (*kartlis tskhovreba*) deliberately avoids discussing matters relating to David V (the political motives for the family conflict, his accession, the dependency between the brothers, and the reason for his death), whom the Chronicle censures;⁶⁸ the panegyric chroniclers of father and

⁶⁵ By contrast, this daughter was buried at Gelati decades later alongside the great David and her own father and grandfather.

⁶⁶ It incidentally appears from the available sources that Demna Batonishvili was the first Bagrationi to be buried at Svetitskhoveli.

⁶⁷ It is no coincidence that Armenian sources contain more information in relation to these matters.

⁶⁸ It is clear that, for the author of *The Georgian Chronicle* – a supporter of the victorious part of the royal dynasty – David is an unacceptable figure.

son Demetre I and Giorgi III appear deliberately to avoid one more important detail in declining to reveal the location of David V's grave.

As we saw above, and will be discussed further below, *The Georgian Chronicle* indicates the location of the grave of virtually every king of the 11st-13st centuries, so that the absence of details as to David's resting place appears especially striking in this context. As king, he was presumably buried at Gelati,⁶⁹ the monastery established as a royal burial place by his famed grandfather of the same name, David the Builder.⁷⁰ In this case, the silence of the Georgian chroniclers who wrote of Demetre and Giorgi would be understandable – it would not have been in their interest to point out that David, who opposed his father and brother, was granted this due royal honour. If, on the other hand, David V had, unlike the other kings of his era (from David the Builder to Rusudan), been buried elsewhere, it is unlikely that the chroniclers would have missed the opportunity to highlight this distinction. It should also be taken into consideration that David V was the father of Prince Demna, and that the pretender to the throne Demna was portrayed in these sources as a less legitimate figure.

The Period of Mongol Domination

In a Georgia divided into two kingdoms under Mongol rule, the existence of a single royal burial site was clearly no longer possible. The founder of the western Georgian kingdom, David VI Narin (d. 1293) appears, like his ancestors and son, to have been buried at Gelati,⁷¹ and one would therefore expect the subsequent kings of "Imereti" (western Georgia) – his sons Konstantine I (1293-1327) and Mikel (1327-1329) – to have been buried here as well.

As for the rulers of eastern Georgia, the majority of these: David VII Ulu (1247-1270), Demetre II the Devoted (1270-1289), and David VIII (1293-1311), are buried at "Mtskheta" / Svetitskhoveli. As we have

⁶⁹ Demetre I is still alive at this time; accordingly, David V is the first king to be buried at Gelati after David the Builder.

⁷⁰ It cannot be ruled out that the burial of David the Builder's successors at Gelati formed part of his will, and that this may have been formally documented.

⁷¹ Although the author of the relevant part of *The Georgian Chronicle – The Hundred Years' Chronicle* – presumably neglected to point out the burial place of the king, we have to assume that Davit Narin, in accordance with the account from Vakhushti Batonishvili discussed above, is buried at Gelati. It should also be taken into account that among the murals at Gelati we find two portraits of Davit Narin (in regal and in monastic dress).

seen, from the end of the era of Vakhtang Gorgasali until the designated period, not a single king was buried at this main cathedral of the Georgian Church. Accordingly, David Ulu is the first king following a seven-century pause to be granted an eternal resting place at Svetitskhoveli, and is the first Bagrationi ruler to be buried there.

Why did the kings of eastern Georgia choose Svetitskhoveli as a burial place? Despite Georgia's division formally into two kingdoms, and effectively into three parts,⁷² the statesmen of 13th century Georgia at no point abandoned the notion of a united kingdom. At a time when it was impossible for the rulers of eastern Georgia to be buried at a burial site in western Georgia (on the territory of what was then another kingdom), it was necessary to select an alternative ecclesiastical centre that was already well known, and no less esteemed and rich in tradition than Gelati (all the more so at a time when Gelati served as the burial place of a rival royal dynastic branch).

It was clear that Svetitskhoveli, as a symbol of Christian Georgia, seat of the helmsman of the church, and resting place of the great Vakhtang Gorgasali, was the best candidate for such a centre. That Svetitskhoveli is likewise a traditional royal resting place is recalled, asserted, and emphasized at different points in the *Hundred Years' Chronicle*: "When David [VII Ulu] ended his life, he was buried in the royal burial place in Mtskheta",⁷³ "they took also the King's [Demetre the Devoted – author] remains, and brought them to Mtskheta and buried them there in their burial place",⁷⁴ "King David [VIII] died ... and he was buried at the royal burial place in Mtskheta".⁷⁵

Several exceptional cases in this period are of note:

a) The first exception is the son of west Georgian king Davit VI Narin – Vakhtang II (1289-1292), who in spite of having reigned in the east,⁷⁶ was buried in the west at the Gelati burial site.⁷⁷ It would be an oversimplification in my view to attribute this solely to a wish on the part of an elderly King David Narin grieving the unexpected death of his beloved

⁷² The principality of Samtskhe-Saatabago, which was virtually an independent entity from eastern Georgia, was established in the south.

⁷³ *The Hundred Years' Chronicle*, 2014, p. 367.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

⁷⁶ He was made king here after the Mongols' execution of Demetre II.

⁷⁷ *The Hundred Years' Chronicle*, 2014, p. 381.

son to have his grave “nearby”. With Vakhtang’s death, the ambition to see the future restoration of a united kingdom by bringing the western branch of the Bagrationis to the throne in eastern Georgia had also died; as such, the symbolism of burying the king at Svetitskhoveli would also have appeared to lack purpose (Vakhtang ruled only for 3 years).

Neither would the burial of Vakhtang II at Mtskheta have been acceptable for the sons of Demetre II or for the eastern Georgian political elite that supported them. Far from reunifying Georgia, Demetre’s sons planned to achieve unification around their own throne. Vakhtang II and his father David Narin would besides have been blamed at least indirectly by the leaders of eastern Georgia for assisting in Demetre’s execution.⁷⁸

b) The second exception is another Vakhtang – one of the sons of Demetre the Devoted: “Vakht’ang returned honored, and arrived at Nakhchevan. But he caught some stomach disease and passed away, adorned by the royal crown. They took him over and buried in Dmanisi”.⁷⁹ Although the burial of an east Georgian king at Dmanisi may seem unusual at first glance, this is not difficult to explain if the political reality of the 13th-14th centuries is taken into consideration.

In eastern Georgia, during the period of the “Many Kings” (the 1290s-1310s), not a single ruler’s authority extended over the entire kingdom. Vakhtang III (1298/1299, 1302-1308) controlled only Tbilisi and a territory to its south – the region of Dmanisi-Samshilde. Under these circumstances, his burial at Svetitskhoveli would have been understood as a legitimization and emphasis of the rights of his successors by these other members of the royal family (several of whom held a claim to the throne), whereas his burial at Dmanisi would by contrast have been an indication of his lesser legitimacy. Of those lands of Lower Kartli controlled by Vakhtang, it would seem that Dmanisi episcopal cathedral was considered the most prestigious. There is no other episcopal centre in this territory, and, as we have seen, the majority of royal burial places are such centres.

⁷⁸ Note that Vakhtang’s candidacy was presented at the court of the Khan by Demetre II’s court official Khutlubugha, lobbyist for the latter’s execution.

⁷⁹ *The Hundred Years’ Chronicle*, 2014, p. 394.

The unified Kingdom of Georgia (Giorgi the Brilliant to the kingdom's disintegration)

In the first half of the 14th century, following the reunification of the Kingdom of Georgia, the geographical picture of burial sites changes once more. Regrettably, information on the reign of the reunifying king, Giorgi V the Brilliant (1299-1302, 1318-1346) in Georgian sources is for the most part scarce, and we have no indications as to this distinguished monarch's final resting place, although one account presented by Vakhushti Batonishvili (18th century) tells us that Giorgi's successor, his son David IX (1346-1360), was buried at Gelati.⁸⁰

Following the reunification of the country under the leadership of the eastern branch of the Bagrationi dynasty, burial at the old royal burial site in Likht-Imereti (western Georgia) must in my view have been attributed considerable political significance. In the recent past, western Georgia had existed independently for 70 years over the reign of three separate kings.⁸¹ Accordingly, the burial of an heir to the kings of eastern Georgia not at Svetitskhoveli, but once again at Gelati – the resting place of the “old kings” – would have represented another step in the reunification of the country – a reminder that Gelati was primarily the burial place of the kings of a unified Georgia.

It is highly probable that Giorgi the Brilliant was also buried at Gelati. The abolition of the separate western Georgian monarchy and the territory's direct annexation (1329) are associated with his name, and it would be logical to assume that it was Giorgi the Brilliant who restored the tradition of burial at Gelati, which, in spite of the altered political context, would have borne the same (or greater) symbolic significance as it had two centuries earlier in the age of his great ancestor David the Builder.

The available sources do not tell us whether Gelati is also the burial site of the successor to David IX – Bagrat V (1360-1393). The end of his reign was marked by the destructive invasions of Timur (Tamerlane), which first he and then, following his death, his son Giorgi VII were forced to resist.

Although it seems that in the wake of Georgian reunification, the burial site of Gelati as a symbol of this unity was also restored, examination of the burial sites of subsequent kings indicates that Georgian kings were again forced in some cases to forego burial at traditional sites by changes in the political reality.

⁸⁰ ვახუშტი ბატონიშვილი, აღწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა, 1973, p. 261.

⁸¹ As discussed, all three kings must have been buried at Gelati.

The kings of the final stages of unified Georgia are not buried at Gelati, but at other churches and monasteries: Konstantine I (1407-1411) is buried at Vardzia; Giorgi VII (1393-1407), Aleksandre I the Great (1412-1442), and Giorgi VIII (king of Georgia 1446-1466, king of Kakheti 1466-1476) at Svetitskhoveli (“Mtskheta”); and Vakhtang IV (1442-1446) at Bana.

The burial of two kings of unified Georgia in southern Georgia was presumably a political reaction to Timur’s campaigns and to problems created in a country weakened and brought to the brink of disintegration by Turkmen aggression. The loss of the southern provinces had, as it would later turn out, become an entirely real danger. The creation of alternative royal burial sites (and accordingly of alternative state “markers”) to Gelati and Svetitskhoveli at Vardzia and Bana⁸² was a weak but politically considered response to the country’s slide towards disintegration.

Timur’s invasions inflicted severe damage upon the foremost site of the Georgian church, Svetitskhoveli. It is clearly stated that the burial of Giorgi VII, who resisted Timur, at Svetitskhoveli (a church which had yet to be restored at that time) was a deliberate response to the conqueror’s aggression.

The last “great” king of unified Georgia, Aleksandre I, took special care to restore Svetitskhoveli Cathedral (and was obliged to institute a special tax for this purpose). The burial of Aleksandre I at Svetitskhoveli should not be considered so much an indication of his attitude towards the cathedral, or a monument to his efforts to restore it, as it should an indication of the ravaged country’s restoration anew, of its refusal to capitulate, of the erasure of the legacy of Timur’s invasions, and of the triumph of Christianity in the face of Muslim aggression.

The symbolry of Svetitskhoveli became necessary once more upon the death of unified Georgia’s final king, Giorgi VIII (1476). It appears strange at first glance that Giorgi, who assumed the throne in Kakheti following Georgia’s political disintegration, was not buried there, but in what was already a different kingdom – Kartli.⁸³ This exceptional case appears to be an expression of respect for the idea of Georgian unity, of a refusal to accept the disintegration of the kingdom, and of faith in Georgia’s future restoration. It was certainly a highly symbolic political gesture that despite his having died

⁸² Both are “new” royal burial sites, although Vardzia is not an episcopal centre (as pointed out, royal burial sites appear predominantly to be cathedral churches). It is also significant that Vardzia is the only royal burial site known to us that is carved into a cliffside.

⁸³ Incidentally, the border between the kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti was located at Mtskheta during this period. Mtskheta itself had been a part of Kartli since time immemorial.

the king of Kakheti, the final resting place of unified Georgia's last king was Svetitskhoveli, symbol of the unity of the Georgian state and church.

The Kingdoms of the Late Medieval Period

The second half of the 15th century saw the unified Kingdom of Georgia dissolve into the kingdoms of Kartli, Kakheti, and Imereti and the Principality of Samtskhe (Samtskhe-Saatabago). The Kartlian kings of Bagrationi lineage were subsequently buried chiefly at Svetitskhoveli, the Kakhetian kings at Alaverdi, and the Imeretian kings at Gelati. That no new ecclesiastical centres were established as royal burial places in the Georgia of the late medieval period was likely predominantly because, for complex economic and political reasons, ambitious cultural and ecclesiastical projects like the aforementioned churches and monasteries of earlier periods were realized to a lesser extent during this time.⁸⁴ A solution was provided under these conditions by old churches or burial places with strong traditional associations;⁸⁵ burial at these centres served to underline the legitimacy of the leaders of these weakened kingdoms and their status as the political heirs of the great kings of times past, and likely also reflected political ambitions on their part to restore this former greatness.

This period is, of course, also marked by exceptions;⁸⁶ although each of these has its own explanation, I will not discuss them individually here, but instead restrict myself to a small number of cases that serve to demonstrate the political significance that royal resting places held.

At the beginning of the 16th century, when Kakhetian king Giorgi II (1511-1513), whom history remembers as Giorgi the Evil, was captured during one of a number of ravaging expeditions into the kingdom of Kartli, imprisoned in Ksani Fortress, and presumably killed (according to another version of events, he died of natural causes), he was buried not in Kakheti, but at "Mtskheta" (i.e. Svetitskhoveli), on the "north side", in the small Church of the Archangel built by him.⁸⁷ The burial of a Kakhetian king in Kartli marked an unusual precedent.

84 One exception is the burial of King Levan of Kakheti (1518/1520-1574) at Gremi Church built by him, although for various reasons this was not destined to become a dynastic burial site.

85 Presumably Alaverdi was, like Svetitskhoveli and Gelati, formerly a burial place of the kings of Kakheti-Hereti.

86 In contrast with previous periods, several Bagrationi rulers are buried abroad.

87 ბერი ეგნატაშვილი, ახალი ქართლის ცხოვრება, „ქართლის ცხოვრება“, II, ტექსტი დადგენილი ყველა ძირითადი ხელნაწერის მიხედვით ს. ყაუხჩიშვილის მიერ, თბილისი 1959, p. 351.

Following the neutralization of Giorgi the Evil, Kartlian King Davit X (1505-1525) annexed Kakheti and made it his objective to abolish the kingdom once and for all. As he was unable to capture Giorgi the Evil's young son (who had been hidden in Kakheti) at this time, it was most likely considered inadvisable to bury the deceased king there. It is significant that, in spite of his hostile disposition and his extremely negative authority, Giorgi II as a Bagrationi king is still granted the honour of being buried at Mtskheta, albeit not in the main church at Svetitskhoveli like his ancestors, but, for the purpose of his diminishment, in a northern annex of the church.

Another notable exception is the burial of two Georgian kings: Rostom (king of Kartli 1633-1658, king of Kartli and Kakheti 1648-1656) and Vakhtang V Shahnavaḡ (king of Kartli 1658-1675), in the holy Iranian city of Qom. Although, as a result of the political circumstances, both kings were Muslim, it is less likely that burial in this city was their wish, and particularly not in Vakhtang's case.⁸⁸ Their burial in Iran, and especially in a religious centre, would clearly have been a demand from the Persians which the latter's subject realms would have been unable to oppose. Iran was attempting with these political decisions to create new symbols of the Georgians' state and religious ties and political and cultural links. This, incidentally, is also how Russia acts at a later stage, when it strives to promote close ties between Georgian royal family members and its own territory, including by means of encouraging their burial there.

Also of significance are the burials at Svetitskhoveli of both of the rulers of the short-lived unified Kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti created in the second half of the 18th century: Erekle II (King of Kakheti 1744-1762, King of Kartli-Kakheti 1762-1798) and his son Giorgi XII (King of Kartli-Kakheti 1798-1800).⁸⁹ As with several of the examples discussed above, here too the motivations of legitimization and the creation of political symbols are readily apparent: having usurped the Kartlian throne, the Kakhetian branch desired greater legitimacy in Kartli; as such, the old burial site of the kings of Kartli and of Georgia, Svetitskhoveli, itself a religious and state symbol of a unified Georgia, far better befitted Erekle's ambitions and a future political notion of Georgia than did Alaverdi, the burial place of the Kakhetian kings.

⁸⁸ Unlike Rostom, who was raised in Iran as a Muslim, Vakhtang Mukhranbatoni (Bagrationi) was a Christian and ruled one of Kartli's large principedoms. He converted to Islam after Rostom "adopted" him and declared him his political successor.

⁸⁹ Recall that Erekle was heir to the Kakhetian branch of the Bagrationi dynasty, whereas Svetitskhoveli/Mtskheta is in Kartli.

Conclusions

An overview of the principal information available to us enables us to provide responses to several general questions concerning Georgian royal burials:

1. Was the site of the king's burial of principal importance, whether for the king, their descendants, or the state?

In my view, the response to this question is simple and unequivocal: as the supreme ruler and symbol of the state, the burial place of the king would have been specially chosen. The selection of a single, specific place from several special regions forming part of the kingdom, dozens of important ecclesiastical or monastic centres, and hundreds of potential locations could hardly have been incidental. Each such resting place would have been identified in accordance with a specific set of circumstances, which would have been determined predominantly by political factors.

2. What significance did selection as the king's burial site represent for the church, province, or region in question?

The presence of a royal grave, and especially of a dynastic burial site, would naturally have increased the significance of an ecclesiastical centre immeasurably, underscoring and in some cases establishing a special authority on the part of the church, monastery, or episcopal centre in question (after all, only very few of the existing ecclesiastical centres were the recipients of such an honour).

The same can be said of the province or region in question, although in this case the resting place of the king took on an added significance, in serving as a particular kind of statement, or even legal affirmation, that the specific territory or province was an indivisible part of the kingdom (excluding non-standard cases, it was naturally impossible for the king to be buried in another state). This additionally served as an argument for the king's descendants that, as their king or kings of old had their resting place there, that province was theirs. Accordingly, even were the territory to be lost, the king's grave would, as a symbol and certain form of "sacred site", retain a certain gravitational force and "guarantee" to a certain extent that the territory in question would remain in their descendants' memory.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ One argument presented to this day that Abkhazia is an indivisible part of Georgia is the location of Bagrat III's final resting place in Bedia.

One passage of *The Georgian Chronicle* (*kartlis tskhovreba*) indicates directly and unequivocally the importance that a king or ruler's burial place represented for their descendants. Of the burial of *Erismtavari* of Kartli Stepanoz III (which took place in 710-30's), his dying son Miri states in conversation with his brother Archil ("King Archil"): "Our father, too, died at a time of trouble and we could not bring him to Mtskheta;⁹¹ take his remains and bury them in the Kutaisi church so that he can testify to our legacy", and issues instructions that he should be buried with his father,⁹² i.e. the presence of the graves there is a firm argument to "testify" (*satsameblad*) that Kutaisi (western Georgia) is theirs by inheritance.

3. Who selected the resting place – the monarch in life, or their successors following the monarch's death?

There are innumerable examples from the earliest records on monarchs selecting their place of burial in advance, and of concerning themselves with its preparation in life (as in the case of the pyramids, crypts, etc.).

The religions of the Middle Ages cardinaly altered conceptions of the afterlife, as a result of which efforts to have sumptuous burial sites in the ancient style prepared in advance during life lost their motivation. Although it is clear that the Christian monarchs of the Middle Ages likewise considered their own resting places in advance, they were specifically concerned almost without exception with ecclesiastical centres such as churches, cathedrals, and monasteries; this included the construction of new centres, or of new buildings (including churches, chapels, oratories, and crypts) in pre-existing centres.

It is difficult to imagine that any monarch (and especially one having reached middle age) would not have made a decision with respect to their resting place, or at least devoted some thought to it; the same is indicated by the available sources. The aforementioned case of Rev, son of Mirian provides a useful example here as well: "He was buried in a tomb, built by Rev himself".⁹³

⁹¹ This passage is likely an indirect indication that the *Erismtavaris* of Kartli, like the kings of Kartli (Iberia), were buried at Mtskheta (Svetitskhoveli), and possibly also at the Jvari Monastery (recall that Jvari Church / the Church of the Cross in Mtskheta was built by the *Erismtavaris* of Kartli).

⁹² Juansher Juansheriani, *The life of Vakht'ang Gorgasali*, 2014, p. 113.

⁹³ Leont'i Mroveli, *The Lives of the Georgian Kings*, 2014, p. 67; Exceptions would naturally occur in the event that the monarch died unexpectedly at a young age; their will could not be fulfilled for objective reasons; or political successors deliberately declined to fulfil the king's will. Such an exceptional case would for example be the burial of Giorgi the Evil in the annex to Svetitskhoveli.

4. What linked Georgian kings with the churches in which they were buried?

According to the evidence provided by the available sources, the Georgian kings were predominantly buried: a) at traditional dynastic burial sites where several generations of their ancestors had already been laid to rest (including Svetitskhoveli, Gelati, and Alaverdi); b) in churches built⁹⁴/restored/reconstructed by them (generally speaking in episcopal centres and monasteries), of which there are several cases in Georgian history; and c) in other churches selected in accordance with some form of political function and/or purpose.

* * *

While it is a matter for regret that we lack data on the burial places of many Georgian kings (which is especially true of earlier periods), the relatively rich material discussed above provides a clear answer to the question posed by this paper of which factor played a decisive role in the selection of a Georgian king's burial site – subjective considerations (personal attitudes towards a particular region, place, church, monastery, etc.), respect for tradition (dynastic burial places), or specific political objectives.

Although tradition⁹⁵ was clearly of considerable significance, just as personal attitudes inevitably figured in a king's life, as a symbol of the state, the monarch's grave was predominantly a political marker of profound significance, and accordingly, their place of burial too (region, church, and burial site) was chosen specifically in accordance with this principle. In addition to being a personal choice and act of observance/restoration of one tradition or another, therefore, it was also a political statement. The royal family understood well that both in their era and in the future, the king's grave would serve as an essential symbol of royal power, national unity, and of the claim staked by their descendants to the territory in question.

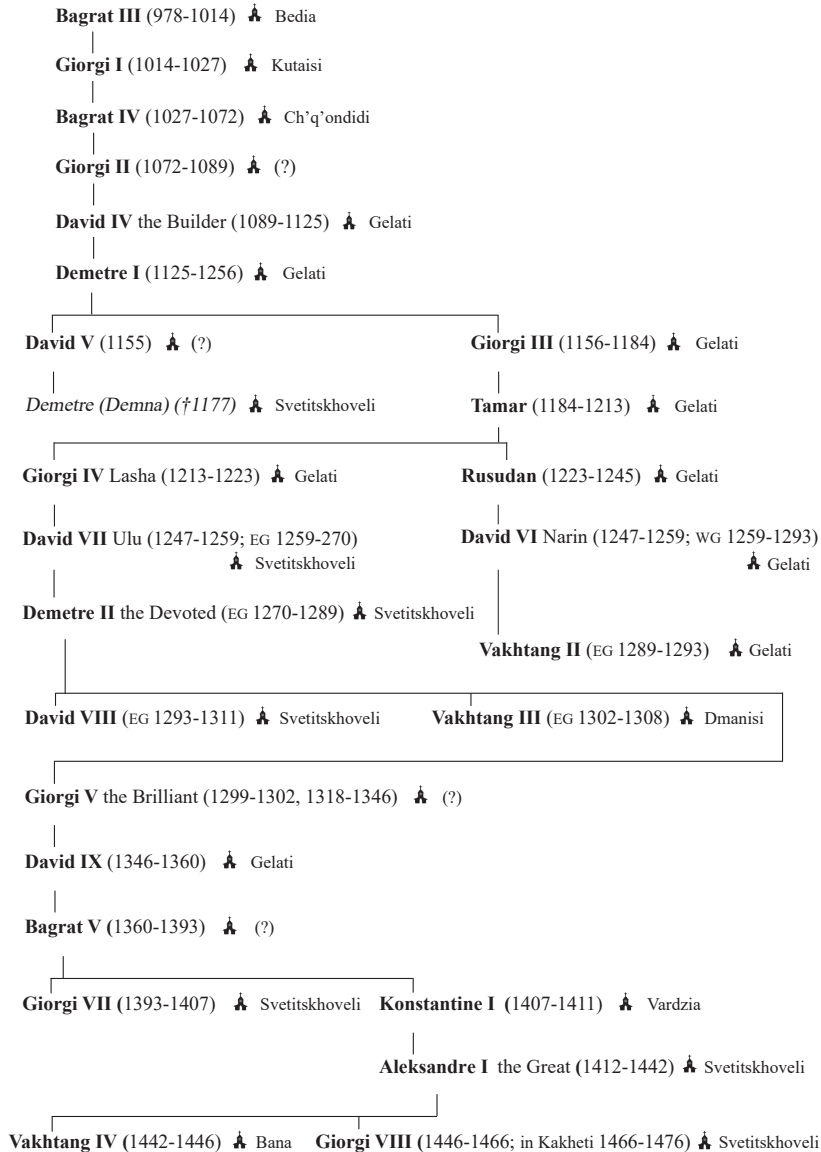
An examination of the geography of these burial places leads us to conclude that royal graves made their own specific contribution to the centuries-long and multifaceted process of Georgia's political and cultural unification and consolidation.

⁹⁴ In churches built expressly to serve as burial sites.

⁹⁵ That is, the political or ecclesiastical tradition of the place, or its traditional status as a burial site.

The Burial Sites of the Georgian Kings

(The Unified Kingdom of Georgia)



EG = Eastern Georgia; WG= Western Georgia.



Gelati. Gravestone of David the Builder. "This is my eternal resting place; here I wish to remain". Photo by Buba Kudava

The Burial Sites of the Georgian Kings: Geography and Policy

Despite the fact that medieval Georgian sources have preserved a number of interesting, direct, and reliable pieces of information concerning the deaths and burials of Georgian kings, questions relating to royal burial sites have not been specifically explored in historical research until the present time. This article chiefly examines some common issues, tendencies, and norms concerning the burial places of the kings of the unified Kingdom of Georgia (11c.-15c.), and of the rulers of certain other realms.

As the supreme ruler and figurehead of the state, it is clear that the burial site of the king would have been specially selected. It is difficult to imagine that any monarch (and especially one who had reached middle age) would not have made their own decision in advance with respect to this matter. The selection of a single site from dozens of significant ecclesiastical and/or monasterial centres distributed across several distinct regions of the kingdom could certainly not have been a matter of chance, and each such choice must have its own logical explanation.

The presence of a royal burial place, and especially of a dynastic royal burial place, increased the importance and authority of the ecclesiastical, monasterial, or episcopal centre in question immeasurably. The same can be said of the surrounding region, although the presence of the king's final resting place represented an additional significance in this respect, in that it served as a specific form of declaration – a legal affirmation – that the territory or province in question formed an inalienable part of the kingdom. This simultaneously served the interests of the king's descendants, whose claim to a given territory was legitimized by the fact that it was the final resting place of their former king or kings.

The evidence provided by extant sources indicates that Georgian kings were predominantly laid to rest: a) in dynastic royal burial sites which had previously served as the traditional burial places of their ancestors (for example, Svetitskhoveli, Gelati, and Alaverdi); b) in churches that had been either built or reconstructed by them (generally either in episcopal centres or monasteries); and c) in other churches selected in connection with a specific political status and/or purpose.

Whilst the locations of the burial sites of some Georgian kings regrettably remain unknown to us (which is the case especially with respect to earlier periods), the plentiful information preserved in the sources available enables us to respond to the question posed in the title of this article as follows:

Although tradition was clearly also of great importance, and a king would likewise have expressed personal views on the matter during his life, as the monarch symbolized the state, their burial place was above all a marker that bore a profound political significance, and the site of this burial place (the region, the church, and the burial place itself) was likewise specially selected in accordance with this principle.

Key words: History of Georgia, Georgian Monasteries, Bagrationi Dynasty, Georgian Kings

AN INSTITUTION OF “GAZRDILOBA” (NURTURANCE)
AT THE ROYAL COURT OF THE KING OF GEORGIA
DEMETRE I (1125-1156/7)

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An institution of “Gazrdiloba” that implied the historic tradition of nurturance – raising a person at the Royal or Aristocratic Court – has been practiced for many centuries in Georgian Kingdom. Different medieval Georgian historical sources provide a plethora of materials about this significant tradition. These are mainly represented by narrative sources, historical documents and epigraphic inscriptions, in which can be found information about nurturing kings, “Eristavs” (the Dukes), bishops and other representatives of noble families in the age of feudalism. Undoubtedly, this kind of information was not written in these sources accidentally and underlining this fact had its own special purpose.

The theme of “Gazrdiloba” institution in medieval Georgia is quite extensive. At the same time, it unites various different specific issues, which are interesting in many respects.

The pioneer scholar in Georgian historiography, who researched part of these issues, was Dr. Niko Berdzenishvili. The author, basing mainly on the historical documents of 15th century and the later period, briefly reviewed this historical tradition and obtained several valuable conclusions and ideas about it.¹

Dr. Olia Soselia reviewed N. Berdzenishvili’s theories and extended them with more examples taken from the Georgian sources from 5th-19th centuries. She also wrote the brief history of “Gazrdiloba” institution, but

¹ N. Berdzenishvili, *Nurturance (Zrdiloba, Gazrdieloba), The Issues of the History of Georgia*, vol.VII (1962), 82-89 [in Georgian].

the main goal of her research was the meaning of raising up a nobleman at the Royal Court.²

“Gazrdiloba”, as the socio-historical term of the age of feudalism was the main theme of the speech of Dr. Vazha Kiknadze.³

Some issues of “Gazrdiloba” were researched by Dr. Tsira Janashia. Similar to the previously mentioned scientists, T. Janashia also described the sources and the institution very briefly, after what she concentrated her attention mainly on the detailed issues of this tradition in the historical work of Ioseb Tbileli (The Bishop of Tbilisi) – “Didmouraviani”.⁴

To this day, the most detailed essay about “Gazrdiloba” was published in 2017. In the encyclopedical dictionary “*Central and Local Official Order in Medieval Georgia*” the meaning of the Institution is reviewed according to the specific facts, where as the essence and the transformation of the tradition are discussed according to the different periods.⁵

Thus, some general and specific issues of “Gazrdiloba” institution have already been researched in Georgian historiography. On the other hand, plenty of other problematic issues and questions of this theme remain unsolved.

One of those issues is about the historical persons who were brought up by Kings at the Royal Court and, because of that, in later period they were appointed at the highest secular and church administrative positions.⁶

² O. S o s e l i a, *Essays from the Social-Political History of Western Georgia in the Age of Feudalism (Estates)*, vol. II. Tbilisi 1981 [in Georgian], 206-213.

³ V. K i k n a d z e, *About Some Historical and Social Terms of the Age of Feudalism in Georgia (Gazrdiloba, Pirmshoeba, Sashineli), Abstracts of the Conference Dedicated to the Memory of E. Takaishvili* (2003), [in Georgian], 41-47. See more about the social term “Gazrdili” in: Sh. B a d r i d z e, *Some Political Signs of Seigniorial Government in Early Feudal Kartli. The Issues of the Georgia’s History of the Feudal Age*. Vol. I (1970), [in Georgian].

⁴ T s . J a n a s h i a, *Some Issues of Nurtance of 17th century Georgia (According to I. Tbileli’s poem “Didmouraviani”)*. *Matsne – Journal of Georgian Academy of Science (History volume)*. №13 (2013) [in Georgian].

⁵ *Central and Local Official Order in Medieval Georgia (Encyclopaedic Dictionary)*, Prepared by T. Abuladze, Ts. Abuladze, Kh. Baindurashvili, V. Kekelia, D. Kldiashvili, M. Surguladze, E. Tsagareishvili. Tbilisi, 2017 [in Georgian], 13-25.

⁶ The advantages of the “Gazrdiloba” institution also depicted in old Georgian juridical codex of King Bagrat Kourapalates, which is dated (according to the different opinions) with 9th, 11th or 16th centuries (in details see T. K a r t v e l i s h v i l i, *The Political Essence of Blood Privileges under King Bagrat III, Mravaltavi (Philological and Historical Researches)*, vol. 26. Tbilisi 2019. 245-265 [in Georgian], 250-263). According to this codex a judge should have been selected from the candidates, such as a priest, a good arch-merchant, a good village elder, or a person raised in front of a King. See: *Monuments of Old Georgian Law, vol. I. Texts, Analyse and Dictionary Prepared by I. D o l i d z e*. Tbilisi 1963 [in Georgian], 464.

The main objective of this article is to foreground this specific issue according to the case of King Demetre I and his nurtured ones, as this kind of research had never been held before.

There are quite a lot of the commemorative written sources about the King Demetre I, which have survived till this day. Among these texts an interesting regularity can be noticed: the authors of these texts – bishops of the different eparchies of Georgian Apostolic Orthodox Church and the “Eristavs” (the Dukes) of the important inner and frontier regions – mention King Demetre as their mentor (a person who has raised them). Fortunately, this specific group of sources, comparing to the similar precedents of other Georgian kings, is quite informative. Moreover, the content of these sources gives us an opportunity to obtain valuable conclusions and interesting observations about King Demetre’s personnel policy of secular and church administration, within the context of “Gazrdiloba” institution. The reason why I chose the case of the King Demetre I is not only because of the multiple advantages of sources about him (comparing to those of the other kings),⁷ but also because his cases were not even mentioned in the works of above-mentioned authors.⁸

Below is a list of the sources about the “Gazrdiloba” institution of the Royal Court of Demetre I in chronological order:

1. A fresco inscription of Ishkhani Cathedral of 1155 year, made by Bishop Egnati;
2. A testament of Tbeti 2nd Four Gospels (Q-929) of 1161 year, made by the Bishop Pavle;

⁷ With the number of the King’s brought up officials known from the historic sources, Demetre I can be compared only to his son – King Giorgi III (1157-1184), who brought up three future state officials, such as Anton GnoIistavidze, Chiaber and Kubasar (?) (“istoriani da azmani sharavand-edtani” (*The life of Queen Tamar*), *kartlis tskhovreba*, vol. II, *the text precised according to all basic manuscripts* by S. K a u k h c h i s h v i l i . Tbilisi 1959 [in Georgian], 19, 30, 32-33). This issue will be briefly discussed in the end of this article, as unlikely King Demetre’s cases, this theme was at least mentioned in the works of above mentioned authors.

⁸ The only author who mentioned King Demetre in the contexts of “Gazrdiloba” institution was Dr. Zaza Skhirtladze in his book about the identification of the historical persons on the frescos of Kolagiri Monastery, published in 2000. The author emphasized the fact that one of the ktetors of the monastery painted on its wall – Vardan Kolonkelisdze – was brought up at the Royal Court of King Demetre I. Thus, Dr. Z. Skhirtladze also says that the fresco inscription of Vardan Kolonkelisdze is unique, as there is no other historic source about the “Gazrdiloba” tradition at the Royal Court of King Demetre I (Z. S k h i r t l a d z e , *Portraits of Historical Persons from Gareji Mravalmta Kolagiri Monastery*. Tbilisi 2000 [in Georgian], 74-75). This observation is incorrect as bellow I shall discuss two other historical sources about the two different precedents. This wrong attitude once more emphasizes the necessity of this work.

3. A fresco inscription of the ktetor of the Gareji cave monastery of Kolagiri 1177/8-1184/5 years.

Let us discuss them in the same order:

Fresco Inscription of Ishkhani Cathedral

The inscription was located on the north wall of the Ishkhani Cathedral (historical Georgian province Tao, modern Turkey) central nave interior. It was made on behalf of Bishop Egnati in 1155. Today it is fully erased. The inscription represented a diplomatic act, according to which King Demetre paid the mortgage of village Lozni and donated it to Ishkhani.⁹ Below is the extract from this inscription, important for this paper:

„აწ მე, მ(ი)წ(ა)მ(ა)ნ მ(ე)ფ(ო)ბ(ი)სა მ(ა)თისამ(ა)ნ, ეგ(ნა)ტი ი(მ)ხნელ) მ(თავარ)ე(ბისკოპოს)მ(ა)ნ, **რ(ომელ)ი მ(ა)თეე დირს-მევეს უღირსი, ვიკ(ა)დრო გამ[რდილი მათი,]** [რომელი] [არას]რ (უ)ლად ჰნ(ა)თ(ო)ბს და მცირედ და უკმ(ა)რ(ა)დ.**ერთგ(უ)ლ(ო)ბ(ი) სათ(უ)სცა ებ(ი)სკ(ო)-პ(ო)ს-მევეს** თ(ე)ოდორ)ე და ყ(ოველ)თა ს(ა)ყდრ(ი)სმე(ი)ლ[თა] [?].“¹⁰

Translation:

“I – the ground of their kingship (means King Demetre and his sons – N. Z.) Egnati the Arch-bishop of Ishkhani, **brought up by them... have been ordained for my devotion by Theodore and other “Sakdrishshvilebi”** (the privileged church aristocracy – N. Z.)”

According to this part of the inscription, Egnati had been raised by King Demetre, and because of the devotion to the Royal Court, he was appointed as an Arch-bishop of Ishkhani by Catholicos Theodore.¹¹ It is unknown when exactly did this happen.¹² This inscription is the first

⁹ The inscription is quite extensive. As a matter of fact, this inscription is considered to be the broadest Georgian inscription ever known to us. That is why I will discuss only the part related to the main goal of the article. The full text is published (V. Silogava, K. Shengelia, *Tao-Klarjeti*. Tbilisi 1980 [in Georgian], 39-40).

¹⁰ V. Silogava... *Tao-Klarjeti*... 39-40

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

¹² The period of Egnati occupying the post of Ishkhneli can be calculated more exactly if Theodore mentioned in the inscription would be identified as Catholicos Theodore. According to the synodikon of Shio-Mghvime Monastery’s manuscript of 1270 (which was originally rewritten from the manu-

surviving evidence of the King Demetre’s personnel policy of church administration: the King appointed a person he raised at his Court as the head of the most important eparchy in South Georgia (Tao frontier province).

The specific importance of Ishkhneli (a bishop of Ishkhani) in medieval Georgia is well known in historiography. According to the 13th century codex, during the King’s coronation, if with some reason the Catholicos of Western Georgia could not attend the ceremony, his duties were carried by Ishkhneli. After the ceremony, during the feast, Ishkhneli would sit on the 10th place among 36 bishops of Eastern Georgia. At the ecclesiastic gathering at the Royal Court, Ishkhneli was honored equally along with Catholicos and Chkondideli (a bishop of Chkondidi). Apart from the entire Kingdom, Ishkhneli was highly privileged position also of the local South Georgian region. In hierarchic order of the Samtskhe-Saatabago region, he took the 3rd place (after bishops of Atskuri and Kumurdo).¹³

Apart from Egnati Ishkhneli, another bishop brought up by Demetre I is also known from Southern Georgia.

Testament of Tbeti 2nd Four Gospels

Pavle Mtbevari (bishop of Tbeti) – donator of the 1161 manuscript, also known as Tbeti 2nd Four Gospels (Q-929), wrote a vast testament of the book. He described the period of creation of the manuscript and historical persons related to him. Below is the important extract from the text:

„...ღირს ვიქმენ არაღირსი, სულითა საწყალობელი **ჰ[ა]ვლე** ჯ(უარ)ის მყვ(ა)ნი, ღ(მრთ)ისა მ[ო]წყ[ა]ლებითა და სახ[იერ]ე[ე] ბათა მიერ **საყდრ(ი)სა გბეთისასა დაპყრობ[ა]ლ, გამზრდელისა ჩქემისა ღ(მრ)თივ გვრგუნოსნისა მეფეთა-მეფისა ღ[იმი]ტ[რი]ს მიერ...** სალოცველად ღ(მრ)თივ გვრგუნოს[ა]ნთა მეფეთა: **ღ[იმი]ტ[რი], გამზრდელისა ჩემისა** [და] გ[იორგ]ი, ძისა მათისა, და საჯსრად საწყალობელისა სულისა ჩემისა და [საცხოვნებელად?] სულთა ჩემ[თა დელა-მამათა] და ძმათა ჩემთა: გ[იორგ]ი,

script of 1172), the Catholicos who carried his activities during the reign of King Demetre (precisely in 1140-50s) was Saba II (*Chronicles and other Sources for History of Georgia. Compiled, Chronologically listed, Explained and Published by T. Zhordania. Tiflis 1892* [in Georgian], 80; R. Metreveli, *the Kings and Patriarchs of Georgia. Tbilisi 2010* [in Georgian]).

¹³ V. Silogava... *Tao-Klarjeti...* 22-23.

თ[ევლორ]ე,კ[ვრიკ]ესა,ღათა ჩემთა: ცხოვრებაი,გუარ[ა]ნდუხგ,ღა
 ნონაღსი; დისწულთა ჩემთა [ნიკოლოზ] ქუთათელ მ(თავარ)-
 ე(პისკოპოსი) და არსენი ქუთათელ მ(თავარ)ე(პისკოპოსი),
 ი(ოან)ე ანჩელ მ(თავარ)ე(პისკოპოსი), ანტონი ოპიზისა
 წინამძღურისა,არსენი,ღ[იმი]ტ[რ]ის მეფისა მწირველ[ლ]ისა და
 ყ(ოველ)თა თ[ჯ]სთა და ნათესავთა ჩემთათჳს.“¹⁴

Translation:

“...I – worthless and poor with soul, Palve the Cross-carrier, with
 God’s will, was chosen by my mentor King of the Kings Dimitri [who
 had brought me up] to enthrone of the cathedral of Tbeti... to pray for
 the God blessed Kings: Dimitri – a mentor of mine, and his son Giorgi,
 and for support of my poor soul, and souls of my mother and father,
 and my brothers: Giorgi, Theodore, Kvirike; my sisters: Tskhovrebai,
 Guarandukht and Nonai; my nephews [sons of sister(s)]: Nikoloz, the
 arch-bishop of Kutaisi... and Arseni, the arch-bishop of Kutaisi, Ioane,
 the arch-bishop of Ancha, Antoni, the supervisor of Opiza Monastery and
 Arseni, the celebrant of King Dimitri and all relatives of mine.”

The author of this testament underlined, that he was raised by the King
 Demetre and appointed on the Tbeti¹⁵ cathedral also by him. Pavle also
 mentioned his family members: brothers – Giorgi, Tevdore and Kvirike;
 sisters – Tskhovrebai, Guarandukht and Nonai; nephews, sons of sister(s)
 – Nikoloz the Arch-bishop of Kutaisi,¹⁶ Arseni another Arch-bishop of
 Kutaisi, Ioane the Arch-bishop of Ancha,¹⁷ Anton the supervisor of Opiza
 monastery,¹⁸ and Arseni – the celebrant of King Demetre.

Tbeti eparchy by its meaning was different from Ishkhani. From the
 ecclesiastical and hierarchical point of view Tbeti was less important than
 Ishkhani. But, at the same time, the bishop of Tbeti (Mtbevari) was very
 important person for the Royal Court, as in this period Mtbevari bishop
 was also combined with the position of Eristavi – the ruler of Shavsheti

¹⁴ *Description of Georgian Manuscripts. New (Q) Collection.* vol. II. Prepared by T. Bregadze, T. Enukidze, N. Kasradze, E. Metreveli, L. Kutateladze and K. Sharashidze. Tbilisi 1958 [in Georgian], 353-356; V. Silogava ... *Tao-Klarjeti*... 86. As the Ishkhani inscription, the testament of this manuscript is also very extensive and similarly the cited part is only about the “Gazrdiloba” issues of the specific case.

¹⁵ Cathedral in Southern Georgia province Shavsheti.

¹⁶ The capital of Western Georgia.

¹⁷ Cathedral in Southern Georgia province Klarjeti.

¹⁸ The oldest monastery in Southern Georgia province Klarjeti.

province. The origin of this tradition goes down to the first half of 11th century, when the bishop of Tbeti Saba defeated the army of Byzantine aggressors, who recently conquered the most part of Tao-Klarjeti.¹⁹

It is interesting that the testament was written during the reign of Giorgi III (1156-1178), as his father Demetre was already dead for several years.²⁰ The exact date of the appointment of Pavle as Mtbevari is also unknown, but according to the testament it should have happened in the second half of Demetre’s reign.

As we can see, according to these two sources discussed above, it is clear, that in these two important southern provinces of the Kingdom, Demetre I appointed his loyal and trusted bishops, who he had brought up himself earlier of his reign. Moreover, one of them also occupied the secular position of Shavshetian Eristavi.

The question of the nephews of Pavle Mtbevari is also a very interesting issue. It will be discussed below in this article.

Fresco Inscriptions of Kolagiri Monastery

The murals of the ktetors of Kolagiri monastery of Gareji and their identifying inscriptions are located on the walls of the north chapel of the main church. These persons are painted according to the hierarchic order. At the head of the main ktetor the following text can be read:

„...ესე არს ვ(არღან) ე(რისთავთ) ე(რისთავი) / ძე ე(რისთავთ) ე(რისთავის) ს(ა)ღირისი, [გა]შ(რ)დილი მ(ე)ფ(ე)თ მ(ე)ფისა დიმი[ტ]რი მ[-]ელ[-]ს [...].“²¹

Translation:

“This is Eristav of Eristavs Vardan, son of Saghir Eristav of Eristavs, brought up by King of the Kings Dimitri...”

¹⁹ V. Siłogava... *Tao-Klarjeti...* 84-85; M. Bakhtadze, *Institute of Eristavate in Georgia*. Tbilisi 2003. [in Georgian], 169.

²⁰ It has been confirmed that King Giorgi III was coronated in 1157 (T. Jojua, *The Date of Enthronement of Georgian King Giorgi III According to the Manuscript copied in Georgia at 1160 (Ven. 4). Collection of works “Ochkhari” (Ethnological, historical and philological researches dedicated to J. Rukhadze)*. Tbilisi 2002 [in Georgian], 508-521).

²¹ Z. Skhirtladze, *Portraits of Historic Persons...* 21.

It has been proved, that the ktetors painted on these walls were the representatives of Kolonkelisdze feudal house – Eristavi of Hereti frontier province Vardan Kolonkelisdze (son of Eristavi Saghir), his brother Arsen I Chkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi²² and Vardan's sons – Beshken and another one, who's name cannot be read for know (Ivane?).^{23 24}

Hereti was an Eastern and South-Eastern frontier province of the Georgian Kingdom. In this period, the Eristavs of Hereti were also “Monapires” – the rulers of the frontier provinces.²⁵ The main duty of Monapire was to guard the Kingdom from the external threat that came across their lands. Withal, originally Eristavi and Monapire are considered as two separate officials of Georgian state system.²⁶ The main foreign threat during the reign of Demetre I came exactly from South-East, where the Kingdom shared its border with Arranian Seljuks, with the capital in Ganja. The confrontation between Demetre and the Atabeg of Ganja Kara Sonkur lasted for many years. During that period the military advantage changed from side to side several times.²⁷ Finally, because of Kara Sonkur's death in 1141, this conflict ended in favor of Georgians. Though, Arranian Seljuks remained as the main enemies for King Demetre and he would have needed a loyal ruler of the frontier provinces against Ganja. Earlier the warlord who fought against Kara Sonkur forces was Ivane Abuletisdze. In 1140s he was imprisoned by Sonkur's for treason and beheaded in 1145.²⁸ Nearly in the same period

²² Chkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi was a title of the combined ecclesiastic and state official, which united the posts of the bishop of Chkondidi – one of the main eparchies of Western Georgia – and Grand Vizier.

²³ M. B a k h t a d z e , *Institute of Eristavate...* 120-124.

²⁴ Z. S k h i r t l a d z e , *Portraits of Historic Persons...* 78-79. It was considered that a person painted next to Vardan Kolonkelisdze's was Anton Gnolistavidze – Chkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi contemporary to Queen Tamar. Accordingly, the frescoes were dated with 1190-es – 1204 year – the period of Anton Gnolistavidze on this post. Though, according to the last research, this person was identified not as Anton Gnolistavidze, but as younger brother of Vardan – Arsen I Kolonkelisdze, who was also Chkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi in 1170/2-1184 years. As for the frescoes, they were redated with 1177/8-1184/5 years (T. Jozua, *The Portrait of Arsen I Kolonkelisdze Chkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi (1170s) at the Kolagiri Monastery of Gareji: Historical and Source Study Analysis. International Conference “Davit Gareji – Multidisciplinary Study and Development Strategy.” Proceedings.* Tbilisi 2020, 75-79).

²⁵ M. B a k h t a d z e , *Institute of Eristavate...* 192, 205.

²⁶ M. B a k h t a d z e , *Institute of Eristavate...* 190-191.

²⁷ G. D j a p a r i d z e , *Georgia and the Near-Eastern Islamic World in the 12th – first third of the 13th century.* Tbilisi 1995 [in Georgian], 85-92.

²⁸ *Cronicler of Lasha-Giorgi, The Life of the King Demetre, kartlis tskhovreba*, vol. I, the text precised according to all basic manuscripts by S. K a u k h c h i s h v i l i . Tbilisi 1955 [in Georgian], 367.

(1150s) Vardan Kolonkelidze – nurtured by King Demetre – received the titles of the Eristavi of Hereti and Monapire.²⁹

Kolagiri fresco inscription so far is the third and the last source about the “Gazrdiloba” institution at King Demetre I Royal Court. Apart from other two sources, this inscription portrays a different reality – when a person raised by the King did not occupy the high position and title in the Church, but rather only secular administrative positions.

After discussing these three main sources about the “Gazrdiloba” tradition of King Demetre I, it is necessary to review other issues related to this theme.

Essential Characteristics of “Gazrdiloba” of Demetre I Royal Court

Several main terms related to “Gazrdiloba” institution on Georgian Royal Court had been used in historical sources during the period of United Georgian Kingdom in 11th-15th centuries. These were:

1. Gazrdili (brought up by someone – nurtured) – a term that referred to a person of the junior age who was brought up personally by the King, an older mentor. In this case, this person carried his activities mainly in the second half of his mentor’s reign and often even after his death, for he had to stay devoted to his mentor’s heir;³⁰

2. Tana-aghzrdili and Aghmzrdeli (a mentor of someone, who had grown up together with someone) – a term that meant a mentor, who at the same time was not much older than his pupil and they had grown up together;³¹

²⁹ M. B a k h t a d z e, *Institute of Eristavate...* 120-124.

³⁰ As far as I know, the oldest fact using the term “Gazrdili” is cited in the document (the report) of Catholicos Melkisedek written in 1031-1033 years. According to this juridical act Melkisedek himself was raised by the King Bagrat III Kourapalates (975-1014) (*Georgian Historical Documents (9th-13th centuries)*, *Corpus of Georgian Historical Documents*, vol. I. Prepared by T. E n u k i d z e, V. S i l o g a v a, N. S h o s h i a s h v i l i. Tbilisi 1984 [in Georgian], 27). Melkisedek seemed to be younger than his mentor, as King Bagrat died in 1014, and Melkisedek in 1033. The same term is used in the cases of King Demetre I (see above) and his heir King Giorgi III (“*Istoriani da Azmani Sharavandedtani*” (*The life of Queen Tamar*). 19, 30, 32-33). The term “Gazrdili” was also used by Arsen III Chkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi, when he emphasized the relationship between him and his mentor – Queen Rusudan (1223-1245) (*Georgian Historical Documents (9th-13th centuries)*, *Corpus of Georgian Historical Documents*, vol. I ... 118). In this case it can not be concluded what kind of age difference was between these two related people. It worth to mention that Arseni was a trusted person of Rusudan, as she sent him to the diplomatic mission to the horde of the Mongolian Khan Batu near 1240 year. Accordingly, the term “Gazrdili” was being used in 11th-13th centuries.

³¹ This equivocal term cited only in one narrative source, which describes the relationship between the King Davit IV the “Builder” (1089-1125) – father of King Demetre I – and his mentor Giorgi

1. Tanazrdili / Shezrdil-gazrdili / Tanashezrdil-gazrdili / TanaaRzrdil-shezrdili / Aghzrdil-shezrdili – these similar meaning words were the different varieties of a term, that meant a King and a nobleman, who were of the same age and had grown up together. The hierarchic relationship between them was not of a mentor and a pupil, but of a devoted age mates.³²

Analyzing the above mentioned sources of King Demetre's "Gazrdiloba" institution, in all of the three cases of Egnati Ishkhneli, Pavle Mtbevari and Eristavi Vardan Kolonkelisdze all belonged to the first category of these terms – "Gazrdili". The exact date of birth of these persons is unknown. In spite of that it is a fact that one of them – Egnati Ishkhneli – features in the last years of Demetre's reign (1155). As for the other two – Pavle Mtbevari and Vardan Eristavi – they were still alive after Demetre's death (see above). Fortunately, we know the birth date of King Demetre. It is considered to be 1093.³³ Accordingly, at the date of his death in 1156 he would be approximately 63 years old. Because of

Chkondideli (*Cronicler of David the Builder, the Life of King of the Kings David, kartlis tskhovreba*, vol. I, *the text precised according to all basic manuscripts* by S. K a u k h c h i s h v i l i. Tbilisi 1955 [in Georgian], 336). Though, the exact meaning of the term can be described with this well known interrelationship of a King and his great mentor.

32 The oldest precedent of using this term can be read in 11th century chronicler Juansher's work, as he describes the life of the King Vakhtang Gorgasali (5th c.), Juansher calls Saurmag "Tanashezrdili" (*Juansheri, The Life of Vakhtang Gorgasali, kartlis tskhovreba*, vol. I, *the text precised according to all basic manuscripts* by S. K a u k h c h i s h v i l i. Tbilisi 1955 [in Georgian], 188-189). The other cases of using this specific terms in the period of United Georgian Kingdom (11th-15th cc.) are mainly of 15th century. Noblemen raised with the King Aleksandre I the great (1412-1442) were: Molaretukhutsesi (the minister of finances) Taka Zevdginidze, his cousin Zevdgin Zevdginidze and Gamrekel Javakhishvili (*Georgian Historic Documents (14th-15th centuries), Corpus of Georgian Historic Documents, vol. II. Prepared by T. E n u k i d z e, N. T a r k h n i s h v i l i, B. L o m i n a d z e*. Tbilisi 2013 [in Georgian], 155, 164, 217). The noblemen raised with the King Giorgi VIII (1446-1476): Gabelisdzes (*Georgian Historical Documents (first half of 16th century), Corpus of Georgian Historic Documents, vol. IV. Prepared by M. S u r g u l a d z e*. Tbilisi 2016 [in Georgian], 476), Asat Vachnadze, Mestumre (the state official responsible for receiving foreign diplomats) Virshel and Beena Zuia-dashvilis, priest Giorgi Zhurulishvili and priest Ioane Oralelidze (*Georgian Historical Documents (15th century), Corpus of Georgian Historical Documents*, vol. III. Prepared by T. E n u k i d z e, D. K l d i a s h v i l i and M. S u r g u l a d z e. Tbilisi 2014 [in Georgian], 85, 111, 115, 134). The noblemen raised with the King Constantine II: Iotham Maghlanidze and Akhaltsikheli Kavtarisdze (*Georgian Historical Documents (15th century), Corpus of Georgian Historical Documents*, vol. III... 203, 272).

33 J. S t e p n a d z e, *Demetre I (Life and Kingship)*. Tbilisi 1990 [in Georgian], 5-7.

these reasons, those three persons multiply mentioned above should be considered to be much younger than Demetre and to be born after 1093.

Should it be considered accidental, that the three sources about “Gazrdiloba” of Demetre’s Royal Court have survived till our days?

In my opinion, it is not just a coincidence.

The reign of King Demetre was one of the most difficult periods for Georgian monarchy in the context of inner feudal and dynastical conflicts. According to some historical sources, several conspiracies had been organized to overturn Demetre’s kingship.

In the first half of 1140s, Prince Vakhtang, the younger half-brother of Demetre, conspired against him in covin with one of Demetre’s main warlords – Ivane Abuletisdze. Their activities had been divulged, as a result of what Vakhtang was blinded and exiled from the Kingdom. As for Ivane Abuletisdze, as it was already mentioned above, he was beheaded in 1145. His head was placed on Metekhi Bridge to show how Demetre would treat the traitors.³⁴

Another conspiracy came upon Demetre in 1150. In this case, the uprising was lead by his older son – Davit. He achieved serious success, as he killed and exiled many loyal supporters of his father. In spite of that, Demetre suppressed the rebelled son for that time.³⁵

Arabian chronicler Al-Farik visited Georgia in 1053 and inducted at Demetre’s service. Once, when he escorted King Demetre while he was travelling in his kingdom, the King offered him to have an audience with a military prisoner in one fortress. According to Demetre, he was a nobleman from the personal bodyguards of famous Seljukian warlord Najm al-Din Il-Ghazi, and was captured after Il-Ghazi’s defeat at the Didgori battle in 1121. Al-Farik was preparing to see the prisoner on the next day, but news about a rebellion in one province against Demetre came unexpectedly and they had to leave the place immediately.³⁶ This

³⁴ The conspiracy of Prince Vakhtang and Ivane Abuletisdze is a very interesting and tangled episode in the history of Georgia. A brief description of this process will be bellow in this article.

³⁵ M. Lortkipanidze, *External and Internal Political Situation of Georgia from the Second Quarter of 12th Century Till the Beginning of 1180-es, International Relationships, Essays from the History of Georgia*, vol. III. Tbilisi 1979 [in Georgian], 263-280

³⁶ E. Sikharulidze, *Al-Farik in Georgia, Semitologic Studies*, vol. II (1985) [in Georgian], 89.

source shows that King Demetre once again appeared to be a victim of inner feudal uprising in a period near to 1053.³⁷

In 1054/5, prince Davit came against his father once again and this time he achieved his goal. It seems, that because of Davit's plural loyal nobleman, King Demetre was forced to resign and became a monk in Gareji Monastery. Though, the relationship between the father and usurper son was so acute that monk Demetre was praying for Davit's death. In fact, Davit did die after 6 month of his coronation. Demetre left the Monastery, returned as a king and ruled for the rest few years of his live.³⁸

As we can see, the uprisings and conspiracies against Demetre were organised quite often, because of what those three valuable sources describe his personnel policy in church and secular administration should not be considered as a coincidence or accidentally survived evidence. Appointment of his devoted pupils as heads of the primarily important ecclesiastic centers such as Ishkhani and Tbeti, or on such important provinces as Shavsheti and Hereti provided vitally important peace for Demetre during his hard kingship.³⁹ Supposedly, the Royal Court of Demetre did not have enough resources and ability to raise up enough loyal personnel for the leading positions in each eparchy or province. Again, basing on the details of the discussed three valuable sources, it becomes obvious, that the limited amount of "Gazrdili" noblemen were assigned all across his Kingdom as in regard to the origins of the candidate of the promotion, also to the most problematic or highly important political or geographical affairs and needs. This policy seems to be more effective towards secular administrative order, but as we will see below, the origins of a "Gazrdili" played important role also in the case of church administrative order.

Dr. N. Berdzenishvili considered that the persons who grew up side by side with the prince and the heir of the kingdom were mainly the

³⁷ As we can see the riots during the reign of Demetre happened so often that one of them cited even in a whole different story described by the chronicler.

³⁸ M. Lortkipanidze, *External and Internal Political Situation of Georgia ...*263-280; E. Tsagareishvili, Demetre I <http://qim.ge/demetre%20I.html> [in Georgian].

³⁹ It is considered that King Demetre consecrated with the name Damiane in the Gareji Udabno Monastery (K. Kekelidze, *History of Ancient Georgian Literature*, vol. I. Tbilisi 1980. [in Georgian], 314). One of the main reasons of it may be considered the fact that as well as the Kolagiri Monastery Udabno Monastery was also located in the jurisdiction of Vardan Kolonkelisdze. This fact may once more emphasize the high importance and the results of the "Gazrdiloba" institution at the Royal Court of Demetre I.

sons of the local landlords of the “Sauplistsulo” – a land of royal domain which was governed by the prince.⁴⁰ This consideration was based on the historical documents of 15th century. Additional research is needed to affirm if this method was used much earlier than 15th century. Before that, let us review if the signs of this tradition can be noticed in the case of Demetre I “Gazrdiloba” institution. Were there any kind of connections of these three brought up persons to the historical and geographical areas where they carried their activities later?

Ishkhani fresco inscription is the only source about Egnati Ishkhneli and there is not even a little hint about the origins of this person. As for Pavle Mtbevari, the testament of Tbeti manuscript has a plenty of them.

As we already saw above, the nephews of Pavle – Nikoloz and Arseni were the arch-bishops of Kutaisi, Ioane was the arch-bishop of Ancha and Antoni – the supervisor of Opiza monastery. It is considered that Antoni was a famous ecclesiastic official Anton Saghirdze, who also was the arch-bishop of Kutaisi in 1183/4-1190 years, during the reign of Demetre’s granddaughter, Queen Tamar.⁴¹ In the end, the last mentioned nephew of Pavle was the celebrant of King Demetre.⁴² It is obvious that they were the representatives of an important feudal house exclusively closed to the Royal Court and privileged by King Demetre.⁴³ Some scholars think that the arch-bishops of Kutaisi – Nikoloz and Arseni – as well as Antoni belonged to Saghirdze’s noble family.⁴⁴ In this case Nikoloz, Arseni and Antoni should be considered as brothers – the sons of one of Pavle’s sisters – Tskhovrebai, Guarandukht or Nonai. Though, in my opinion,

⁴⁰ N. Berdzenishvili, *Nurturance...* 86.

⁴¹ T. Jojua, *Tetraevangelion (H-325) commissioned by Anton Saghirdze, Archbishop of Kutaisi (1183/1184-1190-es) (publication of “testaments”, codicological and source study analysis), Collection of Works: “Proceedings of the Institute of History and Ethnology”, vol. 10-11. (2010/2011) [in Georgian]*, 224.

⁴² As it was already mentioned above, according to the Ishkhani 1155-year inscription the celebrant of King Demetre was a different person. This fact was noticed by Valeri Silogava and Kakha Shengelia, though these authors did not discuss this issue as it was beyond the main theme of their work (*V. Silogava ... Tao-Klarjeti...* 40). Indeed, the issue of the celebrants of King Demetre is a fully different matter: first should be researched their interrelationship, the liturgic duties and characteristics of the celebrant in this very period, if it was allowed for one person have several celebrants and other issues. The answers of these questions would not have any essential influence on the results of this work, that is why it is not necessary to discuss these issues in this article.

⁴³ The testament also mentions the brothers of Pavle – Giorgi, Theodore and Kvirike. Though, only Pavle’s nephews carry the high ecclesiastic titles. Accordingly, 1. the brothers of Pavle were just ordinary monks and they had no children, or 2. the brothers of Pavle did have children and they were also the important representatives of this noble family, but Pavle mentioned only the nephews with high ecclesiastic titles.

⁴⁴ T. Jojua, *Tetraevangelion (H-325) commissioned by Anton Saghirdze...* 224.

this consideration needs more arguments than the fact of carrying the title of Kutaisi's arch-bishop by all of them in different periods. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to establish which nephew was of which sister. In fact, all five of them were not sons of only one sister of his, as the name Arseni repeats twice among their names. Brothers would not be named with the same name. Accordingly, these five persons were the sons of at least two sisters of Pavle. The sequence of a list they are mentioned in the testament should be written in the order of ecclesiastic hierarchy and not of the age (from senior to junior). First from these brothers and cousins are mentioned the persons who owned the highest hierarchical title among them – the arch-bishops of Kutaisi. The one with the less important title of arch-bishop of Ancha came next after them. He was followed by the supervisor of Opiza Monastery, as the lower hierarchical level than the arch-bishops. This list ends with the person who carried lowest title of them – the celebrant of the King.⁴⁵

From this group of six church officials who appear to be very close relatives to each other, three are connected to the spiritual and political centers of Klarjeti and Shavsheti regions (Ancha, Opiza in Klarjeti; Tbeti in Shavsheti). Therefore, by high probability, the origins of this noble family should be in these provinces. It seems that Pavle in his youth ages was specially selected from his family to be raised at the Royal Court by King himself as a future bishop and Eristavi of the region he belonged to with his aristocratic origins. As a result, the idea of the specific methodology of “Gazrdiloba” institution discussed by Dr. N. Berdzenishvili seems to be also used much earlier than 15th century, even at the Royal Court of Demetre I.

Why did Demetre I raise and after appoint a person as a political and ecclesiastic leader of Shavsheti region?

According to the survived historical sources, Shavsheti should not be considered as a problematic region of Demetre's Kingdom. Taking into a consideration the fact that the Mtbevari post united functions and duties of both – ecclesiastic and political leaders, this should be the main reason why Demetre especially needed a devoted candidate on this position. As

⁴⁵ It is less possible, but theoretically still possible that the age and ierarchic order coinsided with each other.

a result, the mentor King solved this need with appointing just one person brought up by him. Because of the rare characteristics of this equivocal administrative post, it is unknown whether it was transmitted hereditary (within the feudal house of the bishop) or Mtbevari was assigned each time to the different representatives of the local aristocratic families. In this context the case of Vardan Kolonkelisdze would be of a different kind.

The origins of Kolonkelisdze feudal house was not connected to Hereti region. They were landlords from the village Kolonketi in the river Mejuda gorge of Shida Kartli (Inner Kartli) region. The very first Kolonkelisdze who became the Eristavi of Hereti was Vardan’s father–Saghir.⁴⁶ He should have been nearly the same age as Demetre, as the King brought up Saghir’s older son. Yet, it is unknown how he deserved this high title and from whom he received it – from King Davit IV the “Builder” or his heir King Demetre I.⁴⁷ Though, whoever did this, it is a fact, that at the same time Demetre kept Saghir’s son at the Royal Court and raised him up.

In the cases of Egnati Ishkhneli and Pavle Mtbevari, Demetre would have had more freedom in his choice and he would have been able to appoint them to the places it was needed in the specific time. But in the case of Vardan Kolonkelisdze the situation would have been different, as his father was already the Eristavi of Hereti and Demetre would have raised Vardan especially as the future Eristavi of this region.

Kolonkelisdze’s case is also interesting in the context of an idea of the relationship between “Gazrdili” and Prince’s Domain (N. Berdzenishvili).

Prince’s Domain was one special part of King’s owned lands, which was governed by the King’s heir to receive needed experience for the future kingship.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ T. J o j u a , *The Portrait of Arsen I Kolonkelisdze...* 78-79.

⁴⁷ Davit IV the “Builder” fought for Hereti for many years. In 1117-1123 he finally achieved his goal and united this region to his kingdom (T. P a p a s h v i l i , *the Issues of the History of Hereti. The Essays from the Social, Economic and Political History (From Ancient Period till the First Quarter of 12th Century)*. Tbilisi 1970 [in Georgian], 234-236). Dr. M. Bakhtadze considers that after rejoining Kakheti and Hereti regions King Davit had abolished the previous existing Eristavates of this regions and established only two of them – Hereti and Kakheti (M. B a k h t a d z e , *Institute of Eristavate...* 120). This consideration is quite logical, though, because of the lack of the historical sources, the appointment of Kolonkeliszdes as the Eristavs of Hereti should not be undoubtably assigned to King Davit.

⁴⁸ N. A s a t i a n i , *Sauplistsulo, Soviet Encyclopedia of Georgia*, vol. 9 (1985), 148 [in Georgian].

Shida Kartli was a Prince's Domain already in the times of Prince Bagrat (future King Bagrat III Kourapalates) in 10th c.⁴⁹

Unfortunately, it is not known which region was a Prince's Domain in Demetre's youth. If the future research will reveal that this region was also Shida Kartli, as for Prince Bagrat before, an interesting historical picture would restore: Demetre and the local noble family of Kolonkelisdzes became close in the first half of 12th century, when Demetre ruled his lands in Shida Kartli. It seems that these local landlords achieved good authority at the Royal Court, as a result of what the ruler (?) of this feudal house – Saghir – was appointed as an Eristavi of Hereti. The facts that the older son of Saghir was raised personally by Demetre, and also that another son of Saghir – Arseni – later became Chkondideli-Mtsignobartukhutsesi, also speaks in support of this consideration.⁵⁰

Keeping the heir of a political official at the Royal Court has had additional two meanings:

1. For certain period of time, a person who was being raised at the Royal Court as a future state official, lived and grew up side by side with a prince. This process in general guaranteed the devotion also to the future king he grew up with;⁵¹

⁴⁹ An intimation about this fact cited in the historic source of 11th “Matiane Kartlisa”. In 970-es a King of Imier (Southern) Tao Davit III Kourapalates appointed Gurgen – the King of Amier (Northern) Tao – at Uplistsikhe, the capital of Shida Kartli region. He also left there Gurgen's little son Bagrat (future King Bagrat III Kourapalates), a prince of Western Georgia from mother's line, who was raised up by King Davit himself. The local noblemen of Shida Kartli were ordered to obbey King Gurgen and his son, after what Davit III Kourapalates went back to his own kingdom (*Matiane Kartlisa* (Cronicle of Georgia), *The Life of the King Demetre, kartlis tskhovreba*, vol. I, *the text precised according to all basic manuscripts* by S. K a u k h e c h i s h v i l i . Tbilisi 1955 [in Georgian], 274-276).

⁵⁰ It worth to mention that a sister of Demetre I – Tamar – after becoming a widow (she was a wife of Shah of Shirvan – Manuchahr III) came back to Georgia and built a monastery at Tigva in the river Prone george of Shida Kartli in 1152. She became a nun at the same monastery and lived there for the rest of her life. She was also buried in Tigva (I. M e g r e l i d z e , *Antiquities of Liakhvi Gorge*, vol. II. Tbilisi 1997 [in Georgian], 78-80). Tigva is also mentioned earlier that period. According to *Matiane Kartlisa*, in 980-es King Bagrat III came from Western Georgia to Shida Kartli to fight against insubordinate aristocracy of the region. Tigva was the place where he encamped with his army (*Matiane Kartlisa* (Cronicle of Georgia)...276). Accordingly, Tigva should be considered as the royal domain in these periods, and Sauplistsulo was the specific part of this domain (N. A s a t i a n i , *Sauplistsulo...* 148). Therefore, Shida Kartli seemed to be a *Sauplistsulo* land for King Demetre as well.

⁵¹ Although this was not an undoubtable guarantee. Even in the case of one precedent discussed above – Vardan Kolonkelisdze confronted his mentor's heir King Giorgi III in 1160-es (Sh. M e s k h i a , *Internal Political Situation and Official Order in 12th Century Georgia*. Tbilisi 1979. [in Georgian], 119-121).

2. The son of a nobleman kept at the Royal Court would have represented also an honorable hostage, equilibrated with the grandly respectable title of the King’s “Gazrdili”, to guarantee a devotion of his father and whole feudal house toward the central government.

As it was already mentioned above, the Royal Court of Demetre would have limited number of “Gazrdili” personnel, but it is less possible to be only three of them. So the question is: are there any hints about the other representatives of Demetre’s “Gazrdiloba” institution?

The Nephews of Pavle Mtbevari

Some issues about the nephews of Pavle Mtbevari were already discussed above. Accordingly, another question about them can be discussed: is there any possibility to consider the arch-bishops of Kutaisi – Nikoloz and Arseni, and also Ioane the arch-bishop of Ancha as the persons also brought up and appointed by Demetre, just like their uncle?

Even though these men were Pavle’s nephews, it is not necessary to consider them to be much younger than their uncle. As a matter of fact, there is a high possibility, that some of Pavle’s nephews belonged to the same generation as their uncle.

The approximated birth period of Pavle’s other nephew– Antoni Saghirdze – has already been assumed as 1120-30s.⁵² In 1161, when the testament of the Tbeti 2nd Four Gospels was written, Nikoloz, Arseni and Ioane would have been at least 35 years old.⁵³ The same can be said about Pavle. He was appointed as an arch-bishop personally by his mentor King Demetre, accordingly this act would have happened before Demetre’s death in 1156/7. At this year Pavle would be at least 35 years old. Because of these reasons, the close relationship between their feudal ancestral with the Royal Court and a very high status of church officials, it is quite possible to consider Pavle’s nephews – Nikoloz, Arseni and Ioane also to be brought up by the King Demetre.

⁵² T. J o j u a , *Tetraevangelion (H-325) commissioned by Anton Saghirdze...* 229.

⁵³ According to ecclesiastical laws, a candidate of becoming a bishop should not be younger than 35 years old. (E. G a b i d z a s h v i l i , *The Codex of Ruis-Urbnisi Church Council (philological and textological research)*. Tbilisi 1978 [in Georgian], 96-103).

Brothers of Vardan Kolonkelisdze

As the family of Pavle Mtbevari, the feudal house of Vardan Kolonkelisdze also seems to be in close relationship with the Royal Court, as his father was the first Eristavi of Hereti, appointed by the king, Vardan himself was raised personally by the King Demetre and his younger brother Arseni became Tchkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi in 1170/2-1184 years. But comparing to Pavle and his nephews, Arseni was promoted after more than a decade. That is why the probability to consider Arsen Kolonkelisdze also as a representative of Demetre's "Gazrdiloba" institution is less possible.⁵⁴

Though, to review the other persons who carried the title of Tchkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi in this period (second half of 11th century–first half 13th century), we will see that most of them were raised with or by the kings: Giorgi Tchkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi, the first state official of his kind, grew up with Davit IV the "Builder" (Demetre's father) and was his mentor. Anton Gnostavidze was raised by the King Giorgi III (Demetre's son) and appointed as Tchkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi by Giorgi's daughter Queen Tamar.⁵⁵ Queen Rusudan, daughter of the Queen Tamar, brought up and appointed Arsen III Tchkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi.⁵⁶ As we can see, the Tchkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi of the periods of Demetre's father, son, granddaughter and great-grandchild were all raised at the Royal Court. On the other hand, these facts may support the consideration that Arsen I Kolonkelisdze was also raised personally by King Demetre.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ In addition it should be mentioned that on one of the frescoes of Kolagiri monastery, at the head of the 11th person painted on the wall, there was a hardly damaged identifying inscription. According to Dr. T. Barnaveli, the first word of the 3rd line ended with the letters "[...]tri" and was followed by name Giorgi (*The Inscriptions of the Historical Monuments of Kakheti, the Collection Composed and Research by T. Barnaveli*. Tbilisi 1961 [in Georgian], 57). Unfortunately we will never know if there was another mentioning of King Demetre in the form of Dimitri as in the inscription Vardan Kolonkelisdze and if there was any kind of relationship toward this representative of Kolonkelisdze's family as well.

⁵⁵ "Istoriani da azmani sharavantedani" (*The life of Queen Tamar*)...32-33.

⁵⁶ *Georgian Historic Documents (9th-13th centuries), Corpus of Georgian Historic Documents*, vol. I... 118.

⁵⁷ After Giorgi Chkondideli his post was taken by another King Davit's trusted person named Svimon in 1118-1140-es (*Central and Local Official Order in Medieval Georgia...* 273). He is an author of the Ubisa church reconstructing inscription of 1141 year, that also mentions King Demetre (*Corpus of Georgian Inscriptions, Lapidary Inscriptions*, vol. 2, *the Inscriptions of Western Georgia, part 1, 9th-13th centuries. Prepared for Publication by V. Silogava*. Tbilisi 1980 [in Georgian], 140-141). Yet it is unknown whether he was related or not to the Royal "Gazrdiloba" institution as well as other Chkondidelis of this period.

The Bishop of Dmanisi

On the South facade of the Dmanisi Sioni Cathedral’s south chapel a constructive inscription of 1142 year is located. The inscription is hardly damaged, although some parts of it can be still read. According to the content of the survived text, the author of the inscription was King Demetre, who achieved some kind of military or political success and appointed a bishop at Dmanisi. The name of this bishop remains unknown. It is also unknown if this person was also raised personally by King Demetre.⁵⁸ Though, considering the fact that before we had only two sources about appointment of the bishops by King Demetre and in both cases these bishops were brought up by him, there is a high possibility that in 1142 King Demetre also appointed his trusted raised candidate as Dmaneli bishop. This consideration looks more possible if we take into account the conflict between Demetre and the governor of Dmanisi Ivane Abuletisdze and the huge importance of this problematic city during the reign of Demetre I.

Dmanisi was one of the most important cities in medieval Georgia, especially during the reign of Demetre I. Taking this city by force in 1123 was the final episode of uniting Georgia by Davit the “Builder”, father of Demetre. After several years, after death of King Davit, Seljukian forces recaptured the city and newly coronated Demetre had to win the city back in 1125.⁵⁹ Though, Dmanisi and the surrounding areas remained as the main battlefield between Georgians and Seljuks of Arran. During the permanent military conflict of 1128-1141 the success was altering between King Demetre and Atabeg Kara Sonkur. Georgian forces were mainly lead by the governor of Dmanisi Ivane Abuletisdze. Death of Kara Sonkur in 1141 and the riots that followed in the Seljuk’s empire secured military and political advantage of Demetre in the region. Although Abuletisdze’s were devoted noblemen to the Royal Court ever since Davit the “Builder”, in between 1140-1145 years, Ivane Abuletisdze appeared to be one of the main participants of the conspiracy led by Demetre’s

⁵⁸ *Epigraphic Corpus of Kvemo (Lower) Kartli, vol. I, Dmanisi District. Prepared by A. Boshishvili, S. Matitashvili, I. Mirijanashvili, G. Otkhmezuri, N. Zhghenti, D. Tsutskiridze, E. Khaindrava. Tbilisi 2017 [in Georgian], 148-152; N. Zhghenti, the Inscription of the South Side Chapel of Dmanisi Sioni Cathedral (Unknown Text, Content and Date), Gori State Teaching University Faculty of Humanities Centre of History and Archaeology Collection of the Works. № 17 (2) (2019), 654-671 [in Georgian].*

⁵⁹ M. Lortkipanidze, *External and Internal Political Situation of Georgia ...*264.

half-brother – Vakhtang. As it was already mentioned above, Vakhtang was blinded and exiled from the Kingdom, as for Ivane Abuletisdze, first he was kept in Dmanisi prison, and after that, in 1145, he was beheaded exemplarily.⁶⁰

Thus, the city of Dmanisi and the region itself was extremely important and problematic area as on account of foreign aggressors, also on the inner opposition. It is obvious, that Dmanisi was the place where King desperately needed his trusted man. Therefore, according to these reasons and already existing precedents of the specific characteristics of King Demetre’s ecclesiastic personnel policy, the bishop of Dmanisi appointed in 1142 with the patronage of the King may be also considered as one more “Gazrdili” of Demetre.⁶¹

Heritage

The above discussed three historical persons brought up by King Demetre carried their activities in the second half of his reign and even after his death, during the reign of his son – Giorgi III.

There is no data about the relationships between King Giorgi and Egnati Ishkhneli.

⁶⁰ The historical processes of 1128-1145 years – the history of Dmanisi city, the war with Arranian Seljuks, the issues of Abuletisdzes – are quite extensive and additional research is needed. It is extremely hard to define an exact chronology of these events, as the sources of the later period describing these processes are full of anachronism. Solving these problems in this article is irreverence. Below is the list of general books and articles for a person interested in these problematic issues: M. Lortkipanidze, *External and Internal Political Situation of Georgia ...* 263-280; G. Djaparidze, *Georgia and the Near-Eastern Islamic...* 85-93; Mkhitar Ayrivank, *the Chronographical History. Translation from Ancient Armenian, Preface, Comments and Indexes* by L. Davlianidze. Tbilisi 1990 [in Georgian], 80-107; *Old Georgian Translated Versions of Stepanoz Orbeliani’s the “Life of Orbelians”, Georgian and Armenian texts, Preface and Indexes* prepared by E. Tsagareishvili. Tbilisi 1978 [in Georgian], 40; P. Topuria, *Political Units of Eastern Transcaucasia in 11th-12th centuries*. Tbilisi 1975 [in Georgian], 227-228; G. Djaparidze, *On the History of Abuletisdze Family. Researches into the History of Georgia and the Near East*. vol. I. Tbilisi 2012, 103-111 [in Georgian], 103-111; G. Djaparidze, *A Few Episodes from the Period of Demetre I’s Reign in Arabic Historical Sources. Researches into the History of Georgia and the Near East*. vol. I. Tbilisi 2012 [in Georgian], 161-172; L. Davlianidze, *Mkhitar Gosh, Chronicle of Albania. Georgian Source-Studies*, vol. II, (1968), 27-49 [in Georgian], 27-49.

⁶¹ As a matter of fact, a person appointed at Dmanisi Cathedral in 1142 should have been at least 35 years old at the time. Accordingly, he should have been born at least at 1106/7 years. As it was already mentioned above, Demetre is considered to be born at 1093. In this case the difference between King Demetre and the Dmaneli bishop he appointed would be 13-14 years. If this kind of age calculation is correct, the probability of this unnamed Dmaneli to be also brought up by King Demetre seems quite realistic.

According to the 1161 manuscript’s testament, Pavle Mtbevari is an active supporter of King Giorgi.

As for Vardan Kolonkelidze, despite the fact that he was raised by Demetre, the strife occurred between this “Gazrdili” and Giorgi.

Still, the “Gazrdiloba” tradition appeared to be strong even at the Royal Court of Giorgi III.

According to the surviving historical sources, by the number of the noblemen raised at the Royal Court, King Demetre can be compared only to his son Giorgi III, as his son had raised Anton Gnolistavidze, Chiaberi and Kubasari.⁶² As the previous generation of Demetre’s raised persons, these “Gazrdils” also carried their activities mainly in the second half of Giorgi III reign and during the reign of his heir Queen Tamar. Antoni Gnolistavidze was a vizier of Tamar. Later he was appointed as Tchkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi.⁶³ Chiaber was a Mejinibetukhutsesi⁶⁴ at King Giorgi’s Royal Court. After that, he was promoted to Mandaturtukhutsesi⁶⁵ and Amirspasalari⁶⁶ by Queen Tamar.⁶⁷ As for Kubasari, who occupied the positions of Mandaturtukhutsesi and Amirspasalari in times of King Giorgi, Queen Tamar was forced to devote him because of his lowborn origins.⁶⁸

These “Gazrdils” of Giorgi III is also an interesting issue to work on and diverges the main theme of this article. A brief review about them was needed to emphasize the importance of “Gazrdiloba” institution also at the Royal Court of Demetre’s heir. Moreover, this tradition appeared to be actual also for the daughter of King Demetre – Rusudan. Though, conversely from her father and brother, she did not raise the members of aristocratic families, but rather the future Monarchs of Georgia – Davit Soslani and her niece Tamar.⁶⁹

62 The historical source confirms, that Anton and Chiaber were raised by King Giorgi III, as for Kubasari, the chronicler mentions him as “raised by the lords” (“*Istoriani da azmani sharavandedtani*” (*The life of Queen Tamar*)... 19, 30, 32-33). That is why it can not be exactly concluded whether Kubasari was brought up by King Giorgi as well as Anton and Chiaber, or not.

63 *Central and Local Official Order in Medieval Georgia*... 274.

64 The state official responsible for the royal stables.

65 Minister of interior affairs in medieval Georgia.

66 The chief-commander of army in medieval Georgia.

67 *Central and Local Official Order in Medieval Georgia*... 116.

68 *Ibid.*, 115.

69 “*Istoriani da azmani sharavandedtani*” (*The life of Queen Tamar*)... 29, 46-47.

Conclusions and Observations

This article was the first precedent of researching one specific issue of the historical tradition of “Gazrdiloba” – the “Gazrdiloba” institution at the Royal Court of Demetre I. As a result, basing on different historical sources, three very important persons of 12th century – Egnati the Arch-bishop of Ishkhani, Pavle the Arch-bishop of Tbeti and Eristavi of Shavsheti and Vardan Kolonkelisdze, Eristavi of Hereti and Monapire – have been identified as a specific group of noblemen brought up and promoted by King Demetre I. On the other hand, basing on several interesting hints, some historical persons are emphasized and considered as the other candidates from this group. These people may have been: the nephews of Pavle Mtbevari – Arch-bishops of Kutaisi Nikoloz and Arseni, Ioane, the Arch-bishop of Ancha; Brother of Vardan Kolonkelisdze – Arsen I Chkondidel-Mtsignobartukhutsesi; The bishop of Dmanisi appointed at 1142 year.

Also, the reasons and the priorities were emphasized, basing on what had these candidates been selected to be raised on the Royal Court and in which direction they were specialized and promoted afterwards. The selection of the candidate depended on the historico-geographical principle, concentrating on where he belonged as a member of aristocratic family. The same historico-geographical principle was used later, when a candidate was promoted to his position. In three confirmed cases of “Gazrdilis” of Demetre, these persons were regrouped toward the most important ecclesiastic and political centers.

As the number of King’s “Gazrdili” persons was limited, the problem was solved by giving them the most important ecclesiastic (Ishkhneli), or both – ecclesiastic and political titles combined together (Mtbevari and Eristavi of Shavsheti; Eristavi of Hereti and Monapire). This policy of King Demetre shows how the limited recourses of “Gazrdiloba” institution have been used for maximal results.

A young person who was selected to be raised by the King, apart from the highest privilege of the feudal era at the same time was an honorable hostage, as this status guaranteed a loyalty of the aristocratic family he belonged.

Apart from these conclusions and observations, this work filled a gap in the Georgian historiography about the “Gazrdiloba” institution at the Royal Court of King Demetre I. Without any exaggeration, in the context of this historical tradition, King Demetre was an outstanding and incomparable monarch in the history of Georgia.

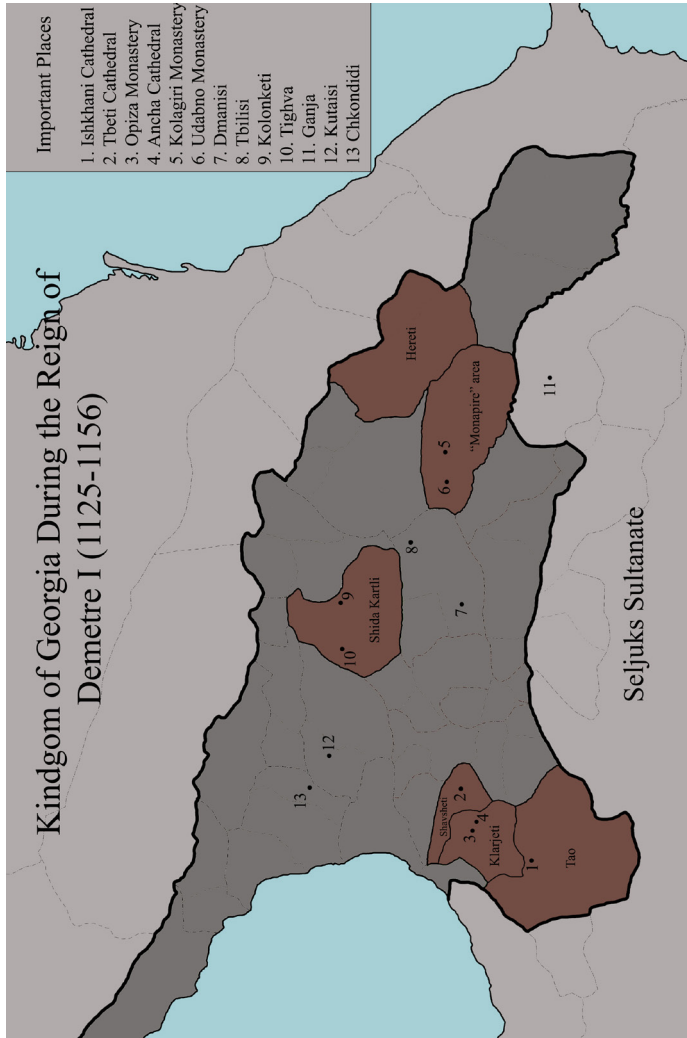


Fig.1 Kingdom of Georgia During the Reign of Demetre I (1125-1156)

An Institution of “Gazrdiloba” (Nurturance) at the Royal Court of the King of Georgia Demetre I (1125-1156/7)

The article is about the specific issues of King Demetre I (1125-1156/7) Royal Court's tradition of “Gazrdiloba” – an institution nurturance in feudal age Georgia. In three different kinds of historical sources there are three confirmed cases of noblemen which were personally brought up by King Demetre. These are:

1. The fresco inscription of Ishkhani Cathedral written on behalf of Egnati Ishkhaneli (the bishop of Ishkhani) in 1155;
2. The testament of 1161-year manuscript (Tbeti 2nd Four Gospels – Q-929) written on behalf of Pavle Mtbevari (the bishop of Tbeti);
3. The fresco inscription of Eristavi (a governor) Vardan Kolonkelidze at Kolagiri Monastery.

In all three cases these sources directly name King Demetre as a person who raised up and promoted these noblemen at the leading ecclesiastic and political positions of the period.

In spite of the fact that these sources are well known in scientific literature and the institution of “Gazrdiloba” is being researched by different scholars for decades, these cases related to King Demetre remained unstudied. Moreover, none of these scholars have even mentioned the nurturance achievements of this King, who, according to the survived historical sources, had the highest number of brought up personnel of church and secular officials.

The issues, such as the origins of the nurtured ones of King Demetre, the historical and geographical reasons of selection and further promotion of the candidates, the characteristics of the specific cases, and the late results of this process are discussed in details.

After researching the theme and issues related to King Demetre and “Gazrdiloba” tradition at his Court, several new conclusions and valuable observations have been received as for the details of these specific precedents, also for the whole institution of “Gazrdiloba”.

Key words – Gazrdiloba, nurtured, Royal Court, raise up, brought up

CLOTHES OF GEORGIAN KINGS AND FEUDAL LORDS
IN THE 12TH-13TH CENTURIES
(ACCORDING TO THE FRESCOES OF BETANIA,
KINTSVISI, KHOBI
AND THE BAS-RELIEF OF HARICHAVANK)

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Visual materials (frescoes, bas-reliefs, miniatures) that are preserved in Georgia and Armenia give us a clear idea of the clothes worn in the highest secular aristocratic circles of Georgia in the 12th -13th centuries. The focus of this article will be on men's clothing from this period.

We will begin discussing the topic with a look at the headwear. In this regard, great importance is attached to the image of King George I, son of Bagrat III (975-1014) the first King of united Georgia, which is preserved in a manuscript kept in the National Library of Spain, in the so-called "Madrid Skylitzes". The miniature depicts the escape of the Georgian ruler from the Byzantine Emperor Basil II, although in this case more interesting are the headgears of the two monarchs (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Madrid Skylitzes

While Basil wears on his head a tall gold crown adorned with white pearls, George is without a crown and appears instead to be shown in a helmet. However, there were helmet-like hats in Georgia during this period, and we can find parallels between such headgear and frescoes dating from the same era. These are the magnificent frescoes of the Ktitors¹ inside the Church of the Archangel in Zemo Krikhi (10th-11th century) in western Georgia: here the noblemen wear three almost identical hats (Fig. 2). Two of the hats are shaped like cylindrical helmets, and the third is in the shape of a lancet arch (Fig. 3-5). All three hats are finished with a decorative element – a peculiar spike. The ornaments on them lead us to believe that the frame of the hat was mostly covered with cloth or leather. They are also wearing furs. Georgians often used furs of sable, marten, squirrel and rabbit, and, in the charter of Nikortsinda (10th c.), fabric with fox fur (which at that time was considered expensive) is mentioned, the value of which was equivalent to one cornfield².



Fig. 2. Church of the Archangel in Zemo Krikhi (10th-11th century) in western Georgia

¹ Ktitor (Greek: κτήτωρ) or ktitor meaning “founder”. *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*. Edited by Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen Westerfield Tucker, Oxford 2006.

² Iv. J a v a k h i s h v i l i, *Materials for the History of the Material Culture of the Georgian Nation*, Vol. 3. Clothing, textiles and handicrafts; Vol.4. *Military equipment and military affairs*. Georgia, The USSR Academy, Institute of Georgian Art History, Vol. III-IV, Tbilisi 1962, p. 116.

Byzantine historian Eustathius of Thessalonica writes about the Iberian style “smoky-coloured” hat. The colour of the hat had a symbolic meaning, as Byzantine nobleman David Komnenos had worn such a hat, and it was assumed that the nobleman would cover in smoke every opponent who did not defer to his authority.³ Such a symbolic meaning attached to headdress was a common practice among the peoples of both ancient and Western Europe.

Ivane Javakhishvili considered such hats to be a sign of the Eristavt-eristavi’s⁴ position, and for this reason he wrote: “Much importance is attached to the veil depicted in the painting of Vachia Eristavi⁵ (Zemo Krikhi). Such veils were mainly worn by representatives of the military. Firstly they put on a helmet, and then they had a veil let down on both sides. The veil was of transparent fabric, and used more as decoration than as a headscarf. It was impossible to wear a helmet all the time because of its weight (it had to be made of metal / steel), and the riders [only] used to put it on before battle.

It is noteworthy that the Eristavi of Racha⁶ wore cloth helmets. The most noticeable are with feathers. It is hard to say what purpose the feathers served. In general, the feathers have been shown solely to give a sense of decoration of the headdress. Neither the Persians nor the Arabs wore such headdress.”⁷



Fig. 3-5. Two of the hats are shaped like cylindrical helmets, and the third is in the shape of a lancet arch

³ *Georgica. Information of Byzantine Writers on Georgia*. Vol.VIII – *Texts were published with Georgian translation and explanations were added by S. Ka uk h i sh v i l i, Foreign Sources on Georgia*, Book XXII – Tbilisi 1970, p.16.

⁴ “duke of dukes” or archduke.

⁵ Literally, “head of the nation”; equivalent to the Byzantine *strategos*, and normally translated into English as “duke”. In Georgian aristocratic hierarchy, it was the title of the third rank of prince and governor of a large province.

⁶ Highland area in western Georgia.

⁷ I v . J a v a k h i s h v i l i , *Mentioned work*, pp. 44-45.

It should also be noted that the shape of the headdress worn by Vachia and Giorgi I in the “Madrid Skylitzes” corresponds to the following statement of Vakhushti Batonishvili⁸: “In the time when one king ruled the country, they wore a different type of hat: an elongated headgear made of fur, pointed upwards”⁹

In order to study the subject of interest to us, great importance is attached to the scene of the coronation of Demetrius I of Georgia (1125-1156), King of Svaneti¹⁰, as portrayed in the fresco of the Church of Matskhvarishi (Fig. 6). Besides the king, the fresco includes important illustrations of two men standing below who are holding the monarch’s sword. Their attire, in particular the pointed hats not seen in any other Georgian frescoes or other visual materials, is the subject of interest to us (the crown of King Demetrius is not the subject of our interest at this time, and is indeed a separate topic of discussion).

These hats are long, in the shape of a cone, with a turban-like strip of cloth at the base (Fig. 7). The headdresses in this fresco of 1140, remind us of the Ebstorf Map, created in 1234 (Fig. 8), which depicts the Caucasus, including Georgia and its inhabitants.¹¹ After studying this document, historian Alexander Tvaradze came to the conclusion that the exit of Derbend depicted on the map was guarded by Georgians.

It is noteworthy that before the creation of the Ebstorf map, several Western European sources confirm the existence of high-pointed hats in Georgia. Such a reference was made, for example, by an anonymous author of the late twelfth century. However, the main source in this regard was made by the German pilgrim Titmar, whose reference dates back to about 1217.¹²

In the 12th-13th centuries, the headdresses popular in Georgia were significantly lower than those worn by the persons depicted in the fresco at Matskhvarishi. The best example of this is the fresco of Rati Surameli¹³, the Grand-duke of Kartli and son of Bega Surameli, a nobleman of George III’s (1156-1184) epoch (Fig. 9). Rati is portrayed wearing a large hat in

⁸ (Vakhushti) (1696–1757) was a Georgian royal prince (batonishvili), geographer, historian and cartographer.

⁹ Vakhushti Batonishvili, *Description of the Kingdom of Georgia*. The text is based on all the main manuscripts established by S. K a u k h c h i s h v i l i . Collection: *Life of Kartli*, Vol. IV, Tbilisi 1973, p. 45.

¹⁰ Highland area in western Georgia.

¹¹ A. T v a r a d z e , *Georgia and the Caucasus in European Sources Based on Historiographical and Cartographic Materials of the XII-XVI Centuries*, Tbilisi 2004, pp. 236-238.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 236-238.

¹³ Duke of South Georgia.

this fresco of Vardzia¹⁴. From our point of view, this type of headgear would be worn by a state official, indicating the social and political status of Surameli.

The hat is in the form of a half-cut pear, at the top of which the stem looks like a pennant. To the front there is pinkish ribbon edging the central detail that is embellished with arrows, and there is a tall, rectangular-shaped back attached on the reverse side (Fig. 10). The headgear undoubtedly had an ostentatious appearance, signifying stature or position. Such hats with slightly different elevated cones were quite popular in 15th century Europe. The attire of men depicted on rugs made in Belgium in 1475-1490s illustrate this fact well (the rugs are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, inventory number 6-1887) (Fig. 11). Nonetheless, there is much resemblance to be found between the presented hat and the headgear of a man depicted in an al-Jazari manuscript (Fig. 12). The man, painted in Syria or Egypt in the 13-14 cc., is wearing a hat almost identical to that of Surameli's headdress, which leads us to believe that this attribute of vestment arrived in Georgia from precisely this region.¹⁵



Fig. 6 Demetrius I King of Georgia (1125-1156), Fig. 7 as portrayed in the fresco of the Church of Matskhvarishi.

¹⁴ Vardzia is a cave monastery site in southern Georgia. The main period of construction was the second half of the twelfth century.

¹⁵ Cat. 18. *Automaton Pouring Wine*. Miniature from a copy of al-Jazari's *Kitab fi ma'arif al-hiyal al-handasiyya* (Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices) Syria or Egypt; Ramadan 715 H = December 1315 The leaf H: 31.5; W: 22 cm. *The David Collection. Copenhagen*. See also: Folio from a copy of *Automata* by al-Jazari, *Kitab fi ma'arif al-hiyal al-handasiyya* (The book of knowledge of ingenious mechanical devices), recto: Mechanical Device for Pouring a Drink; Mamluk period, 1354. *Henri Vever collection, Smithsonian*. Accession Number S1986.108.



Fig. 8. The Ebstorf Map (ca. 1234).

Shergil Dadiani, Eristavi of Samegrelo¹⁶ wears the same type of hat, but slightly altered. His headdress is so richly decorated that we think it must have been an attribute of the Odisha's nobility. The hat is finished with a golden ball headband. We see a clover ornament at its tip, and a row of pearls at the base. A similarly graceful ornament adorns the entire length of the hat on the right side. Presumably, these ornaments would more likely have been made of metal than embroidery. The headdress is finished with a triangular-shaped fur decoration. At its centre we also see a triangular ornament decorated with pearls. The manner, richness, and abundance of pearls adorning the headdress clearly indicate the stature of the owner (Fig. 13). For this reason, Ivane Javakhishvili remarked that “men’s headdresses differed among officials according to their position... The most noticeable and characteristic clothing in the painting of officials is the headwear. The headgear differentiated their social position. Headgear is also a feature of national difference.”¹⁷

We would also like to discuss the topic of the clothing of this period: In Khobi and Vardzia, the garments of Shergil Dadiani and Rati Surameli are very similar; they look much like the Vachiani clothes depicted in Zemo Krikhi. The robe was tight at the waist and the hem was wider. The colour of the embroidery on the sleeves and edges of the costume were golden. In the attire of the Ktitors of Zemo Khirkhi, the viewer’s attention is drawn to the sleeves in particular, which are decorated with distinct embroidery.

¹⁶ Megrelia is a historic province in the western part of Georgia, formerly known as Odishi. It is primarily inhabited by the Megrelians, a subgroup of Georgians.

¹⁷ Iv. Javakhishvili, *Mentioned work*, pp. 45-46.

The embroidery reveals ornaments of Arabic inscription, called Khufu. In the Islamic world, fabric with inscriptions was particularly popular and prized until the 14th century. The earliest samples of such ornaments appeared in different shapes – medallions or images – and they were only used for the attire of high officials of the royal court, ambassadors and even caliphs. The tradition of Khufu ornaments spread throughout the Sasanian, Coptic and Byzantine cultures, but fabric with Khufu ornaments was particularly popular in Fatimid Egypt in the 11th-13th cc. The inscriptions on the fabric were generally used in order to give praise to the Lord, although ornaments often had a purely decorative meaning as well. The tradition of using Khufu ornaments soon gained popularity throughout Georgia, but as can be seen from the embroidery adorning the attire of Rati Surameli, Shergil Dadiani and Vachiani, the Khufu ornaments on the Georgian fabric of that period had lost their original function and, despite maintaining the outline, were loaded with purely decorative connotation.¹⁸ However, it should also be emphasized that during the era mentioned, sleeves decorated with Khufu embroidery were an essential attribute of the clothing of nobility. The noblemen's attire also included another peculiarity, which were the specially cut white details (kбилanebi) placed at the hem of the rear, which probably gave the garment an imposing appearance when the wearer was moving.

Based on all of the above, it is believed that from the 11th century until the beginning of the 13th century, the official clothes of Georgian noblemen did not change significantly and their configuration was principally of a single form.¹⁹

In the first half of the 13th century, an interesting trend occurred concerning royal attire, and the impression is given that Georgian official attire (other than the hat) was very similar to the king's attire, or rather that the royal attire had become lighter and less pompous. If in the early period Georgian kings (Bagrat III, George III, David IV, Demetrius I) mostly wore robes that were sewn with heavy fabrics and richly adorned with precious stones, we do not see the same attire on the frescoes of King Lasha Giorgi²⁰.

¹⁸ Mz. K e t s k h o v e l i, *Medieval Decorative Fabrics from Georgia*, Tbilisi 1988, pp.53-54.

¹⁹ About Georgian clothes of the 12th -13th centuries, see: I v. J a v a k h i s h v i l i, *Materials for the History of the Material Culture of the Georgian Nation*, Vol. 3, *Clothing, textiles and handicrafts*; Vol. 4, *Military equipment and military affairs*. Georgia. The USSR Academy, Institute of Georgian Art History, Vol. III-IV, Tbilisi 1962; K a l a n d i a G i o r g i, Z a m b a k h i d z e I r a k l i, S a g a n e l i d z e I r i n e: *Fabric from Georgia*. Vol. I. Tbilisi 2017. 3. *idem: Fabric from Georgia, Headwear of the Georgians*. Vol. II, Tbilisi 2019.

²⁰ George IV, also known as Lasha Giorgi (1191–1223), of the Bagrationi Dynasty, was a king of Georgia from 1213 to 1223.



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

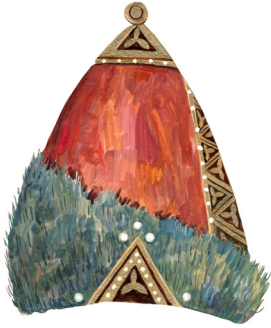


Fig. 13



Fig. 14

However, in our opinion, this is conditioned by certain circumstances. Three frescoes depicting Lasha Giorgi have survived to this day: in Kintsvisi, Bertubani and Betania. In the last mentioned fresco, Lasha, at the end of the row, stands next to his grandfather and mother. His attire, including the crown, is very plain compared to the imposing and resplendent crown and kerchief worn by Tamar the Great²¹. Lasha's headdress is so modest that it cannot truly be called the crown of a King, as such it would appear that Lasha is presented in more princely clothes and is wearing the appropriate headgear (intended for Batonishvili) (Fig. 14). It is logical that in medieval Georgia, as in Europe, there was an institution of the prince with proper attributes and clothing. That is why we never see Lasha's robes sewn with heavy fabrics or decorated with ornaments; the artist painted him on the frescoes as a prince and co-ruler, not as a King dressed in royal clothes...

Lasha Giorgi's royal clothes as depicted in the frescoes of Bertubani and Kintsvisi are particularly noteworthy. In Bertubani, Lasha is wearing a very elegant robe with delicate, perfectly executed ornaments, the colours of which adhere to Georgian rules of depiction that have analogies found nowhere else. The embroidery of the king's apparel, crown and sleeves is similar, implying that the shape, style and embroidery of the costume were presumably created especially for the Georgian king (Fig. 15).

²¹ Tamar the Great (c. 1160 – 18 January 1213) reigned as the Queen of Georgia from 1184 to 1213, presiding over the apex of the Georgian Golden Age.



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17

Tamar's son's clothes are covered in fur, pleated at the back, while at the front there is a rectangular shape cut out (Fig. 16). Ivane Javakhishvili also paid special attention to Lasha-Giorgi's costume, and wrote: "Lasha-Giorgi's clothes (Bertubani) are the most noticeable among the attire of kings; it is very difficult to say what kind of dress it is or what name it has. It looks like a robe or costume (Kabacha) that was not only meant for noblemen. This costume is fastened at the front. It is characterized by a double-pleated fold and a strange cut"²²

The exact same costume (Kabacha) is worn by Lasha Giorgi in the fresco of Kintsvisi, but in this case the colour of the robe is different and it is not adorned with embroidery over the whole, although the shape and hem are rectangular (Fig. 17). It seems that during the reign of Tamar and Lasha-Giorgi, members of the royal family or high-ranking feudal lords who were very close to the King also had the right to wear this elegant dress (that is why Ivane Javakhishvili remarked: "This costume was not meant only for Kings").

This view is reinforced by one of the bas-reliefs preserved in the famous Harichavank Cathedral in Armenia (Fig. 18) (photo courtesy of historian Vladimir Kekelia). The most beautiful aspect of this architectural complex is the main church (Surb Astvatsatsin) of Virgin Mary, built in 1201 by Ivan and Zakaria Mkhargrdzeli. The Ktitors of the temple are depicted in the bas-relief on the eastern façade of the church. It is important for the reader to understand the identity, meaning and role of the persons in the Georgian royal court who were depicted in the bas-relief. Amirspasalari Zakaria II was a Georgian "Mandaturtukhutsesi"²³ from 1206 until his death. Queen Tamar also awarded him the title of "Shahinshahi" and he is described as "placed in the seat of the Armenian King", he was a great ruler, owning part of the lands of Kvemo Kartli, the Armenian communities annexed by the Kingdom of Georgia, as well as the cities of Rustavi and Anis.²⁴ His brother Ivan held the titles of Msakhurtukhutsesi²⁵ (1191-1205), Atabagi (1212-1227), and also Amirspasalari (1212-1227). From the last decade of the twelfth century to the end of the 1220s, he held all the highest positions in the Georgian royal court.²⁶

²² Iv. Javakhishvili, *Mentioned work*, p. 38.

²³ In a modern sense, his position can be described as Minister of Internal Affairs.

²⁴ *Encyclopedic Dictionary: Central and Local Official Formation in Medieval Georgia*, Tbilisi 2017, p. 117.

²⁵ Msakhurtukhutsesi was a majordomo of the royal court or master of the royal household in feudal Georgia. He was in charge of the palace and its finances. "Within his province was the supervision of the treasury, the bedchamber, the head of bed keepers, the head of treasurers etc".

²⁶ *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, p. 92.

It is therefore not accidental that the Mkhargrdzeli²⁷ brothers shown in the bas-relief of the Temple of Harichavank also wear costumes resembling the royal garment of Lasha Giorgi. After all, the Mkhargrdzeli brothers, with their power and influence, stood above the Dukes and the Grand-Dukes of Georgia. However, the bas-relief of the same Harichavank Cathedral and the way the Mkhargrdzeli brothers are dressed clearly show the hierarchical boundary that existed between the highest officials of the royal government and their subordinates. The headdresses of the Mkhargrdzeli brothers in the mentioned bas-relief (as well as in the fresco of Kober²⁸ Church) are identical to the hats of Georgian Dukes Rati Surameli and Shergil Dadiani, whereas their costumes are similar to robes worn by princes and nothing like royal attire.



Fig. 18

²⁷ Mkhargrdzeli were a noble Georgian-Armenian dynasty of at least partial Kurdish origin. Their name Mkhargrdzeli meant long-armed.

²⁸ Kobayr is a 12th century Georgian monastery located in the village Kobayr within Lori marz, Armenia.

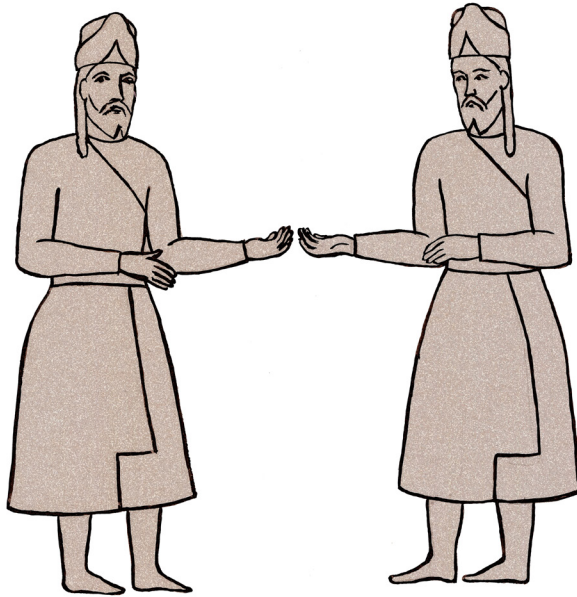


Fig. 19

Finally, we would like to focus on one interesting detail: the well-preserved bas-relief of Haritchi also shows the hairstyle of the Mkhargrdzeli Brothers (Fig. 19). The academic Ivane Javakhishvili remarks on the style of haircut during this period: “In the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries the hair was kept rather long. Everyone had curls.”²⁹ This is how the hair of the Mkhargrdzelis looks: their long curls are down to their shoulders, they have exactly the same hairstyle as that of Lasha Giorgi’s depiction in Bethany. We see the beginning of the tradition of styling hair in a similar way in the 11th century fresco of the Vachians in Upper Krikh. (In the fresco of 1140, Demeter I also has long curls on both sides of the crown). Thus the bas-relief of Haritchi is another good illustration of the fact that the Mkhargrdzelis of Kurdish origin were Georgianized since the end of the 12th century not only with regard to their surname (Mkhargrdzeli), language, script and religion, but also regarding their everyday culture.

²⁹ Iv. Javakhishvili, *Mentioned work*, p. 58.

Clothes of Georgian Kings and Feudal Lords In the 12th-13th centuries
(According to the frescoes of Betania, Kintsvisi,
Khobi and the bas-relief of Harichavank)

Visual materials (frescoes, bas-reliefs, miniatures) that are preserved in Georgia and Armenia give us a clear idea of the clothes worn in the highest secular aristocratic circles of Georgia in the 12th-13th centuries. The focus of this article will be on men's clothing from this period.

The research focuses on one interesting detail: the well-preserved bas-relief of Haritchi also shows the hairstyle of the Mkhargrdzeli Brothers (Illustration 19). The academic Ivane Javakhishvili remarks on the style of haircut during this period: "In the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries the hair was kept rather long. Everyone had curls." This is how the hair of the Mkhargrdzelis looks: their long curls are down to their shoulders, they have exactly the same hairstyle as that of Lasha Giorgi's depiction in Bethany. We see the beginning of the tradition of styling hair in a similar way in the 11th century fresco of the Vachians in Upper Krikh. (In the fresco of 1140, Demeter I also has long curls on both sides of the crown). Thus the bas-relief of Haritchi is another good illustration of the fact that the Mkhargrdzeli of Kurdish origin were Georgianized since the end of the 12th century not only with regard to their surname (Mkhargrdzeli), language, script and religion, but also regarding their everyday culture.

Key Words: Mkhargrdzeli Brothers, Vachians, Georgia, Men's Clothing

II. MATERIALS, DOCUMENTS, MEMOIRES

THE PROBLEM OF THE ACCESS OF THE REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA TO THE UNIVERSAL SECURITY SYSTEM (1919-1920)

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The unspeakable atrocities of World War I made the victorious Entente realize that the time has come to create an international security system which would allow for solving international conflicts in a diplomatic way. This idea was far from new, yet it was only at Versailles that the pacifist plans of many nations and countries were finally coordinated and given some diplomatic frame.

The president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson proposed that the peace conference which was organized just after the war should discuss this issue. In his seminal Address to the American Congress of January 8, 1918, he said: „A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike”¹. The president managed to convince the other Entente leaders to support his idea. Consequently, the first universal security system – the League of Nations – was created in the Peace Treaty was signed at the end of the conference. It was supposed to be a “relatively universal” system, that is, the one which would bring together “the overwhelming number of states”. Such a joint force would be able to make all the member nations respect the League, and in consequence, eliminate wars as a means of resolving international conflicts².

¹ *President Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points*, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp. Polish translation in: *Powstanie II Rzeczypospolitej. Wybór dokumentów 1866-1925*, red. H. Janowska, T. Jędruszczyk, Warszawa 1984, dok. 181, p. 384 (pkt 14).

² Compare: S. Sierpowski, *Narodziny Ligi Narodów. Powstanie, organizacja i zasady działania*, Poznań 1984, pp. 123-124.

Idealistic as this idea was, the creation of such a security system undoubtedly made all the member states feel safer and to a certain extent objectively increased their safety. For the newly created Republic of Georgia, which was surrounded by enemies and which only had begun to create its own national security forces, an access to the League of Nations was a priority. Becoming a member would radically improve the security of the country more than any bilateral or regional treaty could guarantee. Yet joining the League proved difficult as Georgia at that time was not considered an independent state. If it was mentioned at all in the peace talks and documents the Entente leaders issued, it was always in the context of the so-called Russian question. None of the Entente leaders mentioned the possibility of inviting the Republic of Georgia itself to the peace conference and to the international negotiations.

This is the reason why the Georgian attempts to become a member of the League are so tightly connected to their efforts to be widely recognized as an independent state by the allies: France, Great Britain, Japan, Italy and the United States of America³. Without recognizing the Republic of Georgia *de iure*, there was hardly any chance of initiating the process of its access to the League of Nations.

Keeping in mind the above priority the Georgian government began an intense diplomatic campaign aimed at making Georgia recognizable in the capitals of major European states, primarily in Paris. The Georgian envoys tried to get to the most important people and the decision-making institutions in order to commence lobbying for the international recognition of the Republic of Georgia.

Already in January 1919, the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent the French authorities who were the conference's hosts, a note presenting Georgian political postulates. The document was addressed to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stephen Pichon, and in its conclusion it said that: "Georgia aims at accessing the League of Nations which would guarantee its independence and make it immune to foreign invasion"⁴. In March 1919, a Georgian diplomatic mission went to Paris. Their task was to secure Georgia its place at the conference table and, moreover, to make Georgia a part of the new international security system. The mission pre-

³ More in: W. Materski, *Gruzińska misja dyplomatyczna w kuluarach paryskiej konferencji pokojowej*, [in:] *Politycy, dyplomaci i żołnierze*, ed. D. Jeziorny, S. M. Nowinowski, R. P. Żurawski vel Grajewski, Łódź 2017, pp. 85-100.

⁴ Quoted after A. I. Czocheli, *Politika Francji w otoszeniu Gruzii w 1917–1922 godach*, Tbilisi 1980, p. 145.

pared and handed out at the conference copies of an extensive memorial which explained Georgia's rights to be an independent state⁵. Its texts referred to the principles the Entente believed in – primarily President Wilson's postulate according to which every nation has the right to decide about its political future. In the pamphlet's conclusion, the Georgian authorities applied for a formal recognition of the independence of the Republic of Georgia and, consequently, for its access to the international security system, which was to be created at the Conference.

At the same time another pamphlet was handed out – a *Memorandum* with Georgia's formal request to be included to the group of the Allied and Associated Powers⁶. Yet Tbilisi was soon bitterly disappointed as none of the two documents stirred up any reaction⁷. Not a single state argued for Georgia's independence, and the politicians at Versailles decided that the Georgian question was only a part of a much bigger issue, the Russian question. The independence of Georgia was to be discussed – if at all – only after the situation in Russia was clear. But the discussion of the Russian question was postponed until Russian home affairs were settled⁸.

Therefore, the politicians at Versailles failed to listen to Georgia's voice and the Georgian rights to independence were largely ignored. The Georgian diplomatic mission was even denied the *de facto* status. Nevertheless the unofficial contacts and talks the diplomats had at Versailles helped to make the situation in Georgia known to the world and the Georgian claims to independence were no longer a local issue. Thus, Georgian diplomats at Versailles managed to counterbalance (at least a little) the omnipresent imperial Russian propaganda of the white Russian politicians at the conference. The Georgian mission tried to get to as many Western diplomats as possible and to fight their indifference.

Undoubtedly, granting Georgia an access to the League of Nation was a difficult task, much more difficult than in the case of other, newly created or revived states, which emerged on the ruins of the three fallen empires: the German, the Austro-Hungarian, and the Russian. Georgia was considered a German ally and it failed to attract the international

⁵ The text is reprinted in: „Przegląd Dyplomatyczny”, 1919, nr 2, pp. 90-95.

⁶ *Délégation Georgienne à la Conférence de la Paix. Mémoire présentée à la Conférence de la Paix (revendication politiques – frontières) suivi de l'Acte de l'Indépendance de la Géorgie*, Paris 1919.

⁷ Z. A w a ł o w (Awalishvili), *Niezawisimost' Gruzii w miezdunarodnoj politikiie 1918–1921 gg.*, Paryż 1924 (reprint: New York 1982), p. 158 nn.

⁸ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. The Paris Peace Conference 1919*, v. V, Washington 1946, p. 621.

sympathy of the kind Armenia or the Baltic republics enjoyed. Armenia, the victim of the Turkish genocide was sympathized with, Georgia was thought to support the Bolshevik regime. The latter opinion resulted from Western ignorance: Social Democratic party which governed Georgia at the time was generally mistaken with the Bolsheviks⁹.

This aspect of the political situation of the Republic changed only at the turn of 1920. At that moment of the collapse of the central Siberian centre of “white” Russia¹⁰ and the threat of collapse of the Southern centre¹¹ had to be taken into the account, and the Entente powers finally realized that their policy of patiently waiting was a grave mistake. Their passivity resulted in the weakening of Russia’s neighbors and consequently, it helped the Bolsheviks. On January 12, 1920, the executive body of the Entente – the Allied Council – decided to recognize *de facto* the independence of Georgia. In a short time the Republic was recognized *de facto* also by Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Japan, Germany, Poland, Great Britain, and Italy.

Strengthened by this success, the Georgian authorities decided to continue their diplomatic campaign and to keep sending missions to the Entente countries. The missions’ aim was to explain to the foreign diplomats how difficult it was to defend an independent state in the given circumstances and how much an access to the Supreme Council of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers¹² would help Georgia. At the turn of May 1920 the young Republic faced the real threat of confrontation with Soviet Russia. The attack of the forces of the 11th Army of RKKKA [Rabochie-kriestianskaja Krasnaya Armija] Army on Azerbaijan resulted in the overthrowing of its democratic government. The collapse of Azerbaijan, a country with a potential similar to that of Georgia, took just a few days which was very telling as far as Georgia’s security was concerned.

At that time, the Polish offensive commenced on April 25 was proceeding fast in Ukraine. This was the reason why Lenin decided not to

⁹ In the last weeks of 1918 r. Georgia got her new flag designed by Jakob Nikoladze and Iosif Szarleman. It was purple with white and black triangles – the so-called Mienshevik banner. Yet everybody in Europe kept remembering their previous, blood-red flag, which originally had been associated with the Social Democrats but got appropriated by the Bolshevik movement.

¹⁰ On January, 4, 1920 faced with the hopeless military situation Admiral Aleksander Kolczak issued his last decree giving up power to General Anton Denikin. On February, 7 1920 r. he was executed.

¹¹ In October 1919 r. the Volunteer Army led by General Anton Denikin was stopped on its way to Moscow. The Red Army counterattacked. On January, 9 Rostov, the headquarters of Denikin’s civil authorities, fell.

¹² For more see: Z. Awałow, *Niezawisimost’ Gruzii*, p. 151 nn.

attack Georgia at the time, yet still the Republic's situation was extremely difficult. The Georgian authorities were determined to make the independent Georgia a part of the Versailles peace order and knew that otherwise the Republic would soon succumb to the enemy. Only the *de jure* recognition of Georgia's statehood by the Entente, and, first and foremost, Georgia's access to the League of Nations could save the country.¹³

Georgia, of course, did not have the chance to become a member of the original League (*initial member*), such a status was only granted to each of the 32 states listed in the annex to the peace treaty. Nor was Georgia invited to join the group of 13 Allied States. Yet there was one more diplomatic way of joining the League. The Article 1/2 of The Covenant of the League of Nations states that: "Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments"¹⁴.

Since the moment the League of Nations started to function legally on January 20, 1920, till the opening of the first meeting of the League of Nations Assembly several applications were received for the admission of new states. One of them, the letter from the authorities of the Republic of Georgia, signed by Prime Minister Nikoloz Chcheidze, was received very early and was probably the first of all such requests. The letter was written on May 21, 1919 and was directed to the League Executive Committee. Thus the letter had actually been sent before the League of Nations came into existence, just at the moment Sir James Eric Drummond (eventually the Secretary General of the League) was appointed the organizer of the future League¹⁵. Drummond's response was written on June 6 and contained his decision to direct the case to the decision of the first session of the League Assembly.

According to the procedures, before Georgia's application could have been discussed at the Assembly it had to be directed to the Fifth Com-

¹³ For more see: G. I. U r a t a d z e, *Obrazowanie i konsolidacja Gruzinskiej Diemokracji Rzespubliki*, Munich 1956.

¹⁴ The ARTICLE 1/2 of The Covenant of the League of Nations http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century. Polish translation in: *Prawo międzynarodowe i historia dyplomatyczna*, v. II, p. 30.

¹⁵ *Documents Relatifs à la Question de la Géorgie Devant la Société des nations*, Paris 1925, s. 7; A. S a b a n i n, *Rossija i Liga Nacyj. 1920-21-22 g.g.*, Moskwa 1924, p. 26.

mission of the League, which was responsible for the preliminary discussion of prospective members' applications. Because the Commission received as many as 14 applications it decided to form three sub-commissions which were to do through the initial readings of the applications. In each case, the sub-commissions had to determine whether a given country was politically stable, and met the standards that allowed it to access the League of Nations and cooperate with other fully sovereign member states¹⁶.

The members of the diplomatic mission of the Republic of Georgia residing in Paris with their leader, an activist of the Georgian Mensheviks and the president of the National Assembly Nikoloz Czcheidze were invited to the meeting of the sub-commission which dealt with the application of Georgia. Czcheidze had to answer a number of questions of the sub-commission members, including the ones concerning the government's policy towards national minorities and the legal status of foreigners staying in Georgia, in particular "white" Russians. Given the subsequent course of events, his responses must have been considered satisfactory. On December 2, 1920, the chairman of the third sub-commission of the Fifth Commission, Norwegian Fridtjof Nansen, presented the results of the analysis of requests for the access to the League of Nations sent by Azerbaijan, Armenia, Ukraine (Ukrainian People's Republic) and Georgia – the states created in the lands of the disintegrated Russian Empire¹⁷.

Nansen prepared the draft of the sub-commission's report and there, in the passages concerning Georgia he emphasized the fact that the Republic survived in extremely difficult circumstances for more than two years and he assessed that Georgian "statehood can be considered as advanced and stable". Nansen also admitted that the Georgian political system – the mechanisms for electing its authorities and all the internal regulations – fulfilled the formal requirements of the application. His statement was supported by Persian delegate Emir Zoka ed-Daude, who stressed that only a well-organized, strong state could arise and organize itself "while fighting against Bolshevism and Turkish nationalism"¹⁸.

The British envoy H.A.L. Fischer and the French envoy Jean Hennessy were more reserved and yet both spoke rather in favor of Georgia.

¹⁶ For more see: S. Sierpowski, *Narodziny Ligi Narodów*, pp. 154-155.

¹⁷ The Third Sub-Commission also discussed Costa Rica's application.

¹⁸ *Société des Nations. Actes. Séances des Commissions*, Genève 1921, p. 184.

The latter said also that giving an access to the League of Nations to Georgia and other states created in the lands of the disintegrated Russian Empire: “is a very important political decision which cannot be taken recklessly”. It was a clear reference to Wilson’s famous remark that the Russian question should never be discussed without Russia’s participation. Therefore, Hennessy continued, it would be advisable not to hurry but at the same time: “one should try to find ways of giving some moral support to the newly created states – by, at the most – making them participate in technical organizations of the League”¹⁹.

Eduard Beneš the delegate of Czechoslovakia who spoke several times about the access of the Baltic States and the Trans-Caucasian States to the League was strongly against the “rash expansion of the League”, warning against the conflict with Soviet Russia. Considering the scale of conflicts of both these groups of states with the Bolsheviks, Beneš recommended “very much caution”. Interestingly, the one to prove his arguments invalid was not Nansen, but Lord Cecil who usually spoke very little. Cecil was much more convinced that Georgia should get international support than his fellow delegate, Fischer. In Cecil’s opinion “elementary caution requires that Georgia and the other states should be supported” – precisely because of their proximity to the Russian anarchy “which the League of Nations cannot influence either morally, or economically, or in military fashion”. This was the reason why Cecil was in favor of granting admission to the League to all these states – provided that they would not have the right to avail themselves of the tenth article of the League statute²⁰. Therefore, he proposed the following recommendation of the Fifth Commission:

“Given that these nations have along their borders nations that are in the state of anarchy and do not succumb to the League of Nations, the Assembly declares that these circumstances exempt the League members from their obligations under Article 10 of the Statute. With this reservation, the Assembly adopts Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia to the League of Nations”²¹.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 185.

²⁰ Article 10 “The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.” http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp#art10 For Polish translation see – *Prawo międzynarodowe i historia dyplomatyczna*, t. II, s. 33.

²¹ *Société des Nations. Actes. Séances des Commissions*, p. 188.

Beneš was of a different opinion, he thought that granting the access to these states would push the League into a middle of the dramatic internal conflict in Russia. Yet he declared that he understood the need to give the applicant countries some symbolical support he proposed the following text:

“The Commission opines that the access [to the League] of the applicant countries cannot be decided yet due to the unstable political situation in eastern Europe, and proposes that the Assembly admit these countries to some supportive technical organizations. Only when the political circumstances permit, [their candidatures] may be formally considered as full members of the League”²².

After a tiring and not very constructive discussion initiated by Lord Cecil’s proposal, the Belgian delegate, Prosper Poullet postulated to end the discussion and proceed to vote on Cecil’s far-reaching proposal:

“The Commission recommends that the Assembly should agree to grant the access to the League of Nations to the countries which arise on the ruins of the tsarist empire and whose borders are recognized by neighboring states, namely Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia”²³.

Such a radical recommendation failed to get the support of the members of the commission and, as a result, Beneš’s proposal was again on the agenda. H.A. Karnebeek van Jonkheer, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands reformulated its text and the new version was accepted by the commission. Finally, the report of the third sub-commission was concluded by the following statement:

“The Commission recommends that the Assembly inform the governments of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia that:

a) their requests have been dealt with sympathetically, but that the conditions do not allow the Assembly to make a final decision in relation to them, and

b) that, pending further decisions of the Assembly, these States will have the right to participate in those technical organizations of the League in which they are interested”²⁴.

This concluding statement was very much to the disadvantage of Georgia which – of all the above-mentioned countries – was consid-

²² Ibid., pp. 188-189.

²³ Ibid., pp. 232-233.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 240.

ered the best candidate to the League. Nansen, who spoke at the end of the meeting – and again in favor of Georgia – underlined this conclusion²⁵.

The meeting of the Fifth Commission during which the Georgian application was discussed took place on December, 9 1920²⁶. The sub-commission's report was presented there by Rodrigo Octavio from Brasil, who acted as Nansen's deputy. Nansen postulated that the application of every prospective member was discussed separately, despite the recommendation which suggested refusing all the applicants in the same fashion. Such a procedure was favorable for Georgia because previously, during the sub-commission's meetings, Georgia's statehood had been deemed the most advanced and – among all the countries applying – her chances were the biggest.

Moreover, it was Nansen, the greatest advocate of Georgia who presented the Georgian application, and his speech was both very favorable and concluded by the positive recommendation. And yet it was met with mixed reactions.

The British delegate, Fischer, who was always active when the Georgian question was discussed, said that Georgia should be treated in the same manner as other Baltic and Transcaucasia states, even though this country was politically more stable than her neighbors. Thus, he proposed not to send its application to the general Assembly, at least not yet. Interestingly, Hjalmar Branting from Sweden who was also a representative of the Committee of International Labor Organization affiliated with League of Nations agreed and gave his support to this proposal. His opinion was very significant – the Committee of International Labor Organization was mostly created by European Social Democrats (The International Federation of Trade Unions also known as the Amsterdam International), for whom the Republic of Georgia was the paragon of success – the country where Social Democrats managed to seize and secure all the political power²⁷. And yet Branting considered the Georgian application “untimely” though he spoke about the Republic in a very favorable and sympathetic manner, he emphasized the successful development of the Georgian state for

²⁵ Ibid., p. 183. The collected speeches of Nansen concerning Georgia – see also: A. S a b a n i n , *Rossija i Liga Nacyj*, p. 42 nn.

²⁶ *Société des Nations. Actes. Séances des Commissions*, pp. 198-595.

²⁷ Compare: J. T o m i c k i , *Dzieje II Międzynarodówki 1914-1923*, Warsaw 1975, p. 280.

a number of times and admitted that the Amsterdam International was impressed²⁸.

At this moment Newton W. Rowell from Canada proposed to end the discussion and to inquire at the Law Department of the League whether it was legally possible to give a group of countries “a status different that this of the members of the League”²⁹. The head of the French delegation, René Viviani was in favor of this proposal and the meeting seemed to be over. Yet the Columbian delegate, Restrepo gave an emotional speech accusing Rowell and Viviani of thinking not about the noble goals of the League but about the money lent to the Tsarist Russia and the Russian Government – their major scheme, he suggested was to get the loan back.³⁰ His radical statement made the delegates rule out the plan to inquire about the legality of the project.

Most of the delegates who spoke during the remaining part of the meeting were very sympathetic towards Georgia and the newly-created Republic but nonetheless they were for the postponing its access to the League – just like in the case of all other countries created in the ruins of the former Russian Empire. Six delegates were for the immediate access of Georgia to the League, nine for postponing the access for a year and then discussing it again, four – abstained. As far as other countries were concerned – the results of the vote were the same of slightly worse. These results were in the report sent to the General Assembly.

On December, 15, 1920 the report of the Fifth Commission was presented to the General Assembly and the Commission’s opinions concerning the access of the fourteen applicant countries to the League were read out. The Chilean delegate, Juneus who was the head of the Fifth Commission spoke about the report³¹. The following discussion took hours and was continued on December, 16, 1920. As far as Georgia was concerned, its application and the Commission’s opinion on it was first presented by Rodrigo Octavio of Brasil, the deputy-head of the Commission and then Fridtjof Nansen³², who was personally respon-

²⁸ *Société des Nations. Actes. Séances des Commissions*, s. 174-175. In September two leaders of the Second International visited Georgia. Karl Kautsky and Ramsay MacDonald were welcomed very respectfully and their visit was discussed in Social Democratic press in Europe. See: K. K a u t s k y, *Georgien. Eine sozialdemokratische Bauernrepublik*, Wien 1921; *L’Internationale socialiste et la Géorgie*, Paris 1921.

²⁹ *Société des Nations. Actes. Séances des Commissions*, p. 186.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

³¹ *Société des Nations. Actes. Séances plénières*, Genève 1921, pp-565.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 618.

sible for the presentation of Georgia's application spoke about different facets of Georgian question.

The discussion on Georgia's candidature was commenced on December, 15 but its major part took place on the following day, It was then that the Polish delegate, Ignacy Jan Paderewski spoke. In his lofty speech he underlined the centuries-old tradition of the Georgian statehood and he appealed that "the ancient Georgia looks at you with her begging eyes, her eyes enlightened by the hope of regaining her freedom, which the long years of bondage failed to extinguish". All Georgia asked for was, "a modest place in the far end of the feasting table at the festival which all the re-born states held thanks to the victory of the allied forces". This emotionally charged appeal was concluded by quite an unexpected conclusion: Poland knew only too well whom to thank for her newly regained independence, and, therefore as far as the Georgian question was concerned the only thing Poland could do was to abstain. Moreover, Padarewski added that in the case of other countries created after the collapse of the Tsarist Russia Poland would also abstain³³.

The most active delegates in the discussion on Georgia's prospective access to the League were the very same speakers who spoke during the meetings of both the sub-commission and the Fifth Commission, especially Restrepo – the major advocate of Georgia. Georgia, together with Latvia and Lithuania were considered the most promising candidates. Yet the context of Russia was the most important factor which determined the results of the discussion of all the candidatures presented by the Fifth Commission.

The meeting of the General Assembly was concluded by the final vote – on December, 16 all the candidatures reviewed by the Fifth Commission were voted on. Out of 41 delegations only 24 participated in the vote on Georgia and only 10 voted for its access to the League which resulted in the rejection of the application. All the same Georgia's result was better than other countries' which were simultaneously voted on – Azerbaijan received no 'yes' votes³⁴, Armenia – 8³⁵, Lithuania – 5, Latvia – 5 and Estonia – 5³⁶.

The delegates who voted against Georgia explained that in their opinion the applicant countries should first be recognized *de iure* by the Entente states

³³ Ibid., p. 621.

³⁴ In April, 1920 the Republic of Aserbijan was defeated by the 11th RKKA Army. On April, 28 The Soviet Republic of Aserbijan was declared.

³⁵ On the day of the vote Armenia lost its independence. It was on November, 29 that Revkom (the Revolution Commettee) of Armenia was established and the 11th RKKA Army took Erewan and arrested the legal authorities.

³⁶ „League of Nations. Official Journal”, 1920, vol. 4/I, p. 28.

and only later given the access to the League of Nations. Significantly, on the very next day, December, 17, 1920 the General Assembly followed the Fifth Commission's postulate and agreed that until the next General Assembly (the II session) came back to the question whether these countries should become the members of the League they would be considered equal to the members of the League³⁷. Yet this decision had a purely prestigious character.

What is more important, the General Assembly accepted lord Robert Cecil's postulate to "materially help Georgia, the tiny heroic state situated on the verge of Russia, if the need occurs"³⁸. This was disappointingly little. In the face of the growing threat of the Bolshevik invasion Georgia sought not any material help but the military and political support. Eventually and much belatedly this support was given to Georgia when on January, 26, 1921 the Supreme Council of the Associated Powers decided to recognize *de iure* the republic of Georgia.

Notwithstanding the following historical events recognizing Georgia was an important legal precedent. It meant the international *consensus* that Georgia should be considered a separate state with all the rights to independence and its statehood should not be anyhow combined to the so called Russian Question.

The Entente's decision opened for Georgia the road to the membership in the League of Nations but unfortunately there was no time to re-apply for it. On February, 15 the Bolsheviks invaded the Republic and despite its heroism of the small ill-equipped Georgian army was unable to defend the country. On March, 17 the Republic's government decided to give up and on the next day the Georgian authorities and high-ranking officers left the country forever by sea.

The fall of the Republic of Georgia did not provoke any significant international reaction. Yet, thanks to the Georgian émigré government during all the inter-war period the international public opinion did not forget about the bondage of Georgia. Georgia was the subject of many resolutions of the parliaments of democratic states, the topic of many discussions at international political congresses and its name was repeated in many documents issued by international institutions, most often by The League of Nations, the access to which Georgia had been waiting for in vain for so long.

[Translated Dominika Oramus]

³⁷ For more see: S. Sierpowski, *Narodziny Ligi Narodów*, p. 161.

³⁸ *Société des Nations. Actes. Séances plénières*, p. 633.

The Problem of the Access of the Republic of Georgia to the Universal Security System (1919-1920)

The first universal security system—the League of Nations—was created in the Peace Treaty signed at the end of the Versailles conference. It was supposed to be a relatively universal system, the one which would bring together the overwhelming number of states. Such a joint force would be able to make all the member nations respect the League, and in consequence, eliminate wars as a means of resolving international conflicts.

For the newly created Republic of Georgia, which was surrounded by enemies and which only had begun to create its own national security forces, an access to the League of Nations was a priority. Becoming a member would radically improve the security of the country more than any bilateral or regional treaty could guarantee. This paper aims at presenting the intense diplomatic campaign aimed at making Georgia recognizable in the capitals of major European states, primarily in Paris. Yet, politicians at Versailles decided that the Georgian question was only a part of a much bigger issue, the Russian question. The independence of Georgia was to be discussed—if at all—only after the situation in Russia was clear. But the discussion of the Russian question was postponed until Russian home affairs were settled.

Eventually and much belatedly—after the fall of the "white" Russia—some support was given to Georgia when on January, 26, 1921 the Supreme Council of the Associated Powers decided to recognize *de iure* the republic of Georgia. The Triple Entente's decision opened for Georgia the road to the membership in the League of Nations but unfortunately there was no time to re-apply for it. On February, 15 the Bolsheviks invaded the Republic and despite its heroism of the small ill-equipped Georgian army was unable to defend the country. In March 1921 the Republic of Georgia lost its independence to the Soviet Union.

Key words: Georgia, the League of Nations, universal security, *de facto* recognition, *de iure* recognition

ARCHIWUM AKT NOWYCH DOCUMENTS OF THE GEORGIAN-POLISH RELATIONS IN 1922-1923

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In the Polish Archive of New History (*Archiwum Akt Nowych*) there are a lot of documents providing data about Georgia in the 1920s and 30s. Material contains the information about the Democratic Republic of Georgia as well as the activity of Georgian immigrants in Poland and the national-liberation movement that followed the country's Sovietization.

In this respect Polish Military Archive records also contain many interesting papers.

Among these vast records the material that cover the activity of Georgian immigrants in 1921-24 as well as the papers regarding the National liberation movement can be regarded especially noteworthy.

Poland – the major provider of assistance to both Georgia and its immigrants secretly backed and supported the clandestine anti-Soviet movement in Georgia that soon culminated in 1924 anti-Soviet Revolt.

Prometheistic movement as one of the important parts of Josef Pilsudski's Eastern policy attracted over a hundred Georgian immigrants and they began to play an important role in it. Consequently, all the above mentioned could very well ensure particular concerns and interests of Polish political and military authorities in Georgia and its political situation.

Georgia-related records of the Archive of New History may be divided roughly in three parts: first is that encompasses papers studied and published either by Polish, or Georgian-Polish scholars, such as Wojciech Materski, Paweł Libera, Paweł Olszewski, Grzegorz Mazur, Marek Mądzik, David Kolbaia etc. All these documents are little known to Georgian scholars as they have been published solely in Polish.

The other part of material is well-known to the Polish scientific circles but for some reason has not been published yet.

Concerning the third part, it represents a collection of material overlooked by the Polish scholars as they don't contain the information interesting to them but nevertheless, may bear a considerable significance to the Georgian researchers.

Georgia-related documents at the Archive of New History are scattered among many funds, such as The Headquarter (1190), Military Attachés (1191), Ministry of Military Affairs (1192) and other different units.

In this respect the Military Attachés funds represent a subject of particular interest. Republic of Poland had Military Attaches appointed in Constantinople (then, in Ankara), Paris, Moscow, Bucharest and Washington. A fund of Col. Leon Bobicki¹, than a Military Attaché to Constantinople, presents us with important facts shedding light on the relationship between the Polish authorities and Georgian emigration in the period of the 1920s and 30s.

Notably it must be taken into consideration that "Military Attaches played a substantial role in the structure of the state intelligence office – they were to present the General Staff (Sztab główny) with significant political and military information about the country they served in. Naturally, Military attaches were a part of the diplomatic body (Corps Diplomatique) and were formally subjected to the ambassador or the deputy ambassador, but in reality they acted under the strict guidance of the Chief of Staff through the Second Division.

It was the duty of the military attachés to make the appropriate submissions to and perform official activities in the interests of the military forces of Rzeczypospolita. At the same time the Attaché was a garrison commander for the officers and privates in the Polish army who were constantly or temporarily stationed (present) on the territory of that state. The military attachés of the Republic of Poland in certain European states also performed other tasks depending on their location."²

¹ Leon Bobicki was born on April 10th, 1887. A participant of WWI, he served in the 2nd Polish Corps operating on the territory of Russia. He was captain at the end of 1927. He then served in the General Josef Haller's Unit. In the rank of Lieutenant Colonel he was the Chief of Staff in the 4th Polish shooters' Division. In 1920 he took part in Polish-Soviet War as the Chief of Staff of the 10th Polish Infantry Division. In the same year he actively participated in the Lucjan Żeligowski's mutiny on the territory of Lithuania as a result of which the central part of the country proclaimed independence. From 1921 to 1924 he was a military attaché in Constantinople. In 1929 he joined the army reserve.

² A. Peplonski, *Wywiad Polski na ZSRR 1921-1939*, Warszawa, pp. 66-68.

Indeed, in Turkey, first in Constantinople and then in Ankara, the Military Attaché “was instructed to monitor the southern territories of the USSR, taking into account the importance of the Caucasus”. In addition, the Polish Military Attaché, while in the Turkish capital, was monitoring the “Soviet campaign in the Middle East”. He also “coordinated the liberation movements in the countries of the South Caucasus”... “Moreover, the Military Attaché in Constantinople was directly responsible for organizing the Intelligence activities in the South Caucasus”³. Therefore, it is natural that the Military Attaché in Turkey was very well informed about the situation in Georgia and the South Caucasus in general. At the same time, he actively collaborated with Georgian emigrants in Constantinople.

As already mentioned, Colonel Leon Bobicki served as Military Attaché in Constantinople in 1921-24. It was through him that the Georgian emigration had established a connection with the Polish military authorities, specifically with the General Staff.

Colonel Bobicki’s Fund provides a bulk of interesting papers, in the multitude of which, this time we want to focus on two letters which make clear a particular point in Polish-Georgian military and political cooperation.

The first document is dated 1923.

In this regard, the report of Colonel Bobicki to the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces represents a point of great interest. It was sent in October 1922 and concerned the Soviet National Red Army units in the South Caucasus.

In 1921 by occupying Georgia, the Soviet Power completed the seizure of the South Caucasus. Formally the three of the republics were independent entities, but in reality they weren’t and obeyed official orders from Moscow.

The part of the Bolsheviks, later nicknamed the Nationalist Deviators⁴, probably actually believed that the Soviet Georgia could be an independent state, but it was a pure illusion – Moscow would never allow that.

It’s true that generally, the Georgian Bolsheviks had no support in Georgia. Their power relied solely on the bayonets of the Red Army. Here’s the documentary evidence of this statement – a letter of August

³ Ibid., p. 99.

⁴ Philipe Makhharadze, Mamia Orakhelashvili, Budu Mdinava, Lado Dumbadze, Levan Ghoghoberidze and other Georgian Bolsheviks later opposed Stalin’s policy in the South Caucasus that led them to their death during the repressions of the 30s.

21st, 1921 by Levan Ghoghoberidze⁵, the head of the Revolutionary Committee: "... As regards the attitude of factory and railroad workers as well as peasants towards the Soviet Regime, I see the readiness for uprising actively propagated and promoted by Mensheviks. They call the members of the Revolutionary Committee usurpers who wrested power from the Georgian proletariat by force. Population proclaims that the Soviet power should be abolished. As far as I found out, they intend to raise a coveted rebellion some of these days without even thinking about the consequences. Their desire is to show Europe the current situation – that Georgians do not want to endure forcibly imposed Soviet power; in this way they wish to contribute to the work performed by Zhordania, Ramishvili and others".⁶

At the first stage of the occupation Moscow considered it necessary to make it appear the Soviet Georgian Republic was an independent state. The invasion of the country by the 9th and 11th armies was presented as a transition of power and replacement of one party by another. To fake some sort of independence the Bolsheviks had set down to build the Georgian National Red Army just from the moment of the occupation – naturally, it was hard to imagine a country without its own armed forces. And this is exactly what the Colonel Bobicki's report is all about.

First of all I'd like to note that the Colonel correctly assesses what happened in the South Caucasus in 1920-21 and calls it occupation. At the beginning of the report he adequately indicates that the subsequent fate of the national military units depends on the way of policy pursued in the region by Moscow.

The report shows clearly what kind of controversy was between the two groups of communists and what caused it. Bobicki himself defines one group as Nationalist Communists; though he does not specify the member names, we think that representatives of so called Communist Deviators are being implied. According to Bobicki's report the group was for the formation of national military units.

The other group opposing the idea of National Army Colonel calls Russian Communists but I think the word "*Russian*" in this case implies not the nationality, but the bunch that was against even the formal

⁵ Levan Ghoghoberidze: (1896-1937) was a Georgian high ranking Bolshevik. At various times held several positions of power such as Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee in Tbilisi, Chairman of the Party Committee and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Georgian People's Commissars. He was arrested in 1936 and executed in 1937.

⁶ An archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia. N6.SSS N22313. Vol. 1, pages 26-27.

independence of the Soviet Socialist Republics. In the South Caucasus, a leader of that radical faction was Sergo Orjonikidze backed by Joseph Stalin himself. Colonel gives a very clear assessment of the group saying that “they inherited the Tsarist policies regarding the neighboring countries and regions”. He underlines the fact that the Russian communists considered redundant the existence of national military brigades. Taking into account the real policy of the Soviet Russia the stance of so called “*Russians*” seems to be logical.

The document reveals that in July 1922, Ephraim Sklyansky⁷, the deputy to Lev Trotsky⁸ arrives in the Caucasus to settle the existing factional controversy. His visit was followed by the council of the government and military representatives of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. There’s no detailed description of the meeting in the report but what is given is the result– it was decided to abandon the formation of the National Army Units and continue to control the Caucasus by Separate Caucasian Army (Отдельная Кавказская Армия)⁹ An interesting fact is that the issue of local military development was settled by the visiting Moscow high ranking RSFSR army official that reveals the real situation.

Bobicki, going on with his report, describes the condition of the Georgian National Red Army and underlines that “in spite of two years of existence, it is embryonic in institutional terms and militarily it has no value”. And this is followed by the document’s most interesting information: it turns out, that the remaining members of the Social Democratic Party, whom the military attaché calls the Mensheviks, were actively agitating for the Georgian National Red Army. They hoped to use these units at the right time against the Bolsheviks. And indeed, the leaders of the anti-Soviet movement actually hatched plans for using these military during the anti-Soviet uprising. Therefore, it was vital for them to have associates and accomplices in the army.

⁷ Ephraim Sklyansky (1892-1925) (in the document his name is spelled as Szklanski) – a soviet revolutionary and statesman, close associate of Lev Trotsky; held the post of Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of RSFSR.

⁸ Lev Trotsky (1879 – 1940) – one of the distinguished leaders of the Bolsheviks; became prominent as the Foreign Affairs Commissar and the leader of the Red Army in the post of Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs. In 1922 he held the post of Chairman of the Military Revolutionary Council. Later, in 1927, he was removed from all his offices and expelled from the Soviet Union in 1929. He spent the rest of his life in exile and was assassinated in Mexico City in 1940.

⁹ Separate Caucasian Army was established in May 1921 from the 11th Army, a unit of the Caucasus Front, which was dissolved on May 29, 1921. Separate Caucasian Army units were deployed in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan as well as North Caucasus. In 1935 the Separate Caucasian Army was redesigned into the Trans-Caucasian Military District (Закавказский Военный Округ).

After the establishment of Soviet power, part of the Georgian officers and generals enlisted in the National Red Army. Those who immediately joined the national-liberation movement either died during the repression or managed to flee and emigrated to other countries. But nevertheless, there were those who until the end served in the Soviet military forces.

There is evidence that in March 1921, in Batumi, a meeting of Georgian military and politicians loyal to the First Democratic Republic took place. It was decided during the negotiations, that “the Georgian soldiers and officers should serve in the Red Army and armed with pretended allegiance, achieve as many high ranking position as they can so that the armed forces at the right time would be in their hands to control the situation”.¹⁰

In June 1922, in Constantinople, Valiko Djugheli¹¹ made a report to the political commission and presented a plan for a future uprising. The report says that “the anti-Bolshevik, fighting Georgia has the following fully reliable armed forces at its disposal: 1. Georgian Red Army – 5000 people, 2. Militia and other units – 3000 people, and the Secret Military Organization – 14000 people”.¹² Perhaps, these figures did not exactly correspond to reality, but the fact remains that the use of the Georgian Red Army personnel was intended.

In his report Valiko Djugheli spoke of pan-Caucasian anti-Bolshevik forces too, in which he definitely meant the national brigades of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The anti-Bolshevik sentiments in the Georgian Army and the possibility of using them during the insurrection is the subject matter of General Alexandre Zakariadze’s¹³ report made in Constantinople at the same period. Here’s the excerpt of what he said: “As for the Georgian army, despite the arrest of many officers, so far, it remains 90 percent an anti-Bolshevik and reliable support for a future mutiny. Today the army

¹⁰ G. Sa it i d z e, Kaikhosro (Kakutsa) Cholokashvili, Tbilisi 2012, p. 25.

¹¹ Valiko Djugheli (1887-1924): One of the founders and a leader of the Georgian National Guard. In 1921 he emigrated from Georgia only to return in 1924 as the leader of the anti-Soviet uprising. He was arrested on August 6, and shot on August 30.

¹² Sh. V a d a c h k o r i a, *The Georgian Emigration and the National-Liberation movement in Georgia (1921-1990)*, Tbilisi 2018, p. 427.

¹³ Alexandre Zakariadze (1884-1957) Participated in the Russo-Japanese War and the First World War. From 1919 to 1921 he was the Chief of General Staff of Georgia. He has been in emigration since March 1921. Served in the Polish Army. Was a division general.

strength of Georgian units is about 5000. And up to 3000 of them can be nurtured into rebels so that they will be available for insurrection”.¹⁴

The Bolsheviks themselves actually assumed what a danger the service of the generals and officers of the Georgian Republic’s armed forces posed to the newly minted Soviet country.

The above mentioned Levan Ghoghoberidze wrote in his letter the following: “To all that was said, a very unpleasant circumstance has been added. I mean the organization of newly fledged Georgian military units, the members of which have become mainly officers of the former Republic. Recruitment of the generals Tsulukidze, Tsitsianov and Andronikov for the formation of brigades and new army in general, as well as the call-up of other princes and cadres of the old regime, have let the populace see that the National Army would be restored in short period. It goes without saying that the army comrades of the time of Emperor Nicholas II invited the old officers for the service; for example, former Col. Gedevanov, the head of the General Staff Operational Section under the Mensheviks, and a relative of the assistant to the then Minister of War has been appointed the Head of the General Staff of the new army. Former Col. Matchavariani has been appointed the Chief of the Regiment, who, along with his assistant, former Maj. Utnelov, conducted active Menshevik propaganda among the subordinate commanders. The same can be said of former officer Dzagania and others. Moreover, a campaign work is being carried out among military commanders and employees of Soviet institutions that promotes that we refrain from necessary progress and development and wait for a change in government course. It’s this propaganda that did it”.¹⁵

As it appears from the letter of Bobicki, the Soviet Regime was well aware of what the landmines were fraught with an increased number of so called fickle persons in the Georgian Red Army. Therefore the most of the existing army officers and those wishing to enlist used to receive unlimited leaves and in such a way formation of the National Military Forces was being prevented.

As it turns out the Bolsheviks had a completely different attitude towards the Armenian and Azerbaijani military formations. They definitely represented less danger, but the document notes that the expansion of the

¹⁴ Sh. Vadachkoria, *The Georgian Emigration and the National-Liberation movement in Georgia (1921-1990)*, Tbilisi 2018, p. 435.

¹⁵ An archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, (I), F. N6, SSS N22313, Vol. 1, pages 24-25.

Enver Pasha¹⁶ movement, in which the Soviet government did not have much confidence, consequently resulted in reduction of support in his favor.

It was a natural reaction from the Soviet government: if Georgians could use the National Military Brigades against the Soviet rule, the followers of Enver Pasha could do exactly the same.

Apparently, compared to Georgian and Azerbaijani military Armenian brigades were considered less of a danger. The fact was due to a lack of competence in military sphere and absence of any professional army personnel.

It will be observed that during the period of independence in 1918 – 21, among the three Caucasian republics the Georgians had the strongest army. There were many reasons and the main was professionalism of the Georgian military – the presence of highly experienced generals and officers. On the contrary, the Azerbaijani and Armenian units experienced continuous human resource deficit and inadequate staffing. That's why many Georgian military served in the Azerbaijani units and a single list of names confirms this fact: Makashvili, Sidamon-Eristavi, Tumanishvili, Kargareli, Lortkipanidze and others. The Armenians mostly called-up Russian personnel.

Back in 1919, General Odishelidze¹⁷ wrote that some of the Armenian officers preferred to sit in Tyflisi instead of being at the front, and that Russian officers served and fought in the units of the Armenian army.¹⁸

Summing up at the end of the report, Colonel Bobicki makes three important conclusions:

¹⁶ Enver Pasha (1881-1922) An Ottoman military and political figure, a leader of the *Young Turk Revolution*. He was the Minister of War of the Ottoman Empire during the WWI and one of the prime believers of the Idea of pan-Turkism. In 1920 he travelled to Moscow to win the trust of the Soviet authorities. Russians hesitated for some time thinking whom to support: Enver or Kemal and, in the end, decided in favor of Kemal. Meanwhile, Lenin sent him to Bukhara. There he switched to the side of anti-Soviet forces and died in a battle in Tajikistan on August 4, 1922.

¹⁷ Ilia Odishelidze (1865-1925) He took part in the Russo-Japanese war in the capacity of a chief of staff of the 6th Eastern Siberian Division. Promoted to lieutenant general on 11 October 1914, he was Chief of Staff of the 10th, and later of the 1st Army. In 1917 he held command over the 15th Army Corps, 1st and 3rd armies. On October 2, 1917 he was appointed the commander-in-chief of the Caucasus Army. After Georgia's declaration of independence, he held various important posts in the national armed forces and served as the commander-in-chief of army from the fall of 1920 to February 1921. After the Soviet invasion of Georgia, his fate becomes unclear. According to some sources, he was shot by the Bolsheviks in 1921. He, however, appears to have fled to Turkey, where he died.

¹⁸ Georgian Central State Archive of History, Fund 1969, case №8.

“Considering the fact that Moscow has already embarked on a policy of the full accession of the South Caucasus republics to Russia”, that is, the actual annexation and occupation of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, the formation of national military units defeats the purpose; in such a situation, naturally, only and solely the Russian Red Army units would be located in the South Caucasus. Based on this, the development of national military units was not included in the plans of Moscow, so that they remained in their infancy.

Second conclusion: the preservation of national military units was a temporary policy in order to give the appearance of independence of the Trans-Caucasian countries and that was emphasized by the presence of their own armies. While discussing about the independence of Trans-Caucasian republics local communists adhered to national arguments. By local communists, Bobicki, I think, means Georgians. This is stressed by the phrase, saying that they needed the national argument in disputes with the Social Democrats. And who waged disputes with them except for the Georgian communist?!

And the third, probably the most important conclusion: Despite their infancy and insignificance from a military point of view, these national brigades, in case of anti-Soviet uprising, could play an important role and serve as the basis for the establishment of the real national armies. Therefore, the colonel compares them with the Polish Wehrmacht.

Colonel writes that his goal was to review the state of the national Georgian Red Brigade and putting it with the other two – Armenian and Azerbaijani units – he has come to a conclusion that all the three were more or less the same. But, nevertheless, despite Bobicki’s conclusion, it follows from the same letter and is confirmed by the facts that the Georgian brigades were the strongest.

The second document is dated July 3rd, 1923.

Among many responsibilities the 2nd Division of Poland’s General Staff covered intelligence and counter-intelligence activities. Tadeusz Schaetzel¹⁹, the author of the above letter, was actively involved in the

¹⁹ Tadeusz Schaetzel (1891–1971) was a Polish Army colonel, intelligence officer, Promethean leader, diplomat and politician. During World War I, Schaetzel served in the Polish Legions and as deputy director of the Chief Command of the 3rd Polish Military Organization (*KN-3*), in Kiev. After Poland had regained independence in November 1918, he was posted in 1919 to the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief as head of intelligence on Russia in the General Staff’s Section II. In 1924–26 Schaetzel was military attaché in Ankara, Turkey. In 1926–29 he was chief of the General Staff’s Section II. In this capacity he was very supportive of Marshal Józef Piłsudski’s Promethean project, aimed at liberating the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. In 1934–35 he was vice director

working of the Polish Intelligence services since its inception. Later on, he became Military Attaché in Ankara, Turkey (1924-26).

The main information the letter conveys is that Poland hands over a radio station to the Georgian side which must be brought into the Soviet country and assembled there. After its launch the Georgians would be able to conduct the Radio Intelligence and intercept the radio signals of the Red Army and all the structures related with it.

It is clear, the encrypted information should have been decrypted and for this particular purpose the wireless codes of the Red Army had been sent. This particular letter does not make it clear how they planned to bring the radio station to the Georgian territory.

It is obvious that the question of the radio station was discussed with Georgian political and military emigrants in Constantinople in September 1922. For this reason, Cap. Kovalevsky was sent from Warsaw there. But it is not known who exactly participated from the Georgian side.

Radio surveillance was to take place throughout the North and the South Caucasus. The materials were to be finally sent to the II Division of the General Staff of Poland through Col. Bobicki.

The letter does not give an idea as to who had to supply materials to the Military Attaché of the Republic of Poland from Georgia to Constantinople and how.

It is interesting to note two more points the letter contains. Firstly, it's clear the Polish military leadership found it possible to cooperate with a "local organization" or any anti-Soviet organization existing in Georgia.

Secondly, the principles of this cooperation should have evidently been developed by Col. Bobicki, and then submitted to his own leadership.

However, the letter underlines one condition after fulfillment of which the issue of cooperation would have been possible to be discussed: Georgians had to get the radio station, tune it in and start to conduct a radio intelligence activity. Presumably, this would convince the Polish military leadership that the Georgian Organization could indeed act and have certain strength and capabilities.

What specific issues and topics could the Polish General Staff and the Georgian Organization collaborate on? The Polish military leadership and

of the Foreign Ministry's political department. In 1930-38 he was a Sejm deputy. When the Soviet Union invaded Poland crossed the border into Romania, where he was interned in 1939-44 with Foreign Minister Józef Beck. In August 1944 Schaetzel left for Turkey, then Egypt. From 1947 he resided in Great Britain, where he co-founded the Józef Piłsudski Institute in London and the League for Polish Independence.

the Polish government in general should provide some military assistance to the Georgian Organization. Polish archives contain other historical documents that confirm the mentioned topic had been negotiated. For example, Konstantin Gvarjaladze²⁰ personally arrived in Warsaw and had meetings at the General Staff's Second Division. The documents reveal that the Polish General Staff was actually considering the possibility of sending military assistance to Georgia, and even the issue of the correct routes was being considered.

In Constantinople the Poles contacted with Georgian political and military figures who had emigrated there but it is very interesting to define what the "Georgian Organization" was that operated in Soviet country and had to conduct the radio surveillance.

Presumably, this should be the Georgian Independence Committee and not a military centre.

After the meeting between representatives of the Georgian Organization and Cap. Kowalewski the Polish side began to take real action. The letter reveals that on November 7, 1922, some information was exchanged between the General Staff and the Military Attaché in Constantinople.

The second letter of September 25, 1923 contains information on the further development of events. This time, information is sent from Constantinople to Warsaw.

According to the letter, a year after the first meeting, on September 15, 1923, the radio station was handed over to Konstantin Gvarjaladze, a representative of the Georgian Organization. Perhaps, Gvardjaladze participated in negotiations with Cap. Kowalewski, but there must have been one more participant – a military man and it might very well have been Gen. Zakariadze himself. I make the assumption on the grounds that the general was actively involved in all the other meetings with Poles.

Further the letter transpires that the radio station has already been sent to Georgia. Though Leon Bobicki cannot name the location it will work from. Presumably, the place or even the places were not predetermined and the Georgians had to decide this issue themselves. Naturally, it would be difficult to specify the proper place abroad as safety would be one of the main factors in choosing it.

²⁰ Konstantin Gvarjaladze (1883-1969) Georgian politician. Was the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Georgia. He has been in emigration since 1921. From 1921 to 1924 he was the representative of the Georgian government in Istanbul and the head of the community. He then lived in London and Paris.

Obviously, Georgians had a specialist who would set up a radio station. However, in case a problem arose with this respect, Col. Bobicki suggested that a Polish specialist would be sent to Georgia though Russia. He only asked for permission.

In the letter Leon Bobicki specifies the recipient of the radio station. It is Rebel Governing Council. In 1923 such organization was supposed to be the Independence Committee. But in May 21, 1923, all the members of the organization's military centre were shot dead by the Soviet authority and the organization ceased to exist.

It is really difficult to say whether the Georgians set up a radio station or not. There is another interesting reference: on July 8, 1924, Col. Bobicki sent a letter to the Chief of General Staff of Poland informing him of the planned uprising in Georgia. There is one sentence in this letter – “our radio station will start working soon”²¹. It is interesting to find out if the mentioned radio station is the one which was handed over on September 15, 1923.

I suppose it is about the same one transferred to Gvarjaladze. Therefore, it turns out that due to very difficult circumstances and state terror, it took the Organization a long time (eight months) to transport and assemble the radio station in Georgia.

Transfer of radio intelligence equipment may not be considered a major event in general, but indeed it is a fact of actual assistance and underlines mutual interests of both sides. From here we can make the following conclusions: first, the Polish side really supported Georgians to the best of their ability, considering the political situation at the time. Naturally, this kind of help was in the interests of both sides – Georgians were plotting the general uprising against the Soviet authorities of the country and Polish military command was concerned with the aggressiveness of its eastern neighbor. Therefore, helping Georgian Organization was important not just because of the acquisition of intelligence data from the South Caucasus, but as one of the episodes in the struggle against the USSR – the support of anti-Soviet movement in one of its republics was vital. So it's natural that the information obtained should have been sent directly to Warsaw.

Second, the transfer of the radio station confirms that Georgian politicians and the military in exile took the right step when they started active cooperation with Poland. In fact, Poland was a country that actually supported Georgians – took real steps in this direction.

²¹ P. Libera, *II Rzeczpospolita wobec ruchu prometejskiego*, Warszawa 2013, p. 133.

DOCUMENTS

1.

ATTACHÉ WOJSKOWY
W KONSTANTINOPOLU
Nr. 866/22

Dn. 27/X – 1922 r.

DO SZEFA SZTABU GENERALNEGO

Na L 26853/II

Brygady narodowościowe na Kaukazie.

Los i rozwój gruzińskich, azerbejdżańskich i ormiańskich wojsk narodowych był i jest ściśle związany z kierunkiem polityki Sowietów na Kaukazie.

Od chwili okupacji Kaukazu przez rosyjski Rząd Sowietów, aż do ostatniej, a mianowicie w lipcu b.r. wizyty Szklanskiego zastępcy Trockiego, koło tej kwestii toczyła się walka między komunistami - nacjonalistami, uważającymi siebie za narodowców łączących się li tylko z komunistami Rosjanami, którzy odziedziczyli po carskiej Rosji w całej pełni zaborczą, w stosunku do ościennych państw i kresów, politykę. Pierwsi, uważali za konieczne stworzenie czerwonych armii, wyżej wymienionych narodów, natomiast drudzy byli zwolennikami obsadzenia Kaukazu li tylko przez czerwoną armię rosyjską.

Dopiero w lipcu b.r. na naradzie przedstawicieli rządu i wojskowości wymienionych republik, pod przewodnictwem Szklanskiego, definitywnie zostały ustalone zasady zaniechania dalszego rozwoju jednostek narodowych i obsadzenia Kaukazu przez OKA.

Przedkładam równocześnie szczegółowy stan czerwonej brygady gruzińskiej, przy rozpatrzeniu którego należy wywnioskować, iż mimo dwuletniego istnienia tej jednostki, jest ona w stanie zaczątków organizacyjnych, nie przedstawiając wartości w sensie bojowym.

Zaznaczam, iż tylko stanowisko zasadnicze stoi na przeszkodzie do jej rozwoju, ponieważ Gruzini mienszewicy usilnie prowadzą agitację za wstąpieniem do gruzińskiej czerwonej brygady, widząc dla siebie korzyść w powiększeniu ilości uzbrojonych obywateli gruzińskich, którzy zawsze pozostaną elementem pewnym dla celów ruchu niepodległościowego - lecz

władze sowieckie udzielają zgłaszającym się urlopów bezterminowych, tamując w ten sposób rozwój wzmiankowanej jednostki.

Wcześniej, bolszewicy tolerowali brygady azerbejdżańską i ormiańską, jako mniej niebezpieczna dla ruchu komunistycznego, lecz obecnie cieszy się większym poparciem li tylko brygada ormiańska, a azerbejdżańska po rozszerzeniu się ruchu Envera, została sprowadzona do tegoż samego stanu jak i gruzińska

Mimo poparcia władz sowieckich, brygada ormiańska napotyka trudności w dalszym swoim rozwoju, ze względu na brak materiału ludzkiego, bo Ormianie zdają sobie sprawę, że ta jednostka bojowa będzie użyta przez Dow. sowieckie przeciwko Tatarom i Turkom, konsekwencje czego są dobrze już znane Ormianom z ich własnego doświadczenia.

Reasumując powyższe, należy przyjść do wniosku, że istniejące na Kaukazie brygady narodowościowe są utrzymane w stanie zaczątków jako bluff niepodległości kaukaskich narodów i na razie, aż do zmiany zasadniczej polityki, nie mają widoków na dalszy swój rozwój.

Z chwila przyjęcia przez Rząd rosyjski polityki jak najdalszej unifikacji Kaukazu z Rosją, idea istnienia czerwonych armii kaukaskich narodów, sama przez się stała się nieaktualna i jeżeli te jednostki nie przedstawiające większej bojowej wartości nie są dotychczas rozwiązane, to tylko ze względu na konieczność utrzymania fikcji, a zarazem niechęć do zrażania sobie komunistów narodów usposobionych [do] argumentacji narodów w propagandzie mienszewickiej.

Natomiast te brygady, w razie akcji powstańczej, mogą stanowić jądro dla ruchu wojskowego i odegrać tę samą rolę, jaką odegrał [Polnische] Wehrmacht w naszej akcji wyzwolenczej.

Na razie przedkładał stan brygady gruzińskiej, co zaś do ormiańskiej i azerbejdżańskiej, to takowe nie są w posiadaniu tutejszych przedstawicieli, ale na ogół wszystkie trzy brygady przedstawiają się mniej więcej jednakowo.

Załączników [brak]

[Bobicki]

Pułkownik Sztabu Generalnego
i Attaché Wojskowy w Konstantinopolu

¹ *Archiwum Akt Nowych*. Fund 1191, case A II 33 (5), pp. 101-103.

2.

MINISTERSTWO
SPRAW WOJSKOWYCH
(SZTAB GENERALNY)
Ścisłe Tajne!
Oddział II
№ 11631 Inf. III. D.

Warszawa, dn. 3 VII 1923 r.

DO ATTACHÉ WOJSKOWEGO |
W KONSTANTINOPOLU

Stosownie do tamt. pisma Nr. 435/23 z dn. 10/V b.r., w sprawie nadesłania aparatu i instrukcji radiowywiadowczych dla Gruzińskiej Organizacji Wojskowej (patrz tut. Nr. 28788/II Inf. III.D. z dn 7/XI 1922 r.), w załączeniu przesyłam jeden kompletny odbiornik "Polradio", spis alfabetyczny sygnałów stacji radiotelg. Rosji Sowieckiej i instrukcje dla prowadzenia służby radiowywiadowczej.

W wymienionym sprzęcie technicznym nie przysyłam baterii anodowej. Pożądane byłoby zakupienie takowej na miejscu.

Zasady pracy radiowywiadowczej tamt. organizacji gruzińskiej były omawiane podczas pobytu kpt. Kowalewskiego w Konstantynopolu we wrześniu 1922 roku.

W uzupełnienie powyższego podaję główne zadania pracy podsłuchowej wymienionej organizacji:

1) Zasadniczy podsłuch winien być kierowany na rejon północnokaukaski i zakaukaski, obejmując stacje polowe, względnie prowadzące korespondencję ściśle wojskową.

2) Na podstawie materiału podsłuchowego sporządza się schematy łączności polówek i charakterystykę pracy korespondencyjnej tychże.

3) Całkowity materiał podsłuchowy winien być nadsyłany do tut. Oddziału przez Attaché Wojskowego w Konstantynopolu.

Materiał powyższy składa się z:

a) dziennika stacyjnego

b) spostrzeżeń własnych (charakterystyka, dane o miejscach postoju polówek, względnie jednostek wojskowych łączności i korespondencję).

Współpraca tamt. placówki ze Sztabem Generalnym może się rozpocząć po zainstalowaniu i zorganizowaniu się stacji radiowywiadowczej gruzińskiej.

Jednocześnie proszę o nadesłanie kopii pokwitowania na aparat odbiorczy i instrukcję, poinformowanie co do organizacji tamt. stacji (obsada, miejsce postoj, rozkład pracy), potrzebach technicznych lub też instrukcyjnych, niezbędnych do prowadzenia służby radiowywiadowczej i wreszcie o najbardziej odpowiadających zasadach współpracy z Oddziałem II Szt. Gen.

W z.
SzeF Oddziału II Szt. Gen.
SCHATZEL T.
Major Szt. Gen.

¹ *Archiwum Akt Nowych*. Fund 1191, case A II 33 (5), pp. 90.

3.

ATTACHÉ WOJSKOWY
W KONSTANTINOPOLU
№ 625

dn. 25 września 1923 r.

DO SZEFA ODDZIAŁU II SZTABU GENERALNEGO.
NA L, 11631/II INF. III. D. Z DN. 3/VIII 1923 R.

Przy niniejszym przedkładam pokwitowania na aparat odbiorczy i instrukcję, doręczone w dn. 15/ września b. r. tutejszemu reprezentantowi gruzińskiemu p. Konstantemu Gwardzaladze.

Przy sprawdzeniu nadesłanych przedmiotów, lamp katodowych typ E.W.E.173 okazało się być nie sześć, a tylko trzy.

Aparat odbiorczy został już wysłany do miejsca przeznaczenia, które na razie nie jest znane, gdzie będzie zainstalowany przez fachowca, znajdujacego się na miejscu.

W razie gdyby na miejscu powstały jakiegokolwiek trudności, proszę o informacje czy nie będzie możliwe wysłanie naszego instruktora wprost przez Rosję do Tyflisu, gdzie on zostanie skomunikowany ze sztabem Dowództwa Powstańczego.

Załącznik I.

ATTACHÉ WOJSKOWY W KONSTANTINOPOLU
BOBICKI, PUŁK. SZTABU GENERALN.

¹ *Archiwum Akt Nowych*. Fund 1191, case A II 33 (5), pp. 89, 92.

4.

Spis ogólny Stacji odbiorczej Radiotelegr.P.R.

1) Aparat odbiorczy typ Pol. Radio -1; 2) Wykres długości fali – 1; 3) Antena ramowa – 1; 4) Amplifikator typ E.V.89 d/Telef/ - 1; 5) Transformator do amplifikatora typ Tr. Nr. 101 – 1; 6) Akumulatory po 6 V a 48 amperogodz. – 2; 7) Lampy katodowy typ E.V.E. 173 – 6; 8) Kabel łącznikowy baterie z aparatem – 1; 9) Lampy katodowe franc. – 3; 10) słuchawka podwójna – 1; 11) Woltomierz na 100 Wolt – 1.

¹ *Archiwum Akt Nowych*. Fund 1191, case A II 33 (5), pp. 91, 92.

Archiwum Akt Nowych Documents of the Georgian-Polish Relations in 1922-1923

In the Polish Archive of New History (*Archiwum Akt Nowych*) there are a lot of documents providing data about Georgia in the 1920s and 30s. Material contains the information about the Democratic Republic of Georgia as well as the activity of Georgian immigrants in Poland and the national-liberation movement that followed the country's Sovietization. Georgia-related documents at the Archive of New History are scattered among many funds, such as The Headquarter (1190), Military Attachés (1191), War Office (1192) and other different units. The first document is dated 1923.

In this regard, the report of Colonel Bobicki to the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces represents a point of great interest. It was sent in October 1922 and concerned the Soviet National Red Army units in the South Caucasus. The second document is dated July 3rd, 1923. It is obvious that the question of the radio station was discussed with Georgian political and military emigrants in Constantinople in September 1922. Radio surveillance was to take place throughout the North and the South Caucasus. According to the letter, a year after the first meeting, on September 15, 1923, the radio station was handed over to Konstantine Gvarjaladze, a representative of the Georgian Organization.

Key words: Democratic Republic of Georgia; Colonel Bobicki; Konstantine Gvarjaladze; Caucasus; National Red Army; *Archiwum Akt Nowych*

TRANSCAUCASIAN SEJM'S DELEGATION
ON CONFERENCES
IN TRABZON AND BATUMI (MARCH-MAY, 1918)

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The Bolshevik coup in Russia in October 1917 had an influence upon the South Caucasus region – a part of borders of former Russian Empire. In particular, dominant political parties acting at that time in the Caucasus did not recognize the governing of the Russian Social-Democratic Bolshevik Party that had come to power; they separated from it and created a new governmental body in the South Caucasus – the Transcaucasian Commissariat. The majority of members in the Commissariat were from Georgian Social-Democratic, Armenian Dashnaktsutyun (“Armenian Revolutionary Federation”) and Azerbaijani Musavat (“Equality”) parties. The Transcaucasian Commissariat did not declare the independence of Transcaucasia from the very beginning, due to the fact that the Georgian Social-Democrats, as well as the members of Dashnaktsutyun and Musavat parties did not seem to be in a hurry to secede from the former Russian Empire’s borders; they considered Transcaucasia as a constituent part of Federal Russia, and the only unacceptable thing for them was the Soviet government.

The main challenge of the Transcaucasian Commissariat that determined the future of the Transcaucasian state was to establish relationship with Turkey. During the First World War, the front line of the Eastern Caucasus was traversing the territory of the south-western Caucasus. Ottomans, on the one hand, offered Transcaucasia to establish good neighbourly relations and to make peace, while on the other hand, it continued military actions against Transcaucasia.

Transcaucasian Commissariat was alone on the diplomatic or military arena with Ottomans. After the Bolsheviks came to power, Russia

dropped out of the First World War. Transcaucasia, which was not even a subject of international jurisdiction, did not have an ally.

For the first time, the Ottoman government put forward the initiative to cease hostilities and launch peace talks. In the beginning of December 1917, the Commander of the Third Army of Turkey, Mehmed Vehib-Pasha, offered the Transcaucasian Commissariat to conclude a ceasefire agreement¹. On December 18 of the same year, the Ottoman Empire and Transcaucasia signed a temporary peace treaty in Erzincan, which envisaged termination of hostilities. After signing a temporary peace treaty, Ottomans offered the Transcaucasian government to start peace negotiations and send a delegation to Trabzon. The Commissariat delayed with the respond. Members of the Transcaucasian government restrained from pursuing independent politics, since they still cherished a hope that the Bolshevik government would fall in Russia. However, the event on January 6, 1918, in particular, the disbandment of the Russian Constituent Assembly by Bolsheviks, forced the Transcaucasian political parties who were in favour of Russian Federation to eventually secede from Russia and think about strengthening the Transcaucasian rule. The Transcaucasian Commissariat convened the legislative body of Transcaucasian Sejm on February 10 (23) in 1918. Similar to the Commissariat, the majority of Sejm consisted of members of the Social-Democratic, Dashnaksutyun and Musavat parties². Following the calling of Sejm, the relationship with the Ottomans was maintained by the Sejm on behalf of Transcaucasia.

While the Transcaucasian Commissariat's government was hesitating to begin negotiations with Ottomans and delayed their response, the situation became worse. The Armenians killed dozens of Muslims in Erzincan on 15 and 16 February 1918 to take revenge. Such facts became frequent. Turkey used the raids on Muslim population by Armenians to its advantage. On February 12, 1918, the Ottoman Commander Vehib-Pasha told the Commander of the Transcaucasian Army, General Lieutenant Ilya Odishelidze, that he was "no longer able to suspend his soldiers in the role of silent spectators who understand and realize that their parents

¹ Firuz K a z e m z a d e h, *The struggle for Transcaucasia*, 1917-1921, Tbilisi 2016, p. 110.

² The Transcaucasian Sejm was composed of the following parties: 1. Georgian Social-Democratic party (38, Georgians in the majority, 2 Russians and 3 Armenians); 2. Dashnaksutyun (27, all Armenians); 3. Musavat (30, all Azerbaijanis); 4. Cadets (1 Russian); 5. Social-Revolutionaries, the same SRs (1 Russian, 2 Armenians, 3 Georgians); 6. Georgian Socialist-Federalists (1 Georgian); 7. National Democrats (1 Georgian); 8. Muslims in Russia (4); 9. Muslim Socialist Block (7); 10. Hummet, the same Muslim Social Democratic party (3). (Ju. S e m e n o v, *Transcaucasian Republic*, journal „Revival”, 1, Paris, 1949, p. 122).

and children, their wives and relatives are doomed to destroy," therefore, he had to order his troops to attack³. As a result, the Turkish army invaded Erzurum almost without fight.

Despite the resumption of combat operations, Ottoman Commander Vehib-Pasha explained that it was a forced act and that it should not be considered as a violation of the Erzincan treaty; moreover, the Ottoman proposal to start negotiations between the Transcaucasia and the Ottoman Empire remained in force.

The Transcaucasian Sejm established a Peace Committee to review and discuss issues related to negotiations with the Ottoman Empire⁴. Noe Ramishvili, one of the leaders of the Georgian Social-Democratic Party was appointed as a chairman. The issue of Sejm's powers concerning the right to negotiate with Turkey was put on the agenda during the first session of the Peace Committee. They also discussed the terms of the peace treaty. A resolution that had to become the basis for the peace treaty was adopted at the final session of the Peace Committee. In particular: 1. The Sejm was authorized to establish peace with the Ottomans; 2. The Transcaucasian Sejm aimed at establishing the ultimate peace; 3. The main basis of the Agreement had to be the 1914 Russian-Ottoman borders; 4. The delegation should gain the right of self-government for the people of Eastern Anatolia, in particular, for Armenians to create autonomy within the Turkish state⁵. The Transcaucasian delegation had to act taking into consideration third and fourth clauses of this resolution while negotiation with Ottomans.

The Peace Committee of the Transcaucasian Sejm discussed the issue of electing members of the delegation at the session on February 15, 1918. The Polish Council asked the Committee to include a Polish representative, but their request was not taken into consideration due to the fact that the number of Polish residents in the Caucasus was small⁶. When discussing the formation of the delegation, the subject of consideration was the principle based on which the candidates should have been selected: according to party or nationality. Finally, it was decided that the delegation of the Transcaucasian Sejm would consist of members of the parties: in case of parties with large numbers – 2 members, and smaller parties

³ *Documents and Materials on the Foreign Policy of Transcaucasia in Georgia*, Tbilisi 1919, p. 48.

⁴ Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1819/1/225/1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1875/1/4/46.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1819/1/225/4.

had the right to have one member⁷. Based on the principle of the party, the following delegation members were named: The Social Democratic party – Akaki Chkhenkeli (Chairman) and Haidar-Beg Abashidze, Dashnakt-sutyun party – Alexander Khatisov (Khatisian) and Ruben Kachaznun; Musavat party – Mammad Hasan Hajinski and Khalil-beg Khasmam-madov; Georgian National Democratic party – George Gvazava, Georgian Socialist-Federalists party – George Laskhishvili, Muslim Socialist Bloc – Ibrahim Hajinski, Muslims in Russia (Ittihad party) – Mir-Yagub Mehtyev, “Hummet” (Muslim Social-Democratic) party – Akper Sheikh-Ul-Islamov⁸, Social Revolutionaries – Chikalin⁹. The delegates of the Transcaucasian delegation were approved at the session of Sejm on 17 February 1918.

In terms of nationality, the majority of the delegation was presented by Georgians and Azerbaijanis; the Armenians were in minority. The national ratio became significant later while making decisions during the sessions of the delegation in Trabzon.

In addition to main members of the delegation – the delegates, the delegation was composed of financial advisers (M. A. Bubiati), trade-industrial advisers (L. Kikodze), Military advisers (Colonel S.S. Eradze, Captain Pritoman and others, in total 10 militaries¹⁰, including the General Major of the Russian Empire Vladimir Levandovsky¹¹). The Armenian historian Arakel (Leo) Babakhanyan¹² and Georgian historian Pavle Ingorokva were invited as experts on historical issues.

Besides delegates and advisers, the delegation included clerks (three people), translators (one expert in French and two in Turkish languages), as well as the secretaries from political parties: Grigol Veshapeli, Akhmed Bek Pepinov, Samson Pirtskhalava, R. Ter-Minasyan; Secretaries of the Chairman of the Delegation: A. Kutateladze and I. Gogolashvili, two employees of the agricultural part, the aides of the chairman: Lieutenant A. Chkheidze and Cornet A. Kiziria, assistants – Giorgi Naneishvili, Rusudan Mikadze and the armed guard¹³.

⁷ Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1819/1/225/8.

⁸ Ibid., 1819/1/224/1.

⁹ Ibid., 1819/1/225/8; *Transcaucasian Sejm*, Newspaper “Ertoba”, 1918, N41, p. 3.

¹⁰ Ibid., 1819/1/224/1.

¹¹ Ibid., 1819/1/226/6.

¹² Ibid., 1819/1/225/10.

¹³ Ibid., 1819/1/224/1.

The delegation of Transcaucasian Sejm was the most numerous delegation in the history of Caucasus during the Trabzon Peace Conference¹⁴. The multiplicity and composition of the delegation clearly shows the diversity of Transcaucasian political parties and political pluralism.

Following the election of the delegation members, the Transcaucasian Sejm approved the regulations of the delegates at the session on February 17, 1918. They should have acted monolithically, without separatist demonstrations or unapproved actions by the Sejm. The delegation was accountable to the Sejm¹⁵. Bilateral negotiations with the Ottomans had to be held in Trabzon.

The departure of the Transcaucasian delegation to Trabzon to negotiate with the Ottoman Empire was hindered by the notification of the secretary of the Russian Peacekeeping delegation, Lev Karakhan. During the period of February-March 1918, negotiations between the Soviet Russia and the Allies (Germany, Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria) were being held, which resulted in the conclusion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918. A day before the signing of the Treaty, on March 2, Lev Karakhan informed the Transcaucasian Commissariat that the agreement was about to be signed which implied transferring the territories of Batumi, Kars and Ardahan to the Ottoman Empire. On March 2, 1918, the Transcaucasian government and Sejm spread a protest note. The government and the Sejm did not admit the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, since it was signed without the approval of Transcaucasia¹⁶. In such a situation, the Transcaucasian government and the Sejm doubted that the Ottoman Empire still wanted peace negotiations with the Transcaucasia¹⁷.

Despite the fact that according to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Turkey received the territories of the Transcaucasia from the Soviet Russia, the interests of the Ottoman Empire were not confined to the Caucasus. Consequently, it was important for the Ottoman Empire to establish relations with de-facto government of Transcaucasian Commissariat.

¹⁴ When the delegation of the Transcaucasian Sejm arrived to Trabzon, one of the Turks said: "if this is the entire population of the Transcaucasia, then it is little, but if it is the delegation only, then it is quite large". (Z. Avalishvili, *independence of Georgia 1918-1921 in international politics*, Tbilisi 1990, p. 49).

¹⁵ Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1819/1/225/7.

¹⁶ *Documents and Materials on the Foreign Policy of Transcaucasia in Georgia*, Tbilisi 1919, p. 85.

¹⁷ Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1819/1/224/1.

While heading to Trabzon, the delegation of the Transcaucasian Sejm hoped to start negotiations with the Ottomans from scratch and not to discuss the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk at the conference. Taking into consideration the existing reality, this expectation was maximalist and at the same time unrealistic and utopian.

The Transcaucasian delegation, which arrived in Trabzon by the ship from the port of Batumi, turned out to be in unequal conditions. Trabzon was selected as a place of negotiations between the Ottoman Empire and Transcaucasia as a neutral territory that was not controlled by either party. However, before the Transcaucasian delegation arrived in Trabzon (March 8, 1918, according to a new style), the city had already been occupied by the Ottoman military units and was ruled by the Turkish Wali¹⁸, who did not allow the Transcaucasian delegation to enter the city with the protection of the armed forces. The delegation managed to enter Trabzon only after arrival of the Ottoman delegation; moreover, the delegation had to concede and enter the city without the armed guards. During the meeting on the organizational issues of the future conference the Chairman of the Ottoman Delegation Rauf Bey did not agree with Akaki Chkhenkeli's proposal to chair the conference sessions in turns by the heads of the Transcaucasian and Ottoman delegations. All the plenary sessions of the Trabzon Conference (total of six meetings were held) were chaired by Rauf Bey¹⁹.

Unlike the large in number delegation of the Transcaucasian Sejm, the Ottoman Empire's representation consisted of 5 delegates. The Chairman of the Delegation was the first-rank captain, Hussein Rauf Bey; Members: Mehmed Husred Bey, Governor of the Legal Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire; Colonel Salim Bey, Chief Doctor of the Transcaucasian Front of the Ottoman Army; Major of General Staff Husref Bey, the Head of the Operative Department of the Ottoman Transcaucasian Front; and Major Yusuf Rukha Bey. The Ottoman delegation was accompanied by two secretaries (Professor of Constantinople University Ismail Gami Bey and First-rank Captain of the Ottoman Imperial Fleet Hummid Bey) and one Adjutant of the Chairperson – Lieutenant Abdurrahmann²⁰.

¹⁸ Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1819/1/225/21v.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1819/1/224/2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1875/1/4/4.

The Chairman Akaki Chkhenkeli spoke on behalf of the delegation at the plenary sessions of the Trabzon conference. Along with the negotiations between the Transcaucasia and the Ottoman Empire, the sessions of the Transcaucasian delegation were held, where delegates from Transcaucasia and the members of the delegation discussed requirements of Ottomans.

The expectation of the Transcaucasian delegation in Trabzon was not justified. In order to conclude the Treaty of Peace, the delegation of the Ottoman Empire demanded unconditional recognition of the transfer of the territories (Batumi, Ardahan and Kars) to Turkey stipulated by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The Turkish delegation explained in the declaration as of March 16, 1918, which dealt with the liability to acknowledge the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk for Transcaucasia, that in the course of negotiations of the Brest Treaty of Peace, the Transcaucasian authorities considered themselves to be part of the Russian Federation. The Transcaucasia did not represent an independent political entity, it was not recognized by any state and did not correspond to the principle provided by the international norms. Consequently, the Transcaucasian government and Sejm could not declare the part of the Brest Treaty, which deals with Transcaucasia, invalid²¹.

The position of the Transcaucasian delegation regarding the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was as follows: they believed that this treaty should not be spread on Transcaucasia, because the agreement signed by two other states could not oblige the third state²². Despite the request of the Ottoman delegation, the Transcaucasian delegation refused to recognize the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and sought to offer their project of territorial concessions to Turkey. Discussion over the issue of territorial concession started during the session on March 17, 1918 (according to the old style), the main issue of the discussion was to determine the principle: What was important an economic, ethnic or strategic factor?

The discussion regarding the criteria to be considered for the territorial concessions was initiated by the Georgian historian Pavle Ingorokva. In his opinion, the most important thing was consideration of the economic interests of Transcaucasia. In this regard, the Batumi district was of great importance; thus, the district of Batumi should not be transferred to Tur-

²¹ *Documents and Materials on the Foreign Policy of Transcaucasia in Georgia*, Tbilisi 1919, pp. 118-119.

²² Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1819/1/224/4.

key. Pavle Ingorokva's opinion was shared by members of the National-Democratic, Socialist-Federalists and Muslim Parties. The only thing was that the Musavat focused on the port of Batumi and not the entire Batumi district²³. They explained it by the fact that Baku oil transportation was carried out by means of Batumi port.

The Armenian delegates did not agree with the consideration of the economic factor while selecting territories for Turkey. The members of the Dashnaktsutyun party of the Transcaucasian delegation considered that they should be guided by ethnicity in terms of concession of the territories. Most of the population of the disputed territories were Armenians. Azerbaijanis opposed the demand of the Armenian delegates with a religious factor. In order to reinforce their opinions, the Armenian and Azeri delegates presented statistical data on the number of Armenians and Muslims, residing in these territories. Similar statistical data was presented by the Azeri delegate from the "Hummet" (Muslim Social-Democratic) party, Akper Sheikh-UI-Islamov²⁴.

According to Ruben Kachaznun, a member of the delegation, a representative of Dashnaktsutyun party, they should have given in the territories the population of which would easily adapt to the Ottoman governance; such regions included Artvin, Artaan and Oltisi, because the majority of inhabitants of those areas were Muslims, and they could easily get used to the Ottoman rule, unlike the Kars population, where Armenians constituted the majority²⁵. He accused the Georgian delegates that they would want to maintain Artvin and Ardagan to strengthen Batumi and Akhaltsikhe-Akhalkalaki. He reckoned that this was a violation of democratic principles, and Christians were put in a difficult situation. Kachaznun finally agreed to give in Kars except the part where the Armenians were settled²⁶.

The Transcaucasian delegation did not reach an agreement when discussing the issue of concession of territories. They were discussing a lot but in vain. The members of the delegation were led by national interests. Their national interests were so incompatible with each other that they could not elaborate a common position. Taking all this into consideration and according to the decision on March 13, 1918 of the Transcaucasian Sejm, the chairman of the delegation, Akaki Chkhenkeli's powers were

²³ Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1875/1/3/1-5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1875/1/3/4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1875/1/3/11-12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1875/1/3/9.

extended and he was able to act independently; the delegation members had only the right to vote during the sessions. This decision was made after listening to reports of 3 delegates arrived in Tbilisi during the Trabzon Conference²⁷.

According to Mammad Hasan Hajinski, a member of delegation from the Musavat party, the delegation was acting slowly while the Ottomans were occupying the requested territories and would soon present new claims: "We're talking about the concessions now, but tomorrow Turkey can take the territories over and there will be nothing to argue about. On the contrary, Turkey may set new demands", thus, he offered the delegation to give in all the requested areas except the Batumi port²⁸.

On the basis of the opinions expressed by the delegation of the Transcaucasia regarding the concession of the territories to the Ottoman Empire, the Chairman Akaki Chkhenkeli introduced the Declaration elaborated by him regarding the concession of the territories to the members of the Delegation during the session on March 21, 1918. It included the entire Oltisi Okrug, the largest part of Ardahan Okrug, the southern part of Kars district, Kaghizman Okrug except Kaghizman city and its northern part. The Armenian delegates did not agree with the concessions of the chairman of the delegation²⁹. Despite this, Akaki Chkhenkeli presented this project to the Ottoman delegation during the session at the Trabzon Conference on March 23 (April 5). Rauf Bey did not consider the Declaration of the Transcaucasia delegation regarding the concession of the territories and categorically demanded the recognition of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. He explained what they demanded: "Not only they should recognize the right of Ottoman governance of these three provinces, but also the Caucasus should renounce these provinces."

At the sessions of the Transcaucasian delegation, the issue of maintaining disputed territories by struggle was also discussed. This issue was raised by the Armenian delegate. The delegation members were aware that the Transcaucasian Armed Forces, which like the Transcaucasian state were also in the process of formation, had no sufficient resources to stop the Ottoman army. This was confirmed by the successful advance of the Ottoman army and rapid detention of territories during the conference. At the time of the Trabzon conference, the chairman of the delegation

27 Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1819/1/224/6.

28 *Ibid.*, 1875/1/3/8.

29 *Ibid.*, 1819/1/225/80r-v.

Akaki Chkhenkeli was sending dispatches and was interested, whether they would be able to maintain Batumi by means of weapons; he always received the same response that it would be impossible to maintain Batumi for more than two weeks³⁰. Azerbaijani delegates were against the protection of the territories by means of a struggle. They said they would not be able to force the Muslim population to fight against the Ottoman Empire to defend the Transcaucasian state. In this respect, a member of the Musavat party, Khalil-beg Khas-Mamedov's speech is worth mentioning. He said: "Muslims have not seen any real benefits from the Transcaucasian government yet; there are examples that when dealing with Muslims the point is always their duties and not their rights. Under these conditions, we cannot speak about the obligation of the Transcaucasian peoples to defend the borders of the state which actually does not exist"³¹.

While considering the issue of defence of the disputed areas by means of weapons, it was obvious that one of the main obstacles to the unity of the Transcaucasian state was the consciousness of the population, they were alien to the common interests of the Transcaucasia, as to why they should fight to defend the territories of the state they did not perceive themselves as its part.

If we consider the real situation and the power balance in the Caucasus of that period, it is clear that the delegation's debates on concessions/demands were in vain. Turkey could do that, and it was later proved that whether willingly or not it would receive what it had demanded.

During the sessions of the Transcaucasian delegation in Trabzon, the issue of seeking autonomy for the so-called "Turkish Armenians" residing on Turkish territory was being considered concurrently with the issues of concession of the territories to the Ottoman Empire and defence of the disputed territories with weapons. According to the aforementioned, the Transcaucasian Sejm adopted a four-clause resolution regarding the peace negotiations with Turkey and according to the fourth clause, the Transcaucasian delegation should gain the right of self-government from the Ottoman Empire for the autonomy of the eastern Anatolian peoples, in particular establishing the Armenian state within the Turkey³². This was one of the most acute topics. Armenian delegates were again in the minority.

³⁰ Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1875/1/4/22.

³¹ Ibid., 1875/1//3/17.

³² Ibid., 1875/1/4/46.

In the course of the discussion, the Armenian delegate Aleksandre Khatsov used a book "Collection of Diplomatic Documents" published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire in 1914, as well as the statistics by a German scholar Lepius published in 1913, according to which 1034000 ethnic Armenians of the 2600,000 population were residing in six vilayets of Turkey³³. According to him, the existence of the autonomous unit of the population (which was benevolent to the Transcaucasia) in the adjoining territory of the Ottoman Empire would have strategic importance for the defence of Transcaucasia. In this respect, the Armenian delegate tried to present the demand for the so-called autonomy for the Turkish Armenians in the context of the common interests of Transcaucasia and thus, receive support of the delegates. Yet, Khatsov's arguments were not convincing enough. Georgian and Azerbaijani delegates were against to present the demand to gain the right of the so-called Turkish Armenians' autonomy to the Ottoman delegation. The Georgian delegate, a member of the National Democratic Party Giorgi Gvazava, called this demand by the Armenian delegates a "reckless adventure". He and a member of the delegation, Giorgi Laskhishvili from the Georgian Socialist-Federalists Party believed that England, France and Russia failed to solve the problem of Armenians before, and accordingly the weak South Transcaucasia could not deal with such a difficult issue. Khalil-beg Khas-Mamedov, a member of the Musavat party considered that the issue of autonomy for Armenians would interfere in Ottomans' domestic affairs³⁴.

The attitude of Georgian and Azeri delegates towards the gaining of the so-called autonomy of the Turkish Armenians stipulated the categorical position of the Ottomans. The Ottoman Empire would regard the issue of gaining the autonomy for Armenians as an interference in the internal affairs and would react acutely. The Ottoman delegation categorically pointed out to the Transcaucasian delegation: "If you want to reach peace do not talk about Armenia's autonomy"³⁵.

Georgian and Azeri delegates were against requesting the so-called autonomy for the Turkish Armenians from the Ottoman delegation at the Trabzon Conference. Yet, they did not support the entire deletion of the issue from the agenda. During the First World War, the large number of Ar-

33 Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1819/1/225/63.

34 *Ibid.*, 1819/1/225/65r-v.

35 *Ibid.*, 1819/1/225/65.

menians oppressed by the Ottoman Empire entered Transcaucasia. Azerbaijani and Georgian delegates saw the danger in them. They thought that if Armenian refugees did not return, they would stir up “the life of Transcaucasia, which already had difficult intercultural relationships”³⁶. Taking that into consideration, they believed that they should request from the Ottoman Empire to return the Armenian refugees.

The Transcaucasian delegation failed to reach agreement regarding the so-called autonomy for the Turkish Armenians. In this case, the final decision was made by the chairman Akaki Chkhenkeli. In his memorandum to the Ottoman delegation regarding the issue of the so-called autonomy for the Turkish Armenians, Akaki Chkhenkeli stated that by putting forward this issue, they did not mean to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire, though if the Ottomans perceived this issue in such a way, they were ready to have a joint meeting and find the means that would allow this issue to be discussed³⁷. Akaki Chkhenkeli’s offer was unacceptable for the Ottoman delegation, and they agreed to discuss the issue of Armenians only in the context of the return of the refugees which could happen only after signing the Peace Treaty³⁸.

The sessions of the delegation of the Transcaucasian Sejm at the Trabzon Conference included discussions regarding the proposal of Transcaucasia government and Sejm to proclaim independence of Transcaucasia. The issue of declaring independence of Transcaucasia was first raised by Giorgi Laskhishvili, a member of the Socialist-Federalists Party on February 14, 1918 during the session of the Peace Committee, which was established to negotiate with the Ottoman Empire and when the issue of Sejm’s authority to negotiate was being discussed. At that time, the head of the Peace Committee, a Georgian Social-Democrat Noe Ramishvili stated that the Committee would raise the issue of independence of the Transcaucasia in case Turkey would force it³⁹. And this happened indeed, at the first meeting of the Trabzon Conference, the chairman of the Ottoman delegation Rauf Bey asked how a peace agreement could be signed between the parties and how the state would be protected if it was not an independent international law subject. The Ottoman delegation also raised the issue of political arrangement of South Caucasus. They were wondering why the negotiations were con-

36 Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1819/1/225/66.

37 Ibid., 1819/1/225/80v.

38 Ibid., 1819/1/225/90v.

39 Ibid., 1819/1/225/2.

ducted by the legislative body – Sejm and not the government, as in the case of a republican rule⁴⁰.

During the personal meetings of the delegates, the Ottoman delegation suspected that the Transcaucasia was not going to declare independence. The Chairman of the delegation Akaki Chkhenkeli had to explain consistently that the state of Transcaucasia was in the process of establishing and it would have constitution and would ensure the fulfilment of the peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman delegation directly pointed out that they were interested in declaring the independence of Transcaucasia. Chairman of the Delegation Akaki Chkhenkeli spoke about the necessity of declaring Transcaucasian independence at the meeting of the Transcaucasian delegation on March 20, 1918. According to him, the suspension of Ottoman military operations would be possible only in terms of independence. The part of delegates (Kachaznun, M. A. Buniatian, Mehmed Hassan Hajinski) did not agree with the Chairman⁴¹. As a result, the discussion on this issue did not continue.

As we have already noted, despite the Ottomans' request, the Transcaucasian delegation did not recognize the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. However, the firm position of Turkey and the advance of the Ottoman Army led the Transcaucasian delegation to discuss the recognition of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. This took place during the last sixth session of the Trabzon Conference (March 24, 1918), when the Ottoman Empire presented a 48-hour ultimatum with the demand to recognize the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk⁴². This was the only issue discussed by the Transcaucasian delegates which ended with the unanimous agreement after hot debates. Despite the contradictory opinions, the delegates eventually came to the conclusion that they had to acknowledge the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Georgia and Armenia suffered most because of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Aleksandre Khatsov and Ruben Kachaznun, members of the delegation of the Dashnaksutyun party sent a dispatch to the Minister of Finance Karchikyan and the Chairman of the Government, Evgeni Gegechkori (April 10, 1918) where they wrote that in the given situation the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was considered "less evil"⁴³.

40 Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1819/1/226/4.

41 Ibid., 1819/1/225/86r-v.

42 Ibid., 1819/1/224/7.

43 Ibid., 1819/1/225/83.

Under the “given situation,” the delegates implied Ottoman military actions. The members of the delegation were aware that the Ottoman army were occupying the territories that they had demanded from Transcaucasia during the Trabzon Conference. Obviously, there was an expected danger, the Ottoman Empire would not be satisfied with the detention of the territories provided by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and would demand more territories. Transcaucasia did not have any military or political opportunities to stop Ottoman advancement. Taking this into consideration, the delegation of the Transcaucasian Sejm agreed to recognize the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Chairman of the Transcaucasian Delegation Akaki Chkhenkeli informed the Transcaucasian Sejm of the ultimatum set forth by the Ottoman Empire. On March 31 1918, the Transcaucasian Sejm discussed the Ottoman demand – to recognize the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Georgian and Armenian members of the Sejm were against and deemed the recognition of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk as the betrayal of motherland. Finally, Sejm refused to recognize the Treaty and adopted a resolution drafted by the leader of the Social Democratic Party Noe Zhordania, which envisaged the challenge of the Transcaucasian delegation⁴⁴. The last session of the delegation of the Transcaucasian Sejm was held on April 1, 1918 (according to the old style). The session began in the morning with the resolution passed by the Sejm: “Taking into consideration that Turkey and Transcaucasia failed to reach the bilateral agreement, the Transcaucasian delegation was proposed to return to Tbilisi immediately”⁴⁵. Thus, Sejm and the Government did not agree with the delegation’s proposal and the delegation was recalled. Akaki Chkhenkeli informed the Ottoman delegation that it was not a cessation of negotiations but a temporary break⁴⁶. Delegation of Transcaucasian Sejm left Trabzon on April 1, 1918. They thought that Batumi had already been occupied by Ottomans, therefore they arrived in Poti⁴⁷.

Diplomatic mission of the Transcaucasian delegation sent to the Trabzon Peace Conference ended without any results. They were not able to defend the common national and Transcaucasian interests. The delegates represented a state that did not exist legally, which created additional obstacles to them. As a secretary of the Transcaucasian delegation at the

44 *In Transcaucasian Sejm*, Newspaper “Ertoba” (“Unity”), 1918, N72, p. 2.

45 Historical Archive of National Archives of Georgia, 1819/1/225/104v.

46 *Ibid.*, 1819/1/224/8.

47 *Pease Delegation*, Newspaper “Sakartvelo” (“Georgia”), 1918, N73, p. 3.

Peace Conference, a member of the Socialist-Federalists Party of Georgia Samson Phirts Khalava wrote the following in the published letter "from Trabzon": "Our proposal is so fair, sound and valuable as our reasoning was supported by our military training. Here is only one language, one document: war preparation and ability to carry out military actions. Those who are not equipped with this weapon and come out to the international arena to negotiate peacefully must be sure from the very beginning that they will lose and will be defeated shamefully.

After unsuccessful negotiations with the Ottoman Empire, the Transcaucasian Sejm declared war on Turkey. Military actions were accomplished by the victory of the Ottoman Army. In April 15-21 1918, Ottoman Armies occupied Batumi, Ozurgeti, Meskheti and Georgians were able to stop them only at Choloki. On April 9 (22) 1918, the Commander of the Ottoman Caucasus Front, Vahib-Pasha sent a telegram to Akaki Chkhenkeli, where the combat operations were justified by the termination of the ongoing Peace Conference in Trabzon and pointing to the need to continue the negotiations⁴⁸.

In the context of war with the Ottoman Empire, on April 22, 1918, the Transcaucasian Sejm announced the independence of the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic. On the next day, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Akaki Chkhenkeli informed Vehib-Pasha that the Transcaucasian government would recognize the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and offered peace negotiations to be held in Batumi⁴⁹. The Turks agreed to Chkhenkeli's proposal.

Sejm again elected Akaki Chkhenkeli as the Chairman of the Transcaucasian delegation at Batumi Conference and elected the following members: Niko Nikoladze from Georgian Social Democrats, Mehmet Hassan Hajinski and Mamed-Emin Rasul-Zade from Musavat Party; Aleksandre Khatsov and Ruben Kachaznun from Dashnaksutyun Party; Besides delegates, the delegation included advisors, representatives of the agencies, secretaries of Georgian, Armenian and Muslim national councils, members of the military mission (two generals and three colonels), and adjutants. Similar to the Trabzon Conference, the Transcaucasian delegation was numerous in Batumi negotiations, including 45 members.⁵⁰

48 *Documents and Materials on the Foreign Policy of Transcaucasia in Georgia*, Tbilisi 1919, p. 199.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

50 *Peace Conference of Batumi*, Newspaper "Sakartvelo" ("Georgia"), N90. 1918, p. 2.

The Transcaucasian delegation arrived in Batumi on May 6, 1918. Unlike Trabzon Conference, the positions of the delegation in the Batumi Conference were stronger because Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic had already existed. This negotiation was not only between Transcaucasia and the Ottoman Empire, but Germany also participated in unofficially, therefore, they hoped that the Ottoman Empire would not be able to play a decisive role⁵¹. However, the Transcaucasian delegation in Batumi appeared in a grave situation. Apart from the territories envisioned in the Brest Treaty, the Ottoman Empire requested districts of Akhaltsikhe-Akhalkalaki and two-quarters of the Erevan province. Now the Transcaucasian delegation were demanding to stick to the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

An advisor lawyer and diplomat of Transcaucasian Delegation Zurab Avalishvili commented on the Batumi conference: "It has not been a month since the words in the Sejm were spoken: Batumi or Death! Our life is not worth without Batumi! And now, the delegates of independent Transcaucasia are in Batumi but not as if at home, but as visitors of Turks (May 6, 1918). It was obvious that the Armenians arrived in Batumi more frustrated than the Georgians⁵². The Azerbaijanis were in different situation. They were looking at Turks as if they were friends and were able to help them in many ways ... The general policy of the Transcaucasia had to be elaborated based on different motives, assessments, fears and aspirations!"⁵³.

Negotiations were resumed in Batumi on May 11, 1918. The chairman of the Ottoman delegation was the Minister of Justice and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Halil Sami-Bey, and members were: The Commander-in-Chief of the Ottoman Front Ferie-Vehib Mehmed-Pasha, Legal Advisor Nusrad-Bey, former First Secretary first in Petersburg then in Berlin Orkhan-Bey⁵⁴, and Marine and Justice Minister Khalil-Bey⁵⁵. Only one joint session of the Batumi Conference was held, the rest of the time was dedicated to discussions of the notes and private meetings.

It became clear on the example of the Transcaucasian delegation at the Batumi Conference that the existence of the Transcaucasian state

51 *Pease Delegation*, „Newspaper Ertoba” (“Unity”), N95, 1918, p.1.

52 Kars had already been occupied by the Turks.

53 Z. Avalishvili, *The Independence of Georgia in International Politics of 1918-1921*, Tbilisi 1990, p. 52.

54 *Pease Conference of Batumi*, Newspaper “Sakartvelo” (“Georgia”), N90, 1918, p. 3.

55 *Pease Delegation*, Newspaper “Sakartvelo” (“Georgia”), 1918, N85, p. 3.

was unpromising. Georgians were oriented towards German, Azeri – towards Turks and Armenians – towards English. It became obvious that the Transcaucasian nations were unable to develop a common position. The Azerbaijanis were in favour of Ottomans' interests more than the Transcaucasian ones. They were meeting the Ottomans individually and informed them about details of the internal negotiations within the Transcaucasian delegation. The Azerbaijani delegates always supported Ottomans during the sessions and not the state they represented. Azerbaijani delegate Hajinski believed that the concession of the territories required by the Ottoman Empire would not harm the vital interests of the Transcaucasia. In this case, he was led by the national interests, since the Azerbaijanis considered having good relationship with the Ottoman Empire was better than with the territories of Georgia and Armenia, which were claimed by the Ottomans.

The leader of the party Noe Jordania wrote about the Transcaucasian delegation sent to Batumi Conference: "There is not one official delegation in Batumi who speaks on behalf of the Transcaucasia and there are several delegations of the Tatars, who act in a different manner, as if an official delegation. They directly invite the Ottomans in the Transcaucasia. The impression is as if our delegation is a reflection of the spirit not of the entire Transcaucasus but only of Armenia-Georgia".⁵⁶

The end of the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic started at Batumi Conference. The disagreement of the Transcaucasian delegation and the constant contradictions made the disintegration of the Transcaucasia inevitable. On May 22, 1918, Georgian members of the delegation gathered separately and discussed future actions. It became clear for the Georgian delegates and the Georgian chairman of the delegation that they could stop the Ottoman aggression with the help of Germany and without the Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Georgian delegates initiated secret negotiations with the German representative Von-Lossow in Batumi. The chairman of the delegation Akaki Chkhenkeli wrote in the secret letters sent to Noe Ramishvili and Noe Zhordania in Tbilisi on the necessity of declaring independence. As a result, on May 26, 1918, the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic was dissolved. The powers and authorities of the delegation in Batumi were suspended as well.

Delegation of the Transcaucasian Sejm at Trabzon and Batumi Peace Conferences was rather a conglomerate of nationalities and parties than

⁵⁶ Noe Zhordania, *Peace Negotiations*, Newspaper "Sakartvelo" ("Georgia"), N103, p. 2.

a single state delegation. They were unable to reach agreement on a number of issues. Their national interests were so incompatible that they failed to develop a consensus-based action platform and confront with the Ottoman diplomats at the same time. The military force did not support the delegation that forced the Ottomans to make some concessions. They were not able to accomplish the goals due to the inability of unanimity and disagreements, as well as the political situation at that time.

Transcaucasian Sejm's delegation on Conferences in Trabzon and Batumi (March-May, 1918)

The paper examines the activities of the delegation of the Transcaucasian Sejm sent to Trabzon and Batumi during the last stage of the First World War, in the spring of 1918, for negotiations with the Ottomans. The aim of the research is to identify, based on the study of the history of the Transcaucasian Sejm Delegation, the resistance and disagreements between the Transcaucasian nations, which made it impossible for the Transcaucasia to exist as a separate political entity – the state.

Georgians and Azeris predominated in the delegation on national grounds, while Armenians were in minority. The national ratio proved to be significant in making decisions during the meetings of the current delegation in Trabzon. The Delegation of the Transcaucasian Sejm sent to Trabzon and Batumi Peace Conferences represented conglomeration of nationalities and parties and not a unified state delegation. They failed to reach an agreement on a number of issues. Their national interests proved to be so incompatible that they were unable to develop a consensus-based action platform and confront the Ottoman diplomats with a united force. The delegation was not backed by military forces that could compel the Ottomans to make some concessions. During the activities of the Transcaucasian Delegation, it became even clearer that the existence of the Transcaucasian state had no prospects.

Key words: Transcaucasian Sejm; Trabzon and Batumi Conferences; Transcaucasian History; Transcaucasian's Delegation; Ottoman empire.

BOLSHEVIK REPRESSIONS AGAINST THE
CATHOLICOS-PATRIARCH OF GEORGIA KRISTEPORE
TSITSKISHVILI (CHSITOPHORUS III)

by Giorgi Sosiashvili
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After the establishment of the Bolshevik regime in Georgia, the society had been fallen into a difficult situation. The country had become a target of awful repressions and consequently the Georgian Orthodox church also fell into unbearable condition. The government had carried out direct attacks not only against the Georgian Orthodox church, but against other religious minorities too.¹ Georgia Revolutionary Committee issued a decree № 22 on April 15, 1921, whereas in articles 14 and 15, it was noted that: “None of the religious or ecclesiastic societies are allowed to have any property. They are not allowed to have legal personality and therefore all the property is transferred to the public belonging”.²

As it is visible from the documents, Bolsheviks had left the church without any rights, whereas the religious societies had been deprived the right of having legal personality. The Bolsheviks started to rob the Orthodox churches and the campaign became hysterical. The Bolsheviks with the establishment of the so-called “Unions of Unfaithful” undertook drastic measures and started fight against the Georgian Orthodox Church and the ecclesiastic officials. The district officials and the representatives of the Revolutionary committees had carried out discrediting actions against the church, and robbed them of their property. Repressions on

¹ G. Sosiashvili, *Catholic church during the Bolshevik repressions in Shida Kartli (according to the unknown documents)*, International Scientific Conference dedicated to 90 year anniversary of academician Mariam Lortkipanidze, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Collection of works, Tbilisi 2014, p. 224.

² S. Vardosanidze, *His holiness and beatitude Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia Ambrosius (1921-1927)*, Tbilisi 2009, p. 71.

behalf of the Bolshevik government affected not only the low level ranked ecclesiastic officials, but the prelates too. In order to understand the governmental attitude towards the Orthodox church in Georgia by then, could be vividly imagined in Catholicos-Patriarch's words, which he said on the day of his enthroning on September 14, 1921: "The heaviness of the Catholicos' burden? Which of use does not know about the burden of their position, especially during times like this, when those in charge look upon the church with hatred, when the unfaithfulness has ascended and people feel awkward to show their religious belief."³ During the Patriarche's enthroning, his words were not unfortunate accident, as the Bolsheviks started the persecution of the ecclesiastic officials, alongside their fight against the Orthodox Church. In reference to the Bolshevik repressions in the country, Catholicos had issued a statement to the Genoa Conference in 1922, where 29 countries and Great Britain's 5 dominions had participated. In his statement to the conference, Patriarch had underlined the horrible situation, in which the country had been due to the Bolshevik repressions, whereas outlining the horrible state of the Georgian Orthodox church and society at large.⁴ Catholicos-Patriarch had continued to divulge the Bolshevik government in the future, whereas it is important to note that soon after this event his holiness had become a prisoner, alongside many other ecclesiastic officials among the Georgian Orthodox church. On July 29, 1923 Catholicos-Patriarch had meet the Secretary-General of the England's Labor Party Coates. The foreign guest had been traveling in Russia and carrying out propaganda of Soviet Russia in the West. During his meeting with Coates, Catholicos-Patriarch had openly stated: "I do not think that the situation around the nation, church and ecclesiastic officials is that tragic, however I am afraid of the situation, where the members of the Catholicos' Council and other members had been captive for 7 months, the apparatus of the administration had been brought down. This is what bothers me and gives me no peace."⁵

The company, which began against churches, became hysterical. The Bolsheviks with the help of forming "The Union of Atheists" declared a merciless struggle against the orthodox religion and ecclesiastics, which caused a great indignation of society. Repressions towards ecclesiastics

³ Ibid., p. 75.

⁴ *History of Georgian Diplomacy (Chrestomathy)*, Tbilisi 2004, pp. 547-550.

⁵ N. Shiolashvili, *The unknown manuscript of the Catholicos-Patriarche of Georgia Ambrosi-dialogue with the representative of the Worker's Organization of England, Cotes; Collection "Scholar with Poetic sense" (Giorgi Nadiradze – 80)*, Tbilisi 2012, pp. 289-290.

got so severe that refused themselves to serve. They took off their cassocks themselves. Shaving of priests became in fashion, they did it by their own hands in order to avoid of terror from the government.⁶ The Bolsheviks refused to give pieces of lands to the priests living in villages. This meant their starvation, that's why they made themselves give up services and address to the local Executive Committees about it. The documents stored at Gori Archive confirm that Gori Executive Committee managed furious struggles for closing of churches and discrediting of ecclesiastics. In one of the circulars, we read:

“Circular, immediate and secret

To all the heads of the Executive Committee of the communities

The district executive committee commission you to immediately provide information about the questions below.

1) How many churches (synagogues, Mosques) are there in the district?

- a) in the villages;
 - b) in the towns
 - c) in which, are the liturgies conducted;
 - d) in which, liturgies are not conducted
- 2) How many churches are closed down by the locals?
- a) in the villages;
 - b) in the towns
 - c) in which, are the liturgies conducted;
 - d) in which, liturgies are not conducted?
- 3) How many churches are operational?
- a) in the villages;
 - b) in the towns;
- 4) How many monasteries are there?
- 5) How many of them are closed down?
- a) How many friaries
 - b) How many nunneries
- 6) How many ecclesiastic officials quit the church?
- 7) How many ecclesiastic officials cut their beards?
- 8) How many ecclesiastic officials have been forcefully shaved?
- 9) How many priests are there, who openly oppose the church?
- 10) How many churches are there to have been turned into clubs,

⁶ *Antireligious policy of Soviet government in Shida Kartli (20s of the XX century), documents were edited by G. Sosiasvili, Tbilisi 2013, pp. 462-464.*

libraries and other cultural institutions?

11) How many instances have there been of protest on behalf of the parish?

12) Are there any cases of liturgies held at private houses after the close down of the churches?

13) Are there any cases of the funerals,, christenings, weddings among the non-party population?

May 22, 1923 N 3139

Department of Domestic Affairs

Head (Tskhovrebashvili)

Secretary (Maliyev)⁷

The Bolsheviks had carried out cruel terror against the Catholicos-Patriarch Ambrosi Khelaia (Ambrosius). The Soviet government had inflicted division among the ecclesiastic officials and subsequently managed to entice several heads of the Georgian Orthodox church. On June 13, 1922 the members of the “Cheka” (The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission) and stated that, they were taking the Catholicos-Patriarch for the interrogation to their superiors. The Catholicos transferred the governance over the Orthodox Church to the Manglel-Urbneli bishop of Kristepore Tsitskishvili. On November 17, 1922 the government had seized the Patriarchal palace. Patriarch Ambrosius had been kept imprisoned.⁸ On January 13, 1923as according to the decision of the “Cheka”, The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission Patriarch in-charge Ambrosius alongside with the members of the Catholicos’ council had been arrested. The governance of the Church had been passed to Chsitophorus.⁹

As it was noted, the Bolshevik officials inflicted division among the ecclesiastics, whereas part of the high ranking ecclesiastic officials had been in cooperation and dialogue with the Soviets, on the other hand their counterparts had been implacable. The future Patriarch, Chsitophorus was among those, who favored dialogue in order for the savior of the Church.¹⁰ Kristepore Tsitskishvili had been supported by many high-ranking ecclesiastic officials in his decision to cooperate with Russians, in particular: Davit Katchakhidze, Nestor Kubaneishvili, Svimeon Tchelidze.

⁷ Gori Archives, Fund № 3, Description № 1, Case № 37, p. 4.

⁸ S. Vardosanidze, *His holiness and beatitude Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia Chsitophorus III (1827-1932)*, Tbilisi 2009, p. 47.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

This group had supposed that the logic behind the Bolshevik repressions had been the letter submitted to the Genoa Conference by Catholicos Ambrosius.¹¹ The Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia Ambrosius (Khelaia) had become a victim of Soviet repressions and subsequently died on March 29, 1927, whereas being replaced by Chsitophorus III, whose enthronement took place on October 14, 1927. Chsitophorus candidacy had been considered as an acceptable person to the Soviet government, whereas it was attested in a correspondence by Vladimir Dekanozoff to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. As according to his information, on the day of the election of the new Patriarch, there had been a confrontation between the supporters of Christophorus and Ambrosius. The advantage had been gained by the supporters of Christophorus, whereas the supporters of Ambrosius had left the meeting in protest. As Dekanozoff mentioned, the newly elected Patriarch had expressed his positive attitude towards the Bolshevik government and critically assessed the actions of the Mensheviks.¹² Despite his loyalty towards the Bolshevik government, soon the new Patriarch had also become a target of Bolshevik repressions, whereas the government started a new wave of repression against the Orthodox Church. As according to the 1928 results, the number of the church had decreased to 350 from 1450, number of ecclesiastic officials to 300 out of 1600. In 1928 “The Union of Atheists” had been established in Georgia and in 1930 an Antireligious University.¹³ Deacon Nikita Talakvadze had noted about the Soviet terror against the Orthodox Church: “The Georgian Church is breathing its last breath and soon after the Patriarch will be left without parish and ecclesiastic officials”.¹⁴ The Catholicos-Patriarch Christophorus III had been forced to react and he subsequently submitted a letter of protest to the Executive Committee of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic on October 1, 1928.¹⁵ Catholicos had to agree the transfer of ecclesiastic officials from one eparchy to the other with the Soviet government and this is attested in the letter signed by Christophorus III preserved at Gori Archives. In the letter we read: “To Gori Executive Committee, this is to inform that the head of the Urbnis-Matskhveri eparchy Simeon had been released of his duties from the

11 S. Vardosanidze, *His holiness and beatitude Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia Chsitophorus III (1827-1932)*, Tbilisi 2009, p. 50.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*, p. 119

Urbnisi eparchy, due to his transfer to Kutaisi-Gaenati eparchy, whereas episcopus Ephrem had been charged with the governance of the Urbnisi eparchy. The following is to be reported to Gori Executive Committee. Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia Christophorus (Tsitskishvili), 1930.¹⁶

Such action on behalf of the Catholicos had been a part of the tactics developed against the Russian, however the Soviet did slip this action away and this is attested in the repressions carried out against the Patriarch's family. The head of the Georgian Orthodox Church had been deprived of his house located in Surami. On January 1930, Catholicos had issued a letter asking the Central Executive Committee to return his property, whereas he received positive feedback, but the local government, in particular Surami Executive Committee had not returned him his property. Due to this fact, Patriarch had issued the following letter to Gori District Executive Committee on February 2, 1930: "Me and my children, we own a house in Surami, of which we have been deprived by the local Executive Committee. We have asked the Central Executive Committee of the return of the house, whereas having received the positive answer the local executive committee still has not returned our property. We hereby urge you to act according to the decree of the Central Executive Committee. February 2, 30. Tsitskishvili.¹⁷ It seems that the letter did not have any effect on the Soviet government and the Patriarch had to address Mikha Tskhakaia, head of the Central Executive Committee of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. In the correspondence, we read: "In January this year, me and my brother Kirile had been deprived of our houses in village Japinauri (part of Surami), district of Gori, due to the fact that we are part of the religious cult and that is why we are conferred to the category of Kulaks. My daughter Elene had been evicted from our house and consequently, we had been forbidden to live in Surami. I had asked for the help to the Central Executive Committee, while they took a positive decision in reference to my case, the local government does not carry the decision out, despite the fact that my daughter Elene had asked the Surami Executive Committee. My brother Kirile had also been evicted from his house, who used to serve in the local church. He alongside with his children belongs to the category of the poor and if he was a priest up to this day, this was, because the Soviet laws had allowed him to do so.

¹⁶ G. S o s i a s h v i l i, *Georgian Orthodox Church and religious minorities in Shida Kartli during the first part of the XX century*, Tbilisi 2014, pp. 17-18.

¹⁷ Territorial body of the Georgian National Archives, Gori Regional Archives, Fund № 3, description № 1, Case 758, p. 459.

He has not done anything else against the Soviet government, in order for him to be exiled from Gori district. I hereby urge you to carry out the Central Committee's decision and return us our property. I also ask my brother and his family to be allowed to return to his house, which is of low price.

Catholicos-Patriarch, Kristepore Tsitskishvili.

The current letter has writing done with the pencil: "It seems that Tsitskishvili's property had not been returned to him, as he did not show up at the Surami Council, whereas the regional executive Committee possessed the decision of his property to be returned. With regards t the Catholicos' brother, Kirile, he was exiled, but without any legal grounds, he unlawfully returned back." At this point the writing is interrupted and we cannot understand the essence of the sentence. The letter of the Patriarch is dated back to March 14, 1930. It also has other writing on it, a sort of a resolution "Sec. (meaning word "Secret"), Gori Disrict Executive Committee to be asked for the explanation in reference to this matter. We cannot identify the signature, however we suppose it should have been Mikha Tskhaki's signature.¹⁸ It seems that Central Executive Committee's decision had not been carried out by the local government and Patriarch had not regained his property. This fact is attested in the correspondence of Kristepore Tsitskishvili dated back to April 14, 1930: "To the head of the Central Executive Committee,

A correspondence on behalf of the Catholicos-Patriarch Christophorus.

In January of this year I had asked the Central Executive Committee to return my property (approximately 13 of a hundredth) located in Surami, village Japinauri. The local; Executive Committee had deprived me and my daughter of the property, whilst she was exiled from Surami and asked never to return there. I, with such actions against me, have been "Kulakized", but how can I be considered a "Kulak", owning such a small part of the land. The Central Executive Committee issued a positive decision in reference to my case and ordered Gori District Executive Committee to carry out the decision, but in vain, they have not returned my property. When my children went to Surami Executive Committee and asked them to carry out the decision, they have been arrested. In case my property is "collectivized", I hereby ask you for my property to be considered as part

¹⁸ Territorial body of the Georgian National Archives, Gori Regional Archives, Fund № 3, description № 1, Case 758, p. 525.

of the “collective” property and my children to be allowed to reside there, as they are independent citizens and live independent from me.

I ask for your immediate response, to issue a decree for my property’s return and for me to be able to present it to the local Executive committee. It is already Spring and nor my family nor the other are able to work on the land. The Central Committee had already issued a appositive decision, however it needs to be executed. A citizen, Catholicos-Patriarch Christophorus, April 14 1930.¹⁹ The Catholicos’ letter has a writing “I have submitted the same letter to the head of the Central Executive Committee on March 6 of this year, to the Secretary on March 14. I was promised the CentralExecutive Committee’s decision would have been fulfilled, but the local Executive Committee is against it. Catholicos-Patriarch, Christophorus”²⁰

It seems that the Georgian central Executive Committee had played double games by issuing positive response in reference to the return of the Patriarch’s property, however tasking the local Executive Committee to act on the contrary. Despite of his many attempts to regulate the relations with the Soviet government, the family of the Catholicos-patriarch had experienced the biting of the Bolshevik regime. The Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia had passed away on January 10, 1932.

¹⁹ Territorial body of the Georgian National Archives, Gori Regional Archives, Fund № 3, description № 1, Case 758, p. 525.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 622-623.

Bolshevik repressions against the Catholicos-patriarch
of Georgia Kristepore Tsitskishvili (Chsitophorus III)

The current article is an attempt to examine the repressions in Georgia after the Bolshevik occupation in 1921. During that time, the country had become a target of awful repressions and consequently the Georgian Orthodox church also fell into unbearable condition. The government had carried out direct attacks not only against the Georgian Orthodox church, but against other religious minorities too.

As it is visible from the documents analyzed in the article, Bolsheviks had left the church without any rights, whereas the religious societies had been deprived the right of having legal personality. The Bolsheviks started to rob the Orthodox churches and the campaign became hysterical. The Bolsheviks with the establishment of the so-called "Unions of Unfaithful" undertook drastic measures and started fight against the Georgian Orthodox Church and the ecclesiastic officials.

The district officials and the representatives of the Revolutionary committees had carried out discrediting actions against the church, and robbed them of their property. Repressions on behalf of the Bolshevik government affected not only the low level ranked ecclesiastic officials, but the prelates too. In the current article, we draw special attention to the Bolshevik repressions against the Catholicos-patriarch of Georgia Kristepore Tsitskishvili (Chsitophorus III)

Key words: Soviet repressions, religion, religious minorities, Catholicos-patriarch, sovietization

III. REVIEWS AND COMMENTAIRES

JULIUS ASSFALG (1919-2001), GERMAN SCHOLAR OF THE CHRISTIAN EAST AND KARTVELOLOGIST

by Nino Tsikhishvili
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Julius Assfalg was born on November 6, 1919, in Bavaria, Germany. After finishing local folk school and Traunstein's humanistic gymnasium, he mastered philosophy and Catholic theology at various times; when World War II broke out, he was serving in military, and was taken captive in France in 1945. After thirteen months of captivity, he was enrolled in the classes of Catholic theology and Oriental Studies at the University of Munich, followed by his doctoral dissertation; in 1952, he defended the habilitation thesis in philology of the Christian East. The German orientalist studied Ethiopian, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Georgian languages, and related ancient Christian literature. He was a professor at the University of Munich where, alongside with other disciplines, he delivered lectures on various courses on Georgian Studies. He concentrated on the Old Georgian language and ecclesiastical literature. He actively cooperated with Georgian scholars and visited Georgia several times. One of the visits is briefly described in one of the issues of the newspaper *Literaturuli Sakartvelo* (*Literary Georgia*) in 1965; the article is accompanied by a photo.¹ In spring, 1977, he visited Georgia for the last times where he attended the Second International Symposium of Georgian Art. Along with scholarly presentations, the program of the Symposium included tours to exhibitions, museums, and Georgian artistic monuments. He tells details of the symposium and his impressions in the short article

¹ G. Shekiladze, ქართველ მეცნიერთა სტუმარი, „ლიტერატურული საქართველო“, (*K'art'vel mecnier'ta stumari*, „*Literaturuli sak'art'velo*”), 25(1965), Tbilisi, p. 4.

published in *Oriens Christianus*.

J. Assfalg diligently studied Georgian ecclesiastical literature, old Georgian language, Georgian writing, history of church, old Georgian manuscripts and inscriptions, ancient Georgian translations of the Bible. He regularly published about Georgian both as books and as articles in various publications, like *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, *Kleines Wörterbuch des christlichen Orients*, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, *Le Museon*, *Bedi Kartlisa*, *Oriens Christianus*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. He seemed that he felt the pulse of Georgian culture; in these journals, the German orientalist published reviews of related works, responded to birth anniversaries of Georgian scientists and other novelties.

Back in 1965, J. Assfalg became interested in the history of Georgian Studies in Germany, and published a brief overview „Über die georgischen Studien in Deutschland.“ The author speaks about the German universities having been engaged in Georgian Studies. German and Georgian scholars served the Georgian cause at those Universities. Ethnic Georgian scholars also greatly contributed to the development and support of Georgian Studies in Germany. Assfalg primarily mentioned Grigol Peradze among those Georgians: „Neuen Auftrieb bekamen die georgischen Studien, als der Georgier Gr. Feradze in Bonn mit einer Arbeit über die Anfänge des georgischen Mönchtums promovierte, als Lehrbeauftragter für Georgisch an der Universität tätig war und seine Arbeiten vor allem in der von A. Baumstark geleiteten Zeitschrift *Oriens Christianus* veröffentlichte“. He even published an essay on the life and activities of one of them, K. Chkhenkeli and dedicated a special article to his *Georgian-German Dictionary*, published in Zurich, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.

Based on multiple sources and literary works, the scholar skilfully and precisely described Georgia's lengthy history in a 6-page paper published in the 12th volume of *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. By focusing on the key moments, the author created the effect of a short film when a “spectator” (a reader in the given case) obtains maximum information in the shortest possible time. This short work is divided into 6 chunks. The overview is followed by the story of the conversion of Georgia to Christianity. For some reasons, the author refers to the preaching of St. Andrew the First-Called and burying of Christ's Tunic in Mtsketa to as legends. The author's logic is also odd. According to him, Georgians needed to turn these “legends” into reality to demonstrate the origin of Apostolic Georgian Church and to justify the autocephaly of the Georgian Orthodox Church to Patriarch of Antioch. His story develops in a chronologi-

cal order in the following chapters: 3. period until the separation from Armenian Church; 4. period until the unification of the Georgian kingdom in 1000 year; 5. period until the Georgia's accession to Russia in 1801; 6. development of the Georgian state up to the present day, ending with the enthronization of Ilia II, present Catholicos-Patriarch.

In 1960, the journal *Bedi Kartlisa* published an article „*Zum Kirchenjahr und zur neusten geschichte der georgischen Kirche*“. In the article, the author welcomes the publication of the liturgical calendar of the Georgian church. The given calendar presents daily liturgical data of the liturgical year and brief hagiographic notes. Georgian liturgical year is essential an analogue of the Greek Orthodox liturgical year, being extended with holidays of Georgian Saints. The scholar gives a meticulous review of the content of the calendar. Alongside with religious holidays, it presents a so called “folk calendar,” a list saints in alphabetical order, of fasting periods, Sennight, of days to commemorate the deceased, of the eparchies, a chronological list of the nine synods held in Georgia since 1917, as well as the traditional list of the leaders of the Georgian Church. However, the author considers the lack of statistical information on the number of clergymen and believers, temples and religious life and other similar issues as a shortcoming of the book.

The German orientalist who was proficient in Georgian wrote papers on the Georgian language and writing as well. When he dealt with Georgian, the author emphasised that “the Georgian language as well as Zan and Svan belong to the authentic group of South-Caucasian languages – Kartvelian. According to its morphological type, it can be characterised as the agglutinative language containing inflexional features. It does not have grammatical gender; among the grammatical cases, there is ergative which is aligned to a subject a transitive verb with a stem in the aorist; the present stem is mostly extended while the aorist stem is not; subject and object persons may be represented by affixes in a single verb form. Initially, Georgian borrowed loanwords from Iranian, Armenian, and Greek; later, from Arabic, Turkish, and Persian; and, our days, mostly, from Russian; however, Georgian has always maintained its own distinctive character”. The scholar refers to the language periodization and talks about the so called notions of “khanmeti” and “haemeti”: “Georgian is a literary language since the 5th century. The classic language of Old Georgian lasted until the 13th century and, since then the Modern Georgian language tool shape”. The German scholar supports one of the standpoints on the periodization of the Georgian literary language according to which there

is no middle period in the development of Georgian and the Modern Georgian literary language is a direct continuation of the Old Georgian (Arn. Chikobava, I. Gigineishvili). The scholar meticulously studied the Old Georgian language and, in collaboration with Renée Zwolanek, published a 76-page long textbook *Altgeorgische Kurzgrammatik* in 1976. The book received a fairly good review by the German linguist Winfried Boeder, irrespective of minor inconsistencies detected in it: "Writing a grammar of Old Georgian in our days can be considered a brave deed. The present grammar fits a fairly complete picture of the most significant facts within a small scale. Dealing with the phenomenon of reduction requires particular flexibility and this aim is definitely achieved here... The book includes the Georgian alphabet and a diagram of the phonemes of Old Georgian, as well as nominal and verbal morphology. It also provides an overview of derivational affixes and particles, followed by more than ten pages of syntax. The former is followed by an index and the so called *Index a tergo* of grammatical morphemes. The contents page presented in the middle of the book makes it much easier to use it and provides an opportunity to open a desirable page in just one turn... Hopefully, it will gain wide readership and encourage many to conduct more comprehensive research of the magnificent Georgian language and literature."² J. Assfalg also addressed the problem of the Georgian alphabet; he briefly discussed its structure, origin and stages of development in one of the dictionaries published in 1975. He referred to two distinct publications. According to Armenian sources, the Georgian alphabet emerged from the Armenian one, while another source (11th century Georgian historian Leonti Mroveli) stated that the Georgian alphabet originated authentically BC. In 1984, in another paper, the German scholar reiterated that, according to the Armenian historian Koriun, Mesrop Mashtots was specially invited to create an alphabet for Georgians. However, he did not mention other sources as well as Georgian scholars' numerous works, being available at that time, having investigated and proved the authenticity of the indigenous origin of the Georgian. J. Assfalg knew personally Georgian scholars, he had access to specialised literature and visited Georgia several times.

As I already mentioned, Georgian literature and, specifically, old Georgian ecclesiastical literature was a subject-matters of his studies. In colla-

² [W. Boeder, Besprechung von:] Renée Zwolanek in Zusammenarbeit mit Julius Assfalg: *Altgeorgische Grammatik* (= Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Subsidia Didactica 2). Freiburg/Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976, *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 26(1977), pp. 195-197 [abgedruckt in: *Bedi Kartlisa*, 36(1978), pp. 372-374.

boration with Mikheil Tarkhnishvili, he published *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur auf Grund des ersten Bandes der georgischen Literaturgeschichte von K. Kekelidze*, 1955. In comparison to K. Kekelidze's book, the translation lacks some parts; however, other material was added to it. The book consists of an introduction and two main parts. Sections of the introduction present auxiliary sources; the Georgian literary language and origins of Georgian literature; main periods of Georgian ecclesiastical literature; centres of education and literature in old Georgia. The first part discusses seventy-four authentic writers and translators in a chronological order, and the second one contains works of various genres written by unknown authors. After M. Tarkhnishvili's death, J. Assfalg carried on the translation of Volume 2 of the book in collaboration with Jaromir Jedlička, but the work was halted due to Jaromir Jedlička's death. A brief overview of old Georgian literature was presented by J. Assfalg in *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients*. That overview, slightly modified, was re-published in Volume 4 of *Lexikon des Mittelalters* in 2002. At the beginning, the author talks about the translated literature already including translations of the Bible, apocryphal and liturgical texts. By the 11th century, Georgian translations featured a majority of Patristic literature, and, as the author states, works by lesser known authors as well as those not translated into other languages were also included in the translations. Later, the scholar provides an overview of the original ecclesiastical literature with individual discussions of hagiographic, hymnographic and legal texts. From the secular literature, he focused only on historical compositions and poetry. After the appearance of the book in collaboration with M. Tarkhnishvili, J. Assfalg published an overview of that book in *Bedi Kartlisa*. The title of the article is „Die Kirchliche georgische Literatur; Ein Überblick aufgrund des neuesten Buches von P. M. Tarchnischvili.“ The article provides a detailed description of the content and composition of the book. The author treats the book as “academically reliable, representing possibly the most comprehensive introduction of the Georgian ecclesiastical literature having been appreciated not only by academic community. It is also aimed at provoking interest in general public as well as knowledge about the Georgian people and their ancient literature”. *Lexikon der Weltliteratur*, comprising approximately twenty essays about Georgian writers, is worth noting. The essays present not only old, but also modern and contemporary Georgian writers and poets.

The German orientalist's interest in old Georgian translations has been notable as long as it has determined the content of his habilitation

thesis “*Georgische Übersetzungen der Propheten Amos, Michaeas, Jonas, Sophonias und Zacharias*”. When discussing Georgian translations of the Bible in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 2002, J. Assfalg states that “the oldest Georgian translation of the Bible was performed in close relationship with the Armenian translation, having, on its part, transferred old Syrian versions into Georgian”. The same idea is reiterated in the aforementioned article published in collaboration with M.Tarkhnishvili: “The oldest translation of the Four Gospels, having undergone the Armenian influence, has survived as the so called Adysh Four Gospels (897)”. I believe that the claim that the oldest Georgian translations of the Bible originate from Armenian sources is subject to criticism. Moreover, experts have differently reflected on the problem in question. According to one viewpoint, the so called “Proto-vulgate”, completely based on the Greek version, already existed by the mid 4th century, and, if Armenian influence can be traceable in any later versions, this in no way implies that a Georgian translator referred only to an Armenian copy while translating the text. Georgian editors did their best to specify some gospel expressions not only according with the Greek original but also its Armenian translation being available to them. An attempt to considering all sources is a truly academic approach to translation and is a vivid example of the so called ‘global monumentality.’³ As for the origin of the Adysh Gospel, A. Kharanauli believes that a new translation or revision of the Bible text must have been made according to the Armenian version in the period of Gregory of Khandzta and aimed at Georgian monophysites.⁴

In the book *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients*, published in 1975, J. Assfalg, owing to its format, presents a brief overview and chronological presentation of the history of Georgian inscriptions. He provides individual discussions of construction inscriptions and fresco ones. The oldest of them is the inscriptions of the Georgian monastery of the mid 5th c. discovered during the excavations in Bethlehem. The oldest of the fresco inscriptions is the Sahakdukht inscription dating back to the 6th century. Similarly, J. Assfalg provides only a general overview of Georgian manuscripts in the same book. However, the scale and depth of the conducted work becomes evident after viewing the list of the Georgian and foreign sources and literature used by him.

³ E. Chelidze, ბიბლიის წიგნთა უძველესი ქართული რედაქციები, (*Bibliis cignt'a udzvelesi k'art'uli redak'ciebi*), 2016. <http://library.church.ge/>.

⁴ A. Charanauli, კთხევები ქართული ბიბლიის თარგმანის მომდინარეობის შესახებ, „ქართველოლოგი“, (*K'itxvebi k'art'uli bibliis t'argmanis momdinareobis šesaxeb*, „K'art'velologi“), 18(2012).

In 1963, J. Assfalg published the book *Georgische Handschriften* in Wiesbaden. The book presents fifteen Georgian manuscripts preserved at depositories in various German cities. The main merit of the book is that it is the first of its kind to describe Georgian manuscripts based on the up-to-date scholarly principles. At the end of the introduction of the catalogue, J. Assfalg points to the immense significance of these manuscripts and states that they deserve detailed study. The author expresses his gratitude to his German and Georgian colleagues for supporting him in this arduous and responsible work. He extends special thanks to the Georgian scholars Akaki Shanidze and Ilia Abuladze who, despite the difficulties associated with the antiquity of the text, offered him to proofread the text. He is grateful to M. Tarkhnishvili, his senior friend and guide to Georgian Studies, to whose memory he dedicates the book.

J. Assfalg made a worthy contribution to the advancement of Georgian-German academic and cultural relations. I believe that Georgian readers should be well aware of the research conducted by Julius Assfalg. Therefore, I consider translation into Georgian and publication of his works on Georgian Studies to significant and urgent.

Works on Georgian Studies⁵

1955

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⁵ It is in part based on the following editions: † Julius Assfalg, *Schriftenverzeichnis*(1954-1990)*“, in: „ენათმეცნიერების საკითხები“, („*Enat'mecnierebis sakit'hebi*“), 4(2000), Tbilisi, pp. 62-76; Heinrich R o h r b a c h e r, *Georgien Bibliographie des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums*. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2008.

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Julius Assfalg (1919-2001),
German Scholar of the Christian East and Kartvelologist

Julius Assfalg undeniably holds an important position among the international scholars of Georgian Studies whose contribution is immense in researching Georgian culture and showcasing it internationally in an appropriate manner. The German scholar studied not only the Georgian language and literature, the Georgian alphabet and church history, but he also conducted scholarly research on the old Georgian translations of the Bible, old Georgian inscriptions and manuscripts. He recovered Georgian manuscripts preserved at various depositories across Germany and published them as a book in 1963. The book is the first of its kind to describe Georgian manuscripts based on the up-to-date academic principles.

Key words: Julius Assfalg, German Kartvelologist, Georgian language and writing, Georgian manuscripts

